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Dialects and linguistic identity of Italian speakers in Bozen[*]

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the role played by Italo-Romance dialects in shaping the linguistic identity of Italian speakers in Bozen (South Tyrol, Italy). Due to the peculiar multilingual situation of South Tyrol, Italian speakers are concentrated in the big towns of this area (e.g., Bozen), whereas the overall majority of Tyrolean people speak German or German dialects. Setting aside the political tensions between the two linguistic groups, this work focuses on the Italian community living in Bozen by emphasizing the composition of their linguistic repertoire and the differences among the districts of the town in terms of linguistic identity. For this purpose, the few data actually available on this linguistic variety will be analyzed, in order to highlight the presence and use of Italo-Romance dialects by Italian speakers. Fieldwork on this variety has never been carried out before, and, thus, all previous statements were based only on aprioristic assumptions (i.e., they were not data-driven). Without data of any sort, scholars assumed an absence of spoken Italo-Romance dialects in the variety of Italian spoken in Bozen, based on the belief that Italian speakers settled in this area from other parts of Italy. Arguing against those previous assumptions, this paper will show how dialects constitute a central part of Italian linguistic identity in the multilingual setting of South Tyrol, as it emerges from a collection of expressions collected in the book *Lo slang di Bolzano* ("The Slang of Bozen"), and from speakers' linguistic perceptions recorded during face-to-face interviews. The results of this study point out that a large number of dialects are used within the family context, and sometimes also for informal communication, whereas some words and expressions are more largely used as part of a "we-code" characteristic of the Italians of Bozen.

Keywords: Italian, Italo-Romance dialects, linguistic perception, multilingualism, sociolinguistics.

1. Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to offer a first insight on the linguistic repertoire of the Italian community in the multilingual town of Bozen by emphasizing how Italo-Romance dialects define speakers' linguistic identity. In this respect, the literature is really ambiguous since no study has been specifically devoted to the investigation of the Italian community (cf. Meluzzi 2012). Thus, this contribution is meant to be a first contribution for a history of the Italian spoken in Bozen by paying particular attention to the presence of Italo-Romance dialects in this variety and to their role in the characterization of the linguistic identity of the Italian community.

Firstly, a terminological note: in this contribution the word 'dialects' is intended in the Italian sense of the term, not in the English sense, which may be the more common usage. For the Anglophone situation, Edwards (2009: 63) wrote about dialects and linguistic identity, by specifying that

> a dialect is a variety of a language that differs from others along three dimensions: vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent). Because they are forms of the same language, however, dialects are mutually intelligible.

In the Italian situation, however, varieties of the national language are usually called 'regional varieties', whereas the so-called 'dialects' are Romance languages directly derived from Latin, thus being sister languages of Italian. Cerruti (2011) explains this situation by adopting the Coserian distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary dialects (cf. Coseriu 1980): in Italy, regional

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varieties are tertiary dialects, whereas Italo-Romance dialects represent primary dialects. Additionally, Romance dialects are essential for the full understanding the linguistic situation in Italy. As pointed out in De Mauro (1960), Italian started being spoken by the majority of the population only very recently compared to other countries (e.g., England, France). Consequently, dialects are in many cases the first language (L1) of many speakers. In this paper, the definition of Italo-Romance dialects provided by Cerruti (2011) will be adopted.

The paper is organized as follows. To give the readers a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in South Tyrol, a first brief contextualization of this study will be provided in section 2. The research questions and the data collected for this study will be fully discussed in section 3, whereas section 4 will be devoted to the analysis of the data in order to answer the previously stated research questions. The discussion (section 5) aims to integrate the findings with previous research in this field. Finally, the conclusions (section 6) will sum up the main results achieved in this paper in order to suggest possible further research on this topic.

2. Italian community in South Tyrol: a short history

The presence of a large Italian community in South Tyrol is a very recent occurrence, dating back to the end of World War I. Before that date, South Tyrol was part of the Tyrolean and the Hapsburg kingdom and was a German (Bavarian) speaking area. In 1918, South Tyrol became part of the Italian kingdom,[1] and in the following years a process of 'Italianisation' was carried out by the Fascist regime: the German language was banned from public offices and schools, and German people were invited to move to German-speaking countries while Italian speakers from different parts of Italy were settled in South Tyrol. In order to host the new inhabitants, many new districts were built in the main towns. For instance, in Bozen the district of Don Bosco was built during the 1940s, and the original town has become the city center (Centro).[2]

At the end of World War II, both Italian and German speakers wished to preserve their own languages and traditions. After years of tension between the two linguistic groups (cf. Berloffa 2004), the 'Second Statute of Autonomy', also known as 'Pacchetto', was approved in 1972. South Tyrol was officially recognized as trilingual, that is to say that German, Italian, and Ladin[3] could be equally used in public offices and institutions. Moreover, the languages of the other linguistic groups must be taught in schools beginning in primary school. Every 10 years, during the National Census, people living in South Tyrol have to sign a paper in which they declare themselves as being part of one of the three ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. German, Italian, or Ladin. This is important not only to evaluate the number of speakers of each of the three official languages, but also because jobs in the public sphere are divided according to the number of people belonging to each linguistic group. This means that, for a particular job, a number of positions are reserved for people belonging to the German-speaking group, other positions are for members of the Italian-speaking group, and other positions are for the Ladin-speaking group (cf. Baur et al. 2008).

The data from the last National Census in 2011 (cf. ASTAT 2012a) state that in South Tyrol, people who self-declare themselves as belonging to the German-speaking community are the 69,41% of the whole South Tyrolean population, whereas the Italian-speaking community represents 26,06%, and the remaining 4,53% is made up of the Ladin speakers. However, it must be stressed that the Italian community is concentrated in the main towns of Bozen, Brixen and Meran. In Bozen, in particular, Italian speakers constitute 73% of the population of the town, whereas the German-speaking community represents just 26,29% of the population. This makes Bozen the main

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1   Italy has been a republic since 1946.
2   In this respect, cf. Romeo (2006) who specifically addressed this historical period.
3   Ladin is a linguistic minority also recognized by Italian law (law 482/1999). Ladin is a rheto-romance language directly derived from Latin. Nowadays it is spoken in 5 valleys between Trentino-Alto Adige and Veneto (i.e. Fassa, Badia, Gardena, Fodom and Ampezzo).

'Italian' town in South Tyrol. Moreover, Bozen is still divided into German and Italian districts (see Figure 1); in fact, the city center and Gries have around 50% of the population belonging to the German-speaking group, whereas in the other districts (Europa Novacella, Don Bosco, and Oltrisarco) speakers mainly belong to the Italian-speaking group, as shown by data from the 1981 National Census (see Table 1):[4]

Figure 1: The districts of Bozen (ASTAT 2012b)

Table 1: Linguistic groups in Bozen districts in 1981 (Petri 1989: 251)

DISTRICTS	TOTAL	ITALIAN	GERMAN	LADIN
Centre	18.348 (17%)	49%	50%	1%
Gries-S.Quirino	32.848 (31%)	67%	32%	1%
Oltrisarco, Europa, Don Bosco	53.732 (51%)	85%	14%	1%
Homeless	252 (1%)	-	-	-
Total	105.180	73%	26%	1%

The Italian community of Bozen is concentrated in specific districts, which were built during the massive process of the 'Italianisation' of South Tyrol ordered by the Fascist regime.[5] However, the Italian speakers who moved to Bozen did not originate from the same areas of Italy, and that means that, when they were moved to Bozen, they spoke different Italo-Romance dialects and different varieties of Italian (cf. section 1). It is possible to recognize three different waves in the Italian migration to Bozen.[6] The first wave dates back to the 1920s and 1930s and basically involved speakers from Veneto, Lombardy (mostly from Milan), Emilia-Romagna, and Lazio (mainly from the city of Rome). These people were officers, high school teachers, or employees for public offices

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4   These are the last data available for each district. After 1981, no division among districts has been provided by the Tyrolean statistical institute (ASTAT), so it is impossible to quantify the amount of people belonging to the different linguistic groups in the different districts. However, for information on the differences between the different districts of the town one may consult the recent Riccioni's (2012) book.

5   See also Kramer (1983) and Petri (1989) for a historical reconstruction of this process.

6   This reconstruction is based on the comments and notes in both Petri (1989) and Baur et al. (2008), in which, however, the three waves of Italian migration are not very clearly exposed.

and were thus people with a middle-high degree of education. These people moved to Bozen because of the vacancies left after the removal of German speakers in those positions and due to the need of the Fascist regime to improve the Italian in the schools. Then, during the 1940s, many other Italian speakers were moved to Bozen, especially from Trentino and Veneto. They were generally farmers who were employed in the new factories and settled in the new district of Don Bosco. It is worth noting that many of the Italian migrants of that period did not have a high degree of education, and it is possible that they only spoke their own Italo-Romance dialect and not Italian (see De Mauro 1960). The last migration wave dates to after World War II and involves people of different backgrounds and levels of education from all over Italy, but mostly from the South (e.g., Naples, Calabria).

To sum up, what characterizes the history of the Italian community in South Tyrol, and in particular in Bozen, is that these people were not originally settled in the area prior to the end of World War I, and their migration created a multilingual setting. Additionally, the political tensions between the two linguistic groups have characterized the social life of every citizen since South Tyrol first became part of the Italian kingdom. As for the Italian community, speakers have different sociolinguistic and dialectological backgrounds, and it makes it quite difficult to state whether or not they constitute an homogeneous community.

2.1. The Italian of Bozen: an undefined variety

As previously stated, the Italian variety spoken in Bozen presents many sociolinguistic peculiarities. However, no study has been specifically dedicated to the investigation of this linguistic community and its language. Many scholars have indeed dealt with the sociolinguistic situation of South Tyrol, and thus they have offered a definition of the variety of Italian spoken there. It is worth noting that not one of these definitions is based on spoken data, but only on impressions or aprioristic arguments.[7]

In the literature, three main definitions of the variety of Italian spoken in Bozen may be found. Some scholars (e.g., Kühebacher 1976) see the Italian of Bozen as a standard variety of Italian, since it would have been impossible for speakers from the various regions of Italy to communicate with each other in any other language other than Standard Italian (SI). A second group of scholars, however, think that the Italian of Bozen is an 'atypical' variety of Italian. For instance, Francescato (1975) underlines how the lack of a dialectal basis makes the Italian of Bozen a poor variety, a sort of pidgin among different dialects and regional varieties. Finally, scholars like Kramer (1983) and Coletti et al. (1992) define the Italian of Bozen as the result of a process of koineization between the dialects and regional varieties spoken by Italian speakers who migrated to Bozen from a variety of linguistic regions in Italy.[8]

Thus, it is evident how the definition of the Italian of Bozen is very contradictory, and also lacks fieldwork and spoken data. Scholars, however, agree in considering this variety an extraordinary case in Italian sociolinguistics. Since it lacks a common dialectal basis, dialects could not be used in everyday interactions due to different regional origins of the speakers, and this is the only attested case in Italy where Italo-Romance dialects are commonly used in spoken communication, at least at informal levels (Berruto 1995).

Regarding perception and linguistic identity, these issues have been randomly addressed by scholars working on language acquisition (Paladino et al. 2009) and on linguistic biographies (Veronesi 2008). Again, it is worth noting that the problem of the linguistic identity of Italian speakers in Bozen has only been poorly addressed in the literature.

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7   See also Meluzzi (2012).
8   This last hypothesis seems also to be confirmed, even with differences, by a first analysis of spoken data carried on in Meluzzi (2013).

3.   The research setting

As has been shown in the previous section, the literature concerning the linguistic situation of the Italian of Bozen is very contradictory; additionally, no previous study investigates the presence of Italo-Romance dialects in this area or how this peculiar situation may affect the linguistic identity of Italian speakers in Bozen. The present work is, indeed, an attempt to clarify if and to what extent Italo-Romance dialects play a role in defining the identity of these speakers, and which (if any) symbolic value (see Edwards 2009) is associated with these dialects in this context. More precisely, the research questions concern, firstly, the possibility of finding instances of such Italo-Romance dialects in the repertoire of Italian speakers. Secondly, due to the ambiguous literature in this respect, it will be interesting to investigate how speakers define their own spoken Italian and if they perceive any dialectal influences in their speech. Finally, the main issue concerns the actual use of Italo-Romance dialects in spoken communication, and the different usage of Italian and dialects in this complex community.

3.1.   The data

In order to answer these questions, two different kinds of materials were used. It is worth stressing that these data are very heterogeneous and they come from very different sources and approaches, more specifically from Cagnan's (2011) book and from sociolinguistic interviews. However, as far as can be confirmed, these data represent the only available source of information concerning the Italian variety spoken in Bozen, and for this reason they are both taken into account in the present contribution.

On the one side, there is a non-linguistic book published in 2011, and again in 2012, by the Bozen journalist Paolo Cagnan, called *Lo slang di Bolzano* ("The Slang of Bozen"), henceforth referred to as simply *Slang*. The book contains a list of words and expressions thought to be typical of Bozen Italian, which were collected by Cagnan on the popular social network Facebook. In the online group *Slang di Bolzano*, Cagnan asked people living or born in Bozen to post words, sentences or expressions typical of the Italian spoken in the town. Nowadays, the group consists of 1856 members.[9] Cagnan collected some of the most popular expressions and published them in the aforementioned book along with their definitions given by the speakers themselves. In the preface, he specifies that the expressions seem to be part of a shared knowledge of Italians who are older than 30; he also adds that the slang has basically been created in the Italian districts of Bozen, and in particular in Don Bosco.

The 2011 edition of the book consists of 978 words and expressions, and in the 2012 second edition the number increases to 1279 entries. The formal organization of the two books is identical (see Figure 2 on page 6): on the right, in bold, there is the entry, sometimes also with an indication of variants (e.g., *zève/seve* "bye", Cagnan 2011: 82), followed by a translation in SI and/or an explanation of the expression. The entry is sometimes followed by a specification in brackets, distinguishing four parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, verbs, and a more general category called 'expressions' (Cagnan 2011: 17), which includes both idiomatic expressions, such as swear words, and groups of two or more words that could be used as nouns or adjectives as well (e.g., *man de bianco* explained as *botte* "whacks", Cagnan 2011: 47).[10] Additionally, the origin of the word is sometimes added in brackets as well, distinguishing, however, only among South Tyrolean (st), Trentino (tn), and Venetian (ven). Interestingly, the Trentino tag was only added in the second edition in 2012, whereas, in the previous, edition only Venetian and South Tyrolean were used as dialectal tags. Moreover, not every word is presented with this dialectal tag, even when the dialectal origin is unquestionable. For instance, one may find the verb *bronzare* (Cagnan 2011: 25, cf. also
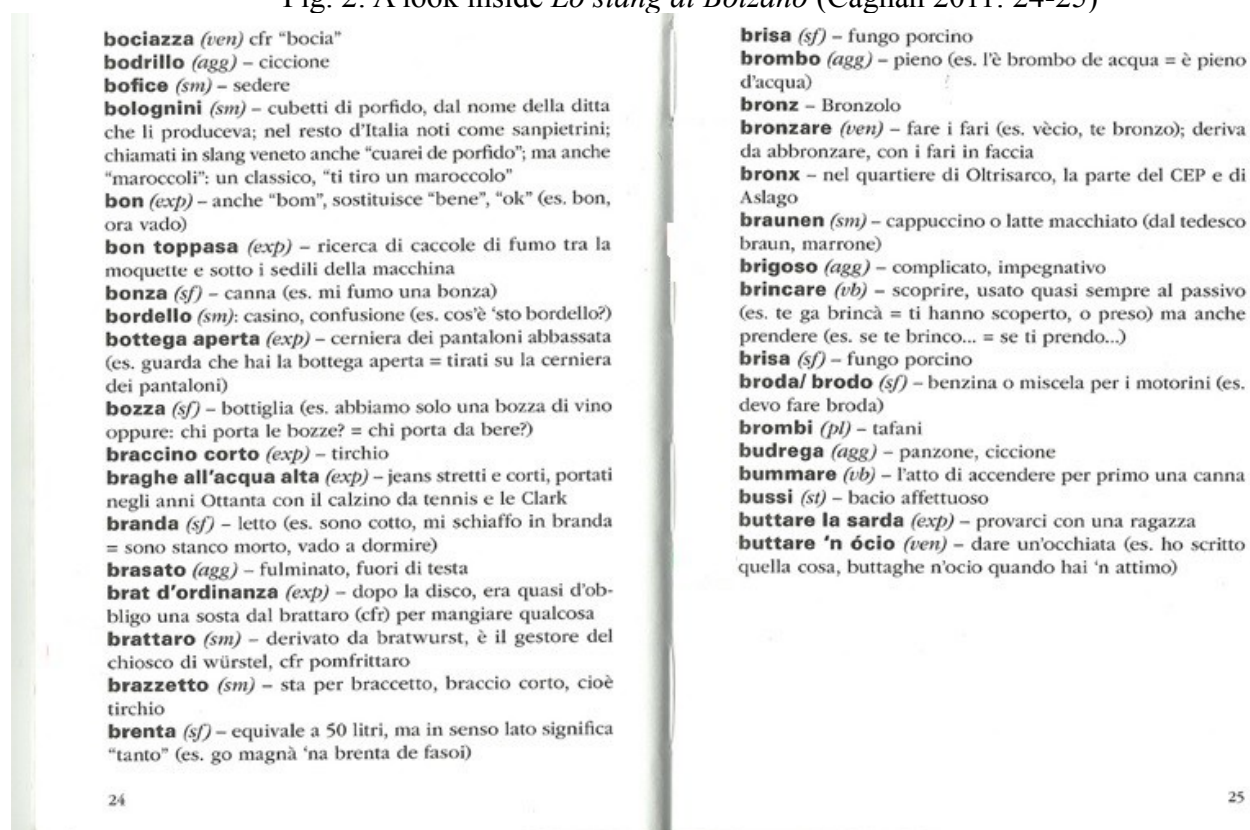
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9   https://www.facebook.com/messages/1192877550#!/groups/slangdibolzano/, last accessed August 11, 2014.

10 One may note that only the first expression is translated, whereas no translation in SI is provided for the following example.

Figure 2 below) which is marked as Venetian, whereas for the word *bodrillo* "fat guy" presents only the identification of the part of speech (i.e., adjective), even if it is not SI.

Thus, Cagnan's book reflects speakers' perception of their own Italian variety. However, it must be emphasized that the absence of a linguistic tagging deeply affects the work, since, for instance, there are no dialectal words other than Venetian and Trentino. Though a new tagging of these data has to be done by a linguist, at the current state of knowledge, this rough material may tell something about the speakers' perceptions as well. The recognized limits of these books must be taken into account, but it is worth noting that such limits are due to the nature of *Slang* itself, since it has been created by non-linguists and for non-scientific purposes (cf. Cagnan 2011: 7-8). This way, this book gives an interesting first impression of the actual use of language, since it testifies to how speakers perceive their own variety of Italian and for which words or expressions they use the dialectal labels:

Fig. 2: A look inside *Lo slang di Bolzano* (Cagnan 2011: 24-25)

bociazza *(ven)* cfr "bocia"
bodrillo *(agg)* – ciccione
bofice *(sm)* – sedere
bolognini *(sm)* – cubetti di porfido, dal nome della ditta che li produceva; nel resto d'Italia noti come sanpietrini; chiamati in slang veneto anche "cuarei de porfido"; ma anche "maroccoli": un classico, "ti tiro un maroccolo"
bon *(exp)* – anche "bom", sostituisce "bene", "ok" (es. bon, ora vado)
bon toppasa *(exp)* – ricerca di caccole di fumo tra la moquette e sotto i sedili della macchina
bonza *(sf)* – canna (es. mi fumo una bonza)
bordello *(sm)*: casino, confusione (es. cos'è 'sto bordello?)
bottega aperta *(exp)* – cerniera dei pantaloni abbassata (es. guarda che hai la bottega aperta = tirati su la cerniera dei pantaloni)
bozza *(sf)* – bottiglia (es. abbiamo solo una bozza di vino oppure: chi porta le bozze? = chi porta da bere?)
braccino corto *(exp)* – tirchio
braghe all'acqua alta *(exp)* – jeans stretti e corti, portati negli anni Ottanta con il calzino da tennis e le Clark
branda *(sf)* – letto (es. sono cotto, mi schiaffo in branda = sono stanco morto, vado a dormire)
brasato *(agg)* – fulminato, fuori di testa
brat d'ordinanza *(exp)* – dopo la disco, era quasi d'obbligo una sosta dal brattaro (cfr) per mangiare qualcosa
brattaro *(sm)* – derivato da bratwurst, è il gestore del chiosco di würstel, cfr pomfrittaro
brazzetto *(sm)* – sta per braccetto, braccio corto, cioè tirchio
brenta *(sf)* – equivale a 50 litri, ma in senso lato significa "tanto" (es. go magnà 'na brenta de fasoi)

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brisa *(sf)* – fungo porcino
brombo *(agg)* – pieno (es. l'è brombo de acqua = è pieno d'acqua)
bronz – Bronzolo
bronzare *(ven)* – fare i fari (es. vècio, te bronzo); deriva da abbronzare, con i fari in faccia
bronx – nel quartiere di Oltrisarco, la parte del CEP e di Aslago
braunen *(sm)* – cappuccino o latte macchiato (dal tedesco braun, marrone)
brigoso *(agg)* – complicato, impegnativo
brincare *(vb)* – scoprire, usato quasi sempre al passivo (es. te ga brincà = ti hanno scoperto, o preso) ma anche prendere (es. se te brinco... = se ti prendo...)
brisa *(sf)* – fungo porcino
broda/ brodo *(sf)* – benzina o miscela per i motorini (es. devo fare broda)
brombi *(pl)* – tafani
budrega *(agg)* – panzone, ciccione
bummare *(vb)* – l'atto di accendere per primo una canna
bussi *(st)* – bacio affettuoso
buttare la sarda *(exp)* – provarci con una ragazza
buttare 'n ócio *(ven)* – dare un'occhiata (es. ho scritto quella cosa, buttaghe n'ocio quando hai 'n attimo)

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In addition to the book *Lo slang di Bolzano*, the spoken data recorded for the author's PhD thesis were also used for the current study. These data consist in face-to-face interviews with Italian speakers of Bozen;[11] these recordings represent the first spoken corpus of this Italian variety. Speakers were involved in two very formal tasks, consisting of first reading a long word-list, and then participating in a more spontaneous conversation (cf. Labov 1994) with the researcher. During these interviews, some questions were devoted to the investigation of speakers' perceptions of their own linguistic variety, with particular emphasis on the presence and use of Italo-Romance dialects in their everyday lives. For instance, speakers were directly asked what they think about the Italian

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11 The interviews were recorded at Free University of Bozen between October 2011 and March 2012, using a ZOOM H2 recorder with a microphone placed in front of the speaker. Each speaker was thus fully aware of being recorded, and no secret recordings have been carried out; speakers also signed a disclaimer that allows to use these data, in an anonymous form, for scientific purposes.

spoken in Bozen,[12] and whether they use Italo-Romance dialects when talking to their parents from their areas of origin. The corpus consists of 42 hours and 41 minutes of face-to-face interviews with 42 Italian speakers of Bozen, both male and female, aged between 19 and 97 years old, with differing degrees of education, and from various dialectal backgrounds.[13] The interviews were orthographically transcribed with the software ELAN 4.6.

Theoretically speaking, a Folk-Linguistic approach was adopted. As Niedzielski & Preston (2003) point out, nowadays Folk Linguistics has extended to a wide range of approaches and methods, with the main aim being to investigate speakers' perceptions. People's opinions may indeed be used in applied linguistic research, especially in the fields of language policy and language teaching. The importance of non-linguists' attitudes and beliefs towards language has been stressed by Wilton & Stegu (2011: 12): "Linguists need to know what non-linguists think of the issues at hand, how their knowledge is generated, and how it can be enriched in order to help them solve language-related problems or change negative attitudes".

For the purpose of the present work, speakers' perceptions and attitudes towards Italian will be important in order to identify the presence and the role played by Romance dialects in the Italian community.

4.   Analysis

In this section, the data will be analyzed separately for the two aforementioned sets, that is to say the data emerging from *Slang* (4.1), and then the data collected in the interviews (4.2). This operation is necessary since the data are of very different natures. In the conclusions, the results of the two sub-sections will then be combined in order to completely answer to the research questions.

4.1.   Dialectal words in Lo slang di Bolzano

As previously stated, many Italian speakers in Bozen have different dialectal backgrounds. It is thus somewhat surprising to find only two Italo-Romance dialects (i.e., Venetian and Trentino) in *Slang* . In Cagnan (2011), only 100 of 978 entries are explicitly tagged as Venetian, even if this tag is not always assigned to words with an undoubtedly Venetian origin, as has previously been illustrated. Among the 100 words explicitly recognized as Venetian, 65 of them are the so-called expressions, 17 are nouns, whereas only six are verbs, and seven are adjectives. Finally, five entries could be both adjectives and nouns depending on the sentence, as in the case of *sbruin* (and its variant *sbroin*) which means "very cold" (SI *freddo intenso*).

Interestingly, in the second edition of the book (Cagnan 2012), out of a total of 1279 entries, 124 are tagged as Venetian, and 31 as Trentino, whereas other seven words and expressions were simultaneously tagged as both Venetian and Trentino.[14] Even if it were possible that the same expressions could be found in the dialectal continuum from Venetian to Trentino,[15] it appears extremely interesting that the same seven words and expressions were marked only as Venetian in the first edition of the book. Among the 31 entries marked as being from Trentino, 19 are again emphatic and often dysphemistic expressions (e.g., *stoneza in val culera* "continuous farting", Cagnan 2012: 79), while there also are eight nouns, three verbs and one adjective. Even if limited only to these entries, it is important to note how, in this second edition of *Slang*, Trentino is also

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12 See also Meluzzi (fc).

13 For more details about the corpus composition and stratification, cf. Meluzzi (2013).

14 This is not surprising since the two dialects (i.e. Venetian and Trentino) are very close to each other also from a geographic point of view; it is possible that, in these cases, a non-linguist writer was not able to explicitly associate each form with one dialect or another since they may show a frequency of use in both the variants.

15 It is worth remembering that the variety of Venetian we are mostly dealing with in this context is the so-called Central Venetian, which includes the varieties from Rovigo, Padova, the Polesine and Vicenza (cf. Zamboni 1974, Loporcaro 2009).

recognized as a dialectal variety of importance in the linguistic characterization of the Italian of Bozen.

The very rough material collected in *Slang* and the aforementioned lack of consistent linguistic tagging do not allow one to draw any scientifically grounded conclusions. However, these data testify to how the speakers perceive their speech as characterized by the presence of at least two main Romance dialects, that is to say Trentino and, most of all, Venetian. Moreover, the large predominance of Venetian expressions could mean that this dialect is actually used by Italian speakers to give more emphasis to their statements, especially since the largest presence of the phrases marked as Venetian tend to be swear words and emphatic expressions in *Slang*. In this respect, it is also possible to argue that the dialectal expressions characterize a more informal and spontaneous speech, whereas they disappear in more formal and controlled conversation, as in the case of face-to-face interviews (see 4.2).

4.2. *Dialects and linguistic identity of Italian speakers*

As pointed out previously, the corpus of spoken Italian contains only face-to-face interviews between the speaker and the researcher, thus constituting a very formal situation that may affect the linguistic style adopted by certain speakers. However, during the interviews, the conversations became gradually more spontaneous, and speakers' utterances were less controlled especially when the discussion shifted to topics involving languages. This is related to the peculiar history and sociolinguistic situation of South Tyrol: since the risk of social bias concerning languages is very high, speakers were more concerned with conveying the message accurately than with controlling their speech style, thus resulting in a more spontaneous speech (see Labov 1994). This can be attested by the emphasis audible in the recordings, but also by the presence of emphatic expressions, more than discourse markers and, sometimes, also swear words.

One of the most intriguing topics involves a speaker's knowledge of one or more Italo-Romance dialects and the use of these dialects in everyday conversation. In this respect, I have previously noted (Meluzzi 2013) how speakers from more mixed or German districts (e.g., Centro) frequently state that they neither use nor do they perceive Italo-Romance dialects in Bozen. On the other hand, however, speakers from the more Italian districts (e.g., Don Bosco) state not only that they perceive dialects in their everyday life, and have since they were children, but also that they are able to understand and sometimes also speak some of them.

This is supported by statements like the one quoted in (1) in which speaker MP, a 53-year old woman from Don Bosco, clearly states that she can understand at least five different Italo-Romance dialects, and that she can perceive many dialectal influences in the Italian spoken in Bozen:

(1)   230 MP   Beh capisco il Romano, Siciliano, Calabrese, Pugliese, Trentino, Veneto.
              Well I understand Romano, Sicilian, Calabrese, Pugliese, Trentino, Venetian.
      […]
      248 CM   Uhm. E cioè secondo te ci sono ancora adesso delle influenze dialettali?
              Uhm. And in your opinion, nowadays do you also hear many dialectal influences?
      249 MP   Sì. Beh, Romane, dovute al mio compagno. Venete.
              Yes. Well, Roman, thanks to my boyfriend. Venetian.
      250 MP   E Calabresi, perché mia sorella è sposata con un calabrese per cui…
              And Calabrese 'cause my sister is married to a man from Calabria so…
      251 MP   E tanti modi di dire sono soprattutto romano, perché essendo sposata con un romano bene o male.
              And lots of phraseologisms from Roman, since I'm married to a man from Rome.
      252 MP   Però sì, sì sì. Io non parlo un Italiano Italiano.
              But yeah yeah. Well I don't speak Italian Italian.

253 MP   Diciamo, se devo essere formale, è un Italiano. Se sono tra amici, se sono in
compagnia no. Tante inflessioni, tanti modi di dire e tante inflessioni. Sì.
I mean, if I have to be formal, mine is a proper Italian. If I am among friends, if we
are hanging out, (I have) many inflections, many phraseologisms, inflections. Yeah.

The role of dialects in everyday conversation is emphasized also by a young speaker, LT, a 27-year
old man from Don Bosco, whose father is from Calabria. In his interview, he often addresses
linguistic issues, especially concerning the role of languages in defining the identity of speakers of
both the German and Italian groups. In one passage, he also states that he knows and actually uses
Calabrese when talking to his father and other relatives. However, when he discusses the presence
of spoken dialects in Bozen, he emphasizes the role played in particular by Venetian:

(2)   21 LT   Si- beh sicuramente qui dialetto calabrese non se ne parla
We- well here the Calabrese dialect is not spoken for sure
22 LT   però <SP>
but
23 LT   secondo me <SP>
in my opinion
24 LT   uhm <SP>
Uhm
25 LT   tanti bolzanini la maggior parte
lots of people in Bozen the main part
26 LT   almeno quelli di madrelingua italiana <SP>
at least Italian native speakers
27 LT   hanno un sacco di <SP>
they have lots of
28 LT   eh <SP>
eh
29 LT   inflessioni dialettali si dice così? <SP>
dialect inflections it says so?
30 LT   di natura veneta
similar to Venetian
<LP>
31 LT   questo è
this is it
32 CM   Lei ne sente tanti?
Do you hear many?
33 LT   Sì la maggior parte che
Yeah most of all that
34 LT   cioè che sento anche tra amici <SP>
I mean that I listen to also among friends
35 LT   si parla
we speak
36 LT   non in dialetto però capita di dire <SP>
not dialect but it happens to say
37 LT   ocio gua- var ti che insomma <SP>
[in Venetian] 'look! look that!' that I mean
38 LT   tutto questo genere di
all these kinds of

<LP>
39 LT   inflessioni di natura dialettale
inflections from dialect
40 LT   tipicamente venete sicuramente non si parla <LP>
typically from Venetian for sure we don't speak
41 LT   cioè <SP>
I mean
42 LT   milanese o o altro
Milanese or or other (dialects)

In this example, the speaker is introducing, almost unconsciously, a difference between language use at home and language use inside the Italian community. Another interesting statement in this respect is offered by speaker CU, a 43-years old woman from Oltrisarco, another mainly Italian district (see section 2 above), quoted in example (3):

(3)   401 CU   Noi non abbiamo dialetto noi a Bolzano parliamo un italiano che secondo me
We don't have a dialect we in Bozen talk an Italian that in my opinion
402 CU   non è corretto nel senso che è un italiano sì pulito <SP>
it's not correct in the sense that it's a clean Italian yeah
403 CU   però uhm <SP>
but uhm
404 CU   boh <SP>
dunno
405 CU   non ha un dialetto <SP>
it doesn't have a dialect
406 CU   assolutamente noi parliamo l'italiano <SP>
we absolutely speak Italian
[…]
485 CU   no noi italiani parliamo l'italiano
no we as Italians speak Italian
486 CU   poi c'è da dire una cosa
then, there's a thing to say
<LP>
487 CU   ad esempio io mia madre era trentina
for instance my mother was from Trento
488 CU   sei figli quindi ho le zie
six children thus I've got aunts
489 CU   eh i fratelli cioè
eh the brothers I mean
<LP>
490 CU   loro parlavano trentino <SP>
they spoke Trentino
491 CU   quindi la mamma quando veniva a casa qualcuno dei suoi fratelli parlavano trentino <SP>
so did my mum when one of her brothers came home they spoke Trentino
492 CU   quindi anche noi
so we did too
493 CU   magari ci capitava di dire quelle tre o quattro parole in trentino <SP>
maybe it happened to us to say three or four words in Trentino

494 CU   in dialetto <SP>
                in dialect
495 CU   però la nostra d- lingua è a Bolzano è l'italiano cioè noi anche quando andiamo a
                scuola da bambini
                but our l- the language in Bozen is Italian, I mean even when we go to school as
                children
496 CU   parliamo l'italiano
                we speak Italian
497 CU   non è che ci devono poi correggere perché abbiamo
                they don't have to correct us 'cause we have
498 CU   anche il dialetto oltre va beh
                also the dialect and the well
499 CU   chiaramente la la conoscenza ci manca
                clearly we lack the knowledge
500 CU   e devi impararla a scuola
                and you have to learn it at school
501 CU   però a Bolzano non c'è un dialetto <SP>
                but in Bozen there is no dialect
502 CU   per la parte tedesca sì c'è lo quello schifosissimo tedesco che parlano loro <SP>
                for the German part yes there's that disgusting German they speak
503 CU   per gli italiani no
                for the Italians (there's) not

Three main points of discussion emerge from this example. Firstly, there is the speaker's determination to stress that there is no dialect of Bozen, a concept twice repeated (in lines 420 and 501), where she also emphasizes how Italian speakers mainly speak a 'clear' Italian (in lines 406 and in 485). The lack of dialect indirectly conveys two other statements: the Italian spoken in Bozen is more 'clean' (line 402) and also more 'correct' (line 497) than the Italian spoken elsewhere in Italy. This reflects an ideology that has been particularly strong in Italy until very recent times, which is that dialects cause trouble for children at school, and that they must be avoided in order to reach complete competence in Italian, without any influence from one's regional (i.e. dialectal) background (cf. De Mauro 1960). Secondly, speaker CU introduces a difference in language use, by reporting how Trentino is sometimes spoken in her family (lines 487-494). In these lines, however, it is interesting to note how personal pronouns differentiate between "they" (i.e., CU's mothers and old relatives) and "we" (evidently CU herself and her brothers). Only the old relatives spoke the dialect among themselves, whereas the youngest generation represented by CU sometimes uses only "three or four words in Trentino" (line 493). Thus, the use of dialect is relegated to a familial usage and to old generations, differently from what we saw in LT's speech in (2), in which that young speaker said that he commonly uses dialect while talking to his father. Other speakers also testify that dialects are more commonly spoken among members of the older generations, while the youngest speakers will still use some fixed words or expressions, but they are unable (or, maybe, unwilling) to produce full sentences in dialect.[16] Finally, CU's example also introduces an interesting difference between the two linguistic communities in Bozen: only the German group has a dialect, which is judged poorly by this speaker,[17] while the Italian group is characterized precisely by the lack of a dialect.

The familial usage of dialects is reported in other speakers' recordings, in which it emerges

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16 A similar opinion is shown by AC, a 60-years old man, fully quoted in Meluzzi (fc).
17 In this respect, see Meluzzi (2013).

how specific words or expressions may characterize a single speaker or small groups of speakers, due to their family background. For instance, FR, a 47-year old woman from Europa Novacella, states that her mother (CFS) always speaks Venetian, and more precisely the Venetian variety of Rovigo, while her father often speaks Friulano. This occasionally led to misunderstandings concerning precise objects, as FR exemplifies by telling the story of the *sgumarell* "ladle" (SI *mestolo*), quoted in example 4:

(4)[18] 427 FR   Una sera, eravamo in approntamento cena, e mia madre mi fa, aveva fretta e: <Dai dai dai! Prendi il sgumarell>.
One evening, we were preparing dinner, and my mother was in a hurry and asked me: <Quick! Give me the sgumarell>.

[laugh]
428 FR   E io…
And I…

429 CFS   Aspetta. Adesso arriva la domanda: che cos'è?
Wait. Now comes the question: what is it?

430 FR   E io: <Sì. Adesso lo prendo>.
And I: <Yes. Now I'll take it>.

431 FR   E non sapevo cosa ma non volevo chiederle cosa fosse.
And I didn't know what it was but I didn't want to ask her what it was.

432 FR   Panico! E lui: <Ma sì! Il pajič!>.
Panic! And him [her father]: <Yeah! The pajič![19]>.

[everybody laughs]
432 FR   <E' fantastico!> ho detto io. <Datemi una traduzione!>.
<Oh great> I said. <Give me a translation!>.

433 FR   Alla fine è venuto fuori che era un mestolo. E ce l'abbiamo fatta.
In the end it turned out that it was a sort of ladle. And we did it.

432 CFS   Mi ricordo.
I remember it.

Additionally, in her interview, FR adds that, in Bozen, although there is not a dialect in the narrowest sense of the term, there is a slang that is part of the linguistic repertoire of every Italian speaker. She also points out that this slang is not limited to her generation, but it may pass on to the youngest speakers. She exemplifies this statement by saying that her 10-year old daughter says *pačeca* "mud" (SI *fango*).

In sum, the perceptions of the speakers collected in the interviews demonstrate how the speakers perceive that in Bozen there are dialects which are spoken, but in a different way than in other parts of Italy. In particular, the presence of Italo-Romance dialects seems to characterize the various Italian districts, but the use of these dialects is also limited to informal speech, and to words or peculiar expressions, with some specific words possibly having entered the lexicon of certain speakers due to their peculiar familial history. At a general level, an important difference lies between old and young usage; in speakers' perception, only older people commonly use dialects in everyday conversations, whereas the younger generations use single words or expressions but

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18 Although FR was previously recorded alone, she was in the room when her mother (CFS) and her father (DR) were recorded a few weeks later, and she randomly added something to her parents' speech. FR's daughter, a 10-years old girl, was also in the room but she almost never spoke, although she sometimes nodded at her grand-mother's stories. When this interview was recorded, CFS and DR were aged 81 and 82 respectively.

19 Since no standard transcription has been found for this word, an orthography near the pronunciation has been adopted.

apparently only in informal contexts and in casual speech.

5. Discussion

As stated at the beginning of this paper, no previous study has specifically addressed the presence of Italo-Romance dialects in the variety of Italian spoken in Bozen. Moreover, the data available for the investigation of this topic are very rare, and in many cases produced by non-linguists. Only very recently, an attempt to collect a corpus of spoken Italian from Bozen has been carried out, but the work in this respect is still in progress (see Meluzzi 2013). For these reasons, the data used in this paper are very different and to some extent also rough, but they are nevertheless useful, as they demonstrate the linguistic perception of the speakers, even at a merely impressionistic level.

In this sense, a sort of contradiction seems to emerge from the new kind of material actually at disposal: whereas, in the interviews, speakers declare that they perceive and sometimes also use many Italo-Romance dialects (e.g., speaker LT), in the collection provided by Cagnan (2011), only Venetian is explicitly present. It is indeed the case that a large portion of the Italian residents in Bozen came from Venetian dialectal areas, and in particular from the central Venetian area (Rovigo, Padova, and Verona).[20] It remains unclear as to why no words from other dialects are included in *Slang* even if it could be simply that this absence is related only to the lack of both a precise (i.e., linguistic) tagging system and also a more general dialectal attention provided by the editor, whose main interest remains speakers' perception only.

The data collected in the interviews may help in this sense. Indeed, many speakers distinguish between two domains, i.e. family and society, the last one also including school. The familial domain is the only one in which dialect is widely used, including by younger speakers, as seen in examples (2) and (4). However, the same speaker who states that he/she uses dialect within the family also emphasizes that no language other than Italian is spoken in Bozen (of course, by the Italian linguistic group). This is a case of *dilalia* (cf. Berruto 1995), which is typical for the Italian sociolinguistic situation: if diglossia (cf. Ferguson 1959) involves different domains of usage for different languages, namely Language A being used only in formal situations and Language B only in informal ones, then, in the case of *dilalia*, Language A could be used in informal situations as well, thus reducing Language B's domain to a certain extent. The Italian community of Bozen is thus characterized by a situation of *dilalia*, with the exceptional feature of not having a single dialect but many Italo-Romance dialects related to speakers' specific origins. In this sense, it could be said that dialects define the linguistic identity of each speaker as an individual or as a family.

In this context, the presence of an Italian slang assumes a different importance. As emerges from Cagnan's book, this slang is mainly characterized by the presence of Venetian and Trentino, which represent the largest part of Bozen population. Words and expressions collected in the book also appear in casual speech, at least as stated by the speakers, but seem to be used more by a certain generation: the 40-50 years old speakers who reside in the Italian districts, and in particular in Don Bosco. If dialectal words indeed pass from one generation to another via familial usage, this slang seems to be more related to a certain group of speakers, thus constituting a sort of "we-code", which aims to distinguish these speakers both from their German counterparts and the older speakers. The difference between Italian and the slang lies in the different functions assigned to language within the Italian community of Bozen. Recalling Edwards (2009: 55), it may be said that Italian in this context is perceived and used as an "instrumental tool", to communicate at a formal level and with people outside of the community, whereas slang seems to be "an emblem of groupness".

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20 See Zamboni (1974) for more details in this respect.

6.   Conclusions and further perspectives

As illustrated at the beginning of this paper, the sociolinguistic situation of Bozen is very complicated and interesting from different perspectives, in particular for what it may reveal about the relationship between language and identity. It has been often pointed out that the data concerning the Italian spoken in Bozen are very lacunose, rough, and heterogenous. Despite these limitations, this paper has proposed a first survey of these materials in order to show if and how Italo-Romance dialects are perceived and used.

Indeed, Bozen speakers do perceive a presence of dialectal elements in their variety of Italian. Moreover, dialects, or at least some of them (e.g., Venetian), seem to characterize the speech of the Italian community. In answering our previous research questions, thus, it is possible to note that Italian speakers actually claim to perceive a dialectal influence in the Italian spoken in Bozen, and also to use dialects in their speech. However, this usage seems to be limited to within the family, even if specific words or expressions have become part of a shared 'slang' now used almost exclusively by middle-aged speakers (Cagnan 2011: 9). Among the various dialects that have characterized Italian immigration in Bozen, Venetian and, to some extent, Trentino dialects are the most prominent in the linguistic perception of the speakers, maybe only for demographic reasons, since many speakers came from this dialectal area. However, dialects are indeed perceived by some speakers, at least in the spontaneous declarations collected in the interviews.

These findings contrast with what is usually attested in the literature about the absence of dialects in the Italian variety of Bozen. As has been already pointed out, however, the statements provided by scholars were not based on any corpora of spoken Italian. In this respect, a data-driven approach, as adopted in the present work for the first time, argues in favor of the presence of Italo-Romance dialects in the Italian of Bozen at various levels of usage. In conclusion, one may say that dialects are part of the linguistic identity of the Italian community of Bozen, especially in those districts where Italian speakers represent the vast majority of the population (e.g., Don Bosco). In this sense, dialectal expressions may characterize this Italian variety in opposition not only to the German community, which has its own dialect, but also to other Italian varieties on the rest of the peninsula.

It is quite obvious that research on this topic is only at a very early stage, and that further and more precise investigations on Italo-Romance dialects in the Italian of Bozen are necessary to fully understand the complex relationships among Italian and dialects in this speech community. As has been stressed in this paper, the material actually at disposal is very rough, and only allows us to propose some claims which contrast to the previous, not data-driven studies. However, further research must be carried out, in order to build a specific and annotated corpus which also includes instances of spontaneous conversations among Bozen speakers. In this respect, further studies may concentrate on the actual use of dialectal words and expressions in everyday talk by collecting a wider corpus of spoken Italian. Ideally, such a corpus would also provide more informal contexts and conversations among two or more Italian speakers (perhaps also without the researcher present). As for Cagnan's (2011) book, a linguist may also be interested in investigating all those expressions which are been marked neither as German nor as Italo-Romance, in order to offer a more precise picture of the total amount of words and expressions taken from different linguistic backgrounds and summed up in *Slang*. It may also be interesting to check the actual diffusion of the words and expressions collected in *Slang*, in particular in order to verify if and how many words are understood and/or still used by the youngest generation of speakers (e.g., under 18 years old).

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Generational change and language in the UAE: The desertion of the Emirati vernacular

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Abstract: During the last decade, the Arabian Gulf region has been moving towards an increasing use of a 'Pan Gulf vernacular', "…a homogenised form of 'Gulf' speech not identifiable with any particular Gulf community" (Holes, 2011: 130), where new words are introduced or borrowed from neighboring Gulf countries and many others have disappeared from the local lexicon. In this paper I have a special interest in investigating the Emirati vernacular in more depth to identify the words that disappeared and were replaced by what is considered to be more semantically accessible words borrowed from neighboring Gulf countries. In this paper, I report on a survey that I conducted with the purpose of identifying the words lost from the Emirati lexicon, that are rarely or never used by Emirati university students. The word lists based on the words used in two typical and extremely popular Emirati TV serials: the first is *Sh-ḥafan* which was broadcast in the late 1970s, and the second is a popular animation called *firi:dʒ*; an animated media artifact started in 2006 which presented four old female characters that represent the different vernaculars currently used within the UAE. The survey was divided into three parts; the first measured the student's understanding of these words, while the second concentrated on the students' perception on the popularity of these words use to see whether they think that these words have really disappeared from the Emirati lexicon. The survey enabled us to outline the students' insights on the reason behind this language change. Finally, focus group was created to record students' perceptions and to measure the impact of this experience. The aim of this study is to measure whether modernity, globalisation and the extensive use of English by the new generations have caused the UAE to lose its dialects and head towards what is seen as an easier and more accessible dialect shared by the speakers in the this region.

Keywords: Emirati vernacular, Gulf vernacular, language change, sociolinguistics

1. Introduction

Over the last five to ten years, the United Arab Emirates have witnessed a huge shift in its vernacular – an observation that presented itself as a reality through the televised soap operas and series. This phenomenon has had a huge impact on the Emirati youth, who seem to lose many of the Emirati words to adopt instead "…a homogenised form of 'Gulf' speech not identifiable with any particular Gulf community" (Holes 2011: 130). A new version only maintained the Emirati words that became more popular and therefore understandable in other Gulf countries.

In this study, I conducted a survey that aimed to identify the words lost from the Emirati lexicon, and rarely or never used by Emirati university students. The word lists were based on the words used in two typical and extremely popular Emirati TV serials: the first is *Sh-ḥafan*[1] which was broadcast in the late 1970s, and the second is a popular animation called *firi:dʒ*,[2] an animated media artifact, started in 2006, which featured four old female characters that represent the different vernaculars currently used within the UAE. The survey is divided to three parts: the first measured the students' understanding of these words, while the second analysed the students' perceptions of the popularity of these words' use to see whether they think that these words have really disappeared from the Emirati lexicon. The survey also enabled us to outline the students' insights on the reason behind this language change.

The aim of this study was to measure if modernity, globalisation, the economic crunch and the extensive use of English by the new generations have caused the UAE to lose its dialects and head towards what is seen as an easier and more accessible dialect shared by the speakers in this region.

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1   In Emirati the word *Sh-ḥafan* means 'The Stingy One'.
2   In Emirati the word *firi:dʒ* means 'The Neighbourhood'. It is spelled 'Fereej' in the Roman alphabet.

Research article

2. Language change in the UAE

Language in the UAE has gone through a generational-based shift that started with the foundation of the UAE in the early seventies and continues today. This shift can be attributed to many reasons; starting from what Holes (2011: 130) described as the "Semi- permanent population of South Asian workers and South East Asian" and contact with more than 200 nationalities that reside in the GCC countries. According to the UAE National Census, there are around 7,316,073 foreigners living in the UAE in comparison with 947,997 nationals who represent 11.5% of the overall population. The number of foreigners residing in the UAE has also witnessed an enormous growth since 2005 when they represented 4,161,220.[3] According to Al-Khouri (2010: 6-7) "there are serious concerns among the GCC citizens that this significant influx of foreign workers has somehow challenged and altered the national identity of the countries".

Another factor that contributed to language change in the UAE is the clear educational shift that took place over the last few years announcing the use of English as a medium of instruction in all public universities, and then extending this policy to public schools which led to the recruitment of "456 native English speakers in an effort to improve English proficiency in Abu Dhabi schools" (Boyle 2012: 323). Also, the change that took place in social perceptions among the younger generation when it comes to education is marked by parents' continuous effort to provide their kids with an internationally recognized education. Last but not least, a shift took place in Gulf drama after the global economic crisis. Although this crisis did not have a huge impact on the UAE workforce population (Al-Khouri 2010: 3), it appeared to have an impact on GCC drama. This was marked by the dramatic increase of collaborative drama production represented by media serials and soap operas which rarely occurred in this form or shape before the economic crisis.

These shows, media serials and soap operas that used to represent specific countries linguistically and socially sought refuge in the collaborative drama. The main impact of such experiments which proved to be so popular and successful was on language. This collaborative production resulted in the melt down of the different vernaculars used by the participant actors who found themselves using a vernacular other than their own. Despite the fact that this did not result in the dominance of a specific vernacular, it did have an impact on popularising some of the words used in different GCC vernaculars and the disappearance of others.

Another descriptor of language change in the UAE is the enormous amount of code switching which might not only be attributed to the educational shift I referred to earlier, but also to "a complex (that exists) about their knowledge of Arabic grammar, which they are ashamed to admit is poor. They often say they feel more at home writing English..." (Holes 2011: 140).

That is in addition to the recent but proven effect of the social media on language and language users, especially among the younger generation of men and women all around the world. Crystal (2001: 216) writes:

> The web is an electronic medium, and this is seen also in its multi-linguistic inclusiveness ... It offer(s) a home to all languages – once their communities have a functioning computer technology. This has been the most notable change since the Web began. It was originally a totally English medium ... but with the Internet's globalization, the presence of other languages has steadily risen.

Despite this, Arabic is no longer used as such. The use of social media limited the verbal interaction among family members and kept it to a minimum. In fact it has even affected verbal communication, in which I started to see the young Emirati generation going beyond code switching which also had an impact on their language resulting in the use of Roman letters/script to

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3   United Arab Emirates National Bureau of Statistics (2010).

write Arabic messages. According to Peel (2004: 88), "...students often write Arabic 'in English' whilst mailing and chatting – i.e. they write Arabic employing Roman characters and attempt to replicate the sounds phonetically 'in English'". As a result, I ended up with a generation that prefers using their second language, with a minimal use of Emirati/Arabic words and gradually has given up on writing in Arabic.

3. *Firi:dʒ* and *Sh-ḥafan* as drama artifacts or a representation of the national identity

According to Fallata (2012: 1), "in cultural fields, the term 'artifact' is mostly used to refer to the physical items that help the group to define itself" or help "the group thrive, or a symbolic instrument that helps the group identify itself". In this sense, I do agree with her description of the cartoon show *firi:dʒ* as an artifact that did not just represent the Emirati language and culture, but also extended its mission to revive the use of the Emirati vernacular and culture among the young generation among whom this show became extremely popular. *firi:dʒ* has been described as the "first indigenous computer animated cartoon about four elderly grandmothers ... dealing with life in the fast paced, ever-changing, modern-day Dubai" (Fallata 2012: 6). According to Hussain (2009) this show is "the UAE's answer to The Simpsons", in which they have managed "to reflect the local customs and values of Arab gulf culture and lifestyle"[4] through the adoption of "language and manner of dress that are particular to the cultural identity of Arabian Gulf women ... allowing individuals to integrate their own perceptions and meanings of their local society" (Fallata 2012: 10-11).

A more simplistic but similar TV serial is *Sh-ḥafan*. It was produced in 1978 and named after the main character in the serial who was known for his stinginess. The serial is currently considered as a landmark in Emirati if not in Gulf TV production. The serial portrays Sh-ḥafan as the main character and the effect of his stinginess on his family and on his neighbours in a comedic frame.

The serial was a recently adopted into a cartoon, after the massive popularity of Emirati cartoons since the creation of *firi:dʒ*. And the name of this main character is still used up to today to refer to stingy people.

Both shows are also considered as representations of the Emirati national identity. While *Sh-ḥafan* represented life in the UAE in the 70s with all of its different aspects including language, *firi:dʒ* represented the current Emirati house hold; the four old ladies who varied in their educational and their origin and how they try to fit in Dubai's modern life.

Therefore examination of the vernacular used in these two TV serials marked the transformation that took place in the United Arab Emirates, not just culturally but also linguistically.

4. Methodology

This paper includes a triangulation of three measures: vocabulary lists, surveys and a focus group. 40 female engineering students were provided with two sets of vocabulary items and they were asked to define or provide a synonym of each word. They were also asked to mark words that they had never heard of, and to leave the words that they had been exposed to, but were unsure about their meaning, blank.

These vocabulary lists are based on the transcriptions of ten episodes from each show. The words chosen are words which are specifically used by Emiratis only. These words are grouped in two lists and students were informed of the origin of each list. This means that they started with an assumption that the *firi:dʒ* list would be easier for them to answer. Each list included between 30-35 words.

Then, a survey was administered. The survey included 35 statements, and the Likert scale was used in order to measure the informants' agreement with these statements. The survey was divided

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4   Hussain (2009), as quoted in Fallata (2012: 10).

to six sections: the demographics which might establish a link between the students' Emirate or age and gender and their vernacular use. The second section is designed to measure their general perceptions, i.e., whether they think that the Emirati vernacular is disappearing as time passes, and the reasons behind such a change. It also asked about their use of their second language and whether they think that they are more fluent in F2 in comparison to F1, and whether they think that the extensive use of L2 can reflect their educational background or enhance their image. Section three measures the effect of media and their perception on the vernacular currently broadcast and whether they think that the media are pushing towards a Pan Gulf vernacular. Section four focuses on the effect of the social media on language use in general and the Emirati vernacular in particular. Section five measures the effect of the multi-cultural nature of the United Arab Emirates and students' perceptions on the impact of this diverse society on the Emirati vernacular. The last part outlines a number of recommendations to measure students' preferences. Students were also given an additional space to put any further comments, observations or reflections based on their performance in both the vocabulary list and the statements mentioned in this survey.

A focus group was created composed of ten students among those who were exposed to the vocabulary list and the survey. The discussed was left open, in order to generate some form of debate, the questions asked by the instructor were only to redirect or generate more discussion or broaden the students' understanding of the topic.

Finally, a focus group that includes ten students from the survey population was assembled. These students volunteered and suggested creating a focus group to reflect back on this topic. The reason why they were eager to sit in this focus group is their shock and what they claimed to be an unexpected performance in the vocabulary lists.

5.   Results and discussion
5.1.   Firi:dʒ *and the revival of the Emirati vernacular*
The female students expressed their shock while doing task 1: the vocabulary list. They did not anticipate what they described as 'weak performance'. In fact, by the time they reached the second set of vocabulary items, they started questioning their social identity[5] and sense of belonging to the Emirati culture.

They also asked whether they could use these words in a sentence, or write English synonyms or include a drawing to describe the item as an alternative of writing a synonym. Students were given total freedom to use any of the previously mentioned options.

According to the results, students identified 10.3 words correctly, which represented 32.5% of the *firi:dʒ* list, and they were not sure about 10.3 words, which also represented 32.2%, and finally they identified 10.9 words as new words which represents 34.1%. In other words, students classified a third of the word list under each category (see Figure 1 on page 21).

In the *Sh-ḥafan* vocabulary list, there were some variations between the three categories; students identified 7.8 words correctly which represents 20.5% of this vocabulary list, while they were not sure about 10.3 words which is very much similar to the average number/percentage of words that they were not sure about in *firi:dʒ*. This represented 26.4% of the words. However, they identified 19.7 words as new words which is the highest figure among all and it represented 52% of the words which doubled in comparison to the words identified as new words in *firi:dʒ*:

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5   Social identity (or national identity) is identified as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1977, as quoted in Al-Khouri 2010: 4).

Figure 1: Students' performances in the vocabulary list
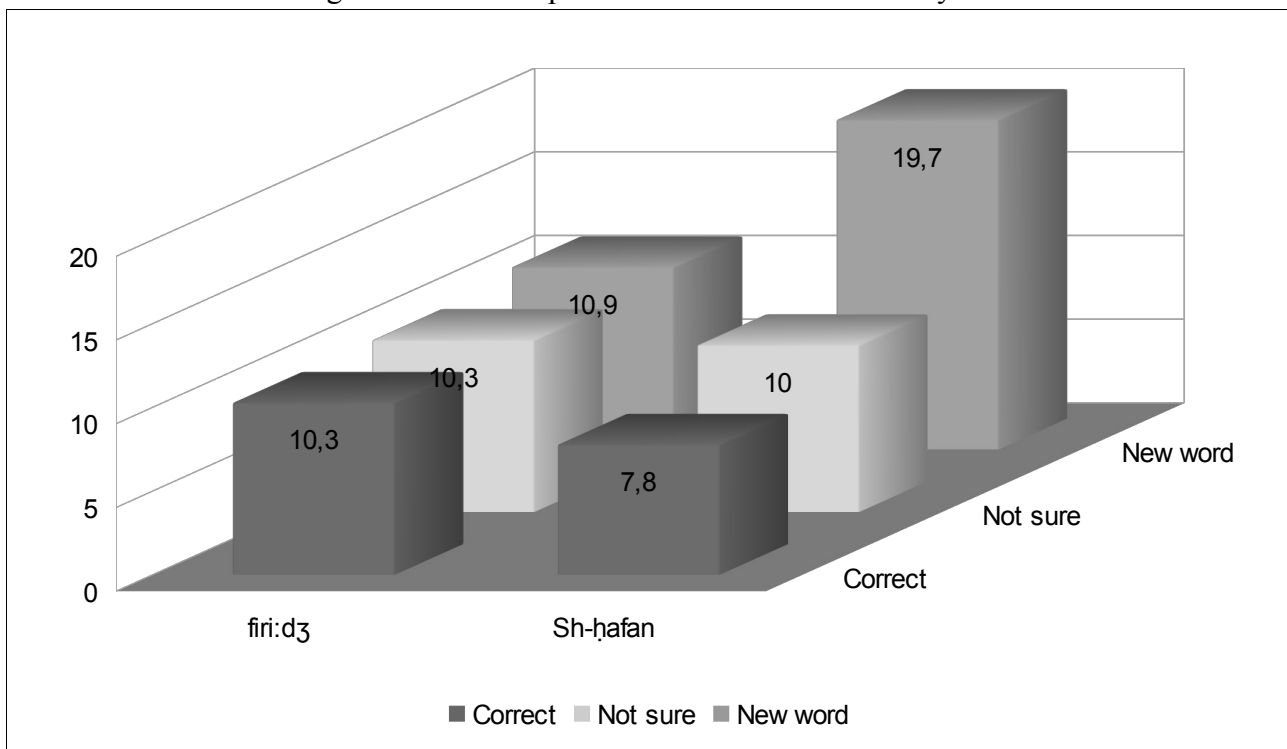
The results of task 1 were not anticipated. A significant difference in students' performance across the two vocabulary lists was predicted; students were expected to do better in *firi:dʒ* as it is a recent show, and the episodes chosen were broadcast in 2013, in addition to the fact that it is a very popular show among this age group. I also expected to see a significant drop in the students' performance in the *Sh-ḥafan* vocabulary list, since many of the words listed might not be recognized by an older age group in comparison to our population. This anticipated difference would be attributed to the time of its production – the late 70s – and the dramatic social change that occurred which would naturally lead to the disappearance of many words.

On the other hand, despite the fact that *firi:dʒ* aimed to revive the Emirati vernacular and culture through its four popular characters and bring them closer to the youngsters' hearts, the initial impression of an Emirati listener would be that most of the words used are too common and that the *firi:dʒ* production team should push more towards reviving more Emirati words.

However, the results proved that students did not recognise a third of these words and were not sure about the other third which they thought they may have heard before. This means that around 65% of the words that are specifically related to the Emirati vernacular used in this popular show were not understood by the young generation. This also means that *firi:dʒ* should be considered a very good attempt to expand the use of these words and make them more popular among this age group.

While the students' performance in *Sh-ḥafan* aligns with the initial predictions, they were also unexpected. Students did relatively well considering the fact that they struggled with the *firi:dʒ* word list. Students identified a total of 46.9% of the words either correctly or as words that they are familiar with but not sure what they meant, while they identified 52% of the words as new words, which is expected and would also be expected from an older person (someone in their 30s or 40s).

According to Fallata (2012: 3), the cultural codes embedded in these artifacts "are used to facilitate the communication within the group and remain decipherable to people of a specific culture while being incomprehensible to people from outside that same culture". But what if they

were not comprehensible by those who belong to the same culture? Such a question might not only raise questions regarding one's identity and sense of belonging as it did with our population, but it also raises questions on their understanding of what is going on around them and how they perceive themselves as being part of that community and perceive the world around them in relation to themselves.

5.2.   The survey: locating the Emirati vernacular
The first part of the survey measured students' perceptions on their use of the Emirati vernacular and reasons that may have affected this use. The survey results indicated that 64.9% strongly agreed/agreed that they do not speak the same vernacular spoken by their grandparents, and 67.6% thought that the language use is generational or depends heavily on the context in which you live. These results reflect the students' awareness of the language change that took place in the United Arab Emirates within the same household.

The results also indicated that 45.9% of the students strongly agreed/agreed that they cannot describe their vernacular as a pure Emirati vernacular, while 29.7% were neutral, and 24.3 strongly disagreed or disagreed:

Figure 2: Students' self reflection
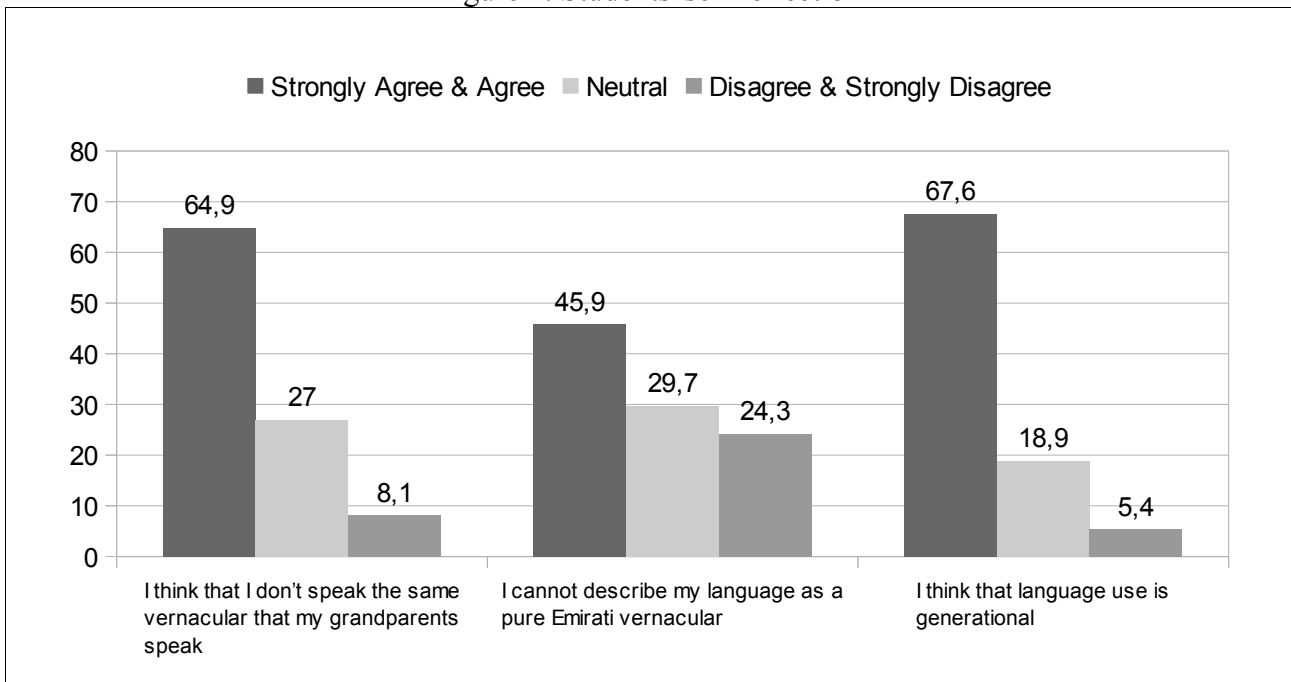
Students were also asked whether this shift in the Emirati vernacular could be attributed to the media, age, the use of technology and social media or their weak Arabic language/Emirati vernacular. 70.3% strongly agreed/agreed that the use of technology and social media could be a reason behind this shift, second came age differences with 67.6%, third is the effect of media with 64.9%, while 54.1% of the students strongly agreed/agreed that it can be attributed to their weak Arabic/Emirati vernacular (see Figure 3 on page 23). The fact that technology and the use of social media came first can be seen as an 'international phenomenon'. This generation does not redefine communication, but goes back to its basic meaning which in turn seems to have liberated its members and allowed them to use all sorts of forms such as emojis, Instagram pictures, video and audio short notes and any form or symbol to convey their messages much more quickly and more fluidly, at the same time making language users unable to define or specify the language they are

currently using.

Figure 3: I think that this generational vernacular shift is attributed to...
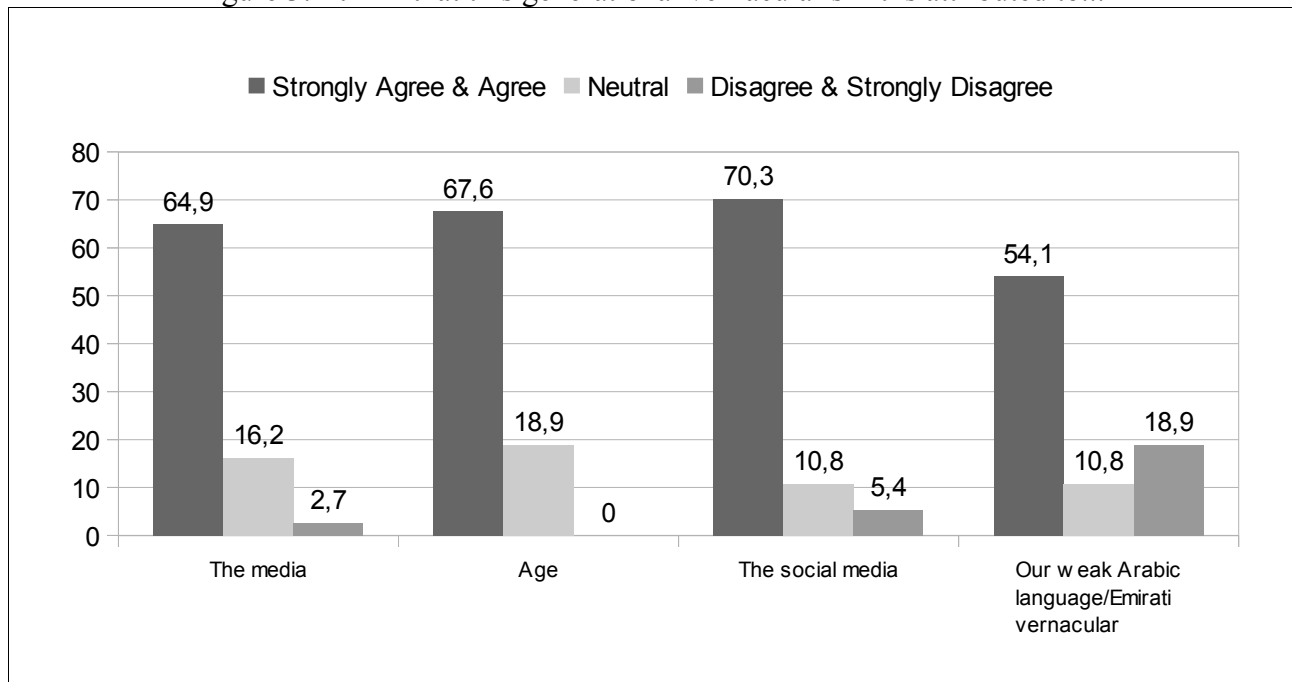
When students were asked about their perceptions on their use of English in comparison to their use of Arabic/Emirati vernacular, 54.1% of students disagreed/strongly disagreed that they use more English words than Emirati words, while 18.9% were neutral and 29.7% strongly agreed/agreed. Similarly, when they were asked to whether they find it easier to express themselves in English in comparison to Arabic/Emirati, 51.4% disagreed/strongly disagreed, 21.6% were neutral and 24.3% strongly agreed/agreed. 67.6% disagreed/strongly disagreed that that they use more English words to enhance their overall image or their education, 91.9% also disagreed/strongly disagreed that they use more English words because their Arabic language is not that good. While 64.9% disagreed/strongly disagreed that their use of English words is attributed to their fluency in English in comparison to Arabic (see Figure 4 on page 24).

On the effect of the media on the use of the Emirati vernacular, 56.8% of the students strongly agreed/agreed that they would prefer watching an American TV serial over an Emirati TV serial, while 78.4% of the students think there are very few pure Emirati TV serials. At the same time 56.8% strongly agreed/agreed that such serials might not appeal to everyone living in the UAE. 83.8% strongly agreed that *firi:dʒ* re-introduced the Emirati culture and vernacular in an entertaining way, and 59.5% strongly agreed/agreed that this serial uses many of the Emirati words that are not popular/commonly used these days which contradicted with the author's initial observation. They also strongly agreed/agreed that the Gulf media collaboration may have led to the creation of a Pan Gulf vernacular with a majority of 67.6%, and 64.9% strongly agreed/agreed that the media is heading towards a Pan Gulf vernacular (see Figure 5 on page 24)

One of the variables that I was interested in is the social media and its effect on the students' use of the Emirati vernacular. Students expressed their preference to use the Emirati vernacular instead of standard Arabic or English while using the social media represented by 62% who strongly agreed/agreed with this statement. On the other hand, when students were asked about the preference to use English, 40% strongly agreed/agreed.

Figure 4: Students' perceptions of the use of Arabic/Emirati vernacular versus English
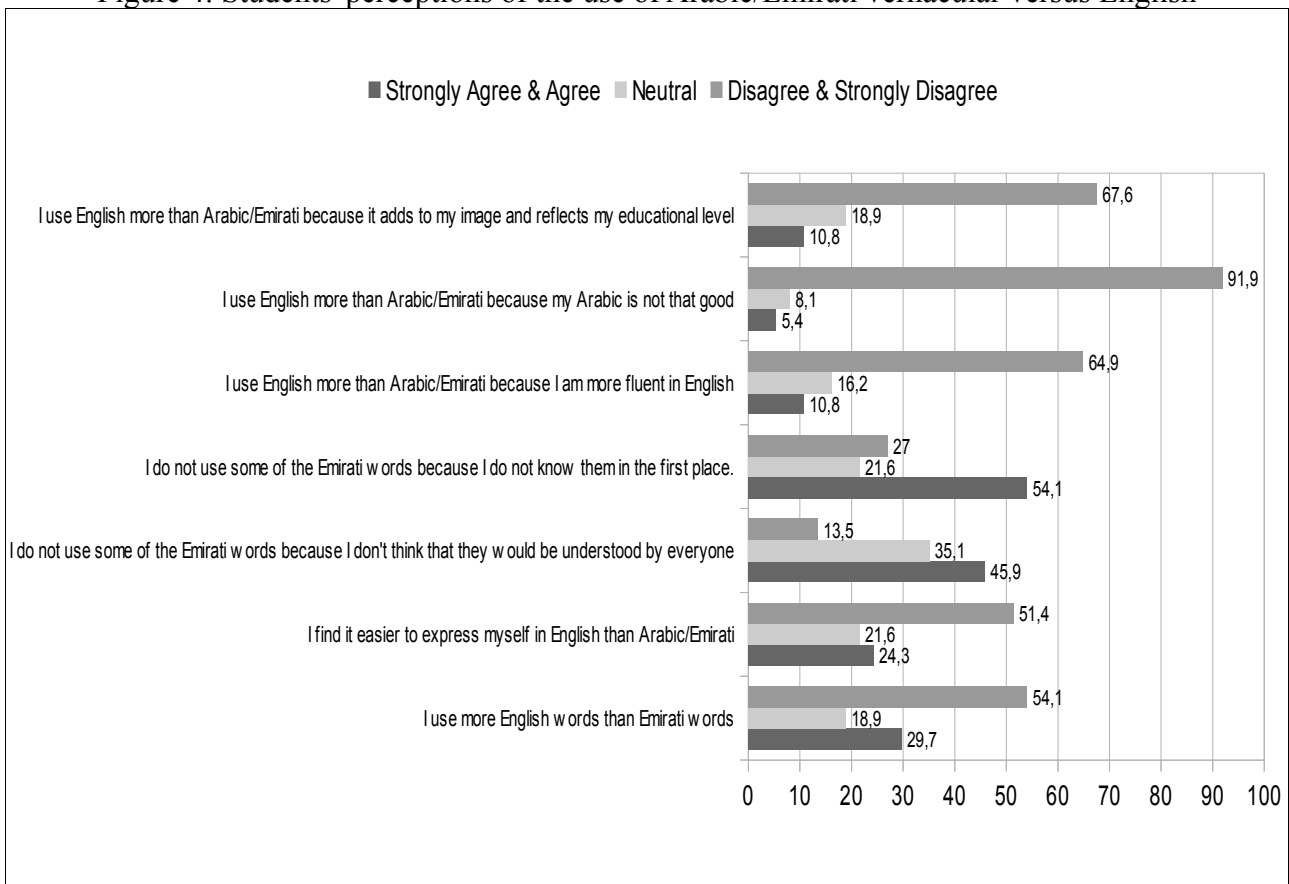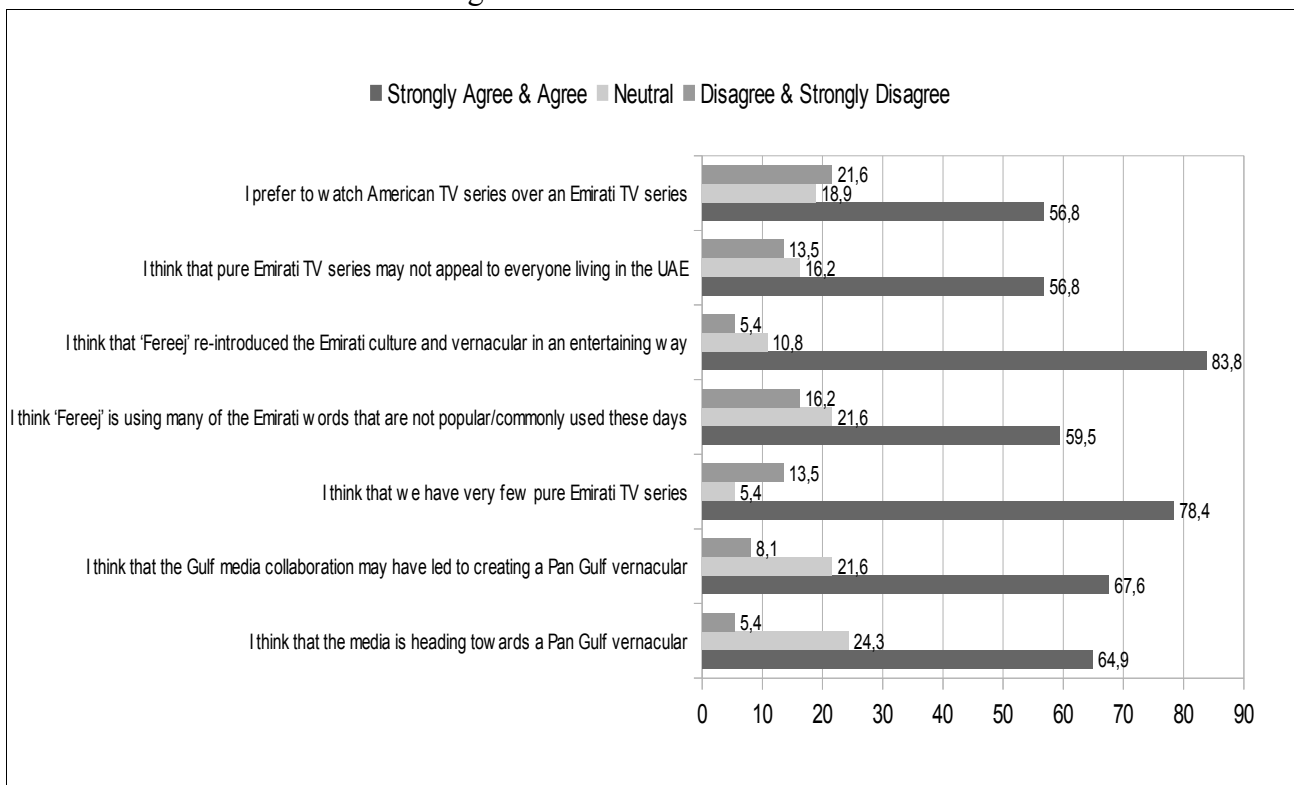

Figure 5: The effect of the media

According to the survey, students definitely preferred using Arabic letters while using the Emirati vernacular with 64.9% over the Roman symbols 21.6%. Students also confirmed that the social media affected their use of the Emirati vernacular with 67.6% and enhanced the position of their second language with 59.5% supporters of such a statement:

Figure 6: The effect of the social media
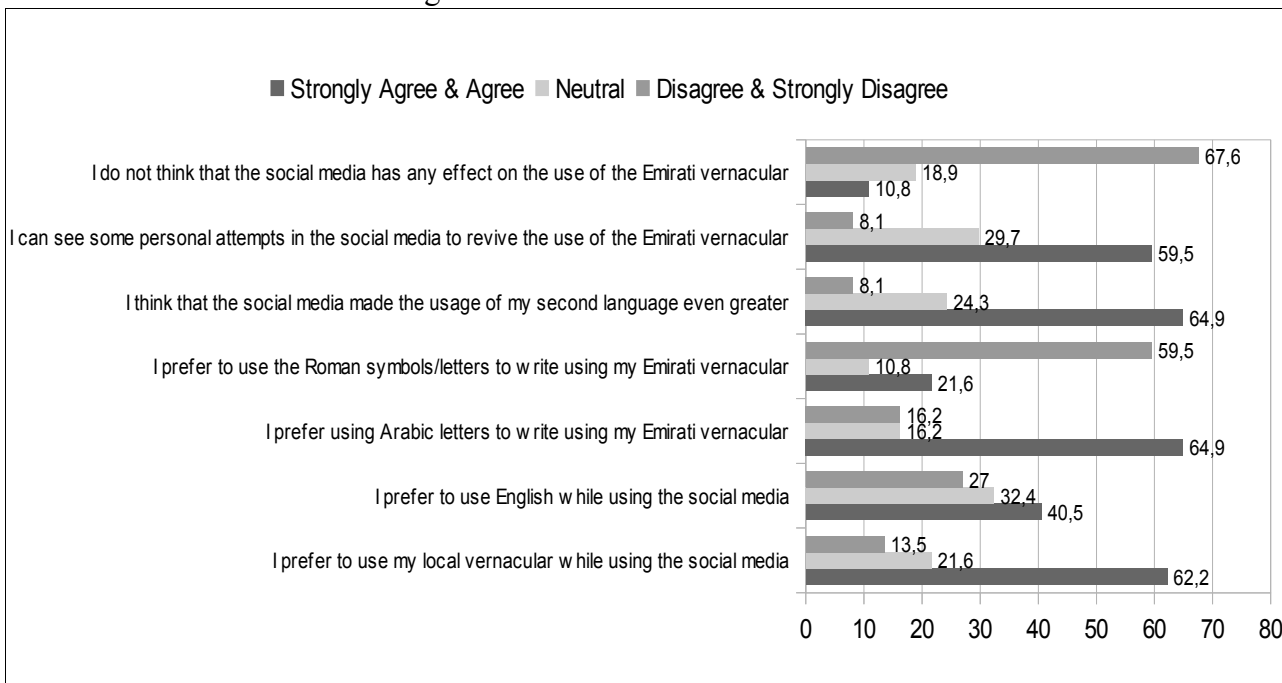
This also proves the previous argument; these answers do not correlate with the instructor's observation. After a quick look at any of the local university's student forums, an observer will immediately notice that students prefer to express themselves in English, and, although one may notice frequent code-switching, they tend to use Roman alphabets to express the Arabic words. However, the new models of language use and communication introduced through the use of technology may have led to several misconceptions when it comes to the self-awareness of our own language use.

Students attributed this language shift to the multicultural nature of the United Arab Emirates society, where a massive 91.9% strongly agreed/agreed on this statement. In addition 89.2% think that some of the Emirati words disappeared because they replaced them with English words, and 45.9% strongly agreed/agreed that they have stopped using some Emirati words because they don't think that they will be understood, which again highlights the diversity of the Emirati society (see Figure 7 on page 25).

Finally, the students were asked to express their agreement with a number of recommendations all of which they strongly agreed/agreed with (see Figure 8 on page 26). 91.9% agreed with increasing the number of TV serials that reinforce the forgotten Emirati words, while 78.4% strongly agreed/agreed that there should be some summer camps that would revive their use of these words. 86.5% of the students think that teaching the Emirati vernacular and culture should be integrated in the Emirati educational system, and they strongly agreed/agreed (83.8%) that Emirati courses should be made available for youngsters to revive the use of the Emirati vernacular.

Figure 7: Multiculturalism and its effect on the Emirati vernacular
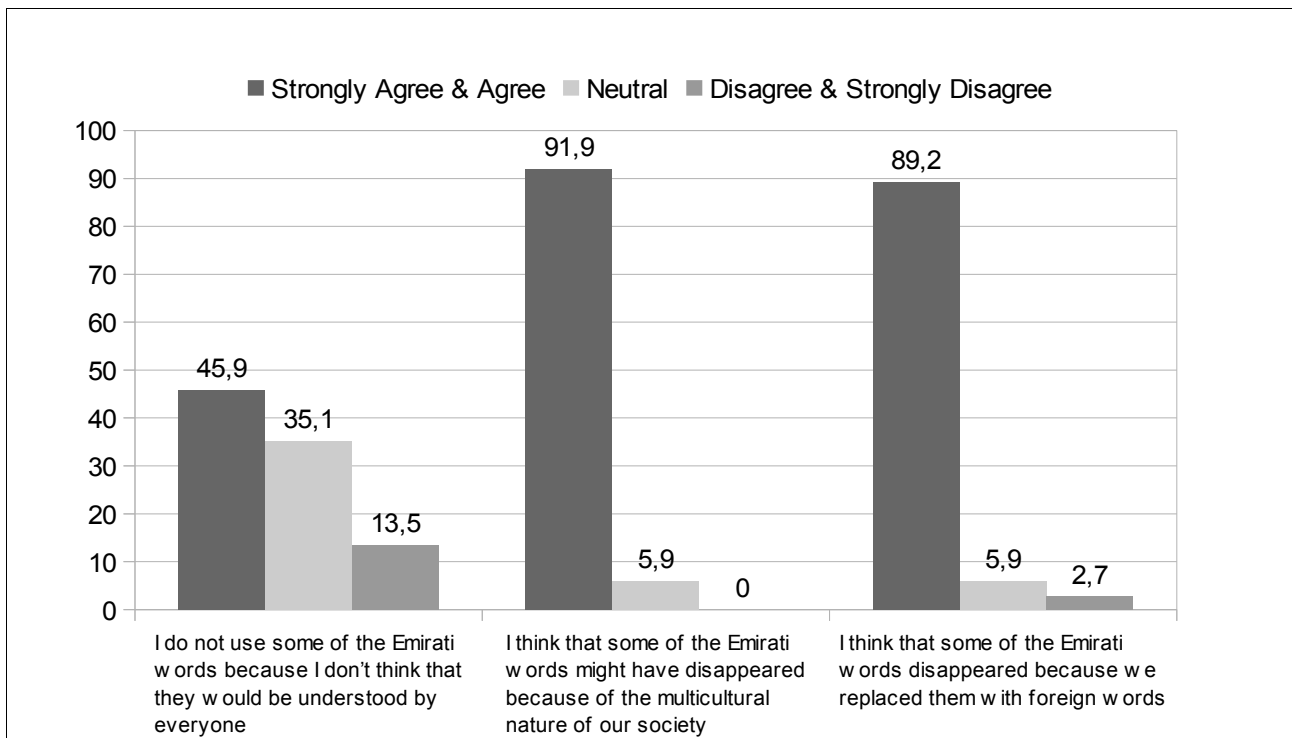
Figure 8: Recommendations
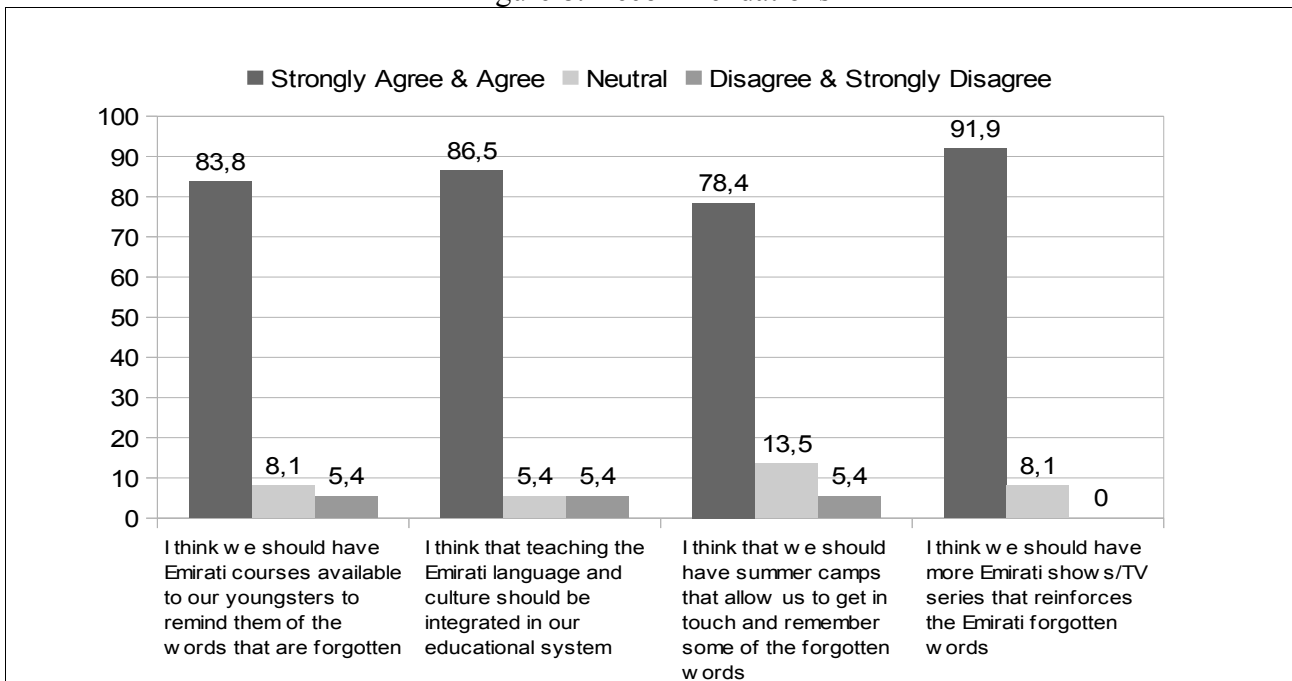
5.3. *The Emirati vernacular, a mirror of identity: focus group*

In the focus group, students expressed their shock at their own performance in the vocabulary list task. In fact, they emphasized some comments while doing that task, almost all comments were identity-related. According to them, eight of these students went back home to ask their family members about some of these words. They reported that such an activity raised their awareness, not just in terms of their actual use of these words, but also the relationship they established between

the use of the Emirati vernacular and their national identity.

One of the students suggested that it is the role of their families to reinforce such uses within their household, she referred to her family as an example and explained that they gather as a family around many Emirati Heritage Television game shows or programs to an extent that it became a 'family ritual'. According to her, that is what is expected of any Emirati family.

Some other students stated that they were not sure whether reviving the vernacular would help with the current status of English as the second official language in the UAE. Another student added that the issue is deeply rooted as it is not just related to the Emirati vernacular but to their use of the Arabic language in general. She also attributed their weak Emirati to their weak Arabic.

Students also raised questions regarding the documentation of the Emirati vernacular and the researcher reported that there are few books printed and asked them whether they would be interested to buy these books. Very few considered it a good idea.

The researcher also pointed to the individuals' attempt to revive the use of this vernacular among the younger generation by creating a number of Twitter accounts. Students were asked whether reaching them through Twitter would be more appealing and they answered positively, however, they were not sure whether they would continue to read what will be posted/twitted on these page.

The instructor asked about the number of students who have been to any of the recently organized heritage events, and one out of the ten students had been to one of these events. Instead students suggested integrating a language component in a subject they used to take in school called 'national studies', and to redirect the curriculum towards a more practical, hands-on curriculum with a language component. So instead of learning about the agricultural or coastal communities in the UAE, they expressed their need to know the words these communities use and the names of the most essential equipment they used at that time, in an attempt to expand what might exist in museums to become more accessible.

They also suggested creating a new club and proposing a new event to be part of the Petroleum Institute's calendar to reinforce the Emirati vernacular, for example a heritage club or a heritage day.

5.4. *English vs. Arabic: perceptions vs. reality*

Without doubt this research raised some prejudices among the students. Currently, there is extensive code switching practised by the Emirati youth, which went beyond the insertion of a number of English sentences with Arabic sentences to switching between both English and Arabic in the same sentence (Holes 2011: 139). In this research, I considered this phenomenon as a possible reason behind the disappearance of many words from the modern Emirati vernacular. A staggering number of students stated that they aren't more fluent in English than Arabic, and their Arabic is not weak, while, when they were asked whether they find it easier to express themselves in English in comparison to Arabic/Emirati vernacular, 24.3% strongly agreed/agreed and 21.6% were neutral, which is nearly half of the population. This might be seen as a sign of prejudice. Holes explained this by arguing that "they also often have a bit of a complex about their knowledge of Arabic Grammar, which they are ashamed to admit is poor. They often say they feel more at home writing English, but like to speak in a mixture of their native Arabic dialect, and their semi-native English" (Holes 2011: 140).

This prejudice is confirmed later when students were asked whether they use more English words in comparison to Emirati words; 29.7% strongly agreed/agreed, 18.9% were neutral and 54.1% disagreed/strongly disagreed. Their prejudice was also confirmed again when they were asked about their preference while using the social media. 40.5% strongly agree/agree, 32.4% neutral, 27% disagree/strongly disagree that they preferred to use English. While 62.2% strongly agree/agree, 21.6% neutral, 13.5% disagree/strongly disagree that they prefer to use the Emirati

vernacular. This once again indicates that there is tension between admitting something that they hold a lot of pride towards and the reality of the situation.

Students in almost all their answers were partially willing to admit or confirm reasons that may have contributed to this situation as long as it removed that blame from themselves. Moreover, since they have established a connection between Identity and their limited knowledge of many Emirati words regardless of their age and context, it became even more problematic for them to admit or approve of statements like: I do not know many Emirati words, I find it easier for me to communicate in English even if their scores in the first task proved the opposite.

However, they are comfortable enough to agree that there are very few Emirati TV serials (78.4%), that the Gulf media collaboration may have led to creating a Pan Gulf vernacular which is commonly used instead of the Emirati vernacular (67.6%), that the social media has an effect on the usage of the Emirati vernacular (67.6%), which made their usage of the second language even greater (64.9%), and finally multiculturalism might have contributed negatively to this situation (91.9%).

Their perceptions on the Emirati vernacular is that it is a vernacular which is currently not understood by everyone (45.9%), using it for a TV serial might not appeal to everyone living in the UAE (56.8%).

Consequently, all students agreed that there is a real need for a serious intervention to revive the Emirati vernacular or bring it closer to the youngsters. And although they refused to hold themselves responsible for the status quo, they were willing to take responsibility for any future step or action that may resolve this 'crisis' as they saw it. Their clear enthusiasm that appeared in both the recommendation section in the survey and focus group suggests that these students have managed to establish a clear connection between language and identity and they were more than willing to take a step after going through what they described as an "eye opening' experience to enhance or promote their identity through their Emirati vernacular.

5.5. *Identity construction*
The one shared aspect or reaction that witnessed while collecting the data and was not anticipated is the students' ability to establish a clear link between their use of the Emirati vernacular and their national identity. Identity is defined as "fixed and stable and is what people speak of when they talk about 'who we really are'" (Baker & Ellece 2011: 58), while others believe that can be "'acquired' in that it is a conscious or internalized adoption of socially imposed or socially constructed roles" (Baker & Ellece 2011: 58).

It was clear that students saw the vocabulary lists as a representation of who they are, and their reflections in the focus group and recommendation proved that they also managed to see their social roles. In other words, while the vocabulary list questioned their self or personal identity represented by their use of the Emirati vernacular, they focused on their national identity and on identity "maintenance strategies" (Weatherall & Gallois 2005: 491).

According to Van Dijk, personal identity is divided to two parts; the mental representation of the personal self, versus the mental representation of the social self which consists of "a collection of group membership and the identification processes that are related to such representation" (Van Dijk 2000: 180-120). And according to these results, students identified language as one of these processes which manifested in their immediate reactions and verbal responses while answering the vocabulary list, and through the high level of prejudice observed in their survey answers.

6. Conclusion
Language change is inevitable, and it is what established civilizations. However, with a very young country such as the United Arab Emirates and the rapid social and economic changes taking place, students have managed to establish a direct connection between language and Identity. Therefore,

and because of the depth of this realization, they were not keen to take blame, yet they were ready to take responsibility for studying the different possibilities for future change and express a real need for solutions that may help in preserving their vernacular and therefore their identity.

Despite that, I need to emphasise what Holes (2011: 142) stated: "this does not mean that Arabic is 'dying'- far from it- but that the tectonic plates of the Arabic language as a means of communication are certainly shifting". The vernacular shift currently taking place not just in the United Arab Emirates but in all the Arabian Gulf countries is certainly not a sign of a vernacular death, as long as the so called 'tectonic shift' is still within the same household which is currently the case.[6]

However, I think that countries in the Arabian Gulf are facing a unique dilemma or, as Al-Allaq (2014: 118) describes it, "an awkward linguistic amalgamation". The shared impact of socio-economic changes and the ongoing globalisation might no longer matter as much as the impact of the new communication technologies which resulted in the creation of a new generation that have redefined communication. This generation liberated themselves from using a specific language, or a specific form or symbol to express themselves or convey a specific message. In this shift which can be described as an international phenomena, communicators are using a combination of Instagram pictures, selfies, appreciations, emojis, and voice notes to convey their messages. This international phenomenon explains the contradiction between the authors' and students' perceptions when it comes to language use.

In this case, and after considering all these factors, I can say that the linguistic shift that the Arabian Gulf region is experiencing puts them in a more critical and challenging situation. And despite the United Arab Emirates government's effort to revive the Emirati culture in general, there is a real need for future language planning to "interfere deliberately" (Wardhaugh 2006: 357) with the Emirati vernacular and reinforce its use among the young that would embrace the impact of the technological change and be sensitive enough to the fast pace of the regional socio-economic change and its impact on language use and language users.

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6   The current shift in the use of the Emirati vernacular can still be measured and observed across the different generations within the household; where an observant may notice a marked distinction in language use between the grandparent, parent and child within the same family.

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The functionality of personal pronouns in constructions of communities

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Abstract: Within recent research in identity it is a common view that communities and identities connected to these are not given by nature, but are constructed socially between human beings through acts and speech. By way of certain linguistic choices, a variety of communities with different identities are constructed or reproduced. Specific lexical and functional items are used for this purpose, consciously and unconsciously. One such item is the personal pronoun. The aim of this paper is to illustrate how personal pronouns contribute to the construction of communities and attached identities. By way of example, the paper provides a qualitative analysis of data extracts taken from a Danish magazine with the aim of illustrating how this pronoun in interaction with other text elements and the context constructs communities and identities with a particular purpose.

Keywords: communities, discourse analysis, identity construction, personal pronouns.

1.   Introduction

Personal pronouns have referents, but not all forms of personal pronouns are equally simple with respect to their referents. While the reference of the singular first- and second-person pronouns is very simple as the referents are normally the speaker and the addressee, the reference of especially the plural first-person pronouns is more complex. It is a well-known fact that *we* has an inclusive as well as an exclusive use, as seen in (1) and (2) – a difference in reference which is marked linguistically in several languages (see for example Bennett 2002: 67, Benveniste 1971: 201 and Lyons 1968: 277). However, some languages, like English for instance, do not linguistically encode this difference:

(1)   Come on, we are leaving now.

(2)   We are fine. How about you?

Furthermore, there are also examples in which the referent of the plural first-person pronoun, apart from the speaker (and possibly the addressee), includes individuals beyond the situation. This is the case in (3), an example from Danish:

(3)   Det er jo det land, vi danskere har det tætteste bånd til. Det er et helt særligt bånd. Vi føler, at vi kender deres kultur, deres politikere og deres produkter. De er en del af vores hverdag.[1]

It is the country [USA] to which [we] the Danes are most closely attached. It is an attachment of a very special kind. We feel that we know their culture, their politicians and their products. They are a part of our everyday life.

Whereas (1) and (2) are purely deictic constructions, this is not the case in (3), as it does not only point to referents in the situation. Instead, this type has as its referent an entire category, *the Danes*, which includes the speaker, the addressee and the rest of the Danes. In (3), the nominal complement

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1   This example is taken from a Danish news website: http://nyhederne.tv2.dk/article.php/id-59784531:feststemt-s %F8ren-pind-som-en-god-fodboldkamp.html?rss. This and other examples in the article are translated from Danish. Some of the examples do not contain a personal pronoun in the English translation. In these cases a personal pronoun in square brackets indicates that there is a personal pronoun in the original Danish example.

Research article

constructs the category of Danes in the utterance, the pronoun includes the speaker and the addressee in this referent, and the rest of the sentence ascribes the category identity. While national categories such as *the Danes* are not "new" categories, but reproduced in a context, other categories are constructed on occasion ("those people who…"). The personal pronoun is a discursive device and interacts, as (3) illustrates, with other elements in the co- and context in constructions of communities and identities. Probably, this sometimes happens unconsciously, but other times it seems to be part of a more conscious strategy.

The aim of this article is to illustrate how personal pronouns contribute to the construction of communities and identities and serve a particular purpose in interaction with other elements in context. Obvious examples of communities which are very often reproduced and ascribed particular identities are those of gender, *men* and *women*. By way of example, the article presents a discourse analysis of data extracts taken from the Danish magazine *ALT for damerne* ("All for the ladies"). The analysis centers on the textual level and aims at unfolding the use of personal pronouns in the construction of different female communities.

2. Communities and identities

Anderson (1983, 1991) examined the creation and global spread of "imagined communities" of nationality. According to Anderson (1991: 6), "the nation is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". The term "imagined communities" was coined to specifically talk about nationalism, but it is now used more broadly to talk about other communities than nations to refer to the idea of having a common identity, whether this is based on for example nationality, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. The idea of a common identity is not only related to oneself, i.e. identifying oneself with a specific group, but also to other individuals, i.e. constructing identity for other people. It goes without saying that this way of thinking contributes to stereotyping, and as Hall (1997: 258) puts it, "stereotyping facilitates the 'binding' or bonding together of all Us who are 'normal' into one 'imagined community'; and it sends into symbolic exit all Them – the 'Others' – who are in some way different". The ways in which communities and attached identities are represented in society have implications for how individuals are met on different occasions. Fixed images of certain communities maintain people in static roles and contribute to the creation of particular expectations of members of the (imagined) communities. Since language is one of the ways to construct and reproduce communities and identities, it is important to uncover its role. At a general level, this is what discourse analysts do.

Most recent research in sociolinguistics, social psychology and cultural studies is based on a constructionist view on identity: rather than being reflected in discourse, identity is constructed in discourse (see for example De Fina et al. 2006 and Benwell & Stokoe 2006). According to this view, people assume or are imposed different identities on different occasions in alignment with the specific situation (for example as a man, an Englishman, a Muslim, etc.). In this view, identity is not static. This view on identity is in contrast to more traditional views on identity that conceive of it as something fixed which belongs to the individual. This article follows the idea that discursive constructions of identity have a strong impact in society both at a macro level and at a micro level, and it aims at contributing to uncovering their role. The view on identity presented here does not reject the existence of self-identity, such as for example individuals' feeling of belonging to different groups, but as Clark (2013: 7) argues, "Although there is no doubt that each of us is a unique human being with our own thoughts and personal identities, this is only part of the story. Identity is as much a social and cultural phenomenon as an internal and psychological one". And language does not mirror an independent object world but constructs and constitutes it (see Barker & Galasinski 2001: 1).

As De Fina (2006: 351) has observed, we have seen a growing interdisciplinary interest in the

field of formation, negotiation, and development of identities. For discourse analysts and sociolinguists the challenge has been to show not only the centrality of the role of language in the construction and transmission of identities, but also the concrete forms in which and through which language practices index such identities. It goes without saying that the personal pronoun is just one of many discursive devices which contribute to identity construction.

Some social psychologists also consider the relevance of language and discourse in their approach to identity. According to Potter & Wetherell (1987), categorization is an important and pervasive part of people's discourse. For example, many stories in newspapers will concern people who are described, evaluated and understood not in terms of any unique features of their biography but through their category membership (Potter & Wetherell 1987: 116). This is consistent with the point made above that identities are attached to communities, in terms of specific attributes or properties. Another example from social psychology is Davies & Harré (1990) who also emphasized the role of language in the construction of identity when introducing the concept of *positioning* to denote the discursive production of selves.

In Antaki & Widdicombe (1998a), different scholars drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis argue that identities are constructed 'live' in the exchange of talks. Antaki & Widdicombe (1998b: 3) list several points which they find central to an ethnomethodological, and more specifically a conversation-analytic, attitude to analyzing identity, two of them being the following: "for a person to 'have an identity' – whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about – is to be cast into a *category with associated characteristics or features*" and "it [such casting] *makes relevant* the identity to the interactional business going on" [italics in original].

One of the contributions to Antaki & Widdicombe (1998a) is Zimmerman (1998), who marks a distinction between *discourse identities*, *situational identities* and *transportable identities*. Whereas discourse identities are not related to a specific situation or person and can shift turn by turn in an interaction (e.g. the current speaker, listener, questioner and answerer), situated identities come into play within the precincts of particular types of situations (e.g. identities as teacher and student in an educational context). Transportable identities travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in a situation, such as gender or ethnic identities (Zimmerman 1998: 90-95).

To access the specific discourse-linguistic approach further, it is relevant to involve van Dijk (2006) in which he conducts a discourse-analytic study of ideology that provides tools for analyzing more than pure ideology. According to van Dijk (2006: 116), ideologies are belief systems shared by specific groups, typically in relation to other groups, e.g. one political ideology as opposed to another; *ingroups* and *outgroups*. Group members use discursive structures and strategies to express their ideology via positive self-reference as well as negative other-reference (van Dijk 2006: 124-125). A speaker speaks *as* a member of a group, and/or addresses the recipient *as* a group member. One of van Dijk's specific linguistic examples is the personal pronoun *we*, which is typically used to deictically refer to the ingroup of the current speaker. Nevertheless, not all collectivities are ideological. Van Dijk (2006: 120) applies the term *social categories* to such collectivities, examples of which are gender or ethnicity groups. As I will explain, his theory on discursive structures, by, for example, means of the personal pronoun, is also useful in relation to discourses which include these kinds of communities.

Construction of identity in discourse subsumes three possible processes: 1) construction of an entirely new community ("those people who…"), 2) reproduction of an already constructed community (i.e. making the community relevant), or 3) ascription of some specific attributes to a community (typically but not always by reproduction). With regard to gender, for example, the (imagined) communities *men* and *women* are already constructed, and a lot of attributes have been ascribed to both during history.

In the analysis of the personal pronouns in *ALT for damerne* in section 5, I will use the discursive approach to identity presented in this section to show how the use of personal pronouns contributes to constructing different communities based on female identities, how this happens in interaction with other text elements and the context (that is, the text itself, the profile of the magazine in question, and the social context), and uncover the purpose with which the communities and identities are constructed. To this purpose, it is relevant to determine the communication situation.

3. The communication situation

I begin by describing the magazine which has provided the textual material that my analysis is based on. *ALT for damerne* is a Danish magazine published by Egmont Magazines. On the website of Egmont Magazines, the chief editor presents the magazine as follows:

> ALT for damerne bringer interviews, der går i dybden, og tager de emner op, der angår dig og din hverdag. Viser tendenserne i moden med tøj, du faktisk kan gå i, og giver masser af idéer til din bolig. Vi holder dig opdateret omkring skønhed, sundhed og motion, og giver inspiration til spændende hverdagsmad. De nyeste film, bøger og musiktilbud kan du naturligvis også læse om. Hver eneste uge.[2]

> *ALT for damerne includes in-depth interviews about subjects with relevance to you and your everyday life. We present trends in fashion with clothes that you can actually wear and give lots of ideas for your home. We keep you updated on beauty, health and exercise, and give you inspiration for exciting everyday food. You can, of course, also read about the newest films, books and music. Every week.*

The title of the magazine explicitly says that it is directed at women – and this includes all women due to the definite plural form *damerne*. The presentation of the magazine and the title together construct women as a community whose areas of interest include fashion, clothes, homes, health and food, which consequently form part of a female identity.

Every act of communication forms part of a larger context. In this case, the context is primarily the Danish society, but it also includes the international one, seeing that we live in a globalized world today with a lot of influence from different parts of the world. The image of women that *ALT for damerne* reflects is a stereotypical image of women that already exists in society.

The sender of the magazine can be understood in several ways: in a very broad sense as the owner or director of the magazine, as the editorial board/the chief editor, and more concretely the writers of the magazine issue in question. In the article, I use *speaker* to refer to the concrete writer of the magazine. The addressee is the reader, who can be placed in a continuum between the one who buys the magazine every week, and a casual reader (such as for example someone who normally does not buy it, but who reads it at the dentist's or the doctor's). The intended reader is a woman. By its way of explicitly addressing the one gender, the magazine takes as its point of departure an already discursively established difference between the sexes and thereby assumes that their readers identify with this image.

The communicative purpose of the magazine is to maintain or arouse the interest of the addressee with the final aim of reaching as many buyers as possible. This will influence in every part of the magazine, i.e. the organization of the magazine (content, sections, etc.) as well as the way in which the text is written (choice of words, the way of addressing, etc.). This is the point of departure of the content, the language, and the discourse of the magazine. Nevertheless, this article

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2   Source: http://www.egmontpublishing.dk/Forretningsomrader/Magasiner-og-ugeblade/ALT-for-damerne/.

concentrates on primarily one linguistic element which contributes to the general aim of the magazine: personal pronouns. Before getting to the analysis of its use in the magazine, it is relevant to go into more detail with this item.

4.   Personal pronouns

The speaker and the addressee of a communication situation are often marked linguistically by the first- and second-person pronouns. As already mentioned, the reference of the singular first- and second-person pronouns is very simple as the referents are normally the speaker and the addressee, whereas the reference of especially the plural first-person pronouns is more complex. Conventional typological studies have arranged personal pronouns into tables and used the terms 'first', 'second' and 'third person', and 'singular' and 'plural number'. According to Goddard (1995: 99), it has been long recognized that, from a semantic point of view, the conventional categories leave something to be desired. Referring to Jespersen (1933: 204) and Lyons (1968: 277), Goddard (1995: 99) points to the fact that "the term 'plural' is not used in a clear and consistent way: you_{pl} may perhaps represent a plurality of *you* s, but *we* does not present a plurality of *I* s". With the intention to provide a semantic description which extends beyond a merely typological description, Goddard (1995) provides a cross-linguistic analysis of pronominal systems from within the Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework (NSM). While I will not provide a detailed description of Goddard's suggestions in terms of NSM, I will highlight some important observations about *we* compared to *I*: The meaning structure of *we* has more complex referential presuppositions than *I*. *I* does not imply that the addressee has to do some work to figure out who is meant; it is a pure index. *We* at least invites the addressee to think of who else than *I* is being talked about (Goddard: 1995: 107). Depending on the context, *we* includes or excludes the addressee, and can refer to two or more persons. Another relevant point of Goddard's (1995: 107), referring to Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990), is that *we* constitutes a metalinguistic act of 'same-saying', by which one applies the same proposition to a set of people one has in mind, one of whom is oneself. In (3)-(5) the set of people are the Danes/women/men, one of whom is the speaker him-/herself. In these examples the set of people – the community constructed and referred to – is marked linguistically by a noun.

(4)   Sp: Han kommer også med 'signaler' om, at han godt kan lide mig, men han gør bare ikke så meget ved det. Jeg synes, at jeg har serveret mig selv, rimelig mange gange, på et sølvfad, og jeg har været lige til at plukke. Men der sker ikke så meget. Sv: Jeg genkender noget der, og noget siger mig, at det er en ret typisk kvindeting dette her med at have 'serveret sig selv på et sølvfad'. Vi kvinder har en tendens til at synes, at vi er meget tydelige i vores kropssprog og vores signaler. Desværre bliver det ikke opfattet helt så tydeligt ovre hos det andet køn.[3]

   Q: He has also 'signaled' that the likes me, but he doesn't really act. I believe that I have served myself on a silver platter on a number of occasions, and he could just have picked me. But nothing much happens. A: I recognize something there, and it seems to me that this is a typical women's issue, 'serving oneself on a silver platter'. [We] women seem to think that our body language and signals are very clear. Unfortunately, this is not how it is perceived from the perspective of the opposite sex.

(5)   Vi mænd er ikke for gode til at forkæle os selv. Vi sætter kærestens, konens, familiens og alle mulige andres behov foran vores egne. Det skal vi have lavet om på! Derfor har vi mænd her på redaktionen fundet 5 gode grunde til at begynde at forkæle os selv.[4]

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3   This example is taken from the Danish tabloid newspaper BT: http://m.bt.dk/f/?article=21804486-Brevkassen-Hvordan-faar-jeg-fat-i-ham.

4   This example is taken from a website whose stated purpose is to address young people about relevant topics:

> *[We] Men are not good at spoiling ourselves. We put the needs of our girlfriend, our wife, our family and everybody else before our own. We have to change that! This is why we [men], at the editorial board, have come up with 5 good reasons for spoiling ourselves.*

Example (4) includes a reply in an agony column to the problem presented in the first part of the example. In this example, the speaker, a woman just like the questioner, makes the category *women* relevant and thus constructs a community to which they both belong. Doing this, she obtains two things: she provides an explanation of the perceived problem by saying that it is due to differences of gender, and she demonstrates comprehension by signaling that she herself knows what it is to be a woman. The construction of a female identity is emphasized by differentiation from the male category, as this is also ascribed a characteristic in the text. The phenomenon can be described within van Dijk's (2006) framework: the speaker speaks as a member of a group, and she addresses the recipient as another member of the same group – this way, she creates an ingroup. She also creates an outgroup: the opposite sex (although in this example not a negative one, just a different one). Example (5) is an introductory text to an advertisement for five products (in the text presented as "5 good reasons"). The phrase *vi mænd* (″we men″) also constructs a community to which both the speaker and the addressee belong, and the rest of the sentence and the next one describe this group as one who neglects their own needs, a kind of a sacrifice. In this example, the aim of constructing a community with a common identity is obviously commercial, the aim being to urge men to allow themselves to buy "men's stuff". In this example, an explicit opposition between men and women is not made, but, as they are the only categories of the general category *gender*, it can be inferred that what is said about men specifically is not a characteristic of women.

The inclusive use of the plural first-person pronoun is a widespread phenomenon in different contexts; the context in (5), for example, is a commercial one, as the text is an advertisement. Bennett (2002: 67) points to the fact that politicians are among the many people who use it in an inclusive sense to foster some kind of identification of interest between speakers and addressees. Svennevig et al. (2002: 181) make the same point with reference to the Norwegian king and the Norwegian prime minister, who in their New Year's speeches to the Norwegian people apply *vi* (*we*) with the aim of constructing a feeling of national community and erasing oppositions of interests. According to Lozano Domingo (1995: 243), so-called women's magazines apply different strategies to get close to the reader, and these are primarily based on inclusion and have as their goal making the reader recognize herself in the text. The magazines try to erase the boundaries between the roles of the editor and the reader, and instead insist on the shared quality of womanliness: a shared female identity. One of these strategies is the use of personal pronouns. Not only is the plural first-person used with the aim of getting close to the reader, the singular second-person pronoun is also used with this aim. As pointed out by Svennevig et al. (1995: 182), the direct addressing by means of the singular second-person pronoun in mass communication is adopted from personal face-to-face communication and indicates closeness between the participants.[5]

In many cases, a community referred to by plural first-person is designated by a subsequent noun, as in (3)-(5), but this is not always the case. In (6), an example from Gustafsson (2013: 4) from Spanish, there is no such noun:

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http://ungunivers.dk/hygge/maend-forkael-jer-selv.

5   Dillon (2012) analyses the phraseology adopted by so-called women's magazines in Argentina during the 1990s, based on two cases that embody different approaches: a traditional one and a more feminist-oriented approach. The analysis focuses on personal pronouns, among other things, and one result is that there are almost twice as many first- and second-person pronouns in the traditional magazine as in the other one. According to Dillon (2012: 9), this indicates that the traditional magazine is more distant from an objective journalistic style, as first- and second-person pronouns normally do not belong in this style.

(6)   Vaya tarde que pasé ayer. Vi el partido completo en directo, y estuvimos fatales. ¡Pero qué mal jugamos! Con razón perdimos.

What an afternoon yesterday. I watched the football match live and we played so badly. What a bad performance! We lost for a good reason.

Despite the omission of the noun, it is easy to grasp that a community is constructed here to which the plural first-person refers. The community is a national (or a more local) one, which the football team represents, and with which the speaker identifies. Gustafsson (2013) suggests the terms *unauthentic deixis* or *parasitic deixis* to refer to the phenomenon that the plural first-person pronoun becomes naturalized as an ontological and not an ideological fact.[6] It is, however, an ideological fact, as the mechanism is not based on a situational *we* (the speaker is not part of the football players despite of the expression *we played*), but on what Gustafsson refers to as *discursive interpellation* (Gustafsson 2013: 3) inspired by Althusser (1971) and Laclau & Mouffe (1985). In the example, the constructed national (or local) community is taken for granted in the discourse, although it is actually produced as a result of the interpellation, and thus, it is not its precondition.[7] In examples without nouns this phenomenon is quite obvious, but in fact the phenomenon occurs regardless of whether or not there is a noun. Although the existence of the biological sexes, for example, cannot be denied, the idea of an identity community is ideological.

The plural second-person pronoun can also be used in order to construct communities with ascribed identities and thereby generalizations:

(7)   Hvorfor skal I kvinder altid fremture med kål og grøntsager her til nytår?[8]

Why do [you] women always go on about cabbage and greens around New Year?

The second-person pronoun, however, does not have the same rhetorical effect as the first-person pronoun because the speaker in this case does not belong to the community and as such cannot speak on behalf of it. But it has another effect: it makes the addressee responsible for an act whether or not this specific woman has committed the act, as it is related to a female identity. Thus, it is an othering strategy.

In this section, I offered an overview of personal pronouns and their identity-constructing functions, using illustrative examples from various sources. In the following section, I provide an analysis of the use of personal pronouns in *ALT for damerne* in constructions of different communities which are generally based on the image of women reflected in the presentation of the magazine. I will focus primarily, but not exclusively, on plural first-person pronouns.

5.   The use of personal pronouns in ALT for damerne in construction of female communities
The analyzed examples are from *ALT for damerne*, No. 8, February 2013, and *ALT for damerne*, No. 9, February 2013. The sources of the examples are indicated in parentheses, the first number referring to the issue of the magazine and the second to the page number. The first example is composed by the chief editor:

(8)   Kender du følelsen af, at du egentlig godt gad vide, hvad den pæne dame på vej ud af den

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6   In the Spanish example, the subject is implicit. In this case, it is the first person plural suffix that specifies the referential relation.
7   See Gustafsson (2013) for more details on this phenomenon from a philosophical, a linguistic and a sociological perspective.
8   This example is taken from a Danish website with healthy recipes: http://www.saesonforgodsmag.dk/opskrifter/gr%C3%B8nk%C3%A5lssalat-med-%C3%A6bler.

smarte butik har i sin indkøbspose? På ALT for damernes redaktion er vi rimeligt enige om, at vi nyder at stikke snuden i andres indkøbsposer. (8, 4)

Are you familiar with the feeling of wanting to know what the nice-looking lady on her way out from the posh shop is carrying in her shopping bag? On the editorial board of ALT for damerne we pretty much agree that we enjoy poking our noses in other people's shopping bags.

The example is followed by a report on four renowned designers' purchases featuring the designers' comments in their purchases. In the beginning of the example, the addressee is addressed by the singular second-person pronoun. By way of contrast, *vi* is used to refer to representatives from *ALT for damerne*. The adverbial *På ALT for damernes redaktion* ("On the editorial board of *ALT for damerne*") signals that *vi* is exclusive, as the addressee obviously is not a member of this board. The contrast between the board and the addressee, however, is erased by suggesting that the reader is just like the members of the editorial board, with the same curiosity when it comes to designers' shopping. This is an example of a strategy employed to get close to the reader, based on inclusion. Despite the exclusive *vi*, this strategy is an attempt at making the reader recognize herself in the text. The chief editor constructs a kind of community and invites the reader to be a member. It is presupposed that the editorial board are experts in this context and, by disclosing their own interests, they ask the reader indirectly to align herself with them and do the same and thus identify with the community. Having constructed a community and invited the reader to join it, the editorial board might expect that the reader will find the ensuing content more interesting and relevant. Variants of this phenomenon are seen in the following three examples:

(9)   Plej din hud med lige præcis den ansigtsmaske, der passer til dig – vi har testet dem på egne ansigter! Find skønhedsnyt på ALTfordamerne.dk/skonhed. (8, 14)

Look after your skin with the facial treatment mask that is best suited for your skin type – we have tested all our facial treatment masks on ourselves! Check out the latest beauty news on ALTfordamerne.dk/skonhed.

(10) "DET SKAL VI SELV HAVE FINGRENE I" På ALT for damernes moderedaktion bombarderes vi jævnligt af nye indtryk fra sæsonens kollektioner, alverdens glittede magasiner, seje bloggere og diverse besøg i designernes showrooms. Men hvad ender vi selv med at købe, når forårskollektionerne rammer butikkerne? Se med her og få alle insidertipsene. (8, 48)

"WE REALLY WANT TO GET OUR HANDS ON THAT!" [We] The fashion editors of ALT for damerne are constantly filled with new impressions from the season's collections, all kinds of glossy magazines, cool bloggers, and regular visits to the designers' show rooms. But what do we end up buying when the spring collections hit the stores? Look here and get all the insider tips.

(11) Vi elsker den hvide skjorte, fordi den passer til næsten alt og kan styles på et utal af måder. Her får du forårets lækreste udgaver af den skønne klassiker. (8, 72)

We love the white shirt because it goes with nearly everything and you can style it in an infinite number of ways. We present the hottest designs of this fantastic classical shirt this spring.

In (9) *vi* is also exclusive and refers to representatives of the magazine. The reader is invited to find

a facial treatment mask among several which have been tested by the representatives of the magazine. Again the referents of *vi* represent experts, and the reader (in this case addressed by both the possessive pronoun *din* and the personal pronoun *dig*) is supposed to be interested in following the advice. The referents of *vi* in (10) are the fashion editors, i.e. fashion experts. By showing what they themselves buy and offering insider tips, they invite the reader to be a member of their community – the "fashionable ones". In (11) the reader is invited to be a member of "those who love the white shirt". Again, it is presupposed that it is attractive to belong to the same community as the representatives of the magazine. The example in (12) differs slightly from these examples:

(12) Hos kosmetologen kan du få nogle meget effektive behandlinger, men har du mod på at gøre arbejdet selv, har vi på næste side samlet en række nye produkter, der kan hjælpe dig til en klarere hud med en mere ensartet pigmentering. (9, 82)

You can get some very effective treatments at the cosmetologist, but if you feel like doing the work yourself, we present a number of new products that can help even out your skin tone and contribute to an even pigmentation.

In this example, the referents of the exclusive *vi* do not directly invite the reader to be a member of a community, but the plural of the first-person pronoun and the singular of the second-person pronoun are used to offer expert advices to the reader, and the experts vouch for the products.

Examples (8)-(12) draw on the overall identity already constructed for the magazine: a female identity which includes an interest in fashion, beauty, etc. Within the scope of this identity, to which the representatives of the magazine and the readers belong (according to the set-up), the personal pronouns are used to refer to varying subcommunities. The examples are all followed by photos of products with indications of the specific brand and price, and the rhetoric is supposed to have an advertising function for these products too.

The excerpt in (13) is the magazine's introduction to a personal narrative by a woman who is not otherwise affiliated with the magazine. The narrative concerns experiences with her father-in-law, but the introduction concerns mother-in-laws:

(13) Svigermor. Jo tak, hende kender vi udmærket. Hun sender misbilligende blikke mod vasketøjet og nullermændene i hjørnet. Hun ryster uforstående på hovedet, når hun ser tegn på, at vi ikke betingelsesløst og uden krav forguder hendes søn (…) Den grove generalisering er måske uretfærdig, men hvis du ikke selv har den stereotype svigermor, så kender du en kvinde, som døjer med hende, eller du har set hende i sin værste form legemliggjort af Jane Fonda i "Svigermonster", eller du husker måske Charlottes svigermor i "Sex and the City"? (8, 23)

Mother-in-law. My, we know her! She looks in a criticizing manner at the laundry and the fluff in the corners. She shakes her head in lack of understanding when she notices that we do not adore her son unconditionally (...) This broad generalisation may be unfair, but if you do not have such a stereotype for a mother-in-law yourself, you may know a woman who has to put up with one, or perhaps you have seen her incarnated in the worst form by Jane Fonda in "Monster-in-law", or you may remember Charlotte's mother-in-law in "Sex and the City"?

The entire example builds on the construction of a mother-in-law with some very specific properties based on a stereotypical image of mother-in-laws. The objective of the introduction seems to be to bring the reader into a certain mood, ready to read the narrative and to relate to the experiences described (although this is about a father-in-law), and, consequently, it is important that the reader recognizes the feeling that the text tries to evoke. This feeling will only be evoked if the reader

accepts the idea of this mother-in-law category. The stereotypical narrative concerns the relationship between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, and the two *vi*'s seem to include the whole woman category and is as such inclusive, given that the target reader is a woman. The example constructs a community between women in general. Anticipating an objection to the generalization, as there might be women who have not experienced the phenomenon, a variant is provided in which the reader, addressed by the singular second-person pronoun, is positioned as belonging to a group that does not have a personal experience, but who knows another woman with the same experience. Even a third possibility is offered: if this is not the case either, the last possibility is that the reader knows this mother-in-law-category from a movie or TV series. In this way, the magazine takes all precautions, leaving the impression that this mother-in-law-category exists for sure.

The last three examples are parts of the same article written by a (female) journalist on *ALT for damerne*. The first part of the article, to which the three examples belong, is an introductory text to an inquiry among the readers of *ALT for damerne*:

(14)   HVOR GODT KENDER DU DIN MAND? (…) Vi har spurgt jer læsere hvad I tror, at mænd ønsker fra os kvinder. (9, 27)

HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW YOUR HUSBAND? (…) We have asked our [you] readers what they [you] think men request from [us] women.

(16)   Alligevel håber vi, at du kan få aflivet nogle myter og bekræftet nogle forestillinger om manden i dit liv eller mænd generelt. (9, 27)

Nevertheless, we hope that we can kill some of your myths and confirm some of your ideas of the man of your life or men in general.

The question in (14) is the headline of the article, and the other part of the example forms part of the lead paragraph. In the beginning of the example, *vi* is exclusive and refers to the representatives of the magazine and is opposed to *du*, the reader. However, the second use of the plural first-person pronoun is inclusive and refers to women in general and as such to the representatives of the magazine as well as to the readers. In this example, the female community is marked directly by the noun *kvinder* and is also directly opposed to the male category. It emerges from (14) that the inquiry is based on the assumption that women believe that men as a category want the same from women. In (15) we see a distributional use of the personal pronoun, as it refers to both women and men, but as two different categories/communities. Subsequently, this pronoun is used inclusively to refer to all members of the female category as opposed to the male category. (16) is the conclusive text of the introductory text to the inquiry. In this example, the magazine returns to the boundary between themselves and the reader. *Vi* is again exclusive, and the function of the example seems to be to present themselves as the experts who offer a relevant inquiry to the readers.

6.   Conclusion

On its website, *ALT for damerne* presents the profile of the magazine and through this an overall identity for its readers is constructed (or reproduced): a female identity which includes interest in fashion, beauty, etc. It is of course not surprising that *ALT for damerne* presents women in a predictable and stereotypical way. The point is that the magazine, by its way of explicitly addressing the one sex, takes as its point of departure an already discursively established difference between the sexes and thereby assumes that their readers identify with this image. The constructed identity forms the basis for the content of the magazine, the language, the discourse, the way in which it addresses its readers, and is applied as a strategy to reach the aim of the magazine: to keep current buyers and get as many new buyers as possible. Apparently harmless linguistic items, e.g. the

personal pronouns, contribute to construct different shades of this identity.

The analysis has shown that personal pronouns are used in *ALT for damerne* to create different communities within the scope of the constructed female identity. These communities are sometimes the representatives of the magazine as opposed to the readers, and sometimes the entire female category itself, to which the representatives of the magazine as well as the readers belong. In both cases the reference is to women. A considerable discursive interpellation exists which takes a female community for granted. Though the pronoun *vi*, which is used to refer to this community, appears to be of an ontological kind, it is ideologically based.

When the pronoun constructs different communities, the aim, on several occasions, seems to be to create a situation in which the expert women give advice to the non-expert women and invite them to be members of their communities. It seems to be the case that the construction of subcommunities of which the representatives of the magazine themselves form part, is based on some situated identities (in the sense of Zimmerman 1998): the professionals from the magazine, and the readers, who are susceptible to the professional suggestions.

On the other hand, when the pronoun – typically in conjunction with the noun *kvinde/kvinder* – refers to the female category as a whole, the aim seems to be to spur an interest in the reader by making her identify with the group to which she "naturally" belongs. It seems to be a transportable identity (Zimmerman 1998), which it is difficult to escape from. The use of personal pronouns is generally employed as an intimacy strategy based on inclusion – even when the plural first-person pronoun has an exclusive meaning.

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Two directions of change in one corpus: Phonology vs morphosyntax in Tyneside English[*]

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Abstract: Cheshire et al. (2005) argue that different levels of language do not necessarily follow the same patterns of change over time. In an attempt to test this prediction, this article reports on a comparison between two quantitative corpus studies of Tyneside English which are partly based on the same data. The first study was carried out by Watt and investigated levelling in the phonological variables in the FACE and GOAT lexical set (Watt 2002) based on data collected in 1994. Watt found that speakers were abandoning broad local vernacular variants in favour of more regional or generally Northern forms. The second study was a study of seven morphosyntactic variables based on data collected in the 1960s, 1994 and 2007-2009. This study found that the variables under investigation were either stable over time or used more frequently in the most recent data. Thus, the comparison of the two studies shows support for Cheshire et al. (2005). This difference in the direction of change is explained by socio-psychological processes linking linguistic forms, the local Tyneside area and speaker identity. More specifically, it is argued that speakers imbue local vernacular variants with social meaning (Podesva 2006). This means that speakers create a social index (Silverstein 2003) which links linguistic forms and additional non-denotational meanings through processes of enregisterment (Agha 2003). This allows speakers to express an affiliation with their local area and all that it represents to them at a time when this area is undergoing vast changes.

Keywords: Enregisterment, identity, indexicality, morphosyntax, social meaning, Tyneside.

1. Introduction

Dialect levelling refers to the type of language change in which local dialects conform to regional varieties leading to the disappearance of more localized vernaculars (Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2001, 2003). This change is often facilitated by the loss of rural dialect boundaries as people become increasingly mobile. Watt (2002) reported levelling in the phonology of Tyneside English based on data from the 1990s which is now part of the *DECTE* corpus (consisting of data from the 1960s, 1990s and now). Watt concluded that speakers were increasingly adopting supralocal variants as a means to retaining local membership whilst avoiding stigmatization through the use of broad vernacular forms. However, as Cheshire et al. (2005) remark, there is a lack of studies investigating levelling in other areas than phonology, and we should not expect levelling to affect different components of language in the same way. The study reported here aims to establish whether changes in the morphosyntax of Tyneside English can also be said to be levelling. It takes a quantitative approach and is based on data from the *DECTE* corpus. In short, the statistical tests performed map the frequencies of standard and vernacular forms of seven morphosyntactic constructions in order to establish any change over time. The results did not show that the variables were levelling. In fact, they either showed that the vernacular forms of the variables were used consistently over time or that their use was increasing. These results clearly do not follow the levelling hypothesis but support the observations of Cheshire et al. (2005) about the differences between phonology and morphosyntax.

The results of the morphosyntactic study are interpreted from a socio-cognitive perspective (e.g. Geeraerts 2005, 2010; Croft 2006, 2009). This approach to language and linguistic variation suggests that social and psychological factors can impact on speakers' language use. More specifically, it provides a framework for the interpretation of how changes in the urban landscape of

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Newcastle upon Tyne (Miles 2005) may impact on inhabitants' affiliation with the area which may in turn affect their use of vernacular forms (Burbano-Elizondo 2008). It is thus hypothesised that the difference in direction of change is linked to social factors which, through a socio-cognitive link, affect speakers' language use. Jensen (2013) suggests that *salience* is the property which facilitates the attachment of social meaning to linguistic forms on a cognitive level. As this article is primarily concerned with the differences in the direction of change between Tyneside English phonology and morphosyntax found in the *DECTE* corpus, I will not go into the *salience* argument in any great detail here although I briefly return to it in the discussion of results.

This article will first discuss dialect levelling and Watt's study in more detail and provide definitions of key terms employed in the interpretation of the results of the statistical analyses. I will then introduce the study of morphosyntactic change in Tyneside English by firstly describing the corpus data used in the study, secondly, by defining the seven variables under study and, thirdly, explaining the method used to extract tokens and analyse their patterning. I then report on the results of the different statistical analyses before discussing them in light of both Watt's findings for Tyneside English phonology as well as the key terms defined in the second section. I conclude by a brief discussion of possible caveats and make suggestions for future studies.

2. Dialect levelling and linguistic identity

According to Watt & Milroy (1999: 31), phonological levelling has taken place in the Northeast "for at least forty years" and the broader Tyneside dialect can be seen as levelling towards a more regional standard called Tyneside English, a variety closer to the national standard. The fact that speakers want to appear modern but also still retain linguistic affiliations with their local area can be seen as a part of the argument for the claim made in Watt (2002) – namely that

> (c)ontrary to claims that the distinctiveness of Tyneside English (TE) is eroding under the influence of a southern standard model, however, these generational differences are hypothesised to reflect TE's shift towards a northern, or north-eastern, regional standard. (Watt & Milroy 1999: 44-45)

However, as mentioned in the introduction, the stable or increased use of vernacular morphosyntactic forms is a change in the opposite direction of what is found in dialect levelling. Most studies within the framework of dialect levelling focus on changes in the phonology of localised dialects but the comparison presented here shows that studies investigating different levels of a variety using the same data might be a worthwhile undertaking. This furthermore supports Cheshire et al. (2005) who remark that there is a lack of studies investigating levelling in other areas than phonology and we should not expect levelling to affect different components of language in the same way.

2.1. Phonological levelling in Tyneside English

Watt's (2002) study of phonological levelling in Tyneside English was based on the *PVC* data which is now part of the *DECTE* corpus and described in more detail below. In his study, Watt compared the speech of 32 working class and middle class adults in two age groups: younger speakers (aged 18-25) and older speakers (aged 45+) and found that there was a significant difference in the vowels used by the two groups in words such as FACE and GOAT (see Table 1 below, from Watt 2002: 47):

Table 1: Phonetic variants of FACE and GOAT

	FACE	GOAT
Type I (supralocal)	eː	oː
Type II (local)	ɪə	ʊə
Type III (national)	eɪ	oʊ ɵː

The supralocal variants are classed as 'generally northern' or Scottish pronunciations which Watt also calls "'mainstream' northern variants" (Watt 2002: 47). The local variants, here called type II, are more local than the variants in type I and are classed as typically north-eastern characteristics. These characteristics are often present in the speech of Tyneside speakers even when other traits of the accent are avoided. The national or standard variants in type III are almost never found in Tyneside English. The fourth vowel in the GOAT set is a monophthong which has been a variant in Tyneside English for some time (Watt 2002: 47). At the end of his study, Watt concludes that the use of type II variants is diminishing and that the supralocal forms are used instead. However, he states, there is some evidence that the national forms are increasingly being used by some members of the middle class (Watt 2002: 57). In his discussion of his results, Watt hypothesises that this use of levelled, regional forms can be seen as the middle ground between an old-fashioned, backward and stigmatized variety (broad Tyneside) and the national standard which allow the speakers to retain local membership as well as allowing them a part in the modern and globalized nation at the same time (Watt 2002: 57-58).

As I have already mentioned above, the results of the morphosyntactic study revealed markedly different results. While Watt found the broad Tyneside diphthongs to be used less by the younger generation of speakers, the morphosyntactic study found that local vernacular morphosyntactic forms, such as *divn't* and *hoy,* were either used at a similar frequency over time or even increasing in use among younger speakers in the most recent data. The difference in direction of change between the morphosyntax and the phonology of Tyneside English raises a number of issues: one concerns the difference between phonology and morphosyntax on a cognitive level. How are these two levels structured and what are the differences in speakers access to or awareness of these levels? This is discussed further in section 5. Another important issue which should be addressed is that of the reason for the increase in use of local morphosyntactic forms. The levelling hypothesis provides an explanation for the loss of broad local phonological variants, but it obviously cannot be applied to the morphosyntax. I suggest that this change is linked to changes in the urban environment of Newcastle upon Tyne which has undergone a transformation from industrial heavyweight to a haven of leisure facilities (Miles 2005). I argue that the difference in the direction of change found in the *DECTE* corpus for phonology and morphosyntax can be linked to a socially meaning-bearing function of the local morphosyntactic forms (Silverstein 2003, Podesva 2006). Thus, this urban and cultural regeneration of the townscape seems to go hand-in-hand with the linguistic regeneration exemplified by the increased use of Tyneside vernacular morphosyntactic forms. In the subsection below, I will introduce the key terms involved in this argument. I return to and elaborate on this argument in more detail when I discuss the results of the statistical analyses in section 5.

2.2   *Sociolinguistic concepts involved in shaping a linguistic identity*
In this section, I introduce the key terms which I will use to interpret not only the results of the morphosyntactic corpus study but also in my discussion of the difference between the direction of change in Tyneside English phonology and morphosyntax. In my discussion, I will focus on the role of *social meaning* and the related terms of *indexicality* and *enregisterment.* The figure below shows how the different terms are related. It is structured around Silverstein's orders of indexicality, which

are explained further below, and the role of social meaning is elaborated on in the boxes in the front. We see that Agha's enregisterment is here synonymous with 3rd order indexicality. This is a simplification, but fits the purposes of this paper for the time-being. Enregisterment is also further explained below.

Figure 1: Indexical order and social meaning
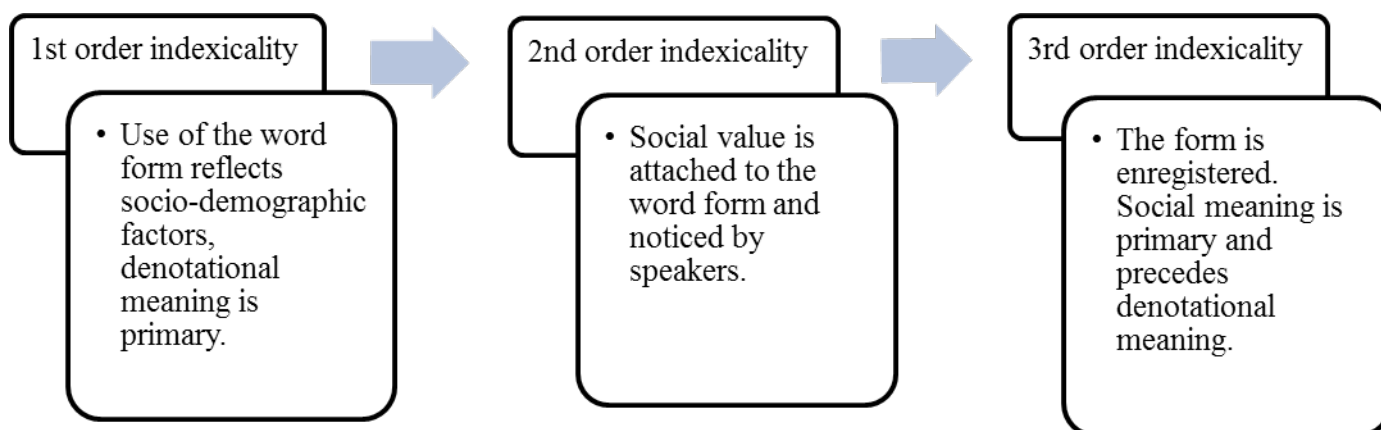
Social meaning is the meaning which linguistic features accumulate over time in addition to their denotational meaning and can be defined as the enregistered value of forms which index a range of social ideals. Social meaning indexes different social characteristics and values which reflect different perceptions of the social world. These perceptions differ from person to person and thus the social meanings indexed by different linguistic forms are likely to differ between speakers. As a concept, social meaning is often used synchronically in linguistics as a means of describing what variation means to speakers in their daily lives and how social perceptions manifest themselves in language use. Thus, linguistic choices may be influenced by the social meaning of forms and the identities speakers wish to portray. In this way, social meaning may over time (through the medium of speaker choice) lead to diachronic change.

Linked to the notion of the social meaning of forms is the process of *enregisterment* which accounts for the diachronic process of the creation and accumulation of the social meaning of forms (Agha 2003). Enregisterment is based on the linking of forms and established social constructs in a speech community – something which has been described in great detail by Silverstein (2003) as *indexicality*. Both of these concepts prove very productive in the interpretation of the difference in direction of change which this article is concerned with.

Silverstein (2003) argues that in order to investigate the ways in which speakers relate linguistic features to socio-cultural values, and thus create social identities in interaction, we need to consider the concept of *indexical order*. In short, indexical order is the formulation of the observation that "*n*-th order indexical tokens" (i.e. linguistic features) have "contextual entailments" (i.e. social meaning) which are a consequence of "the ideological engagement users manifest in respect of the *n*-th order indexical meaningfulness" (the social values expressed and maintained by speakers) (Silverstein 2003: 193-194). Silverstein builds on this and adds the notion of "$n + 1^{st}$ order indexical value" which he defines as a competing structure of value which can be characterised as a distinct but overlapping form which directly indexes the ideological value (or social meaning) in communication (Silverstein 2003: 194). This "dialectic competition" between the two forms ultimately plays a role in linguistic change as the $n + 1^{st}$ (second) order indexical value replaces the *n*-th (first) order indexical value (Silverstein 2003: 194). Eckert (2008) builds on Silverstein's

indexical order and argues for the interpretation of the meanings of variables based on an *indexical field*. She states that a more fluid conceptualisation of the potential meanings of variables is needed as variation is inherent in the social meaning of variables (variants mean different things to different people in different situations). The indexical field is thus a

> constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable … and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections. Thus, variation constitutes an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology. (Eckert 2008: 454)

As mentioned above, connected to the notion of indexical order and the social indexicality of forms is enregisterment which describes "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231). Indeed, it can be argued that the $(n + 1)+1^{st}$ (or third) order indexical value of a linguistic form expresses the enregistered meaning of the form (which is shown above in Figure 1). Enregisterment is discussed in depth by Agha (2003) in connection with the emergence and spread of RP in Britain, a process he treats in much detail. However, the overarching theme of the article is how cultural values are socially produced, maintained and transformed through discursive interaction and how cultural value as a dynamic property applies to language, which is here seen as any other cultural form. Agha comments that when non-linguists discuss accents they are not actually talking about specific sound patterns but rather about "a system of contrastive social personae stereotypically linked to contrasts of sound" (Agha 2003: 241-242). As an example of this, he mentions that RP is "enregistered in cultural awareness as part of a system of stratified speech levels linked to an ideology of speaker rank" (Agha 2003: 242). He proposes that the transmission of cultural values across a population takes place through discourse, through what he calls a *speech chain.* This he defines as

> a historical series of speech events linked together by the permutation of individuals across speech-act roles in the following way: the receiver of the message in the $(n)^{th}$ speech event is the sender of the message in the $(n+1)^{th}$ speech event, i.e. where the terms 'sender' and 'receiver' ... are variable names of interactional roles, specified in different ways at different points along the speech chain. (Agha 2003: 247).

A similar argument could be made for Tyneside English (and indeed other non-standard vernaculars which are thriving in today's Britain) where local word forms have been linked to an ideology. In this case not an ideology of speaker rank but rather an ideology of localness. Thus, social meaning (or cultural value, in Agha's terminology) is constructed through language but also part of the language itself.

Johnstone (2009) presents an empirical study of Pittsburgh English and clearly links the use of local linguistic forms with speakers' expression of local identity. In this paper, she focuses in particular on T-shirts featuring words or expressions believed to be written representations of Pittsburghese. Johnstone argues that the consumption of these T-shirts is part of a process which has generated the idea that a distinct Pittsburgh dialect exists. These T-shirts not only put the dialect on display, they also infuse the local vernacular with (social) value and create a standardized form of the vernacular. Finally, they also create a link between local vernacular speech and particular social meaning (Johnstone 2009: 157). The Pittsburghese T-shirts rely on enregisterment to find their market. Johnstone notes that it is only individuals who are able to recognise Pittsburgh speech as

distinct from other varieties and who link it with "authentic local identity" (Johnstone 2009: 168) who will find the shirts funny or appealing. In addition, the print on the shirts has to be recognised as a representation of Pittsburghese and thus rely on already enregistered forms. However, third order indexicality (or enregisterment) of a range of linguistic forms is also a product of these shirts through the display of forms, infusion of value, creation of a standard, and link with social meaning.

What we see from the above descriptions of indexicality and enregisterment is that they are useful theoretical terms to consider in the discussion of language and social identity. What they make clear is that language exists not of itself but shapes and is shaped by speakers' social identity. Speakers are seen as active participants in the construal of social meaning through their language use and it is precisely this link between the social and the cognitive aspects of language which the socio-cognitive approach to language captures. The social, then, is not just an afterthought but very much part and parcel of what is conveyed by speech. Foulkes & Docherty (2006: 419), writing in the area of sociophonetics, summarise this in the following way: "Indeed, the interweaving of sociophonetic and linguistic information in speech is so complete that no natural human utterance can offer linguistic information without simultaneously indexing one or more social factor". In their 2006 paper, Foulkes and Docherty explore the area of sociophonetic variation, drawing on findings from some of their own previous studies on Tyneside English, among other varieties. They also discuss sociophonetic variation from the perspective of first language acquisition, again focusing studies of data collected in Newcastle. They suggest an exemplar-based model in their account of how social and linguistic information may be acquired, stored long-term and accessed in on-line processes of production and perception although they also make clear that it is not clear, at present, how sociophonetic information is represented cognitively and how it is processes in comparison with other types of information.

They present insights from studies on variation on the segmental, suprasegmental, and subsegmental level and also present evidence (from Newcastle and Derby) supporting the ability of phonetic contrast to index social information. In other words, phonetic variation across speakers is not merely be a reflection of physiological differences between males and females but is meaning-bearing and can be perceived by listeners. The study looked at preaspiration and voicing in both Newcastle and Derby and found that while, in Newcastle, extended voicing was used more often by males than females (across class and age) and preaspiration was used mostly by young females (across both working and middle class). On the other hand, preaspiration was not found at all in Derby and extended voicing showed no significant social effects.

3. Data, variables and method

The aim of the morphosyntactic corpus study was to investigate the frequency of use over time for seven morphosyntactic variables: sentential negation with *do*, first and second person pronouns, sentential negation with *can*, and the verbs *go*, *throw*, and *told*. The variables are introduced in more detail below. Essentially, this study employs standard variationist methodology by considering linguistic variables and their envelopes of variation, i.e. how many different ways there are of saying the same thing (Labov 1972: 323). This methodology is based on Labov's work in the 1960s, which set the precedent for investigating the patterning of variation in language. This article adopts standard variationist annotation by placing the variable name in parentheses, e.g. (throw). Every linguistic variable has several variants, i.e. different ways that this variable can be expressed. In the example of (throw), the possible variants are *throw* (which is the Standard English form) and *hoy* (which is the Tyneside English form). Standard variationist annotation sees variants given in italics.

The seven variables included in this study were selected based on two different types of sources: firstly, scholarly literature (Beal 1993, 2004, 2010; Beal et. al. 2012) on the Tyneside dialect was consulted and, secondly, further examples were found in what can be described as *popular dialect literature.* This type of literature describes a genre of books and pamphlets, most of

which were published in the 1970s, which are either wholly or partly written in what is claimed to be *Geordie* or Tyneside English. These books often deal with aspects of the dialect (e.g. in the book *Larn yersel' Geordie* by Scott Dobson) or Geordie culture (e.g. *Scott Dobson's Geordie Recitations, Songs and Party Pieces*) in a humorous fashion and are aimed at visitors to Tyneside (as would be the case for *Larn yersel' Geordie*) as well as Tyneside speakers (perhaps particularly expatriate Geordies). However, the choice of variables was also limited by methodological considerations involving the types of search possible using the software programme R to search through raw (i.e. not annotated or parsed) corpus data. As for the clearly lexical variables, the criterion was that the lexical forms had to be particular to Tyneside. For the morphosyntactic variables, the criterion was that the variables displayed non-standard morphosyntactic forms in the syntactic environments under study.

Due to time constraints, this study does not consider any constraints of the variation (neither internal, external nor extra-linguistic) although it recognises that further investigations into these issues would yield valuable results. Before progressing to the study proper, however, it is important to make clear here how morphosyntax is understood as there can be an overlap between what constitutes morphosyntactic variation and different forms of lexical items in non-standard varieties. According to Crystal (2009: 315), morphosyntactic forms are "grammatical categories or properties for whose definition criteria of morphology and syntax both apply, as in describing the characteristics of words". An example of this is the singular/plural distinction of nouns. The grammatical number of a given noun affects the corresponding verb when the noun is in the subject position, i.e. number affects syntax. In addition, if a noun is in the plural, it takes a plural ending (e.g. *–s*), i.e. number also affects morphology. In this way, variation in morphosyntactic variables affects both the surface forms (i.e. addition of plural *–s* on nouns) as well as the underlying syntax (i.e. the requirement for subject-verb concord where a singular noun requires a singular verb). The grey area between lexicon and morphosyntax arises as it is sometimes difficult to establish whether a variable is an example of one or the other. Lexical forms will most likely have less impact on the underlying syntax (although there are clearly reasons for why a speaker chooses one lexical form over another) than a morphosyntactic variable, which is why definition and classification is important. Although the main focus is on frequency change in standard and vernacular morphosyntactic forms, a few clear lexical variables have been included in the corpus study (e.g. (throw) which has the TE form *hoy*). However, some of the variables investigated here also fall into the grey area between morphosyntax and lexicon (an example is the variable (*go*) which has the TE form *gan*).

Each variable is described in more detail in section 3.2 below and the origins of the vernacular forms given. It is likely possible to argue that some variants of a variable reflect a clear synonymous relationship whereas others may display simple lexical form variation due to their etymology (and others again are examples of morphosyntactic variation). Considerations of this kind, while valid and insightful, not only raise issues outside the scope of this paper (differentiation between morphology and lexicon as briefly described above, the constitution of a synonymous relationship versus simple variation in form) but they are perhaps also less relevant in a study of this kind for two reasons. First and foremost, this study is interested in binary pairs of standard and non-standard forms regardless of whether they can be classed as synonyms or not and whether they are strictly morphosyntactic or more towards the lexical domain. Secondly, what is of the essence is thus the vernacular quality of the variants which ultimately is a quality wholly determined by the Tyneside English speakers (i.e. a form is only a vernacular form if it is perceived to be one and thus indexes locality to some extent). This means that the status of the variants as morphosyntactic, lexical, synonym or form variant becomes less important.

3.1. Data
The data used for this corpus study is the *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (*DECTE*, Corrigan et al. 2010-2012) which is comprised of three subcorpora: *The Tyneside Linguistic Survey* (*TLS*), the *Phonological Variation and Change* corpus (*PVC*) and the *Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English 2* (*NECTE2*). The data stored in these three subcorpora were collected in the 1960s (*TLS*), in 1994 (*PVC*) and in 2007-present (*NECTE2*, the data included in this study was collected 2007-2009). The data stored in these corpora is interview data .The table below outlines the earliest and latest possible birthdates for the speakers in each corpus (adapted from Barnfield 2009). While this study does not consider informant age or year of birth in the analysis of change and variation, this table has been included here to give the reader an impression of just how many years the data manages to capture. The *DECTE* corpus is truly a unique resource in that it incorporates local speech data from informants born in the late 1800s until now.

Table 2: Overview of data

Corpus and years collected	Younger speaker birthdates (age 17-34)	Older speaker birthdates (age 35+)
TLS 1965-1970	1935- 1968	1895- 1934
PVC 1991-1994	1954- 1977	1911- 1953
NECTE2 2007-2009	1967- 1990	1923- 1966

Before proceeding to the introduction of the individual subcorpora, it should be highlighted that the data stored in these corpora is not perfectly matched. A few ways in which the data differ include geographic spread (the *TLS* data is exclusively from Gateshead, the *PVC* data is exclusively from Newcastle, and the *NECTE2* data is from a larger area which can be described as Tyneside); age range (although this has been normalised for this study, i.e. informants have been separated into similar age groups across the three subcorpora); operationalization of social class (this is often a tricky subject in sociolinguistic studies, see also Jensen (2013) for a discussion of the issues of social class in general in the North of England); the number of speakers in each social cell (e.g. no old MC speakers in *NECTE2*, only 1 old male WC speaker in *PVC*); fieldwork methods and protocols of transcription.

3.1.1. *The Tyneside Linguistic Survey*
The data in this corpus was collected in the late 1960s in Gateshead, which is on the southern bank of the river Tyne. The data-driven approach pioneered in the survey is still employed today and is recognised for its empirical benefits to hypotheses of language variation and change (Corrigan et al. 2000-2005). A large amount of work has been put into restoring and securing the *TLS* data, some of which had been lost and some badly damaged. Today, 37 files, which contain complete interviews with informants and full transcriptions, are available and all were used in this study. The data files also provide social information about each speaker (age, gender and detailed social class based on level of education) and, on the basis of this information, the speakers were separated into the following categories:

Table 3: Overview of the *TLS* data

WC				MC				Total
Young (17-34)		Old (35+)		Young (17-34)		Old (35+)		
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
3	5	5	6	5	6	4	3	37

The interviews consist of a guided conversation between an interviewer and one informant, averaging 30 minutes in length, some interviews taking on a more relaxed conversational style and others a more formal question – answer format (Corrigan et al. 2000-2005).

3.1.2. *The Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English* corpus
This data was collected in Newcastle on the northern bank of the river Tyne between 1991 and 1994. The methodology used was broadly similar to that commonly employed in variationist sociolinguistic fieldwork today which means that it differs from that employed by the *TLS* fieldworkers. The interviews last around 60 minutes and involve informal conversations between a pair of friends or relatives. The *PVC* corpus consists of a total of 18 files each featuring 2 speakers and all were included in the study. The social distribution is shown below in Table 4. This data was also used in Watt's (2002) study of phonological change which is discussed further below.

Table 4: Overview of the *PVC* data

WC				MC				Total
Young (17-34)		Old (35+)		Young (17-34)		Old (35+)		
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
5	5	1	3	6	4	7	5	36

3.1.3. *The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English 2*
The material in the *NECTE2* corpus is collected by undergraduate and postgraduate students at Newcastle University and it consists of several data files, each containing an interview between an interviewer and two speakers (using the same methodology as the *PVC* corpus), a word list, and a reading passage. The style of the interviews is informal with minimal participation of the fieldworker and the speakers are, for the most part, closely acquainted. The interviews last around one hour. The files selected for this study were collected in 2007, 2008 and 2009 and the speakers were from either Newcastle or Gateshead in order to ensure maximum comparability with the speakers in the *PVC* and *TLS* corpora. A total of 24 files (48 speakers) were selected and the social distribution of speakers is given below in Table 5:

Table 5: Overview of the *NECTE2* data

WC				MC				Total
Young (17-34)		Old (35+)		Young (17-34)		Old (35+)		
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
8	6	6	7	9	6	0	6	48

3.2. *Variables*
The seven variables included in the corpus study are described in more detail below and the variants included in the study listed.

3.2.1. (do + NEG)
The Tyneside English contracted form for this construction is *divn't* (also represented as *divvent*) and, according to Beal (1993: 192), the auxiliary *div* (for *do*) is unique to Tyneside. Beal further states that the auxiliary *div* can occur in both positive and negative present tense statements and tag questions and that the phonological form *div* is never used for the main verb *do* (see sentence 1 below). Rowe (2007:361) adds that the positive form of the auxiliary *div* is rarely used except by conservative speakers and speakers using certain linguistic features as in-group markers

(particularly a group widely identified across the Tyneside region as charvas[1]). Finally, *divn't* does not occur in the third person singular which is always *doesn't,* according to Beal (2004: 124) (although Rowe (2007: 365) gives the form *dizn't*). Whilst there is clear evidence that *divn't* is the dominant vernacular form of (do + NEG) in the Tyneside area, other non-standard forms can be found as well (see e.g. Cheshire et al. (1993) and Buchstaller & Corrigan (2011)). The variants included in this study were: *do, don't, don-t, div, divn't, divn-t, divn, does, doesn't, doesn-t, dinna, divven't.* The examples below are taken from the corpus:

(1)   what <u>div</u> I like to do in my spare time well… (tls28, male, old, WC)

(2)   and that you know and this pott singer <u>I divn't</u> care for that fellow I like to hear it sometime but as for watching it on television <u>I don't</u> care much for that you know (tls14, male, old, WC)

(3)   I don't know how I've got this... <u>I divn't</u> knaa where all my money's gone (necte2 07-08/N/ML/159, male, young, MC)

3.2.2   Pronouns

Tyneside English is by no means alone in displaying variation in the pronoun system. In fact, this is a common occurrence in regional varieties of English (Trudgill & Chambers 1991: 7; Beal 2010: 39). This study only deals with the first and second person personal pronouns, although TE pronouns differ from those of Standard English in a number of ways. Some of these differences are also found in other regional dialects (such as using the object pronoun in the subject position in compound subjects, using *which* with a personal antecedent) and some are particular to Tyneside English (such as adding *–self/selves* to the vernacular possessive forms of pronouns throughout the paradigm giving forms such as *meself* and *theirselves* (Beal 1993: 205-207, 2004: 117-119).

•   (First person pronoun): In Tyneside English, we find that the standard paradigm has been completely reorganised apart from the first person subject, as can be seen from the table below (Beal 1993: 205):[2]

Table 6: First person pronouns in Standard and Tyneside English

	Standard	**Tyneside**
Subject singular/plural	I / we	I / us
Object singular/plural	Me / us	Us / we
Possessive singular/plural	My / our	Me / wor

Beal (2010:42-43) discusses pronoun exchange in regional varieties of English and defines it as follows: " '[p]ronoun exchange' is the term used to refer to a phenomenon whereby what would, in Standard English, be the subject form is used in the object form and vice versa" and continues to note that in the Northeast, only the first person plural forms have been exchanged. However, as can be seen from Table 6 above (which is based on Beal 1993) the

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1   A term used in Newcastle to denote groups of "tough" young people most often from a lower socioeconomic background known for their use of distinctive linguistic features (to signify group membership) as well as particular dress-code (branded sports apparel). The term has been absorbed into general English in recent years (it was *Word of the Year* in 2004) and now denotes members of the 'underclass' across Britain although the distinctive dress-code of sports apparel and tendency to cause havoc in town centres is maintained (Rowe 2007, Hayward and Yar 2006).

2   It should be noted here that in the most recent publication about North-eastern English, Beal et.al. (2012: 52) report Tyneside English to have the form *we* in the plural subject form, i.e. the same form as Standard English, however, the data for the corpus study reported here was compiled and analysed prior to this resource becoming available.

object singular and possessive forms are different in Tyneside English. Beal (2010) further comments that *we* (pronounced with a weakened schwa vowel) in the object position is more frequent than *us* used in the subject position. The variants included in this study were: *we, us, me, my, our, wor, mi*. While the first person singular subject form *I* formed part of the initial data collection, it was excluded from the analyses as it is the same form in both Standard and Tyneside English and accounted for more than half of the initial 40,000+ tokens which were collected. Below are a few examples taken from the corpus data:

(4)   Keeps <u>us</u> on <u>my</u> toes (necte2, 07-08/G/DM/456, young, male, MC)

(5)   And he used to buy <u>we</u> like alcohol and that (necte2, 07-08/G/LR/195, young, female, WC)

(6)   and they constantly had <u>me</u> mam ganning up to the school to talk about <u>us</u> and stuff (necte2, 07-08/N/PS/243, young, male, WC)

(7)   Oh yeah, <u>we</u>'re great friends with <u>wor</u> next door neighbours (necte2, 07-08/N/VL/3892, old, female, MC)

• (Second person pronoun): The vernacular form of the second person personal pronoun is *yous* (in both singular and plural, see below) in Tyneside English. This form has most likely been introduced by Irish immigrants and the form is also found in other northern urban varieties, e.g. Liverpool and Manchester (Beal 2010: 40-41). An older vernacular form in TE is the singular subject form *ye* (plural form: *yees*) which is thought to be a remnant from the Early Modern English period. For speakers who have the *ye* form, the second person pronoun paradigm has distinct forms for all four positions (where Standard English has *you* in all four environments). However, the *ye* and *yees* forms were very rare in the corpus data (Beal 1993: 205, 2004: 118, 2010: 40). As this study is strictly interested in the change in frequencies of non-standard forms over time, coding did not differentiate between the different vernacular forms used[3]. As we can see from the table below, there is an overlap in forms between Tyneside English and Standard English in the singular object position. Both Englishes have *you* in this position which makes it impossible to determine whether it is the vernacular or standard pronoun which is being used. In the coding of data, all occurrences of *you* were labelled as Standard English. Whereas this holds the potential to be misleading due to the ambiguous data, time constraints and the somewhat 'raw' format of the data meant that this seemed the best solution to this issue as opposed to leaving out tokens in the singular object position.

Table 7: Second person pronouns in Standard and Tyneside English

	Standard	**Tyneside**
Subject singular/plural	You / you	(Ye) yous / yous
Object singular/plural	You / you	You / yous (yees)

The following variants were included in this study: *you, yous, ye, yees, ya*. The examples

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3   I acknowledge that this coding scheme hides internal patterns of variation across the different syntactic environments and social categories, however, as mentioned previously, this study is purely interested in changes in frequencies of vernacular forms over time. Furthermore, the corpus data had only a handful of tokens of the forms *ye* and *yees,* although this could be due, in part to the differences in transcriptions across the three corpora.

below are taken from the 1990s data:

(8)   it's just <u>yous</u> were good weren't <u>you</u> oh apart from that time <u>yous</u> collapsed (pvc09a, male, young, MC)

(9)   I know my mam says "<u>yous</u> are stupid <u>yous</u> are letting her manipulate <u>you</u> again making <u>you</u> feel guilty when <u>you</u> shouldn't have to feel guilty" (pvc12a, female, young, MC)

3.2.3. Verbs
This final category contains the following four verbal variables: *can* + negation (which is *canna*), the vernacular form *gan* for Standard English *go,* TE *hoy* for Standard English *throw,* and finally the form *telt* for Standard English *told.* The criteria for the selection of the four variables in this category were that they had to be either lexical forms particular to Tyneside (as is the case for *hoy*) or display non-standard morphosyntax (as is the case for *canna*). As mentioned previously, *gan,* but also *telt,* occupy the grey area between morphosyntax and lexicon.

- (can +NEG): According to Beal (1993: 199, 2004: 123), speakers of Tyneside English tend to opt for uncontracted constructions of in sentential negation with the auxiliaries *have, be, will,* and *can.* The TE form for Standard English *cannot* is *canna* (also reproduced as *cannae*). The negative particle *na* or *nae* is also found extensively in Scotland (Trudgill & Chambers 1991: 49; Dictionary of the Scots Language 2005). The variants included in this study were: *can not, cannot, can't, canna, cannae, can-nae, can-not, can-na, canne, can-ne.* The examples below are from the corpus:

  (10)   Yeah that's how different we are I would prefer going on holiday even though I <u>can-nae</u> sit in the sun 'cause I burn loads. (necte2 08-09/N/SG/456, young, female, WC)

  (11)   aye I'm sick of telling them if somebody else can hear it as well as you it <u>canna</u> be doing you no good (pvc18b, old, female, WC)

  (12)   I've just always quite liked it here I <u>cannae</u> think of a down side (necte2 Tessa.Durby, old, female, MC)

- (go): According to Beal (1993: 192), the Tyneside English form *gan* is a "lexically distinct verb" which is not found in Standard English. It is attested in the Survey of English Dialects (Upton et al 1994) in the imperative and in exclamations such as *gan to hell, gan on,* and *gan off* from Durham, York and Norhumberland. According to Oxford English Dictionary, *gan* stems from the Old English infinitive (Oxford English Dictionary Online, "go, v.") whereas Standard English has taken the Old Norse form. The table below shows the present tense paradigm for *gan* based on the occurrences in the three corpora:

Table 8: (go) in Standard and Tyneside English

	Standard	**Tyneside**
1st person singular	I go	I gan / gans
2nd person singular	You go	You gan
3rd person singular	He / she / it goes	He / she / it gans
1st person plural	We go	We gan / gans

| **2ⁿᵈ person plural** | You go | (no occurrences) |
| **3ʳᵈ person plural** | They go | They gan / gans |

As we can see, there is some variability in the endings in the first person singular and first and third person plural. According to Beal (2010: 32), some Northern varieties of English have –*s* throughout the present tense paradigm (and not just in the third person singular as is the case for Standard English). However, the matter is complicated somewhat by the 'Northern Subject Rule' which states that "the verb takes –*s* in the plural where the subject is a noun or noun phrase, but not when it is a pronoun adjacent to the verb" (Beal 2010: 32) Based on the data used for this study, it seems that the two rules are in competition and that Tyneside speakers differ in which forms they prefer when. The following variants were included in the study: *go, goes, goin, going, gan, gans, gannin, ganning.* The examples below are from the corpus:

(13) aye we used to play in the street you ca you couldn't <u>gan</u> anywhere else to play (tls06, old, female, WC)

(14) we often <u>gan</u> on about it now (tls03, old, female, WC)

(15) drink bottles when I <u>gan</u> in there (pvc01b, young, male, MC)

(16) the insurance <u>gans</u> down ((doon)) a tenner every week? (necte2 07-08/N/PM/85, young, male, WC)

(17) Ah that music was <u>ganning</u> till half two last night did you hear it? (necte2 07-08/N/ML/159, young, male, MC)

• (throw): The Tyneside verb for 'throw' is *hoy*. It is relatively infrequent, however, it is a verb which is often mentioned as a 'stereotypical' Geordie word, e.g. in the oft-quoted phrase "Hoy the hammer over here" (e.g. see BBC, 2008). It is attested in Wright (1898) as a verb found in Northumberland, Durham and Cumbria meaning "to throw" with the first entry dated 1969. A similar entry is found in the Survey of English Dialects (Upton et al 1994). In Wright (1898), *hoy* is also mentioned as an exclamation occurring in other, more southern parts of England (Devon, Kent, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Lancashire). Furthermore, it is also attested in the Oxford English Dictionary and the definition given can be linked to the Tyneside English use for 'throw' albeit tentatively. The OED lists *hoy* with the meaning "[t]o urge on or incite with cries of 'hoy!'; to drive or convoy with shouts" (Oxford English Dictionary Online, "hoy, v.") and gives examples from as far back as 1536 and includes an example by Robert Burns, the famous Scottish poet, from 1786:

(18) They *hoy't* out Will, wi' sair advice.

Based on the data used in this study, *hoy* seems to follow the regular verb paradigm as can be seen from the table below (based on the corpora used in this study):

Table 9: (throw) in Standard and Tyneside English

| | **Standard** | **Tyneside** |
| **1ˢᵗ person singular** | I throw | I hoy |

2nd person singular	You throw	*(no occurrences)*
3rd person singular	He / she / it throws	*(no occurrences)*
1st person plural	We throw	*(no occurrences)*
2nd person plural	You throw	*(no occurrences)*
3rd person plural	They throw	They hoy

Other forms which occurred in the data were *hoying* as well as *hoyed* (used as past participle in the construction *got hoyed* and in the past tense *he hoyed it*). The variants included in the study were: *throw, throws, threw, thrown, throwing, throwin, hoy, hoys, hoyed, hoying, hoyin.* The examples below are both from the corpus data:

(19) that's it you used to <u>hoy</u> a few currants in (pvc02a, old, male, MC)

(20) even when there was lasses in my college I never got put with any of them I got <u>hoyed</u> straight in with the lads (pvc06a, young, male WC)

(21) and the other lass was a bit thin because eh you have to <u>hoy</u> the boxes though you see (tls37, old, female, WC)

(22) Oh he got <u>hoyed</u> out didn't he, aye! (necte2 07-08/G/JF/123, young, male, MC)

- (told): The final variable in this category is the past tense form of the verb *tell* where Tyneside English has the regular suffix *–t* (which gives the form *telt*) rather than following the irregular paradigm of Standard English which has *told* (Beal 2010: 31). As this study is purely concerned with mapping frequencies of use over time of Standard and vernacular forms, it does not distinguish between past tense and participle forms (Tyneside English has *telt* in both constructions and Standard English has *told*). The variants included in this study were: *telt, told.* The examples below show how the vernacular form was used by speakers in the corpus:

(23) but you <u>telt</u> me it was a fact (pvc06b, young, male, WC)

(24) it was him who <u>telt</u> me (tls28, old, male, WC)

(25) he <u>telt</u> us he was having a party but he didn't <u>tell</u> us like when (pvc01a, young, male, MC)

3.3. *Method*

Tokens from the corpora were extracted using the program R (R Development Core Team, 2011), the coding of the tokens was done manually in Microsoft Excel 2010 and statistical analyses were carried out using SPSS 19.0.

The corpus data was structured so that each line began with a speaker code and the full turn of the informant followed and each line ended with either the speaker code again or a code signalling the end of a turn. If the speaker turn ran over more than one line, it was divided into two (or more) lines at a natural point, all beginning and ending with the speaker code (or an end of turn code). The three subcorpora were merged to form one large corpus of approximately 700,000 words which was used as the basis for the token collection. It was possible to identify which corpus each token was from on the basis of the speaker code. The tokens were extracted by R in the following way: the

corpus file was narrowed down to only those lines that contained speech of informants by using the *grep()* function. The corpus was then further narrowed down to only those lines which contain matches with the search terms again by using *grep()*. The function *gregexpr()* was used to get a complete list of all matches (as some lines contained more than one match) and the lines with matches were then split into three (see below) by using the functions *rep()*, *sapply()*, *unlist()*, and *substr()* and the output was saved to a .txt file which was opened as a tab delimited table in Microsoft Excel 2010 where all further coding was done (for more information on the R code used, see Gries 2009: 138-140). The Excel table consisted of three columns: the first column featured the preceding context (from the beginning of the sentence including the speaker code up until the token), the second column contained the actual token (called 'match') and the third column the subsequent context (the remaining part of the line).

Figure 2: R output in Excel

	PRECEDING_CONTEXT	MATCH	SUBSEQUENT_CONTEXT	INFORMANT
1				
2	<07-08/ N/ 11>	you	are a cunt Hobbes. <@> ... cheers mate ... † ...(N (3))	<07-08/ N/ 11>
3	<07-08/ N/ 11>	yes	wore blazers? ... where did you go to school at? <07-	<07-08/ N/ 11>
4	<07-08/ N/ 11>	you	you were really bad <@> <07-08/ N/ 11>	<07-08/ N/ 11>
5	<07-08/ N/ 11>	you	would be getting that letter ... you would be getting	<07-08/ N/ 11>
6	<07-08/ N/ 11>	you	did not bother with The Who? <07-08/ N/ 11>	<07-08/ N/ 11>
7	<07-08/ N/ 11>	you	are kidding? <07-08/ N/ 11>	<07-08/ N/ 11>
8	ore .. just going to type it up ... bang .. done .. so	you	just get a print-out now and you are done ... aye ... I	<07-08/ N/ 11>
9	ing .. done .. so you just get a print-out now and	you	are done ... aye ... I would never .. prepare for it thou	<07-08/ N/ 11>
10	/ 11> (continues American Accent) .. soccer .. do	you	want a game of soccer? ... (reverts back to standard a	<07-08/ N/ 11>
11	f soccer? ... (reverts back to standard accent) do	you	fancy a game of football? aye .. aye. <@> <07-08/ N/	<07-08/ N/ 11>
12	they play that .. they have got that umm .. have	you	seen that .. Dos Santos .. kid {.. the Brazilian guy ... <|	<07-08/ N/ 11>
13	<07-08/ N/ 11> .. like a .. five goal deficit .. then	you	have to write the other guy a letter of apology .. to s	<07-08/ N/ 11>
14	etter of apology .. to say <@> .. saying how poor	you	are at Pro Evolution Soccer. <07-08/ N/ 11>	<07-08/ N/ 11>
15	is .. and concepts ... it seems .. in your third year	you	have got to read like .. scientific journals like .. all th	<07-08/ N/ 11>
16	ead like .. scientific journals like .. all the time ..	you	don't get any text books. ...(N (3)) <07-08/ N/ 11>	<07-08/ N/ 11>

If a line contained more than one match, each of these were stored in separate lines. All searches for the linguistic variants specified that these forms had to occur between word boundaries. This meant that forms such as *you're* were also included but occurrences of variants within other words (e.g. in *yourself*) were ignored. The use of word boundaries is also why, when searching for the variants of (do + NEG), the different negated forms had to be specified as a search for *do* alone with word boundaries would not return instances of *don't* and *doesn't* and a search for *do* without specifying that it should occur within word boundaries would return a multiple of other lexical items (such as *doing*, *down*, *donation*, *bulldog*). The same R code was used for the extraction of all the tokens for all the variables with only the search terms being different. All variables were kept separate throughout and thus the search was carried out once for each individual variable.

As the number of tokens collected for the different variables varied greatly, different statistical methods were used to investigate frequency changes across the three corpora. All tests, however, were concerned with mapping the frequency differences between the three groups, *TLS*, *PVC* and *NECTE2*. Not only must the tests be able to establish whether the patterning of tokens changes across the three groups, they must also be able to tell us whether the differences are statistically significant and between which of the groups the differences are largest. The two categories *sentential negation* and *pronouns* were analysed using parametric tests (ANOVA) and the variables in the final category, *verbs,* were analysed using non-parametric tests (chi-squared and Kruskal-Wallis). These are described in more detail below. Due to the use of different tests, the data needed to be prepared differently following the initial extraction from the corpora.

3.3.1. Parametric tests
Parametric tests (ANOVA) were used for the analyses of variables (do+NEG), (first person

pronoun) and (second person pronoun). As the number of tokens collected for each speaker varied greatly for each of these variables and because a very large number of tokens were collected overall, a random sample of 10 tokens (for do + NEG) or 20 tokens (for the pronouns) per speaker was selected and coded for source corpus and whether the token was standard or Tyneside English. Based on this selection, each speaker was given a *vernacular score* (for (first) and (second person pronouns) this score was between 0-20 and for (do + NEG) between 0-10) which simply comprised of the number of vernacular tokens in the random selection for each speaker. A between-groups (or independent) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then carried out on the basis of the vernacular score. For the (do + NEG) variable, the initial search returned around 3,400 tokens. 10 tokens were then randomly selected for each speaker using Excel's RAND function to ensure a balanced and equally representative sample. Out of the 120 speakers in the corpus, 17 speakers produced less than 10 instances of sentential negation with *do* and were left out of the final sample. This left 103 informants (*NECTE2*=43, *PVC*=30, *TLS*=30) and a total of 1030 tokens.

For the first person pronoun, R initially returned over 40,000 tokens. However, this included the singular nominative form *I* which made up more than half of the total number of collected tokens. As this form is the same in both standard and Tyneside English, all tokens of *I* were removed from the data set. 20 tokens were then randomly selected from each speaker; however, 7 speakers had produced less than 20 instances of the first person pronoun so these were left out of the final sample. This left 113 speakers (*NECTE2*=45, *PVC*=36, *TLS*=32) and a total of 2,260 tokens. All selected tokens were coded manually according to variety (standard or vernacular) and grammatical role and number. This was necessary in order to determine whether the token is standard or vernacular due to the overlap in the pronoun paradigm. No instances of right-dislocated pronouns (e.g. *I don't like it me*) were included.

The total number of extracted tokens for the second person pronoun was a little greater than 15,000. It was not possible to eliminate any tokens from this data set because even though *you* does feature as both a standard and vernacular form it is also the only form in the standard. According to the paradigm, the only overlapping form between the standard and vernacular is the singular object (which is *you* in both varieties) and thus the only form which should be removed from the study if the method and line of argumentation used for the first person pronoun were to be replicated. However, in order to exclude all instances of the singular object form, all the tokens would have to be coded for number and position before the tokens could be removed. This was simply not very time efficient and thus all tokens were kept as the basis for the following random selection of tokens. Again, 20 tokens were selected from each speaker using RAND. Out of the 120 speakers in the collected corpus, 2 speakers were represented by less than 20 tokens in the data set and thus left out. This left 118 informants (*NECTE2*=47, *PVC*=36, *TLS*=35) and a total of 2,360 tokens. All instances of *you* were coded as 'standard'.

The table below shows the number of tokens included from the different corpora in the analysis of the first three variables:

Table 10: Distribution of selected tokens for ANOVA across corpora and variables

Corpus →	TLS		PVC		NECTE2	
↓Variables	Standard	Vernacular	Standard	Vernacular	Standard	Vernacular
(do + NEG) *N*=1030	262	38	278	22	386	44
(1st pers) *N*=2260	591	49	651	69	785	115
(2nd pers) *N*=2360	697	3	713	7	865	75

3.3.2. Non-parametric tests

The rest of the variables (*canna*, *gan*, *hoy* and *telt*) were analysed using two different non-

parametric tests. Non-parametric tests were chosen as these can be used on smaller datasets as they do not rely on normally distributed data and do not make assumptions about the underlying population (Pallant 2007: 210).

The first test was the chi-squared test which tests for significant differences between groups of speakers over time. There is an issue, though, with applying chi-squared tests to a population of utterances (and not a population of speakers) where some speakers are represented by more tokens than others. This is because one of the (albeit few) assumptions for non-parametric tests is that all observations must be independent, i.e. each person may only be counted once (Pallant 2007: 211). However, it can be argued that for each token, the speaker had a choice between a vernacular and a standard form and thus each token represents a separate and independent speech act. This also means that what the chi-squared test reveals in this instance is variation across tokens rather than variation across speakers. As the number of tokens for the individual variables in the *verb* category was quite low, all tokens were included for all variables. The tokens were coded for the corpus they occurred in as well as whether the token could be classed as a standard or vernacular form and chi-squared tests were then carried out on the basis of this.

Because of the possible issue with the chi-squared test, Kruskal-Wallis tests were also carried out on the four variables. In short, Kruskal-Wallis is the non-parametric version of an ANOVA test (which was used to test the differences between the pronouns and (do + NEG)). The Kruskal-Wallis tests were based on a proportional score for each speaker which captured the proportion of vernacular tokens out of the total number of tokens collected for that speaker. The distribution of standard and vernacular tokens across the three corpora is given in Table 11 below:

Table 11: Distribution of tokens for non-parametric tests across corpora and variables

Corpus →	TLS		PVC		NECTE2	
↓Variables	Standard	Vernacular	Standard	Vernacular	Standard	Vernacular
(can + NEG) *N*=260	64	0	81	1	81	33
(go) *N*=4567	639	84	2146	93	1473	132
(throw) *N*=86	10	8	30	7	23	8
(told) *N*=188	28	2	78	13	62	5

4. Results

I will present the results of the statistical tests (ANOVA, chi-square, and Kruskal-Wallis) in two separate sections. The first will detail the results of the ANOVA tests for the variables (do + NEG), (first person pronoun), and (second person pronoun) and the second section, 4.2, will detail the results for the four variables in the group *verbs* which were analysed using the two non-parametric tests, chi-squared test for independence and Kruskal-Wallis.

4.1. Results of parametric tests

The table below summarises the descriptive statistics for the ANOVA test of the three variables discussed in this section. The ANOVA test compares the variability in scores between the three corpora (which is taken to be due to the time of collection) with the variability within each group (which is taken to be due to chance). Chance dictates that there will always be variation within the groups so for a significant result (expressed by a large *F* ratio), the variation between the groups must be larger than the variation within the groups as this would indicate that the independent variable which is being tested (here time of collection) is the cause of these differences (Pallant 2007: 242)[4]. As the ANOVA test is based on the vernacular values for each speaker, the means and

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4   It should be noted here that this explanation accounts for the logic underlying the ANOVA test. It should be kept in mind that the variation within the groups may be structured and that the differences between the corpora may be

Standard Deviations also refer to these values. Interestingly, the maximum value reported for the first and second person pronouns in the *TLS* and *PVC* corpora are all very low, especially for the second person pronoun (1 and 2, respectively). The Ns given are the number of speakers included from each corpus.

Table 12: Summary of descriptive statistics for ANOVA

Corpus ↓Variables →		(do+NEG)	(1st pers. pronoun)	(2nd pers. pronoun)
TLS	N	30	32	35
	mean	1.27	1.53	0.09
	SD	2.449	1.796	0.284
	max	10	7	1
PVC	N	30	36	36
	mean	0.73	1.92	0.19
	SD	1.413	2.116	0.467
	max	5	6	2
NECTE2	N	43	45	47
	mean	1.02	2.56	1.60
	SD	1.858	2.981	3.221
	max	6	13	17
FULL CORPUS	N	103	113	118
	mean	1.01	2.06	0.72
	SD	1.933	2.443	2.164
	max	10	13	17

For (do + NEG), the one-way between-groups ANOVA did not show any effect of time of collection (or corpus) on the frequency of use of vernacular forms ($F_{(2,100)} = 0.568$, p = 0.568, N.S., effect size (partial eta squared) = 0.011 (no effect)). A non-significant result was also obtained for the second variable, (first person pronoun), ($F_{(2,110)} = 1.761$, *p* = 1.77, N.S., effect size (partial eta squared) = 0.031 (no effect)). The third and final variable in this section, (second person pronoun), is the first variable to show a significant effect. The one-way between-groups ANOVA indicated an effect of group (or time of collection) on speakers' use of vernacular forms ($F_{(2,115)} = 7.082$, *p* = 0.001, effect size (partial eta squared) = 0.110 (small effect size)). Post-hoc tests (Tukey HSD) indicate a significant difference between *NECTE2* and PVC (*p* = 0.007) and between *NECTE2* and *TLS* (*p* = 0.004). There was no significant difference between PVC and *TLS* (*p* = 0.973).

These results show that there is no change in the frequency of use of (do + NEG) and (first person pronoun), however, there is an increase in use by speakers of the third variable (you), with speakers in the most recent data (*NECTE2*) using the vernacular form of the pronoun, *yous,* more frequently than in the 1990s (*PVC* data) and 1960s (*TLS* data). The results are summarised alongside those for the other four variables in Table 15 below on page 62.

4.2. Results of the non-parametric tests
The four dependent variables in this category were (can + NEG), (go), (throw), and (told). The differences in the patterning of tokens were tested using two different non-parametric tests. The frequencies of vernacular tokens as they pattern within the three corpora are given in Table 13a and the frequencies of vernacular tokens as they pattern across the three corpora in Table 13b:

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partially caused by the differences in collection methods and transcriptions.

Table 13a: Within group frequencies of vernacular forms*

	TLS	PVC	NECTE2	total
(can + NEG) N=260	0% (N=0)	1.2% (N=1)	28.9% (N=33)	13.1% (N=34)
(go) N=4567	11.6% (N=84)	4.2% (N=93)	8.2% (N=132)	6.8% (N=309)
(throw) N=86	44.4% (N=8)	18.9% (N=7)	25.8% (N=8)	26.7% (N=23)
(told) N=188	6.7% (N=2)	14.3% (N=13)	7.5% (N=5)	10.6% (N=20)

* the figures are proportions of vernacular forms out of the total number of tokens collected for that group. I.e. out of the total number of tokens collected for the speakers in the *NECTE2* corpus for the variable (can + NEG), 28.9% were vernacular forms. Similarly, out of the total number of tokens collected for the variable (can + NEG) across all three corpora, 13.1% were vernacular forms. The Ns are the total number of tokens collected for each variable.

Table 13b: Within variety frequencies of vernacular forms*

	TLS	PVC	NECTE2	total
(can + NEG) N=34	0% (N=0)	2.9% (N=1)	97.1% (N=33)	100% (N=34)
(go) N=309	27.2% (N=84)	30.1% (N=93)	42.7% (N=132)	100% (N=309)
(throw) N=23	34.8% (N=8)	30.4% (N=7)	34.8% (N=8)	100% (N=23)
(told) N=20	10% (N=2)	65% (N=13)	25% (N=5)	100% (N=20)

* the figures are proportions of vernacular forms in each corpus out of the total number of vernacular tokens collected for that variable. I.e. out of the total number of vernacular tokens collected for (go), 42.7% came from the *NECTE2* corpus. The Ns are the total number of vernacular tokens collected for each variable.

The table below summarises the descriptive statistics for the three subcorpora and the corpus as a whole for the Kruskal-Wallis test. The Ns given refer to the number of speakers included from each corpus.

Table 14: Summary of descriptive statistics for Kruskal-Wallis*

Corpus ↓Variables →		(can + NEG)	(go)	(throw)	(told)
TLS	N	20	37	17	18
	mean	0.00	0.11	0.46	0.05
	median	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.00
	SD	0.00	0.231	0.484	0.138
PVC	N	21	35	20	29
	mean	0.01	0.0498	0.21	0.11
	median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	SD	0.031	0.165678	0.386	0.310
NECTE2	N	24	42	14	29
	mean	0.29	0.10	0.08	0.06
	median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	SD	0.415	0.243	0.214	0.228
FULL CORPUS	N	65	114	51	76
	mean	0.11	0.09	0.26	0.08
	median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	SD	0.287	0.218	0.409	0.246

* Kruskal-Wallis tests are based on ranked scores so it is not possible to talk about minimum and maximum scores as this value refers to the ranking score and not the proportional value on which the ranking is based.

I will present the results of both tests for each variable starting with (can + NEG). A chi-squared test of this variable found the difference between groups to be highly significant ($X^2 = 45.032$, *df* = 2, p

< 0.001) and Cramer's *V* test for effect size (Pallant 2007: 217) revealed a highly significant medium effect (Cramer's *V* = 0.413, *p* < 0.001). A Kruskal-Wallis test further confirmed that there are significant differences between the distributions of vernacular tokens across the three corpora (*p* < 0.001). As can be seen from the frequency distribution in Table 13b, *NECTE2* speakers contributed 97.1% of all vernacular tokens for this variable.

For the second dependent variable in this category, (go), chi-squared testing of the difference in frequency of vernacular forms between the three corpora showed a highly significant difference with a small effect size (X^2 = 56.618, *df* = 2, *p* < 0.001, Cramer's *V* = 0.111, *p* < 0.001). When looking at the frequencies given in Table 13b, we see that there is a steady increase in the number of vernacular forms used by the speakers with the highest proportion being used by the speakers from the *NECTE2* corpus. However, the Kruskal-Wallis test returned a clear, non-significant result (*p* = 0.288).

The reverse seems to be the case for the third variable, (throw), where the chi-squared test found no significant differences between the three groups but the Kruskal-Wallis test did. The result of the chi-squared test was non-significant (X^2 = 4.049, *df* = 2, *p* = 0.132, Cramer's *V* = 0.217), however, the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test shows a significant difference between the three groups (*p* = 0.034). Comparing these results with the two frequency tables above (Tables 13a and 13b), it would seem that the use of vernacular *hoy* for Standard English *throw* is becoming more frequent again after a dip in the 1990s (PVC data).

The final variable is (told) and neither the chi-squared test (X^2 = 2.482, *df* = 2, *p* = 0.289, Cramer's *V* = 0.115) or the Kruskal-Wallis (*p* = 0.691) found any statistically significant differences between the use of vernacular forms across the three corpora.

To summarise, we can see that the two different tests sometimes yield different results, in this case for the two variables (go) and (throw). The implications of this are discussed further below. We can also see that the two tests yield similar results for two of the variables, (can + NEG) and (told), where (can + NEG) was found to be increasing in use over time and (told) to remain constant (i.e. there were no significant differences between the three groups). The table below summarises the results for all seven variables across the three statistical tests:

Table 15: Summary of inferential analyses for all seven variables

	(do + NEG)	(1st pers.)	(2nd pers.)	(can + NEG)	(go)	(throw)	(told)
Significant ANOVA	-	-	+				
Significant Chi sq				+	+	-	-
Significant K-W				+	-	+	-

To summarise, while not all seven variables showed significant differences in use over time, the ones that did (*youse* as second person pronoun, *canna* for sentential negation with *can, gan* for *go* and *hoy* for *throw*) all showed the highest frequency of use in the most recent data from 2007-2009. The results for *gan* and *hoy* are not as clear as those for *youse* and *canna,* as the two non-parametric tests reveal different results. One way to interpret this difference lies in the construction of the tests themselves. As discussed above, a chi-squared test reveals something about the difference in the patterning of individual tokens whereas the Kruskal-Wallis test is based on speaker ranks and thus compares the speakers across the three groups. In this way it could be argued that the data displays a significant difference in the amount of *tokens* of the vernacular forms of (go), however, the behavior of the speakers across the three corpora is not significantly different. This result could be caused by a general increase of use of all forms by all speakers in the newest data. In that case, the KW test would not find speakers to have changed their behavior significantly as the *proportion* of vernacular tokens for (go) would remain the same. Conversely, in the case of (throw) where the KW

test found a significant difference between the speakers' proportional use of standard and vernacular forms over time, the distribution of tokens across the three corpora was not significantly different according to the chi-squared test.

5. Discussion

A comparison of the two studies thus indicates that it is possible for the directionality of change in different levels of one variety to go in opposite directions. This highlights important issues in our understanding of phonology and morphosyntax but also raises questions as to which factors impact language change and how. I will here suggest that identity factors may explain how we can find levelling in the phonology of Tyneside English while at the same time see an increased use of local morphosyntactic forms.

5.1. *The difference between phonology and morphosyntax*

One suggestion which might help account for the difference in directionality of change is *salience* (Labov 1972, 1994; Trudgill 1986) as it can be hypothesised that if there are differences in the salience of certain phonological and morphosyntactic forms, or of these linguistic levels in general, it is probable that this will affect the direction or extent of language change. Specifically in the example of Tyneside English, it means that it is possible for there to be an increase in vernacular morphosyntactic forms but a decrease in vernacular phonological forms simultaneously, which we have seen above.

If the phonological level is more salient, speakers can deliberately aim for a more standard, or at least less local, accent or pronunciation whilst actually, subconsciously, increasing their use of vernacular morphosyntactic features. However, if the morphosyntax is more salient than the phonology then there can be a deliberate choice of vernacular morphosyntactic forms (e.g. to indicate local identity and group membership). The change in phonological forms will then be subconscious so that speakers might pronounce certain words in a more standard manner but actually opt for more overt vernacular features, such as the vernacular forms *yous* or *hoy.* At present this is purely hypothetical and it should be added that it is possible for different phonological forms to be more salient than others and similarly so for morphosyntactic forms and that this is also likely to vary between speakers.

A methodological issue arises, however, in the conceptualisation of 'more or less local' which is based on the very nature of phonology and morphosyntax, respectively. As we saw in Watt's (2002) study, a type of graded scale can be created for phonological variants to exemplify levels of 'localness' or 'standardness'. But it is not possible to create clines with intermediate values of different morphosyntactic variants of variables as these are binary in nature. For morphosyntactic variables only local forms (*yous, divn't, hoy, etc.*) and standard forms (*you, don't, throw, etc.*) exist.

It is important to keep in mind that, due to methodological differences, it is not possible to compare the two studies on a speaker-by-speaker basis. Even though data from the PVC corpus was used in both studies, proposing that speakers are using more vernacular morphosyntactic features at the same time as they are using less vernacular phonological features is not straightforward. None of the studies have looked at what each individual speaker is doing with regard to *both* phonology and morphosyntax. It is possible for Watt's results to show a change towards a regional standard (i.e. dialect levelling) and for the results of morphosyntactic study to find an increase in use of vernacular morphosyntactic forms. Based on the two studies reported here, we cannot be certain of how the changes are expressed by each individual speaker. In theory, at least, speakers can increase their use of vernacular forms on both the morphosyntactic level as well as on the phonological level; they can decrease their use on both levels; or simply increase on only one level (c.f. Cheshire et al. 2005).

5.2. *Linguistic local identity*

While differences in the salience of phonological and morphosyntactic variables may be one way to account for the different directions of change found in the *DECTE* corpus, speaker identity may also play a part. Watt (2002: 53) also comments on the role of a local linguistic identity and states that "[s]elf-identity in Newcastle, Tyneside and the north-east generally is rather complex" but adds that Tyneside inhabitants generally hold very strong feelings of regionality and local pride (2002: 54). He concludes by considering the role of the social changes of large industrial cities in the 20th century and its impact on the development of new regional identities (2002: 58) and states that this is a topic of interest across many disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, history and politics. The discussion which follows below touches on these aspects and suggests that socio-psychological factors (such as local affiliation) are linked to the salience of linguistic forms. In this way, social changes can impact speakers' language use through processes of social indexicality and enregisterment.

5.2.1. The urban regeneration of Tyneside

The Tyneside conurbation is an area which relied heavily on the ship-building and mining industries following the Industrial Revolution. In present times, however, these industries are no longer present on Tyneside and the area represents a "deindustrialised landscape" (Miles 2005: 913). The area was very much a working class area (and still is, to a degree) with the Quayside playing a central role both as an industrial centre but also as the connecting link between Newcastle and Gateshead. More recently, the Quayside has undergone a transformation. It is no longer the industrial centre it was but is instead a bubbling cultural area complete with an art museum, an award-winning bridge, several bars and pubs and a musical centre and so the overall function of the Quayside has changed from "production to consumption" (Miles 2005: 920). Miles (2005) links the development of and changes to the Quayside with the development of and changes in regional identity and quotes Wrightson (1995) who describes the Northern identity as being both closely tied to a sense of place but at the same time marred by an awareness of the questionable place of the location within the social landscape of England which seems to persist despite the recent 'culture-led regeneration' (Watt 2002). This problematic position of the North within England also spread from opinions about the inhabitants of the region to opinions about their language.

   The stigmatisation of non-standard varieties is not unique to Tyneside. The ideology of the standard is "the belief that there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language, modelled on a single correct written form" (Milroy 1999: 174) and this leads to the stigmatisation of certain features and dialects as the most favourable opinions are most often linked to the standard language rather than to rural or urban dialects, for instance. In England, the RP accent is often perceived as constituting Standard (spoken) English and is often used as a point of reference for describing other varieties of English (Smith 1996: 66-67) and thus the social differentiation this implies has great impact on the perception amongst speakers of non-standard varieties, that is the broader local accents and dialects of the lower classes (Wells 1986: 14; Hughes et al. 2005: 15-16). It is clear that from the point of view of the standard ideology, then, any language change must be equated with a weakening of the language which carries with it further stigmatisation. This opinion can also be found among speakers of stigmatised varieties who view their own vernacular as inferior (Milroy 1999). Foulkes & Docherty (1999) and Kerswill (2003) suggest that in relation to the levelling found in the phonology of Tyneside English, young speakers find the traditional dialect old-fashioned and so opt for more modern pronunciations in order to sound more contemporary or less old-fashioned. This is not an abandonment of their northern background but rather just a move to sound modern. The new forms which are adopted must not be part of any other varieties as the young speakers still want to signal in-group membership with other speakers in their region.

   We thus have two contradictions: one is the recent 'culture-led regeneration' of the Tyneside

conurbation focusing on more 'middle-class values' which seems to contradict the stereotype of 'backwards and working-class' which appears so persistent to both Tyneside speakers themselves but also to the rest of England. The second contradiction is the seeming divergence of change in the phonology and morphosyntax found in the *DECTE* corpus. When faced with the stigma attached to them and their local vernacular, Tyneside speakers have to decide whether they will let the stigma influence the way they speak, which is not necessarily a conscious or deliberate decision. Even though Tyneside English might be stigmatised in the rest of England (Watt 2002, Wales 2006), does not mean that it is so in the local speech community. It can be suggested that it is exactly the first contradiction which is part of the underlying cause of the second: with increasing globalization and loss of local identity in other areas, perhaps speakers are looking for ways to mark and express their identity.

For the sake of argument, it may be worthwhile to briefly consider an alternative to the contradiction hypothesis based on common perceptions in sociolinguistics as to the role of phonological and morphosyntactic variants. Phonology is probably the most well-researched area when it comes to language variation (Cheshire et al 2005 make a similar statement) and, as a legacy from Labov, no doubt, is often seen as the foremost indicator of personal identity. Conversely, variation in morphosyntax is often seen as a marker of style or register (although some argue that register shifts also encompass lexis and phonology, see Ferguson (1996 [1959]) on diglossia). Linguistic choices based on style are often the results of social background (class, education) but also to a large extent determined by speech situation, of course. Under this view, there is no contradiction in the directions of change found in the Tyneside data by Watt and me. On the contrary, the speakers' choice to sound northern, rather than Tyneside working class or southern, mirrors the urban cultural regeneration of Newcastle described above. The persistent or increased use by younger speakers of some local morphosyntactic forms is then a stylistic move which allows the speakers to keep a level of informality and friendliness (through use of non-standard forms) and Tyneside regionality. Thus, rather than diverging, the changes in phonology and morphosyntax could be seen as actually converging towards a place in between the local and the standardised, a place which reflects the values of a northern, post-industrial leisure-oriented society.

The issue with this alternative hypothesis, though, is that it assumes a number of things which we cannot necessarily take as fact. First of all, register or style can also be a badge of identity when a specific register is associated with a specific activity which denotes a community of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992). Thus, taking phonology as the primary index of personal identity cannot always be justified. Secondly, the area of variation and change in non-standard morphosyntax as well as comparisons between linguistic levels (such as phonology and morphosyntax) is an under-researched area (see Cheshire et al 2005). While it seems commonly accepted that speaker access to the different levels of language is not equal, how this difference manifests itself and the impact of it is not clear. I suggest that this taps into the notion of salience, a topic currently receiving a lot of attention from a variety of perspectives (Hollman & Siewierska 2006; Podesva 2011; Chiarcos et al 2011; Jaszczolt & Allan 2011; Rácz 2013; Jensen 2013). As this is thus a relatively young topic in linguistics, it is not possible to make strong claims about the connection between salience (which is related to both perception and production and has links to language learning, identity formation and styling, accommodation and other areas) and the role of speakers' access to or awareness of different levels in language.

5.2.2. The social value of local forms
As I mentioned in section 2.2, it has been proposed that linguistic identity is created through the linking of linguistic forms with cultural values through the process of enregisterment (Agha 2003). An understanding of this process and its link with the related concepts of social indexicality (Silverstein 2003) and indexical fields (Eckert 2008) lends further support to the argument that

social and linguistic issues are connected. Here, I adopt the view that these processes are furthermore linked with salience in that a linguistic form becomes salient exactly because of the attachment of social meaning. Salience is thus linked with indexicality as this is concerned with how social values emerge in a community and it is also linked with enregisterment as enregistered forms are forms where the social meaning of the forms *precedes* the original denotational meaning of the form. An elaboration of this argument can be found in Jensen (2013) but see also Honeybone & Watson (2013) for a similar argument based on data from popular dialect literature (which they call *Contemporary, Humorous, Localised Dialect Literature)* from Liverpool capturing the Scouse dialect.

Johnstone & Kiesling (2008) argue that different variables mean different things to different people and thus what constitutes sociolinguistic meaning then differs from person to person and is constantly in a state of flux. It is this web of socio-cultural meanings in a community which make up the indexical field of a linguistic form which (following Silverstein) speakers and hearers access when engaging in language. Thus we can see that considering factors such as enregisterment and social indexicality in the interpretation of patterns of language change can help shed light on the way in which Tyneside speakers anchor their identity when the place they have previously identified with is being changed and no longer represents values that are familiar to them (see above). This approach would account for the revitalisation (or steady use) of local vernacular forms to signify local identity.

Johnstone (2010) continues this line of argumentation and argues that the re-indexing of social meaning and enregisterment of vernacular forms (which she calls resemiotization) is caused by globalization (which I here interpret to be evident in Tyneside in the urban regeneration of the area) rather than being a reaction to it. The heart of the matter here is the very strong link between speakers' linguistic identities and their sense of place and belonging. In enregisterment processes of local vernacular linguistic features, it is precisely the social value and meaning of 'place' which is the primary index and, in turn, the local community which inhabit this place. This community, however, is a prime example of an *imagined community* (Anderson 2006) and the construction of a linguistic identity expressed through the use of a narrow repertoire of forms indexing this imagined community adds further to the *'them* and *us'* situation. This community is being constructed and reinforced by every use of an enregistered form, every display of local identity be it in written or spoken form, in casual conversation or for sale in the tourist office. It is this unbreakable link between language and place which is both built on cultural stereotypes and simultaneously feeds these stereotypes (which are in essence displays of *invented traditions,* (Hobsbawm 1992)) which makes this linguistic identity so powerful and important.

The results of the statistical analyses of the morphosyntactic variables revealed that the vernacular variants of all seven variables were either stable or increasing in use. This pattern could provide support for the idea of linguistic forms functioning as indexes of local affiliation and identity. However, we saw earlier that the same cannot be said for the broad Tyneside vowels in Watt's (2002) study, which he found were being replaced by less broad and more generally Northern forms. Even if Watt's conclusions point toward an abandonment of a very localised Tyneside identity in favour of a more general Northern identity, this difference in patterning is not necessarily a problem for the identity argument presented here due to a number of factors, the most prominent one being time. The reader is reminded that Watt's data was collected in 1994 whereas the data for the morphosyntactic study also included data from 2007-2009 and it is possible for there to have been a shift in the perception of the Tyneside conurbation within the area itself over the last two decades or so. Much of the recent urban regeneration mentioned in section 5.2.1 has taken place in the period after the PVC data was collected and, in recent years, media exposure of the Tyneside

area and language variety, such as the famous *Big Brother* narrator[5], MTV's *Geordie Shore*[6] and TV presenters Ant & Dec[7], has also become prominent on national TV in the UK. All of these factors may contribute to an increased sense of local affiliation and pride among the Tyneside inhabitants.

6. Conclusion

The results of the corpus study of changes in Tyneside English morphosyntax showed that vernacular variables were either stable or increasing. These results were compared to those of Watt (2002) who found that local diphthongs were levelling towards a regional standard. The difference in direction of change between these two was sought explained by a difference in the salience of the different levels of language linked to social changes through the processes of enregisterment and social indexicality.

A few caveats should be added, however. One issue concerns the quality and comparability of the data, mainly in the morphosyntactic study where data from three subcorpora is used, which was briefly mentioned in 2.2. This affects the reliability of the statistical results as they can only ever be as accurate as the data they are based on. Working with historical data means that researchers often have to make do with less than perfect data and very few ways to improve it. This is important to keep in mind in the interpretation of any results based on historical data even if all measures to even out the flaws have been taken. A second issue which was also mentioned above is the fact that the linguistic behaviour of the individual speakers was not mapped, i.e. even though the *PVC* data was used in both studies, the phonological and morphosyntactic tokens for each speaker were not compared on an individual basis. Finally, while several studies of language variation and speaker identity invoke arguments of salience, social indexicality, enregisterment and local affiliation as significant contributors to speakers' language use and changes over time (Llamas 2001; Burbano-Elizondo 2008; Beal 2009; Johnstone 2009; Honeybone & Watson 2013; Jensen 2013), further empirical work to test these supposed links is needed. Future studies of the connections between speakers' social experiences and psychological response mediated through language perception and use hold the potential for yielding valuable results which would help us understand the intricate web of connections which impacts on speakers' language use and thus language variation and change.

On a more specific level, the outcome of the comparison between the two studies based on *DECTE* data shows two things: the first is that speech corpora provide a valuable resource for studies investigating a variety of speech phenomena. We have seen that using the same data to investigate changes in different areas of a language variety has been fruitful and opened up new avenues for research. Secondly, this outcome further supports Cheshire et al. (2005: 167) who argue that just because levelling is found on the phonological level, we cannot expect to find it in other aspects of a language.

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5   The reality show *Big Brother* first aired in the UK in 2000 on Channel 4. The narrator is Marcus Bentley who was born in Gateshead on the southern bank of the river Tyne. < http://www.marcusbentley.co.uk/>

6   *Geordie Shore* first aired in 2011 and is a reality show set in Newcastle featuring North-East participants. It is currently on its eighth season. Marcus Bentley is also the narrator of this show. < http://www.mtv.co.uk/geordie-shore/about> < http://www.marcusbentley.co.uk/>

7   Anthony McPartlin and Declan Donnelly became famous after their roles in BBCs children's drama *Byker Grove* in the early 1990s and went on to record three multi-platinum albums. Since 1997 they have focused on presenting popular TV shows, such as *Pop Idol, Britain's Got Talent* and *I'm a Celebrity…* and awards ceremonies, such as *The BRIT Awards* and *Comic Relief.* <http://www.officialantanddec.com/about>

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Ret eller pligt - konstruktion af parternes identitet i danske og tyske lejekontrakter

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Abstract: In this paper I investigate the construction of an aspect of the identity of contract parties in Danish and German legal contracts, more precisely in tenancy contracts. Legal contracts generally focus on establishing a legal relationship and establishing the rights and obligations of the parties towards each other in accordance with their legal relationship. If for example one party must give the other party something, this can be expressed through constructing discursively one party's obligation to give or the other party's right to receive. Two Danish and two German contracts are analyzed in order to find out if a framing of the identity for each party can be seen in the contracts, as has been the case in other legal genres (McKinlay & McVittie 2011), and it is analyzed if the parties respectively are constructed and framed primarily as having rights or obligations. This identity aspect is investigated through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the linguistic means used in contracts to express rights and obligations explicitly and implicitly. The explicit means investigated are lexical (e.g. verbs, nouns, and adjectives like *berettige*, *Pflicht*, and *zulässig*) and grammatical (e.g. modal infinitive and modal verbs), and the implicit means analyzed are verbal forms, e.g. present active and passive, that – because they are located in the contract text – can be seen as expressions of rights and obligations for the parties. Furthermore, the assumptions of the text producer towards the parties and his expectations of their future acts that are reflected through the construction of the party identities in the contract texts are discussed in the paper.

Keywords: contracts, Danish, German, identity, legal language, obligations, rights.

1. Indledning

Kontrakttekster har grundlæggende to funktioner, nemlig at etablere retsforhold mellem kontraktens to parter og at fastlægge, hvilke rettigheder og forpligtelser parterne får i forhold til hinanden på basis af det således etablerede retsforhold. Hvis den ene kontraktpart i et retsforhold skal give noget til den anden part eller gøre noget bestemt, kan man principielt udtrykke det på to forskellige måder: ved at italesætte enten den ene parts pligt (til at give eller gøre noget) (se eksempel 1) eller den anden parts ret (til at modtage noget, gøre noget eller få noget gjort) (se eksempel 2):

(1)   Lejer skal i lejeperioden foretage vedligeholdelse og fornøden fornyelse af låse og nøgler. (Typeformular A 2001: §8)

(2)   Foretagne ændringer kan udlejeren retablere på lejerens bekostning. (Typeformular U 1991, Almindelige Bestemmelser: 3)

I eksempel (1) konstrueres lejer som den, der har en forpligtelse til at foretage vedligeholdelse, hvilket samtidig betyder, at udlejer ifølge kontrakten har ret til, at det bliver gjort af lejer. I eksempel (2) ovenfor italesættes udlejeren som den, der har ret til at retablere det lejede, efter at lejer har foretaget ændringer deri, og samtidig nævnes det, at det er lejer, der skal betale for retableringen. Der er således i de to sætninger forskel på fremstillingen af parterne, idet handlingen i den ene sætning fremstilles som en pligt for lejeren, mens den i den anden fremstilles som en ret for udlejeren.

Til at realisere rettigheder og pligter har man på dansk og tysk en lang række sproglige midler; det drejer sig både om eksplicitte leksikalske udtryk i form af substantiver, verber og adjektiver, og om grammatiske konstruktioner, i form af modale verbaludtryk, samt om implicitte udtryk i form af verbalformer i præsens aktiv eller passiv, som ud fra deres placering i en tekst af

den pågældende genre kan bestemmes som udtryk for pligt eller ret.

I denne artikel undersøges det i en række udvalgte danske og tyske kontrakttekster inden for lejeområdet, hvordan kontraktparternes forhold italesættes. Mere præcist ser jeg på, om parternes identitet italesættes i kontrakterne, som man har set det i andre tekstgenrer inden for det juridiske tekstunivers (McKinlay & McVittie 2011), og i givet fald hvordan parterne primært fremstilles: som parter, der har rettigheder, eller som parter, der har forpligtelser. Gennem denne italesættelse konstrueres et aspekt af parternes identitet, og den aktiverer en række antagelser om den enkelte part (McKinlay & McVittie 2011: 125). Derved kan tekstproducentens opfattelse af parternes identitet og forventninger til deres fremtidige handlinger siges at komme til udtryk og reflektere nogle bagvedliggende interesser. McKinlay & McVittie (2011) behandler ikke kontrakter, ligesom parternes identitet i danske og tyske kontrakter heller ikke behandles andetsteds.[1] Denne mangel vil denne artikel råde bod på for at afdække vigtige aspekter af konstruktionen af identiteter i kontrakter, og dermed bidrage til genrelingvistikken med ny viden om genrekonventioner i relation til konstruktionen af parternes identitet.

2. Identitet og jura

Begrebet *identitet* anvendes på forskellige måder, blandt andet har det været diskuteret, om identitet er noget personligt, stationært og uforanderligt, som man er i besiddelse af, "some*thing* that simply *is"* (Jenkins 2004: 5, fremhævelse i originalen), eller om identitet konstrueres diskursivt gennem interaktion og institutionelt (Jenkins 2004: 5; Bamberg et al. 2011) og derfor er dynamisk, til forhandling og under konstant forandring. I denne artikel forstås identitet som et resultat af social interaktion, hvor sprog spiller en fremtrædende rolle (de Gregorio-Godeo, 2010). Med Moles formulering forstås identitet altså i denne sammenhæng "not as a *thing* but a *process*" (Mole 2007: 10, fremhævelse i originalen), idet identitet aldrig er en endelig eller fast størrelse, og idet en person aldrig har én samlet identitet, men altid en pluralitet af identiteter (Jenkins 2004: 5). Denne opfattelse af identitet indebærer, at identitet ses som en social konstruktion, der realiseres gennem sproglige midler i en bestemt kontekst. Konteksten kan ikke lades ude af betragtning, men er derimod den ramme, inden for hvilken identiteten udvikles, således at man inddrager de omstændigheder (i tid og sted), de sproglige midler er blevet anvendt under, og dermed lægger vægt på, hvad der ytres, hvordan og hvorfor det ytres på en bestemt måde (Bamberg et al. 2011). Identitet er således:

> …the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. Identity is a matter of knowing who's who (without which we can't know what's what). It is the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference. Taken – as they can only be – together, similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identification ... (Jenkins 2004: 5).

Jenkins (2004) siger altså, at konstruktionen af forskelle og ligheder mellem personer eller grupper udgør vigtige dynamiske principper ved identifikation. Dette er også tilfældet i forbindelse med juridiske tekster. Personer, der ikke har erfaring med det juridiske univers, kan måske tro, at sproget her altid skal tages for pålydende og blot er formidling af fakta, men McKinlay & McVittie (2011) har konstateret, at advokater, vidner og dommere konstruerer andres identitet i skriftlige og mundtlige tekster inden for det juridiske område. Den juridiske diskurs opstår i mange forskellige

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[1] I den juridiske litteratur behandles parternes identitet dog, men det drejer sig dér om at fastslå parternes identitet, dvs. om spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt parterne i en retssag fx virkelig er dem, der har indgået kontrakten, jf. fx McGuire (2004) og Germelmann (2009).

sammenhænge, fra retssager over juridiske dokumenter og lærebøger til uformelle diskussioner af juridiske emner i medierne. Det er også i disse sammenhænge meget vigtigt, hvordan mennesker karakteriseres, og hvilke egenskaber og aspekter ved dem der inddrages, og hvilke der udelades (McKinlay & McVittie 2011: 124-125).

Parterne i en juridisk diskurs henvender sig til forskellige typer modtagere og varetager forskellige interesser. Det ytrede, hvordan det ytres, og ikke mindst hvilke identiteter der hhv. er til stede eller fraværende, reflekterer diskursparternes interesser (McKinlay & McVittie 2011: 125). Man kan med andre ord sige, at der gennem den italesættelse, tekstproducenterne vælger, henholdsvis aktiveres og deaktiveres forskellige identiteter eller forskellige aspekter af de pågældendes identiteter. Dette afspejler nogle bagved liggende erfaringer, antagelser og forventninger til parterne.

McKinlay & McVittie (2011) nævner forskellige genrer inden for det juridiske univers, fx de skriftlige dokumenter i forbindelse med en retssag, hvor tekstproducenterne forsøger at konstruere parternes identiteter på forskellig måde, fx ved at italesætte en parts identitet som *skadelidte* (hvorved der fokuseres på *skade* og *lide*, dvs. på at den pågældende person har lidt skade) i stedet for fx *sagsøger*, hvorved fokus i stedet ligger på personens identitet som part i en sag, nærmere bestemt som den part, der har anlagt retssagen.

I kontrakterne vil man dog ikke kunne finde det fænomen, som Hobbs (2007) benævner "competing versions of identities". Ifølge Hobbs (2007) kan forsvarer og anklager i forbindelse med sagsbehandlingen ved domstolen forsøge at italesætte parternes identitet forskelligt for derved at forsøge at påvirke dommeren til at overtage en bestemt opfattelse af parternes identitet og dermed af sagens stilling. Disse forskellige versioner af parternes identitet eksisterer dermed side om side i kommunikationen og står i retssagen direkte over for hinanden. I forbindelse med kontrakter er der i modsætning til retssager ikke tale om en strid mellem parterne som ved en retssag med konkurrerende versioner af identiteter. I kontraktsituationen formodes parterne at være enige om at ønske kontraktforholdet og have en basal tillid til hinanden og til at den anden part vil overholde sin del af aftalen. Kontraktparterne har således på en vis måde sammenfaldende interesser, idet de ønsker indgået og overholdt en kontrakt og ønsker at gøre brug af hinandens ydelser. Men samtidig har de modstridende interesser på den måde, at de gennem kontrakten formentlig efter bedste evne søger at sikre sig bedst mulige betingelser, dvs. størst mulige rettigheder og færrest mulige forpligtelser i kontraktforholdet (jf. Klinge 1996: 18). Der er kun repræsenteret én version af identiteten i hver kontrakttekst, eftersom en kontrakt grundlæggende set fremstår som forfattet af én tekstproducent.[2]

3.   Kontraktparternes identitet og roller

Ved kontraktens underskrivelse sker der en semantisk berigelse af kontraktparterne, så de ikke længere blot er individer, men rolleindehavere i et system af aktiverede antagelser (Klinge 1996: 14), således at en række præsuppositioner gør sig gældende (Ditlevsen et al. 2007: 59). Dvs. når parterne får tilskrevet rollebetegnelserne *lejer* og *udlejer* (på tysk *Mieter* og *Vermieter*), får de samtidig tilskrevet en række rettigheder og pligter, som er normale i en aftale af den pågældende type, fx at lejer skal betale det aftalte lejebeløb og at udlejer skal stille lejemålet til rådighed i forsvarlig stand (jf. BGB §535).

Når parterne underskriver kontrakten, afgiver de samtidig et løfte om, at kontrakten skal gælde, og at alle sætninger i kontrakten skal fortolkes i overensstemmelse med indgåelsesløftet, som kunne lyde: "Det er sandt, at vi lover, at vi er enige om at indgå denne aftale." De efterfølgende

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2   Kontraktteksten kan i princippet godt være produceret af forskellige personer i fællesskab, eller forskellige personer kan have konciperet forskellige dele af kontraktens tekst, uden at dette dog fremgår af kontrakten. For at tage højde for dette kunne man måske i stedet sige, at en bestemt version af parternes identitet er dominerende i kontrakten. Dette aspekt ses der dog bort fra her, idet kontraktteksten opfattes som én tekst, dvs. som et samlet hele.

sætninger udgør en del af aftalen og "fortolkes som underordnede prædikater, der nedarver sandhedsværdien" (Klinge 1996: 16) fra indgåelsesløftet, og dermed tilskrives de samme sandhedsværdi som indgåelsesløftet. Parterne har selv tilskrevet de underordnede prædikater sandhed gennem deres indgåelsesløfte og underskrift og har derved også "påtaget sig at stå inde for deres sandhed", og de kan derfor ikke bagefter påstå, "at den propositionelle form, der følger af en bestemmelse i kontrakten, er falsk" (jf. Klinge 1996: 14-19).

4. Genre og jura

Det juridiske tekstunivers kan opdeles i tre planer: Bestemmelsesplan, handlingsplan og beskrivelsesplan (Kjær 1990; Engberg 1993; Engberg 1998). Under hvert plan hører forskellige genrer, fx hører love til bestemmelsesplanet, hvor de udførte sproghandlinger primært relaterer sig til at fastlæggebegrebsdefinitioner autoritativt og rammerne for handlinger generelt (forbud, påbud og tilladelser) (Engberg 1998: 58-60). Til handlingsplanet hører bl.a. kontrakter, hvor man udfører juridisk bindende handlinger inden for de rammer, der er fastlagt på bestemmelsesplanet, dvs. her "skabes der konkrete, aktuelle rettigheder og pligter mellem bestemte personer eller lignende" (Engberg 1998: 60). På beskrivelsesplanet beskrives teksterne på bestemmelses- og handlingsplanet, og deres indhold udlægges; genrer på dette plan er fx juridiske lærebøger og lovkommentarer (Engberg 1998: 61-63). Kjær fremhæver, at sproget anvendes forskelligt på de ovennævnte tre planer (Kjær 1990: 36).

Ovenfor er nævnt begrebet *genre*, der i denne artikel defineres som "en klasse af tekster, som der ligger den samme kombination af sproglige, sociale og funktionale kendetegn til grund for" (Engberg 1998: 48), dvs. at teksterne i gruppen anvendes i situationer, der ligner hinanden, at deres funktioner ligner hinanden og at de sproglige midler, der anvendes i teksterne, ligner hinanden. Genrebegrebets indhold kan visualiseres ved hjælp af trekantmodellen, som ses nedenfor.

Fig. 1: Trekantmodellen (Engberg 1998: 54)[3]
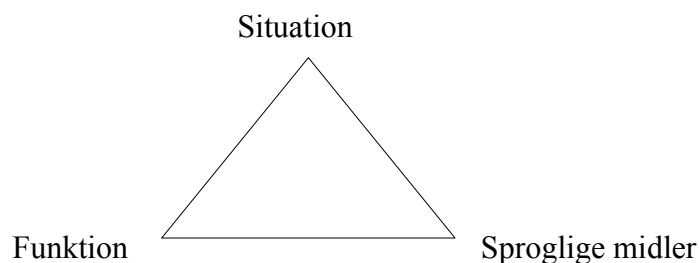
Der eksisterer forskellige sammenhænge mellem modellens tre dele, idet der mellem funktion og situation er en determinationsrelation, således at funktionen i visse tilfælde determinerer situationen, og situationen i andre tilfælde bestemmer tekstens funktion. Mellem funktion og sproglige midler er der en mål-middel-relation, hvilket vil sige, at de sproglige midler "skal have en bestemt semantisk kvalitet […] for at kunne bruges til at udføre en bestemt funktion" (Ditlevsen et al. 2007: 108). Situation og sproglige midler hænger sammen på den måde, at der er en typikalitetsrelation mellem dem, dvs. en statistisk forekomstrelation, idet man typisk anvender bestemte sproglige midler i bestemte situationer. Dette kan undersøges ved at analysere, hvor hyppigt et bestemt sprogligt middel anvendes i bestemte tekster.

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3 En lignende model findes i Ditlevsen et al. (2007: 100); denne model er beregnet til analyse af alle fagtekstgenrer, hvorfor også visuelle midler indgår i det element, der er placeret nederst til højre. I forbindelse med analysen i denne artikel ligger fokus dog ikke på de visuelle elementer, og det er derfor den oprindelige udgave af modellen, der gengives her.

I denne artikel ligger fokus på et særligt aspekt af de sproglige midler, nemlig den konstruktion af parternes identitet, der afspejles i forbindelse med realiseringen af rettigheder og pligter. I det følgende afsnit præsenteres undersøgelsens forskningsspørgsmål, metode og korpus. Derefter vil jeg mere detaljeret beskrive rettigheder og pligter i lejekontrakter samt gennemgå, hvilke udtryk der konkret kan anvendes til at udtrykke rettigheder og pligter.

5. Forskningsspørgsmål, metode og korpus
I det følgende afsnit vil undersøgelsens forskningsspørgsmål, metode og korpus blive behandlet.

5.1. *Forskningsspørgsmål*
Ud fra McKinlay & McVitties (2011) erkendelser fra andre dele af det juridiske univers formodes det, trods kontekstforskellene, at der foregår en konstruktion af kontraktparternes identitet i forbindelse med formuleringen af kontraktens ordlyd. Denne artikels grundlæggende erkendelsesinteresse er således at afdække, på hvilken måde man i kontrakter, ligesom i andre dele af det juridiske univers, konstruerer identiteter, som understreger bestemte kendetegn eller elementer ved hver af kontraktparterne. Dvs. det undersøges, på hvilke måde man konstruerer bestemte 'versioner' af parterne i kontrakten, som repræsenterer dem ud fra deres forventede fremtidige handlinger, jf. McKinlay & McVittie (2011: 146), hvilke versioner der konstrueres, og med hvilke sproglige midler konstruktionen finder sted i teksterne.

I artiklen undersøges således et centralt aspekt af konstruktionen af parternes identitet i kontrakter, idet fokus ligger på konstruktionen af parternes pligter og rettigheder i forhold til hinanden i teksterne, og på hvilken identitet der herigennem kommer til udtryk for hver af parterne. Nærmere bestemt arbejdes der ud fra følgende overordnede spørgsmål: Hvilke sproglige midler anvendes til italesættelse af parternes pligter og rettigheder? Hvordan konstrueres parternes rettigheder? Hvordan konstrueres parternes pligter? Italesættes parternes pligter og rettigheder i lige stort omfang? Hvordan konstrueres parternes identitet gennem realiseringen af rettigheder og pligter?

I undersøgelsen er der ikke fokus på de anvendte betegnelser for kontraktens parter (jf. anvendelsen af betegnelserne *skadelidte* over for *sagsøger* nævnt ovenfor), idet der er udbredt konsensus i det juridiske system om at anvende faste betegnelser for parterne i et retsforhold af den pågældende art, afledt af betegnelserne, som anvendes i den respektive lovgivning. I dette studie omhandlende boliglejeforhold betegnes de henholdsvis *udlejer* og *lejer* på dansk og *Vermieter* og *Mieter* på tysk. Partsbetegnelserne synes dermed ikke at være relevante i forbindelse med en sammenligning mellem kontrakterne. Partsbetegnelserne er naturligvis vigtige i relation til en diskussion af parternes identitet, ikke mindst ud fra de rolleegenskaber, parterne tilskrives som lejer og udlejer. Men det forekommer mere formålstjenligt at undersøge realiseringen af de pligter og rettigheder, som findes i kontrakterne som konsekvens af parternes rolletilskrivning, fordi dette område rummer større muligheder for variation. Parternes rettigheder og pligter er valgt som konstituerende for parternes identiteter, fordi det centrale på handlingsplanet ligger i relationen mellem parterne, idet parterne interagerer direkte med hinanden, (jf. Engberg 1993: 35), hvilket også er grunden til, at præciseringen af parternes rettigheder og pligter udgør en meget stor del af kontraktens tekst, se nærmere herom nedenfor.

5.2. *Metode*
Fokus ligger som nævnt på realiseringen af parternes rettigheder og pligter i forhold til hinanden.[4]

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4   Eventuelle andre aspekter af mulige versioner af parternes identitet er ikke undersøgt i dette studie, idet fokus udelukkende ligger på realiseringen af parternes rettigheder og pligter. I undersøgelsen behandles dermed fx heller ikke de verbalkonstruktioner, som udtrykker noget andet end parternes pligter og rettigheder i forhold til hinanden, fx verbaler, der udtrykker fakta, ydre omstændigheder, tilstande eller forløb samt betingelser i konditionalsætninger,

Der er tale om en deduktiv kvantitativ undersøgelse i et mindre antal korpustekster i form af en opgørelse, optalt manuelt og computerstøttet vha. søgefunktioner i programmerne Microsoft Word og Adobe Reader af, hvilke sproglige former der anvendes til udtryk for rettigheder og pligter. Udtrykkene inddeles i overensstemmelse med beskrivelsen i afsnit 6.1 i eksplicit realiserede pligter og rettigheder, som hver for sig underinddeles i leksikalske og grammatiske udtryk (på tysk underinddeles de grammatiske pligt-udtryk yderligere i modalverber og modale infinitiver for at afdække eventuelle forskelle i forekomsterne, jf. Norre Nielsen & Wichmann (1994)) og implicit realiserede pligter og rettigheder i form af verbalformer i præsens aktiv og passiv, der pragmatisk set udtrykker rettigheder og pligter. Der foretages i forbindelse hermed endvidere en inddeling af udtrykkene på basis af, hvilken af parterne der fremstår som den, der pragmatisk set får den pågældende pligt/rettighed. Resultaterne for hver kontrakttekst angives derefter i antal forekomster og en procentuel forekomst, beregnet ud fra det samlede antal realiseringer af rettigheder og pligter i teksten. På basis af denne undersøgelse diskuteres det, hvilken version af parternes identitet der konstrueres i teksterne gennem disse realiseringer af rettigheder og pligter, og hvilke bagvedliggende interesser der eventuelt reflekteres derigennem.

Undersøgelsen beskæftiger sig dermed ikke primært med det juridiske omfang af parternes respektive rettigheder og pligter, dvs. om hver part i den ene eller den anden kontrakt juridisk set får mere eller mindre omfattende rettigheder eller pligter, idet dette ligger uden for undersøgelsens sprogligt orienterede rammer.

5.3. Korpus
Korpus består af to tyske standardkontrakter og to danske standardkontrakter, der anvendes i praksis i 2014 i henholdsvis Tyskland og Danmark i forbindelse med indgåelse af aftaler om boligleje. Det drejer sig nærmere bestemt om en kontrakt fra den tyske udlejerorganisation Grundeigentum-Verlag i Berlin (Mietvertrag für Wohnräume (Nettomiete und Betriebskostenpauschale) Fassung II-AGB/KE/11.2013) og en kontrakt fra den tyske lejerorganisation Deutscher Mieterbund (Wohnungs-Mietvertrag Fassung 12/11).[5] Baggrunden for udvælgelsen af netop de pågældende to tyske tekster fra disse to tekstproducenter skal søges i forventningen om, at der er sandsynlighed for, at der vil være forskelle i konstruktionen af parternes identitet og at der derigennem reflekteres bagvedliggende interesser.[6] Tidligere undersøgelser har vist, at der eksisterer en række forskelle mellem tilsvarende kontrakter med hensyn til anvendelsen af sproglige midler, bl.a. hvad angår udbredelsen af nominalstil (Larsen 2013), og andre undersøgelser har indikeret, at bagvedliggende interesser reflekteres i formuleringen af kontrakter (Larsen 2009). Der er med denne undersøgelse tale om et eksplorativt studie, som skal tjene til generering af hypoteser, som senere kan undersøges nærmere i et større korpus; derfor kan resultaterne på basis af disse få kontrakter ikke påstås at have almen gyldighed.

I Tyskland er der mulighed for, at en kontrakts parter kan vælge at anvende forskellige standardkontrakter ved indgåelse af en boliglejeaftale, og det skønnes, at der findes over tusind forskellige trykte standardkontrakter. En af de meget udbredte offentligt tilgængelige kontrakter er kontrakten fra Grundeigentum-Verlag (Leiß 2011: 22-23), som er valgt til denne undersøgelse.

I Danmark er forholdene anderledes, idet Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter på sit

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hvor pligten/rettigheden udtrykkes i hovedsætningen, fx *Lejemålets samledes bruttoetageareal udgør ... m², der består af ...værelser* (Typeformular A, 2001: §1).

5 Kontrakten med titlen "Mietvertrag für Wohnräume (Nettomiete und Betriebskostenpauschale) Fassung II-AGB/KE/11.2013" består af 5940 ord, og kontrakten med titlen "Wohnungs-Mietvertrag Fassung 12/11" af 2967 ord.

6 Det kunne indvendes, at det var mere hensigtsmæssigt at anvende et korpus med flest mulig fællestræk, men netop fordi studiet skal afdække, hvordan parternes identitet konstrueres i kontrakter og om der derigennem afspejles bagvedliggende interesser, forekommer det vigtigt at vælge tekster, som kan vise forskelle, som kan henføres til teksternes oprindelse.

website stiller de to standardkontrakter til rådighed, som er undersøgt i dette studie. Den ene danske standardkontrakt har titlen "Lejekontrakt for beboelse" og bærer desuden betegnelsen "Typeformular A, 8. udgave"; den anvendes ved "lejeaftaler om beboelseslejligheder […] og værelser i private udlejningsejendomme" (Typeformular A, 8. udgave, 2001). Den anden kontrakt bærer titlen "Lejekontrakt/boligoverenskomst" og betegnelsen "Typeformular U 1991", og den bruges ved "lejemål om enkeltværelser og lejligheder indrettet for unge under uddannelse m.fl." (Typeformular U 1991).[7] Der er ved disse kontrakter tale om autoriserede standardkontrakter, som må anvendes ved de pågældende typer lejemål, idet ministeriet dog skriver, at der findes andre blanketter til brug for disse lejemål, men der henvises samtidig til reglerne for udarbejdelse af autoriserede standardblanketter for lejeaftaler (Lejekontrakt til privat udlejning. Regler og lovgivning 2014). Af bekendtgørelsens regler fremgår det, at autoriserede standardkontrakter skal være identiske med den udvalgte kontrakt "i indhold og opstilling" (Bekendtgørelse om regler for udarbejdelse af autoriserede standardblanketter for lejeaftaler, §3, BEK nr. 780 af 31/08/2001,§3, stk. 1), men der kan dog godt tilføjes "eget logo" (§3, stk. 2). Vil man anvende en standardkontrakt i Danmark, skal den således have det indhold og den opstilling, som de til denne undersøgelse valgte kontrakter har. Der kan udfyldes en række felter og rammer, men selve den fortrykte tekst kan ikke ændres.[8] Ministeriet har således i praksis eneret på at bestemme størstedelen af formuleringerne i de danske standardkontrakter;[9] man må dermed formode, at der har været tale om en afvejning af interesser, så der i kontrakten ikke primært varetages enten udlejerens eller lejerens interesser, idet en åbenlys favorisering af den ene part formentlig ikke ville være acceptabel. Dog skal det pointeres, at lejelovgivningen både i Danmark og i Tyskland har til formål at varetage eller understøtte lejers interesser, fordi denne anses som den svageste part i lejeforholdet (BGB 2003: XXVIII), og varetagelsen af lejers interesser nævnes også indirekte i Typeformular A (2001: 7), idet det fremhæves, at en række bestemmelser i lejelovgivningen ikke kan fraviges til skade for lejeren, og at aftale om fravigelser på de områder, hvor fravigelse er mulig, "vil kunne medføre, at lejeren opnår færre rettigheder eller pålægges større forpligtelser end efter de almindelige bestemmelser i lejelovgivningen". Der gøres ikke opmærksom på følgerne af ændringer til skade for udlejeren. Et interessant spørgsmål, som har været med til at inspirere til denne undersøgelse, er, om denne beskyttelse ligeledes afspejles i kontraktteksterne.

6. Rettigheder og pligter
I det følgende vil jeg overordnet beskrive rettigheder og pligter i lejekontrakter og derefter præsentere de udtryk, der konkret kan anvendes til at udtrykke rettigheder og pligter.

En lejeaftale er en gensidigt forpligtende aftale, dvs. at begge parter gennem aftalen får pligter. Men begge parter får samtidig også rettigheder i forhold til hinanden. Grundlæggende kan det siges, at en rettighed for den ene part i et retsforhold af denne type samtidig er den anden parts pligt, hvilket vil sige, at hvis den ene part skal give noget til den anden part, kan det principielt udtrykkes på de to forskellige måder, der blev skitseret tidligere i denne artikel: Man kan italesætte

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7 Kontrakten med titlen "Lejekontrakt for beboelse" (Typeformular A, 8. udgave, 2001) består af 5685 ord, og kontrakten "Lejekontrakt/boligoverenskomst" (Typeformular U 1991) af 1145 ord.

8 Der eksisterer en tredje dansk standardkontrakt med titlen "Lejekontrakt (Typeformular B 1998)", som anvendes i forbindelse med offentlig udlejning af boliger, dvs. ved det almene boligbyggeri, som ligeledes stilles til rådighed på ministeriets website. Sidstnævnte kontrakt er udeladt, fordi der er tale om et ganske andet regelsæt og lovgrundlag for denne type boliger, men man kunne måske ud fra et praktisk lejer-synspunkt argumentere for, at det er af mindre betydning, om der er tale om en almen eller en privat udlejningsbolig. Kontrakten udviser dog i store træk de samme kendetegn som Typeformular A (2001), om end den er mindre omfattende, og det skønnes derfor ikke væsentligt at inddrage den i denne undersøgelse.

9 Lejeloven (§5, stk. 2) giver dog mulighed for, at man kan autorisere andre blanketter. Sådanne blanketter skulle i givet fald være kommet i stand ved aftale mellem landsomfattende sammenslutninger af hhv. grundejerforeninger og lejerforeninger. Men den mulighed har man altså ikke gjort brug af.

den enes pligt (til at give noget) eller den andens ret (til at modtage noget). Dvs. kontraktteksten kan fremstille den part, der skal give noget, som 'pligthaver' eller modsat fremstille den part, der har ret til at modtage noget, som 'rettighedshaver'. Derved kommer tekstproducentens opfattelse af parternes identitet og forventninger til deres fremtidige handlinger til udtryk. Med forventninger menes her såvel forventninger udsprunget direkte af retsforholdet, fx at lejer i et lejeforhold angående boliglеje forventes at betale det aftalte lejebeløb, som mere implicitte forventninger om, i hvilken grad den forpligtede part vil være interesseret i eller tilbøjelig til at overholde sine forpligtelser.

Et interessant aspekt i denne sammenhæng er, at der i både den tyske og den danske lov (hhv. kapitlet om leje i den tyske lov Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (BGB) og den danske lejelov) er fokus på lejerens rettigheder og på begrænsning af udlejerens rettigheder, således fremhæves det fx i det indledende kapitel i BGB, at lejeren ikke mindst ved brugen af standardkontrakter har brug for beskyttelse gennem lovgivningen (BGB 2003: XXVIII). Ligeledes findes den opfattelse blandt danske advokater, at lejeren er beskyttet i lovgivningen (fx hos Ret & Råd Hillerød 2014), og på et dansk advokatwebsite står således: "Folketinget har nemlig vedtaget nogle boliglove, som indeholder et ekstraordinært stærkt beskyttelsesnet for den økonomisk svage af de to aftaleparter, og det vil sige for lejerne!" (FamilieAdvokaten 2014).

6.1. Udtryk for rettigheder og pligter

Til at udtrykke pligter og rettigheder gives der en lang række forskellige sproglige midler, der kan opdeles i eksplicitte og implicitte udtryk. Ved de eksplicitte sproglige midler fremgår det deontiske indhold direkte i form af et forpligtende eller berettigende udtryk. I denne artikel skelnes der mellem leksikalske konstruktioner (dvs. substantiver, verber og adjektiver, der udtrykker pligt eller ret) og grammatiske konstruktioner (dvs. modalverber og på tysk desuden modal infinitiv) inden for gruppen af eksplicitte sproglige midler. Norre Nielsen & Wichmann (1994) betegner ligeledes både modal infinitiv og modalverber som grammatiske konstruktioner og gør dem til genstand for deres undersøgelse af engelske og tyske domme og kontrakters anvendelse af udtryk for forpligtelse. De undlader derimod at undersøge de leksikalske konstruktioner og de pragmatiske eller implicitte konstruktioner, hvilke er medtaget i denne artikel.

I dette studie opdeles de eksplicitte udtryk for pligter i tre grupper konstruktioner. Den første er de leksikalske udtryk, hvor der med den anvendte leksik i form af verber, substantiver og adjektiver udtrykkes en pligt, på tysk fx *verpflichtet sein* og *sich verpflichten* (Duden online 2014) og tilsvarende på dansk fx *være forpligtet*, *forpligte sig* og *være pligtig*[10] (Den Danske Ordbog 2014). Den anden gruppe udgøres af en række grammatiske udtryk, nærmere bestemt modalverber, på tysk *müssen* (Duden online 2014) og på dansk *skal* og *må* (Den Danske Ordbog 2014). På dansk anvendes modalverbet *skal* i kontrakter til at udtrykke forpligtelse. *Må* anvendes til at udtrykke forskelligt deontisk indhold, nemlig såvel tilladelse som forpligtelse (Den Danske Ordbog 2014), hvorfor der her i hvert enkelt tilfælde foretages en pragmatisk disambiguering. Den tredje og sidste gruppe konstruktioner er ligeledes nogle grammatiske udtryk, som primært anvendes på tysk, det drejer sig om modal infinitiv med formen *sein + zu + infinitiv* (med passivisk indhold) og *haben + zu + infinitiv* (med aktivisk indhold) (Brinkmann 1962; Holl 2001). For at gøre det muligt at undersøge tendenserne i anvendelseshyppigheden af de to sidstnævnte grupper af udtryk, er der her lagt vægt på at skelne mellem de to typer, ikke mindst set i lyset af Norre Nielsen & Wichmanns (1994) undersøgelse af modale udtryk, som indikerede, at modalverber anvendes relativt sjældent i tyske kontrakter, mens *sein/haben + zu + infinitiv* anvendtes oftere og svarede til det engelske modalverbum *shall*. I nogle praktisk-normative håndbøger om udfærdigelse af juridiske og

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10 Der skelnes her ikke mellem det selvforpligtende eller kommissive (jf. Rolf 1993), hvor parten selv forpligter sig til at udføre en handling, i form af fx *forpligte sig* og det kontraktbetinget-forpligtende eller direktive (jf. Rolf 1993), hvor kontrakten forpligter parten til at udføre handlingen, fx *være forpligtet*.

forvaltningsrelaterede tekster fremhæves det i overensstemmelse hermed, at denne konstruktion nyder udbredt anvendelse i det juridiske fagsprog, men det anbefales samtidig i den nævnte litteratur, at man undgår konstruktionen *haben + zu* + infinitiv pga. udtrykkets stærke befalings-indhold. Fx angives det i "Bürgernahe Verwaltungssprache" fra Bundesverwaltungsamt (2002), at konstruktionen er en af det tyske sprogs stærkeste befalingsformer, men at den pga. sine konnotationer bør undgås: "In solchen Sätzen spricht der Obrigkeitsstaat zum Untertan" (Bundesverwaltungsamt 2002: 39), dvs. at øvrighedsstaten taler til sin undersåt i sådanne sætninger, og dette anses ikke for anbefalelsesværdigt i borgernært sprog.

Ved de eksplicitte udtryk for rettigheder forstås i dette studie leksikalske udtryk indeholdende verber, substantiver og adjektiver, på tysk fx *Recht haben*, *Anspruch haben*, *berechtigt sein*, *gestattet sein* og *zulässig sein* og på dansk fx *have ret til*, *have krav på* og *være berettiget til*. Ved de grammatiske konstruktioner drejer det sig primært om modalverber, der udtrykker tilladelse, berettigelse eller mulighed, fx på tysk *dürfen* og *können* og på dansk *kan* og *må* (med det deontiske indhold 'tilladelse', hvor betydningen som ovenfor nævnt må bestemmes pragmatisk).

De implicitte udtryk for rettigheder og pligter, af Norre Nielsen & Wichmann (1994) benævnt *pragmatiske udtryk*, omfatter – i stedet for et leksikalsk eller grammatisk udtryk for pligt eller ret – verbalformer i fx præsens eller futurum aktiv eller præsens passiv, der angiver den foretagne handling, hvorved der implicit udtrykkes en rettighed eller en pligt. Det fremgår således ikke eksplicit, at der er tale om en ret eller en pligt for den ene af parterne, men derimod fremgår det ud fra en pragmatisk betragtning af kommunikationssituationen, at der reelt er tale om en pligt eller rettighed. Et eksempel kunne være en sætning som "Lejen betales forud, første gang ved kontraktens underskrift…" (Typeformular U 1991: §3). Disse implicitte verbalkonstruktioner kan bestemmes som udtryk for pligt eller rettighed, fordi de er placeret i en kontrakt, der har som funktion, at den etablerer et retsforhold og fastlægger parternes handlinger gennem tildeling af rettigheder og pligter, se ovenfor. Hvis udtrykket stod i en tekst af en anden genre, ville det måske i stedet have en deskriptiv eller assertiv funktion. Men eftersom det står i en kontrakt, får det en (bindende) direktiv funktion eller kommissiv funktion (Rolf 1993). Der er tale om et af de underordnede prædikater, som parterne gennem indgåelsesløftet har tilskrevet sandhed (Klinge 1996), således at en sætning, der formelt beskriver en handling i fremtiden udført af en af parterne, i realiteten indebærer en pligt eller ret for den pågældende part til at udføre handlingen. Parterne har underskrevet kontrakten og lover dermed at gøre, som der står i kontrakten, således at lejeren i det ovenfor nævnte eksempel (gennem sin underskrift) forpligter sig til at betale lejen forud, uanset den konkrete formulering af sætningen i præsens passiv. Af kommunikationssituationen og parternes rolletilskrivelse fremgår det, at det er lejeren, der pålægges pligten, men det fremgår ikke altid af ordlyden. Han er forpligtet juridisk til at erlægge betalingen på det angivne tidspunkt og kan drages til ansvar med hjælp fra retssystemet, hvis han ikke gør det. Andre verbalformer, som anvendes på tilsvarende måde, er præsens og futurum aktiv.

I forbindelse med passiv kan det være svært at skelne, om de implicitte udtryk realiserer en rettighed eller en pligt, idet der jo som i eksemplet ovenfor både er en betaler og en betalingsmodtager (sml. udtrykket "den enes pligt er den andens ret"), og i mange tilfælde udelades agens, således som det ses i det ovenfor anførte eksempel, men i denne analyse er sætningen i de pågældende tilfælde indplaceret efter verbets semantiske indhold, dvs. som en pligt for lejeren til at betale.

7. Kontraktens to funktioner

På baggrund af genrebeskrivelsen[11] skal kontraktens funktion kort beskrives, inden resultaterne af undersøgelsen af de sproglige midler præsenteres. De for denne undersøgelse relevante elementer af

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11 Sml. afsnit 4.

konteksten er beskrevet i artiklens første afsnit.

Kontrakter kan siges grundlæggende at have to funktioner: Den ene funktion er at etablere retsforhold. Dette sker gennem kontraktens performative handling, indgåelsesløftet og parternes underskrift på dokumentet (Klinge 1996). Indgåelsesløftet forefindes dog ikke i alle tilfælde eksplicit (fx ikke i Typeformular A), men kan fx have ordlyden "[Udlejer]… udlejer/overdrager herved til [Lejers navn]… [Lejemålets beliggenhed] …" (Typeformular U 1991: §1) eller "der (die) Vermieter … wohnhaft in … und der (die) Mieter) [sic!] schließen folgenden Mietvertrag" (Wohnungs-Mietvertrag 2011, præambel) (på dansk: "udlejer … bosiddende i… og lejer indgår følgende lejekontrakt"). Den anden funktion er at fastlægge handlinger og tilstande. Nærmere bestemt anvendes kontrakten til at fastlægge parternes fremtidige handlinger i nutiden (jf. Klinge 1996: 18), dvs. de rettigheder og pligter i forhold til hinanden, som de erhverver gennem retsforholdet. Dette udgør en stor del af resten af kontraktens tekst og de underordnede prædikater, som tilskrives sandhed på basis af den førstnævnte funktion. Det drejer sig om fx lejemålets omfang, lejebeløb, lejeperiode, hvordan og hvornår lejebeløbet skal betales, hvilke ansvarsområder, pligter og rettigheder hver af parterne har, samt i visse tilfælde hvilke rettigheder og pligter parterne ikke har, eller hvilke begrænsninger der gælder i forbindelse med deres respektive rettigheder og pligter.

I realiteten er der kun få obligatoriske sproghandlinger i en kontrakttekst. Det drejer sig om angivelse af parterne og parternes underskrifter samt lejemålets omfang og lejebeløbet. Parternes øvrige ovennævnte pligter og rettigheder findes der principielt regler for i lovgivningen. Som det eksplicit står i indledningen til den danske kontrakt med betegnelsen "Typeformular A": "Lejekontrakten indeholder angivelse af parterne og en beskrivelse af det lejede samt lejerens betaling for lejemålet. Herudover er udlejers og lejers rettigheder og pligter i lejeforholdet reguleret i den til enhver tid gældende lejelovgivning, medmindre parterne aftaler andet", som i givet fald skal angives separat i kontrakten (Typeformular A 2001: 1). Men på trods heraf indeholder lejekontrakter i reglen bestemmelser om en lang række andre elementer af lejeforholdet, ikke mindst de ovenfor nævnte. Det skyldes eksempelvis et ønske om at fravige det, der står i lovgivningen (jf. indledningen til den nævnte kontrakt), eller et ønske om præcist at angive reglerne i selve kontraktteksten for at lette parternes adgang til informationerne (jf. Typeformular A 2001: 7) og evt. et ønske om at lette en skelnen mellem fravigelige og ufravigelige elementer i lovgivningen gennem typografiske markeringer i teksten, fx skyggetekst og kursiv (jf. Typeformular A 2001:1, 7).

8. Resultater af undersøgelsen

I det følgende beskrives de kvantitative resultater af analysen af de sproglige midler, ligesom der vises en tabellarisk oversigt over resultaterne for hver enkelt kontrakt. Denne fremgangsmåde er valgt for at tydeliggøre den enkelte kontrakts karakteristiske træk med henblik på at muliggøre en efterfølgende sammenligning og diskussion af forskelle og ligheder mellem kontrakterne på basis af de enkelte resultater. Først anføres resultaterne for de to tyske kontrakter og dernæst resultaterne for de to danske kontrakter.

I tabellerne angives det antal forekomster der findes i hele kontrakten af den enkelte type realisering af pligter og rettigheder fordelt på lejer og udlejer som 'pligthaver' og 'rettighedshaver', og desuden er forekomsten udregnet som afrundet procentsats af det samlede antal realiseringer af pligter og rettigheder i kontrakten. I de tilfælde i kontrakterne, hvor en pligt eller rettighed begrænses eller negeres gennem brugen af *nur/kun* eller *nicht/ikke*, er disse forekomster medtalt i de samlede antal forekomster af den pågældende type realisering, men samtidig udspecificeret, således at det fremgår, i hvilket omfang sådanne begrænsninger forekommer. Det er vigtigt at være opmærksom på dette i forbindelse med læsning af tabellerne, idet tabellerne ellers viser et forvansket billede af forekomsten af en række realiseringstyper.

8.1. De tyske kontrakter

Der er som tidligere nævnt tale om to kontrakter fra hhv. den tyske lejerorganisation Deutscher Mieterbund (Wohnungs-Mietvertrag) og den tyske udlejerorganisation Grundeigentum-Verlag (Wohnraum-Mietvertrag (Nettomiete und Betriebskostenpauschale)), og der kan ses en række forskelle mellem de to kontrakter.

8.1.1. Den tyske kontrakt fra Deutscher Mieterbund (Wohnungs-Mietvertrag)

Generelt er der en relativt ligelig fordeling af pligter mellem parterne i kontrakten fra lejerorganisationen, for begge parters vedkommende mellem 25% og 28% af samtlige realiseringer af rettigheder og pligter. Der er i alt 100 forekomster af realiserede pligter og rettigheder i kontrakten. Gruppen af leksikalsk realiserede pligter omfatter som nævnt ovenfor leksikalske udtryk som fx *verpflichtet sein*, *sich verpflichten*, og forekomsten af disse konstruktioner er yderst begrænset i denne kontrakt. Modalverberne til udtryk for pligt forekommer ligeledes kun i meget begrænset omfang, mens de grammatisk realiserede pligter i form af de modale infinitivkonstruktioner *sein + zu* + infinitiv og *haben + zu* + infinitiv, forekommer i relativt større omfang. De implicit realiserede pligter, som typisk realiseres gennem verbaler i præsens aktiv og passiv, forekommer ligeledes i lidt større omfang. Men generelt må det siges, at fordelingen af formerne mellem parterne er meget ligelig, med undtagelse af de leksikalsk realiserede pligter, som i højere grad anvendes i forbindelse med udlejerens pligter end lejerens pligter.

Tabel 1: Rettigheder og pligter i kontrakten fra den tyske lejerorganisation (Wohnungs-Mietvertrag)[12]

Sprogligt middel	Lejer		Udlejer
	Antal forekomster	I procent	Antal forekomster
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - leksikalsk: fx (*sich*) *verpflichten*, *-pflichtig*	3	3%	6
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - grammatisk: *sein*/*haben*+*zu*+infinitiv	8 *Hat*:5 Ist:3	8%	8 *Hat*:5 Ist:3
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - grammatisk: modalverbum: *müssen*	4	4%	5
Implicit realiseret pligt: præsens aktiv og passiv	10	10%	9
Realiserede pligter i alt	25	25%	28
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed - leksikalsk: fx *berechtigt*, *Recht*	11 *Recht*: 2 *Berechtigt*:8 *Gestattet*:1	11%	3 *Berechtigt*:2 *Nicht berechtigt*: 1
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed - modalverbum: *dürfen*, *können*	19 *Darf*: 6 *Kann*: 11 *Darf nur*: 2	19%	9 *Darf*: 0 *Kann* 6 *Darf nur*:1 *Darf nicht*:1 *Kann nur*:1
Implicit realiseret rettighed: præsens aktiv og passiv	4	4%	1
Realiserede rettigheder i alt	32	32%	13

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12 I tabellerne angives den samlede forekomst af en hver type realiseringer som et konkret antal. Procentberegningen af forekomsten i de enkelte analysekategorier sættes i forhold til det samlede antal af rettigheder og pligter for både lejer og udlejer i teksten. Dvs. i tabel 1 er der i alt 100 realiseringer af rettigheder og pligter i teksten, svarende til 100%. Modalverber, der udtrykker lejerens pligt, forekommer i 4 tilfælde af de 100 realiserede rettigheder og pligter, dvs. 4%. Desuden angives det enkelte antal forekomster af hver leksikalsk eller grammatisk enhed som et konkret antal, hvor det skønnes relevant, fx nævnes det ved tabel 1, at der er 5 forekomster af konstruktionen *haben + zu* + infinitiv i forbindelse med lejers pligter.

Gruppen af leksikalsk realiserede rettigheder omfatter udtryk som fx *berechtigt sein* og *Recht haben*, mens de grammatisk realiserede rettigheder omfatter modalverberne *dürfen* og *können*. I denne kontrakt ses det, at der er realiseret en stor mængde lejerrettigheder (34%), men ikke tilsvarende mange rettigheder til udlejer (13%); en del af udlejerens rettigheder er endog begrænset og negeret, således at der reelt ikke er tale om rettigheder i egentlig forstand. Det er desuden bemærkelsesværdigt, at rettighederne er realiseret såvel gennem leksikalske udtryk (hhv. 11% og 3%) som gennem en særdeles omfattende brug af modalverber (19% og 9%), som er lette at forstå for en læser. Af modalverberne anvendes kun *können*, som udtrykker mulighed, i forbindelse med begge parters rettigheder, mens *dürfen*, som udtrykker tilladelse, ligeledes anvendes til at udtrykke lejers rettigheder. De implicit realiserede rettigheder forekommer næsten ikke i denne kontrakt.

8.1.2. Den tyske kontrakt fra Grundeigentum-Verlag (Wohnraum-Mietvertrag)

Der er i denne kontrakt fra den tyske udlejerorganisation i alt 182 forekomster af realiserede pligter og rettigheder, og der er en meget ulige fordeling af pligter i kontrakten, idet der er realiseret væsentlig flere pligter til lejer end til udlejer (53% mod 9%). De fleste af disse pligter er realiseret vha. de modale infinitiver samt de leksikalske udtryk *verpflichtet sein* og *sich verpflichten*, men der findes også en relativt stor gruppe implicit realiserede pligter til lejeren. Den modale infinitiv *haben* + *zu* + infinitiv finder vi en stor hyppighed af i denne kontrakt (30 forekomster), og den forekommer næsten kun i forbindelse med lejerens pligter (27 af 30 forekomster), mens vi til gengæld næsten ikke finder nogen modalverber, der udtrykker pligt.

Tabel 2: Rettigheder og pligter i kontrakten fra den tyske udlejerorganisation (Wohnraum-Mietvertrag (Nettomiete und Betriebskostenpauschale))

Sprogligt middel	Lejer		Udlejer
	Antal forekomster	I procent	Antal forekomster
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - leksikalsk: fx *(sich)* *verpflichten, -pflichtig*	27	15%	7 *Nicht verpflichtet*: 3
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - grammatisk: *sein/haben* + *zu* + **infinitiv**	43 *Hat*:27 *Ist*:16	24%	5 *Hat*: 3 *Ist*: 2
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - grammatisk: modalverbum: *müssen*	1	1%	1
Implicit realiseret pligt: præsens aktiv og passiv	25	14%	4
Realiserede pligter i alt	96	53%	17
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed - leksikalsk: fx *berechtigt, Recht*	16 *Nur*: 2 *Nicht*: 12	9%	11
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed - modalverbum: *dürfen, können*	16 *Darf*: 1 *Kann*:2 *Darf nur*: 4 *Darf nicht*: 8 *Kann nicht*: 1	9%	16
Implicit realiseret rettighed: præsens aktiv og passiv	0	0	10
Realiserede rettigheder i alt	32 *Nur*: 6, *Nicht*: 21	18%	37

Med hensyn til den leksikalske og grammatiske realisering af rettighederne ser fordelingen mellem parterne umiddelbart ret ligelig ud (18% og 20%), men ved nærmere undersøgelse af resultaterne viser det sig, som det også fremgår af nedenstående tabel, at størstedelen af lejerens i kontrakten realiserede rettigheder udelukkes vha. *nicht* eller relativeres og begrænses vha. *nur*, sådan at rettigheden kun gælder i særlige tilfælde (i 27 af 32 tilfælde er retten indskrænket). Dette fænomen ses ikke tilsvarende i forbindelse med udlejers rettigheder. Der er dermed realiseret relativt flere rettigheder til udlejer end til lejer i denne kontrakt. Der forekommer, som det ses, næsten ingen reelle rettigheder til lejeren, således at der samlet set i denne kontrakt er en meget uens fordeling i den sproglige realisering af pligter og rettigheder mellem parterne. Modalverberne, som er næsten fraværende i forbindelse med realiseringen af pligter, forekommer i relativt stort omfang, hvad angår rettigheder.

8.2.   De danske kontrakter
I det følgende fremlægges resultaterne for de to danske standardkontrakter, Typeformular A og Typeformular U. I Typeformular A indgår bilaget "Vejledning for beboelse" i beskrivelsen, idet det fremgår eksplicit af teksten, at vejledningen er bilag til kontrakten, og den "udgør dermed en del af den autoriserede lejekontrakt" (Typeformular A 2001: 7). I Typeformular U indgår på tilsvarende vis "Almindelige bestemmelser", som ligeledes må opfattes som en integreret del af kontrakten.

8.2.1.   Den danske kontrakt "Typeformular A, 8. udgave"
I Typeformular A forekommer der i alt 22 realiseringer af rettigheder og pligter i selve kontrakten og 82 realiseringer i vejledningen. I selve kontraktteksten anvendes der ved både udlejers og lejers pligter primært implicit realisering vha. præsens aktiv og passiv (23% og 27%). Hvad angår lejers pligter er der desuden tale om en mindre forekomst af modalverber (9%), ligesom parternes rettigheder hér italesættes gennem brug af modalverber (18% og 9%).

   I vejledningen til Typeformular A ses det, at fokus på parternes rettigheder (24% og 29%) og pligter (22% og 24%) er meget ligeligt fordelt. Der er en relativt stor forekomst af modalverber som udtryk for begge parts pligter og rettigheder (17-27%), og i forbindelse med parternes rettigheder findes der desuden en række realiseringer af begrænsninger og forbud, dvs. tilfælde, hvor det eksplicit fremhæves, at parterne kun under særlige omstændigheder eller slet ikke har ret til at foretage en handling. Ved brug af modalverberne til udtryk for pligt er der næsten udelukkende tale om det i kontrakter entydige *skal*, mens det modalt tvetydige *må* kun anvendes i et enkelt tilfælde til at udtrykke pligt. Ved modalverberne, som udtrykker rettighed, ses der primært brug af *kan* til udtryk for muligheden og kun i mindre omfang det tvetydige *må* og da kun i forbindelse med negationen *ikke* til at udtrykke forbud.

   Vejledningen fokuserer desuden i høj grad på parternes muligheder i forbindelse med udfyldningen af kontraktformularen, dvs. hvilke muligheder parterne har for at bestemme ændringer i deres aftale i forhold til lovens deklaratoriske elementer, og ikke mindst hvilke muligheder de ikke har. Dette fremgår ikke af tabellen nedenfor, idet der ikke er tale om parternes pligter og rettigheder som følge af kontrakten, men om deres pligter og rettigheder i forbindelse med selve *indgåelsen* af kontrakten. Dette aspekt behandles dog senere i denne artikel.

Tabel 3: Rettigheder og pligter i lejekontrakten for beboelse (Typeformular A)[13]

Sprogligt middel	Lejer		Udlejer
	Antal forekomster	I procent	Antal forekomster
Eksplicit realiseret pligt – leksikalsk: fx *pligt*	1 (3) *Pligt*: 1 (3)	5% (4%)	0 (5) *Ikke pligt*: 0 (2) *Påhvile*: 0 (3)
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - modalverbum: *må* **(= pligt),** *skal*	2 (14) *Skal*: 2 (13) *Skal ikke*: 0 (1)	9% (17%)	0 (15) *Skal*: 0 (14) *Må*: 0 (1)
Implicit realiseret pligt: **præsens aktiv og passiv**	6 (1)	27% (1%)	5 (0)
Realiserede pligter i alt	9 (18)	41% (22%)	5 (20)
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed **- leksikalsk: fx** *ret, mulighed for*	1 (3) *(Brugs)ret*: 1 (2) *Mulighed for*: 0 (1)	5% (4%)	0 (1) *Ret*: 0 (1)
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed **- modalverbum:** *må* **(= tilladelse),** *kan*	4 (17) *Kan*: 3 (13) *Kan ikke*: 0 (1) *Må ikke*: 1 (3)	18% (21%)	2 (22) *Kan*: 2 (16) *Kan ikke*: 0 (2) *Kan kun*: 0 (4)
Implicit realiseret rettighed: præsens aktiv og passiv	0	0%	1 (1)
Realiserede rettigheder i alt	5 (20)	23% (24%)	3 (24)

8.2.2. Den danske kontrakt "Typeformular U"

Typeformular U indeholder i alt 34 realiseringer af rettigheder og pligter. Kontrakten er bemærkelsesværdig på den måde, at der er en meget klar fordeling af realiserede pligter og rettigheder i teksten. Der er meget stor fokus på lejers pligter (38%) og i mindre omfang også på udlejers rettigheder (26%), mens hhv. lejers rettigheder (15%) og udlejers pligter (21%) er mindre fremtrædende. Lejers reelle rettigheder er næsten helt fraværende, idet de fleste af de realiserede rettigheder er indskrænket eller udelukket vha. *kun* og *ikke*. Der er en stor forekomst af modalverber til at udtrykke udlejers rettigheder (24%) og lejers forpligtelser (24%). Med hensyn til lejers forpligtelser er der ved modalverberne næsten udelukkende tale om det entydige *skal*, mens det tvetydige *må* kun anvendes i et enkelt tilfælde. Der findes dog også en række implicit realiserede pligter; det drejer sig hér udelukkende om verber, som står i præsens passiv, og der er tale om tilfælde, hvor verbets indhold realiserer en pligt til at betale, fx *bekoste* og det formelle verbum *erlægge*. Der er derimod ingen forekomst af implicit realiserede rettigheder for nogen af parterne. Endelig findes der et mindre antal forekomster af leksikalsk realiserede pligter for begge parter. Interessant er det i den forbindelse, at der primært er tale om det formelle adjektiv *pligtig*.

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13 I tabellen er der ved hver gruppe af verbalformer angivet to tal. Det forreste tal angiver forekomsten i selve kontraktteksten, og det bageste tal i parentes angiver forekomsten i vejledningen til kontrakten. Procentsatserne er beregnet med udgangspunkt i den samlede forekomst af rettigheder og pligter i hhv. selve kontraktteksten og vejledningsteksten.

Tabel 4: Rettigheder og pligter i kontrakten til uddannelsesboliger (Typeformular U)

Sprogligt middel	Lejer		Udlejer
	Antal forekomster	I procent	Antal forekomster
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - leksikalsk: fx *pligtig*, *påhvile*	2	6%	1
Eksplicit realiseret pligt - modalverbum: *må* (= pligt), *skal*	8 *Skal*: 7 *Må*: 1	24%	1
Implicit realiseret pligt: præsens aktiv og passiv	3	9%	5
Realiserede pligter i alt	13	38%	7
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed - leksikalsk: fx *ret*	0	0%	1
Eksplicit realiseret rettighed - modalverbum: *må* (= tilladelse), *kan*	5 *Kan*: 2 *Må kun*: 1 *Må ikke*: 2	15%	8
Implicit realiseret rettighed: præsens aktiv og passiv	0	0%	0
Realiserede rettigheder i alt	5	15%	9

9. Tilskrivning af identitet til parterne

I det følgende skal undersøgelsens resultater diskuteres primært med fokus på at afdække, hvilke versioner af parternes identitet der konstrueres i kontrakten gennem realiseringen af rettigheder og pligter. I tilknytning hertil diskuteres mulige årsager og bagvedliggende interesser, som de konstruerede versioner afspejler, og her inddrages desuden kontekstuelle faktorer.

I den tyske kontrakt fra lejerorganisationen konstrueres der i forhold til pligter tilnærmelsesvis samme version af parternes identitet: der ses en ret ligelig fordeling i realiseringen af parternes forpligtelser i forhold til hinanden; parterne konstrueres dermed som personer, der begge har (næsten lige mange) pligter i deres indbyrdes retsforhold. Men i kontrakten ses også i stort omfang realisering af lejerens rettigheder, mens udlejers rettigheder ikke i samme omfang er realiseret. Mulige årsager kan være, at tekstproducenten har skønnet en sådan skævhed nødvendig, for at lejers rettigheder overholdes, eller at teksten stammer fra en lejerorganisation, som varetager lejers interesser i højere grad end udlejers. Der sker således en forfordeling af udlejeren sammenlignet med lejeren, hvilket egentlig er i overensstemmelse med tankerne i loven, der som tidligere nævnt bl.a. har til formål at beskytte lejeren. Det er dermed muligvis det samme ønske, vi ser afspejlet i denne kontrakt.

Modalverbet *können* udtrykker, at en af parterne har mulighed for at foretage handlinger, hvis han ønsker det, mens modalverbet *dürfen* udtrykker tilladelse. Ved at anvende mulighedsformen med *können*, som ses ved begge parters rettigheder, tildeles den pågældende part magt og råderum til selv at beslutte, om handlinger skal foretages. Det kan måske i kontrakten fra lejerorganisationen ses som et ønske om at lade *begge* parter fremstå som personer, der har ret til at bestemme selv. *Dürfen* anvendes i denne kontrakt kun til at udtrykke lejerens forhold, men ikke udlejerens forhold, hvilket kan være forårsaget af et ønske om eksplicit at fremhæve lejerens tilladelse gennem kontrakten til at foretage bestemte handlinger, som der senere kunne opstå tvivl om, hvis de ikke udtrykkeligt var nævnt i kontrakten. Lejeren konstrueres således som én, der har tilladelse til at foretage forskellige handlinger, men også magt til selv at beslutte, om han vil gøre noget. Udlejeren konstrueres på sin side som en person, hvis rettigheder og muligheder ikke har så stor vægt.

Kontrakten fra den tyske udlejerorganisation betoner derimod ikke lejerens rettigheder, men lejerens pligter på baggrund af kontraktindgåelsen, hvorved der er tale om en anden version af lejerens identitet. I denne kontrakt finder vi i stort omfang den modale infinitiv *haben* + *zu* +

infinitiv', der i vejledninger for godt administrationssprog og juridisk sprog, som tidligere nævnt, anses for at være en meget stærk og ikke-borgernær befalingsform, der bør undgås i juridiske tekster (Bundesverwaltungsamt 2002: 39), og den forekommer næsten kun i forbindelse med lejerens pligter. Tekstproducenten har altså i denne kontrakt ikke søgt at undgå formen, og med Norre Nielsen & Wichmann (1994: 154) kan man sige, at den erstatter modalverbet *müssen*. Men spørgsmålet er, om dens konnotationer som "øvrighedsstatens" måde at henvende sig til "undersåtten" (Bundesverwaltungsamt 2002: 39) kan lades ude af betragtning. Man kunne mene, at der ikke blot er tale om en neutral erstatning af modalverbet, men om et forsøg på at betone vigtigheden af de kontraktmæssige pligter og dermed skærpe lejerens opmærksomhed på vigtigheden af, at han overholder sine pligter. Lejeren konstrueres dermed som en person, der skal gøres særligt opmærksom på sine pligter og overholdelse af dem, da han ellers muligvis vil negligere sine pligter forsætligt, eller fordi han ikke er opmærksom på dem.

Det er også af en anden årsag interessant at betragte lejers rettigheder i kontrakten fra udlejerorganisationen, idet der hér er realiseret en stor mængde begrænsninger. Således er der reelt i de fleste tilfælde tale om en 'ikke-rettighed' eller et forbud mod at gøre noget bestemt (jf. Norre Nielsen & Wichmann 1994: 149). Dette gør sig gældende for lejerens vedkommende, men ikke for udlejerens vedkommende, idet hans rettigheder er reelle og ikke indskrænkes eller udelukkes på samme måde. Denne betoning af lejeren som en person med tungtvejende pligter og begrænsede rettigheder ligger ikke i forlængelse af lovens fokus på at beskytte lejeren, men kunne ses som udlejerorganisationens forsøg på modvirke tendensen i loven og på at afbøde uheldige følger af lovens ensidige fokus.

Hvad angår de relativt mange implicit realiserede pligter til lejer og rettigheder til udlejer, må det nævnes, at parterne kan afkode, at det drejer sig om hhv. pligter og rettigheder og ikke om fx konstatering af fakta, udelukkende på basis af deres præsuppositioner og viden om kommunikationssituationen (jf. Larsen 2013), om deres indbyrdes relation som følge af situationen og om tekstens bindende funktion. Dermed får de sætninger, der udtrykker implicitte pligter, snarere en kommissiv funktion, således at de kan opfattes som løfter, som den forpligtede part afgiver og dermed forpligter sig til at overholde, ligesom både de og de implicit realiserede rettigheder muligvis kan opfattes som "automatiske" elementer ved kontrakten, således at forstå at parternes rolletilskrivning i forbindelse med kontraktunderskrivelsen udløser de pågældende pligter, som der dermed ikke kan sættes spørgsmålstegn ved. Fx bliver det på denne måde mindre klart for lejer, at udlejer får tildelt en række rettigheder, mens han selv får en række pligter. Et problem kan være, hvis lejeren overser, at han selv forpligtes; måske vil han se elementerne som hensigtserklæringer, så han ikke i tilstrækkelig grad er opmærksom på at overholde sine deraf opståede pligter, især når en række af hans andre pligter er formuleret vha. den stærke befalingsform med *haben + zu + infinitiv*, som ikke efterlader tvivl om pligten.

Gennem kontrakten fra udlejerorganisationen konstrueres udlejer som en person, der har en mængde rettigheder med udgangspunkt i kontrakten, mens lejer kun i begrænset omfang konstrueres som en person med rettigheder, og i de fleste af tilfældene er lejers rettigheder tilmed begrænset eller helt udelukket. Det indikerer, at lejer konstrueres som en person, om hvem man kunne forestille sig, at han potentielt ville tiltage sig for mange rettigheder, således at man på forhånd er nødt til at præcisere en række af de handlinger, han ikke må foretage. Lejer konstrueres samtidig som en person med en meget stor mængde pligter, som står i centrum i kontrakten, idet de ekspliciteres meget grundigt, hvorved fokus i høj grad kommer til at ligge på lejers overholdelse af forpligtelserne. Muligvis kan årsagen være, at man ønsker at sikre, at han forstår, hvilke pligter han har. Dette stemmer imidlertid ikke overens med et andet interessant fænomen, der også ses i kontrakten: Lejer konstrueres også som en person, der har en række pligter, som "automatisk" følger af kontraktforholdet (fordi de er realiseret vha. implicitte midler), som han således ikke kan stille spørgsmål ved eller modsige, men som han samtidig muligvis slet ikke er opmærksom på

eksistensen af, når kontrakten indgås, og dermed også senere, når kontrakten skal overholdes, risikerer at overse.

I de danske kontrakter, især Typeformular A, ses en særlig struktur med en relativ kort kontrakttekst og en omfattende tilhørende vejledning (også kaldt bilag), som udgør "en del af den autoriserede lejekontrakt" (Typeformular A 2001: 7), hvori en lang række regler og beskrivelser er indskrevet. Parternes pligter og rettigheder i forhold til hinanden konstrueres således i selve kontraktteksten kun i meget begrænset omfang. Selve kontraktteksten er som nævnt ret kort, men der er afsat plads til, at parterne selv kan individualisere deres aftale ud fra de regler og anvisninger, der er givet i vejledningen, ved at supplere med yderligere bestemmelser i kontraktens §11.

I vejledningen udtrykkes der i høj grad ved brug af modalverber, hvad parterne må eller skal indføje i kontrakten, og hvad de ikke må aftale. Det drejer sig om hhv. modalverbet *skal* i 17 tilfælde og *kan* i 21 tilfælde (heraf 8 *kan ikke* som udtryk for forbud) konstrueret med præsens passiv (eller evt. infinitiv),[14] fx "Det kan aftales, at den indvendige vedligeholdelse påhviler lejeren. Dette indebærer, at lejeren ud over lejen selv skal afholde udgifter til maling, hvidtning, tapetsering og lakering af gulve i det lejede. Aftale herom angives ved afkrydsning ved "Lejer" i kontraktens §8." (Typeformular A 2001: 12). Denne sætning angiver en mulighed, parterne kan gøre brug af, hvis de ønsker det, og hvilke konsekvenser deres beslutning i givet fald medfører. Men også pligter i forbindelse med udformningen af kontrakten forekommer: "Det skal i kontraktens §1 oplyses, om det lejede er en lejlighed eller et værelse" (Typeformular A 2001: 8). Desuden ses det, at der stilles direkte spørgsmål til parterne, fx "Er det aftalt, at lejemålet ved lejeforholdets ophør ligeledes skal afleveres nyistandsat?" (Typeformular A 2001: §7), som de forventes at besvare ved afkrydsning af felter med svarmulighederne *ja* og *nej*. Der er tale om en form for metakommunikation, hvor der ikke udtrykkes en pligt eller ret for en af parterne, men derimod et krav til eller mulighed ved kontrakten og dens udformning, dvs. til parternes handlinger i den del af kommunikationssituationen, der har at gøre med selve udfyldningen af kontraktformularen. Det kommunikeres, hvad parterne må eller skal skrive i kontrakten, og disse elementer relaterer sig til udfyldnings- og underskrivningssituationen (indgåelseshandlingen) og ikke direkte – men dog indirekte – til det senere handlingsforløb (udførelseshandlingen). Der angives således i vejledningen mange muligheder for parterne, ligesom den er præget af en meget deskriptiv stil, mens der i mindre omfang er tale om direkte pligter og rettigheder for parterne. Det deskriptive element ses fx af eksemplet ovenfor, hvor det forklares, hvad begrebet *indvendig vedligeholdelse* omfatter juridisk, men det forekommer også i forbindelse med en række andre juridiske termer og kollokationer, fx *pligtige pengeydelser* og *trappeleje*. Adjektivet *pligtig* tilhører formelt sprogbrug (Den Danske Ordbog 2014), og anvendes her som del af en juridisk defineret kollokation, som forklares i vejledningen.

Om Typeformular A kan man samlet set sige, at der kun foregår en begrænset italesættelse af parternes rettigheder og pligter i selve kontraktteksten, hvorved konstruktionen af deres identitet ikke kan siges at blive tydelig heri; der er dog en overvægt af realisering af lejerens forpligtelser i selve kontraktteksten. Men inddrager man også vejledningen i analysen, ses en mere ligelig fordeling i realiseringen af rettigheder og pligter, hyppigt ved hjælp af modalverber, ligesom i den tyske kontrakt fra lejerorganisationen. Den version af identitet, der ses her, er således, at parterne konstrueres som partnere, der har muligheder for sammen at fastsætte forskellige betingelser for deres individuelle retsforhold, dvs. som partnere med en fælles interesse i at skabe et godt og brugbart retsforhold og ikke umiddelbart som to parter, der står over for hinanden med modstridende interesser. Fokus lægges på parternes frihed til selv at bestemme og til at vælge indholdet af deres aftale; dette understreges af den omfattende brug af *kan*. De konstrueres dog også som personer, der har brug for hjælp til at nå frem til de bestemmelser, der er passende for deres

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14 Disse udtryk fremgår ikke af tabel 3 ovenfor, idet der er tale om metakommunikation om krav til kontrakten.

retsforhold, og denne hjælp erhverver de fra kontraktdokumentet selv gennem metakommunikative kommentarer beregnet til udfyldningssituationen, hvor juridiske elementer bl.a. forklares og hvor der i kontrakten stilles direkte spørgsmål til parterne, som de skal besvare ved afkrydsning i kontrakten.[15]

I Typeformular U er forekomsten af pligter for lejers vedkommende langt mere fremtrædende end forekomsten af rettigheder. Lejer konstrueres dermed som en person, hvis pligter har langt større bevågenhed end hans rettigheder. Dette forhold kunne muligvis skyldes, at det drejer sig om en kontrakt beregnet til brug i forbindelse med ungdomsboliger, hvor det i mange tilfælde er lejerens første lejemål, og hvor man derfor kunne forestille sig, at tekstproducenten har ønsket at gøre lejeren særligt opmærksom på nogle af de mange små og store forpligtelser, der opstår, ved at han tilskrives rollen som lejer gennem lejemålet, idet den unge lejer formentlig ikke kan forventes på forhånd at være klar over alle disse konsekvenser. Der er fortrinsvis anvendt entydige modalverber til udtryk af såvel rettigheder som pligter, og dette peger på tilsvarende vis i retning af et ønske om at gøre det klart og forståeligt for den uerfarne lejer, hvilke pligter han får, og hvilke rettigheder udlejeren får ved underskrivning af kontrakten. Nogle af parternes pligter er realiseret implicit, både i denne kontrakt og i Typeformular A: der ses derimod ingen eller meget få rettigheder realiseret implicit vha. præsens aktiv eller passiv, hvilket kan tyde på, at man ønsker at gøre eksplicit opmærksom på rettigheder. Det er primært udlejerens rettigheder, der er i fokus i Typeformular U, og der gøres endvidere eksplicit opmærksom på nogle rettigheder, som lejer *ikke* har, hvilket ligeledes kan ses som et forsøg fra tekstproducentens side på at gøre lejer opmærksom på de særlige forhold, der gør sig gældende i forbindelse med indgåelse af lejekontrakter. Lejer konstrueres dermed som en person, der ikke er klar over omfanget af sine forpligtelser pga. sin manglende erfaring og viden, hvorfor hans pligter i høj grad udspecificeres. Dette afspejler formentlig tekstproducentens erfaringer fra virkeligheden.

10. Konklusion

Dette studie har sat fokus på, om man i kontrakter – ligesom på andre områder inden for juraens virkefelt (jf. McKinlay & McVittie (2011) – konstruerer identiteter, der understreger bestemte kendetegn ved kontraktens parter, sådan at bestemte 'versioner' af parterne aktiveres og deaktiveres, ud fra forventninger om deres fremtidige handlinger. Det er ligeledes blevet undersøgt, hvilke versioner der i givet fald er tale om, og hvilke sproglige midler der anvendes til konstruktion af parternes identitet i teksterne. Da der, som tidligere nævnt, er tale om et eksplorativt studium til generering af hypoteser, kan man ikke ud fra studiet postulere almengyldighed for resultaterne, men de kan give en indikation af, hvilke forskelle og ligheder der ville være relevante at undersøge nærmere i et større korpus.

Ud fra resultaterne af analysen kan det fastslås, at det ikke synes at være den samme identitet parterne tilskrives, med andre ord er det ikke samme 'version' af parterne, der findes i kontrakterne. Det er med andre ord forskellige dele af parternes identitet, som aktiveres i kontrakterne og repræsenterer parterne ud fra deres forventede fremtidige handlinger og ud fra en bagvedliggende interesse fra tekstproducentens side.

I den tyske kontrakt fra lejerorganisationen ses det, at begge parter konstrueres som 'pligthavere', dvs. pligter expliciteres for begge parter for at sikre, at de overholder dem. Parterne er relativt ligeværdige, hvad pligter angår. Lejeren konstrueres også som 'rettighedshaver', dvs. som én, der tilskrives en række rettigheder og muligheder, som giver ham beslutningsmagt. Udlejerens identitet som 'rettighedshaver' er derimod næsten helt fraværende. Man kan overveje, om årsagen er,

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15 Der er dog i vejledningen en henvisning til "den til enhver tid gældende lejelovgivning samt de af By- og Boligministeriet udarbejdede pjecer", ligesom der står, at vejledningen ikke er udtømmende og at "lovgivningen kan være ændret på enkelte punkter" siden udarbejdelsen i maj 2001 (Typeformular A 2001: 7). Hvilke ændringer der reelt er tale om, er ikke undersøgt i dette studie.

at det er nødvendigt at eksplicitere lejers rettigheder, for at de overholdes, eller om årsagen er, at der er tale om en lejerorganisation, der varetager lejers rettigheder i større omfang. Det kan dog ikke afgøres ud fra denne undersøgelse.

Med hensyn til den tyske kontrakt fra udlejerorganisationen viser analyseresultaterne, at især lejeren konstrueres som 'pligthaver'. Hans pligter ekspliciteres meget præcist og udtømmende muligvis for at sikre, at han ikke misligholder sine pligter, eller for at sikre, at han forstår sine pligter. Udlejeren konstrueres som 'rettighedshaver', mens lejerens identitet som 'rettighedshaver' er næsten helt fraværende. Resultaterne kunne desuden tyde på, at lejeren konstrueres som en person, som potentielt tiltager sig for mange rettigheder, hvis hans rettigheder ikke eksplicit begrænses ved hjælp af *ikke* og *kun* – han konstrueres således som 'ikke-rettighedshaver'.

I den danske kontrakt til beboelse i private lejemål konstrueres parterne som ligeværdige partnere, der uden tydeligt modstridende interesser samarbejder om at nå frem til en aftale, som er fordelagtig for dem begge; begge parter konstrueres dermed som 'pligthavere' og som 'rettighedshavere'. Deres muligheder for at bestemme indholdet af deres eget retsforhold er i høj grad i fokus, og kontrakten yder dem hjælp til at tilrettelægge aftalens indhold ved gennem metakommunikation at rådgive parterne og gøre dem opmærksom på, hvad de kan og må skrive i kontrakten.

Resultaterne af analysen af den danske kontrakt til ungdomslejemål viste, at der i høj grad er fokus på udlejer som 'rettighedshaver' og på lejer som 'pligthaver', idet lejerens pligter er udspecificeret meget omhyggeligt, mens udlejers pligter er næsten fraværende. Formålet kan være at gøre det let for den uerfarne lejer at gennemskue de forpligtelser, som opstår for ham, ved at han indgår kontrakten og dermed tilskrives en bestemt rolle som part i retsforholdet med tilhørende forpligtelser og rettigheder.

Vi kan altså se, at parternes identitet konstrueres på ret forskellig vis i kontrakterne. Og man kan formode, at den identitet, parterne tilskrives, afspejler nogle bagvedliggende interesser hos tekstproducenterne og nogle erfaringer fra virkelighedens verden, som har givet viden om, hvilke typer af rettigheder og pligter der typisk opstår tvivl eller stridsspørgsmål om. Denne viden kan bl.a. forklare beskrivelserne og forklaringerne i kontrakterne, ikke mindst i den danske Typeformular A, ligesom den kan forklare, at der er realiseret mange eksempler på begrænsninger og forbud i kontrakterne, og at visse pligter og rettigheder er realiseret eksplicit og præcist, mens andre er realiseret implicit.

Et spørgsmål, man kan stille, er, om den identitet, der tilskrives parterne via fastlæggelsen af pligter og rettigheder, muligvis kan påvirke en dommer ved afgørelse af en eventuel retssag, eller om dommeren kan abstrahere herfra. McKinlay og McVittie (2011) påviser, at aktører inden for andre områder af det juridiske system forsøger at konstruere forskellige identiteter bl.a. for en retssags parter i et forsøg på at påvirke dommeren. Fx bruger advokater i deres procedure bestemte betegnelser for parterne og betoner bestemte aspekter af parternes identitet for at indikere, om en part er skyldig eller uskyldig, eller om vedkommende så at sige "selv har været ude om det". Denne undersøgelse kan fastslå, at der foregår forskellig konstruktion af parternes identitet i kontrakterne, men den kan ikke give nogen indikation af, hvorvidt den konstruktion af parternes identitet, der finder sted i kontrakterne, i konkrete sager påvirker dommerens afgørelse af eventuelle stridigheder angående kontraktens udlægning, og det er ikke hensigten med denne undersøgelse at besvare dette i øvrigt interessante spørgsmål. For at gå skridtet videre og undersøge det spørgsmål kræves der yderligere forskning, fx med inddragelse af interviews med dommere, advokater og andre juridiske tekstforfattere samt iagttagelse af konkrete domsforhandlinger i sager om kontraktbrud.

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Identitets (re)konstruktioner hos mennesker med en erhvervet hjerneskade: Et casestudie af selv-narrativer og diskurser på hjerneskadeområdet

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Abstract: Already in the 1930's, Goldstein introduced the term "catastrophic reaction" in order to describe the problematic psychological reactions to cognitive and neurological disabilities (Goldstein 1995 [1934]). Approximately 70 years later, Prigatano (1999) observed that the psychological consequences following an acquired brain injury were still poorly understood and treated in research and rehabilitating practices. This does not seem to have changed in the new millennium. The psychosocial consequences are still seen as the biggest challenge facing rehabilitation (Teasdale 2007; Glintborg & Jensen de Lopéz fc). Research which investigates how clients describe and construct their situation, identity and recovery is still sparse (Danish Board of Health, 2011a; 2011b). A lot of research has investigated specific rehabilitation settings (e.g. hospitals) instead of looking at the rehabilitation process as a whole (Lund & Tamm 2001). The aim of this study is to investigate identity constructions during the first year of the rehabilitation process by means of client's descriptions and self-narratives. This paper describes Gert who is 51 years old. Gert had a stroke one year earlier. Gert will be presented as a case study. Through this case study, we examine how a person with an acquired brain injury (ABI) constructs his identity following an ABI and through the first year of his recovery process. This case study has been developed based on a semi-structured interview with Gert one year after his stroke. Discourse analysis drawing on the concepts of positioning and agency will be used to analyze self constructions (Harré & van Langenhove 1999; Potter & Wetherell 1987). The analysis reveals different identity constructions during the rehabilitation process. Furthermore, we found conflicting positionings from society, service providers and the adults with ABI.

Keywords: acquired brain injury, agency, identity, narrative, psychological consequences, psychological rehabilitation.

1. Introduktion

En pludselig uventet sygdom medfører ofte store forandringer, der kan føre til eksistentielle og identitetsmæssige kriser eller andre psykologiske konsekvenser som fx depression og angst. Formålet med denne artikel er at undersøge, hvordan identitet er re- og co-konstrueret efter en erhvervet hjerneskade.

Det er velkendt forskningsmæssigt, at en erhvervet hjerneskade medfører psykologiske og sociale konsekvenser, som skal adresseres i løbet af rehabiliteringsprocessen. Siden midt 1990'erne (Morton & Wehmann 1995) har man vidst, at de psykosociale konsekvenser (fx depression, ensomhed, identitetstab, angst, mv.) efter en hjerneskade udgjorde de største udfordringer i rehabiliteringsforløb, og ny forskning bekræfter endnu engang dette (Glintborg et al. ms).

I Danmark er der siden 2007 oprettet koordinatorstillinger på senhjerneskadeområdet i kommunalt regi til sikring af et sammenhængende og helhedsorienteret forløb for hjerneskaderamte. I 2011 var en væsentlig del af Sundhedsstyrelsens anbefaling og prioritering netop at sikre et sammenhængende og helhedsorienteret forløb for den enkelte borger, og dermed en anbefaling om et øget fokus på også de psykosociale følger (Sundhedsstyrelsen 2011a, 2011b).

Hjerneskadeforskning indenfor identitetskonstruktioner efter en hjerneskade er sparsom (fx hvordan borgerne positionerer sig selv eller positioneres og konstrueres af andre). Formålet med dette studie er derfor at bidrage til litteraturen ved at undersøge et udsnit af de forskellige identitetskonstruktioner, der foregår under et længerevarende forløb – her det første år efter en hjerneskade – og se på mulige forandringer af disse igennem recovery processen. Endvidere er

formålet med artiklen at undersøge, hvordan denne identitetsrekonstruktionsproces mestres, og hvilke sociale faktorer der har indflydelse herpå.

1.1.   Identitets fokus i hjerneskaderehabilitering

Social og psykologisk rehabilitering bliver vigtig i den post akutte fase, da blandt andet det at vende hjem, på forskellig vis, igangsætter flere identitetsmæssige transitioner.

En af årsagerne til, at identitet i rehabilitering ikke har haft så stort et fokus, er, at de subjektive erfaringer fra klienter selv ikke har været anset som pålidelige eller vigtige kilder til information (Gracey et al. 2008). Ydermere har outcome mål alene været tænkt som indikatorer for rehabiliteringsprocessen – fx depressions- og angstscorer (Johnson et al. 2005). Ifølge Crisp (1994, citeret af Nochi 1998) har de fleste hjerneskadestudier, der har anskuet subjektive oplevelser, været ud fra en neurologisk og medicinsk tilgang, og et individuelt perspektiv har ikke været værdsat. Nochi beskriver det på følgende vis: "Despite research focusing on the subjective experience of ABI survivors, the self is still rarely regarded as a dependable variable of a brain injury" (Nochi 1998: 869).

Flere studier har indikeret, at en hjerneskade har en stor indflydelse på individets fornemmelse af sig selv (Muenchberger et al. 2008; Nochi 1997, 1998). Yehuda Ben-Yishay etablerede den holistiske rehabilitering i 1978. I den holistiske tilgang blev de psykosociale konsekvenser af en hjerneskade set som centrale faktorer, der skulle adresseres i rehabiliteringen – herunder identitetsrekonstruktionsprocessen (Ben-Yishay 2008). Selvom vi ved, at de psykosociale langtidsfølger udgør de største følger, har der været fokuseret meget lidt på disse i forsknings- såvel som i rehabiliteringspraksis sammenlignet med fysiske følger (Glintborg & Jensen de Lopéz fc; Hald 2013; Morton & Wehman 1995; Engberg & Teasdale 2005). Dog bliver identitetsrekonstruktioner i stigende grad anerkendt som en kritisk komponent i hjerneskaderehabilitering sammen med mere vanlige tilgange af fysisk og kognitiv karakter (Levack et al. 2010).

En hjerneskade kan anskues som en udviklingsproces, der først indeholder en sorgproces, hvor man siger farvel til det gamle selv for derefter at indlede en konstruktion af en ny identitet. Ifølge Cantor et al. (2005: 531) lever en person med en erhvervet hjerneskade med to selvbilleder *"hvem er jeg nu"* og *"hvem var jeg før"*. At balancere og integrere disse to selvforståelser kan være stressfyldt og medføre psykologiske konsekvenser som fx depression eller angst. I 2005 undersøgte et studie af Vickery et al. (2005) positiv selvforståelse og fandt, at udviklingen af en positiv selvforståelse var en prædiktor for højere livskvalitet.

Et andet studie af Cloute et al. (2008) udvidede denne ide og forklarede, at på trods af positiv outcome i forhold til arbejde, mobilitet mv., ville individer, der oplevede en forandring i deres identitet, have højere sandsynlighed for at få psykiske sygdomme, manglende positive forventninger til fremtiden og en forringet livskvalitet. Desuden kunne identitetsforstyrrelsen kædes sammen med en forringet evne til at danne sociale netværk (Hoofinen et al. 2001; Engberg & Teasdale 2004). Haslam et al. (2008) fandt, at opretholdelse af ens sociale identitet var en prædiktor for velvære efter en hjerneskade.

Nochi, der undersøgte selvnarrativer hos hjerneskaderamte, fandt, at voksne med en hjerneskade ikke mestrer deres liv ved blot at acceptere deres hjerneskade, men ved "revising their self-narratives" (Nochi 2000: 1799). Elsass & Lauritsen (2006) peger endvidere på, at det, at mennesker, som har været igennem sygdom, er i stand til at formulere en sammenhængende historie omkring det, betragtes som en kritisk afgørende komponent for helbredelsesprocessen.

Muenchberger et al. (2008) foreslog, at for at hjerneskaderamte skal opleve en form for kontrol i deres livssituation, er det nødvendigt at skabe mening med forandringerne associeret med skaden og at forstå identitetstransitionsprocessen. Dette er i tråd med anden forskningslitteratur, der finder, at hjerneskaderamtes evne til at mestre identitetsforandringer er prædiktive for angstniveauer

(Dewar & Gracey 2007).

Opsummerende kan man sige, at det synes relevant at adressere identitetstransitioner efter en hjerneskade og at se disse som vigtige komponenter i hjerneskaderehabiliteringen.

2.   Narrativer, identitet, diskurser og positionering

Narrativ identitet er i denne artikel forstået som situeret, pragmatisk og interaktiv (Lucius-Hoene 2000). Efter den narrative vending i socialvidenskaberne har opmærksomheden været rettet mod den rolle, som narrativer spiller i forhold til at skabe mening (meaning-making), og i forhold til rekonstruktion af identitet (Czarniawska 2004). De narrative fortællinger ses som influeret af kontekstuelle faktorer. Vi betragter narrativ identitet som noget, der ikke kun forekommer i en given kontekst, men også i forskningssituationer, hvorfor de anskues som situerede. De fortællinger, der fortælles i en forskningskontekst, kan ikke anskues som et selvstændigt produkt, og ej heller objektivt som noget, der afspejler en psykologisk virkelighed, da de ikke kan adskilles fra den sociale kontekst, de finder sted i – fx interviewsituationen. Det transskriberede interview er derfor ikke set som en monologisk tekst, men baseret på en første indledende analyse af den kommunikative forskningssituation (Lucius-Hoene 2000). Et interview er typisk optaget på diktafon, hvilket også er tilfældet i dette studie, men ud over dét, der inkluderes i optagelsen, sker der også noget forud for dette, fx at man hilser og smalltalker som en slags opvarmning til interviewet. Disse "udenomsaktiviteter" er forsøgt integreret ved hjælp af feltnoter i dette studie, da de også synes relevante for en helhedsorienteret forståelse af identitetsrekonstruktionsprocessen.

Som en tilgang til narrativ identitet trækker vi på diskurspsykologien (Davies & Harré 1990; Wetherell et al. 1997; Harré & van Langenhove 1999). Dette betyder, at identitet er forstået som konstrueret gennem diskurser og forhandlet mellem talende subjekter i sociale kontekster. Fænomener er derfor forstået som:

> Internal (e.g., knowledge, intentions, agency, emotions, identity) or external (varying widely from more obvious constructions, such as marriage, money, and society, to less obvious ones, such as location, event, and continuity) and have their reality in an intersubjectively reached agreement that is historically and culturally negotiated. (Bamberg et al. 2011: 1)

Dette står i kontrast til en mere traditionel forståelse af identitet, hvor man *har* en identitet, og at generere en personlig identitet anses som et vigtigt livsprojekt. Indenfor diskurspsykologien anskues identitet i højere grad som en proces, som der konstant forhandles om (De Fina et al. 2006; Bamberg et al. 2011).

Termer som small-d og capital-D (stort og lille D) er ofte anvendt inden for forskning i diskurspraksisser og vil også blive anvendt i denne artikel. Store D diskurser ser på, hvordan subjektet konstrueres igennem og ved hjælp af eksisterende diskurser, mens lille d diskurser ser på, hvordan en person aktivt (agency) konstruerer sig selv. Indenfor store D diskurser er dominerende diskurser nogle diskurser, der er konsensus om "what is held to be aesthetically and ethically of value, and what is often simply taken to be truth, thereby creating institutional identities" (Bamberg et al. 2011: 4.). "Dominant discourses" eller "master narratives" anvendes også i en type diskursanalyser, som kaldes positioneringsteori (Bamberg 1997; 2003; Davies & Harré 1990). Hvem man er, og hvordan man forstår sig selv, afhænger derfor af de diskursive praksisser, som man er en del af:

> Accordingly, who one is is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the position made available within one's own and others' discursive practices and,

within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and others'
lives (Davies & Harre 1990: 46).

3. Identitetsforskning på hjerneskadeområdet

Den narrative vending indenfor psykologien blev først italesat af Bruner (Bruner 1986 i flg.
Czarniawska 2004: 3) og Polkinghorne (1988). Polkinghorne argumenterede for at:

> Narratives are schema by means of which human beings give meaning to their
> experience of temporality and personal actions. They provide a framework for
> understanding the past events of one's life and for planning future actions. They are the
> primary schema by which human existence is referred meaningful. Thus the study of
> human beings by human science needs to focus on the realm of meaning in general, and
> on narrative meaning in particular. (Polkinghorne 1988: 11)

Nochi (1997, 1998, 2000) har, som ovenfor omtalt, undersøgt selv-narrativer hos voksne
hjerneskaderamte. Nochis studie viste et hul i hukommelsen (a void) i mange af de narrativer, der
blev fortalt. Ifølge Nochi bærer mange af informanterne på noget ukendt, som udgør en krise for
selvet, da dette "hul" i hukommelsen afstedkommer barrierer i forhold til forståelsen af sig selv.

Cloute et al. (2008) fandt, i tæt relation hertil, at disse tabte minder ofte er udfordret af
pårørende, der forsøger at lukke dette hul med deres version af det skete. Nochi (1998)
identificerede tre områder, hvor der var sket et tab af identitet: (1) tab af selv i forhold til før og
efter skade sammenligning, (2) tab af selv i andres øjne og (3) diskontinuitet af identitet via tabte
eller forstyrrede minder. I Nochis senere forskning fokuserede han på, hvorledes personer med en
erhvervet hjerneskade fandt sig tilrette med deres situation. Her konkluderede han, at for at der
skulle foregå en positiv udvikling af selv-narrativer, var det nødvendigt, at denne udvikling skete i
interaktion med andre mennesker, samfundet og kulturen fremfor i isolerede
rehabiliteringsprogrammer (Nochi 1998). Dette får os igen til at rette et fokus på vigtigheden af at
inkludere et identitetsfokus i rehabiliteringsprogrammer, og et fokus på det omgivende miljø og
samfund.

Den relationelle betydning (den hjerneskaderamte i relation til andre) begynder langsomt at
tone frem indenfor neuropsykologien og i rehabiliteringslitteraturen. I et mere nyligt studie af
Cloute et al. (2008) afslørede deres diskursive tilgang, at opmærksomheden skal rettes imod,
hvordan mennesker med en erhvervet hjerneskade er positioneret og identificeret, særligt indenfor
en medicinsk diskurs (fx patient-ekspert, unormal-normal, syg-rask). Disse medicinske diskurser
har stor indflydelse på, hvordan en person forstår sig selv. Ifølge Cloute et al. efterlader den
medicinske model ikke meget rum til, at hjerneskaderamte kan konstruere deres identitet på
alternative måder.

Forskningen indenfor identitet og hjerneskade viser en stigende interesse i at høre erfaringer
fra den ramte selv. Derved bliver narrative identiteter et værdifuldt forskningsområde. Denne viden
er af afgørende betydning for såvel forsknings- som praksisudvikling indenfor
rehabiliteringspsykologi.

4. Metode og teoretisk afsæt

Den anvendte data i denne artikel er del af et større longuditionelt studie, der ser på
langtidseffekterne af koordineret og helhedsorienteret rehabilitering. Dataen er primært indsamlet af
Chalotte Glintborg og med assistance fra Lærke Krogh. En del af denne forskning består af semi-
strukturerede interviews med voksne med en erhvervet hjerneskade (N=45). Interviewene er
foretaget første gang, mens informanten var indlagt på hospitalet, og anden gang ca. et år efter, hvor

interviewet foregik i informantens eget hjem. Interviewene havde en varighed af 1-2 timer. Et af disse interviews fra et år efter skaden vil blive brugt i denne artikel som et casestudie. Alle anvendte navne på personer og steder er fiktive for derved at sikre anonymitet.

Analyserne følger en diskurspsykologisk diskursanalyse (Davies & Harré 1990; Potter & Wetherell 1987). Indenfor socialpsykologien har diskursanalysen udviklet sig til en vigtig socialkonstruktionistisk fremgangsmåde. Diskurspsykologien står i kontrast til en kognitivistisk tilgang til sprog og tekster, idet den ser disse som konstruktioner af verden, der orienteres mod sociale handlinger. Forskellige tilgange inden for diskursanalysen deler et syn på diskurser som konstituerende kræfter i konstruktionen af virkeligheden (Phillips 2010). Den valgte tilgang i dette casestudie følger Davies & Harrés (1990) tilgang, hvor fokus især er rettet imod, hvordan den diskursive praksis konstituerer agenter på bestemte måder, og samtidig bliver en ressource, fordi agenterne eller samtalepartnerne her også kan forhandle nye positioner. Denne form for diskursanalyse har til formål at undersøge, hvordan personer anvender tilgængelige diskurser til at fremstille sig selv og verden på bestemte (fordelagtige) måder i social interaktion, og hvilke sociale konsekvenser det kan have (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 16). Det er en form for socialpsykologi, der er udviklet til at undersøge "relationerne mellem individer og gruppers betydningsdannelser og handlen på den ene side og bredere samfundsmæssige strukturer og processer på den anden" (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 16). Det postmoderne samfund er ofte kendetegnet ved, at viden er kontingent, relativ og socialt skabt, hvorfor et socialkonstruktionistisk og diskursanalytisk metodisk afsæt i det foreliggende studie er valgt.

5.　Analyse: selv-narrativer og identitetsmæssige transitioner
Informanten i dette casestudie er som nævnt Gert på 51 år, der har en uddannelse inden for økonomi. Gert beskriver, at det primært er på en række fysiske områder, at han mærker konsekvenserne af hjerneskaden, bl.a. i forhold til hans udtale: "Altså, det jeg har problem med, det er grundlæggende, at på et eller andet tidspunkt så begynder musklerne at blive slappe i munden, og det vil sige, jeg skal tale ekstra tydeligt og bruge mange kræfter på det" (Interview Gert, linje 118-120). Dette oplever Gert som problematisk i sociale sammenhænge, da det skaber et skel i forhold til hvem han *er* og *var*:

> Jeg har altid været den, der sad med den hurtige og dumme kommentar i alle mulige forsamlinger, og altid den der tog ordet, og det [ikke at kunne det på samme måde efter hjerneskaden, forf.] har været noget at skulle vænne mig til. Fordi jeg kunne jo ikke bare sidde og snakke, for hvis jeg ikke koncentrerede mig om at sige det, så kom ordene forkert ud, og så ville der bare være vrøvl. Og det lægger en begrænsning på selve min natur ...ved ikke at være så hurtig i replikken mere. (Interview Gert, linje 232-236)

Den diskurspsykologiske tilgang til identitet (Davies & Harré 1990; Wetherell et al. 1997; Harré & van Langenhove 1999) kan bruges til at forstå, hvilken rolle hjerneskaden spiller i forhold til Gerts identitet. I citatet bliver det tydeligt, hvordan det ikke er hjerneskaden i sig *selv*, der ændrer Gerts identitet, men at det i stedet er de omgivende sociale kontekster og interaktioner, der bliver identitetsforandrende og -skabende. Hvis Gert taler uden at koncentrere sig, vil ordene komme forkert ud, mens den øgede koncentration og færre hurtige replikker vil skabe en "anden Gert" i sociale sammenhænge. Implicit fremsættes altså to mulige og forskellige scenarier, der, uanset hvilken der realiseres, vil medføre ændringer i den sociale kontekst, i interaktionerne og dermed i Gerts (sociale) identitet. Denne identitetstransitionsproces bliver endvidere interessant samt nødvendig at anskue ud fra en narrativ tilgang, da selv-narrativer rummer hans fortællinger og forståelse af tidligere erfaringer og nuværende handlemuligheder (Polkinghorne 1988):

> Jamen jeg har altid haft den holdning, at jeg kan alt. Altså…så hvis der kommer en udfordring, så vil jeg også kunne udstå det. Og det har jeg så gjort på forskellig vis. Og jeg har aldrig været særlig flittig i skolen eller på universitetet, men det går jo alligevel. Og kastet mig ud i nogle opgaver jeg ikke kendte noget til, og det gik også godt nok. Så jeg har ikke oplevet, at der var nogen ting, hvor nu oplevede jeg en begrænsning: "Det der, det kan du ikke". (Interview Gert, linje 222-226)

Af citatet ses det, hvordan Gert forsøger at skabe mening med sin nuværende situation. I uddraget fortæller Gert om, hvordan han, trods en ikke så ihærdig indsats eller manglende kendskab til opgaver, alligevel har klaret sig fint. Dette kan forstås som en måde, hvorpå Gert forholder sig til tidligere måder at mestre udfordringer på og forsøger at skabe mening imellem disse og sin nuværende situation. En dybere undersøgelse af det sproglige ordvalg og komposition i selvnarrativet er endvidere interessant. Gert beskriver fx ikke, at han "ikke længere kan alt", men bruger i stedet et ord som "begrænsninger" og siger: "Men der er ikke nogle ting, jeg **ikke** kan. Jeg skal bare gøre det i mindre portioner" og senere: "...jeg har jo skulle indse, at der er nogle ting, som jeg ikke kan så godt mere." (Interview Gert, linje 309-310;231). Ord og begreber som "mindre portioner" og "ikke så godt" kan tænkes at eksistere som en form for kontinuum og fungere som en slags *modificering* og justering af det bærende narrativ om at kunne alt. Imidlertid kan det, at disse ord tilføjes, betragtes som en rekonstruktion af narrativet og dermed en rekonstruktion af Gerts identitet. Rekonstruktionen skabes imidlertid i overensstemmelse med et ønske om stadig at opleve sig selv som en stærk aktør: "Ja men jeg vil gerne tænke, at jeg **vil** gerne kunne alt" (Interview Gert, linje 267). Vi forstår Gerts ordvalg som et, der anerkender de identitetsmæssige forandringer, men som ikke bliver determinerende eller selvstigmatiserende, ved eksempelvis ikke at trække på eksisterende store D diskurser med tilgængelige begreber som fx "handicappet" og dermed forbundne kausale sammenhænge. Sådanne diskurser skal vi nu se nærmere på.

5.1. Mødet med store D diskurser
Mødet med store D diskurser kommer bl.a. til udtryk, da Gert fortæller om sin indlæggelse efter skaden samt rehabilitering uden for sygehus regi: "…jeg følte nogen gange, at de kom hen og spurgte: 'Skal jeg hente et glas vand til dig.' Og noget af det jeg kunne, var at gå selv." (Interview Gert, linje 94-95), og han udtaler senere om et gruppeforløb, han var en del af:

> ...det var nogenlunde det samme, hver gang vi startede...med at fortælle hvad vi hed, og hvad der var sket, og hvor lang tid siden det var. Så skulle vi synge en sang, og så skulle vi snakke om en eller anden artikel fra radio eller tv eller avis...Det var nogenlunde de samme øvelser vi lavede der, som jeg lavede den allerførste dag med talepædagogen. Så jeg følte det var at blive sat tre måneder tilbage i udviklingen. (Interview Gert, linje 103-108)

I det første citat skabes et indtryk af en relation mellem en behandler og en *patient,* hvor pasnings- og plejeretoriske handlinger danner udgangspunkt for rehabiliteringen. Næsten samme diskurs præger det gruppetilbud, som Gert bliver en del af, hvor han som borger med en hjerneskade bliver mødt ud fra tanken om, at alle starter på samt følger samme udviklingstrin. Der er derfor tale om store D diskurser, fordi der eksisterer en vis enighed i måden at møde mennesker med en erhvervet hjerneskade på. Det, som her er interessant, samt fælles for begge eksempler, er at disse dominerende diskurser står i kontrast til lille d diskurser: Nemlig Gerts agency og selv-narrativ, der er konstrueret ud fra den overbevisning, at Gert kan alt, men bare skal gøre det i mindre portioner. Davies & Harré (1990) taler netop ikke blot om positioner, men om *mulige* og *tilgængelige*

positioner. I de to eksempler fra rehabiliteringsforløbet forstår vi Gert som en, der grundet hjerneskaden positioneres som værende "syg". Imidlertid vidner interviewet om, at Gert ikke definerer sig ud fra store D diskurser og de i eksemplerne tilgængelige positioner, hvilket er interessant. Derimod kritiserer Gert rehabiliteringen for at være for standardiseret med for få individuelle tilbud og griner desuden, da han fortæller, at han blev tilbudt et glas vand af personalet på sygehuset (Interview Gert, linje 434-435; feltobservationer). Dette kan ses som et udtryk for en stærk agency, og et bærende ønske om at være aktør i eget liv og forfatter til egen livsfortælling. Agency bliver dermed en væsentlig faktor i forhold til ikke at lade sig positionere ud fra tilgængelige positioner og dominerende diskurser.

5.2.   Situeret identitet: at være den samme og alligevel anderledes
Da vi forstår identitet som situeret og pragmatisk (Lucius-Hoene 2000), fordrer dette et behov for at betragte Gerts selv-narrativer som indlejret i sociale kontekster. I det følgende fortæller Gert netop om, hvordan han oplever det, at blive opfattet som "den gamle og raske Gert", samtidig med selv at vide og mærke, at noget er anderledes efter skaden:

> G: Jeg tror, jeg oplever mig selv som en anderledes person, end andre ser mig. Fordi, det jeg hører fra andre det er, at de ikke kan mærke forskel. Men **jeg** kan mærke forskel. Og jeg **ved**, det er anderledes, end det plejer at være. Men altså…når jeg nu sidder og er frisk og snakker med nogen i den første halve time eller sådan noget, så er der ikke noget fysisk de kan se...
>
> I: Nej. Og hvordan oplever du så den forskel...? [på hvordan andre og Gert selv oplever Gert, forf.]
>
> G: Det er både godt og skidt. Godt på den måde…fordi det gør mig jo glad, det ikke er noget der åbenbart er så åbenlyst over for andre. Men på den anden side også lidt irriterende, fordi at så er det jo bare gamle Gert, og så skal vi ikke tage hensyn til ham mere, for nu er han jo rask. (Interview Gert, linje 263-276)

Gert fortæller, at det både kan være rart og ubehageligt, at hans omgivelser opfatter ham som den samme som før skaden. At det opleves rart, kan knytte sig til en række inkluderende og positive aspekter: Nemlig oplevelsen af at være den samme over tid (have et stabilt og kohærent selv-narrativ), oplevelsen af social inklusion og endelig en mindsket risiko og heraf angst for social eksklusion eller stigmatisering. Når Gert fx er i en sårbar situation, kan det derimod tænkes at opleves mere ubehageligt, når der ikke tages hensyn, og han kan have et behov for, at andre mennesker netop udviser mere hensyn. I én kontekst kan det altså være afstigmatiserende og lettende ikke at blive positioneret i en kategori som værende "syg", mens det i en anden kontekst kan føles som en belastning, der emotionelt er stressende. Vi kan, udover at forstå dette som et udtryk for situeret identitet, forstå det som et udtryk for menneskelig ambivalens. Jf. Bruner (1991) indeholder narrativer behag såvel som ubehag, hvorfor vi ikke tolker Gerts ambivalens eller fortælling som en, der er udtryk for en modstridende eller usammenhængende identitet.

Ud fra dette casestudie kan situeret identitet på den ene side resultere i en form for angst for ikke at kunne opretholde en vis identitet på tværs af sociale arenaer, ligesom det på den anden side kan være af værdi for Gert at kunne trække på forskellige positioner og herunder identiteter. Ifølge Phillips bliver subjekter nemlig ikke blot konstrueret ud fra én position, men forskellige diskurser giver subjektet forskellige positioner at tale fra (Phillips 2010). Vi forstår derfor situeret identitet som et udtryk for, at der i forskellige sociale diskurser og kontekster bliver skabt forskellige muligheder og fortællinger.

Endvidere er det interessant, at Gert selv bruger udtrykket "gamle Gert". Udtrykket vidner om, at Gert selv opfatter sin identitet i henhold til en sondring mellem, hvem han var, og hvem han

er. Med afsæt i en diskursiv tilgang til identitet som en proces (De Fina et al. 2006; Bamberg et al. 2011) kan Gerts identitet netop forstås som placeret imellem disse forståelser; og hverken som "før" eller "nu". Eksempelvis er ny viden et forhold, der får Gert til at indtage en slags lærings- og udviklingsposition. Dette ser vi, da Gert fortæller, at han har "...lært meget om helbredet og hvordan kroppen reagerer." (Interview Gert, linje 300-301), og at det derfor kan kræve, at han skal "...sidde to tre minutter herinde på en stol og slappe af så funker jeg igen." (Interview Gert, linje 299-300). Denne nye viden skal Gert integrere, ikke blot i sin selvforståelse, men også i sit sociale liv. Gert fortæller nemlig, hvordan han tidligere selv kunne blive irriteret på andre, som holdt pauser (Interview Gert, linje 217). Her kan det for Gert være nødvendigt at opleve, hvordan andre ikke bliver irriteret på *ham,* hvis der opstår et behov for at "tage en pause". Sådanne positive oplevelser vil være befordrende for Gerts selvbillede, men nødvendiggør, at en sådan proces eller situation sker i det sociale miljø, hvilket er i overensstemmelse med Nochis (1998) konklusion om, at en positiv udvikling af selv-narrativer kræver, at disse genereres i interaktioner med andre mennesker og samfundet som hele.

5.3   Opsummering af analyse
Analysen peger på, at der i rekonstruktionsprocessen trækkes på borgerens tidligere erfaringer med at udstå og mestre udfordringer. Desuden foretages denne rekonstruktion i casestudiet ud fra ønsket om at opleve sig selv som en stærk aktør, hvorfor agency bliver en central komponent i rekonstruktionsprocessen og befordrende for positive selv-narrativer. Endvidere finder vi på baggrund af analysen, at Gerts identitet må forstås som situeret samt socialt skabt og opretholdt. Dette var forbundet med en ambivalens, da det både føles rart og ubehageligt på samme tid: rart, at kunne træde ud af rollen som "ham med en hjerneskade", men samtidigt svært, når et mere usynligt handicap bliver ensbetydende med mindre hensynstagen og en forventning om, at Gert er den samme som før. Overordnet kan analysen siges at pege på, at der uundgåeligt er identitetsmæssige transitioner som følge af en erhvervet hjerneskade, og at rekonstruktionen af selv-narrativer ikke blot er et personligt anliggende, men nærmere en social, interaktiv og ikke tidsmæssigt afgrænset proces.

6.   Diskussion
6.1.   Selv-narrativ som udviklingsværktøj
Vi har i analysedelen peget på, hvordan Gerts rekonstruerede selv-narrativer, der trods følgerne af hjerneskaden stadig er i overensstemmelse med ønsket om at opleve og forstå sig selv som aktør i eget liv. I introduktionen til artiklen nævnte vi Cantor et al.'s sondring (2005) mellem to selvbilleder, "hvem er jeg nu" og "hvem var jeg før", og det er måske netop særligt disse to forhold, som et selv-narrativ efter pådragelsen af en hjerneskade sigter mod at syntetisere. Fx fortalte Gert om, hvordan han tidligere var blevet irriteret på andre, som tog sig pauser – hvor han i dag ville være genstand for egen irritation, hvis han ikke reviderer sit selv-narrativ efter de aktuelle omstændigheder. Selvom vi forstår identitet som en kontinuerlig og dynamisk proces og ikke et enkelt eller vedvarende stadie, man kan nå til, betragter vi Gert som en, der er langt i sin identitetstransitionsproces, da denne indebærer at arbejde udover accepten af skaden (jf. Nochi 2000) og hen imod en integrering eller balancering af tidligere og nuværende selvbilleder, til et mere integreret selv-narrativ.

    Når selv-narrativet formår at balancere eller integrere de to selvbilleder og kan anses for at have gennemgået en rekonstruktionsproces, forstår vi det som et, der kan bane vej for udvikling. Antropologen Mattingly beskriver, at fortællinger bærer et potentiale, som "…rækker langt udover biomedicinens virkefelt. De kan medvirke til omdannelse af identitet, fortolkning af fortid og endog skabelse af fremtidsscenarier" (Mattingly 2005: 14). Med afsæt i en betragtning af selv-narrativet som en form for udviklingsværktøj skabes en optimistisk tiltro til det enkelte individ om, at dets

fortælling bliver en stærk ressource og kapacitet i et svært forløb, og som jf. Mattingly (2005) bliver vigtigere og mere udviklingsskabende end biomedicinens tekniske og diagnostiske rationale. At forstå selv-narrativet som en slags udviklingsværktøj kræver først og fremmest, at der altid tages udgangspunkt i det enkelte individ. Ikke mindst er dette en nødvendighed inden for hjerneskadeområdet, hvor skadens konsekvenser rammer og opleves individuelt. Her er det forskelligt, hvad der, udover selv-narrativet, er faciliterende for udvikling i den enkeltes liv. På baggrund af dette casestudie foreslår vi dog to komponenter i relation til selv-narrativer som udviklingsværktøj, og som vi foreslår også kan generaliseres til andre borgere med en erhvervet hjerneskade. Disse er *ressourcer* og *agency*, hvoraf det er sidstnævnte, agency, som af de to er den mest fremmende faktor, når vi betragter selv-narrativets udviklingsmæssige potentiale og funktion.

Ressourcerne skal forstås bredt, både som materielle goder og som indholdsmæssige positive oplevelser. Selv-narrativer, der beror på mere negative oplevelser eller erfaringer, vil uundgåeligt bidrage til mere negativt ladede selv-narrativer. Imidlertid forstår vi agency som et forhold, der rækker udover indholdet i selv-narrativerne. Da Gert bliver fyret, kunne det, at han mister sit arbejde, være af stor betydning for hans fortælling og selvbillede. I stedet for at generere en fortælling om fyringen og oplevelsen af denne, fortæller Gert, at han allerede har fundet sig et nyt og andet arbejde. Dette vidner om, at selv-narrativet ikke blot er afhængigt af det oplevede og indholdet i fortællingen, men netop er forbundet til en særlig intentionel og viljemæssig faktor: Nemlig agency.

6.2.   Agency

Hvor ressourcerne i selv-narrativerne kan forstås som en form for indhold (produkt), bliver agency bl.a. den faktor, der er medvirkende til, at individet når derhen, hvor vedkommende vil (proces). I forbindelse med identitetstransitioner og rekonstruktioner er agency derfor en væsentlig faktor. Det at tro på egne evner, og at man har indflydelse på ens eget liv, forstår vi som det helt centrale element i re- og co-konstruktionsprocessen. Selv-narrativet bliver således også en måde at håndtere en eventuel smerte, et ubehag og nye livsomstændigheder på, og rummer netop et stort udviklingspotentiale *i sig selv*. Fx kan Gerts rekonstruerede selv-narrativ ses som en måde at mestre de nye udfordringer og indsigter på, ved bl.a. at trække på tidligere erfaringer om succeser: Her skabes en form for overbevisning om, at *det kunne jeg også før, så det kan jeg også nu.* Idéen om selv-narrativ som udviklingsværktøj skal ikke nødvendigvis ses som afhængigt af handlen og aktivitet *imod* noget, men kan netop også bestå i evnen til at tilpasse sig de nye omstændigheder. Vi anskuer det som en menneskelig kapacitet at have evnen til at udvikle et andet mere foretrukket eller befordrende selv-narrativ, da selv-narrativer via sproget *kan* rekonstrueres og modificeres. Dette er ikke ensbetydende med at reducere den biologiske side af skaden til noget, der kan italesættes anderledes eller mere positivt i et selv-narrativ. Imidlertid forstår vi selv-narrativerne som konkrete sproglige værktøjer og invitationer ind til andre menneskers verden, hvorfra de mere udviklingsorienterede historier kan tænkes at stimulere til læring og udvikling. Disse bør da, i rehabiliteringspraksis eller af individet selv, understøttes så de, som hos Gert, bliver bærende former for narrativer.

Selv-narrativer må betragtes som en del af en rehabiliteringspraksis, som historisk set er influeret af særligt to diskurser: En medicinsk og en social tilgang til hjerneskade. Hvordan disse diskurser har indflydelse på individets selvforståelse og selv-narrativer, skal vi nu se nærmere på.

6.3.   Social og medicinsk forståelse: hvordan forstår vi hjerneskade?

Som reaktion på den hidtil dominerende medicinske forståelse af handicap og hjerneskade opstod i 1970'erne den sociale model. Med denne nye sociale forståelse fulgte også idéen om, at individet med fx en hjerneskade ikke længere kunne defineres som værende handicappet generelt, men at vurderingen heraf altid måtte ske i den enkelte situation og kontekst (Bengtsson 2005). Hvor

biomedicinens grundlæggende foranstaltning er en korrekt behandling af individet, stræber den sociale model efter at skabe ændringer og tilpasninger i miljøet for en bedre tilgængelighed heraf, samt at gøre op med den reduktionisme, som i dennes optik har været resultatet af mange års ensidig medicinsk tilgang.

I indledningen refererede vi til Cloute et al. (2008), der fandt, at de medicinske diskurser har stor indflydelse på individets selvforståelse. I forhold til denne problematisering mener vi dog, at det bør undersøges nærmere, *hvordan* den medicinske og den sociale model får indflydelse på individets selvforståelse og grænsefladerne imellem de to diskurser. Ifølge Bengtsson (2005) er den medicinske model ofte blevet kritiseret for at være "mere autoritet end videnskab og dermed formynderisk, samt for at fremstille personen med handicap på en negativ måde" (Bengtsson 2005: 26). Imidlertid finder vi ikke grundlag for at forstå den biomedicinske diskurs begrænsende eller stigmatiserende i sig selv, men ud fra en observation af, at den i Gerts tilfælde overvejende synes at stå alene. Hvidbogen (2004) adresserer netop dette aspekt og skriver, at den biomedicinske tilgang: "…virker begrænsende på rehabiliteringsorienteret arbejde, når den ikke kobles med en situations- og borgerorienteret referenceramme" (Sau Johansen et al. 2004: 52). Ét forhold at være opmærksom på er dermed, at biomedicinen ikke bør eller kan indgå isoleret i henhold til at opnå et helhedsorienteret udgangspunkt for rehabilitering (Engel 1977). Et andet væsentligt forhold er, at vi bør rette vores opmærksomhed imod, hvad der sker, når biomedicinen netop kobles sammen med en mere social og diskursiv tilgang til handicap og hjerneskade og møder kritik fra samme. De tidligere omtalte medicinske diskurser, som fx syg-rask/normal-unormal, forbindes ofte til den medicinske model "pr. automatik", men man kan stille spørgsmålet, om disse er direkte affødt af den medicinske model, eller derimod af andre sociale samt sproglige processer og diskurser. I interviewet med Gert kan han fortælle om et testsvar, som han fik ved udskrivelsen fra sygehuset. Gerts scores var alle over gennemsnit, hvortil han siger, at han derfor har forhåbninger om at blive såkaldt "normal" igen (Interview Gert, linje 203-210).

Når Gert får et testsvar om, at hans scores er over gennemsnit, og i samme kontekst udtaler, at han da har forhåbninger om at blive "normal igen", bør vi kritisk se nærmere på, om normalitets-begrebet direkte affødes af den medicinske tilgang, eller om der er andre processer og diskurser indblandet, der influerer på Gerts selv-narrativ.

Ifølge forfatterne er svaret på testen, og Gerts reaktion herpå, et udtryk for en *fortolkningsproces*. Denne form for fortolkningsproces kan komme til udtryk på multiple måder: for eksempel som lettelse over at have fået en diagnose, da denne kan være knyttet til en form for afklaring og forståelse fra en selv og andre, samt være udløsende for en behandlingsgaranti. Disse fortolkningsprocesser kan anskues som *reaktioner* på en medicinsk diagnose, men bør ikke betragtes som udelukkende betingede af denne, ligesom disse reaktioner ikke udelukkende bør opfattes negativt. Vi kan her drage en parallel til et tidligere eksempel i interviewet med Gert, hvor han ind i mellem finder det irriterende, at der ikke tages hensyn til ham blandt kollegerne, og at de kan tænke, at han er "gamle og raske Gert" (Interview Gert, linje 274-276).

Her kan en diagnose for nogle opleves som den hjælp og det redskab, der kan forventningsafstemme i forhold til samfundets og andres forventninger, eksempelvis på arbejdsmarkedet.

I den sociale models optik er et kritikpunkt af den medicinske tilgang, at den skaber lighedstegn og associationer imellem kroppens patologier og individets identitet. Imidlertid mener vi, det her er vigtigt at have for øje, at den medicinske model aldrig har ment, at man *skulle forstå hele sin identitet* ud fra den pågældende diagnose.

Ud fra denne opmærksomhedsskærpelse og optik er diagnosen altså ikke i sig selv negativ eller stigmatiserende, men garant for en vis medicinsk konsensus og behandling; imens det er de sociale processer, fortolkninger og heraf afledte sociale diskurser, der kan medføre risiko for stigmatisering. I øjeblikket ses der for eksempel en generelt samfundsdebat (se fx Brinkman 2010)

om, hvorvidt et menneske *er* sin diagnose - fx hvorvidt man kan betegne en person med skizofreni som skizofren. Den medicinske model har aldrig advokeret for, at mennesket med en erhvervet hjerneskade "ikke er andet" end hjerneskadet. Dermed skabes der i sociale og sproglige praksisser en forståelse af, at den medicinske model begrænser individet; mens man kan stille sig selv spørgsmålet, om diagnosen eller sprogets magt udgør den tungeste og mest opretholdende faktor. Med afsæt i en postmoderne og socialkonstruktionistisk tankegang bør vi netop i højere grad problematisere *måden,* hvorpå vi forstår og fortolker modeller, end modellen per se, da mennesker ikke blot positioneres af modeller (fx den medicinske), men netop qua dertil knyttede sproglige praksisser. I vores optik skabes der både ud fra en biomedicinsk forståelse og en mere social tilgang til handicap og hjerneskade en række identifikationsmuligheder, som påvirker identitetstransitions-processen. Én måde at gøre dette på er ved at betragte diagnosen (hjerneskaden) som situeret, som vi også betragter identitet. Det sker fx ved at forstå Gert som en, der kan have en dårlig dag eller reagerer på en bestemt måde, uden dette nødvendigvis har noget med hjerneskaden at gøre. At forstå eksempelvis diagnoser som situerede kan vi også bruge til at anerkende, at Gerts ønske om at blive såkaldt "normal" måske mere refererer til egne standarder eller idéer (fx ønsket om at vende så meget som muligt tilbage til sin fysiske "form" som før skaden), end det refererer til forestillingen om at være underlagt en biomedicinsk og dominerende diskurs om at være hjerneskadet og kun tilbydes de diskurser (syg/rask, normal/unormal), som vi tidligere har beskrevet ofte er dominerende diskurser på området. Det kan derfor, afhængigt af den respektive kontekst, være befordrende at forstå individet som eksternaliseret fra sin diagnose eller skade, da denne ikke *er* selve individet – eller sagt med andre ord, at diagnosen træder i baggrunden og mennesket i forgrunden.

7. Konklusion

Dette casestudie har haft til formål at undersøge identitetsrekonstruktioner et år efter pådragelse af en hjerneskade ved at betragte borgerens selv-narrativer. Vi analyserede disse ud fra en diskursanalytisk tilgang og ud fra narrativ teori. I analysen så vi, hvordan der igennem selv-narrativer skabes mening med tilværelsen, blandt andet ud fra tidligere erfaringer med at udstå udfordringer. Identitetstransitioner og -konstruktioner må forstås som sociale processer, som både skabes i, og er produkter af, den relationelle og interaktive kontekst. Vi pegede på, at selv-narrativets funktion blandt andet er at integrere to forskellige selvbilleder, hvem "var jeg før" og hvem "er jeg nu", men at disse også kan forstås som en dynamisk proces, fx en læringsproces, hvori borgeren hele tiden opnår ny viden og nye erfaringer, som skal integreres og afstemmes i det sociale miljø.

Videre diskuterede vi selv-narrativets facilitative betydning i form af narrativet som en slags udviklingsværktøj. Selv-narrativet kan fungere som en form for "aktiv mestring" og fremmes ydermere af en stærk agency, der i sidste ende har betydning for, hvorvidt tilværelsen opleves som meningsfuld. Et fokus på selv-narrativer og individets beskrivelse af sygdomsforløbet giver borgeren en aktiv stemme og derigennem indflydelse på egen fortælling og eget liv. Dette kan være med til at forstærke oplevelsen af agency, der igen er medvirkende til mere positive og sammenhængende narrativer.

På baggrund af diskussionen forstår vi ikke hhv. den medicinske og den sociale model som "rigtig" eller "forkert", men i stedet som vi forstår narrativer: Som ét gyldigt udsnit af verden. Dog mener vi, at en opmærksomhedsskærpelse er nødvendig i forhold til ikke at forstå den medicinske model som begrænsende eller stigmatiserende i sig selv. Her pegede vi på fortolkningsprocesser som mulige reaktioner på fx en medicinsk diagnose, uden at disse fortolkningsprocesser nødvendigvis er affødt af sådanne. På baggrund heraf finder vi det væsentligt at forstå den medicinske model som en, der ikke i sig selv opretholder en universal sandhed om individets *identitet*, men i stedet som en model, der har udviklet et sæt betingelser og procedurer for, hvordan vi biologisk set kan forstå og behandle eksempelvis fysiske hjerneskadefølger.

På baggrund af denne artikel og det beskrevne casestudie foreslår vi, at fremtidig forskning undersøger nærmere, hvordan selv-narrativer kan anvendes i rehabiliteringspraksis som et udviklingsværktøj. Selv-narrativerne kan bidrage til bedre mestringsstrategier og derigennem øget livskvalitet og trivsel. Som den indledningsvis nævnte forskning, samt dette casestudie, peger på, er fokusområder som sprog, selv-narrativer og identitet helt centrale aspekter i rehabiliteringsøjemed.

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Regarding negative interrogatives in American English as argumentative structures[*]

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Abstract: This article investigates the use of negative interrogatives in American English and provides new support as to why they can be regarded as argumentative structures (Heritage, 2002). Questions are usually described pragmatically as enabling the speaker to seek information. However, when they are negatively formulated, they are analysed in the literature as allowing the speaker to express their point of view: "negative interrogatives are treated as accomplishing assertions of opinion rather than questioning" (Heritage, 2002). This paper builds on Heritage's claim by considering the whole discursive project of the speaker. The rhetorical trait of these structures will necessarily be dealt with. The corpus is comprised of negative interrogatives from the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*.[1] By analysing the responses that follow questions (Léon, 1997), we show that adding negation to the usual (i.e. positive) interrogative form turns the classical information-seeking question into an argumentative utterance which is part of a wider discursive project. Furthermore, our pragmatically-driven analysis of the data allows us to shed light on how the co-speaker works out the implicit items that are necessary to understand the full scope of the message.

Keywords: argumentation, negative interrogatives, point of view, pragmatics.

1.   Introduction

This paper presents a new corpus-based analysis of the use of negative interrogatives in American English, thereby shining new light on the functions of these expressions in spoken discourse. We take up Heritage's (2002: 1428) claim that negative interrogatives "express a position or point of view" and explore how these expressions add to a speaker's argumentative stance in context.

Our analysis in this paper is guided by the following questions. To what extent do negative interrogatives differ from positive interrogatives, pragmatically-speaking? What factors motivate their use? Does the type of relationship – collaboration versus conflict (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1994) – between the speakers affect how often they occur? What do negative interrogatives enable the speaker to do? As far as questions are concerned, Quirk et al. (1985: 821) opposed inquiries or "real questions", to "directives" (i.e. invitations, suggestions and instructions). Should negative interrogatives be classified in the former category or in the latter one? In line with this question, this paper investigates to what extent the addition of the negative adverb *not* turns a positive question into an argumentative utterance.

The article is structured as follows: I provide a short description of the syntax of negative interrogatives in section 2 so that this type of construction is clearly comprehended by the reader. Section 3 situates the negative interrogative within the larger context of 'questions' in general and provides an overview of the other different sub-types of questions that have been reported in the literature. I then return to the topic of negative interrogatives by providing an overview of the latest research that has been conducted on the topic. Section 4 analyses the corpus occurrences used in the current study and, when possible, compares them with French occurrences of negative interrogatives (taken from various online sources). The paper ends with some concluding remarks in section 5.

The corpus used in this study is the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (Du

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1   *SBC* website, last retrieved from http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus on July, 16th, 2014.

Bois et al. 2000-2005) (henceforth *SBC*). This corpus "represents a wide variety of people of different regional origins, ages, occupations, genders, and ethnic and social backgrounds",[2] and amounts to 60 conversations with an approximate total of 249,000 words. It also forms part of the *International Corpus of English* (*ICE*). The conversations examined mostly take place in a friendly atmosphere (among friends or family members), but special attention will be paid to the context to determine whether the relationship between speakers is collaborative or not.

After identifying the occurrences of these expressions, we classify them on the basis of their syntactic features. Specifically, this involves categorising them as open or closed questions, depending on whether or not they are introduced by a *wh*-element. We also examine the predicate within the larger framework of the conversation in order to understand the goal the speaker wishes to achieve. Furthermore, we also attend to any response that is given to the question by the co-speaker in order to understand how it was interpreted.

2. Syntactic description of negative interrogatives

Negative interrogatives are complex structures that combine traits of both interrogation and negation, thus blending the speech acts. On the one hand, negative interrogatives are framed according to the interrogative schema of English, which places the operator before the subject (Quirk et al. 1972: 386) as follows: <AUX + S+ P + ?>, as in *Did you get my message?*. In addition to this, the auxiliary is in the negative form: the negative particle *not*, or enclitic *n't* in spoken English, is affixed to the auxiliary, resulting in the following structure: <AUX*n't* + S + P + ?> as in *Don't you wanna try on the men's clothes?*. Such questions are *closed* or *yes-no questions*: they are not introduced by interrogative pronouns (e.g. *who*) or adverbs (e.g. *why*) and only require a *yes-no* answer. They are defined as follows: *Yes-no* questions "are usually formed by placing the operator before the subject, and using question intonation" (Quirk et al. 1972: 387). Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 866) adopt a different perspective focusing on the answers they trigger: "Yes-no questions define a closed set of just two possible answers";[3] hence the terminology "*closed* interrogative".

When questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns or adverbs, they are *open* questions. Quirk et al. (1972: 394) described open questions like this: "Wh-questions are formed with the aid of one of the following simple interrogative words (or Q-words): who/whom/whose, what, which, when, where, how, why". In more recent work, Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 866) defined them relatively to the response they trigger: "Wh-questions define in principle an open set of answers"; hence the noun phrase "*open* questions": they require a more developed answer. The main and most interesting *wh*-element identified in our corpus is *why* as in *Why don't you call me at least a little bit later maybe?*.

3. Background on questions

To be able to precisely define what negative interrogatives are and what they enable the speaker to do, we shall refer to the following linguistic concepts.

3.1. *Positive questions*

With respect to discourse functions, Quirk et al. (1972) argued that "questions are primarily used to express lack of information on a specific point, and (usually) to request the listener to supply this information verbally" (1972: 386). This corresponds to what is generally referred to as "the information gap" between two speakers. In more recent work, Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 866) defined questions in the following manner:

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2 Du Bois et al. (2000-2005)

3 Huddleston & Pullum (2002) differentiate a response (any type of reply) from an answer, what would be a clear *yes* or *no* after such a question.

> The pragmatic concept of question is an illocutionary category. Prototypically, a question in this sense is an inquiry. To make a genuine inquiry is to ask a question to which one does not know the answer with the aim of obtaining the answer from the addressee.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 867) continue by saying: "What we are calling an inquiry is then the special, but most common, case where I ask you to provide this answer".

In the first quotation, the *genuine* character of the inquiry is highlighted, meaning that questions can also be *non-genuine*. This scope for ambiguity in utterance was highlighted by Quirk et al. (1972) who pointed out that syntactic classes or forms did not always correspond to discourse functions. For instance, *I wonder if you'd kindly open the window?* is "a statement in form but a command according to function" (Quirk et al. 1972: 387). This idea of mixed speech acts leads on quite logically to another type of question: the rhetorical question.

3.2. *Rhetorical questions*
Léon (1997: 36) identified the four main characteristics of rhetorical questions:

- 1) Il n'y a pas d'échange d'information, pas d'intention d'obtenir une réponse.
- 2) La question n'exige pas de réponse : elle est juste posée pour susciter   l'adhésion du locuteur ou lui rappeler des informations déjà connues.
- 3) La réponse est présentée comme évidente – un problème rhétorique dans l'Antiquité était un problème dont on avait déjà trouvé la solution.
- 4) La question rhétorique construit une réponse anti-orientée.

- *1) There is no exchange of information, no intention to receive an answer.*
- *2) The question calls for no specific answer: it is asked only to reach the interlocutor's agreement or to evoke known information.*
- *3) The answer is regarded as obvious – Aristotle described a rhetorical problem as one to which the solution has already been found.*
- *4) The rhetorical question calls for an answer which is anti-orientated.*[4]

Quirk et al. (1972: 401) suggested the following: "A rhetorical question is a question which functions as a forceful statement. More precisely, a *positive* rhetorical question is like a *negative* assertion, while a *negative* question is like a strong *positive* one". They illustrated their point with the example *Who cares*? which should be understood as a paraphrase of *Nobody cares.*

Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2001: 108), drawing on Fontanier (1977 [1830]: 368), takes this same position: "Avec la négation, la question affirme, sans la négation, elle nie".[5] Likewise, Heritage (2002: 1429) has argued that "reversing the polarity of this negatively formulated question conveys an expectation for a positive response" to conclude with "These questions are strongly designed for 'yes' answers" (Heritage 2002: 1441). This highlights the mix of speech acts that characterise rhetorical questions, and, to some extent, biased questions.

3.3. *Biased questions*
A biased question is defined in the literature as "one where the speaker is predisposed to accept one particular answer as the right one. For example, *Doesn't she like it?* Her behaviour or her remarks suggest that she doesn't like it: I ask the question to confirm whether this is so" (Huddleston &

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4   My translation.
5   "Negatively-formulated, questions affirm; without negation, they negate" (my translation).

Pullum 2002: 879). For example, in *Haven't you read it yet?* the speaker is biased in favour of one answer over another (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 878). Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 883) ultimately conclude: "Questions with negative interrogatives form are always strongly biased. They typically allow a range of interpretations, and the epistemic bias can be towards either the negative or the positive answer". This clearly lays emphasis on the importance of taking the context into account.

3.4   Negative interrogatives
As far as negative interrogatives are concerned, we begin with Heritage's assertion that "negative interrogatives are treated as accomplishing assertions of opinion rather than questioning" (Heritage, 2002: 1428). Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 885) propose that negative interrogatives express a contrast between a state of affairs and a judgment on this state of affairs, "between what it is and what it should be" while adding that they also express "an indirect reproach or rebuke".

In general terms, the present article examines not only what a speaker does when they use a negative interrogative, but also what implicit messages they want to convey. More specifically, pragmatic considerations, such as identifying the implicit items that the interlocutor needs to pick up in the extra-linguistic environment in order to understand the full scope of the message, are paramount. Interpretation plays indeed an important part. Consequently, paying attention to the responses, if any, formulated by the interlocutor, gives valuable information, as Léon (1997: 9) points out: "la réponse analyse la question comme si elle comportait un biais".[6]

4.   Analysis of the data
I identified all the occurrences of negative interrogatives in the conversations that comprise Part 1 of the four component parts of *SBC*. All examples were classified as either open or closed questions. Furthermore, they were also coded as responding or not to the following three questions:

- Is the relationship between the participants close or distant in respectively informal or formal contexts? This is *axis 1* relating to the horizontal relationship in Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1994)'s theory. *Axis 2* is linked to relationships of power and hierarchy, i.e. vertical relationship, whereas *axis 3* pertains to a relation going from consensus to conflict (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1994: 71-88).
- Is the question rhetorical?
- Does the negative interrogative express a point of view (following Heritage 2002)? If so, how can this claim be paraphrased?[7]

4.1.   Yes-no questions or closed questions
In this section, I propose occurrences of naturally-occurring conversations within the form of closed questions, that is *yes-no* questions.

4.1.1.   Negative interrogatives with *be*
I identify occurrences that use the auxiliary *be* in the present tense. The first conversation is recorded in rural Hardin, Montana. Lynne is a student of equine science, and the main speaker in the extract. She is telling Lenore (a visitor and near stranger) about her studies. Doris, Lynne's mother, is doing housework, but joins the conversation near the end to discuss friends of their family. The transcriptions are restituted as they can be found on the *SBC* website. They can be viewed thanks to the CLAN software: the left column specifies the the moment of intervention, the middle column

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6   "The answer analyses the question as if it were a biased question" (my translation).
7   As a non-native speaker of English, all my hypotheses of reformulation have been verified by a native speaker.

specifies the speaker's name, and finally the right column specifies the content of the intervention:

(1)

1501.22 1501.82	DORIS:	Idaho=,
1501.82 1502.14		[and],
1502.08 1503.03	LYNNE:	[up] in the mountains,
1503.03 1503.54		[2In Idaho2].
1503.08 1503.59	DORIS:	[2XXX2]
1503.59 1505.83		… Um Macley,
1505.83 1506.08		and,
1506.08 1508.06	LYNNE:	… Arco?
1508.06 1509.96		**… Isn't that where !Deb .. kinda was?**
1509.96 1515.32		… But he's just really really really strange.

(SBC001, Actual Blacksmithing)

Lynne's utterances close the extract. The speakers are mother and daughter, their relationship is collaborative, with both speakers trying to recall where people are from. Lynne tries to find out where Deb's husband is from. The question *Isn't that where Deb kinda was?* is not answered by a co-speaker as Lynne holds the floor until the extract draws to a close. To verify Heritage's (2002) claim of expression of point of view, I will paraphrase the question with the predicate *think*, the generic verb used to express opinions, and use positive polarity in the predicate:

(1')   I think Arco is where Deb kinda was.

This sentence functions perfectly as an expression of opinion, thus providing initial support for Heritage's (2002) claim.

Conversation (2), entitled *Lambada*, takes place after dinner among four friends in San Francisco, California. The participants are in their late twenties or early thirties. Harold and Jamie are a married couple, Miles is a doctor, and Pete is a graduate student from Southern California:

(2)

78.70 79.35	HAROLD:	That's why b-,
79.35 81.50		.. little kids usually don't break their legs anyway.
81.50 83.30	PETE:	.. Cause they're [so X][2XXX2].
82.17 83.47	JAMIE:	[Cause they're made] [2of rubber2].
82.50 84.58	MILES:	[2But they have more2] cartilage than w-,
84.58 84.93		… [3you know3].
84.75 84.88	HAROLD:	[3Yeah3],
84.88 85.48		**aren't they real s-,**
85.48 87.18		**.. aren't their k- .. legs [pretty soft]?**
86.48 86.65	MILES:	[Yeah,
86.65 88.68		there's] less calcium % deposits <X in them X>.
88.68 89.78		… [2And2] also,
89.05 89.45	PETE:	[2Mm2].
89.78 90.88	MILES:	.. they're still growing.

(SBC002, Lambada)

At the beginning of the extract, the discourse is collaboratively constructed: each speaker gives their point of view to make the discussion move forward. This forward momentum in the discourse is achieved through various means such as the use of expressions of causality like *That's why/Cause* by two different speakers. The *yes-no* question *aren't they real s-,/.. aren't their k- .. legs [pretty soft]?* is answered by Miles saying *Yeah, there's less calcium deposit in them*. Again, this question can be reformulated as an expression of point of view:

(2')   I think kids' legs are pretty soft.

Here, the speaker Harold seems to be checking some knowledge which he has on children's anatomy. The conversation has another occurrence of a negative interrogative with *be*, to which we turn now:

(3)

144.17 145.12	HAROLD:	Better than nothing.
145.12 146.60	MILES:	[@@@@@]
145.76 149.08	PETE:	[@@@@@@@][2@@@(H)@@2]
147.38 148.44	JAMIE:	[2<VOX Oh= VOX>,
148.44 151.03		I cannot be2]I=ieve [3you said that.
149.78 151.18	PETE:	[3@(H)@@@
151.03 152.88	JAMIE:	What a jerk you are (Hx)3].
151.18 154.38	PETE:	@ @3] @ [4@4]
153.23 153.88	MILES:	[4@@4]
154.38 155.70	JAMIE:	**Aren't you guys gonna stick up for me?**
155.70 157.01		**and beat up on him or something?**
157.01 158.16	MILES:	He's bigger than [I am].

(SBC002, Lambada)

Interestingly, in this second extract of *Lambada*, the context is hostile: Jamie feels lonely as all the co-speakers side with her husband who goes dancing for free, thanks to his status of "husband". Harold says at the beginning of the extract that this is *better than nothing*. Miles justifies his taking side with Harold by humorously saying that Jamie's husband is too big to be beaten up on. So the question *Aren't you guys gonna stick up for me? and beat up on him or something?* is answered, in some respects. A paraphrase as a statement with *think* fails to capture the sense of the original interrogative:

(3')   *I think you guys are gonna stick up for me and beat up on him or something.

A more appropriate reformulation would be:

(3")   <u>I'd appreciate</u> it if you guys stuck up for me and beat up on him or something.

We might account for this slight change in the reformulation by suggesting the expression of volition or intention is encoded by words like *want* or *be going to*. The use of such elements in negative interrogatives seems to trigger a deontic reading, i.e. a reformulation with *appreciate* instead.
    The next conversation, *Conceptual Pesticides*, was recorded in Southern California and concerns three friends preparing dinner together. Roy and Marilyn are a married couple, and Pete is

a friend visiting from out of town. All participants are in their early thirties. Two occurrences of *yes-no* questions occur in the extract:

(4)

440.87 441.37	MARILYN:	[4pay me4],
441.37 441.57		you know,
441.57 443.07		eighty dollars a day to run my [boat].
442.72 443.12	PETE:	[Right].
443.12 444.96	MARILYN:	… Catch fabulous salmon.
444.96 446.26		… [And they have it] canned.
445.21 445.76	PETE:	[Unhunh].
446.26 446.46	MARILYN:	.. You know,
446.46 447.01		they eat it,
447.01 448.11		… when they're up there,
448.11 449.56		.. and [I guess they] have some frozen,
448.23 448.58	PETE:	[Right].
449.56 450.46	MARILYN:	but they have it canned and,
450.46 450.91	PETE:	Unhunh.
450.91 452.44	MARILYN:	.. (TSK) <VOX put it in our stockings,
452.44 453.21		for Christ[mas VOX>].
452.88 453.38	PETE:	[Aw]=.
453.38 454.28	ROY:	**.. Isn't that great.**
454.28 457.39	MARILYN:	… It's … nice for them.
457.39 458.89		They have some recreation with it.
458.89 461.77	PETE:	… But no salmon in your stockings this year.

(SBC003, Conceptual Pesticides)

(5)

1033.77 1035.43	MARILYN:	… actually,
1035.43 1035.73		you know,
1035.73 1037.08		I'd love to do gray water,
1037.08 1037.58	PETE:	… [Mhm].
1037.18 1037.63	MARILYN:	[here],
1037.63 1037.83		.. but,
1037.83 1038.88	ROY:	… It's [illegal].
1038.20 1038.90	MARILYN:	[it's illegal].
1038.90 1039.30	PETE:	.. Really.
1039.30 1039.75		.. How rude.
1039.75 1041.00	MARILYN:	**… Isn't that [retarded]?**
1040.57 1041.32	ROY:	**[Isn't that weird]?**
1041.32 1042.06	PETE:	(THROAT)
1042.06 1043.52		… It is.
1043.52 1046.97		… They just built a .. a great big gray water processing center,
1046.97 1048.07		.. at the laundromat,
000000000 000000000	$ HE SAYS "LAUNDRY MAT"?	
1048.07 1049.77		.. in the .. complex where I live.

(SBC003, Conceptual Pesticides)

These negative interrogatives are analysed together as they present similarities in their structures. In these extracts, we come back to the use of *be* in the structure <S + *be* + SC> with *great* and *retarded*/*weird* respectively. As far as answers are concerned, the first negative interrogative *Isn't that great* is not answered, whereas the second lot of negative interrogatives (i.e. Marilyn's question *Isn't that retarded? And* Roy's *Isn't that weird?*) is answered by Pete's *It is*. We cannot say however whether *it is* refers to *retarded* or *weird*.

All three negative interrogatives could be paraphrased as expressions of points of view relative to the fact that *doing gray water is illegal*:

(4') I think that's great.[8]

(5a') I think that's retarded.

(5b') I think that's weird.

What is interesting and provides deeper support for our claim of expression of point of view is that all three adjectives used as subject complements are subjective adjectives, resulting from an operation of judgment. In so doing, the speaker attributes the quality *great/retarded/weird* to the syntactic subject *that*, referring to *doing gray water.*

This first type of occurrences works exactly in a similar manner in French. The following extract comes from a parliamentary session dated May 29th, 2007, in Canada:

(6) N'est-ce pas cependant le propre d'un État fasciste de priver quelqu'un du droit de vote que lui confère la loi?[9]

Isn't what defines a fascist state that it denies somebody their statutorily protected right to vote?

The point of view easily paraphrases into the following:

(6') Je pense que priver quelqu'un du droit de vote que lui confère la loi est le propre d'un état fasciste.

I think that what defines a fasist state is that it denies somebody their statutorily protected right to vote.

We could also read the following on the website of a French industry:

(7) [Il semble que le stockage de données se fasse de plus en plus sous forme de mémoire et non de disque dur,] n'est-ce pas un peu risqu de proposer une machine pour ce domaine?[10]

[…] Isn't it risky to offer hardware in this field?

The paraphrase is operational again:

(7') Je pense que c'est un peu risqu de proposer une machine pour ce domaine

---

8   A point of view which is also Marylin's as she confirms *it's nice for them*.

9   Retrieved on November 25th, 2014, from http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=2979751&Language=F&Mode=1&Parl=39&Ses=1

10 Retrieved on November 22nd, 2014 from http://www.tornos.fr/dnld/deco-mag/tornos-deco-mag-39-fr.pdf.

I think it is risky to offer hardware in this field.

To conclude partially on the use of the negative interrogatives with *be* as its operator, the speakers seem to express their points of view when *be* is lexical and enables a quality to be attributed to the subject through the use of a subject complement. In such cases, the following paraphrase is always operational:

Isn't + S + SC + (?) => *I think* + S + *is* [positively-formulated P] + SC

In the linguistic environment, other items expressing point of view often corroborate the point made by the speaker using the negative interrogative. So, we cannot consider them classical information-seeking questions, just using a predicate in the negative form. The question is completely transformed by the change in polarity, from positive to negative. We shall now turn to negative interrogatives that use the operator *do*.

4.1.2. Negative interrogatives with *do*

In the following conversations, the negative interrogatives are first used in the present tense, resulting in the following structure: *<Don't + you/they + P + ?>*.
        The first example is an extract from SBC002, *Lambada*:

(8)

186.47 189.83	HAROLD:	… We were at this dumb store,
189.83 191.83		and the clerk .. kept trying to keep us interested,
191.83 192.03	PETE:	[Hm,
191.93 193.36	HAROLD:	[<@ while she was] buy=ing @>.
192.03 192.46	PETE:	that's right].
193.36 194.56	MILES:	… [2@2]
193.96 195.46	PETE:	**[2<X Don't2] you wanna X> try on the men's clothes?**
195.46 196.36		[3XX=3].
195.65 196.93	JAMIE:	[3I'm the one who3] suggested that,
196.93 197.99		so you wouldn't be so bored.
197.99 198.29		[(H)]
198.14 198.34	PETE:	[Well I-] --
198.34 199.64	JAMIE:	So they tried on the men's clothes,
199.64 201.34		<PAR and they had a very small selection of men's clothes PAR>,

(SBC002, Lambada)

The negative interrogative is *Don't you wanna try on the men's clothes?* with *you* being the syntactic subject of the verbs *wanna try*. In this utterance, the speaker, Pete, is imitating a shop assistant inviting a shopper to try clothes on. Jamie rectifies this proposition by saying that she is actually the one who suggested that Harold try clothes on: *I'm the one who suggested that so that you wouldn't be bored*. This negative interrogative echoes what is usually said in a shop. The expression of point of view previously proposed in 4.1.1. does not seem fit: *I think you wanna try on the men's clothes*.

        What sounds more appropriate is the value of suggestion. Indeed, Jamie seems to "invite", drawing on Quirk et al.'s (1985) proposal of "directives, i.e. invitations, suggestions or instructions" (1985: 821), Harold to try men's clothes on.

        In (9) below, the negative interrogative *Don't they teach you to go, one two three, one two*

three, one two three, like that? has *they* as the syntactic subject of the verb *teach:*

(9)

969.98 970.33	MILES:	[You know,
970.33 971.93		the ballroom] people [2don't do it that way2].
971.03 971.73	PETE:	[2XX XX2]
971.93 973.03	MILES:	.. But [3that's what I want to learn3].
971.98 972.31	JAMIE:	**[3Don't- --**
972.31 972.98		**Don't they teach3],**
972.98 973.90		**(H) don't they teach you to go,**
973.90 974.68		**one two three=,**
974.68 975.23		**one two three=,**
975.23 975.82		**.. one two three=,**
975.82 976.39		**like that?**
976.39 979.04		... (H) Or do they go like really fast like that.
979.04 979.82	MILES:	Well !Sue !Swing,
979.82 981.36		I mean when she was teaching was definitely more sedate,
981.36 982.59		and the same thing with [!Jeff] and !Vivian.

(SBC002, Lambada)

What the speaker (Jamie) seems to be doing by using the negative interrogative is to express how surprised she is. Indeed, anyone who has some knowledge or experience of dancing, little as this may be, learns to dance through rhythm lessons, usually referred to by the list of numbers 1, 2, 3 as they are spoken out loud during dancing lessons. In so doing, Jamie instantly evokes her knowledge of dancing lessons as she compares what she knows about dancing to the experience told by Miles about what he refers to as *the ballroom people*. So, pragmatically speaking, Jamie expresses her surprise triggered by the discrepancy between what she knows about dancing lessons and what Miles tells her about them. That could be reformulated as *I'm surprised by the fact that they don't teach you to go 'one, two, three'...* Syntactically, in this paraphrase, a major difference from the other occurrences examined so far lies in the fact that the verb has negative polarity behind the paraphrase *I'm surprised that...* This can easily be accounted for in the light of the reformulations of the previous part of this study as *Jamie **would have thought** that they teach you to go one, two, three, one, two, three, like that*. This corresponds to *her* representation of a dancing lesson.

This is a case in point for Huddleston & Pullum's (2002: 885) claim that there is a contrast between the reported state of affairs and a judgment on this state of affairs "between what it is and what it should be". Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 885) suggest that negative interrogatives could express "an indirect reproach or rebuke". This may not be the primary motivation in the current example: it seems to be her surprise that Jamie wants to convey. To some extent however, Jamie could also be expressing an indirect reproach as she thinks rhythm *should* be part of the basics of dancing lessons. Like (3"), a deontic reading could be privileged again.

As far as the co-speakers are concerned – and this is what we do when we are talked to – without even thinking about it, they understand the full scope of her message, taking this dimension of contrast between what is and what it should be into account. Indeed, they instantly and unconsciously pick up the implicit message of what Jamie thinks about dancing lessons and how dancing lessons should be.

Keeping in mind this expression of surprise linked to the contrast between "the state of affairs" and the representation the speaker has of "these affairs", we shall now move on to an occurrence inflected in the past tense to see whether the analysis undertaken on the negative

interrogatives with lexical verbs in the present tense is also valid for the occurrences in the preterit.

(10)	1124.12 1125.62		.. Zeke the sheik .. is a local.
	1125.62 1126.17		… You know,
	1126.17 1127.67		the guy whose compost pile blew up?
	1127.67 1128.87	PETE:	… Oh no I don't know a[bout this].
	1128.37 1129.22	MARILYN:	**[Didn't you hear] about him?**
	1129.22 1129.59	PETE:	[2No2].
	1129.25 1129.50	MARILYN:	[2It --
	1129.50 1130.09		it2] caught fi- --
	1130.09 1130.79		<PAR Here finish these up PAR>.
	1130.79 1131.79		… It caught fire,

(SBC003, Conceptual Pesticides)

This is a further example from *Conceptual Pesticides*. In this extract, the negative interrogative is asked by Marilyn. It is in the past tense: *Didn't you hear about him?*. The question is answered by Pete in the negative: *No*.

Even if answering such a question tends to reduce – even annihilate – the rhetorical trait of the question, what seems to be done primarily by the speaker using a negative interrogative is, again, to express her feelings, i.e. her surprise at the fact that Pete had not heard about the man. By listening to the conversation, the co-speaker infers that the story must have been on everybody's lips in the town: this idea is amply conveyed by the use of the negative interrogative which contributed to that. In a similar fashion to the previous occurrence in (9), it could be reformulated as *I'm surprised by the fact that you didn't hear about him*,[11] with the verb *hear* remaining, as in the previous example, in negative polarity. To relate this analysis to examples (1) and (2) of this paper, we account for the fact that the negation remains in the reformulation by saying that the speaker, who is surprised in (9) and (10), needs to *check* the validity of the fact that surprises her so much. The use of the negative interrogative enables the speaker to achieve two things: first of all, to express their surprise, and secondly to clarify their understanding of a situation by inviting the co-speaker to confirm it – which Pete does by answering *No*.

After analysing these three examples, we can see that the negative interrogative in these passages is not an information-seeking question: it is always related to some background that the speaker has in mind and to some extent, to a larger project of argumentation. In (8), the question is clearly an invitation, which confirms Quirk et al.'s (1985: 821) proposal of "invitation, suggestion or instruction", whereas in (9) and (10), the questions contributed to expressing the speaker's surprise, a testimony of a discrepancy "between how things are and how they should be", according to the speaker.

So far, we have seen that the negative polarity of the verb in the question turns the question into an intervention which has a larger scope than it seems: an invitation, the expression of points of view or feelings, like surprise. From a syntactic perspective, it is noteworthy that in the first two cases, the negation does not appear in the reformulation whereas in the last example, it does occur in the paraphrase. As a consequence, we might wonder whether the scope of the negation operates at the same level in the negative interrogative. On the one hand, it literally turns the question into an argumentative form, with the expression of a point of view with positive polarity. On the other, it is still argumentative as it enables the speaker to express their feelings (surprise), but, in this case, the negation still operates on the verb as the speaker wants to check the validity of the surprising –

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11 What might account for Pete's not hearing about Zeke's compost pile story is the fact that Pete comes from out of town, as we can read in the short description given by the *SBC* website of SBC003.

negative – fact. This is not the primary interest of this paper but definitely a point to retain for further research.

In French, one frequently comes across negative interrogatives with a lexical verb, for instance *Ne croyez-vous pas que...?* as in *Ne croyez-vous pas que cette coupure menace à terme l'opportunité, donc l'existence, des aides nationales?*.[12] This is again a way for the speaker to subtly express their point of view. Both French and American English operate according to similar patterns in this respect.

4.1.3. Negative tag questions

In order to examine all kinds of closed questions, our analysis will now turn to two occurrences of negative tag-questions:

(11)

255.37 257.67	HAROLD:	**Well that would be nice to have a little jazz band next [4door4],**
257.37 257.89	PETE:	[4Right4].
257.67 258.17	HAROLD:	**wouldn't it.**
258.04 258.69	JAMIE:	[No=].
258.16 258.81	PETE:	[Mhm=].
258.81 262.01	HAROLD:	... Usually we just have r=eally loud salsa parties across the street.

(SBC002, Lambada)

The four friends are listening to jazz music coming from an old tape recorder plugged into speakers but surprisingly, Miles finds the sound is really good quality. The extract below precedes example (11):

(12)

231.54 232.88	MILES:	[3You must have3] good stereo.
232.88 233.98		Cause I feel like I'm hearing --

(SBC002, Lambada)

The usual construction of the tag question is respected in *Well that would be nice to have a little jazz band next door, wouldn't it.* This is a *reversed-polarity* tag. The auxiliary and the syntactic subject used in the assertion, respectively *would* and *it*, are repeated in the tag question to invite the co-speaker to express his point of view, with a strong orientation by the speaker towards the agreement of the co-speaker.[13] The co-speaker then either agrees or disagrees, which is the case in (11), where Jamie says an abrupt *No* as she already suffers from living in a noisy neighbourhood. Pete, however, agrees with the proposition as he answers *Right*.

To relate to the occurrences discussed earlier, it is clear that the tag-question invites the co-speaker to express their point of view. In the following extract, this is also the aim of the speaker's utterance:

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12 "Don't you think that this cut-off ultimately threatens the possibility, hence the very existence, of national aid?" (my translation). This is an extract from the debate which took place at the European Parliament session of November 15th, 2000, in Strasbourg, France. Retrieved on November 21st, 2014, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?
pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20001115+ITEMS+DOC+XML+V0//FR&language=FR

13 The negative form seems to mark that the speaker would be surprised if the co-speaker did not agree with him.

16.52 19.09	MARILYN:	would [2you like to2] … string the bea=ns?
16.60 17.30	PETE:	[2What can I do2].
19.09 19.36		Sure.
19.36 19.36	ROY:	<<WHISTLE
19.36 20.84	PETE:	… Oh,
20.84 22.24		<X it smells like that stuff X>.
22.24 22.84	MARILYN:	… I know.
22.84 23.54		**.. It's kind of smelly,**
23.54 23.90		**isn't it.**
23.90 24.39	PETE:	Mhm.
24.39 26.27	ROY:	… WHISTLE>>
26.27 28.20	MARILYN:	<VOX But I got it at a reputable market VOX>.
28.20 30.61	ROY:	… Well let's see,
30.61 32.84		.. [a three-person salad] bow=[2=l2].

(SBC003, Conceptual Pesticides)

(13)
As explained earlier when this extract was first introduced (see section 4.1.1.), the friends are preparing dinner. Marilyn asks the negative tag question *It's kind of smelly, isn't it* to which Pete replies *Mhm*, thus providing a paraverbal response which conveys agreement.

These two supplementary examples provide support for the claim that negative interrogatives are different from classical positive interrogatives in that they allow the speakers to express their points of view, and *de facto*, to solicit their co-speakers' point of view. They show the same characteristics, i.e. they express the speaker's point of view with subjective adjectives (*nice, smelly*). The main difference lies in the fact that the point of view is immediately provided in the assertion preceding the tag-question.

After investigating all kinds of closed questions (with *be, do* and negative tag questions), we shall now turn to the open questions introduced by the wh-element *why*. This adverb has been selected for its argumentative interest; it is also the most common *wh*-element used in negative interrogatives.

4.2. Open questions
In example (14), this is Marilyn, again, who uses the negative interrogative:

(14)	1219.87 1221.51	ROY:	[Shall I do] something civilized,
	1219.99 1220.31	PETE:	[@@]
	1221.51 1222.48	ROY:	like [2clear the ta2]ble,
	1221.64 1222.23	MARILYN:	[2(COUGH) (COUGH)2]
	1222.48 1224.28	ROY:	or are we just gonna barbarian it out.
	1224.28 1224.73	MARILYN:	… No,
	1224.73 1225.53		**why don't you clear the table.**
	1225.53 1226.55		**Unless we want to eat outside.**
	1226.55 1227.56	ROY:	… It's dark,
	1227.56 1228.56		how will we see what we're eating.
	1228.56 1230.07	MARILYN:	… Candles.

(SBC003, Conceptual Pesticides)

The friends are all preparing dinner together and Roy offers to lend a hand: *Shall I do something civilized?* and then suggests *like clear the table ... or are we just gonna barbarian it out.* As Marilyn coughs when Roy makes his suggestions, she cannot hear what he says. So she first answers the question *Are we just gonna barbarian it out?* with the negative adverb *No* and then asks the negative question *Why don't you clear the table, unless we want to eat outside.* Roy answers the question saying that it is too dark outside.

What does Marilyn do, pragmatically-speaking, when she uses the negative interrogative? She kindly invites Roy to clear the table. Drawing on Quirk et al. (1985: 821) this is clearly a directive, or "invitation, suggestion or instruction" which sounds less aggressive than a positive interrogative like *Could you please clear the table?*. An appropriate paraphrase could be *It would be nice if you could clear the table*, which uses a predicate with positive polarity. The choice of this question seems to correspond to some logic: they are about to have dinner, and the table is full of cooking utensils, so it would be helpful if Roy could clear the table.

The examples in (15)[14] is a family conversation recorded in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The primary participants are three sisters all in their twenties. The girls have a close relationship and the context is informal. They talk about their teaching experiences. Sharon is the main speaker: she is explaining to her sisters the difficult situations she has gone through at school with children coming from deprived areas. Several times a week she has to pay for the lunches of poor children with her own money as the children's parents either forget to bring food or forget to fill in the forms to get help from the city council. Sharon keeps telling a young girl, Annalisa, that she needs to bring back the form if she wants to have her free lunch, but Sharon never receives the document, day after day, which irritates her greatly:

(15)

330.31 330.61	SHARON:	[3So=,
330.61 331.11		%= you know2],
331.11 332.46		I find this out a week later=.
332.46 333.71		... I kept bugging !Annalisa,
333.71 334.06		t- you know,
334.06 335.46		did you bring the form in=,
335.46 336.56		did you fill it all out,
336.56 337.61		**why don't you get another one,**
337.61 340.31		... (TSK) (H) and I search my desk,
340.31 341.01		and it's not there,
341.01 342.94		and I keep calling the office and sending notes,

(SBC004, Raging Bureaucracy)

The passage is in reported speech. We can read the direct questions that Sharon asked Annalisa: *did you bring the form in, did you fill it all out* and, more interestingly, *why don't you get another one?*. We do not know if the questions were answered by the young girl but we can see that the negative interrogative clearly invites the co-speaker to accomplish an activity, as it happens *get another one* [*form*]. Again, logic seems to condition the use of the negative interrogative. As spectators (listeners or readers of this conversation), just as her co-speakers did, we infer that Sharon was possibly thinking:

- Annalisa's parents have no money, <u>so</u> they need these free meals. It is in their interest to fill in the form.

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14 We have not referred to this conversation yet, as it only has open questions.

- Annalisa hasn't brought the form yet, <u>so</u> her parents must have lost it.
- <u>If</u> they have lost the form, *she could get another one.*

Reconstituting the train of thoughts above with the help of native speakers, I have underlined the markers of logic that spontaneously appeared through the reconstitution, linking the ideas from the very first step of the process (Annalisa's parents have no money) to the final predicate of the negative interrogative *get another one [form]*. The reformulation used above could be used here too: *it would be nice/helpful if you could get another form*. The accumulation of questions shows how annoyed the speaker is, as she knows this poor family could get help but does not make the most to benefit from it. So these first two examples show some similarities, despite the different linguistic environments in which they occur.

(16)

318.12 319.12	BRAD:	[(H) Can we] talk I- --
319.12 319.52		uh=,
319.52 320.62		.. I bet !Pat's @gonna --
320.62 322.57		she's gonna start walking back to the office.
322.57 322.99	PHIL:	[Yeah.
322.90 324.25	BRAD:	[(H) I dropped her at the bookkeeper].
323.35 325.01	PHIL:	**.. W- .. w- .. why don't you] call me,**
325.01 326.31		**at least a little bit later [2maybe,**
325.96 326.42	BRAD:	[2Yeah2].
326.31 326.92	PHIL:	and2] we can [3<X go X> do that3].
326.61 327.31	BRAD:	[3Can I3] do that,
327.31 328.01		(H) Cause I --
328.06 328.56		.. she'll be --
328.56 330.28	PHIL:	[(Hx) !Ji- .. !Jim and I are gonna] have lunch,
328.56 328.82	BRAD:	[Uh --
328.82 329.87		.. I don't want to get her uh] --
330.28 331.22	PHIL:	I don't know if you have plans or not.

(SBC010, Letter of Concerns)

The conversation above is a business conversation recorded in New Mexico. Brad and Phil are board members of a local arts society. Phil wants to talk business, while Brad keeps trying to leave to pick up his wife, who is waiting for him at a bookstore.

The two men are close enough to share some activities (arts), however, "they talk business" as is mentioned in the description given on the website. So, this context is different from the previous ones where friends or family members were discussing non-business related matters.

Brad would like to leave to be able to pick up his wife on time, so he wants to shorten the conversation with Phil and put off any issue that is not particularly pressing. The negative interrogative he uses is *Why don't you call me at least a little bit later maybe*, which is answered by Phil, *Yeah*. Again, this is an invitation to accomplish an activity, namely *call somebody later*. The paraphrase used above seems to work too: *It would be nice if you could call me back later.* In a similar fashion to the previous examples, logic seems to be mother to the thoughts expressed by the negative interrogative. The reconstituted train of thought could be:

- Brad has no time: his wife is waiting for him
- With this in mind, he shouldn't waste time chatting with Phil about a matter which is not

urgent.
- He would rather talk to him later on the phone.

All these examples share some similarities: despite the different contexts, we can see that all the speakers want something to happen in the context they are in. To make the link with the previous section about closed questions, it is not really a point of view which is expressed here but rather a wish, as the reformulation *it would be nice if you could...* is operational for all three open questions. All of the reformulations that I have proposed use modal auxiliaries as operators, which suggests that the negative interrogatives examined express the speaker's point of view about the predicative relation.

(17)

739.44 740.30	ANGELA:	[2(H)2] will um,
740.30 741.93		... (TSK) make a mile.
742.03 744.50		... And then there's a=,
744.50 747.61		.. soft drink place up there that they all congregate.
747.61 747.95	SAM:	Oh.
747.95 748.34		@@
748.34 748.91	ANGELA:	And uh,
748.91 750.32	DORIS:	**... Why don't you join em.**
750.32 751.95	ANGELA:	... and they have pi=ns,
751.95 754.16		when they (H) cover fifty miles,
754.16 755.05		or whatever [you know,
754.88 755.17	DORIS:	[Yeah],

(SBC011, This Retirement Bit)

This is a conversation between three friends before they have lunch. It was recorded in Tucson, Arizona. All three participants are retired women: Samantha (Sam) is 72, Doris is 83, and Angela is 90. The atmosphere is very friendly as the women exchange anecdotes about on their daily activities and give each other advice. The negative interrogative *Why don't you join em.* is asked by Doris to Sam. It is not answered as Angela continues explaining the organisation of the walking club. Like the previous examples, this is an invitation to accomplish the activity *join them*. The type of reformulation that I proposed above seems to fit here also: that is *It would be nice if you could join them*. It also fits the linguistic environment very well as all three women tend to give one another as much advice as possible. Modal auxiliaries naturally come up in the reformulation again.

In light of the analyses of examples (11)-(14), negative interrogatives under the form of open questions seem to behave in the same way, whether on a syntactic (polarity of the predicate in the reformulation) or pragmatic (invitation to accomplish an activity) level. These forms create negative interrogatives using the bare form of a lexical verb *tell* in the question *Why not tell us where that is*, which is uttered by Doris in the same conversation:

(18)

791.77 794.60	DORIS:	.. (H) Instead of having to parade all around [6looking for it,
793.98 795.07	ANGELA:	[6@@@@@6]
794.60 795.36	DORIS:	.. they're6] around,
795.36 796.76		**why not tell us where [7that is7].**
796.26 796.73	ANGELA:	[7Well yeah7],
796.73 797.97		well [8they can explain,

(SBC011, This Retirement Bit)

The same analysis (reformulation with modality) could be put forward to the current example, *why not tell us where that is*, with the sole difference being that, in this type of question, which uses a non-finite form of the verb, there is no lexicalized syntactic subject explicitly mentioned. As such, it needs to be inferred from the surrounding linguistic context (e.g. for the current example this would be *It would be nice if they could tell us where that is*), whereas it was explicit in the previous occurrences. We account for the fact that the presence of the syntactic subject is required in some examples by the need to avoid ambiguity: when no subject is explicitly mentioned, then the co-speaker could misinterpret who the subject of the predicate is.

As far as open questions introduced by *why* are concerned, the French language operates slightly differently since the interrogative adverb is more frequently followed by the infinitive form of the verb <*Pourquoi ne pas* + V> as in *Pourquoi ne pas dépenser l'argent dans des approches durables pour résoudre ce genre de problèmes?*[15] even though the finite form can be seen in *Pourquoi ne fais-tu pas cela comme ça?* or the less formal, spoken French *Pourquoi tu ne fais pas cela comme ça?* without the subject-verb inversion.

Finally, no relevant occurrences inflected in the past tense have been identified, so no comparison is possible between occurrences of the two tenses. The few examples I came across were not exploitable as the sentences were all aborted before mentioning the predicate, which therefore placed too great a constraint on any potential analysis.

5. Conclusion

The overall aim of this paper was not only to test several linguists' proposals about negative interrogatives in the light of the *SBC* but also provide new evidence and support for the claim that negative interrogatives do not complete information-seeking tasks. Thus they cannot be considered inquiries. Instead, we regard them as argumentative utterances.

In analysing the negative interrogatives in the form of closed or *yes-no* questions, we noted that they enabled the speaker to express:

- their point of view (1, 2, 4, 5). The latter was explicit in the assertions preceding the tag questions in (11)-(13). All the adjectives used with *be* were subjective adjectives, resulting from an operation of judgment.
- their wish (3)
- or their surprise (8)-(10) in keeping with the contrast between the speaker's expectations and the "state of affairs". Negative interrogatives can thus contribute to checking the validity of a surprising fact.

It was always important to consider the interpersonal relationship between the speakers. As such, the occurrences (14-18) in the form of open questions showed how negative interrogatives were directives, or invitations to some activity or other. The negative interrogative is more subtle than an imperative, which comes across as more aggressive. Hence, propositions encoded as negative interrogatives may be used to induce acceptance of the speaker's wish by their interlocutor. The reformulations spontaneously given by native speakers contained modal auxiliaries, which gives deeper support to our proposal that these questions express a speaker's point of view.

Discourse analysis tells us that the contexts in which negative interrogatives occur are all collaboratively constructed between speaker and co-speaker (Lauerbach 2007), since the speakers express their point of view which *de facto* triggers their co-speakers' point of view also. The latter have to work out the implicit items that are necessary to understand the full scope of the message. This corresponds to the "train of thoughts" which we reconstituted. Keeping in mind this

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15 "Why not spend the money on sustainable ways to solve this kind of problems?" (my translation).

background, we realise that negative interrogatives are highly relevant linguistic tools (Sperber & Wilson, 1986) which not only necessitate consideration of the surrounding linguistic context (i.e. previous utterances), but also extra-linguistic variables referred to in this study as the expectations of the co-speakers and, in more general terms, of a given linguistic community (e.g. its uses and habits). We argue that such pragmatic considerations constitute the key element behind the use of negative interrogatives. The need to reactivate implicit items from context underscores the role of the co-speaker in the process of discourse construction.

Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1994) has claimed that messages are co-constructed mainly referring to the cooperation principle, referring to Descombes' (1981) "L'obligation qu'énonce le principe de coopération n'est autre que le lien social de la parole".[16] Douay (2000: 36) has gone as far as saying that the co-speaker is a co-author: "L'interlocuteur n'est plus seulement celui à qui s'adresse la parole, il est le coauteur de la parole, celui sans qui la parole ne signifierait rien".[17] I cannot agree more with both of them. I wish to conclude with a passage from Douay's translation of Sir. A. H. Gardiner's *Theory of Speech and Language* (1932): "Aucun emploi de la langue, quel qu'il soit, n'est affranchi des entraves de l'interprétation [et] l'interprétation nécessite un interprète qui est l'"auditeur" de la théorie linguistique"[18] (1989: 105-106).

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16 "The obligation that the cooperation principle implies is nothing but the social link that speech entails" (my translation).

17 "The interlocutor is no longer the one who is spoken to, he/she is the co-author of the speech act, the one without whom speaking would mean nothing" (my translation).

18 Sir A. H. Gardiner's (1932: 113-114) original text reads as follows: "Deeper thought will show that no use of language whatsoever is emancipated from the shackles of interpretation, that interpretation demands an interpreter who is the 'listener' of linguistic theory."

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Inferring cultural models from corpus data: force-dynamic cultural models reflected in the discursive behavior of a scalar adjectival construction[*]

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Abstract: One of the main tasks in cognitive anthropology is the reconstruction of cultural models, which are behavior-regulating schematic cognitive models that are intersubjectively shared in a community. Given their behavior-regulatory status, cognitive anthropologists and other cognitive scientists have developed methods of inferring cultural models from observed behavior – in particular, observed verbal behavior (including both spoken and written language). While there are plenty of studies of the reflection of cultural models in artificially generated verbal behavior, not much research has been made into the possibility of inferring cultural models from naturally occurring verbal behavior as documented in language corpora. Even rarer are such corpus-based studies of the interaction between cultural models and constructions. Exploring the usability of corpus data and methodology in the observation of constructional discursive behavior, the present paper offers a covarying collexeme analysis of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. The purpose is to discover the extent to which its force-dynamic constructional semantics interacts with cultural models. We focus on three instantiations of the construction – namely, [*too young to* V], [*too proud to* V], and [*too macho to* V] – to see whether there are patterns in their ranges of coattracted verbs that are indicative of force-dynamic relations in cultural models of AGE, PRIDE, and MACHISMO respectively.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, covarying collexeme, cultural model, scalar adjectival construction.

1. Introduction

One of the main tasks in cognitive anthropology is the reconstruction of cultural models. Cultural models are cognitive structures, which Quinn & Holland (1987: 4) define as "presupposed, taken for granted models of the world that are widely shared … by members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of the world and their behavior in it". Indeed, a common method of identification and reconstruction of cultural models in cognitive anthropology is to infer them from observed behavior. In particular, cognitive anthropologists and researchers within related cognitive sciences, such as cognitive linguistics and cognitive psychology, have developed a number of methods of inferring cultural models from verbal behavior, including the use of interview data and language-oriented questionnaires. The term 'verbal' is sometimes used with reference to spoken communication only, contrasting it with written communication. Another sense of 'verbal', however, refers to language use and products of language use in general, including both speech and writing (much like the way it is used in the term 'verbal art'). In the present paper, it is the latter sense of 'verbal' that applies. 'Verbal behavior' in this paper, then, refers to spoken and written language use as social behavior by members of a speech community.

Corpus data document naturally occurring language in fairly naturalistic settings (i.e. written and spoken language that occurs in actual discourse, serving actual communicative purposes, as opposed to language elicited in experimental settings). Gries (2009: 8) offers a brilliant definition of the naturalistic nature of the texts in a corpus: "The texts were spoken or written for some authentic communicative purpose, but not for the purpose of putting them into the corpus". With this in mind, it stands to reason that corpus data and methodology should be particularly useful. However, aside from work by Gries & Stefanowitsch (2004) and Stefanowitsch (2004), there has not been much research on cultural models as reflected in corpus data. Of course, there is plenty of corpus-based research that addresses cultural issues, such as Leech & Fallon (1992), Ooi (2000), and Elsness

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[*] I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their comments. I am fully responsible for any errors or shortcomings.

(2013). While the notion of cultural models does not figure in such studies, they do clearly show that verbal behavior, as defined in this paper, is indeed reflective of underlying cultural systems and that corpus data and methods constitute a way to rigorously, empirically, and systematically investigate the language-culture interrelation. As Ooi's (2000) study of collocations in Asian Englishes shows, pairings of lexemes may display behavior reflective of cultural concepts. Given that, in a cognitive linguistic perspective, it is now more or less accepted that constructions are meaningful units of grammar that serve various communicative functions, we can assume that constructions, like collocations, may also display discursive behavior which is reflective of underlying cultural systems.

This is the issue that this article addresses. In particular, we are interested in observing ways in which the discursive behavior of one specific construction may reveal aspects of underlying cultural models – namely, the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction, which in itself has not been extensively explored (but see Fortuin 2013, 2014). Consider the following examples, which were extracted from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, or *COCA* (available at Davies 2014):

(1) The tatty furniture betrayed elegant lines, and the windows, *too grimy to see through*, stretched up ten feet. (COCA 2011 FIC Bk:NeverGentleman)

(2) They're *too slow to catch a seal in open water.* (COCA 2011 MAG NationalGeographic)

(3) One day I moved boulders in a sleet storm. There were nearly a hundred of them and they were *too heavy to lift*, so I had to stay down on my knees the whole day pushing them an inch or two at a time. (COCA 1995 FIC HarpersMag)

In all three examples the construction seems to specify a force-dynamic relation between the adjective and the verb in which the adjective is assigned a high degree of the attribute it expresses (henceforth ADJNESS). The force-dynamic relation lies in this high degree of ADJNESS being construed as having a preventive effect on the situation expressed by the *to*-infinitive clause that follows. In all three cases, the relation of PREVENTION is arguably quite logical and based on more or less universal experiences. A high degree of GRIMINESS naturally prevents people from seeing through a window, and it also seems quite natural that a high degree of SLOWNESS should prevent someone from catching seals in open water, or any other fast-moving entity in any other environment. Lastly, an excess of HEAVINESS should quite naturally make the heavy entity difficult to lift. Now, compare the above examples to the following ones:

(4) Rabbi Feinstein's legal judgment with respect to romantic love among persons *too young to marry* was definitive. (COCA 2007 NEWS NYTimes)

(5) I'm in a certain group that's almost *too old to hire*. (COCA 2011 NEWS Denver)

(6) He just smiled, *too polite to answer.* (COCA 2009 NEWS Denver)

The same type of preventive force-dynamic relation between the adjectives and verbs applies here, but, in these examples, the semantic relations are arguably not based on natural relations of force-dynamics, but seem to be filtered through cultural perception. For instance, the age at which marriage is appropriate depends on the parameters of MARRIAGE established within the culture in question. Likewise, exactly when someone is too old to hire is likely to depend on a range of cultural parameters, and what is considered polite and impolite in which situations and exactly what

constitutes POLITENESS itself may vary from culture to culture. In other words, the behavior of [*too* ADJ *to* V] in examples (4)-(6) seems to link up with, and be reflective of, and perhaps regulated by, underlying cultural models of AGE and POLITENESS.

In this article, we will investigate, via observation of its behavior in *COCA*, the extent to which the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction may be said to interact with such force-dynamic cultural models. Concurrently, we will explore the usability of corpus data and methodology in inferring cultural models from verbal behavior. It should be mentioned that, out of the two purposes of the present article, the latter is the primary one. This study is primarily an exploratory one and, while a number of interesting findings pertaining to the interaction between the construction and cultural models that draw on the relation of PREVENTION do emerge from our data, this is by no means an exhaustive or definitive analysis of the construction and its relation to cultural models in American culture.

This article is structures as follows. Section 2 addresses and defines cultural models and also touch upon their reflection in verbal behavior. Section 3 offers a brief description of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction within a construction grammar framework, based on Jensen (2014a; see also Jensen 2014b), while chapter 4 accounts for the data and method applied in the present study. The following three chapters address how the following instantiations of the construction may, in their discursive behavior, be reflective of underlying cultural models: [*too young to* V], [*too proud to* V], and [*too macho to* V]. While there are other instantiations, in which force-dynamic cultural models emerge in the construction's discursive behavior (i.e. patterns of usage) associated, these three particular instantiations were selected, because the underlying attributes expressed by the adjectives *young*, *proud*, and *macho* are presumably tied in with a number of cultural values, thus making them particularly suitable case studies for the exploration of the usability of corpus data and methodology in inferring cultural models.

2. Cultural models

This section provides a definition of the notion of a cultural model. While there is plenty of literature within cognitive anthropology and other cognitive sciences that deals with cultural models, the definition offered here draws on scholars whose work is particularly relevant – in terms of theory, method, or both – to the study of cultural models and their relation to language and interaction.

On Quinn & Holland's (1987: 4) definition above, cultural models are both social and cognitive, as they are constitutive of the encyclopedic knowledge of the world associated with the worldview of a society or community. The encyclopedic nature of cultural models is central in Kronenfeld's (2008: 69) statement that cultural models "provide scenarios or action plans for how to behave in some given situation or how to interpret the behavior of others in one or another situation". Likewise, in their study of cultural models of education in America in three different ethnic perspectives, Fryberg & Markus (2007: 214) point out that cultural models are behavior-mediating and -regulating "taken-for-granted patterns of ideas and practices" which are derived from previous experiences. Cultural models thus cover "cultural assumptions and meanings that are available in particular contexts" (Fryberg & Markus 2007: 215). As D'Andrade (1981: 182) reminds us, cultural models are experiential also in the sense that they are shaped via "repeated social transmission".[1]

From these definitions, it follows that cultural models influence the understanding of the world within a given society and that cultural models are both experientially acquired and socially

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1 D'Andrade (1981), drawing on a BRAIN-COMPUTER analogy, actually uses the term 'cultural program', but his description of such 'cultural programs' overlaps considerably with the definitions of 'cultural schemata', 'cultural models' and 'folk models' offered elsewhere in the literature within cognitive anthropology. For a discussion of the implications of the various terms used for what we call 'cultural models' in this paper, see Keesing (1987).

transmitted via interaction with other members of the same community. Moreover, due to their taken-for-granted nature, cultural models typically have common ground status within the community in question and are more or less conventionalized. Kronenfeld (2008: 71-72) elaborates on this:

> When we do anything with others, including talking (!), it is necessary to interrelate our separate cognitive structures; and when we routinely do something with a variety of others we will tend to develop some standardized way of doing it – where "standardized" refers to categories of actions, items, acceptable results, and so forth. These shared action plans emerge as cultural models.

In a similar vein, D'Andrade (1987: 112) offers this definition: "A cultural model is a cognitive schema that is intersubjectively shared by a social group", specifying that intersubjective sharing is the knowledge that other people also know what you know (D'Andrade 1987: 113). We should probably fine-tune the concept of intersubjective sharing such that it also covers the assumption or presupposition (in addition to the knowledge) that other people also know what you know.

D'Andrade's (1987: 112) definition also specifies the schematic nature of cultural models. As Rice (1980) reminds us, structures in cultural cognition are generally schematic. She points out that "[a] schema can be thought of as an abstracted pattern into or onto which information can be organized", arguing that it "is best seen as being at the same time both structure and process" and that "different schemata encompass various scopes and can be applied at various levels of abstraction" (Rice 1980: 153),[2] and Kronenfeld (2008: 69) argues that they are abstract structures that vary in degrees of specificity.

If cultural models are intersubjectively shared cognitive structures that constitute encyclopedic knowledge, how do they differ from what cognitive linguists call 'cognitive models', and how do they relate to the universal aspects of human cognition? In some cases, it seems that there is no difference. For instance, Lakoff (1987) often uses the term 'idealized cognitive model' with reference to structures very similar to cultural models which applies to his discussions of the concepts, MOTHER (Lakoff 1987: 74-76, 80-82), and HOUSEWIFE (Lakoff 1987: 79-80), and he also briefly discusses folk models (Lakoff 1987: 118). In Lakoff & Kövesces' (1987) study of the conceptualization of ANGER in American English, the term 'cultural model' is used to cover a cognitive phenomenon very similar to many of the phenomena called (idealized) cognitive models in Lakoff (1987). In a rather consistent approach, Ungerer & Schmid (2006: 51) emphasize the cultural specificity of such models:

> Cognitive models are of course not universal but depend on the culture in which a person grows up and lives. The culture provides the background for all the situations that we have to experience in order to be able to form a cognitive model. A Russian or German may not have formed a cognitive model of cricket simply because it is not part of the culture of his own country to play that game. So, cognitive models for particular domains ultimately depend on so-called **cultural models**. In reverse, cultural models can be seen as cognitive models that are shared by people belonging to a social group or subgroup. (boldface in original)

However, Rice (1980: 154) points out that cultural models do involve more universal cognitive

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2   Schema theory is, of course, widespread in the cognitive sciences and may be traced back to Gestalt psychology and early educational psychology. Consequently, it should be no surprise that cultural models, as envisioned in cognitive anthropology, are held to be schematic. See Rice (1980: 155) for a number of arguments for the application of schema theory in cognitive anthropology and other cognitive sciences.

phenomena:

> On the continuum between the universal and the idiosyncratic lie the culturally derived schemata. Like the idiosyncratic ones, they are experientially developed. But they have in common with universal schemata a wider distribution.
> It is these cultural schemata, these socially-given perceptual modes, which operate to produce a recognizable "weltanschauung," or worldview. A theory which views comprehension as based on assimilation to mental schemata proceeds on the assumption that the cognitive processes involved are universal ... It is certain kinds of components of schemata which are culturally specific (Rice 1980: 154).

Cultural models are cognitive schemata in which universal cognitive processes and principles are involved, but which – as wholes – are culturally specific and figure – as intersubjectively shared structures – in the worldview of a community or society. As regards the distinction between cognitive models and cultural models, the differentiation seems to be a matter of intra-theoretical perspective and, ultimately, a quasi-artificial one:

> Essentially, cognitive models and cultural models are just two sides of the same coin. While the term 'cognitive model' stresses the psychological nature of these cognitive entities and allows for inter-individual differences, the term 'cultural model' emphasizes the uniting aspect of its being shared by many people. Although 'cognitive models' are related to cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics while 'cultural models' belong to sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics, researchers in all of these fields should be, and usually are, aware of both dimensions of their object of study. (Ungerer & Schmid 2006: 52)

Thus, if a more ontological distinction is to be made, then it would simply be that cultural models are cognitive models that have become conventionalized within a given culture. Such a distinction would still allow both the psychological and social dimensions of such cognitive structures to be taken into account.[3]
Drawing on the above discussion, we can set up the following general features of cultural models:

- cultural models are schematic cognitive models, which involve universal cognitive structural principles and processes
- cultural models are intersubjectively shared in a community and thus culturally specific
- cultural models are presumed by the members of the community to be intersubjectively shared
- cultural models guide the community members' understanding of the world and people
- cultural models are behavior-mediating and behavior-regulating

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3   As is apparent from the above, 'cultural' is often contrasted with 'universal'. Consequently, it may be tempting to argue that a cultural model has to be exclusive to one community only to qualify as cultural, and that, if it does not do that, then it is universal. However, this would grossly simplify matters, as the difference between 'cultural' and 'universal' is somewhat blurred. For instance, Communities A and B may share a cultural perception of phenomenon X, but differ in their cultural perceptions of phenomenon Y. Community C, however, shares neither Community A and B's cultural perception of phenomenon X nor their perception of phenomenon Y. Community A and Community B's cultural perception of phenomenon X is not universal, because C does not share it. But it would be incorrect to state that A and B's perception is not cultural.

For the sake of illustration, here are some examples of various types of studies in cognitive anthropology and cognitive linguistics of cultural models. The cultural models addressed are quite different from the force-dynamic cultural models discussed in this paper, and they also differ quite considerably from one another. This shows just how ubiquitous cultural models are, and that they can be found in all layers of cultural and social cognition. One study deals with cultural models of EDUCATION, covering elements such as the PURPOSE OF EDUCATION, TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP, and ideas of the SELF in educational contexts (Fryberg & Markus 2007: 216-220). Fryberg & Markus address cultural models of EDUCATION among Native American, Asian American, and European American students and how they differ in terms of the three above-mentioned elements. A quite different pair of phenomena is cultural models of BREAKFAST in French and British cultures, as discussed by Ungerer & Schmid (2006: 52-53). Ungerer & Schmid address BREAKFAST within the domain of STAYING AT A HOTEL in France and Britain respectively. PETIT DÉJEUNER and ENGLISH BREAKFAST differ in terms of components, the former only consisting of COFFEE and a CROISSANT, while the latter consists of a considerably larger number of components. The former is SERVED at BEDSIDE or taken at a CAFE and is not included in the ROOM RATE, while the latter is served in the hotel's BREAKFAST ROOM and is included in the ROOM RATE. While these cultural models are considerably complex, there are of course also simple cultural models, as exemplified by Ungerer & Schmid's (2006: 53-54) discussion of the differences between prototypical DESKS in Europe and Asia which are historically dependent on different traditional body postures assumed when writing, with Europeans typically sitting on chairs and Asians typically sitting on the floor. Another study reported in Ungerer & Schmid (2006: 54-55) addresses prototypicality of food lexemes in Nigerian English and American English and finds that speakers of the two varieties of English rank FOOD types quite differently. For instance, the three highest ranking items in the FOOD category in Nigerian English are *beans*, *rice*, and *yam*, while the three highest ranking items in American English are *chicken*, *fish*, and *bread*. Moreover, speakers of Nigerian English list items such as *millet*, *groundnut*, and *maize* as FOOD lexemes, which do not figure in the rankings by American English speakers. This is indicative of somewhat different underlying cultural models of FOOD and categorizations of what counts a typical FOOD items in Nigerian and American cultures. Other examples of cultural models are the American folk model of how the MIND works (D'Andrade 1987), American gender stereotypes (Holland & Skinner 1987), the American cultural model of MARRIAGE (Quinn 1987), the American cultural model of LYING (Sweetser 1987), metaphors of morality (Bergen 2004: 31-33), and a cultural model of BUYER PASSIVITY and EXPLOITATION in COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004: 232-233).

2.1. *Force-dynamic cultural models and the reflection of cultural models in behavior*

Given that cultural models are behavior-mediating, they are also reflected behavior. I will illustrate this using a rather simple model of causal superstition. What characterizes models of causal superstition is a core relation of CAUSALITY, drawing on various image schemata of force-dynamics (Johnson 1987: 42-48; see also Talmy 2000: 409-470), such that, IF SITUATION P HAPPENS, THEN SITUATION Q INVARIABLY FOLLOWS. There is, of course, no objective or natural relation between the two situations, which is what makes such models superstitions, but they are more or less integral to the way that people in the community in question understand and interact with the world. As an example of one such model, allow me to use, in a rather informal and near-anecdotal fashion, a model which occurs in many European cultures – namely, the BLACK CAT BRINGS BAD LUCK superstition. In Danish culture, there is a variant of this superstition in which A BLACK CAT CROSSING ONE'S PATH MEANS BAD LUCK. This model draws on CAUSATION based on the COMPULSION image schema (Johnson 1987: 45), in which a force input causes an entity into motion or some other state of being non-static, such as the change from being NON-EXISTENT into being EXISTENT. Thus, there is a relation of COMPULSION between the situation of A BLACK CAT CROSSING ONE'S PATH and BAD LUCK in

the sense that the former causes the latter to invariably follow. As an owner of a black cat myself, I have observed patterns in people's interaction with our cat, and children in particular displayed behavioral patterns reflective of this superstition, ranging from attempts at chasing away our cat or otherwise preventing it from crossing their path over running away from the cat to even cowering in fear at the cat. Some would also engage in a ritual which is supposed to annul the BAD LUCK generated by a BLACK CAT − namely, spitting across one's left shoulder. This ritual draws on the image schema of COUNTER-FORCE (Johnson 1987: 46) and expands on the COMPULSION-based cultural model.[4] For further examples of the features of force dynamics, see Johnson (1987: 41-64); his (Johnson 1987: 53-57) discussion of modality offers some particularly clear illustrations of force-dynamic image schemata at play in language (see also Talmy 2000: 440-452 for an alternative approach to force-dynamics in modality).

Now, this example is of course of a rather anecdotal nature, and superstitions may be banal and even silly. However, superstitions are arguably very ingrained in people's cultural subconscious, as it were, and even non-superstitious people may find themselves regulating their behavior according to the underlying cultural models.

Causal superstitions are instances of what is called force-dynamic cultural models (Jensen 2014c). A force-dynamic cultural model is a cultural model in which a force-dynamic image schema plays a pivotal role. Force-dynamic cultural models are typical of, but by no means delimited to, superstitions. In the present study, we will encounter a number of such models in more "rational" contexts, and it may well be that force-dynamics is ubiquitous at a number of different levels in humans' understanding of the world around and between them.

2.2.   *Cultural models and corpus data*

Language corpora document actually occurring usage-events (Kemmer & Barlow 2000: ix), and, thus, they are essentially collections of instances of verbal behavior, as defined in this paper. Since corpora capture a wide variety of verbal behaviors, it stands to reason that corpus linguistics provides both data and methodology that could be helpful in inferring and reconstructing cultural models.

Indeed, several studies in corpus linguistics have showed that corpus data and methodology can be used in revealing states-of-affairs in cultural space. For instance Leech & Fallon (1992) and Elsness (2013) make use of corpus data to reveal large-scale divergences and convergences between British and American English. Leech & Fallon (1992) base their study on the *London-Oslo-Bergen* (*LOB*) corpus of British English and the *Brown* corpus of American English both of which document their respective varieties of English in 1961. Looking at a number of linguistic variables, for instance, they found lexical divergence in various domains reflecting different ways of life and, consequently, cultures. In the domain of sports, for instance, they found that lexemes like *cricket* and *rugby* were prevalent in *LOB*, while *baseball* was prevalent in the *Brown* corpus. A more interesting find in this domain is perhaps that lexical terms pertaining to sports and physical activity were generally more prevalent in the Brown corpus than in *LOB*, which Leech & Fallon (1992: 38) take as an indicator that "the American way of life has a more dominant interest in sporting activities". In the domain of travel and transportation, Leech & Fallon (1992: 39) found that lexical terms pertaining to transportation, like *aircraft*, *car*, *wagon* as well as *mileage* and *river*, were significantly more frequent in the American corpus than in the British one, reflecting that, because of the huge distances to be covered when traveling in the USA, the domain of transportation

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4   One could of course also make the argument that there is an inner COMPULSION which, caused by this particular superstition, drives people into chasing away the cat or engaging in the ritual. This does not necessarily mean that COUNTER-FORCE is not in play. On the contrary, if an active force-dynamic entity needs COMPULSION, then a COUNTER-FORCE also needs COMPULSION. This is perhaps captured better in Talmy's (2000: 440-452) AGONIST-ANTAGONIST model.

received more emphasis in American culture than British culture. Leech & Fallon (1992: 43) also find that there is a preference for masculine terms such as *boy*, *man*, and the masculine personal pronouns in the *Brown* corpus, while *gentleman* is more prevalent in *LOB*. In contrast to the masculine bias in the *Brown* corpus, terms relating to the domain of family are prevalent in *LOB*, such as *father*, *mother*, and *marriage*. Leech and Fallon (1992: 43; 44-45) take this to suggest that American culture in 1961 was characterized by masculinity as a cultural value while family was a more important cultural concept in Britain. In his follow-up study, Elsness (2013) investigates many of the same variables as Leech & Fallon (1992) in more recent British and American corpora and finds evidence of ongoing cultural convergence between British and American cultures. In his study of Singaporean English and Malian English collocations in a newspaper corpus, Ooi (2000) unearths a number of cultural concepts specific to these two cultures and the context(s) in which they exist. To illustrate, here are three of the collocations that Ooi identifies, accompanied by his description of their cultural relevance and meanings:

- *killer litter*: "[T]he term reflects a concern with this social menace [items thrown out from high rising buildings – KEJ], in a high-rise, high-density living society: Singapore comprises only about 500 sq. km. Thus, killer litter implies not only that the litter can be killing, but the person who does the act is a killer". (Ooi 2000: 81)
- *urine detector*: "While one might wonder whether this term has anything to do with urinalysis, it actually refers to a sensor inside a lift which, when someone urinates inside it, triggers an alarm and traps the offender in the elevator until the police arrive. Again, one can contribute the prevalence of this term in Singapore to a desire for more effective and technological means for catching social offenders". (Ooi 2000: 81)
- *normal stream*: "It is part of Singapore's competitive educational 'streaming' process where pupils are selected, on the basis of their school results, to go to the Gifted, Express, Normal or Technical Streams. Thus, a pupil who gets into the 'Normal' Stream is actually less than normal and is regarded as being merely average". (Ooi 2000: 83)

While Leech & Fallon (1992), Ooi (2000), and Elsness (2013) show that corpus data can be used in the analysis of culture and its reflection in language, there are few studies in which corpora are used as a method of inferring cultural models.[5] One such study is Gries & Stefanowitsch (2004). Gries & Stefanowitsch (2004: 232-233), in analyzing collostructional patterns in the [V *into* V-*ing*]-construction, find that verbs of trickery, coercion, and negative emotion tend to co-occur with verbs of commercial transaction, which reflects an underlying cultural model in which BUYERS are PASSIVE PARTICIPANTS and SELLERS are ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS.

Given that discourse is behavior and assuming that culture, language, and cognition are closely interrelated, cognitive anthropologists often use verbal behavior as their primary data, inferring cultural models from linguistically encoded cultural experiences. Of course, relating language to culture and cognition is by no means exclusive to cognitive linguistics and cognitive anthropology, as culture is undeniably a central feature of anthropological linguistic and sociolinguistic theory; already in the 1920s, Malinowski (1989 [1923]) argued that, in order to truly understand language, we must also understand cultural cognition.[6] Thus, for instance, Holland & Skinner (1987) infer and reconstruct the cultural model of MARRIAGE on the basis of an analysis of an interview in which marriage is discussed, while one of the methods applied in Fryberg & Markus (2007) is the use of an open-ended questionnaire in which their respondents verbally encode their

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5   That said, Ooi's (2000) descriptions are not unlike Wolf & Polzenhagen's (2014: 147-154) descriptions of underlying cultural models of lexemes and collocations in Nigerian English and Hong Kong English.
6   See Duranti (1998) for a comprehensive overview of theories of culture in the humanistic and social sciences.

understanding of various aspects of the concept of EDUCATION. The studies reported in Ungerer & Schmid (2006) are based on goodness-of-exemplar ranking tasks, and Sweetser's famous study of the cultural model of LYING draws on introspection.

With the exception of introspection, methods such as questionnaires, interviews, and ranking tasks as well as attribute listing or term listing and sorting tasks,[7] are particularly useful in teasing out details of underlying cultural models.[8] This is because these methods construct artificial discourse situations which prime subjects and respondents into verbalizing the cultural models in fairly controlled and noise-free settings. In contrast, corpus data document verbal behavior in more naturalistic, and noisy, settings. One might argue that the fairly naturalistic and uncontrolled nature of corpus data provides the analyst with a way of inferring cultural models from naturally occurring language in which language and culture are in natural interplay. Thus, corpus data and methods arguably constitute a potentially very valuable addition to the repertoire of methods available to the empirically oriented cognitive anthropologist, cognitive psychologist, or cognitive linguist.

3.   The [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction

In the present article, [*too* ADJ *to* V] is considered a construction, as defined in construction grammar (e.g. Lakoff 1987: 462-587; Fillmore et al. 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Hilpert 2014); that is, it is a pairing of form and conventionalized meaning. The meaning plane of a construction encompasses both semantic and pragmatic meaning (Goldberg 1995: 7) and is reflective of underlying cognitive structures and processes. The symbolic structure of a construction is gestaltic, such that the lexical items that appear in a construction are assigned specific functions based on the meaning of the construction. Thus, constructional semantics may be idiomatic and typically displays some degree of independence of the lexemes that appear in the construction. In earlier incarnations of construction grammar, constructions were considered to be invariably idiomatic, as exemplified by Goldberg's (1995: 4) definition in which constructions are biconditionally defined by idiomaticity; in Goldberg (2006: 5), idiomaticity, while still a very typical feature of constructions, no longer figures as a defining feature, as constructions are now defined as "LEARNED PAIRINGS OF FORM WITH SEMANTIC OR DISCOURSE FUNCTION" [smallcaps in original]. Similarly, Croft (2005: 274), defines a construction as "an entrenched routine …that is generally used in the speech community ... and involves a pairing of form and meaning". In the constructionist conception of language, the language system is a radial taxonomic network of constructions and subconstructions, based on general principles of information storage in human cognition, and an important tenet is that a lexicon-construction continuum is embraced in which morphological, lexical, and syntactic constructions (and any other type of construction, as it were) are all pairings of form and meaning and only differ in terms of internal complexity rather than belonging to separate modules of language (Goldberg 1995: 7). This is captured by the construction

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7   Schmid et al. (2007) use attribute listing tasks in their study of syncretic concepts in Nigerian English, and term listing and sorting is used in Li et al.'s (2004) study of concepts of SHAME in Chinese culture. In an interesting study of small talk at parties in Irish, English and American settings, Schneider (2014) shows that discourse construction tasks can be useful in inferring cultural models of context-bound interaction.

8   My rejection of introspection as an empirical method of inferring cultural models may seem harsh, and maybe it is. However, there are a range of problems associated with language descriptions based purely on the analyst's intuitions about the language in question (and the associated cultural and cognitive structures). One such problem is the fact that the analysts' own intuitions about the language and culture in question – even if the analyst is a native speaker of the language and a member of the community in question – are very unlikely to capture every single aspect of the language and culture in question, thus essentially making introspection-based descriptions mere hypotheses that cannot count as explanations or descriptions as such until they have been empirically tested. This does not mean that introspective data are not scientific: insofar as it is recognized that they are hypotheses, and if they are formulated in such a way that it is clear that they are hypotheses that may later be tested against empirical data, their scientific value is naturally substantial. For more on the problems of introspection in language studies, see McEnery & Wilson (2001: 111).

grammarian's motto: It's constructions all the way down (e.g. Goldberg 2006: 18). While a number of different inheritance principles figure in different versions of construction grammar, the present paper adopts the usage-based model of inheritance in which redundancy, context-specificity, and item-specificity alongside generalizations and very abstract structures are embraced (Goldberg 2006: 12-14).

Described by Jensen (2014a, 2014b, 2014c; see also Fortuin 2013, 2014) within the framework of construction grammar, the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction is a scalar adjectival construction whose semantics revolves around an implied force-dynamic relation (Bergen & Binsted 2004) between [*too* ADJ] and [*to* V], as seen in (1)-(6). The construction is formally bipartite, consisting of [*too* ADJ] and a *to*-infinitive, such that the latter postmodifies the adjectival head. *Too* in [*too* ADJ] is a booster type premodifier (Paradis 2000: 149) and construes a very high degree on a SCALE OF ADJNESS imposed upon the element in the ADJ-position; thus, the image schema of SCALE (Johnson 1987: 122) is conventionally associated with the construction. This high degree of ADJNESS serves as the causal element in the underlying force-dynamic relation and either prevents the situation in the *to*-infinitive from happening, via application of the BLOCKAGE image schema (Johnson 1987: 45-46), or enables it to happen, via application of the ENABLEMENT image-schema (Johnson 1987: 47). The function of the PREVENTION type has been described by Fortuin (2013) as an EXCESS function, highlighting that the PREVENTION is triggered by the degree ADJNESS exceeding a maximum limit of appropriateness for the situation expressed by [*to* V]. The two variants are illustrated below, with (7) being an example of the former, and (8) being an example of the latter:

(7)   I'm *too depressed to see* straight. (COCA 2011 FICT RedCedarRev)

(8)   I am only *too happy to provide* what little help I can. (COCA 2011 FIC Bk:AliceIHaveBeen)

In the present study, we are only interested in the PREVENTION type, and, so, we are focusing on force-dynamic cultural models in which the main force-dynamic relation is that of PREVENTION based on the BLOCKAGE image schema. The reason why our focus is on the PREVENTION type is that, as Jensen's (2014a: 745-746) findings suggest, the PREVENTION type is significantly more frequent than the ENABLEMENT type. Moreover, the EXCESS function of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction has received some attention in the literature, and Fortuin (2013) has found evidence for the EXCESS function of the construction, which makes the construction particularly interesting in relation to its potential interplay with cultural models that draw on the force-dynamics of BLOCKAGE. That is not to say that the ENABLEMENT type is not potentially interesting in relation to cultural models – in fact, the example in (8) could suggest that the ENABLEMENT type may serve to indicate WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST OTHER PEOPLE which is, if not culturally relevant, then at least socially relevant. In this study, however, we are particularly interested in learning if it is possible to infer force-dynamic, from corpus data, cultural models of BLOCKAGE as reflected in American English.

4.   Data and method

For this study, we will draw on data from the 464,020,256-word corpus *COCA* (Davies 2014). Consequently, we are dealing with American cultural models. In a corpus-wide search, 19,525 instances of the construction were found. Using Gries (2007), these were subjected to a co-varying collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004; Stefanowitsch & Gries 2005), which is a corpus-based collostructional analysis that measures the degree of coattraction between the lexemes in two schematic positions in a construction. In the case of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction, we thus measure the coattraction between ADJ- and V-elements. Covarying collexeme analysis is based on

four input frequencies: the occurrence of the first lexeme in one position in the construction, the occurrence of all other lexemes in the same slot, the occurrence of the second lexeme in the other slot in the construction, and the occurrence of all other lexemes in the other slot of the construction. These are inserted into a 2-by-2 cross-table like this:

Table 1: Covarying collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2005)

	Lexeme 2 in slot 2	Other lexemes in slot 2	Row totals
Lexeme 1 in slot 1	x	a	x+a
Other lexemes in slot 1	y	b	y+b
Column totals	x+y	a+b	column totals + row totals

The total sum is also run through a Fisher Exact Test or a similar statistical test, yielding a *p*-value, indicating strength of the coattraction of the two lexemes in the construction in question. The degree of coattraction is referred to as collostruction strength (abbreviated 'Coll.strength' in tables in this article). As Stefanowitsch & Gries (2005: 7) point out, using a log-transformed *p*-value has a number of advantages:

> First, the p-value is not an intuitively very easy measure since the most interesting values are only located in the small range of 0.05 to 0 (and many linguists are unfamiliar with the scientific format employed for representing such small numbers). Second, the p-value as such can only represent the strength of the relation, but not its direction, i. e., whether an observed frequency is larger or smaller than the expected one. Third, the log-transformation allows the researcher to correlate collostruction strength with frequencies using linear correlation coefficients …

As a result of these advantages, log-transformed *p*-values allow for somewhat more fine-grained distinctions between the most strongly coattracted items in a construction. Because of this, I have applied log-transformed *p*-values in my covarying collexeme analysis. For a more detailed discussion of the mechanics of covarying collexeme analysis, see Stefanowitsch & Gries (2005: 9-11).

Covarying collexeme analysis produces a ranked list of pairs of coattracted lexemes in the construction, which based on collostruction strength: the higher the score, the stronger the relation of coattraction. In Table 2 on page 137, we see the fifty most strongly coattracted pairs in the construction (10,187 pairs were identified in all).[9] In accordance with the principle of semantic coherence, which states that, "since a word in any slot of a construction must be compatible with the semantics provided by the construction for that slot, there should be an overall coherence among all slots" (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2005: 11), we can assume that coattracted elements in the ADJ- and V-positions stand in force-dynamic relations such that the property expressed by the adjective in a pair has a logical influence on the scenario predicated by the verb, as in *numerous-count*, *heavy-carry*, *dark-see*, *hot-touch*, *excited-sleep*, *stupid-know,* and *excited-sleep*, in which the ADJ-elements have a logically preventive effect on the situations expressed by the V-elements. At an abstract schematic level, such PREVENTION results in what Talmy (2000: 415) calls extended causation of rest, which means that it causes the participants in the scenario of the infinitive clause

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9   Cases where the primary verbs (*be, have, do*) appear in the V-position are excluded in this study. This is because the markup of primary verbs in the corpus is not optimal, since no distinction is made between their auxiliary uses and their lexical uses. This, of course, leaves out some potentially valuable data, but, with proper markup of the primary verbs in the future, this study can easily be replicated and the primary verbs included.

to not act and interact, thus essentially causing non-existence or non-happening of the scenario.

Table 2: Top 50 coattracted collexemes

Rank	ADJ	V	Coll.strength	Rank	ADJ	V	Coll.strength
1	early	tell	1528.38435698167	26	heavy	carry	124.3755261225
2	big	fail	1402.67780068168	27	early	start	117.768042298989
3	early	say	673.749651472347	28	bright	look	117.390507556761
4	dark	see	633.712280147262	29	early	judge	115.433514626678
5	young	remember	531.616708933419	30	quick	dismiss	114.717496452921
6	good	pass	472.135275027497	31	drunk	drive	110.023133085789
7	young	understand	382.367430930175	32	poor	buy	109.593957847202
8	late	save	347.581214895259	33	poor	pay	107.296055875141
9	poor	afford	298.953845988046	34	young	die	104.082372063773
10	numerous	mention	257.678226584586	35	nervous	eat	101.74693979917
11	hot	handle	252.439074720694	36	willing	compromise	98.2819850184592
12	young	know	236.34785774602	37	happy	oblige	96.7323055289143
13	numerous	list	196.972148943439	38	proud	beg	94.4930655943287
14	numerous	count	191.258628641587	39	good	last	93.4881306758162
15	late	stop	182.127970563589	40	late	prevent	90.9142499207819
16	big	fit	160.696104391523	41	early	declare	89.3289490607868
17	long	wait	157.281159244082	42	proud	admit	89.3281331956656
18	late	change	148.375173429508	43	busy	hate	85.9966045271147
19	heavy	lift	142.098947417316	44	stupid	know	85.8915891668518
20	early	predict	139.519518681335	45	early	draw	85.8044242609496
21	embarrassed	ask	136.584536119856	46	old	play	84.8966595204195
22	hot	touch	136.105562887376	47	large	fit	84.6157631272607
23	shy	ask	132.647426404279	48	busy	notice	84.3978141577957
24	early	determine	129.615268822683	49	excited	sleep	83.1571745295513
25	complicated	explain	125.320990839008	50	late	start	82.4649826421847

We are interested in pairs with the force-dynamic relation of PREVENTION. In the following, we will focus on three particular instantiations of the construction – namely, [*too young to* V], [*too proud to* V], and [*too macho to* V]. The adjectives in these particular instantiations are likely to be tied in with semantic concepts that are intertwined with cultural cognition, which is why these three instantiations are particularly suitable for an exploratory study such as the one at hand. *Young* relates to AGE, and we can expect different age ranges to be associated with, and dissociated from, a variety of activities and behaviors that are considered appropriate, or inappropriate, for the specific age ranges. In this case, of course, we focus on YOUNG AGE, relative though this concept is. *Proud* and *macho* are adjectives that express attributes derived from patterns of social behavior and are thus likely to be tied in with stereotyped images of individuals that display such behaviors. Such stereotypes are intersubjectively shared in the communities in which they exist, and the community members use the stereotypes to make sense of those individuals' behaviors. With this in mind, we can hypothesize that there may be patterns of attraction among the verbs that are coattracted to each of these realizations of the ADJ-position, which, given the force-dynamics of PREVENTION found in the constructional semantics, may provide us with insights into culturally perceived behavioral patterns captured by the cultural models associated with the attributes expressed by the adjectival elements.

Concluding this section is a methodological disclaimer. Our focus is on American culture only

as we are primarily interested in seeing whether corpus data and methodology are applicable in the study of cultural models, but it should be mentioned that a contrastive study which takes into account uses of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction is different varieties of English, or which compares [*too* ADJ *to* V] to a similar construction in a different language, would enable us to more precisely evaluate the culture-specificity of the underlying cognitive models in question. In the present paper, we are primarily interested in seeing to which extent such models emerge from resulting findings of a covarying collexeme analysis. Among the next 'natural steps' in a more fully fledged investigation of the interaction between the construction and cultural models would be systematic contrastive studies.

5.   Cultural models of AGE

Our main assumption about [*too young to* V] is that the discursive behavior of this instantiation of [*too* ADJ *to* V] as documented in *COCA* may reflect an underlying cultural model of AGE. The table on page 139 provides a list of lexemes attracted to *young* in the construction. Not surprisingly, *young* occurs with *drink*, *drive*, and *vote*, reflecting underlying cultural patterns of behavior pertaining to AGE, or rather restrictions thereon imposed by legislation which have arguably been absorbed by the "weltanschauung", to use Rice's (1980: 154) diction, of American culture. All three pairs reflect situations in which a MINIMUM AGE is imposed upon the activity expressed by the V-lexeme, and *too young* construes a degree of YOUNGNESS that exceeds the MINIMUM AGE specified by the legal restrictions in question, thus preventing the activity from taking place.

Below is an illustrative example of each pair:

(9)   He was old enough to vote and kill and die, which made him a man. He was *too young to drink*, even beer, which made him a boy. (COCA 2008 FIC Bk:NothingLose)

(10)   Lance Colton couldn't be more proud of the battered 68 Camaro that he is still *too young to drive*. Restoring it was a dream he shared with his dad, that kept the two tinkering in the garage from morning until night. (COCA 2004 SPOK CBS_Rather)

(11)   He's *too young to vote*, let alone run for office. But David Baker, 17, has already served two terms in Congress in Washington, D.C. – as a page for the House of Representatives and the Senate. (COCA 2000 MAG BoysLife)

Note that (11) specifies a degree of YOUNGNESS that is so high that voting is prevented, in that *17* occurs as a specification of David Baker's age. Age specifications form another discursive element that could be investigated in conjunction with *young*-pairs in the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction, and a more detailed qualitative analysis of the expanded co-text[10] with a view to identifying age specifications and maybe even operationalizing them would be likely to produce valuable insights into cultural models of AGE. I will not follow up on this in the present article, as it would amount to an investigation far beyond the scope of the article.

While there are several indicators of various cultural perceptions pertaining to AGE, what strikes me is that *young* seems to attract verbs of COGNITION (we include verbs of EVALUATION in this category), such as *know, remember, understand, recall, appreciate, realize, comprehend, learn, recollect, question, grasp, evaluate, process*, and *recognize*. This seems to suggest that there is an underlying perception of AGE and INTELLECT in American culture in which YOUNG AGE has a negative impact on INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY.

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10 Co-text is defined by Catford (1965: 31fn2) as "items in the text which accompany the item under discussion".

Table 3: V-lexemes coattracted to *young*

Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength	Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength	Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength
5	remember	531.6167089334	6400	smell	3.3780512831	8226	handle	1.076894277
7	understand	382.3674309302	6401	visualize	3.3780512831	8229	notice	1.0736879882
12	know	236.347857746	6467	question	3.2651856734	8330	serve	0.944795401
34	die	104.0823720638	6551	enter	3.1738895519	8333	hear	0.9415811643
91	vote	49.9399053694	6627	grasp	3.0536859828	8357	choose	0.9063051699
127	recall	38.8795405744	6733	obtain	2.8912259292	8358	earn	0.9063051699
192	retire	29.9369724328	7031	decide	2.5675918774	8365	control	0.8900141523
251	appreciate	23.4409880659	7032	settle	2.5675918774	8549	apologize	0.7190854436
268	drive	22.6840945836	7068	enjoy	2.5628742408	8578	play	0.6887799849
339	realize	20.5029210874	7150	boast	2.4310032725	8655	follow	0.5827118171
350	enlist	19.9882055431	7151	converse	2.4310032725	8675	benefit	0.5679099221
434	hate	18.7786295508	7152	plead	2.4310032725	8676	sign	0.5679099221
445	consent	18.1596215648	7153	preach	2.4310032725	8677	study	0.5679099221
505	drink	17.6524544154	7154	ruin	2.4310032725	8707	walk	0.5404874164
538	get	17.1345523011	7155	secure	2.4310032725	8778	worry	0.4668891661
1464	feel	12.0131239135	7156	smoke	2.4310032725	8793	bury	0.4447130294
1584	comprehend	11.6175325598	7277	evaluate	2.2845753382	8794	indulge	0.4447130294
2036	marry	10.2936192564	7574	exhibit	1.8508606252	8795	quit	0.4447130294
2065	learn	10.2346036097	7575	hike	1.8508606252	8911	engage	0.3438684324
2528	fight	9.3820419832	7576	resent	1.8508606252	9061	consider	0.2175255239
2969	socialize	8.3846589982	7613	dance	1.8135782788	9077	commit	0.1939347117
3097	shave	8.0708526927	7614	receive	1.8135782788	9078	lose	0.19211283
3858	participate	6.9558086716	7615	rule	1.8135782788	9079	win	0.19211283
3974	dial	6.7579123918	7862	go	1.5115509712	9085	travel	0.1865073433
3975	rent	6.7579123918	7913	deserve	1.4449762703	9115	write	0.1582728209
4397	own	6.06271523	7914	like	1.4449762703	9147	begin	0.132706061
4407	baby-sit	6.0511969511	7915	pin	1.4449762703	9212	set	0.095974358
4408	dominate	6.0511969511	7916	process	1.4449762703	9266	claim	0.062058303
4409	lean	6.0511969511	7917	row	1.4449762703	9282	recognize	0.0531247572
4410	meddle	6.0511969511	7918	shape	1.4449762703	9314	listen	0.0366551811
4411	mind	6.0511969511	7919	shoulder	1.4449762703	9315	apply	0.0364982453
4412	re-create	6.0511969511	7920	smile	1.4449762703	9316	dig	0.0364982453
4413	recollect	6.0511969511	7921	wield	1.4449762703	9368	run	0.0185509689
4781	qualify	5.452383851	7926	absorb	1.4390017639	9401	use	0.0097772519
5112	join	5.0493701814	7927	visit	1.4390017639	9420	account	0.0066735003
5259	reproduce	4.8636271275	8027	work	1.3135004073	9421	cross	0.0066735003
6058	care	3.8036674188	8041	read	1.304006599	9422	shoot	0.0066735003
6131	testify	3.7031630195	8088	attend	1.2281816852	9423	compete	0.0061908425
6397	contend	3.3780512831	8160	chew	1.1417299471	9456	need	0.0008988344
6398	separate	3.3780512831	8161	haul	1.1417299471	9466	leave	0.0004815191
6399	shine	3.3780512831	8182	face	1.1273804603			

Consider the following examples of the [*too young to* V^COGNITIVE]-instantiation of the construction:

(12) a. At her feet, her 6-year-old daughter, Janelle, and 4-year-old son, James, chased each other in a game of tag. Alexis gazed fondly at them. They are still *too young to know* exactly what Mommy did for a living, she said – and she wants to keep it that way. (COCA 2011 MAG SanFranChron)

   b. Asked why the youths had been acquitted of attempted murder despite the jogger's near fatal injuries on the night of April 19, 1989, one juror, Charles Nestorick, said: "it was a very, very painful decision." "It was very dark in the park and we believed that they didn't realize how much damage they were doing," he said. "They were *too young to know.*" Another juror, Rafael Mirandez, said, "They had knives and didn't use them." A third, Ronald Gold, said he had resisted convicting Mr. McCray of rape until yesterday. He changed his mind, he said, after watching the youth's videotaped confession played one last time. (COCA 1990 NEWS NYTimes)

   c. At 14, Jamie Fleming should be *too young to know* about guns or any of the specific details of violence and perversity that fill his mind – and, he says, his memory. (COCA 1993 SPOK CBS_EyeToEye)

(13) a. The hardest part of the process for Leake was the resistance she faced from a 3-year-old and a 5-year-old who were *too young to understand* why Froot Loops were suddenly forbidden (COCA 2011 MAG Prevention)

   b. "My compliments to the host," I said, hoping she wasn't *too young to understand* irony.But she shoved the bottle back to me, her mask swiveling to the left. "I can't take that,"she said, her voice carrying more than a trace of alarm. "Someone might think you're trying to bribe me." (COCA 2005 FIC Analog)

   c. "They can do things as a team sometimes, but sometimes they can't. I am very, verydisappointed in them. Know how many games I've lost when I've had a double-digit lead like that one." "Three," is the guess. "Two," he declares. "Just two. I was 49-1 until Sunday. And lemme' tell you something else: I'm getting too old to lose. These guys I got here, a lot of 'em are *too young to understand* what I mean. All I want to do is get my team to perform up to how I think they're capable of performing. I don't care what anyone else thinks. OK? It's what I think." (COCA 1998 NEWS Chicago)

(14) a. Of course the juvenile justice system does occasionally deal with children *too young to appreciate* the moral dimensions or real-world consequences of their behavior... (COCA 1998 ACAD CATOJournal)

   b. "I don't think children are *too young to appreciate* what that sunken ship represents," he told me. (COCA 1991 MAG Smithsonian)

(15) a. AT FIFTEEN, BILL JOHNSON was really *too young to comprehend* the danger of frostbite. (COCA 1997 MAG FieldStream)

   b. At ten, I was much *too young to comprehend* the significance of anything my grandfather said, but I liked to hear him talk. (COCA 1994 FIC AfricanAmericanReview)

(16) Everything happens for God's good reason is the cliché my mother has drilled in my head since I was old enough to ask "Why?" – *too young to question* why she really didn't seem to believe this was true regarding her and my father. (COCA 2010 FIC Bk:PowderNecklace)

(17) And he wasn't lying when he said he wasn't afraid, even for a thousandth of a second, that his father wouldn't hit the apple. It was later on, when he grew up, that he began to think back and ask the questions his son now asked him. At the time of the heroic deed he was *too young to grasp* the real danger implicit in that challenge, but his father was no child. How could he have imperiled his son's life without shaking at all? (COCA 2011 FIC MassachRev)

(18) He gave Marcado peppermints, rubber balls, and dolls with eyelashes, his dark sad eyes searching her face in a way she was *too young to evaluate*, while Elsine colored black hearts and sucked on stones. (COCA 2003 FIC FantasySciFi)

The examples above show that the force-dynamic relation of YOUNG AGE BLOCKING INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY is applied in a myriad of different ways, depending on the co-text and the concepts activated in the current discourse space.[11] Thus, the [*too young to* V^COGNITIVE]-instantiation of [*too* ADJ *to* V] enters into mutually specificational relationships with other elements in the texts, such that *young* is specified by the co-text (or by implicatures generated by the co-text), and a force-dynamic relation of BLOCKAGE is set up between *young* and the proposition expressed by the infinitive clause. Given that canonical discourse involves thematic coherence, we can assume that there is semantic coherence throughout the entire stretch of discourse that relates to the instance of [*too young to* V^COGNITIVE] in question, such that the surrounding discursive context draws on and, possibly, elaborates on the cultural model associated with the construction, as well as any other conceptual content evoked throughout the discourse. For example, a formulation like **At 51, he was too young to understand what his mother did for a living* would be semantically odd, while *At 51, he was too young to understand the problems that senior citizens face daily* would be semantically acceptable.

Our analysis could be expanded by looking at coattraction patterns with other ADJ-lexemes. We will restrict ourselves to the most obvious candidate – namely, *old*. Table 4 on page 142 lists the fifty V-lexemes that are the most strongly coattracted to *old* in the construction. Several of the V-lexemes on the list seem to reflect relations in which a high degree of OLDNESS blocks the situation predicated by the V-lexeme. For instance *too old to enjoy* indicates that there are degrees on the scale of OLDNESS that prevent the described individual from enjoying certain situations. Of course, exactly what type of situation this is applied to is specified in the actual usage-event. In the instances of *too old to enjoy* found in *COCA*, the OBJECT OF ENJOYMENT ranges from money over a bottle of wine to life itself. Likewise, *too old to hire* and *too old to work* indicate a perception in American culture that there is a maximum age limit for when a person is considered capable of working and thus worthy of appointing or hiring. A final example is *too old to cry* which reflects a cultural perception that there is a maximum age at which the act of crying is socially acceptable. Below are illustrative examples:

(19) "I thought choosing Plan A was a little risky, but I also thought it might be better to get some of the money in my younger years rather than when I'm *too old to enjoy* it," he said. (COCA 1998 NEW NYTimes)

(20) "I'm in a certain group that's almost *too old to hire*," says Dalke, who lives in a one bedroom apartment in Golden. "Being over 50 in these times, it's hard to land something." (COCA 2011 NEWS Denver)

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11 The current discourse space is defined by Langacker (2001: 144) as "the mental space comprising those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse."

(21)   "I'll be 16 next spring," he pleaded. Dowd buttoned his sheepskin coat." It'd be best if you
stayed here. Just in case word comes in." The walls closed around him like an avalanche. He
felt *too old to cry*, but angry tears glazed his eyes. "That's my dad out there." No one said
anything. (COCA 1990 MAG BoysLife)

Note that, as seen in (19)-(21), the degree of OLDNESS that triggers BLOCKAGE of the scenario differs
depending on the scenario itself. In (20), we see that the AGE that prevents hireability is fifty, while
the AGE that prevents crying, or at least makes it socially undesired, is fifteen or higher.

Table 4: Top 50 V-lexemes coattracted to *old*

Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength	Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength
83	learn	54.4171989490659	3727	pat	7.16647484447686
152	work	34.6534315861253	3728	patrol	7.16647484447686
236	run	25.1595935753305	3729	practise	7.16647484447686
382	want	18.9923466719583	3730	quarrel	7.16647484447686
443	cry	18.4236796760803	3731	reheat	7.16647484447686
494	chase	17.8211178388252	3732	remarry	7.16647484447686
547	become	16.7732421331107	3733	revert	7.16647484447686
664	go	15.9798067870398	3734	slay	7.16647484447686
908	race	14.3365372899232	3735	transplant	7.16647484447686
909	rock	14.3365372899232	3736	trick	7.16647484447686
1418	adopt	12.1739109892923	4021	drive	6.69520919004453
1916	stoop	10.5736579320413	4074	lose	6.58395010465351
1973	benefit	10.3896020702044	4115	climb	6.53481326097242
2493	fall	9.44295759619808	4136	take	6.51548488914309
2495	start	9.44006949106636	4788	continue	5.43717494832891
2673	enjoy	9.09557076431138	4891	keep	5.28105683435573
2742	duck	8.90377406922286	5326	obtain	4.77821581144005
2767	hunt	8.83378139126597	5550	bounce	4.45019421739204
3035	fly	8.2423876884787	5551	braid	4.45019421739204
3121	hire	8.02604968392528	5552	cash	4.45019421739204
3526	change	7.36852114048533	5553	cheat	4.45019421739204
3584	qualify	7.27654857564505	5554	cuddle	4.45019421739204
3724	envy	7.16647484447686	5555	diss	4.45019421739204
3725	insert	7.16647484447686	5556	foster	4.45019421739204
3726	journey	7.16647484447686	5557	leap	4.45019421739204

From this covarying collexeme analysis emerges a complex cultural model of AGE, or perhaps a
complex network of cultural models of AGE, in which AGE is a scale, and along that scale are points
which serve as limits of possibility of situations such that degrees of AGE beyond this point result in
BLOCKAGE of the situation in question from occurring. We even see how speakers, participants, and
characters draw on the model to make sense of other people's behavior and in decision-making,

using the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction in their verbal argumentations.

Granted, this model, or network of models, has only been partially inferred from our corpus-study, but I would argue that a more detailed study would result in a deeper understanding of cultural models of AGE and force-dynamics, and, combined with methods used in cognitive anthropology, such a corpus-study would provide us with invaluable insights into the perception of AGE and the constraints it is held to impose upon people within American culture.

6.   Models of PRIDE

PRIDE is typically considered an individual character trait and a hubristic emotion (Cheng et al. 2010),[12] but it is arguably tied in with socio-cultural values. It is essentially a positive emotion applied in, or perhaps resulting from, the evaluation of achievements or attributes; for instance, a university student might be proud having finished his or her first year at university or a hand model might be proud of her healthy-looking nails. Thus, PRIDE is a psychological phenomenon. However, as with SHAME (Li et al. 2004), the acts and features that make one feel proud are often associated with social value and socially perceived as positive assets or indicators of a strong or healthy character, while acts and features that are not socially desirable are considered indicative of weakness in character. In other words, PRIDE is also associated with perceptions of social status (Cheng et al. 2010), which is arguably a cultural phenomenon, since what ensures social status depends on the worldview of the community in question. Loss of social status is arguably intimately related to loss of face, as defined by Goffman (1967). Three integral aspects of a cultural model of PRIDE should thus be situations that enable one to gain face, situations that cause one to lose face, and the 'instinct' to avoid situations the cause one to lose face. In other words, a high degree of PRIDE may prevent one doing things that are threatening to one's own face.

Given the force-dynamic semantics of [*too* ADJ *to* V], we can assume that instances of the construction in which *proud* figures as the ADJ-element may provide us with insight into the actions and states considered incompatible with PRIDE in American culture. In Table 5 on 144 is a list of the V-lexemes coattracted to pride in the construction.

Lexemes such as *beg*, *admit*, *ask*, *apologize*, *flee*, *wince*, and *plead* are among the coattracted V-lexemes. This suggests that among the situations they conventionally predicate we find situations that are incompatible with a high degree of PRIDE and thus likely to be face-threatening. Below are illustrative examples of each of these verbs in the V-position:

(22)   She spoke almost politely, as if she didn't want to intrude, but she repeated the same phrases over and over, *too proud to beg* but desperate to be heard: "I'm cold. Can someone bring me a blanket? This room is so cold." (COCA 2002 FIC Bk:LivingBlood)

(23)   And so we go about our business much *too proud to admit* defeat and much too blunt to gain victory. (COCA 1999 SPOK NPR_TalkNation)

(24)   Steve Peck, *too proud to ask* for help. (COCA 2011 SPOK NPR_TalkNat)

(25)   "If I'm ready to talk after a fight, but *too proud to apologize*, I make my Reconciliation Soup. When he smells that cooking, he knows I'm sorry," she says. (COCA 1998 NEWS WashPost)

(26)   They came forward, swinging their clubs, and Bearwald gripped his sword, *too proud to flee*. (COCA 1992 FIC BkSF:WhenFiveMoons)

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12 For an overview of pride studies, see Sullivan (2007).

Table 5: V-lexemes coattracted to *proud*

Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength	Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength
38	beg	94.4930655943287	5974	condemn	3.90114325274183
42	admit	89.3281331956656	5975	screw	3.90114325274183
100	ask	45.8731009181586	6175	apologize	3.63142890651582
109	accept	43.0472366638223	6176	bend	3.63142890651582
181	take	30.83078647397	6177	recount	3.63142890651582
197	whitewash	28.6588646057626	6178	steal	3.63142890651582
341	acknowledge	20.4413934448906	6529	flee	3.19205419572279
378	befriend	19.0938416182487	6647	engage	3.00870192115055
725	resign	15.2916287025719	6648	pretend	3.00870192115055
776	let	15.1228397154788	7073	express	2.55672656977846
2445	ape	9.54091138496496	7157	set	2.43073359696925
2446	bow	9.54091138496496	7229	show	2.34177390726771
2447	consort	9.54091138496496	7320	approach	2.20619422933044
2448	fancy	9.54091138496496	7577	learn	1.84748148164786
2449	humble	9.54091138496496	7988	bring	1.37126883977579
2450	nuzzle	9.54091138496496	8224	pick	1.07851603413856
2451	request	9.54091138496496	8281	listen	0.996541062881942
2452	respect	9.54091138496496	8282	ride	0.996541062881942
2453	truckle	9.54091138496496	8374	permit	0.885298154974608
3956	fight	6.79859610097965	8375	return	0.885298154974608
3963	copy	6.78529720010197	8485	cry	0.786245922911548
3964	recruit	6.78529720010197	8606	consider	0.64377913404494
3965	rehearse	6.78529720010197	8796	respond	0.443070996840437
3966	wince	6.78529720010197	8938	wait	0.324675522890184
4590	plead	5.75577632312191	9084	try	0.187797562757215
4591	stoop	5.75577632312191	9157	call	0.125139537308178
4906	say	5.25433703914281	9269	carry	0.0614379226094846
5076	borrow	5.0931564597768	9366	go	0.0193615199681514
5077	demand	5.0931564597768	9380	turn	0.0147560853080088
5436	remind	4.60479053854155	9446	allow	0.00160800022097272
5746	obey	4.219058298182	9447	notice	0.00160800022097272
5747	thank	4.219058298182	9484	come	2.83369132891079e-05
5862	share	4.03118859742546			

(27) For such a self-confident, strong man, Mama says, our Papa's feelings are hurt easily, though he is *too proud to wince*, he only squints. (COCA 1990 FIC Bk:StainlessSteel)

(28) She has the eyes of an orphan *too proud to plead*, too desperate to reproach. (COCA 2004

MAG TIME)

In all examples, (27) perhaps being less obvious due to its metaphorical nature, the infinitive clause expresses a situation in which the primary participant loses face. In particular, we are dealing with activities that might be considered reflective of weakness, such as begging, asking for help, fleeing from danger, and metaphorically wincing in the face of emotional pain. Seeing that loss of face also results in loss of social status to various extents, it makes sense that a high degree of PRIDE should BLOCK acts that compromise one's face.

Of course, we should remind ourselves that the semantics of both lexemes and syntactic structures is dependent on the discursive contexts in which they appear, and that interlocutors construe them online in discourse. For instance, what makes the situation of asking considerably face-threatening in (24) is the discursive context *for help*. However, in a usage-based perspective, contextual patterns are stored with linguistic units, and the fact that *ask* is coattracted to proud in the construction could suggest that one conventional sense of the verb does include concepts of potential loss of face.

Interestingly, *thank* also appears to be coattracted to *proud*, which seems odd since thanking ought to be a socially desirable act. Let us have a closer look at that. In fact, there is only one example of *thank* appearing with proud in [*too* ADJ *to* V]:

(29) "It's the date of FDR's death," he said, "and it's a date we think every American should know. The audience will want you to hit it right on the head – no thirty-day leeway. Listen, you do well, there's no reason you couldn't win second-prize money, O.K.? See you back here no later than quarter to eight." I was not *too proud to thank* him, and as I left for the back-issue store, I thought over what I'd been told. (COCA 1995 MAG AmHeritage)

It is not inconceivable that there are situations where thanking can be face-threatening, in particular if what is being thanked for is in itself face-threatening.[13] This may be the case of the interaction recounted by the narrator in (29) prior to the occurrence of *too proud to thank* (note also that *too proud to thank* is negated),[14] in which the other interlocutor seems to be in a more powerful position than the narrator.

In our discussion of coattracted lexemes of proud in [*too* ADJ *to* V], we have been able to infer inklings of what seems to be the underlying understanding of both the concept of PRIDE in American culture as well as an idea of what constitutes face-threatening situations incompatible with PRIDE. As with [*too young to* V], the cultural model of PRIDE appears to be a somewhat complex network of models, and a more detailed corpus-study of verbal behavior pertaining to the concept of PRIDE would probably grant us a more detailed picture.

7. Models of MACHISMO

MACHISMO is, to some extent, related to PRIDE, as it may be defined as extreme masculinity reflected in patterns of behavior and strong male pride. Although often associated with Latino culture (e.g.

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13 Indeed, Eisenstein & Bodman (1986) categorize expressions of gratitude as face-threatening acts.

14 There were no examples in the corpus in which *too proud to thank* was not negated. However, for illustrative purposes, here is an example from an online top 10 list of gifts for men, which quite clearly draws on a model of male pride:

Garmin nüvi 1450LMT 5-Inch Portable GPS Navigator with Lifetime Map & Traffic Updates. If your guy is the type that never likes to ask for directions, save him the embarrassment and get him one of these. He might be *too proud to thank* you for it but he will appreciate you for it on the inside.

(source: http://www.craftyshopper.com/top-10-best-gifts-for-men/)

Anders 1993), the concept does exist in Anglophone cultures, which is reflected by the adoption of the word *macho* into the English language.

The purpose of this case study is a bit different from the two previous ones. In the previous studies, there were numerous instances of *young* and *proud* in the construction, and we saw indications of patterned ranges of coattracted verbs. Our corpus-wide study of [*too* ADJ *to* V] in *COCA* shows that, although not common (it does not even appear in Table 2), *macho* does appear in the construction. This would suggest that there is a cultural conception of what constitutes macho behavior in American culture. Although the number of instances of *macho* in the construction is not particularly high, they can still provide some insight into the cultural perception of force-dynamic aspects of MACHISMO. In this particular case study, then, we will explore the applicability of covarying collexeme analysis in cases of scarcity of data. While there are only few instances, the statistics of the method are powerful enough to provide us with a material for hypotheses that may be tested against larger data sets.

Below is a list of V-lexemes coattracted to *macho* in *COCA*:

Table 6: V-lexemes coattracted to *macho*

Rank	V-lexeme	Coll.strength
2399	ask	9.65380669906567
3238	back	7.76968391833239
4231	listen	6.36958801790785
4399	cry	6.06217644204677
4777	wear	5.4573854448748
5935	let	3.94853481675146
7618	see	1.80919245237497
7737	get	1.67625940042516

Perhaps not surprisingly, *cry* and *ask* appear on the list – both lexemes were also associated with *proud* in the construction – and a look at the co-text of the instances in which these verbs co-occur with *macho* in the construction suggest that prevention of loss of face and social status is associated with MACHISMO:

(30) He wasn't saying anything, and he's *too macho to cry* in public, but I knew him. (COCA 2009 FIC Bk:MuchoMojoHapLeonard)

(31) a. Andrew also knows the VA, when properly equipped, can really make a difference with PTSD. And now that he's recovering, he's trying to spread the word that you can never be *too macho to ask* for help. (COCA 2007 SPOK CBS_Early)
      b. lf you hadn't been *too macho to ask* for directions, we wouldn't have missed the wedding! (COCA 1998 MAG Cosmopolitan)

In (30), the high degree of MACHISMO expressed in the utterance is construed as preventing the situation of the person described as macho crying in public. Crying in public is an act that reveals vulnerability and can potentially threaten one's face severely. In particular, if crying is considered a typically feminine or unmanly activity (e.g. Vogel et al. 2011: 368-369), it is obviously at odds with perceived masculine values and macho behavior. The two examples in (31) are similar to (24) in the sense that asking for help may be seen as a sign of weakness and inability to solve problems

oneself, which is at odds with both PRIDE and MACHISMO. The utterance in (31a) is particularly interesting because *too macho to ask for help* is negated, and it is set against the background of military culture, which is arguably a hyper masculine one, which may be at odds with the highly emotional vulnerability of veterans who suffer from PTSD. Indeed, the corpus data do indicate that emotionality is at odds with MACHISMO:

(32) The college kids fall into two camps: those who worry about skin cancer, and those who are *too macho to let on*, even if they do. (COCA 2009 FIC Analog)

(33) "Your woman has probably been trying to tell you for 10 years how to be a better father or husband, but you've been *too macho to listen*," says Real. (COCA 2003 MAG Prevention)

In these two examples, high degrees of MACHISMO are construed as preventive of admission of health worries (32) and of marital communication. In (35) below, housework is considered to be incompatible with MACHISMO, probably because housework is traditionally associated with women:

(34) You see, that's because I'm not *too macho to get down and dirty*, and I help out with the housework. (COCA 1993 SPOK Ind_Geraldo)

Finally, in the following examples, MACHISMO is associated with unreasonable stubbornness:

(35) A popular inference is that Armstrong might have been able to head this off if he wasn't too bullheaded, *too macho to see* a doctor. (COCA 1997 MAG Bicycling)

(36) Or maybe a "nut," she says, who loves the coat but doesn't understand its value, and a "nut boyfriend" who is *too macho to back out* of buying it when he learns the price. (COCA 2000 MAG Bazaar)

Due to the scarcity of instances of *macho* in [*too* ADJ *to* V] in *COCA*, we can obviously not make any general conclusions about a cultural model of MACHISMO (which was not the purpose in this particular case). However, I would argue that the examples listed above do reveal a number of aspects which may serve as elements in an empirically based hypothesis about MACHISMO as a cultural model. Firstly, the examples suggest – not surprisingly – that a high degree of MACHISMO is at odds with emotionality, vulnerability, face-compromising situations, and traditionally feminine chores. Secondly, they indicate that MACHISMO is generally considered a negative type of masculinity in American culture and associated with unreasonable and non-constructive behavior, which is particularly prevalent in examples (31a), (32)-(33), and (35)-(36). These aspects could be operationalized and thus tested against various types of data in a large scale analysis.

6.   Concluding remarks
Cultural models are intersubjectively shared cognitive models in a community. They guide the members' understanding of the world and are reflected in their behavior. Consequently, cultural models may also be inferred and reconstructed via observation of the behavior of the members of the community in question. Cognitive anthropologists and other cognitive scientists, such as cognitive linguists and cognitive psychologists with an interest in culture, have thus developed a number of methods to aid them in inferring cultural models from verbal behavior. Most of these set up focused and controlled noise-free environments in which verbal behavior-priming experiments are conducted. Among such methods are focused interviews, questionnaires, and different ranking,

listing, and sorting tasks. These are, understood broadly, essentially laboratory settings in which artificial verbal behavior is triggered. Such experiments are extremely useful in identifying underlying cultural models (and other cognitive models), and one of their main advantages is that they produce only a very small amount of data noise, if any. However, they do not enable the analyst to observe the interaction between verbal behavior and cultural models in naturally occurring discourse. At the end of the day, natural discourse is the natural setting, so to speak, of this interplay, and ignoring it is likely to result in interesting and potentially important data being left out.

Corpus data and methodology are designed to document naturally occurring language in more or less naturalistic settings, noisy though they are. Thus, we can assume that corpus data and methodology can be useful in gaining an understanding of the interplay between cultural models and verbal behavior and also as a means of inferring cultural models from verbal behavior, defined in this article as covering both speech and writing. Stefanowitsch's (2004) analysis of cultural metaphors of HAPPINESS in German and English and, more indirectly, Ooi's (2000) study of collocations in Asian varieties of English suggest that lexical analysis of corpus-data may reveal underlying cultural concepts. Likewise, Gries & Stefanowitsch (2004) show that cultural models may emerge in the analysis of constructional phenomena in corpora. The important take-home lesson from Gries & Stefanowitsch (2004) is that constructional semantics, just like lexical semantics, may link up with and thus serve as a vehicle for cultural models. Consequently, the discursive behavior of constructions in a corpus may also be indicative of underlying cultural models.

The present article has investigated the extent to which the discursive behavior of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction, as described in Jensen (2014a, 2014b, 2014c; see also Fortuin 2013, 2014), may be said to be reflective of cultural models. The construction is characterized by an implicit relation of force-dynamics, such that the [*too* ADJ]-element is construed as PREVENTING the scenario predicated by the [*to* V]-element. Thus, looking at the interaction between lexemes in the ADJ- and V-positions via the method of covarying collexeme analysis is helpful in identifying culturally filtered force-dynamic relations of prevention (and, of course, cognitively universal ones, such as DARKNESS PREVENTING SEEING). Focusing on the following instantiations [*too young to* V], [*too proud to* V], and [*too macho to* V], we were able to identify patterns of attraction within the three adjectives' respective ranges of coattracted verbs in the construction. We found that *young* tends to coattract verbs of cognition and evaluation, suggesting a cultural perception of young age preventing, or at least diminishing, efficient cognitive activities. *Proud* and *macho* both relate to cultural-psychological states and their engenderment in the behavior of people whose personality they are parts of. Analyzing the verbs that they coattract in the *COCA* revealed a number of situations that, in the American cultural perception of proud and macho individuals, appear to be face-threatening to such individuals and are thus prevented by high degrees of PRIDE and MACHISMO.

The present study suggests that it is possible to infer aspects of force-dynamic cultural models from the ranges of verbs coattracted to *young* (and *old*), *proud*, and *macho* in the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction, and consequently from the discursive behavior of the construction itself. Of course, the present study has had a quite limited scope, as our focus has been on the BLOCKAGE-involving PREVENTION subtype of the construction and not the ENABLEMENT subtype. Moreover, we have only looked at blockage-based relations in three cultural domains – namely, AGE, PRIDE, and MACHISMO – so this study cannot be said to be an exhaustive investigation of the cognitive-cultural implications of the [*too* ADJ *to* V]-construction. However, this exploratory corpus-based study has arguably enabled us to at least partially infer semantic relations based on BLOCKAGE that are very likely to be part of cultural models. Thus, corpus data and methodology, here represented by *COCA* and covarying collexeme analysis, are useful in the inferring of cultural models from naturalistic verbal behavior. Of course, in order to specify more precisely the extent to which these relations of

blockage are culture-specific, a comparative study would be required which compares the discursive behavior of the construction in American English to its behavior in other varieties of English or which compares the construction to a corresponding construction in a different language. Such a study would be extremely interesting in the perspective of cognitive linguistics, cognitive anthropology, and intercultural communication studies. While this study has shown the potential value of corpus data and methodology as a way to analyze the interplay between verbal behavior and cultural models, corpus data and methodology alone will not enable us to fully infer cultural models in their entirety.

Corpus-based analysis of the discursive behavior of constructions and provides us with an empirical means to partially infer cultural models from verbal behavior. Arguably, corpus data and methodology would contribute importantly to cognitive scientists' endeavor in identifying cultural models if deployed in a triangulatory framework alongside the experimental methods already used in cognitive anthropology, cognitive psychology, and cognitive linguistics.

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Handlingsreguleringer i danske lægebøger

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Abstract: In this article we present a corpus linguistic project called *Syntaktisk Stilistik* ('Syntactic Stylistics'). The goal of the project is to combine pragmatics and syntax in a stylistic description of a text. Our corpus consists of 73 texts written by doctors and other health care personnel for layman. The texts are gathered from both written books and from the Internet. From the outset, the methodology is primarily quantitative, that is in the text we count the occurrences of e.g. different constituents, their material, their frequency, and their combination with other constituents. Many of our findings show a pattern that we try to explain through qualitative studies of e.g. word frequency and language change.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, home medical advisers, instructions, requirements, syntax, stylistics.

1. Introduktion

Denne artikel behandler den handlingsregulerende tekstart, som den kommer til udtryk i lægebøger, dvs. bøger, som er skrevet af professionelle behandlere til den almindelige befolkning i Danmark. Artiklen præsenterer delkonklusioner fra et større igangværende forskningsprojekt ved Aalborg Universitet, kaldet *Syntaktisk Stilistik*, der har til formål dels at udvikle en syntaksbaseret stilistik til beskrivelse af skriftsproglige tekster, og dels at undersøge sammenhængen mellem en teksts pragmatiske funktion(er) og dens syntaktiske karakteristika. Projektet vil således overordnet undersøge, hvordan den pragmatisk definerede tekstart kommer til udtryk sprogligt, bl.a. gennem valget af syntaktiske konstruktioner.

Formålet med artiklen er at karakterisere den handlingsregulerende tekstart i lægebøger gennem en syntaktisk analyse af 73 tekstopslag fra 10 trykte og 5 netlægebøger, således det bliver muligt at beskrive hvilke tendenser, der går igen på tværs af lægebøgerne. Dermed bliver det muligt at undersøge de sproglige konventioner, der gælder for handlingsreguleringer i lægebøger. Der undersøges bl.a. konstituenternes realisering, deres materiale, herunder forholdet mellem fraser og simple led, vægt i sætningerne mv. Ved en samtidig analyse af hver sætnings pragmatiske funktion bliver det muligt at behandle forholdet mellem grammatik og pragmatik.

2. *Syntaktisk Stilistik*

Syntaktisk Stilistik er et korpuslingvistisk projekt, hvis overordnede mål er at forbinde pragmatik og syntaks i stilistiske beskrivelser af tekster. Det konkrete mål er at opstille en model for forskellige tekstarters sproglige karakteristika (dvs. teksternes stilarter), idet vi arbejder ud fra en række grundlæggende antagelser:

Alle tekster kan overordnet inddeles i tre pragmatisk definerede tekstarter: beskrivelse, handlingsregulering og argumentation, der defineres ved afsenderens formål med teksten, henholdsvis at informere, at påvirke eller at overbevise (Togeby 1993: 693). Tekstarterne kan yderligere inddeles i et antal underkategorier (jf. nedenfor for en behandling af handlingsreguleringernes underkategorier). Hvilken tekstart, en tekst tilhører, afhænger dels af de konstruktioner (sproghandlinger), som forekommer i teksten, og dels af kulturbestemte konventioner, idet:

Hvis tekster består af flere forskellige sproghandlinger kan tekstens type, dens genre eller tekstart, ikke alene være bestemt af sproghandlingernes type, men er også bestemt

ved deres komposition, ved kommunikationssituationens samfundsmæssigt bestemte faktorer, ved de forudsatte relationer og ved de i teksten opbyggede relationer. (Togeby 1993: 679)

Hvis man opsøger fx www.madopskrifter.dk vil en af de kulturbestemte konventioner være, at hjemmesiden indeholder madopskrifter, og som sådan må man antage, at tekstopslagene hovedsageligt vil bestå af handlingsregulerende konstruktioner, hvor afsenderen vil påvirke modtageren til at lave en madret på en bestemt måde. Afsenderen vil benytte sig af bestemte konstruktioner hertil – i de fleste tilfælde *s*-passiver eller imperativer. Men ikke kun disse afgør, at der er tale om handlingsreguleringerne, også forventningerne til hjemmesidens indhold baseret på indholdet på lignende hjemmesider indikerer, at der er tale om handlingsreguleringer. Tekstarten er altså defineret ved dels pragmatik og dels grammatik.

Det er desuden projektets antagelse, at det er muligt at lave undersøgelser af de forskellige tekstarters (og deres underkategoriers) sproglige karakteristika, og dermed for hver af disse at opstille en sprogligt defineret stilart. Dette gøres ved at analysere og sammenligne et stort antal konstruktioner i et tekstkorpus bestående af tekster, som forventeligt repræsenterer tekstarterne. Stilarten er således alene sprogligt baseret, og det er stilarten, vi har en særlig interesse i at beskrive i projektet *Syntaktisk Stilistik*.

Projektets korpuslingvistiske tilgang skyldes, at det kun gennem et stort tekstkorpus er muligt at påvise tendenser på tværs af tekster, publiceringsform og tid. I projektet er den enkelte teksts karakteristika eller kvaliteter ikke det væsentlige, men det er derimod tekstens forhold til andre tekster og dermed til teksttypen, der er det centrale. I nærværende artikel er det derfor ikke analysen af 73 enkelte tekstopslag, der er det relevante, men derimod er det de sproglige karakteristika, der går igen på tværs af alle teksterne. Man kan på baggrund af analyse af en enkelt tekst ikke sige noget almengyldigt om en teksttype. Hvis man vil sige noget almengyldigt om en teksttype, må man undersøge de sproglige fællestræk, som kan påvises ved analysen af en lang række tekster. Endvidere ville en analyse af enkelttekster i traditionel stilistik omfatte eksempelvis brugen af adjektiver og deres ladning[1] eller brugen af metaforer. Sådanne analyser kan være interessante for den enkelte tekst, men analyserne bærer præg af at være kontekstbestemte, og de kan derfor ikke bruges til at karakterisere en hel teksttype, men blot en enkelt tekst. Eftersom vores mål i sidste ende er at beskrive stilarter, integreres metaforbehandlinger derfor ikke i fremstillingen.

3. Metode
Til projektet *Syntaktisk Stilistik* er der i perioden 2012-2014 blevet udviklet et inddateringsværktøj,[2] baseret på databaseprogrammet *Access*, til annotering og registrering af en helsætnings grammatiske informationer:

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1 Begrebet *ladning* bruges til at beskrive det fænomen, at en forfatter gennem valget af positivt, negativt eller neutralt konnoterede adjektiver kan udtrykke sin holdning til det fremstillede og dermed farve indholdet i en tekst; et fænomen, der også kaldes"en alternativ »gradbøjning« af adjektiverne" (Gall Jørgensen 1999 (2005): 42).

2 Inddateringsværktøjets udviklere har hovedsageligt været Morten Aagaard og Susanne Annikki Kristensen med væsentlig hjælp fra Lasse Brunø, alle fra Aalborg Universitet.

Figur 1: Brugergrænsefladen i *Access*
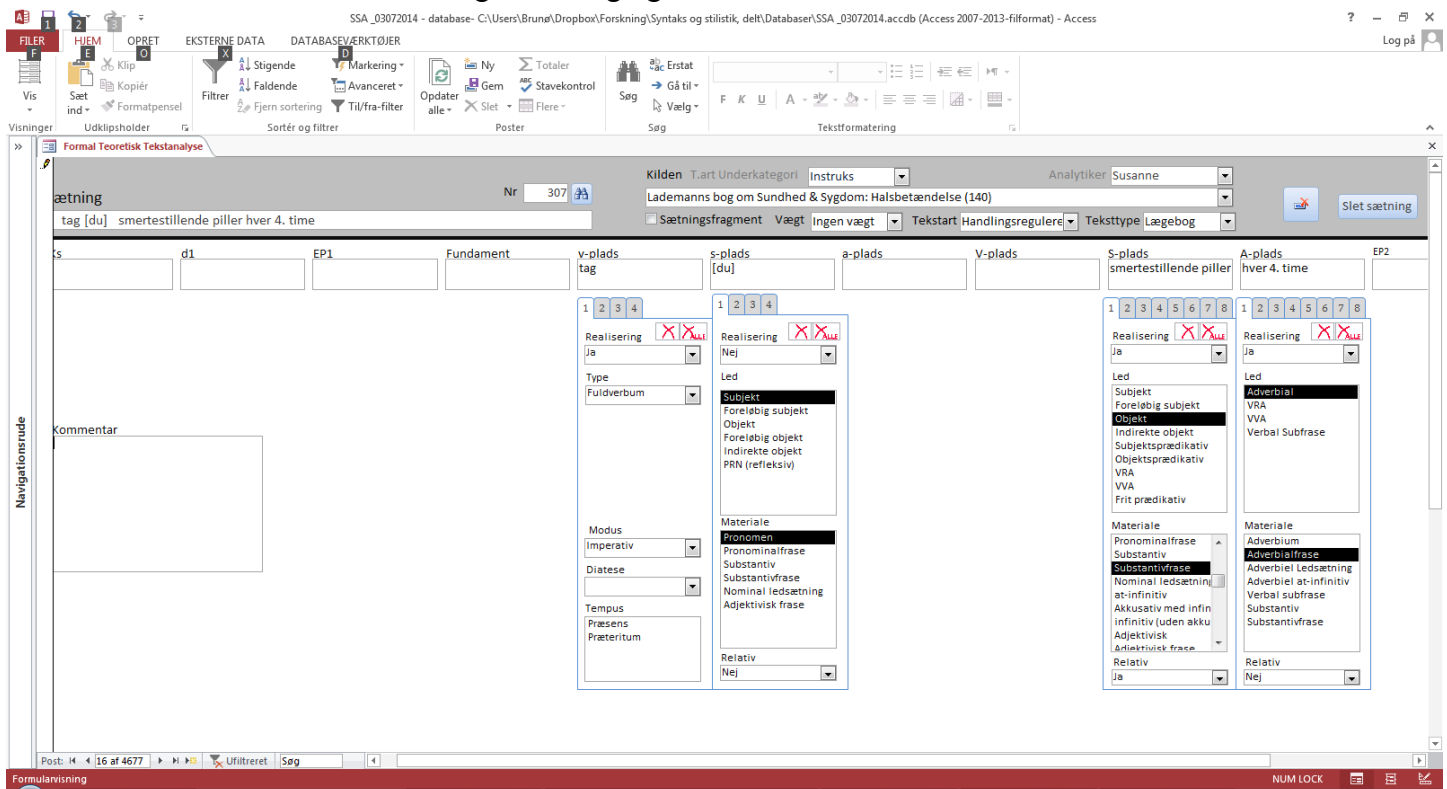
Værktøjets brugergrænseflade afbilder en variant af Diderichsens sætningsskema (jf. Kristensen 2011)[3], og for hvert af sætningsskemaets pladser er der felter til annotering af leddets realisering, type, materiale og den eventuelle forekomst af en relativsætning, ligesom der er et felt til markering af, om sætningen er et sætningsfragment (jf. nedenfor).

I henhold til Kristensen (2011) består en velformet sætning som minimum af et subjekt og et verbal. Hvis disse led ikke forekommer i en sætning, er sætningen amputeret, hvilket kan finde sted på forskellige måder:

a)   imperativer

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3   Kristensens variant af Diderichsens sætningsskema inkorporerer dels to ekstrapositionspladser, som kun kort nævnes som en mulighed i Diderichsen (1971 [1946]: 194), men som første gang introduceres som pladser af Erik Hansen (1977) , og dels to diskurspladser (der introduceres af Heltoft 1990, men som i Hansen & Heltoft 2011 benævntes "Interjektionalplads"). I Kristensens variant af ekstrapositionspladsen (EP) er det med inspiration fra Diderichsen kun muligt at placere led, som har dobbeltrepræsentation i sætningen, fx: *Ham Peter, bor han ikke på 2. sal?* I modsætning hertil anvender Hansen & Heltoft (2011) også EP-pladsen til led, som er placeret "uden for sætningsskemaet" (ibid: 333). Et eksempel er *det gør ikke noget at der ingen sne er, vel?* (ibid.: 328). Ifølge Hansen & Heltoft må man betragte *at der ingen sne er* (der er helsætningens egentlige subjekt) som stående uden for sætningen, og heri består den store forskel mellem Hansen & Heltofts brug af EP og Kristensens brug af samme, idet Kristensen placerer det egentlige subjekt på S-pladsen.

Kristensen anvender heller ikke diskurspladserne helt, som Hansen & Heltoft foreslår. I sætningen *Nu kommer det, tror jeg nok* (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 328) placeres *tror jeg nok* i d2, men Kristensen accepterer kun indplaceringen af interjektioner på diskurspladserne, mens *tror jeg nok* betragtes som helsætningsstammen (dvs. dét, der er tilbage, når ledsætningen fjernes) - *nu begynder det* er således objekt for helsætningen og placeres i fundamentet, mens de øvrige led i helsætningen placeres på de dertil indrettede pladser i sætningsskemaet.

Udover divergensen ift. Hansen & Heltoft behandles verbalfrasen i Kristensens variant anderledes end i traditionen, idet verbalfrasen er udvidet med relationsadverbier og modifikationsadverbier, som er væsentlige for forståelsen af danske idiomatiske udtryk (mere herom i afsnit 7.2.6 og 7.2.8).

b) sætningsemner
c) ellipser
d) sætningsfragmenter
e) sætningserstatninger

Det betyder dog ikke, at subjektet ikke kan erkendes ved en imperativ, idet en afsender med en imperativ henvender sig direkte til modtageren, som kan være enten et *du*, *De* eller et *I*. Kun konteksten kan afgøre hvilket subjekt, der er tale om. Ved sætningsemnerne (Kristensen 2011: 24) er det derimod det finitte verbal, som er udeladt:

(1)   a. Der kommer først irritation i svælget.
      b. Dernæst [kommer] lette synkesmerter, temperaturstigning til omkring 38℃, tæthed i næsen (LN4)

I (1b) forekommer der ikke et finit verbal, hvorfor konstruktionen ikke er velformet. Først ved at indsætte verbalet fra foregående sætning bliver sætningen velformet. Ved ellipserne er det enten subjektet eller det finitte verbal, som er ikke-realiseret, og hvis ledindsættelse fra den umiddelbare kontekst ikke er mulig, er konstruktionen et sætningsfragment. Til sidst er der sætningserstatningerne, der udgøres af interjektioner som fx *Av!* eller *Ja!*. Sætningserstatningerne er ikke sætninger, men de erstatter velformede sætninger, idet de altid skal kunne omformes til helsætninger i henhold til en kulturelt defineret kode (Kristensen 2011: 24f).

De forskellige former for amputerede sætninger behandles forskelligt i *Syntaktisk Stilistik*. Ved imperativer, sætningsemner og ellipser indsættes det (eller de) manglende led fra den umiddelbare kontekst, og efterfølgende analyseres konstruktionerne som velformede sætninger. Sætningserstatningerne indsættes derimod på diskurspladserne og integreres i den efterfølgende helsætning, mens fragmenterne markeres som fragmenter, der ikke analyseres yderligere syntaktisk. Dog indgår fragmenterne i den efterfølgende databehandling (vha. datavisualiseringsprogrammet *Tableau*, jf. nedenfor), hvor det undersøges, hvor mange fragmenter en tekst indeholder. Hvis der er mange fragmenter i en tekst, kan det indikere, at afsenderen har en kompetent modtager i tankerne, idet modtageren selv må indsætte de manglende oplysninger, for at fragmenterne kan blive informative.

I inddateringsværktøjet er der desuden felter til beskrivelse af helsætningens pragmatiske informationer i form af tekstart og evt. tekstartens underkategori, vægtforhold, teksttype og kildeangivelse. For vægtforholdene gælder det, at en helsætning kan have enten *ingen vægt*, *forvægt*, *bagvægt*, *for-* og *bagvægt*, *midtervægt* eller *dobbelt for-* og *bagvægt*. Ved vægt forstår vi, at et af sætningsskemaets pladser er udfyldt af en ledsætning.

Informationen om helsætningens tekstart skal forstås således, at vi for hver af helsætningerne angiver, om de tilhører tekstarten *argumentation*, *beskrivelse* eller *handlingsregulering*. For de nyere lægebøger gælder det, at afsenderens formål med teksten er at beskrive en sygdom og at give en række handlingsanvisninger på, hvordan sygdommens symptomer kan lindres. Derfor kan vi forvente hovedsageligt at finde de to overordnede tekstarter *beskrivelse* og *handlingsregulering* i de nyere lægebøger, mens de ældre lægebøger i højere grad fokuserer på modtagerens lindring af symptomerne og derfor hovedsageligt indeholder handlingsreguleringer.

Denne korte beskrivelse af inddateringsværktøjet for *Syntaktisk Stilistik* giver et indblik i, at det for hver helsætning er muligt at tagge et meget stort antal oplysninger. Hvis man sammenregner alle databasens felter, skal der for hver sætning tages stilling til 164 oplysninger, som kan kendetegne sætningen. Det er ikke muligt at holde rede på den store datamængde, når korpusset består af mange konstruktioner, og derfor overføres det taggede datamateriale til databearbejdningsværktøjet *Tableau*, som har en lang række funktioner til datavisualisering og

databearbejdning. *Tableau* kobles direkte til *Access*-databasen, hvorved det er muligt at behandle både de enkelte registreringer ved hver konstruktion (fx ledtype, materiale, ordforekomster mv.) og en række metadata, som er registreret omkring de enkelte kilder. Det er således muligt at filtrere data alt efter ønske, og det er muligt at optælle og beregne den relative forekomst af led og ledmateriale mv. på tværs af sætningsskemaets pladser. Disse analyser ville være overordentlig tidskrævende og vanskelige at foretage manuelt, men *Tableau* gør det muligt at operere med mange variabler på samme tid.

Her ses brugergrænsefladen i *Tableau*; i dette tilfælde er søgekriteriet subjekter, der optræder som det første led i fundamentet, og i det lille vindue vises de sætninger, der opfylder søgekriterierne:

Figur 2: Brugergrænsefladen i *Tableau*
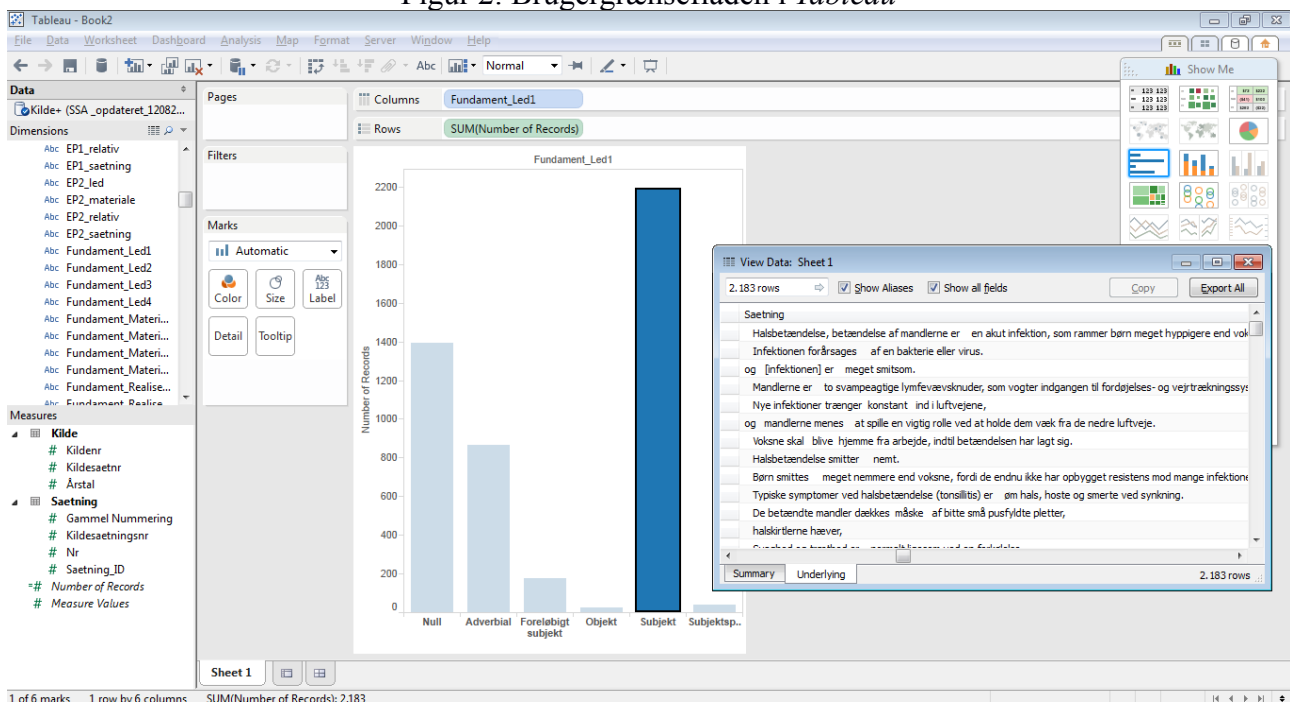
Fordelen ved at bruge *Tableau* er, at man derigennem kan bearbejde og overskue relativt store datamængder, at det er muligt at krydstjekke og kombinere data på utallige måder, og at det gennem den direkte kontakt til de bagvedliggende data altid er muligt at se de sætninger, der lever op til en given filtrering.

4.   Empiriske data
4.1.   Trykte data
De empiriske data, der ligger til grund for artiklen, er danske lægebøger. Vores mål var udelukkende at arbejde med lægebøger, som er forfattet på dansk, idet vi ville undgå, at oversættelsesproblematikker skulle komme til at spille en rolle for konklusionerne på den sproglige stil. Det skulle dog vise sig sværere end som så at skaffe et tilstrækkeligt stort korpus af danske lægebøger, idet vi kun kunne få adgang til syv trykte danske bøger. Der var desuden et stort kronologisk spring mellem de ældste og de nyeste trykte danske lægebøger, og derfor besluttede vi os til at indføre endnu tre lægebøger oversat fra engelsk (Lægebog 5, 6 og 7). Derved fik vi yderligere tre lægebøger i perioden mellem 1952 og 2005, og korpus udgøres dermed af ti trykte lægebøger strækkende sig fra den ældste fra 1533 til den nyeste fra 2007.

Vi fravalgte videnskabelige bøger om sundhed og sygdomme, fordi vi er interesserede i at

beskrive, hvordan behandlere kommunikerer til lægmand. I denne kommunikation står forfatteren/behandleren i et asymmetrisk magtforhold til modtageren; forfatteren har en viden og en autoritet pga. sin profession, som gør det muligt for forfatteren at udstikke instrukser og retningslinjer, som modtageren kan have en interesse i at følge for derigennem at blive rask. Dette kan få betydning for måden, hvorpå behandleren kommunikerer til modtageren. Hvis vi havde valgt at arbejde med videnskabelige bøger og tidsskrifter, ville afsender- og modtagerforholdet være ligeværdigt, og afsenderens fokus ville være fx at argumentere for en behandlingsform fremfor en anden.

Der er i korpus inddraget både moderne og historiske data, da vi tidligere i projektet *Syntaktisk Stilistik* har set, at der var tydelige forskelle i måden, hvorpå de historiske og de moderne madopskrifter udformes sprogligt. Der er en tendens til, at tidligere tiders måde at udforme madopskrifter genindføres i netteksterne; således var imperativ meget brugt i de ældste kogebøger og blev så efter i en lang årrække at have været erstattet af bl.a. *s*-passiv genindført i netteksterne (jf. Kristensen & Brunø 2013 og Kristensen 2013). I forbindelse med lægebøgerne synes det ligeledes relevant at inddrage de historiske data, da der er en markant udvikling i tekstarternes relative forekomst. Således har de to ældste kogebøger hhv. 62,80% og 73,33% handlingsregulerende konstruktioner, mens de to nyeste trykte lægebøger blot har 5,33% og 20,74% (jf. Tabel 2). Der er altså sket et skifte i, hvilket omfang forfatteren opfordrer til handling for at opnå lindring, og i hvilket omfang forfatteren blot beskriver sygdommen. Derudover indeholder de ældste lægebøger ofte anvisninger til, hvordan modtager selv kan fremstille lægemidler til lindring, mens dette kun i meget begrænset omfang findes i de nyeste. Disse forhold kan illustreres gennem et blik på et par eksempler. Christiern Pedersens tekstopslag om søvnløshed fra *En nøttelig Legebog* (1533) begynder således direkte med anvisninger til modtageren:

> Om man kan icke soffue Capittell. viii
> DA maat dw siwde valmwe frø i føge van oc smørge hoffuedet der met/ det gør ath soffue
> Naar man tager Bulme blad/ oc legger den vnder nogentz hoffuit da komme de hannem til ath soffue
> Naar man kan icke soffue fore sorg/ da skal man tage osen aff vedbende oc stryge sine neseborer der met Man skall oc siwde Mynte oc stryge sig om hoffuedet der met
> Item Man maa oc støde bulme frø met qwindemilk/ oc blende det met fiole olye/ eller met rosen olye/ oc smørge hoffuedet der met
> Naar man smørger hoffuedet paa den som er vild met beuergel/ da kommer det hannem til ath soffue (L1)

I *Gyldendals store Lægebog* (2005) begyndes tekstopslaget om søvnapnø derimod med en beskrivelse af tilstanden:

> En ganske sjælden gang kan afslapningen af musklerne i svælget og ganen ved snorken være så stor, at pladsen til den luft, der indåndes bliver ganske lille. Det kan give søvnapnø, hvilket betyder, at man i kortere perioder i løbet af natten ikke trækker vejret. Når man igen tager en dyb indånding, vækkes man helt kortvarigt. De mange gange i løbet af en nat, hvor man lige vågner op efter et søvnapnøtilfælde, giver en dårlig søvn. […] (L9)

Vi fandt det derfor relevant også at inddrage de historiske tekster, for derved at kunne belyse disse forhold. De trykte lægebøger oplistes kronologisk med forkortelserne L1-L10; de udgør i alt 3154

konstruktioner i form af enten helsætninger eller sætningsfragmenter.

4.2. Tekster fra nettet
Vi har desuden hentet data fra de eneste fem danske hjemmesider, der har sygdom og sundhed som hovedtema, nemlig netdoktor.dk, sundhed.dk, sundhedsguiden.dk, sygeboern.dk og sygevoksne.dk. Her var kriteriet, at hjemmesiden for det første skulle have sundhed og sygdom som sit hovedemne, og for det andet skulle henvende sig til lægmand. En hjemmeside som eksempelvis www.hjemmet.dk omhandler sygdomme, men hjemmesiden har et andet hovedformål, nemlig at være et ugeblad, der behandler emner som bl.a. madopskrifter, håndarbejde, brevkasser, spil og rejsetips, hvorfor denne og andre tilsvarende hjemmesider ikke er medtaget i vores korpus. Det andet kriterium, at det skulle være skrevet til lægmand, udelukker eksempelvis www.min.medicin.dk, idet det på siden anføres, at "min.medicin.dk er et arbejdsredskab, som anvendes af sosu-assistenter, sosu-hjælpere og andet personale, som arbejder i plejesektoren, på bosteder og lignende." De netbaserede lægebøger oplistes kronologisk med forkortelserne LN1-LN5; de udgør i alt 1523 konstruktioner i form af enten helsætninger eller sætningsfragmenter.

For at gøre det muligt at sammenligne teksterne fra de forskellige kilder, valgte vi at koncentrere opmærksomheden om syv almindeligt kendte sygdomme, nemlig diarré,[4] forkølelse, forstoppelse, halsbetændelse, hovedpine, mellemørebetændelse og søvnløshed. Fra hver kilde udvalgte vi efterfølgende fem sygdomsopslag, som hver behandler en af sygdommene indenfor de nævnte emner. At valget netop faldt på fem tekster fra hver kilde, skyldes tidligere projekter, hvor vi behandlede teksttypen madopskrifter, og hvor det viste sig, at fem tekster fra hver kilde var tilstrækkeligt til at kunne sige noget generelt om teksttypen madopskrifter. For visse typer af konstruktioner og tekstartsunderkategorier har det dog vist sig, at vores korpus er for lille til at drage endelige konklusioner. Under alle omstændigheder skal vi gøre opmærksom på, at der ved vores korpus er tale om stikprøver, som alene er foretaget på baggrund af vores mere eller mindre tilfældigt udvalgte sygdomsemner. Data om andre emner og fra andre kilder ville måske kunne vise et andet billede, end det vi kommer frem til ved vores analyser.

Det viste sig desuden, at *Medicins Bog* fra 1633 ikke rummede tilstrækkeligt mange af de nævnte emner, hvorfor vi blot valgte at behandle bogens fem første tekstopslag. Disse tekstopslag er derfor ikke fuldt sammenlignelige med de øvrige kilders emner, men vi havde som tidligere nævnt historiske interesser i at inddrage lægebogen på trods af de ikke-sammenlignelige emner. Dertil kommer, at *Lademanns Lægebog for Kvinder* (2002) kun rummer fire af de udvalgte syv emner, hvorfor vi har valgt kun at behandle disse. Den sproglige sammenligning skulle dog umiddelbart være mulig på trods af det reducerede antal tekstopslag, idet hvert af de udvalgte tekstopslag rummer et overgennemsnitligt antal helsætninger – gennemsnit er 64,06 helsætninger pr. tekstopslag, men tekstopslagene i *Lademanns Lægebog for Kvinder* rummer henholdsvis 57, 51, 166 og 111 helsætninger, hvilket i gennemsnit giver 96,25 helsætninger pr. tekstopslag.

Det giver os altså samlet set et tekstkorpus bestående af i alt 73 sygdomsopslag fordelt på ti trykte lægebøger og fem hjemmesider. Korpusset består af i alt 4677 konstruktioner.

5. Analysefokus
Vi opererer med et relativt stort tekstkorpus, som vi ved hjælp af *Tableau* kan udtrække umådeligt mange data fra, idet vi måler fx hvor mange konstruktioner, der er af en bestemt type, og hvor mange led, der er af en bestemt type. Vi vil dog også gerne rette opmærksomheden mod begrundelsen for en given konstruktions forekomst i lægebøgerne, og derfor må vi lægge nogle begrænsninger på vores analysefokus. Af pladshensyn vælger vi derfor at fokusere alene på den

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4   Fordi vi arbejder med data fra forskellige historiske epoker, har vi mulighed for at sammenligne bl.a. ordvalg og stavemåder, fx staves diarré: Diarrhoe (L3), diaré (L6) og diarré (L7), ligesom det skal vise sig, at visse ords betydning er blevet ændret gennem tiden (jf. fx afsnit 7.2.3).

handlingsregulerende tekstart, og selv med denne begrænsning har vi så mange data, at vi må lægge den yderligere begrænsning kun at behandle de direkte handlingsanvisninger (jf. afsnit 6), nemlig instrukserne og opfordringerne. Dermed udelukker vi beskrivelser, argumentation og den del af handlingsreguleringerne, der betegnes som gode råd.

6. Handlingsreguleringer

Vi deler som nævnt og i enighed med Togeby (1993) grundlæggende tekster op i tre tekstarter: beskrivelser, handlingsreguleringer og argumentation. Handlingsreguleringerne inddeler vi yderligere i tre underkategorier: instruks, opfordringer og råd, fordi disse underkategorier sprogligt set er meget forskellige. Underkategorier anses for et kontinuum fra den direkte instruks til det mere indirekte handlingsanvisende råd. Vi vil i det nedenstående først definere de enkelte underkategorier, og siden vil vi i analysen karakterisere underkategorierne sprogligt.

6.1. Instruks

Det, vi her i enighed med Hansen & Heltoft (2011) betegner som instruks, benævnes hos Togeby som en "ordre" (Togeby 2003: 188), og beskrives af Togeby som en asymmetrisk relation mellem en afsender og en modtager.[5] For at en instruks kan fungere som instruks (dvs. den er vellykket), skal afsenderen være i en magtposition ift. modtageren, og modtageren skal acceptere at udføre afsenderens instruks. En skoleelev kan ikke give skolelederen en ordre, fordi skoleeleven ikke er i en magtposition ift. lederen, og lederen vil efterfølgende ikke acceptere at udføre elevens ordre.
Vi ser ordren udtrykt via imperativer som fx:

(2)   tag [du] smertestillende piller hver 4. time (L6)

Imperativen sætter handlingen udtrykt via verbet i fokus (Løj & Wille 1985: 40), og det udeladte subjekt må nødvendigvis repræsentere modtageren af instruksen, i dette tilfælde lægebogens læser. Imperativen henvender sig derfor direkte til modtageren. Vi finder støtte til synet på instruksen som en imperativ-konstruktion hos bl.a. Diderichsen:

> Tager man sit Udgangspunkt i Imperativen, betegner denne "Appel", dvs. Forsøg paa at paavirke en anden til at realisere Sætningsindholdet og Antydning af, at det vil faa ubehagelige Følger, hvis han ikke adlyder […]. (Diderichsen (1971 [1946]: 125)

Ved en instruks forpligter afsenderen sig til at være i en magtposition ift. modtageren. I teksttypen lægebog forpligter afsenderen som professionel behandler sig på at give modtageren som lægmand en instruks, som er gavnlig, formålstjenstlig og relevant ift. sygdomsbehandlingen. Dermed skal både afsenderen og modtageren indvilge i at deltage i denne magtrelation for at instruksen kan accepteres som en instruks.

6.2. Opfordring

Ved opfordringen er der ifølge Togeby (2003: 188) tale om et symmetrisk forhold mellem afsender og modtager. Togeby anfører konstruktionen *Du skal bare tage mig et gammelt Fyrtøi, som min Bedstemoder glemte, da hun sidst var dernede!*" (ibid.: 189) som et eksempel på en opfordring, og vi tilføjer, ud over brugen af modalverbet *skulle*, også brugen af verbet *behøve*, modalverberne *bør* og *må* og/eller brugen af en modtagerbenævnelse fx: *man*, *du* eller *patienten*:

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5   Vi anvender begrebet *instruks*, fordi det er et bredere begreb end begrebet ordre, og instruksen inddeles hos Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 732ff) i yderligere tre underkategorier: ordrer, advarsler og anvisninger. Vi har dog valgt kun at behandle instruksen som en overordnet kategori.

(3)   Voksne skal blive hjemme fra arbejde, indtil betændelsen har lagt sig. (L6)

(4)   Under fremmede himmelstrøg bør du kun drikke flaskevand. (L5)

(5)   Hvis det ikke er tilstrækkeligt, må man bruge afføringsmedicin som f.eks. magnesiumtabletter, laktulose eller Laxoberaldråber. (L9)

(6)   […] og man behøver her lige så lidt som ved andre kortvarige Febersygdomme tvinge Mad i Patienten. (L3)

Brugen af verbet *behøve* og modalverberne *skulle*, *burde*, og *måtte* skal ikke nødvendigvis kombineres med en modtagerhenvendelse, for at konstruktionen opfattes som en opfordring; alene brugen af modalverberne kan være tilstrækkeligt:

(7)   Sovepiller bør kun bruges kortvarigt i krisesituationer eller når man er stresset. (L6)

Når der ifm. modalverberne ikke forekommer et subjekt, må man antage, at afsenderen henvender sig til alle og enhver – opfordringen gælder således i princippet alle mennesker i verden, også folk, som ikke læser lægebogen. Hvis modalverbet ikke kombineres med en læserhenvendelse, betragtes opfordringen derfor som mere indirekte.

Udover brugen af modalverber inddrager vi også *s*-passiven som en måde at ytre en opfordring. Løj & Wille (1985: 40) anser brugen af *s*-passiv som "venligere" end brugen af imperativen (og som sådan figurerer den på listen over opfordringer snarere end instrukserne), hvilket understøttes af *s*-passivens agensstrygning, hvorved der ikke er en direkte henvendelse til modtageren. For at *s*-passiven kan henregnes blandt opfordringerne, skal verbalindholdet dog være noget, som modtageren rent faktisk kan udføre:

(8)   Sugetabletter tages hver anden time. (L5)

(9)   […] og [smerten] lindres som regel med paracetamol eller iboprofen. (L7)

Handlinger som at tage (i betydningen indtage) sugetabletter og at lindre smerte vha. et medikament kan udføres af modtageren, og derfor henregnes eksempler som disse og tilsvarende til opfordringerne om at udføre specifikke handlinger. Hvis verbalindholdet i *s*-passiven derimod ikke kan udføres af modtageren, henregnes *s*-passiven til beskrivelserne:

(10)   Børn smittes meget nemmere end voksne, fordi de endnu ikke har opbygget resistens mod mange infektioner. (L6)

(11)   […] men [hovedpine] skyldes sammentrækninger i hoved- og nakkemusklerne. (L6)

(12)   De betændte mandler dækkes måske af bitte små pusfyldte pletter, […] (L6)

Togebys syn på opfordringen som en symmetrisk relation er væsentligt. Som professionel behandler forpligter afsenderen sig på at opfordre til gavnlige og formålstjenstlige aktiviteter ifm. sygdomsbehandlingen, men afsenderen giver disse opfordringer i en symmetrisk magtrelation – det giver ikke nødvendigvis ubehagelige følger (for nu at bruge Diderichsens ord) ikke at følge opfordringerne; modtageren er fri til selv at vælge.

Nogle af opfordringerne er formuleret som spørgsmål som fx i følgende tekststykke fra L10, der indledes med en instruks og efterfølges af en række spørgsmål:

(13) a. se og mærk [du] på hals og tunge: farve lugt, spyt, hævelse, rødme, betændelse, tandmærker på tungen, drøbelen.
    b. Hvor er smerten?
    c. Hvordan føles den?
    d. Spreder den sig ud mod ørerne eller andre steder
    e. og hvad gør den bedre/værre?
    f. Hvordan føles det for barnet at synke?
    g. Hvad med kulde, varme, berøring, indendørs, udendørs?
    h. Hvilke ledsagende symptomer er der?

Om spørgsmål anfører Togeby (2003: 57): "Spørgsmål er opfordringer til modtageren om i kommunikationssituationen at levere oplysninger om den omtalte situation." I forbindelse med lægebøgerne er der jo tale om skrevne spørgsmål, som modtageren ikke kan besvare direkte, og derfor må spørgsmålene forstås som afsenderens opfordring til, at modtagen stiller sig selv spørgsmålet, og derfor tager stilling til spørgsmålets indhold. I modsætning til de opfordrende spørgsmål finder vi de spørgsmål, som afsenderen stiller på vegne af modtageren:

(14) Hvilke ledsagende symptomer er der? (L10)

(15) Hvordan er langtidsudsigterne? (LN3)

(16) Hvordan undgår jeg at få eller [at] forværre forkølelse? (LN3)

(17) Salmonellabakterier - hvordan undgår jeg dem? (LN2)

I disse spørgsmål er der ikke tale om, at afsenderen opfordrer modtageren til stillingtagen til spørgsmålets indhold, men disse spørgsmål optræder næsten altid som overskrifter, og er derfor som sådan at betragte som beskrivelser, idet en overskrift beskriver indholdet af den efterfølgende tekst.

6.3. Råd
Rådet er den mildeste form for handlingsregulering, og det er samtidig den mindst forpligtende både for afsenderen og modtageren. Sprogligt set er råd lidt af en rodekasse, idet mange forskellige typer af konstruktioner kan henregnes som råd – det, der i sidste ende afgør, om en konstruktion er et råd, er vores forståelse af afsenderens formål med at skrive sætningen. Af konstruktionstyper, der betegner råd, kan nævnes:

1) Konstruktioner, hvori modtageren evt. benævnes direkte (*man, du, patienten*) og hvori muligheden for handling angives vha. af *kan*:

(18) a. Skal man rejse mod vest, kan man nogle dage forinden gå senere i seng
    b. og [man] kan stå senere op end man plejer. (L8)

2) Konstruktioner, hvori det leksikalsk angives, at der er tale om et råd eller en anbefaling:

(19) […] og her vil jeg gerne anbefale Istizintabletter og Paraffinolie som et udmærket anvendeligt

Middel. (L4)

(20) Et simpelt råd er at sy en hårbørste el.l. i ryggen af snorkerens pyjamas, så han sover på siden. (L6)

Til denne kategori hører også tekststykker, der er eksplicit markeret som gode råd:

(21) Følgende råd kan mindske det værste ubehag ved skiftende arbejdstider:
   ▪ spis lette, hyppige måltider, især ved natarbejde, da maven har tendens til at gå i stå
   ▪ Trætheden på en nattevagt kan mindskes ved at sove 1-2 timer om aftenen, før man møder på arbejde.
   ▪ Det hjælper at være aktiv og at bevæge sig under arbejdet.
   ▪ Afvekslende arbejde holder en vågen, mens ensformige rutiner sløver.
   ▪ Luft hyppigt ud, da varm og røgfyldt luft virker søvndyssende.
   ▪ Dårligt lys på arbejdspladsen sløver.
   ▪ Selv små mængder alkohol nedsætter præstationsevnen og øger risikoen for fejl og ulykker.
   ▪ Nervemedicin kan sløve og forstærke den naturlige træthed. Især i forbindelse med natarbejde bør man udvise ekstra forsigtighed med medicinindtagelse (L8)

Konstruktioner som *afvekslende arbejde holder en vågen, mens ensformige rutiner sløver* og *dårligt lys på arbejdspladsen sløver* ville formentlig ikke blive betragtet som gode råd, hvis ikke forfatteren eksplicit havde markeret, at det er tilfældet; problemet med sætningerne er, at de er indirekte i deres udtryk – hvis formålet er at undgå træthed, må konstruktionerne forstås som advarsler mod de omtalte situationer, og dermed som noget modtageren skal undgå.

3) Konstruktioner, hvori afsenderens expliciterede vurdering af eller dom over en handlings virkning angives:

(22) Det er vigtigt, at man nøje overvåger små børn med diarré, da de hurtigt kan få det dårligere. (L10)

(23) Da forkølelsesvirus kan overleve på huden i flere timer, er det vigtigt, at vaske hænder efter næsepudsning. (LN2)

(24) det bedste, man kan gøre, er at lindre symptomerne med håndkøbsmedicin og lidt selvhjælp. (L6)

(25) Det hjælper hvis man kan modstå trangen til at hoste. (L6)

4) Konstruktioner, hvori en handling kun indirekte angives som et råd, og hvori beskrivelse af medikamenters/hjælpemidler eller handlingers virkning i konteksten må forstås som råd til lindring af symptomer:

(26) Frisk citronsaft og honning i varmt vand både lindrer og mindsker betændelsen. (L5)

I ovenstående sætninger præciseres det ikke, hvad man præcist skal gøre med citronsaften og honningen i det varme vand – skal det indåndes eller drikkes? Men eftersom konstruktionen ikke

optræder i en bog om honning, antager vi, at konstruktionen er ment som et godt råd til lindring af en betændelsestilstand (i dette tilfælde halsbetændelse). Havde konstruktionen derimod optrådt i en bog om honning, ville konstruktionen nok snarere være en beskrivelse af honnings gode egenskaber.

7. Analyse
7.1. Overfladeanalyse

Som tidligere nævnt arbejder vi med et korpus bestående af i alt 73 sygdomsopslag fordelt på ti lægebøger og fem hjemmesider. Disse 73 sygdomsopslag består af 4677 konstruktioner i alt, hvoraf 3971 (dvs. 84,90%) er helsætninger og 706 (dvs. 15,10%) er sætningsfragmenter.

Fragmenternes relativt høje antal skyldes langt overvejende, at tekstopslagene fra de moderne lægebøger indeholder mange overskrifter og opregninger i punktform, fx ses følgende punktformer i L8:

(27) Søvnproblemer
Søvnproblemer opdeles i fire hovedgrupper
- Søvnløshed: Problemer med at falde i søvn og/eller sove igennem
- Narkolepsi, søvnapnø: Problemer med at holde sig vågen om dagen
- Jetlag, skifteholdsarbejde: Forstyrret døgnrytme
- Andre søvnrelaterede problemer: Sengevædning, natteskræk, mareridt, tænderskæren og søvngængeri

Ligeledes ses punktformerne i LN2:

(28) Hvordan føles halsbetændelse?
- Ondt i halsen, synkesmerter.
- Nogle gange stråler smerterne ud til ørerne.
- Rødme i halsen, hævede mandler, hyppigt med belægninger.
- Feber.
- Hævede lymfeknuder øverst på halsen.
- Ved den virusbetingede halsbetændelse er sygdomstegnene i reglen mildere. Ofte er der samtidig forkølelse.
- Ved halsbetændelse forårsaget af coxsackievirus kan der være små blærer på mandlerne og på den bløde gane. Blærerne brister i løbet af et par dage, og der kommer sår. Sårene kan være meget smertefulde.
- Ved streptokokudløst halsbetændelse er der oftest hævede mandler med belægninger, ondt i halsen hele tiden, feber og dårlig ånde. Man kan blive ret medtaget af sygdommen.

Det er naturligvis kun de ufuldstændige sætninger i (27), der betragtes som sætningsfragmenter.

I de ældste lægebøger (L1-L4) er der derimod ingen punktformer, og de eneste fragmenter er da tekstopslagenes hovedoverskrifter. Dette kan forklares ved, at de ældste lægebøger er ganske korte og derfor ikke benytter sig af underoverskrifter. Derfor skyldes de mange fragmenter i korpusset de moderne lægebøgers punktformer og overskrifter.

7.1.1. Fordeling af tekstarter i lægebøgerne
I nedenstående tabel ses fordelingen af tekstarter i lægebøgerne:

Tabel 1: Tekstarternes underkategorier i korpusset[6]

Teksttart / Underkategori, tekstart

Absolut forekomst				Relativ forekomst			
Andet	Handlingsregulerende			Andet	Handlingsregulerende		
-	Instruks	Opfordring	Råd	-	Instruks	Opfordring	Råd
2.645	703	246	377	66,61%	17,70%	6,19%	9,49%

2/3 af konstruktionerne i korpusset er ikke handlingsregulerende (langt overvejende beskrivelser), mens kun 1/3 er handlingsreguleringer. Beskrivelsernes klare overtal antyder, at formålet med lægebogsopslagene er at informere om sygdommenes beskaffenhed og forløb, mens det i mindre grad handler om at få modtageren til at gøre noget ved sygdommene og deres symptomer. Der viser sig dog at være store historiske forskelle på denne fordeling, idet de ældste lægebøger (dvs. L1 og L2) er langt mere handlingsregulerende end beskrivende, mens de fleste af de nyere trykte lægebøger er langt mere beskrivende end handlingsregulerende:

Tabel 2: Underkategorierne fordelt på lægebøger

Teksttart / Underkategori, tekstart

Lægebog	Absolut forekomst				Relativ forekomst			
	Andet	Handlingsregulerende			Andet	Handlingsregulerende		
	-	Instruks	Opfordring	Råd	-	Instruks	Opfordring	Råd
L1	62	184	47		21,16%	62,80%	16,04%	
L2	13	16	7	11	27,66%	34,04%	14,89%	23,40%
L3	92		29	22	64,34%		20,28%	15,38%
L4	87		17	21	69,60%		13,60%	16,80%
L5	167	109	24	79	44,06%	28,76%	6,33%	20,84%
L6	176	53	9	22	67,69%	20,38%	3,46%	8,46%
L7	250	65	15	22	71,02%	18,47%	4,26%	6,25%
L8	272	26	22	39	75,77%	7,24%	6,13%	10,86%
L9	160		3	6	94,67%		1,78%	3,55%
L10	493	66	12	51	79,26%	10,61%	1,93%	8,20%
LN1	167	19	9	20	77,67%	8,84%	4,19%	9,30%
LN2	193	57	11	19	68,93%	20,36%	3,93%	6,79%
LN3	262	31	15	29	77,74%	9,20%	4,45%	8,61%
LN4	171	32	7	17	75,33%	14,10%	3,08%	7,49%
LN5	80	45	19	19	49,08%	27,61%	11,66%	11,66%

Eftersom der er en overvægt af yngre trykte lægebøger, kommer disse til at være overrepræsenterede ift. de ældste lægebøger. Når vi ser på netteksterne, ses det samme billede som ved de yngste trykte tekster, nemlig en overvægt af beskrivelser ift. handlingsreguleringer, men én netlægebog skiller sig ud, nemlig LN5, som har en mere ligelig fordeling af tekstarterne, hvilket formentlig skyldes, at lægebogen henvender sig til forældre, som skal pleje deres syge børn, og som

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6   Tabel 1 læses på følgende måde: I første kolonne angives det, at der i korpusset forekommer 2645 konstruktioner, som er *andet* (beskrivelser eller argumentation), og i tredje kolonne angives det, at andelen af *andet* udgør 66,61% af det samlede korpus. I kolonne to angives handlingsreguleringerne og deres tre underkategorier: instruks (703 konstruktioner), opfordringer (246 konstruktioner) og råd (377 konstruktioner), og i fjerde kolonne angives underkategoriernes procentvise fordeling i korpusset som henholdsvis 17,70%, 6,19% og 9,49%.

derfor skal have instrukser i, hvordan plejen skal foregå.

7.2. Instruks
7.2.1. Overfladeanalyse
I korpusset er der i alt 703 instrukser, hvilket udgør 17,70% af det samlede korpus. I det samlede antal handlingsreguleringer udgør instrukserne 53,01%, og dermed er instrukserne den største underkategori. Antallet af instrukser varierer dog meget i de forskellige lægebøger:

Tabel 3: Instruksers andel af handlingsreguleringer fordelt på lægebøger

	Teksttart / Underkategori, tekstart	
	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
	Handlingsregulerende	Handlingsregulerende
Lægebog	Instruks	Instruks
L1	184	62,80%
L2	16	34,04%
L5	109	28,76%
L6	53	20,38%
L7	65	18,47%
L8	26	7,24%
L10	66	10,61%
LN1	19	8,84%
LN2	57	20,36%
LN3	31	9,20%
LN4	32	14,10%
LN5	45	27,61%

Antallet af instrukser i korpusset er ikke stort - visse af lægebøgerne har kun ganske få instrukser, mens lægebøgerne L3, L4 og L9 slet ingen instrukser har. L8, L10, LN1 og LN3 bidrager desuden til det lave procentvise gennemsnit. De ældste lægebøger, L1 og L2, bidrager derimod til at holde det procentvise gennemsnit af instrukser oppe. Det skal dog siges, at L2 kun har 16 konstruktioner, som er instrukser, og derfor må vi i det følgende taget det forbehold, at analyser af flere tekstopslag i L2 måske ville kunne vise et andet billede. Der er dog noget, der tyder på, at de ældste lægebøger er væsensforskellige fra de øvrige lægebøger ved procentvis at have flest instrukser, og derfor sprogligt at markere den asymmetriske relation mellem afsender og modtager. I instrukser er det mest almindeligt at finde konstruktioner uden vægt, idet 71,27% af det samlede antal instrukser i korpusset er konstruktioner uden vægt:

Tabel 4: Vægtfordeling i instrukser

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | Vægt | |
| Bagvægt | | Dobbelt bagvægt | | Dobbelt forvægt | | For-og bagvægt | | Forvægt | | Ingen vægt | | Midtervægt | |
Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..
142	20,20%	38	5,41%	3	0,43%	3	0,43%	15	2,13%	501	71,27%	1	0,14%

Hvis instrukserne har vægt, er det bagvægt, dobbelt bagvægt og forvægt, som er mest frekvent. Det mest frekvente er bagvægt med 20,20%, mens 5,41% af konstruktionerne har dobbelt bagvægt, og 2,13% har forvægt (jf. nedenfor). Disse tal dækker dog over store forskelle i de enkelte lægebøger:

Tabel 5: Instruksernes vægtfordeling fordelt på lægebøgerne

	Vægt												
	Bagvægt		**Dobbelt bagvægt**		**Dobbelt forvægt**		**For-og bagvægt**		**Forvægt**		**Ingen vægt**		**Midtervægt**	
Lægebog	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst i genne..
L1	12	6,52%	3	1,63%	1	0,54%			2	1,09%	166	90,22%		
L2	1	6,25%					1	6,25%	3	18,75%	11	68,75%		
L5	19	17,43%	3	2,75%					1	0,92%	86	78,90%		
L6	12	22,64%	5	9,43%					3	5,66%	33	62,26%		
L7	17	26,15%	3	4,62%	1	1,54%			2	3,08%	42	64,62%		
L8	13	50,00%	1	3,85%			1	3,85%			11	42,31%		
L10	24	36,36%	4	6,06%	1	1,52%	1	1,52%	3	4,55%	33	50,00%		
LN1	4	21,05%	3	15,79%							12	63,16%		
LN2	10	17,54%	5	8,77%							42	73,68%		
LN3	7	22,58%	2	6,45%					1	3,23%	20	64,52%	1	3,23%
LN4	9	28,12%	3	9,38%							20	62,50%		
LN5	14	31,11%	6	13,33%							25	55,56%		

Hvis vægtfordelingen i instrukserne fordelt på hver af de 15 lægebøger sammenholdes med den gennemsnitlige procentvise vægtfordeling i instrukserne, viser der sig et mønster, idet lægebøgerne L1, L5 og LN2 alle ligger over gennemsnittet, når det drejer sig om konstruktioner uden vægt, mens de ligger under gennemsnittet, når det drejer sig om konstruktioner med bagvægt; sidstnævnte er også tilfældet for L2. Lægebøgerne L1, L5 og LN2 trækker altså gennemsnittet op, når det gælder konstruktioner uden vægt, mens de sammen med L2 trækker gennemsnittet ned, når det gælder konstruktioner med bagvægt. Dette giver et billede af, at valget i hovedreglen står mellem ingen vægt eller bagvægt i instrukserne. Det er dog værd at nævne, at L2 har overgennemsnitligt mange konstruktioner med forvægt (18,75% mod 2,13% i gennemsnit), men til gengæld har L2 færre konstruktioner uden vægt målt ift. gennemsnittet. I L2 står valget altså mellem ingen vægt og forvægt, men eftersom L2 kun indeholder i alt 16 instrukser, er grundlaget for spinkelt til at drage endelige konklusioner. Vi må derfor konkludere, at det i instrukserne er mest almindeligt at have konstruktioner uden vægt, og at bagvægt er mest almindeligt ved konstruktioner med vægt. Dette billede finder vi bekræftet i opfordringerne (jf. afsnit 7.3.1). Når der er bagvægt i konstruktionerne, skyldes det hovedsageligt betingelsesledsætninger på A-pladsen, objektledsætninger på S-pladsen og relativsætninger til objektet på S-pladsen:

Tabel 6: Årsager til bagvægt i instrukser

Årsag	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på konstruktioner med bagvægt
Relativsætning til objekt på S-pladsen	16/142	11,26%
Objektsledsætning på S-pladsen	19/142	13,38%
Betingelsesledsætninger på A-pladsen	58/142	40,85%
Tids- og varighedsledsætninger på A-pladsen	22/142	15,49%
Årsagsledsætninger på A-pladsen	11/142	7,75%
Følgeledsætninger på A-pladsen	6/142	4,23%
Andet (sted, formål, relativ på A-pladsen)	10/142	7,04%

Af disse er betingelsesledsætningerne de mest frekvente:

(29) Søg [du] læge, hvis halsbetændelsen varer i mere end 2-3 dage. (L5)

(30) Skær [du] ned på fedtholdige fødevarer, hvis næsen løber. (L5)

(31) Stå [du] op, hvis du ikke kan sove. (L8)

Langt de fleste af betingelsesledsætningerne omhandler omstændighederne, under hvilke en patient skal kontakte en læge, i (29) *hvis halsbetændelsen varer i mere end 2-3 dage*. I flere af de moderne lægebøger er der hele sektioner med betingelserne for at kontakte lægen, mens de ældste lægebøger (L1 og L2) slet ikke omtaler kontakt med lægen som en mulighed, hvilket formentlig skyldes de ringe muligheder for lægebesøg for den brede befolkning i 1500- og 1600-tallet. Det skal endvidere påpeges, at L1 og L2 slet ikke har betingelsesledsætninger på A-pladsen (men derimod på EP1-pladsen, jf. nedenfor), så bagvægten i disse to lægebøger skyldes relativsætninger til objektet på S-pladsen.

Af konstruktioner med dobbelt bagvægt er det igen adverbielle ledsætninger og især betingelsesledsætninger, der er mest frekvente:

Tabel 7: Årsager til dobbelt bagvægt i instrukser

Dobbelt bagvægt	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Sidestillede objektsfraser med relativfraser	2/38	5,26%
Sidestillede relativsætninger til objektet på S-pladsen	3/38	7,89%
Sidestillede objektsledsætninger på S-pladsen	2/38	5,26%
Objektsledsætning med indlejret ledsætning på S-pladsen	6/38	15,79%
Sidestillede betingelsesledsætninger på A-pladsen	14/38	36,84%
Betingelsesledsætning med indlejret ledsætning	6/38	15,79%
Årsagsledsætning med objektsledsætning på A-pladsen	1/38	2,63%
Sidestillede tidsledsætninger på A-pladsen	2/38	5,26%
Sidestillede følgesætninger på A-pladsen	1/38	2,63%
Tidsledsætning med objektsledsætning	1/38	2,63%

Ud af de 38 konstruktioner med dobbelt bagvægt udgør de 20 konstruktioner (52,63%) betingelsesledsætninger, enten sidestillede betingelsesledsætninger eller betingelsesledsætninger med indlejrede ledsætninger (dvs. tidsledsætninger, årsagsledsætninger eller relativledsætninger):

(32) [tag] [du] Kali mur hvis du hoster eller [hvis] det trykker for brystet. (L5)

(33) […] men søg [du] læge hvis hovedpinen ændrer mønster, hvis smerten er usædvanlig eller [hvis smerten] opstår pludseligt. (L6)

(34) Men stå [du] op igen, hvis du ikke er faldet i søvn, inden der er gået en halv times tid. (LN2)

I (32) og (33) ses konstruktioner med sidestillede betingelsesledsætninger, og for (32) gælder det, at der er tre sidestillede betingelsesledsætninger. Det er relativt usædvanligt med tre sidestillede ledsætninger, og i databasen betegnes konstruktionerne derfor blot som dobbelt bagvægt, fordi betegnelsen *dobbelt bagvægt* alene dækker over det faktum, at der er mere bagvægt end sædvanligt.

De øvrige konstruktioner med dobbelt bagvægt vedrører objektet – enten som sidestillede objektsledsætninger, som objektsfraser med relativsætninger eller som objektsledsætninger med indlejrede ledsætninger:

(35) Vær [du] opmærksom på, om du spænder i nakke og skuldre, samt om disse spændinger har en tidsmæssig sammenhæng med hovedpinen. (L5)

(36) Tag [du] den smaa vedbende som voxer paa iorden oc [som] haffuer mørcke grøne blad sortactige/ (L1)

(37) Sørg [du] for at barnet vasker hænder efter toiletbesøg og før I spiser. (L10)

I (35) ses et eksempel på sidestillede objektsledsætninger, i (36) to sidestillede relativsætninger til objektet og i (37) en objektsledsætning med indlejret tidsledsætning.

Som det kunne ses i Tabel 4, er der også nogle af lægebøgerne, som har forvægtskonstruktioner, og her skiller L2 sig ud som den lægebog, der procentvis har flest forvægtskonstruktioner – der skal dog igen tages det forbehold, at det statistiske grundlag er for spinkelt. Når der er forvægt i konstruktioner, skyldes det betingelsesledsætninger (med eller uden *hvis*) eller tidsledsætninger:

Tabel 8: Årsager til forvægt i instrukser

Forvægt	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på konstruktioner med forvægt
Betingelsesledsætning i EP1 eller fundament	12/15	80%
Tidsledsætning i EP1 eller fundament	3/15	20%

Igen er det altså betingelsesledsætningerne, der forårsager vægten i sætningerne:

(38) Hvis du bruger næsedråber mod tilstoppet næse, så overdriv [du] ikke. (L6)

(39) Er feber det dominerende symptom, se [du] de homøopatiske midler i kapitlet om feber. (L10)

(40) […] og naar man da har stoppet Tarmen ind, tag [du] Gallas, Barken af Eg og Slaaentorn. (L2)

Der er en tendens til, at forvægtskonstruktionerne har adverbialudfyldning på EP1-pladsen, hvorefter adverbialet genoptages i fundamentet. Det ses fx i (38) (mere herom i afsnit 7.2.2).

Af andre vægtforhold findes også konstruktioner med både for- og bagvægt (3 konstruktioner/0,43%), dobbelt forvægt (3 konstruktioner/0,43%) og med midtervægt (1 konstruktion/0,14%), men pga. det ringe antal konstruktioner vil de ikke blive behandlet yderligere her.

Mht. vægt kan det altså konkluderes, at instrukser som oftest har konstruktioner uden vægt, og når der er vægt, er det oftest bagvægt. Bagvægtskonstruktionerne – både enkelt bagvægt og dobbelt bagvægt – kommer som oftest i stand som følge af betingelsesledsætninger eller som følge af omfangsrige objekter – dvs. som objektsledsætninger eller som objektsfraser med relativsætninger. En enkelt lægebog, L2, skiller sig ud ved få bagvægtskonstruktioner, men til gengæld er L2 rig på forvægtskonstruktioner. Her er det igen hovedsageligt betingelsesledsætningerne, der dominerer og forårsager vægten i konstruktionerne.

7.2.2. Fundamentet

Instrukserne er kendetegnet ved at have mange tomme fundamenter (se Tabel 9 på side 169). Ud af de 703 instrukser i korpusset har de 668 instrukser (95,02%) tomt fundament. Det skyldes, at instrukserne udgøres af imperativkonstruktioner, der i princippet altid har tomt fundament. I vores korpus er der dog 32 konstruktioner (4,55%), som har fundamentsudfyldning, ligesom der er 3 konstruktioner (0,42%), der har EP1- udfyldning men tomt fundament. Udfyldningerne gælder (med undtagelse af en enkelt konstruktion med objekt i EP1) tids- og betingelsesadverbialer, og den hyppigst forekommende udfyldning har et adverbial i EP1, som bliver genoptaget vha. et adverbium i fundamentet; en konstruktion som også forekommer blandt opfordringerne (jf. afsnit 7.3.2).

Tabel 9: Fundamentsudfyldning i instrukser[7]

EP1_led	Fundament_Led1	EP1_materiale	Fundament_Materiale1	Absolut forekom..	Relativ forekomst
Tom	Tom	-	-	668	95,02%
	Adverbial	-	Adverbialfrase	3	0,43%
			Adverbiel ledsætning	5	0,71%
			Adverbium	9	1,28%
Adverbial	Tom	Adverbialfrase	-	2	0,28%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Adverbium	2	0,28%
		Adverbiel ledsætning	Adverbium	13	1,85%
Objekt	Tom	Pronominalfrase	-	1	0,14%

Her er eksempler på ovennævnte udfyldning:

(41) Hvis du hyppigt har hovedpine så før [du] bog over de omstændigheder, som de opstår under. (L6)

(42) Men strax dw fornemmer ath løsen vil komme/ saa skill [du] dig der ved. (L1)

Denne konstruktion står i kontrast til en anden af dette korpus' konstruktioner, hvor fundamentet er udfyldt af en ledsætning uden forudgående EP1-udfyldning:

(43) Hvis du ikke sover inden 15-20 minutter, forlad [du] soveværelset. (LN3)

Brøcker et al (2012) har undersøgt et talesprogskorpus og har fundet, at konstruktionerne med EP1-udfyldning vha. ledsætninger og genoptagelse af leddet i fundamentet er mere almindelige i talesprog end udfyldning af ledsætninger i fundamentet uden forudgående EP1-udfyldning. Dette skyldes angiveligt, at leddene placeres i ekstraposition "jo tungere de er" (Brøcker et al 2012: 27). Instrukserne i vores skriftsproglige korpus bekræfter hypotesen hos Brøcker et al. for så vidt, at vi i vores korpus finder 13 instrukser med ledsætningsudfyldning af EP1 med genoptagelse af leddet i fundamentet, mens vi kun finder fem konstruktioner med en ledsætning i fundamentet uden forudgående led i EP1, men dette billede skal vise sig at være anderledes i opfordringerne (jf. afsnit 7.3.2).

7.2.3. v-pladsen
Som tidligere nævnt udgøres instrukserne af imperativkonstruktioner, og derfor er det ikke overraskende at finde imperativer som den eneste modus på v-pladsen:

---

7   Tabel 9 læses på følgende måde: De første to kolonner angiver forekomstrelationen mellem led på EP1-pladsen og i fundamentet. Kolonne tre og fire angiver leddenes materiale i henholdsvis EP1 og fundamentet. Kolonne fem og seks vedrører henholdsvis absolut og relativ forekomst ift. det samlede antal instrukser. Der er således 13 konstruktioner, som har et adverbial på bade EP1 og i fundamentet, og materialet i EP1 er en adverbiel ledsætning, mens det er et adverbium i fundamentet.

Tabel 10: Modus på instruksernes v-plads (led 1 og 2)[8]

v-plads__Modus1	v-plads__Modus2	v-plads_Realisering1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst/ Realisering
Imperativ	Tom	Ja	632	89,90%
		Nej	62	8,82%
	Imperativ	Ja	9	1,28%

Det overraskende er måske snarere, at 62 konstruktioner (8,82%) har ikke-realiserede verbaler på v-pladsen, og at visse af lægebøgerne har særligt mange ikke-realiserede verbaler:

Tabel 11: Ikke-realiserede verbaler på v-pladsen

Lægebog	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt lægebøgernes andel af instrukser
L1	5/184	2,72%
L2	1/15	6,66%
L5	6/109	5,50%
L7	6/65	9,23%
L10	14/66	21,21%
LN2	2/57	3,51%
LN4	13/32	40,63%
LN5	15/45	33,33%

Særlig netlægebøgerne, LN4 og LN5, har procentvis mange ikke-realiserede led, hvilket skyldes, at netlægebøgerne har særlige sektioner, hvor det præciseres under hvilke omstændigheder modtageren skal kontakte en læge; i disse tilfælde er kun den første konstruktions verbal realiseret, mens de efterfølgende konstruktioner er ellipser:

(44) a. Kontakt [du] lægen i morgen
      b. [kontakt] [du] [lægen] Hvis du har over 38,0°C, kraftige synkesmerter og du er rød i halsen
      c. [kontakt] [du] [lægen] Hvis du har mistanke om skarlagensfeber.
      d. [kontakt] [du] [lægen] Hvis du har fået penicillin for halsbetændelse, og [hvis] du stadig efter 2 døgn på penicillin har feber og ondt i halsen.
      e. [kontakt] [du] [lægen] Hvis du har ondt i halsen i mere end 1 uge. (LN4)

I (44) er (a)-sætningen den eneste konstruktion, som har et realiseret verbal, mens de øvrige konstruktioner betragtes som ellipser. Disse sektioner medfører det relativt høje procentvise antal af ikke-realiserede verbaler (ligesom de medfører et relativt højt antal ikke-realiserede objekter på S-pladsen, jf. afsnit 7.2.7). Der kan være gode grunde til at udelade led, idet enslydende konstruktioner kan virke overtydelige på modtageren, og dermed nedladende og kedelige.

Læserhenvendelserne vedrørende kontakt til lægen medfører også, at verbet *kontakte* med 56 forekomster (7,97%) er et af de mest frekvente verbaler på instruksernes v-plads næstefter verbet *tage*, der forekommer 71 gange (10,10%). Verbet *tage* forekommer også hyppigt i opfordringerne, og det interessante ved verbet er, at vi kan se en historisk udvikling i brugen af verbet i lægebøgerne; i de ældste lægebøger bruges *tage* udelukkende i betydningen 'gribe om noget med hånden eller med et redskab og flytte det' (*DDO*):

(45) Item tag [du] huideløg (L1)

---

8   Tabel 10 læses på følgende måde: I de første to kolonner angives forekomstrelationen mellem v-pladsens første og andet led. I tredje kolonne angives det første leds realisering, dvs. om leddet faktisk forekommer eller er interpoleret, mens det andet leds realisering ikke angives, da det følger det første leds realisering. I fjerde og femte kolonne angives det absolutte og det relative antal af konstruktioner målt på instrukser.

(46) Tag [du] tørt dwe møg (L1)

I L1 forekommer verbet *tage* hele 42 gange, og i den forbindelse er det interessant at bemærke, at L1s lægebogsopslag ofte indledes med, at modtageren skal tage fx en urt og derefter behandle urten efter lægebogens forskrifter:

(47) a. Tag [du] Basilicon met hendis røder/
      b. oc siwd [du] hende i vin
      c. drick [du] hende fastendis/
      d. det er gaat for hoffuit verck. (L1)

Når *tage* på den måde indleder mange af L1s lægebogsopslag antyder det dels, at *tage*-konstruktionen anvendes som en art formel, der skal sætte modtageren i gang med produktionen af et "lægemiddel", og dels at afsenderen vil pinde detaljerne ved lægemiddelsproduktionen ud. Med denne eksplicitering i L1 kan man hævde, at forfatteren har en lægmand i tankerne, som skal have alt ekspliciteret.

I de moderne lægebøger bruges *tage* næsten udelukkende i betydning 'indtage' eller i ganske få tilfælde i idiomatiske udtryk som *at tage den med ro* eller *at tage en pause*:

(48) Tag [du] 2 tabletter 4 gange dagligt. (L5)

(49) Tag [du] acetylsalicylsyre eller paracetamol mod smerterne. (L6)

Ud over *tage* og *kontakte* er verbet *undgå* med 35 forekomster (4,98%), verbet *se* med 34 forekomster (4,84%) og verbet *lad* med 20 forekomster (2,8%) også relativt frekvente. Verbet *undgå* bruges udelukkende til at instruere modtageren i, hvad denne ikke skal gøre for derved at forhindre sygdommens opståen eller for at forsøge at lindre sine symptomer:

(50) Undgå [du] så vidt muligt skaldyr, især i lande med mindre god hygiejne. (L5)

(51) Undgå [du] stimulerende drikke som kaffe, te og cola om aftenen. (L5)

Verbet *undgå* forekommer kun i de moderne lægebøger. Det samme er tilfældet med verbet *se*, som i de trykte lægebøger næsten udelukkende bruges til at henvise modtageren til andre lægebogsopslag eller til andre afsnit i samme lægebogsopslag:

(52) (se [du] side 112). (L5)

(53) (se [du] adresselisten side 312-315). (L7)

Verbet *se* er stort set erstattet af verbet *klik* i LN4 og LN5:

(54) Klik [du] her for at finde døgnåbne apotekter og vagtapotekter i din region. (L4)

(55) Klik [du] her for at læse hvordan du vurderer dit syge barn. (LN5)

Det er desuden interessant, at verbet *lade* har skiftet leksikalsk betydning fra de ældste lægebøger til de nyeste:

(56) oc lad [du] hende vdi en pande met Swine Ister som er gammilt/ och noget Bygmel/ (L1)

(57) Och lad [du] det staa en time til hobe/ (L1)

(58) Lad [du] være med at spise fast føde under et anfald […] (L5)

(59) […] og lad [du] fingrene rotere her nogle få sekunder. (L5)

Verbet *lade* bruges i de ældste lægebøger om at 'hælde noget ud' (jf. 56) eller om kausalitet – at modtageren skal forårsage at noget finder sted (jf. 57). I de yngre lægebøger kombineres *lade* ofte med *være med*, hvorved det får betydningen 'undgå' (jf. 58), men *lade* kan også bruges kausativt i de yngre lægebøger (jf. 59).

De højfrekvente verber antyder, at vokabulariet i lægebøgernes instrukser er begrænset, når det gælder verbaler. De interne referencer mellem de enkelte tekstopslag er ofte forekommende i leksika, hvilket kan forklare den hyppige brug af verberne *se* og *klik*, men det forklarer ikke brugen af de andre frekvente verber.

7.2.4. s-pladsen
Eftersom der er tale om imperativer, hvor subjektet som oftest ikke er realiseret, kommer det ikke som en overraskelse, at samtlige 703 subjekter på s-pladsen er ikke-realiserede:

Tabel 12: s-pladsens realisering af Led1 og Led2 i instrukser

splads_Led1	splads_Led2	s-plads_Realisering1	s-plads_Realisering2	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Subjekt	Tom	Nej	Tom	596	84,78%
	Objekt	Nej	Ja	92	13,09%
			Nej	2	0,28%
	PRN (refleksiv)	Nej	Ja	13	1,85%

De resterende led på s-pladsen, der alle er led2, er med undtagelse af 2 objekter alle realiserede. De realiserede led er enten pronominale objekter (13,09%) eller refleksive pronominer (1,85%); de refleksive pronominer udgør enten sætningens objekt eller de er en del af verbalfrasen:

```
         v     s--------   S
(60)  Hold [du] dig    varm (LN3)
         v     [s]  o     op
```

```
         v     [s]-----   A-------
(61)  Sæt  [du] dig    i en stol (LN2)
         v     [s]  o     a--------
```

```
         v           s-----------   S-----------------
(62)  Forestil  [du]    dig      at du skærer løg (L10)
         v------→  [s]    ←v    o------------------
```

De to første analyser er ukontroversielle, mens den sidste ikke følger traditionen, da det refleksive pronomen indgår som en del af verbalfrasen. Begrundelsen for at inddrage refleksivet i verbalfrasen er, at verbet og refleksivet tilsammen danner et idiomatisk udtryk; verbet *forestille* betyder 'være et billede eller en (rumlig) gengivelse af noget' eller 'få til at hilse på en anden, især ved en

formel præsentation' (DDO). Verbalfrasen *forestille sig* betyder derimod 'danne sig et mentalt billede af noget' (ibid.), og denne betydningsændring følger af refleksivets forekomst i verbalfrasen. Ud af de 13 konstruktioner med refleksive pronominer på s-pladsen indgår de syv refleksiver i verbalfrasen. Dette indikerer en lav forekomst af idiomatiske udtryk blandt instrukserne (mere herom i afsnit 7.2.6).

7.2.5. a-pladsen
De fleste instrukser har tom a-plads:

Tabel 13: s-pladsens realisering af Led1 og Led2 i instrukser

aplads_Led1	aplads__Materiale1	aplads_Realisering1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst/Realisering
Tom	-	-	584	83,07%
Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	11	1,56%
	Adverbium	Ja	103	14,65%
		Nej	5	0,71%

Når a-pladsen er udfyldt, sker det som oftest vha. simple led[9], dvs. adverbier, og af disse har kun 5 konstruktioner   et ikke-realiseret adverbium. De resterende udfyldte a-pladser består af adverbialfraser.

Andelen af udfyldte a-pladser varierer dog meget blandt lægebøgerne:

Tabel 14: Udfyldte a-pladser samt leddenes materiale i instrukser

Lægebog	aplads_Led1	aplads__Materiale1	aplads_Realisering1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst/Korpus
L1	Tom	-	-	155	22,05%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	1	0,14%
		Adverbium	Ja	28	3,98%
L2	Tom	-	-	11	1,56%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	1	0,14%
		Adverbium	Ja	4	0,57%
L5	Tom	-	-	93	13,23%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	5	0,71%
		Adverbium	Ja	11	1,56%
L6	Tom	-	-	44	6,26%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	2	0,28%
		Adverbium	Ja	7	1,00%
L7	Tom	-	-	61	8,68%
	Adverbial	Adverbium	Ja	4	0,57%
L8	Tom	-	-	19	2,70%
	Adverbial	Adverbium	Ja	7	1,00%
L10	Tom	-	-	52	7,40%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	1	0,14%
		Adverbium	Ja	8	1,14%
			Nej	5	0,71%
LN1	Tom	-	-	11	1,56%
	Adverbial	Adverbium	Ja	8	1,14%
LN2	Tom	-	-	47	6,69%
	Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	Ja	1	0,14%
		Adverbium	Ja	9	1,28%
LN3	Tom	-	-	27	3,84%
	Adverbial	Adverbium	Ja	4	0,57%
LN4	Tom	-	-	20	2,84%
	Adverbial	Adverbium	Ja	12	1,71%
LN5	Tom	-	-	44	6,26%
	Adverbial	Adverbium	Ja	1	0,14%

---

9   Et simpelt led udgøres af et enkelt ord, mens et komplekst led består af enten en frase (dvs. mindst to ord, som ikke er sætningsdannende (jf. Kristensen 2011: 95) eller en ledsætning.

Lægebøgerne L3, L4 og L9 har ingen instrukser, hvorfor disse lægebøger ikke figurerer i Tabel 9. Når man gennemser skemaet, bliver det tydeligt, at de fleste lægebøger foretrækker simple adverbialer på a-pladsen; flere af lægebøgerne har slet ingen komplekse led på a-pladsen. Dertil kommer, at L10 som den eneste lægebog har fem konstruktioner med ikke-realiserede led på a-pladsen:

(63) a. Kontakt [du] altid lægen, hvis det drejer sig om et spædbarn med diarré.
    b. [kontakt] [du] [altid] [lægen] hvis der er blod i afføringen.
    c. [kontakt] [du] [altid] [lægen], hvis barnet er sløvt og fraværende.
    d. [kontakt] [du] [altid] [lægen], hvis barnet ikke drikker og tisser (og urinen lugter stærkt og der kun er en lille mængde).
    e. [kontakt] [du] [altid] [lægen], hvis barnet får feber og opkastninger.
    f. [kontakt] [du] [altid] [lægen], hvis diarrén varer ud over 2 dage. (L10)

De 5 konstruktioner er alle ellipser, der indgår i en punktformsopstilling, og som indledes med en velformet sætning (63a). Udover denne punktopstilling er der ingen ikke-realiserede led på a-pladsen.

    Det viser sig, at a-pladsen hovedsageligt er udfyldt med modaladverbier, tidsadverbier, stedsadverbier og negationer, hvoraf sidstnævnte er klart mest frekvente. Særligt negationerne er interessante:

(64) Ryg [du] ikke. (L6)

(65) Giv [du] aldrig et barn på 12 år eller yngre acetylsalicylsyre. (L6)

(66) Sov [du] ikke eftermiddagslur, selv om du har haft en dårlig nattesøvn. (L8)

(67) Drik [du] ikke kaffe, te, kakao eller cola de sidste 4 timer før sengetid pga. indholdet af opkvikkende koffein. (L8)

Hvis vi sammenholder den høje brug af negationer (i ca. 16% af konstruktionerne) med brugen af verberne *undgå* og *lad være med*, bekræfter det tendensen til, at der er fokus på dét, som modtageren ikke skal gøre.

    Tidsadverbialerne optræder, når afsenderen vil betone, i hvilken rækkefølge bestemte handlinger skal udføres:

(68) a. Massage langs kraniets midterlinje kan være en hjælp ved hovedpine.
    b. Læg [du] den ene tommelfinger ovenpå den anden
    c. og masser [du] et punkt på midtlinjen med cirkelbevægelser.
    d. Flyt [du] herefter fingrene en smule langs midtlinjen
    e. og masser [du] på ny. (L5)

7.2.6. V-pladsen
I instrukserne er det af gode grunde mest almindeligt kun at anvende simple verbaler på v-pladsen, idet hverken hjælpeverber eller modalverber (der skal kombineres med et fuldverbum på V-pladsen) kan stå i imperativ, hvorfor der normalvis ikke forekommer fuldverber på V-pladsen i imperativkonstruktioner. Det betyder imidlertid ikke, at V-pladsen altid er tom, idet kun 93,88% af instrukserne i vores korpus har tom V-plads:

Tabel 15: Ledforekomst og realisering på V-pladsen

StoreVplads_led1	StoreVplads_led2	StoreV-plads_Realisering	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst/Realisering
Tom	Tom	-	660	93,88%
Fuldverbum	VVA	Ja	10	1,42%
Sub-frase	Tom	Ja	7	1,00%
VVA	Tom	Ja	25	3,56%
		Nej	1	0,14%

Når der forekommer V-pladsudfyldning, sker det stort set altid med realiserede led, kun én konstruktion har et ikke-realiseret modifikationsadverbium (betegnet VVA, jf. Kristensen 2005) på V-pladsen

Når der forekommer V-pladsudfyldning, sker det som oftest ved adverbielle størrelser og subfraser, som alle indgår i verbalfrasen. Et par eksempler kunne være:

```
          Ks   v     [s]    V     S------------------------------------
(69) […]  og   sørg  [du]   for   at komme ud i lyset i dagtimerne […]. (L8)
          kˢ   v→    [s]    ←v    o------------------------------------
```

```
          v     [s]    V     S------------------     A--------------------
(70) Pas  [du]   på     det varme vand,   når børn inhalerer. (L5)
     v →  [s]    ← v    o-----------------     a--------------------
```

```
          v     [s]  V----------------     S---------------------------------------
(71) Vær  [du] opmærksom på,     om du spænder i nakke og skuldre […] (L5)
     v→   [s]   ←---------------v    o---------------------------------------
```

```
          v     [s]  V--------     S             A-------------------------------------------
(72) Hold [du] øje med     mængden,     hvis du også tager forkølelsesmedicin […] (L6)
     v→   [s]   ←------v    o             a-------------------------------------------
```

Konstruktionerne (69) og (70) består af en verbalfrase, hvori der indgår et habitat (her *sørg* eller *pas*), i traditionen kendt som et kerneled (jf. Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 93), og et specificerende (dvs. beskrivende) modifikationsadverbium (her *for* og *på*) (jf. Kristensen 2005). Modifikations-adverbierne er så nært knyttet til de verbale habitater, at de ikke kan udskiftes af et andet sprogligt element, uden at verbalfrasen ændrer betydning. Deres opgave er at specificere habitatet, dvs. at ændre habitatets semantik og i visse tilfælde også dets klassifikation, hvorved idiomatiske udtryk opstår. Verbet *sørge* betyder 'føle dyb sorg' (*DDO*), og verbet er intransitivt, men i kombination med modifikationsadverbiet *for,* ændres verbets semantik til '(efter aftale) bevirke at en bestemt opgave udføres, eller at noget tilvejebringes, finder sted eller indtræder' (ibid.), og leddets klassifikation ændres fra intransitivt til transitivt. Det samme gør sig gældende for verbalfrasen *pas på*, hvor grundbetydningen af *passe* er 'have den rigtige størrelse, ydre form el.lign. i en bestemt sammenhæng' eller 'hjælpe fx en syg eller svækket person'(ibid.), men i kombination med modifikationsverbet *på* ændres betydningen til 'være forsigtig og opmærksom for at prøve at undgå noget farligt, risikabelt el.lign.' (ibid.)

Verbalets subfrase har samme funktion som modifikationsadverbiet. Hvis vi tager eksemplet *hold øje med*, så består det af habitatet *hold* (der har mange betydninger) og subfrasen *øje med*. Når *holde* kombineres med subfrasen *øje med*, indsnævres verbalets semantik til betydningen 'passe på; være opmærksom på; (forsøge at) kontrollere' (ibid.), og verbalet bliver transitivt.

Af verbalfraser med modifikationsadverbier er fraserne *sørg for* og *pas på* de absolut mest

frekvente. Det interessante er, at verbalfraser med modifikationsadverbier og subfraser kun forekommer i de nyere lægebøgers (fra L5 og frem) instrukser, mens de ældste lægebøger stort set ikke anvender modifikationsadverbier eller subfraser og derfor kun i ringe omfang anvender idiomatiske udtryk i instrukserne. Det samme billede tegner sig i opfordringerne (jf. afsnit 7.3.6).

7.2.7. S-pladsen
S-pladsen er den store objektsplads:

Tabel 16: Forekomstrelation mellem S-pladsens led i instrukser

| | | | StoreS-plads_Realisering1 | | | | | |
| | | | Absolut forekomst | | | Relativ forekomst/instruks | | |
StoreS-plads_led1	StoreS-plads_le..	StoreS-plads_led3	Tom	Ja	Nej	Tom	Ja	Nej
Tom	Tom	Tom	168			23,90%		
Frit prædikativ	Tom	Tom		2			0,28%	
Indirekte objekt	Tom	Tom		2			0,28%	
	Indirekte objekt	Objekt		1			0,14%	
	Objekt	Tom		17			2,42%	
		Objekt		2			0,28%	
	VVA	Objekt		1			0,14%	
Objekt	Tom	Tom		380	44		54,05%	6,26%
	Objekt	Tom		42	2		5,97%	0,28%
		Objekt		16			2,28%	
	Objektsprædikativ	Tom		5			0,71%	
Objektsprædikativ	Tom	Tom		14			1,99%	
	Frit prædikativ	Tom		1			0,14%	
Subjektsprædikativ	Tom	Tom		5			0,71%	
	Subjektsprædikativ	Tom		1			0,14%	

I Tabel 16 er der kun medregnet ledforekomster for de første tre led, idet de følgende led blot vil være sideordnede objekter. 380 konstruktioner (60,31% af instrukserne, inkl. 6,26% ikke-realiserede) har et enkelt objekt på S-pladsen, 42 konstruktioner (6,25%, inkl. 0,28% ikke-realiserede) har to sidestillede objekter og 16 konstruktioner (2,28%) har tre eller flere sidestillede objekter. I korpusset finder vi konstruktioner med op til otte sidestillede objekter på S-pladsen. Derimod finder vi ikke mange konstruktioner med subjektsprædikativer (6 konstruktioner i alt), indirekte objekter (22 konstruktioner i alt) eller objektsprædikativer (20 konstruktioner i alt) blandt instrukserne. At der ikke forekommer mange prædikative konstruktioner blandt instrukserne, er måske ikke så underligt, idet prædikativerne tilskriver egenskaber til enten subjektet eller objektet, og de er som sådan en del af beskrivelserne.

Det kan derimod undre, at der kun forekommer 22 konstruktioner med indirekte objekter, og dette i lægebøger, hvoraf to har børn som specialområde (L10 og LN5). Når børn er syge, bliver de ofte behandlet/passet af forældrene, hvorfor L10 og LN5 også henvender sig til forældrene. Man kunne forvente, at der ville være flere konstruktioner med indirekte objekter i netop disse lægebøgers instrukser, men det er ikke tilfældet. Derimod har L1 i langt højere grad konstruktioner med indirekte objekt:

Tabel 17: Konstruktioner med indirekte objekt i instrukser

Lægebog	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på konstruktioner med indirekte objekter i instrukserne
L1	13/22	59,09%
L6	4/22	18,18%
L10	1/22	4,55%
LN15	4/22	18,18%

I L10 og LN5 et det som forventet *barnet*, som er det indirekte objekt:

(73) giv [du] **barnet** et varmt bad på 40 grader i badekar (L10)

(74) Giv [du] **barnet** rigeligt væske med salt og sukker samt mælkesyrebakterier (LN5)

I L1, som viser sig at have et større fokus på pleje af andre, fordi der procentvis er langt flere konstruktioner med indirekte objekt, er det *den syge*, der er det indirekte objekt:

(75) Oc giff [du] **den siwge** det ath dricke/ (L1)

(76) oc giff [du] **den siwge** dem ath æde/ (L1)

Deraf kan det konkluderes, at de moderne lægebøger i langt højere grad er skrevet til modtagere, som forventes at være syge og ikke plejere, mens den ældste lægebog har pleje af andre i fokus.

De fleste objekter består af enten en substantivfrase eller et substantiv, mens mængden af ledsætninger og *at*-infinitiver er begrænset i korpussets instrukser (se Tabel 18 på side 178). Dette billede af leddenes materiale går igen ved alle de andre led på S-pladsen, hvorfor de andre leds materiale ikke opregnes yderligere her. De fleste led er realiseret på S-pladsen, og hvis leddene er ikke-realiserede, er det objekter. Det er særlig to lægebøger, som har ikke-realiserede led, nemlig LN4 og LN5. Når de ikke-realiserede objekter forekommer, er materialet alt overvejende substantiver, og udeladelserne finder som oftest sted i punktformerne under en overskrift, hvor et substantiv nævnes i overskriften, hvorefter det udelades i den næste:

(77) a. Kontakt [du] lægen i morgen
      b. [Kontakt] [du] [lægen] [i morgen] Hvis temperaturen er over 38,5º C, […]
      c. [Kontakt] [du] [lægen] [i morgen] hvis du har mistanke om skarlagensfeber (LN5)

I afsnit 7.2.3. var vi inde på, at netteksternes særlige sektioner med instrukser om lægekontakt medførte mange ikke-realiserede verbaler på v-pladsen, og det er de samme sektioner, som forårsager substantivernes manglende realisering på S-pladsen. Det skal her nævnes, at ligesom verbet *kontakte* var højfrekvent på v-pladsen, så er substantivet *læge* det også på S-pladsen, idet *læge*/*lægen* forekommer i 67 konstruktioner.

Tabel 18: Det første leds materiale på S-pladsen i instrukser

| | | StoreS-plads_Realisering1 | | | | | |
| | | Absolut forekomst | | | Relativ forekomst/instruks | | |
StoreS-plads_led1	StoreS-plads_Materiale1	Tom	Ja	Nej	Tom	Ja	Nej
Tom	-	168			23,90%		
Frit prædikativ	Adjektivisk		2			0,28%	
Indirekte objekt	Adjektivisk frase		13			1,85%	
	Substantiv		9			1,28%	
	Substantivfrase		1			0,14%	
Objekt	Adjektivisk		7			1,00%	
	Adjektivisk frase		9			1,28%	
	Akkusativ med infinitiv		6			0,85%	
	at-infinitiv		33			4,69%	
	infinitiv (uden akkusativ)		2			0,28%	
	Nominal ledsætning		24	1		3,41%	0,14%
	Pronomen		2			0,28%	
	Pronominalfrase		2			0,28%	
	Substantiv		158	44		22,48%	6,26%
	Substantivfrase		200	1		28,45%	0,14%
Objektsprædikativ	Adjektivisk		12			1,71%	
	Adjektivisk frase		3			0,43%	
Subjektsprædikativ	Adjektivisk		5			0,71%	
	Adjektivisk frase		1			0,14%	

7.2.8. A-pladsen

På A-pladsen er der placeret adverbialer og verbale relationsadverbier (benævnt VRA, jf. Kristensen 2005), hvoraf sidstnævnte er en del af verbalfrasen:

Tabel 19: Forekomstrelation mellem A-pladsens led i instrukser

StoreA_plads_led1	StoreA_plads_led2	StoreA_plads_led3	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst/Instruks
Tom	Tom	Tom	252	35,85%
Adverbial	Tom	Tom	286	40,68%
	Adverbial	Tom	109	15,50%
		Adverbial	29	4,13%
		VRA	2	0,28%
	VRA	Tom	2	0,28%
		Adverbial	1	0,14%
VRA	Tom	Tom	4	0,57%
	Adverbial	Tom	10	1,42%
		Adverbial	8	1,14%

Ca. 1/3 af instrukserne har tom A-plads, og når der sker ledudfyldning, sker det oftest vha. et enkelt adverbial (40,68%), to sidestillede adverbialer (15,50%) eller tre eller flere adverbialer (4,13%). Der er konstruktioner med op til fem sidestillede adverbialer. Der er desuden 25 konstruktioner (3,83% af instrukserne), som involverer et verbalt relationsadverbium, fx:

```
        v       [s]      a------------     S---------------------------------------- A
(78)    Skriv   [du]     med   det samme   bekymringer   eller   ængstelser   ned   […]   (L5)
        v→      [s]      a------------     o             ks      o                   ←v
```

```
           Kˢ      v        [s]       S------------   A
(79)  […]  og      skær     [du]      synligt fedt   bort. (LN3)
           kˢ      v→       [s]       o------------   ←v
```

I (78) er *ned* et relationsadverbium, som uden betydningsforandring kan udskiftes med fx *op*, og i (79) kan *bort* udskiftes med fx *fra* eller *af*. Muligheden for udskiftning samt det forhold at *ned* og *bort* begge har tryk (jf. Kristensen 2009) medfører, at størrelserne beskrives som relationsadverbier, der ikke er så nært knyttet til verbalet som modifikationsadverbierne.

Ved beskrivelsen af A-pladsens materiale forholder vi os igen kun til A-pladsens første led, idet materialet for de øvrige led på A-pladsen afspejler materialet for første led:

Tabel 20: Materiale i A-pladsens Led1

StoreA_plads_led1	StoreA_plads_Materiale1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst/Instruks
Tom	-	252	35,85%
Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	247	35,14%
	Adverbiel at-infinitiv	29	4,13%
	Adverbiel Ledsætning	75	10,67%
	Adverbium	76	10,81%
	Substantivfrase	2	0,28%
VRA	Adverbialfrase	1	0,14%
	Adverbium	21	2,99%

På A-pladsen er det mest frekvente materiale for adverbialerne en adverbialfrase (35,85%), efterfulgt af et adverbium (10,81%) og en adverbiel ledsætning (10,67%); sidstnævnte bidrager til at konstruktionerne får bagvægt.

Kategoriseringen af A-pladsens adverbielle størrelser viser et klart mønster[10]:

Tabel 21: Adverbialernes kategorisering på A-pladsen

Kategori	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på antal adverbielle udtryk på A-pladsen
Betingelse	78	14,36%
Formål	52	9,52%
Goal	41	7,51%
Middel	22	4,03%
Måde	43	7,86%
Resultat	17	3,11%
Sted	79	14,47%
Tid og Varighed	125	22,89%
Modifikationsadverbium	27	4,96%
Årsag	12	2,20%
Andet (Iterativ, Komitativ, Materiale, Modsætning, Path, Sammenligning, Source)	50	9,16%

Af Tabel 21 ses det, at A-pladsens adverbialer hovedsageligt betegner tid/varighed, sted, formål og betingelse:

---

10 Vi gør opmærksom på, at vi her beregner alle led på A-pladsen, hvorfor antallet af adverbialer bliver højere end i Tabel 19 og 20, hvor kun Led1 er behandlet.

(80) Kontakt lægen med det samme. (LN5)

(81) Vent [du] med at gå i seng, til du er træt. (LN2)

(82) […] eller find [du] lidelsesfæller på internettet. (L7)

(83) Sørg [du] for fred og ro og god ventilation i soveværelset. (L6)

(84) […] så tilsæt [du] en skefuld honning for at søde drikken. (L5)

(85) Vask [du] hænderne efter toiletbesøg for at undgå at smitte andre. (L7)

(86) Søg [du] læge, hvis halsbetændelsen varer i mere end 2-3 dage. (L5)

(87) Foretag [du] dig noget stilfærdigt, hvis du står op om natten. (L8)

Der synes altså at være en tendens til at lægebogsforfatterne i instrukserne lægger særlig vægt på hvornår, hvor længe, hvor, med hvilket formål og under hvilke betingelser en handling skal finde sted. Den høje brug af bestemte adverbialkategorier afspejler sig i leddenes materiale, idet betingelserne og til dels tidsadverbialerne udgøres af ledsætninger, varighed, sted og til dels tid udgøres af adverbialfraser, mens formål udgøres af *at*-infinitiver og adverbialfraser. Heraf følger, at adverbialfrasen bliver det oftest forekommende materiale på A-pladsen.

        Vi hæfter os endvidere ved, at årsagsledsætningerne kun forekommer i de yngre lægebøger (fra L6 og frem), mens de ældre slet ikke angiver årsagen til, at en handling skal udføres. Der kan være forskellige grunde til, at forfatteren anfører årsagen i en ellers imperativ konstruktion. Det kan dels skyldes, at forfatteren ønsker at udvise høflighed overfor modtageren på trods af instruksens karakter af en ordre. Det kan dernæst også skyldes, at afsenderen af de moderne lægebøger skriver til en mere kritisk modtager, som ikke uden videre vil modtage eller udføre en ordre, med mindre den er begrundet.

7.2.9. Sammenfatning
Sammenfattende kan det om instrukserne siges, at de udgør den største underkategori af tekstarten handlingsregulering, og de ses især i lægebøgerne L1 og L2. Sprogligt er de kendetegnet ved som oftest ikke at have vægt i konstruktionerne og at have bagvægt, når der er vægt. Bagvægten skyldes som oftest betingelsesledsætninger på A-pladsen eller objektsledsætninger på S-pladsen. Instrukserne udgøres af imperativkonstruktioner, hvorfor de fleste fundamenter er tomme. Når de er udfyldt, skyldes det betingelses- og tidsledsætninger i enten EP1 (med ledgentagelse i fundamentet) eller i fundamentet. Af disse konstruktioner er den første oftest forekommende. På v-pladsen er der udelukkende tale om modus imperativ, hvoraf ca. 9% er ikke-realiserede især pga. netteksternes særlige sektioner med sætningsgentagelser. Disse særlige sektioners hyppige forekomster medfører, at verbet *kontakte* er det næstmest frekvente verbum i instrukserne, kun overgået af verbet *tage* med dets historiske betydningsforskelle. På s-pladsen er samtlige subjekter ikke-realiserede, hvilket skyldes imperativens subjektsudeladelse. Desuden forekommer der på s-pladsen pronominelle objekter og refleksiver, hvoraf sidstnævnte ofte indgår i verbalfrasen. De fleste a-pladser er tomme i instrukserne, og når a-pladsen udfyldes, sker det som oftest vha. modal-, tids-, og stedsadverbialer samt negationer. Brugen af sidstnævnte er særlig interessant, fordi det sammen med brugen af verbet *undgå* fokuserer på de handlinger, som modtageren ikke skal udføre. Som oftest er V-pladsen tom, hvilket dels skyldes brugen af imperativ i instrukserne og det faktum, at instrukserne rummer

forholdsvis få idiomatiske udtryk. S-pladsen er hovedsageligt udfyldt af objekter, idet der relativt sjældent forekommer prædikative konstruktioner eller indirekte objekter; sidstnævnte er overraskende, fordi tre af lægebøgerne vedrører pleje af andre. På A-pladsen placeres især adverbialer, der betegner betingelse, tid/varighed, sted og formål, og den høje brug af disse adverbialkategorier får betydning for A-pladsens materiale, som især består af adverbialfraser, ledsætninger og adverbielle *at*-infinitiver. Der synes altså at være en tendens til, at afsenderen i instrukserne fokuserer meget på, hvad modtageren skal *undgå*, *passe på*, *sørge for* og ikke mindst *undlade* at gøre, ligesom afsenderen også ofte angiver tidspunktet, stedet og betingelsen for modtagerens handlinger.

7.3. Opfordring
7.3.1. Overfladeanalyse

I alt 246 konstruktioner betegnes som opfordringer, hvilket udgør blot 6,19% af det samlede antal konstruktioner i korpusset og 18,55% af de handlingsregulerende konstruktioner. Opfordringer er dermed den mindste underkategori. Alle 10 lægebøger har opfordringer, men der er store forskelle i opfordringernes frekvens målt på lægebøgernes handlingsreguleringer:

Tabel 22: Opfordringer fordelt på lægebøger

	Teksttart / Underkategori, teksttart	
	Absolut forekomst	**Relativ forekomst**
	Handlingsregulerende	Handlingsregulerende
Lægebog	Opfordring	Opfordring
L1	47	20,35%
L2	7	20,59%
L3	29	56,86%
L4	17	44,74%
L5	24	11,32%
L6	9	10,71%
L7	15	14,71%
L8	22	25,29%
L9	3	33,33%
L10	12	9,30%
LN1	9	18,75%
LN2	11	12,64%
LN3	15	20,00%
LN4	7	12,50%
LN5	19	22,89%

Især i L2 og L3 er en stor del af de handlingsregulerende konstruktioner opfordringer, mens L5, L6 og L10 har en relativt lille andel. Opfordringerne i L1 udgør i absolutte tal den største forekomst, men sat ift. det samlede antal konstruktioner svarer andelen i denne lægebog nogenlunde til gennemsnittet på 18,55%. L9 har kun ni handlingsregulerende konstruktioner i alt, og derfor svarer de tre opfordringer til 1/3, men det ringe antal gør, at der her kræves yderligere analyser for at kunne sige noget sikkert om forholdene i denne lægebog.

Otte af konstruktionerne er spørgsmål, som forfatteren stiller til modtageren med henblik på modtagerens selvdiagnosticering. Spørgsmålene vil løbende blive behandlet, når de udviser sproglige karakteristika, der adskiller sig fra resten af opfordringerne.

Hvis man ser på vægtforholdene i opfordringerne, fordeler vægten sig overordnet på følgende måde:

Tabel 23: Vægtfordeling i opfordringer

Vægt													
Bagvægt		**Dobbelt bagvægt**		**Dobbelt forvægt**		**For-og bagvægt**		**Forvægt**		**Ingen vægt**		**Overvægt**	
Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
37	15,04%	11	4,47%	7	2,85%	14	5,69%	32	13,01%	143	58,13%	2	0,81%

Som det fremgår, er det mest almindeligt, at der ikke forekommer vægt, hvilket sker i 143 konstruktioner (58,13%). Dernæst følger bagvægt (15,04%), forvægt (13,01%) samt for- og bagvægt (5,69%), der dog kun forekommer i få konstruktioner. Der er store forskelle i lægebøgernes vægtfordeling. Nogle lægebøger har mest bagvægt (LN1 med 33,33%), mens andre har en ligelig fordeling mellem ingen vægt, bagvægt og forvægt (L9). Det relativt lille antal opfordringer i det samlede korpus giver dog problemer ift. at kunne sige noget afgørende om procentuelle afvigelser mellem lægebøgerne. Der er ganske simpelt for mange af lægebøgerne, som ligger langt under det gennemsnitlige antal opfordringer, som er på 16,4 konstruktioner pr. lægebog. Kun lægebøgerne L1, L3, L4, L5, L8 og LN5 ligger over det gennemsnitlige antal opfordringer pr. lægebog. Det kunne være af mindre betydning, hvis korpussets andel af opfordringer var højt, men det er ikke tilfældet. Derfor må vi alene forholde os til vægtfordelingen i det samlede antal opfordringer (som vi ser den i Tabel 23).

Når der er vægt i konstruktionerne er bagvægt den hyppigst forekommende (15,04%):

Tabel 24: Årsag til bagvægt i opfordringer

Årsag	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på konstruktioner med bagvægt
Relativsætning til objekt på S-pladsen	5/37	13,51%
Relativsætning til subjektsprædikativer (ved sætningsknuder)	2/37	5,40%
Objektsledsætning på S-pladsen	2/37	5,40%
Subjektsprædikativ ledsætning på S-pladsen	1/37	2,70%
Relativsætning på A-pladsen	7/37	18,92%
Betingelsesledsætninger på A-pladsen	3/37	8,11%
Tid- og varighedsledsætninger på A-pladsen	7/37	18,92%
Årsagsledsætninger på A-pladsen	3/37	8,11%
Andet på A-pladsen	6/37	16,22%
Relativsætning på EP2	1/37	2,70%

Som det fremgår af Tabel 24, skyldes bagvægt hovedsageligt ledsætninger på A-pladsen, hvilket er tilfældet i 19 konstruktioner (51,35%). Blandt disse er tid- og varighedsledsætningerne de hyppigst forekommende (7 konstruktioner), fx:

(88) Och [han] [skal] bage dem i en pande met hwnig til de ære vel brwne. (L1)

(89) Man skal dog være varsom med at kalde en Hovedpine "nervøs", før alle Muligheder for organisk Forklaring er udtømte. (L3)

Blandt de adverbielle ledsætninger på A-pladsen er betingelses- og årsagsledsætninger de næsthyppigste med hver tre konstruktioner. Den anden væsentligste kilde til bagvægt findes i relativsætninger, der forekommer i syv tilfælde (18,92%) på henholdsvis S- og A-pladsen. På S-pladsen er det hovedsageligt relativsætninger til objekter (5 konstruktioner/13,51%), fx:

(90) De Rige skulle æde Reubarbarum/ som findis paa Apoteken/ (L1)

(91) Du bør heller ikke udføre aktiviteter som kræver stort engagement. (LN3)

Der forekommer desuden 32 konstruktioner (13,01%) med forvægt. Når der forekommer forvægt, skyldes det hovedsagelig adverbielle betingelsessætninger i fundamentet:

Tabel 25: Årsag til forvægt i opfordringer

Årsag	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på konstruktioner med forvægt
Adverbiel betingelsesledsætning på F	18/32	56,25%
Subjekt med relativsætning på F	6/32	18,75%
Adverbiel betingelsesledsætning i EP1 med genoptagelse gennem adverbium på F	3/32	9,38%
Adverbiel tidsledsætning på F	3/32	9,38%
Adverbiel tidsledsætning i EP1 med genoptagelse gennem adverbium på F	2/32	6,25%

Adverbielle betingelsesledsætningerne forekommer i 56,25% af forvægtskonstruktionerne:

(92) Hvis barnet trods din egen behandling bliver ved med at have øresmerter, skal du ringe til lægen med det samme. (LN5)

(93) Optræder hovedpinen i forbindelse med læsning, bør du få undersøgt dit syn. (LN4)

Af andre vægtforhold findes også konstruktioner med både for- og bagvægt (14 konstruktioner/ 5,69%), dobbelt bagvægt (11konstruktioner/ 4,47%), dobbelt forvægt (7 konstruktioner/2,85%) og overvægt[11] (2 konstruktioner/0,81%), men pga. det ringe antal konstruktioner behandles disse ikke yderligere.

7.3.2. Fundamentet

Opfordringen er, som det fremgår af nedenstående tabel, kendetegnet ved et udfyldt fundament (se Tabel 26 på side 184). Der er dog tre konstruktioner med tomt fundament, og det gælder alle *ja*/*nej*-spørgsmål, hvor modtageren opfordres til at tage stilling til egne symptomer:

(94)   Spreder den sig ud mod ørerne eller andre steder? (L10)

Det hyppigste led i fundamentet er subjektet, der forekommer i 144 konstruktioner (58,54%). Dette subjekt er oftest et pronomen, som det fremgår af Tabel 27 (se side 184).

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11 Konstruktioner med overvægt har ledsætninger i både fundamentet og neksusfeltet (s-pladsen eller a-pladsen): *Selv om der ikke er Trang til Afføring, bør man, f.eks. kort efter at man er staaet op, gaa paa W. C.* (L4), eller de har ledsætninger i neksusfeltet og indholdsfeltet (S-pladsen eller A-pladsen): *Af hensyn til sikkerheden bør mennesker, der tvinger kroppen til at arbejde om natten, skabe et mønster, der tvinger kroppen til at sove om dagen* (L7). Konstruktioner med overvægt forekommer meget sjældent.

Tabel 26: Fundamentsudfyldning i opfordringer

EP1_led	Fundament_Led1	Fundament_Led2	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	Tom	-	3	1,22%
	Adverbial	-	77	31,30%
		Adverbial	4	1,63%
		Subjekt	3	1,22%
	Foreløbigt subjekt	-	3	1,22%
	Objekt	-	3	1,22%
	Subjekt	-	142	57,72%
		Subjekt	3	1,22%
Adverbial	Adverbial	-	6	2,44%
Subjekt	Subjekt	-	2	0,81%

Tabel 27: Forekomstrelation mellem led1 og materiale1 på fundamentet ved opfordringer

				Fundament_Realisering1					
				Absolut forekomst			Relativ forekomst		
Fundament_Led1	Fundament_Led2	Fundament_Materiale1	Fundament_Materiale2	Tom	Ja	Nej	Tom	Ja	Nej
Tom	-	-	-	3			1,22%		
Adverbial	-	Adjektivisk frase	-		1			0,41%	
		Adverbialfrase	-		21	1		8,54%	0,41%
		Adverbiel at-infinitiv	-		1			0,41%	
		Adverbiel ledsætning	-		36			14,63%	
		Adverbium	-		16	4		6,50%	1,63%
		Pronomen	-		3			1,22%	
	Adverbial	Adverbiel ledsætning	Adverbiel ledsætning		4			1,63%	
	Subjekt	Adverbium	Pronomen		3			1,22%	
Foreløbigt subje..	-	Pronomen	-		3			1,22%	
Objekt	-	Pronomen	-		2	1		0,81%	0,41%
Subjekt	-	Adjektivisk frase	-		4	4		1,63%	1,63%
		Pronomen	-		33	32		13,41%	13,01%
		Substantiv	-		29	5		11,79%	2,03%
		Substantivfrase	-		32	5		13,01%	2,03%
	Subjekt	Substantiv	Substantiv		3			1,22%	

71 ud af de 246 opfordringer (28,66 %) har et pronominelt subjekt i fundamentet (herunder tre foreløbige subjekter og et interrogativ). Særlig bemærkelsesværdigt er det, at 32 af disse 71 pronominer er ikke-realiserede, hvilket kan forklares ved, at der er en markant brug af ellipser:

(95) a. Ved høj feber bør du være let påklædt,
      b. [du] [bør] opholde dig i et køligt rum
      c. og [du] [bør] drikke rigeligt med væske. (LN5)

(96) a. Man skal tage Cubebe oc ith sticke Mwskat
      b. oc [man] [skal] tygge dem sammen
      c. oc [man] [skal] holde dem i mwnden (L1)

Det skal dog her tilføjes, at 20 af konstruktionerne forekommer i L1, mens de resterende 12 konstruktioner er fordelt på otte andre lægebøger. Der synes altså at være et mønster ved pronominaludeladelserne i L1, men dette mønster gentages ikke i de øvrige lægebøger.

Udeladelserne i L1 ses især ved opremsninger af handlinger, som skal ske ifm. tillavningen af et "lægemiddel", i (96a-c) med ingredienserne Cubebe og Muskat, og i (97a-e) med malurt:

(97) a. Hwo som haffuer hoff[u]it verck eller kan icke soffue han skal tage Malwrt
  b. Oc [han] [skal] siwde hende vel i vand
  c. Oc [han] [skal] gnide siden vrterne smaa i vandet/
  d. oc [han] [skal] binde dem om hoffuedet mit ith klede
  e. oc [han] [skal] legge sig saa at soffue

Der er et mønster i valget af opfordringernes pronominelle subjekter. Der er tale om følgende pronominer: *der*, *det* (*den, dette* eller *de*), *man*, *han* og *du* (eller *I*), som anvendes i opfordringerne. Af disse er *der* mindst interessant, fordi det udelukkende bruges som foreløbigt subjekt:

(98) Der maa sørges for regelmæssig Afføring (L4)

Foreløbige subjekter er der ikke mange af blandt korpussets opfordringer, idet kun tre opfordringer (1,22%) rummer et foreløbigt subjekt. Pronominet *det* (*den, dette* eller *de*) anvendes især om lægemidler eller behandlingsformer:

(99) a. Osen af Rødløg, Honning, Bleghvidt, Røgelse, Tælle, ligemeget af hvert, gjør [du] heraf en Smørelse.
  b. Den skal varmes, naar man vil bruge den. (L2)

Heller ikke pronominet *det* er særlig interessant, fordi det kun forekommer syv gange som subjekt i opfordringerne.

Derimod er brugen af pronominet *man* interessant, dels fordi det er yderst frekvent (41 konstruktioner/ 57,75%) i opfordringerne, og dels fordi det har tre anvendelsesmuligheder:

a) Modtagerinkluderende (modtageren er patienten)
b) Modtagerinkluderende (modtageren er plejeren)
c) Generisk brug

I de modtagerinkluderende anvendelser bruges *man* som erstatning for *du*, formentlig fordi forfatteren "af stilistiske eller pragmatiske grunde ønsker at undgå at skulle vælge et af de egentlige personlige pronomener." (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 558). *Man* erstatter i de fleste tilfælde et 2. persons pronomen, som *du*, *I* eller *De*. Hvem *man* betegner, er forskelligt, idet modtageren kan være patienten:

(100) Man bør derimod isolere sig fra Omverdenen, da Snue er meget smitsom. (L4)

(101) Man maa oc æde vel aff de Søde Kirseber met kerne oc altsamme som de ære. (L1)

(102) Man tager heraf 3 om Dagen i 3 Dage. (L4)

Alternativt kan modtageren være plejeren, der skal gøre noget (eller undlade at gøre noget) for patienten:

(103) Man skal ikke vække søvngængeren […] (L8)

(104) […] og man behøver her lige så lidt som ved andre kortvarige Febersygdomme tvinge Mad i Patienten. (L3)

Ved den generiske brug af *man*, hvoraf der er færrest forekomster, inkluderer *man* i højere grad en professionel behandler:

(105) Man skal dog være varsom med at kalde en Hovedpine "nervøs", før alle Muligheder for organisk Forklaring er udtømte. (L3)

(106) Man skal kende sygdomsbilledet først. (L10)

Denne generiske brug findes også ved pronominet *han*, der udelukkende forekommer i L1 (8 konstruktioner/11,27%). *Han* forekommer i konstruktioner, hvor pronominet genoptager en pronominalfrase med en relativsætning fra EP1, som vi så det i eksempel 97. *Han* er ligesom ved det generiske *man* ikke som sådan modtagerhenvendt, men inkluderer i princippet alle mennesker. Derfor kan man betragte den generiske brug som den mest høflige eller venlige form for modtagerinkludering.
　　Den mest direkte form for modtagerinkludering i opfordringerne ses ved pronominet *du* (og i et enkelt tilfælde *I*), som optræder i 11 konstruktioner (15,49%). Dette *du* er i ti ud af 11 konstruktioner henvendt direkte til modtageren som patient, mens det blot en gang omfatter en plejer (forælder). Nedenfor ses eksempler på de to forskellige brug af *du*:

(107) Du bør heller ikke udføre aktiviteter som kræver stort engagement (LN3)

(108) Du skal ikke være bange for at barnet ikke spiser ret meget, blot der er væske nok (150 ml pr kilo legemsvægt i døgnet). (L10)

Hvor instrukserne alle er direkte henvendt til modtageren pga. imperativformen og det interpolerede subjekt, er opfordringerne kun direkte modtagerinkluderende ved den modtagerinkluderende brug af *man*, ved *du* og ved brug af interrogative konstruktioner, hvoraf der blandt opfordringerne kun findes syv i alt.
　　Det næsthyppigste materiale ved subjekterne i fundamentet er (jf. Tabel 27) substantiver og substantivfraser, som begge findes realiseret i 32 konstruktioner og ikke-realiseret i fem. Hertil kommer otte konstruktioner med en adjektivisk frase. Disse otte konstruktioner stammer alle fra L1 og L8, og de begrænser sig til de to fraser *de Rige* og *den forkølede*. Det er her interessant, at L1 berører de forskellige muligheder for behandling, som penge giver adgang til (jf. (109a-c). For substantiverne, substantivfraserne og adjektivfrasen gælder samme mønster for realisering som ved pronominerne:

(109) a.　De Rige mwe lade købe Coloquintida paa Apoteken/
　　　　b.　Oc [de Rige] [mwe] blende hende met hunig/ och [met] Tiwre galle/
　　　　c.　Oc [de Rige] [mwe] smørge Artzen der meth/ (L1)

(110) a.　Afføringsmidler bør kun tages i en kort periode,
　　　　b.　og [afføringsmidler] [bør] kun, [tages] hvis en mere fiberrig kost ikke virker. (L8)

Adverbialet er det næstmest frekvente led i fundamentet (jf. Tabel 26). I 83 konstruktioner (33,74%) optræder et enkelt adverbial på fundamentet, mens der i 4 konstruktioner (1,63%) er to sidestillede

adverbialer. Dertil kommer de tre samtidige forekomster (1,22%) af adverbial og subjekt i fundamentet. Disse stammer fra L1, og de forekommer ifm. adverbialet *Item* 'paa samme eller lignende maade' (*ODS*):

(111) Item Man maa oc støde bulme frø met qwindemilk (L1)

(112) Item man skal siwde Rosemarin blad oc qwiste i vin (L1)

(113) Item Man skal tage Isop (L1)

Eftersom konstruktionerne alle stammer fra L1, må det betragtes som et særtilfælde, der enten er betinget af sproghistoriske forhold eller af forfatterens præferencer.

Adverbialernes materiale udgøres hovedsageligt af adverbielle ledsætninger (40 konstruktioner), adverbier (23 konstruktioner) og adverbialfraser (22 konstruktioner), og adverbialerne betegner især betingelse og tid, hvilket ligner billedet ved instruksernes fundamentsudfyldning:

(114) Hvis du synes, at du sover godt og vågner af dig selv, men alligevel føler dig træt, bør du kontakte din læge. (L5)

(115) I starten tilbydes barnet små mængder væske hyppigt. (LN5)

(116) Når anfaldet er overstået, rådes du til gradvist at overgå til fast føde igen. (L7)

Det kan dermed konkluderes, at afsenderen i særlig grad ønsker at angive i hvilke tilfælde og hvornår, en handling skal udføres.

Ved fundamentet er det endvidere interessant at se på de konstruktioner, som har EP1-udfyldning og ledgenoptagelse i fundamentet, og de konstruktioner, som kun har en ledsætning i fundamentet. Vi konkluderede i afsnit 7.2.2, at det mest almindelige blandt instrukserne var at have EP1-udfyldning med genoptagelse i fundamentet. Billedet er dog et andet i opfordringerne, hvor der kun forekommer otte sådanne konstruktioner, fx:

(117) Naar man kan icke soffue fore sorg/ da skal man tage osen aff vedbende (L1)

(118) Den som haffuer megen Løsen han skall æde Teragelse om morgenen fastendis (L1)

(119) Men er saadanne Bylder saa store som Nødder, da skulle de brændes indtil Grunden med et gloende Jern (L2)

Derimod forekommer der 40 konstruktioner med ledsætningsudfyldning i fundamentet uden forudgående EP1-udfyldning, fx:

(120) når man går ind i soveværelset, skal man ikke komme til at tænke på arbejde, regninger eller aftaler. (L6)

(121) Såfremt tilstanden varer over 48 timer, skal barnet tilses af en læge. (L8)

Deraf kan vi slutte, at det mest frekvente er at have ledsætningsudfyldning i fundamentet uden

forudgående EP1-udfyldning i opfordringerne. Vores data afkræfter altså hypotesen hos Brøcker et al., når vi ser på opfordringerne. Men hvorfor er der denne forskel i instrukserne og opfordringerne? Vi vil ikke gå så langt som til at sige, at instrukserne er talesproglige, mens opfordringerne er skriftsproglige, idet hele vores korpus er skriftsprogligt. Vi kan derimod til senere studier opstille den hypotese, at instrukserne har flere talesprogsnære træk, fordi instrukserne er direkte (og pågående) henvendt til modtageren, mens opfordringerne har flere skriftsproglige træk, fordi de i nogle tilfælde er generiske fremfor direkte modtagerinkluderende. Det kræver dog et større korpus at afgøre spørgsmålet.

7.3.3. v-pladsen
I modsætning til instrukserne er verbalerne ved opfordringer ikke så ensartede, bortset fra modus, som er indikativ. Ser vi på fordelingen af verbalerne, står alle, undtaget et enkelt sidestillet tilfælde, som et enkelt verbal. Fordelingen mellem fuldverber og modalverber viser, at der er en klar overvægt af modalverber, idet de forekommer i 208 konstruktioner (84,55%), mens der blot er 38 fuldverber (15,45%). 40 af de 208 modalverber er ikke-realiserede, og det drejer sig hovedsageligt om L1, der har færre realiserede verbaler i forhold ikke-realiserede (21/26). Dette kan forklares på samme vis som ved pronominet *han* (jf. (97 a-e) i afsnit 7.3.2). Fordelingen af modalverber er som følger:

Tabel 28: Modalverbernes typer på v-pladsen i opfordringer

v-plads_type1	v-pladsModalverbumtyper1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Fuldverbum	Fuldverbum	38	15,45%
Modalverbum	Burde	85	34,55%
	Måtte	30	12,20%
	Skulle	93	37,80%

Blandt modalverberne er *skulle* med 93 forekomster (37,80%) det mest udbredte, således at afsenderen meddeler modtager, hvad denne skal gøre af nødvendighed (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 770):

(122) Voksne skal blive hjemme fra arbejde, indtil betændelsen har lagt sig. (L6)

(123) Deler man seng, skal den være stor nok til, at begge kan bevæge sig uden at forstyrre hinanden. (L7)

Brugen af *skulle* findes i samtlige lægebøger undtaget LN1, og der er tilsyneladende ikke den store forskel i brugen af dette modalverbum.

Det næsthyppigste modalverbum er *burde*, der forekommer i 85 konstruktioner (34,55%). Dette modalverbum bruges også i en lang række af lægebøgerne, dog ikke i de to ældste lægebøger.

Hansen & Heltoft opregner tre anvendelsesmåder af modalverbet *burde*: sandsynlighed, hensigtsmæssighed og pligt (deontisk) (ibid.: 772f). *Burde* bruges i lægebøgerne ikke om det *sandsynlige*, men der er derimod eksempler på både den *hensigtsmæssige* og den *deontiske* brug. Det hensigtsmæssige indgår i "en mål-middel-relation der ikke er nødvendig, men anbefalelsesværdig, hvis målet skal nås" (ibid.: 773). Dette forhold ser vi, når *burde* i 26 konstruktioner, altså i knap en tredjedel, forbindes med en opfordring til at søge læge (eller anden behandler) eller at afprøve mulig behandling for at opnå lindring:

(124) Hvis man gennem længere tid har lidt af hovedpine, bør man gå til sin læge for at blive undersøgt nærmere. (LN1)

(125) Trækker Halsbetændelsen sammen til en Byld, bør man anvende varme, fugtige Vandomslag […] (L4)

Der er her ikke tale om nødvendighed, men det er ifølge afsenderen det hensigtsmæssige at gøre, hvis man ønsker at blive rask. Den deontiske brug af *burde*, der betegner det moralsk rigtige eller en pligt, er mere begrænset i vores korpus, men den ses i enkelte tilfælde, når der opfordres til fx at mindske risikoen for at smitte andre, som det sås i (100). Den moralske forpligtelse ligger i, at patienten skal undgå at smitte andre og ikke kun tænke på egen bedring.

Det sidste af de anvendte modalverber er *måtte*, der forekommer i 30 konstruktioner (12,20%). Her er brugen begrænset til 7 lægebøger (L1, L3, L4, L8, L9, L10 og LN5), og igen er det L1, der indeholder den største andel (13 konstruktioner / 43,33%), L3 indeholder 7 konstruktioner (23,33%), mens de resterende fem lægebøger blot har en enkelt eller nogle få konstruktioner med *måtte*. Der er dels tale om epistemisk nødvendighed (ibid.: 768), idet *måtte* bruges i forbindelse med behandlingsforslag, som ifølge afsenderen bygger på sund fornuft:

(126) Af Hensyn til Synkebesværet maa Kosten være flydende. (L3)

Desuden bruges *måtte* i enkelte konstruktioner om tilladelser (ibid.: 769):

(127) I øvrigt må barnet spise, hvad det har lyst til. (LN5)

Det er dog ikke altid helt klart, hvorfor et givent modalverbum er valgt fremfor et andet:

(128) Højere Temperatur maa vække Mistanke om alvorligere Lidelser: Halsbetændelse, Slim paa Lungerne, Mellemørebetændelse, Difteri, Influenza o.s.v. (L3)

(129) Kyssesyge bør mistænkes ved en halsbetændelse, der varer længere end 1 uge. (LN4)

(130) Har man haft diaré i to uger, eller er der blod i afføringen, skal man undersøges nærmere af lægen for at få klarlagt, hvad årsagen er. (L8)

(131) men hvis diarreen står på i mere end en uge eller [hvis diarreen] ledsages af alvorlige symptomer, bør lægen konsulteres, så den grundlæggende tilstand kan udredes og behandles. (L5)

(132) Der skal være frisk luft og køligt i soveværelset. (LN2)

(133) Soveværelset bør være mørkt, roligt og afslappende med en behagelig temperatur. (L8)

Når man ser på ovenstående eksempelpar, ser det ud til, at valget af modalverbum enten er et stilistisk valg, eller at forfatterne bag det første eksempel i eksempelparrene lægger større vægt på nødvendigheden af udsagnet end forfatterene bag det andet eksempel.

38 fuldverber optræder i de opfordrende konstruktioner (jf. Tabel 29); disse står alle i præsens, og de er alle realiserede. Ved fuldverberne tegner der sig et billede, når verbernes diatese undersøges:

Tabel 29: Fuldverbernes diatese på v-pladsen i
opfordringer

v-plads_Diatese	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Aktiv	11	28,95%
Passiv	27	71,05%

Der en tendens til at benytte passiv, hvilket sker i 27 konstruktioner (71,05%), mens der blot er 11 konstruktioner (28,95%) med et aktivt verbum. Disse aktive verber indgår i interrogative konstruktioner eller konstruktioner med *man*:

(134) Hvor er smerten? (L10)

(135) Man giver varme Omslag paa Øret. (L4)

De passive verber anvendes i stort omfang sammen med et subjekt, der betegner et lægemiddel, en behandlingsform eller sygdommens navn:

(136) Sugetabletter tages hver anden time. (L5)

(137) Såfremt man vælger at benytte dette præparat, tages en dosis på 1-2 mg ved sengetid. (L8)

(138) Akut mellemørebetændelse behandles med næsespray eller næsedråber, der forhandles i håndkøb.

Det er derfor ikke overraskende, at det især er verber som *anvendes*, *tages* og *behandles*, som er de mest frekvente.

Som bekendt er der ved *s*-passiv mulighed for agensstrygning, og derfor er *s*-passiverne kun indirekte modtagerinkluderende; *s*-passiverne bruges om det almengyldige/generelle og gælder derfor alle mennesker, hvorfor modtageren ikke bliver direkte konfronteret af afsenderen. Dertil kommer, at agensstrygningen retter perspektivet mod sygdommen/behandlingsformen eller et færdigproduceret lægemiddel fremfor mod modtageren. Det er derfor interessant, at *s*-passiverne ikke forekommer i de ældste lægebøger, hvor der så i stedet forekommer mange imperativer. De ældste lægebøger er dermed mere direkte konfronterende end de yngre, ligesom fokus i højere grad er rettet imod modtageren og dennes produktion af "lægemidler", end imod selve sygdommen.

7.3.4. s-pladsen

Som det fremgår af Tabel 30, er det mest frekvente, at s-pladsen er tom:

Tabel 30: Ledforekomster på s-pladsen samt leddenes realisering i opfordringer

		s-plads_Realisering1					
		Absolut forekomst			Relativ forekomst		
splads_Led1	splads_Led2	Null	Ja	Nej	Null	Ja	Nej
Null	Tom	149,0			60,57%		
Foreløbig subjekt	Tom		2,0	1,0		0,81%	0,41%
Objekt	Tom		2,0			0,81%	
Subjekt	Tom		85,0	6,0		34,55%	2,44%
	PRN (refleksiv)		1,0			0,41%	

Dette er tilfældet i 149 konstruktioner (60,57%), mens det næst hyppigste er et enkeltstående subjekt, hvilket forekommer i 85 konstruktioner (34,55%). Dertil kommer, at de fleste led på s-pladsen er realiserede, idet kun 7 konstruktioner (2,84%) har ikke-realiserede led på s-pladsen.

Subjektets materiale, består overvejende af pronominer:

Tabel 31: Leddens materiale på s-pladsen

splads_Led1	splads_Materiale1	s-plads_Realisering1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	-	-	149	60,57%
Foreløbig subjekt	Pronomen	Ja	2	0,81%
		Nej	1	0,41%
Objekt	Pronomen	Ja	2	0,81%
Subjekt	Pronomen	Ja	69	28,05%
		Nej	6	2,44%
	Substantiv	Ja	13	5,28%
	Substantivfrase	Ja	4	1,63%

Ud af de 97 konstruktioner med s-pladsudfyldning er de 80 konstruktioner (82,47%) udfyldt af et pronomen, hvoraf de syv pronominer er ikke-realiserede, og dette er den eneste materialetype, som udelades. At objektet og det foreløbige subjekt på s-pladsen udgøres af et pronomen, kommer ikke som den store overraskelse (jf. Kristensen 2011: 69). Derimod kan den høje frekvens af pronominelle subjekter (75 tilfælde/81,52%) være særlig for opfordringer.

Hvad subjekterne angår, er det igen som på fundamentet *man* (38) og *du* (26), som er de dominerende, og *du* afstedkommer en direkte modtagerinkludering. Ved *man* er der tale om 22 konstruktioner med henvendelse til modtageren som patient, syv konstruktioner med henvendelse til modtageren som plejer samt en enkelt konstruktion, hvor det er uafgørbart, om *man* er generisk eller henvendt til modtageren som plejer, fx:

(139) […] men hvis man ikke kan sove længe nok og ikke er udhvilet, når man vågner, skal man gå til læge. (L7)

(140) Endelig bør man erindre sig, at en Halsbetændelse er smitsom, hvorfor man bør komme saa lidt i direkte Berøring med den Syge, som [det er] vel muligt. (L4)

(141) […] og når man er sammen med en person med forkølelse, bør man være ekstra opmærksom på at overholde god hygiejne. (LN1)

7.3.5. a-pladsen

Som det fremgår af Tabel 32, har 70 konstruktioner (28,46%) et led på a-pladsen, mens de resterende 176 konstruktioner (71,54%) følgelig er tomme. Der er altså relativt flere adverbialer på a-pladsen i opfordringerne end i instrukserne, om end begge underkategorier er kendetegnet ved forholdsvis få udfyldte a-pladser. Udfyldningen af a-pladsen sker udelukkende gennem realiserede adverbialer.

Tabel 32: a-pladsens materiale i opfordringer

aplads_Led1	aplads__Materiale1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	-	176	71,54%
Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	10	4,07%
	Adverbium	60	24,39%

Adverbialerne er i langt overvejende grad simple, men der forekommer dog også 10 adverbialfraser. Tre af lægebøgerne (L2, LN1 og LN4) har ingen adverbialer på a-pladsen i de opfordrende konstruktioner, men disse tre lægebøger har også kun hhv. 7, 9 og 7 opfordringer, hvorfor de ikke betragtes som repræsentative. De øvrige lægebøger har mellem tre og 11 a-pladsudfyldninger. I opfordringerne er de oftest forekommende adverbialtyper negationer, modal- og tidsadverbialer, hvoraf negationen er klart i overtal:

(142) Hvis barnet ikke vil spise, fordi det gør ondt at synke, skal det ikke tvinges. (LN5)

(143) Denne mundskyllevæske bør du dog ikke synke. (L5)

(144) En Patient med ondt i Halsen bør ikke bruge samme Spiseredskaber som raske. (L3)

Ligesom i instrukserne er der en tendens til, at der er fokus på det, som modtageren ikke skal gøre for at forebygge sygdom eller opnå lindring. Tidsadverbialerne er også hyppigt forekommende:

(145) Man maa da at gribe til Anvendelse af Lavementer. (L4)

(146) Hvis dit barn bliver sløvt eller får besvær med vejrtrækningen, skal du straks ringe til lægen. (LN5)

(147) Forældre skal altid vaske hænder efter kontakt med barnet for at undgå at sprede smitten til sig selv eller familien. (LN5)

Opfordringerne følger altså mønsteret i instrukserne ved hovedsageligt at have negationer og tidsadverbialer. Den procentvise udfyldning af a-pladsen er dog noget højere i opfordringerne end i instrukserne.

7.3.6. V-pladsen
Opfordringernes V-pladsudfyldning adskiller sig markant fra samme i instrukserne, som kun havde enkelte adverbielle udfyldninger (se Tabel 33 på side 193). Det oftest forekommende materiale på V-pladsen er fuldverber, hvilket kan forklares gennem de mange modalverber på v-pladsen. Modalverberne på v-pladsen forbindes i 186 konstruktioner med et enkelt fuldverbum på V-pladsen, som enten står i infinitiv aktiv (137 konstruktioner) eller infinitiv passiv (49 konstruktioner), ligesom der er et enkelt tilfælde med to sidestillede verber i infinitiv aktiv:

(148) For at bryde denne cirkel skal du ændre vanerne. (LN3)

(149) Præparaterne bør generelt kun anvendes en uges tid. (L8)

(150) Man skal efterfølgende gerne spise og drikke kolde flydende ting […]. (L9)

Tabel 33: Ledforekomst og materiale på V-pladsen

StoreVplads_led1	StoreVplads_led2	StoreVplads_Materiale1	StoreVplads_Materiale2	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	Tom	-	-	36	14,63%
Fuldverbum	Tom	Infinitiv aktiv	-	137	55,69%
		Infinitiv passiv	-	49	19,92%
	Fuldverbum	Infinitiv aktiv	Infinitiv aktiv	1	0,41%
	PRN (refleksiv)	Infinitiv aktiv	Pronomen	6	2,44%
	Sub-frase	Infinitiv aktiv	Sub-frase	5	2,03%
	VRA	Infinitiv aktiv	Adverbium	1	0,41%
	VVA	Infinitiv aktiv	Adverbium	5	2,03%
		Infinitiv passiv	Adverbium	1	0,41%
Hjælpeverbum	Fuldverbum	Infinitiv aktiv	Infinitiv aktiv	1	0,41%
			Perfektum participium	1	0,41%
Modalverbum	Fuldverbum	Infinitiv aktiv	Infinitiv aktiv	1	0,41%
Sub-frase	Tom	Sub-frase	-	1	0,41%
VVA	Tom	Adverbium	-	1	0,41%

En undersøgelse af V-pladsens ordfrekvens viser, at *være* med 12 forekomster er et af de oftest forekommende verber. Verbet bruges til at angive, hvad der af nødvendighed skal være tilfældet, før lindring/helbredelse kan finde sted:

(151) Patienten skal være sengeliggende, saa længe der er Feber.

(152) Ved høj feber bør du være let påklædt (LN4)

Ligesom i instrukserne optræder verberne *undgå* (11 konstruktioner) og *tage* (13 konstruktioner) ofte. For *tage* er der hovedsageligt tale om forekomster fra L1 i betydningen 'tage fat i':

(153) a. Man skal tage Cubebe oc ith sticke Mwskat/
       b. oc [man] [skal] tygge dem sammen
       c. oc [man] [skal] holde dem i mwnden (L1)

Undgå bruges derimod mere bredt på tværs af lægebøgerne, og verbet betegner handlinger eller fænomener, der kan forværre tilstanden:

(154) Hvis du har kyssesyge, skal du undgå meget kraftig fysisk aktivitet (f.eks. Maratonløb eller eliteidræt) i 3 måneder, mens almindelig motion fortsat kan anbefales. (LN4)

(155) Nervøse Mennesker bør undgaa for stærke Sindsbevægelser (L3)

(156) Når du er oppe og ude af soveværelset, bør du undgå stærkt lys, hvis det er muligt. (LN3)

(157) Hvis du har mavesår eller svien i maven skal du undgå midler med acetylsalisyre (Kodimagnnyl, Aspirin, Treo). (LN2)

Ift. instrukserne er det desuden påfaldende, at *kontakte* kun optræder to gange i opfordringerne, og

der er slet ingen interne referencer til andre dele af det pågældende leksikon gennem verber som *se* eller *klikke*.

Som det ses i Tabel 33, er der også 36 tomme V-pladser (14,63% af det samlede antal opfordringer). Disse forekommer som følge af brugen af fuldverber på v-pladsen. Dertil kommer, at der også forekommer konstruktioner, hvor V-pladsen er udfyldt af andet end verber; dette ses ved de relativt få idiomatiske udtryk, som forekommer i opfordringerne. De idiomatiske udtryk er dannet via brug af refleksiver (seks konstruktioner / 2,44%), brug af verbale subfraser (fem konstruktioner/2,03%) samt brug af modifikationsadverbier (seks konstruktioner/2,44%):

(158) [du] [bør] opholde dig i et køligt rum (LN4)

(159) Især i Sommervarmen maa man være forsigtig med Nydelsen af overgemte Fødevarer og altfor rigelig Nydelse af Frugt, især Blommer. (L3)

(160) Får man det værre, skal man selvfølgelig holde op. (LN3)

I instrukserne var *sørge for* og *passe på* de hyppigst forekommende verbalfraser med modifikationsadverbier. *Pas på* forekommer ikke i opfordringerne, mens *sørge for* forekommer i 2 ud af 6 konstruktioner med modifikationsadverbium, og som det fremgår af ovenstående eksempler lægges der vægt på noget, som modtageren skal være forsigtig med eller helt undgå.

7.3.7. S-pladsen

Også ved opfordringerne er S-pladsen hyppigst brugt til objekter, og alle led på opfordringernes S-plads er realiserede:

Tabel 34:Ledforekomst mellem S-pladsens led

StoreS-plads_led1	StoreS-plads_led2	StoreS-plads_led3	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	Tom	Tom	108	43,90%
Indirekte objekt	Objekt	Tom	1	0,41%
Objekt	Tom	Tom	101	41,06%
	Frit prædikativ	Tom	2	0,81%
	Objekt	Tom	6	2,44%
		Objekt	5	2,03%
	Objektsprædikativ	Tom	4	1,63%
Objektsprædikativ	Objektsprædikativ	Tom	1	0,41%
Subjekt	Tom	Tom	3	1,22%
	Subjekt	Tom	1	0,41%
Subjektsprædikativ	Tom	Tom	13	5,28%
	Subjektsprædikativ	Subjektsprædikativ	1	0,41%

I 101 konstruktioner (41,06%) står der et enkelt objekt på S-pladsen, mens der er seks konstruktioner (2,44%) med to sidestillede objekter og fem konstruktioner (2,03%) med tre eller flere objekter, idet der findes sætninger med op til 8 sidestillede objekter:

(161) Du bør i størst mulig grad undgå fedt og stegt mad, kulsyreholdige drikke, rå grøntsager, frisk frugt, hele nødder, stærke krydderier og madvarer med mange fibre (broccoli, majs, bønner,

ærter, kål og blomkål). (LN3)

Med 108 konstruktioner (43,90%) er en tom S-plads det næsthyppigste. Dette skyldes bl.a. de mange passive verber på både v-pladsen og V-pladsen.

Desuden forekommer ikke mange konstruktioner med subjektsprædikativer (14 konstruktioner/5,69%), frie prædikativer (to konstruktioner/0,81%) eller objektsprædikativer (5 konstruktioner/2,04%). Dette skyldes også brugen af de *s*-passive verbalformer samt det faktum, at prædikativerne hovedsageligt indgår i beskrivelserne. Når der trods alt forekommer 14 konstruktioner med subjektsprædikativer, skyldes det de tidligere omtalte konstruktioner, der beskriver, hvordan omstændighederne skal være, før lindring/helbredelse kan finde sted (jf. afsnit 7.3.6).

Det blev ifm. instrukserne nævnt, at der var et påfaldende ringe antal indirekte objekter. Dette gør sig også i udpræget grad gældende i opfordringerne, hvor der blot findes et enkelt indirekte objekt. Dette kan dog forklares ved den direkte inkludering af modtageren som patient, der i langt de fleste tilfælde skal gøre noget for egen lindring, ligesom der i opfordringerne optræder passive verbaler, som ikke kan have indirekte objekter. I forbindelse med det enkelte indirekte objekt er det desuden interessant, at det ikke er en patient, som skal udsættes for en handling, men derimod almenvellet, der skal tages hensyn til:

(162) Forkølelsespatienter bør vise deres Medmennesker det Hensyn at holde et Lommetørklæde udbredt for Mund og Næse, naar de hoster eller nyser. (L3)

På S-pladsen er objekternes materiale i overvejende grad substantiver (43 konstruktioner / 17,48%) og substantivfraser (41 konstruktioner / 16,67%):

Tabel 35: Det første leds materiale på S-pladsen

StoreS-plads_led1	StoreS-plads_Materiale1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	-	108	43,90%
Indirekte objekt	Substantivfrase	1	0,41%
Objekt	Substantivfrase	41	16,67%
	at-infinitiv	8	3,25%
	Substantiv	43	17,48%
	Adjektivisk frase	1	0,41%
	Akkusativ med infinitiv	3	1,22%
	Nominal ledsætning	3	1,22%
	Pronomen	19	7,72%
Objektsprædikativ	Adjektivisk	1	0,41%
Subjekt	Substantivfrase	2	0,81%
	at-infinitiv	1	0,41%
	Substantiv	1	0,41%
Subjektsprædikativ	Substantivfrase	4	1,63%
	Adjektivisk	5	2,03%
	Adjektivisk frase	5	2,03%

Vi ser desuden objekter, der består af pronominer. Disse forekommer kun i L1, og de demonstrerer de historiske datas særegenhed nemlig ved deres brug af tre køn:

(163) a. [for snwe] SKall man tage vilt timean/ som man kalder vor Frwe sengehalm
     b. Oc [man] [skall] gøre hannem varm. (L1)

(164) a. De Rige mwe lade købe Coloquintida paa Apoteken/
     b. Oc [de Rige] [mwe] blende hende met hunig/ och [met] Tiwre galle/ (L1)

(165) a. [Om Maffuen er forstoppet oc man ville haffue Løsen] DA skal man tag Tiwre Galle/ Olye/
       och lidet salt/
     b. oc [man] [skal] blende det vel tilsammen. (L1)

(166) a. Item Man maa oc støde bulme frø met qwindemilk
     b. oc [man] [maa] blende det met fiole olye/

Timean er maskulinum, *Coloquintida* femininum, mens der bruges neutrum om helheder, dvs. *Tiwre Galle/ Olye/ och lidet salt* danner en helhed, hvorfor det efterfølgende bliver refereret til ved hjælp af et pronomen i neutrum. Det samme gør sig gældende ved *bulme frø met qwindemilk.*
     Det kan derimod konstateres, at der stort set ikke forekommer ledsætninger blandt S-pladsens materiale (3 konstruktioner / 1,22%), og der forekommer kun otte objekter i form af en *at*-infinitiv, som betegner en handling, modtageren skal udføre:

(167) Når anfaldet er overstået, rådes du til gradvist at overgå til fast føde igen. (L5)

(168) Hvis Søvnløsheden skyldes Overanstrengelse og Spekulationer maa man søge at faa Patienten
      til at tage Ferie. (L3)

7.3.8. A-pladsen
A-pladsen er som tidligere nævnt pladsen for både adverbialer og den del af verbalfrasen, der vedrører relationsadverbiet (jf. afsnit 7.2.8). Som det fremgår af Tabel 36, er der en tydelig tendens til, at A-pladsen er udfyldt, idet kun knap en tredjedel af konstruktionerne har en tom A-plads:

Tabel 36: Forekomstrelation mellem A-pladsens led

StoreA_plads_led1	StoreA_plads_led2	StoreA_plads_led3	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	-	-	86	34,96%
Adverbial	-	-	98	39,84%
	Adverbial	-	46	18,70%
		Adverbial	9	3,66%
	VRA	-	1	0,41%
		Adverbial	1	0,41%
VRA	-	-	1	0,41%
	Adverbial	-	3	1,22%
		Adverbial	1	0,41%

Andelen af udfyldte A-pladser ligner den, som kunne konstateres i instrukserne. Det hyppigste er, at A-pladsen udfyldes af et enkelt adverbial, hvilket forekommer i 98 konstruktioner (39,84%), mens 46 konstruktioner (18,70%) har 2 sidestillede adverbialer. Blot ni konstruktioner har tre eller flere sidestillede adverbialer. I 3,55% af instrukserne optrådte der et relationsadverbium på A-pladsen, mens kun 2,86% af opfordringerne har en sådan:

(169) men [man] [skal] blot føre barnet roligt tilbage til sengen. (L8)

(170) Ved høj feber skal man klæde barnet af. (LN5)

I (169) ses relationsadverbiets funktion som retningsangiver for verbalhandlingen. Opfordringernes A-pladsmateriale ligner materialet fra instrukserne:

Tabel 37: A-pladsens materiale ved Led1

StoreA_plads_led1	StoreA_plads_Materiale1	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst
Tom	-	86	34,96%
Adverbial	Adverbialfrase	105	42,68%
	Adverbiel at-infinitiv	10	4,07%
	Adverbiel Ledsætning	15	6,10%
	Adverbium	25	10,16%
VRA	Adverbium	5	2,03%

Det mest frekvente materiale for adverbialerne er adverbialfraser, som forekommer i 105 konstruktioner (42,68%), mens der forekommer adverbier i 25 konstruktioner (10,16%) og adverbielle ledsætninger i 15 konstruktioner (6,10%). Materialeforekomsten hænger igen sammen med de adverbialtyper, som er mest frekvente:

Tabel 38: Adverbialernes kategorisering på A-pladsen

Kategori	Absolut forekomst	Relativ forekomst målt på antal adverbielle udtryk på A-pladsen
Betingelse	6	3,03%
Formål	15	7,58%
Goal	20	10,10%
Middel	23	11,62%
Måde	15	7,58%
Sted	33	16,67%
Tid + Varighed	42	21,21%
VRA	7	3,54%
Årsag	5	2,53%
Andet (Agens, Følge, Iterativ, Komitativ, Modsætning, Modtager, Resultat, Sammenligning og Source)	32	16,16%

Igen er det adverbialer, der betegner tid/varighed og sted, som er mest frekvente, hvoraf sted og til dels varighed og tid som oftest udtrykkes vha. en adverbialfrase:

(171) Afføringsmidler bør kun tages i en kort periode (L7)

(172) Den forkølede bør saa vidt Muligt holde sig inden Døre. (L3)

I modsætning til instrukserne er der i opfordringerne ikke mange betingelsesledsætninger, hvorfor det hovedsageligt er tidsadverbialerne og til dels adverbialer, der betegner varighed, som står for ledsætningsmaterialet, idet tidsadverbialerne dog også kan udgøres af adverbialfraser:

(173) Den skal varmes, naar man skal bruge den. (L2)

(174) Hos et brystbarn bør amningen genoptages så hurtigt som muligt. (L8)

I Tabel 38 ses det også, at der i opfordringerne er relativt mange adverbialer, der betegner goal og middel, og disse bidrager til den høje frekvens af adverbialfraser:

(175) Selvom der ikke er Trang til Afføring, bør man, f.eks. kort efter at man er staaet op, gå på W. C. (L4)

(176) Synkesmerter lindres med varme drikke, blød kost og smertestillende håndkøbsmedicin (LN2)

Igen kan man altså se en sammenhæng mellem brugen af ledmateriale og brugen af adverbialkategorier på A-pladsen.

7.3.9. Sammenfatning

Opfordringerne udgør den mindste underkategori af tekstarten handlingsregulering, og i mange af lægebøgerne er andelen af opfordringer meget lille. Sprogligt er de kendetegnet ved som oftest ikke at have vægt i konstruktionerne, og når de har vægt, er det bagvægt eller forvægt. Vægten i bagvægtskonstruktioner skyldes varigheds- og tidsledsætninger på A-pladsen og relativsætninger på S- og A-pladsen, mens forvægten hovedsageligt skyldes tids- og betingelsesledsætninger i fundamentet uden forudgående EP1-udfyldning. Fundamentet er som hovedregel udfyldt i opfordringerne, især af pronominelle subjekter (hvoraf de fleste er modtagerinkluderende), og adverbielle ledsætninger, der betegner tid eller betingelse. På v-pladsen er der udelukkende tale om modus indikativ, og de fleste verber udgøres af modalverber, hvoraf *skulle*, der betegner nødvendighed, er oftest forekommende. Når v-pladsen er udfyldt af et fuldverbum, er det som oftest passivt, og det kombineres i så fald med et subjekt, der betegner et lægemiddel, en behandlingsform eller sygdommens navn. På s-pladsen forekommer der som oftest realiserede pronominelle subjekter, hvoraf det modtagerinkluderende *man* igen er mest frekvent. Ift. instrukserne er a-pladsen oftere udfyldt, dette udelukkende gennem simple realiserede led, og som oftest af adverbialtypen negationer. De mange modalverber på v-pladsen medfører en høj udfyldningsgrad på V-pladsen, som oftest fuldverber, mens andelen af verbalfraseinterne adverbier er lille. Igen er verberne *undgå* og *tage* højfrekvente, hvilket sammen med negationerne antyder, at afsenderen har fokus på det, som modtageren ikke skal gøre. S-pladsen er hovedsageligt udfyldt af realiserede objekter, mens prædikativer og indirekte objekter kun sjældent forekommer. Objekternes materiale består hovedsageligt af substantiver og substantivfraser, men også pronominelle objekter forekommer, dog kun i L1. På A-pladsen består adverbialernes materiale hovedsageligt af adverbialfraser, hvilket skyldes, at der i høj grad bliver anvendt adverbialer, der betegner goal, middel, sted og tid/varighed; sidstnævnte er endvidere medvirkende til, at der på A-pladsen forekommer adverbielle ledsætninger.

7.4. Sammenligning

Vi har nu behandlet instrukserne og opfordringerne i vores data, og behandlingen viser, at der er visse forskelle mellem dem, men at der også er overraskende mange ligheder.

Det er kendetegnet for begge underkategorier, at de som hovedregel har konstruktioner uden vægt; hvis konstruktionerne har vægt, er det ved instrukserne hovedsageligt bagvægt, mens opfordringerne har en næsten ligelig fordeling af for- og bagvægtskonstruktioner. Når konstruktionerne har forvægt, skyldes det tids- eller betingelsesledsætninger i enten EP1 eller fundamentet, og når de har bagvægt skyldes det betingelses- og tids/varighedsledsætninger,

objektledsætninger eller relativsætninger til led på enten S- eller A-pladsen.

Instrukserne udgøres af imperativer, mens opfordringerne udgøres af *s*-passiver eller konstruktioner med modalverberne *burde*, *måtte* og *skulle*. Det giver nødvendigvis forskellige udfyldningsgrader i fundamentet og på V-pladsen samt forskelligt materiale på v-pladsen. Instrukserne har hovedsageligt tomme fundamenter, og hvis der sker udfyldning, sker det vha. adverbialer. Opfordringerne har derimod hovedsageligt fundamentsudfyldning i form af pronominelle subjekter, der dels er modtagerinkluderende og dels generiske, substantiver/substantivfraser, som betegner et lægemiddel, en behandlingsform eller sygdommens navn, og adverbialer. Den generiske brug af de pronominelle subjekter samt *s*-passiverne medfører, at opfordringerne betragtes som "venligere" eller i hvert fald mindre pågående end instrukserne, som er direkte modtagerhenvendte.

Det kunne endvidere konstateres, at visse verber hyppigt anvendes i begge underkategorier; det gælder verberne *tage* og *undgå*; derimod anvendes de højfrekvente verber *kontakte* (en læge) samt *se*/*klik* stort set udelukkende i instrukserne. Den hyppige forekomst af disse verber samt den hyppige forekomst af substantiverne *lægen* og *barnet* kunne give det indtryk, at lægebøgernes vokabular er relativt begrænset.

Ligeledes kan det konstateres, at a-pladsens udfyldningsgrad er relativt ringe i begge underkategorier, og når a-pladsen udfyldes, sker det som oftest vha. negationer og tidsadverbialer. Når brugen af mange negationer sammenholdes med den højfrekvente brug af verbet *undgå*, giver det det billede, at lægebøgerne beskæftiger sig en del med, hvad modtageren ikke skal gøre.

Opfordringerne har ift. instrukserne en relativt højere udfyldningsgrad af V-pladsen, hvilket skyldes opfordringernes mange modalverber på v-pladsen. Derimod har begge underkategorier en relativ ringe forekomst af verbalfraseinterne adverbier på V-pladsen. Det tegner det billede af lægebøgernes handlingsreguleringer, at de har forholdsvis få idiomatiske udtryk. Som bekendt har idiomatiske udtryk metaforen som oprindelse, og de hører mestendels til i talesproget og i litteraturen, hvor de kræver modtagerens fortolkning for at blive forstået. I lægebøgernes handlingsreguleringer er sprogbrugen derimod konkret, hvilket gør, at modtageren ikke behøver at lave fortolkninger for at forstå budskabet.

S-pladsen er langt overvejende udfyldt af (sidestillede) objekter, mens prædikative konstruktioner og konstruktioner med indirekte objekter er relativt sjældne i begge underkategorier. Prædikativerne hører til i beskrivelserne, så det er ikke mærkeligt, at de ikke figurerer i særlig høj grad i handlingsreguleringerne. Derimod er det bemærkelsesværdigt, at de fleste lægebøger ikke har konstruktioner med indirekte objekt, og det antyder, at lægebøgerne ikke beskæftiger sig med pleje af andre, men derimod med pleje af modtageren som patient. En undtagelse herfra er dog L1.

I begge underkategorier placeres der i prioriteret rækkefølge adverbialfraser, adverbier og adverbielle ledsætninger på A-pladsen. Vægtningen af materialet hænger sammen med de foretrukne adverbialkategorier: tid/varighed og sted, i instrukserne betingelser og i opfordringerne middel og goal. Med undtagelse af betingelserne, som kun kan udtrykkes vha. ledsætninger, kan alle adverbialkategorierne udtrykkes vha. adverbialfraser. Det viser altså, at lægebøgernes handlingsreguleringer hovedsageligt beskæftiger sig med de tidslige aspekter, de rumlige forhold samt i nogen grad betingelserne for modtagerens handlinger ifm. sygdomsbekæmpelse.

9. Overvejelser om resultater og metode

Da vi påbegyndte projektet med at beskrive lægebøgerne, troede vi, at vi havde tilstrækkeligt meget materiale til at kunne konkludere noget om tekstartsunderkategoriernes sproglige udformning. Vi har tidligere behandlet handlingsreguleringer i madopskrifter (jf. Kristensen & Brunø 2013), hvis sproglige udformning var relativt ensartet. Det viser sig dog, at lægebøgernes sproglige udformning er langt mere varieret end madopskrifternes, og hvad værre er, de tre underkategorier er meget ujævnt fordelt i lægebøgerne, hvilket i nogle tilfælde gør det vanskeligt at konkludere noget

entydigt. I Tabel 2 sås det fx tydeligt, at L2, L6, L9, LN1 og LN4 har væsentligt færre opfordringer end de øvrige lægebøger. Ligeledes sås det, at lægebøgerne L3, L4 og L9 slet ingen instrukser har. Det er selvfølgelig kendetegnende for fx L3, at den har forholdsvis få handlingsreguleringer ift. det samlede antal konstruktioner:

Tabel 39: Fordeling af kon-
struktioner i læge-
bøgerne

Lægebog	
L1	298
L2	53
L3	163
L4	133
L5	498
L6	263
L7	385
L8	409
L9	176
L10	776
LN1	252
LN2	368
LN3	426
LN4	284
LN5	193

Som sådan er det karakteristisk for denne lægebog, at den har forholdsvis flere beskrivelser/argumentation end handlingsreguleringer – i hvert fald når vi ser på de tekstopslag, som vi har analyseret fra L3. Problemet er dog, at L3 har forholdsvis færre konstruktioner end fx L10, og derfor kan vi ikke med sikkerhed sige, at tekstarternes fordeling ikke er tilfældig.

Dertil kommer, at L2 er den dårligst repræsenterede lægebog med kun 53 konstruktioner, mens L10 har 776 konstruktioner. Det giver unægteligt en noget skæv fordeling i analyserne, hvilket vi har forsøgt at kompensere for ved hovedsageligt at arbejde med procentvise forekomster. I det videre arbejde vil vi involvere flere tekster fra alle andre lægebøger end L10 for således at kunne drage mere sikre konklusioner. Med et større tekstkorpus, der er mere ligeligt fordelt, vil det formelig også være muligt at lave forudsigelser om den handlingsregulerende stilart, hvor vi i denne artikel udelukkende har arbejdet deskriptivt pga. datausikkerheden.

10. Afslutning
I denne artikel har vi præsenteret *Syntaktisk Stilistik*, der er et korpuslingvistisk projekt, hvis hovedformål er at forbinde pragmatik og syntaks i stilistiske beskrivelser af tekster. Artiklens fokusområde har været lægebøgers handlingsreguleringer, nærmere bestemt lægebøgers instrukser og opfordringer. Vi har behandlet vores korpus, arbejdsmetoden og de arbejdsredskaber, som vi benytter os af i projektet. Arbejdsredskaberne drejer sig om databaseprogrammet *Access* samt datavisualiseringsprogrammet *Tableau*. I analyserne behandlede vi først sætningernes ledforekomster samt deres materiale, vægt, realisering mv. på sætningsskemaets pladser. Dernæst forsøgte vi at finde forklaringer på vores iagttagelser bl.a. gennem behandling af ordfrekvens, sproghistoriske forandringer, mønstre i brugen af adverbialkategorierne og behandling af teksttypens betydning for de sproglige valg.

I behandlingen af dataene blev det flere gange tydeligt, at vi ikke kunne drage entydige

konklusioner pga. dataenes forskellige vægtning – dels pga. det stærkt varierende antal sætninger pr. lægebog, og dels pga. nogle lægebøgers relativt få opfordringer. Denne usikkerhed vil vi forsøge at eliminere i det videre arbejde ved at inddrage flere data fra de underrepræsenterede lægebøger.

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Culture, creativity, and conceptual dynamics: a structural hypothesis[*]

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Abstract: We redefine the concept of *concept* and focus on its role in the intersubjective processes that characterize cultures and socio-cultural communities. Conceptual density determines communitary coherence, whereas highly variable conceptual velocity determines inter-conceptual dynamics within distinct conceptual fields of activity. Conflicts opposing force of conceptual authority by *knowledge* value and force of conceptual authority through social *power* lead to states of socio-cultural consensus or dissensus. A model of socio-cultural concept structure is proposed. The *creativity* of concept formation is considered a major factor in historical time; different states of relative balance between creativity and stereotypicity are mentioned, including a dangerous neutralizing alliance of artistic and epistemic creativity on the one hand and technologically enhanced power concepts. In a sense, *thinking* is ubiquitous, but only certain forms of thinking are *creative* – those that minimize the influence of social power and maximize the slow intersubjective processes of shared experience that make culture *be* culture.

1. A culture is a network of interactions

Human world civilization is heterogeneous and distributed over the territorial surface of our planet according to variations in the density of a *network of human interactions* that practically define what we call cultures. From this point of view, a culture is an area characterized by relatively high density of interactions, exchanges and communications, including direct or indirect numerical, textual, commercial, formal or informal exchanges and media-borne shaping and sharing of information and behavior. The ongoing mediatic and computational globalization of such networks affects, but does not eliminate, these variations and differences in interactive density that account for the relative stability of distinct cultural areas of the Earth which constitute what we could call cultural continents. If we look closer at these vast areas, we will see that they are again subdivided into sub-areas separated by tiny zones of low density of interactions; these sub-areas correspond *grosso modo* to our 'countries', territories invested with the interactive institutions pertaining to national states, and often marked by national boundaries. These entities are in fact covered by *semiotic networks* substantiated by phenomena such as: a monetary system (currency); a more or less idiosyncratic writing system (defining literacy and numeracy); a set of predominant spoken languages: administrative languages (law, politics) and various historical and vernacular idioms and dialects; a postal communication system; energy and water systems; and – not least – an informal set of customary places and habits, routines and rituals of conversation, celebration, interpersonal contact, communitary life in general. Social migration of different sorts always creates a certain trans-cultural heterogeneity even at this level, but the social reality of *material production*, with its requirements of organized work and maintained working conditions (health, education), necessarily situated in the framework of what we call 'countries', assures a minimum of conceptual and communicational density on this level.

A culture, on whatever level considered, can thus be conceived as a network of intersubjective interactions manifesting a certain intensity and density; its limits in space or time occur where or when the density of its interactions decreases so importantly that its contents must be *translated* into other cultures in order to circulate.[1]

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[*] The ideas of this paper grew out of a KULVER seminar on *Culture and the Migration of Concepts*, organized by the Norwegian Ministry of Culture, Oslo, February 2012. A Danish draft has been published in the journal *Kritik* (Brandt 2012).

[1] An intersubjective transaction, consisting in a pair of acts – an addressing act and a responding act – is always conceptual, in the sense that it is regulated by a concept of relevance (otherwise any response could match any address). The *intensity* of a *series* of address-response transactions may be defined by the number of transactions effectuated per time unit (say, per day). It depends on the possible velocity of each transaction, which again depends

2. Socio-cultural acts are conceptually creative.

Any exchange,[2] verbal, numerical, behavioral, objectal, can be seen as involving an event of address (A1) from subject (S1) to subject (S2), and its inverse response (A2):

Figure 1: The anatomy of an exchange

$$S1 \rightarrow A1 \rightarrow S2 \ \& \ S2 \rightarrow A2 \rightarrow S2$$

S1   S2

A2   A1
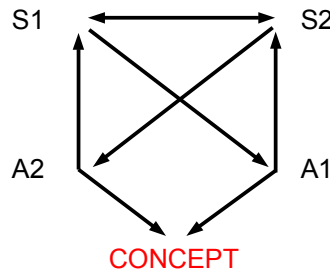
CONCEPT

The equivalence between A1 and A2 – whether they be signs or things – must be obtained through a *concept* that allows comparison and establishment of either quantitative or qualitative equilibrium. The superordinate concept – implicit or explicit – is the general equivalent of the exchange, which makes it possible for the participants to determine the closure of the sequence.[3]

A cultural area which is also a society (production, distribution, reproduction, see below) will therefore contain and consist of a multitude of simultaneous exchanges, intersubjective interactions of many types, and every sort of exchange will imply its characteristic concepts. But since exchanges are realized in time, the processes of exchange can be compared as to their variable time frames, or typical velocity. Some processes are fast, others are relatively slow. The shortest time frames imply the most stable concepts: fast exchanges require simple and stable concepts, whereas slow exchanges can be satisfied by more complex and unstable concepts. This will mean that slower intersubjective interactions are potentially more conceptually *creative* than faster ones, which have to be more stereotypical.

All exchanges are of course conceptually creative, the faster ones simply by the fact that their very iterations create mutations and the slower exchanges by the fact that their unfolding allows explicitation of their inherent concepts. These concepts thereby become negotiable, sensitive to individual imaginations. Explicitated concepts unfold as *discourses* in socio-cultural contexts and are normally studied as such. However, socio-cultural discourses may not be the real cognitive cradle of the concepts they involve; instead, the latter may be grounded in the underlying processes of interaction here discussed. In other words, concepts may not even be grounded in language; admittedly, language is conceptually invested, but this may again be due to the underlying interactions.

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on its referential contents and their concept: its type. There are therefore 'fast concepts' and 'slow concepts'; an extreme example: conversions of currency are significantly faster than translations of poetry. The communicational *density* is then a speculative measure of the integral of intensities of transactions over a certain spatial area. Bal (2002) builds her entire cultural analysis on concepts: "Concepts are the tools of intersubjectivity: they facilitate discussion on the basis of a common language". Virilio (1977) builds his analysis of power relations on the 'speed' of interactions. The considerations presented in this paper are especially inspired by the first installment in Serres' (1968) *Hermès* series, as well as the following four installments (Serres 1972, 1974, 1977, 1980); in particular, Serres' Leibnizian thinking has influenced this approach.

2 On this point, see Brandt (ms).

3 In terms of semiotic mental space theory, the semantic mechanism underlying the stabilization of equivalents can be described as a process of *blending* by which A1 and A2 merge into an imaginary blended A* schematized by the idea of a notion of shared topical content.

3.   Conceptual dynamics

In a societal formation, i.e. a cultural area that is also a society, upholding instances and institutions of production, distribution, and reproduction, the different sorts of intersubjective interactions form an articulated whole, a quasi-system that can be schematically generalized by a concentric model like the following, distinguishing processes by decreasing velocity of interactions from (the center):

Figure 2: A concentric model of concept migration

Centripetal green
arrow: concept
migration as
knowledge

Architecture, Design,
Art, Literature, Music

Philosophy, Religion

Sciences, Medicine

Education

Technology

Administration

Politics

Econ

Centrifugal
red arrow:
concept migra-
tion as *power*
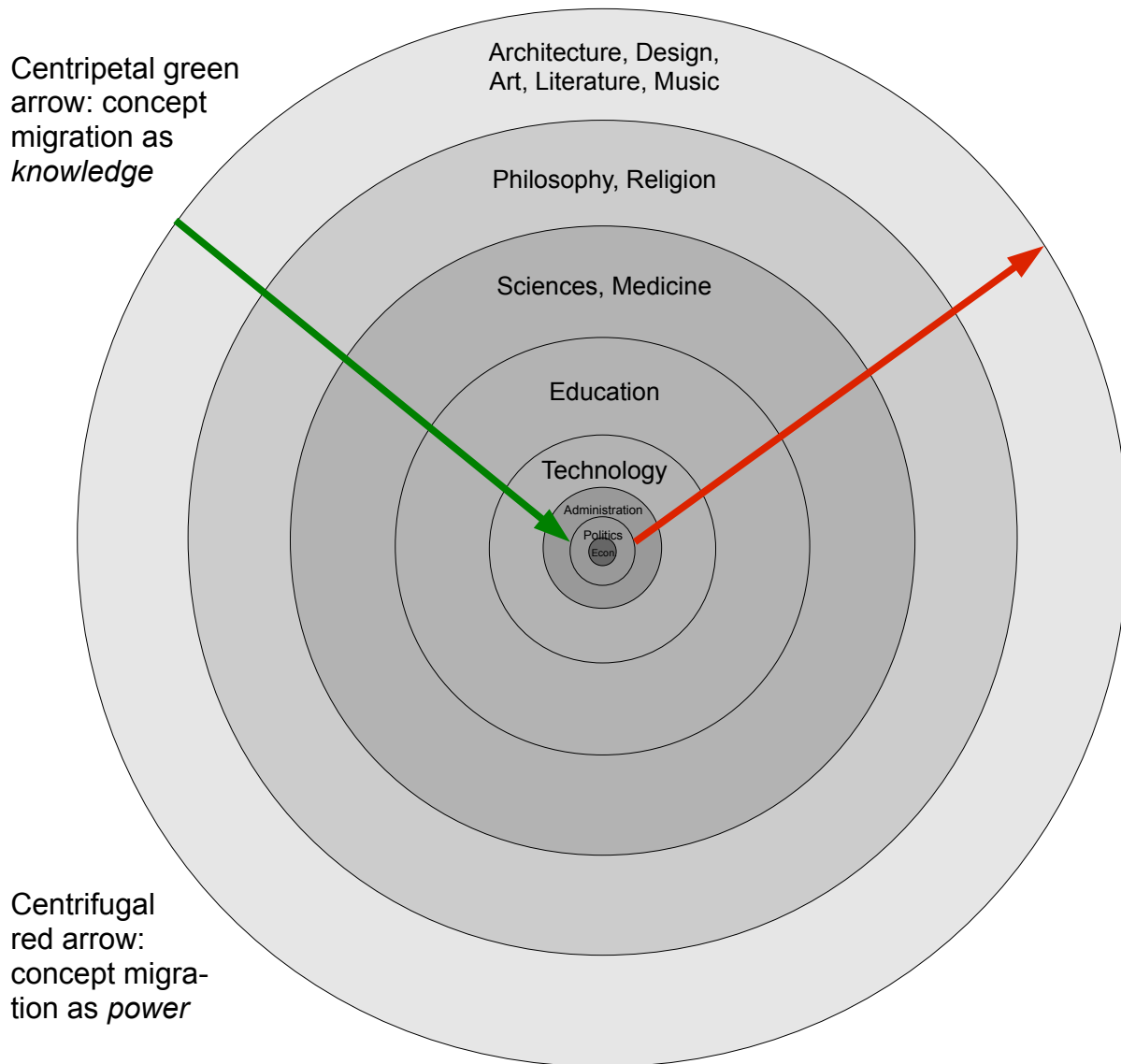
The configuration depicted above is Economy → Politics → Administration → Technology → Education → Science and Medicine → Philosophy and Religion → Art, Architecture, Design, Literature and Music, but there may be other ways to order the list of interactional streams, and there may be other elements or spheres in the concentric conceptual quasi-system, but a model of this 'dromological' kind should yield an overview of the sort of semiotic reality we are analyzing here.

Concepts created in the slower outer spheres will migrate inwards, due to their attractive authority as elements of knowledge, while concepts stamped in the faster inner spheres migrate outwards, by the authoritative force of their social power (to have power over someone is to be

faster than them, by "Virilio's law"). Decision processes gradually flow outwards, while information processes, new ideas, styles, and sensitivities gradually move towards the center. In general, all fields or spheres are of course determined by the crossing and the inherent conflicts between these inverse forces and flows: conceptual dynamics.

The periphery is an aesthetic domain of particularly slow conceptual processes that naturally touches on the corresponding domains of other socio-cultural areas; so, art and literature, music and architecture, etc., will be international and intercultural by nature, while still being conceptually influenced by their local situatedness. On the other hand, the political and economic processes and their concepts will move all surrounding spheres and also reach far beyond their local base by virtue of their high velocity, which connects them to corresponding spheres in other social-cultural areas – financial transactions, and the economy and politics they allow, will be directly connected to other economies and politics as efficiently as the available numerical communication channels permit.

4. Variations

Socio-political styles can be characterized in terms of conceptual dynamics. Authoritarianism, as a socio-cultural style, always shows a predominance of the centrifugal conceptual flows, and therefore often blocks creativity around itself; science, philosophy, art, literature regularly suffer from the demands of faster stereotypes that follow from such centrifugal imbalances in the migratory dynamics. Democratic conjunctures, by contrast, will show a more balanced relation between inward- and outward-bound forces, and will typically rely on approximative concepts of *common sense* resulting from pragmatic compromises between knowledge and power (concepts are half-true and half-useful, so to speak). In social situations of serious political and economic break-down, the slow and creative centripetal conceptual forces can even become predominant, and they will then be able to cause significant cultural changes (examples: the artistic and philosophical culture of the *Baroque* and the crisis of the societies that let this multi-faceted and highly creative phenomenon happen and flourish; the cascade of radical *Modernisms* in the post-romantic societies riddled with wars, civil wars, and chaotic politico-economical states of affairs).

Furthermore, it happens in times of politico-economical crisis that aesthetic concepts flow directly into the political conceptual sphere, from where they again migrate outwards in the form of a mixed conceptual discourse and social style; an aesthetico-political alliance takes form, articulating emphatic artistic expression and emphatic political expression, as in the Italian case of poetic and sculptural futurism and national militantism that became a *fascist* movement (a surprising amalgam of creative *avant*-*garde* and reactionary brutality). What happened, for example, in the Spanish and the German brutalist aesthetico-political creations of the last century may suit the same formula, with variations. Another remarkable phenomenon is the emergence of new high tech *theocracies* in this and the last centuries: a certain vacuum in some of the inner spheres allows religion, religious concepts of law, life and death, to flow inwards and take over from evacuated political concepts.

5. Identity or creativity

Individuals grow up in socio-cultural contexts but often experience migration and inter-cultural changes of such contexts. Inter-cultural migration stimulates artistic and intellectual interests, so many thinkers, writers, musicians, painters etc. have personal histories of cultural change, language change, and change of civil identity. By contrast, living in a homogeneous cultural setting, participating in multi-level exchanges of varying velocity and conceptual complexity strengthens the intersubjective bonds and allows the individual to familiarize with, and fine-tune, to the fine-grained nuances of the multiplicity of interactions that a person's life in a community involves.[4]

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4   Languages constantly develop specific dialects with specific prosody, specific writing systems, specific idiomatic

Migration stimulates creativity, while also stimulating feelings of incommunication, existential or nostalgic, or both. An artist's work will be the signature replacing the traces he would have left as integrated part of a particular culture. According to the experience of many observers, feelings of strong bonds and affirmative ties to the social and cultural entity in which one actually lives seldom coincides with important artistic creativity, but more often with the production of kitsch, propaganda and clichéish expressions; a certain *degré* of incommunication and non-identification with the cultural context – and of course experiences of being explicitly rejected by that context – seem more likely to trigger reflection, art, invention in general. Integration and the acquisition of a local socio-cultural identity may be criteria of personal happiness and thrift, but they seem remarkably frustrated goals, or just absent realities, in the life of great creators. A possible conclusion is that identity is at the antipodes of creativity. Identity certainly leads to inclusive, fast communication of efficient, frozen concepts, whereas the opposite, a certain un-identity of individuals, may thus lead to the opposite, a certain propensity to live by slow and creative, exclusive, unwelcome, difficult ideas and conditions of exchange. The saying *ars longa, vita brevis* may refer to the problem of velocity that makes even a life span insufficient for achieving the optimal time frame of the conceptual work called art. But life is itself a form of communication: the 'message' will be delivered in the narrative part of the obituary, the memoirs, the esoteric memories of the friends of the departed. In this sense, a life still is an 'address', however impersonal, to which there is a 'response', at least emotionally. So, a concept arises retrospectively from the 'interaction', in this case a *moral* concept – what was wrong, right, heroic, cowardly, surprising, ridiculous, terrible…? The distance from this maximally slow concept to the maximally fast spheres, where it would do the most good, is long and marked by obstacles; fast activities are therefore almost by default immoral (cf. financial tricks and frauds, political corridor deals and the like). One understands philosophers like Diogenes of Sinope or Baruch Spinoza, who refused to approach the spheres of social power as Plato would have done and Aristotle did. Thinking, that is, by a recent definition (Deleuze & Guattari 1991), explicitly producing concepts, is going into unknown terrain, asking questions and finding problems where formerly there was nothing to know or to wonder about, because our own fast projections were hiding the not-knowing – *le non-savoir* (Bataille 1987). *Slowing down* the communication, including the subjective inner dialogue we call thought,[5] removes the hiding screens and exposes the blanks in our epistemic maps, allowing in those fertile spots questions to emerge and hypotheses to grow.

Cognitively speaking, human minds are laboratories of conceptual blending, 'bubble chambers', while 'making up our minds', in the sense of deciding what something should mean, which creation should be considered and remembered as valid, predominantly depends on our 'deadlines', that is, on the time span available for conceptual elaboration. Deadlines are in turn determined by intersubjective interaction: cognition and culture are inseparable.

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expressions and co-speech gestures, probably thereby protecting and assuring the existence of its fine-grained communication, which would be damaged by generalization and standardization of 'codes'. 'Difference' is thus a real value in the sense of a guarantee of a maintained level of finer comprehension – emotionally, connotationally. The administrative requirement of standard pragmatic means of expression works in the opposite direction, so some countries have to negotiate the principles of national communication in terms of linguistic politics. The drive toward specification and 'difference' is at least as strong as the drive toward standardization.

5   The psychologist-economist Daniel Kahneman (2011) very efficiently shows the importance of using a 'slow system' for solid and creative reflection. He hypothesizes a mental two-speed structure, where this essay suggests a more comprehensive gradual structure for thinking and communication (thinking being intra-subjective communication).

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On social pragmatics: its origin and early development

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As to the origin of *social pragmatics*, it can be partly found in the study of human behavior in general (by sociologists, psychologists, economists, rhetoricians, and so on), partly in the interest that linguists developed in the various forms of socially oriented and colored language use (such as dialects). With regard to the former, its scientific interest remained purely static-descriptive (as in the disciplines, now mostly obsolete, of sociometrics and sociography). In particular, the study of variation in language was either perceived against a historical background, or studied in the context of modern society; these interests crystallized respectively around the kernel disciplines of historical dialectology (with its emphasis on "Wörter und Sachen", in the tradition of the Swiss dialectologist Jakob Jud; 1882-1952), and around the burgeoning discipline of sociolinguistics in its extended form, where the object of study included not only the regional dialects of a language, but also other, socially stratified and gender-determined varieties of speaking, later augmented by an interest in professional speech, religious discourse, baby, children's and adolescents' talk, speech characteristic of certain current genres (such as rapping), and so on.

It is customary to partition this union set of social, behavioral, psychological, economic and linguistic interests in language according to whether they consider themselves either as *linguistic* theories informed by a social, psychological, economical etc. point of view, or as theories of the phenomena in question as subsumed under a *social* perspective. In the first case, we usually refer to these theories as belonging to *sociolinguistics*, while in the second case, we talk about the *sociology of language*. Unfortunately, I think that this distinction, while practically motivated as a division of labor, does not make much sense in a wider, theoretical perspective. First off, the social linguistic phenomena can be theoretically distinguished, but not be separated in the real world. And then, the other way around, since all language presupposes a social formation, both for its origin and for its use, human social formations cannot historically be imagined without the use of language.

The early sociologists of language concentrated on description. According to the Nestor of North American researchers in the field, Joshua Fishman (1926-), what is needed is "a reliable and insightful description of any *existing* patterns of social organization in language use and behavior toward language" (Fishman 1972: 47; emphasis original). Such patterns are drawn upon in attitudes and policies towards phenomena such as bilingualism (Fishman 1972: 52-53), in debates as to whether or not to influence language use and development through various policies, in particular when it comes to interfering with language attrition or language shift, and engaging in efforts to bring back languages from the brink of extinction (compare the current discussions on 'endangered languages'). By contrast, in an early article the British linguist John R. Firth (1890-1960) stressed the need to study what he termed the "context of situation" (Firth 1964: 66—a term that originally goes back to the Polish-British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), and was to echo in the work of sociologists, sociolinguists and pragmaticists throughout the decades to come; the social semiotics of Michael Halliday (1928-) comes to mind as a prime instance. Firth's own notion of 'serial contextualization' preludes on what Fishman came to call 'the dynamic sociology' of language (1972: 51), a notion which comes pretty close to what we consider to be a 'social pragmatics'. And finally, among the US sociolinguists who made their mark during the past century, one should not omit to mention the late John J. Gumperz (1928-2012), whose pioneering work started as 'advanced dialectology' (in his early work on local Norwegian ways of speaking), but

eventually matured in his studies of 'contextualization' that have built bridges across territories where few had wanted to go, in the intersection of linguistics and anthropology.

One other researcher who devoted his entire life to creating a synthesis of the two aspects mentioned here, was the Frenchman Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). Starting out from his personal experiences in Algeria during the independence wars, he gradually embraced a comprehensive view of human activity; rather than considering it a deterministic reaction of individuals to pre-established conditions and emerging stimuli, he argues that "it is necessary to abandon all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to the mechanical functioning of pre-established assemblies [or] models." (1979: 73)

Individual activity does not, by itself, lead to societal organization; the fact that people *act* in some kind of collectivity does not automatically index the presence of *interaction*. But in order to coordinate the activities involved in social practice, humans have to communicate; the development of language is related to this practice, in particular the tool-making and tool-using processes that are specific for human activity and depend on *communicative* interaction: individuals acting with (or against) one another and communicating against the backdrop, both of Nature and of what the Frenc philosopher Jacques Rancière (1940-) has characterized as the "equalities and inequalities" that are the primordial parameters of any society, but in particular of our own, late-capitalist social formation (Rancière 1995:19; see Mey 1985: ch. 3.3).

A purely descriptivist model of studying human activity does not explain this societally oriented interaction; but, as Bourdieu also remarks, "the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction" (Bourdieu 1979: 81); it is the conditions of society that vouchsafe and sanction the ongoing action, which always occurs in a climate of 'equalities and inequalities'. Only if these oppositions are resolved in common human interaction, a common-sense world with a 'common-sensical' system of values may be established. This value system is "taken for granted" by all, "endowed with the objectivity secured by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world" (Bourdieu 1979: 80; in Bourdieu's elegant, but unfortunately un-translatable French, the system "va sans dire parce qu'il vient sans dire"; ibid.).

Even so, the objectivity that Bourdieu talks about is not the kind of objectivity that we attribute to a scientific experiment; rather, it is located in the "objective intentions" of the interactive process, and should not be confused with the subjective intentions of the interactants. For Bourdieu, the principle governing societal interaction is the human *habitus*, conceived of as the "internalization of [society's] objective structures as dispositions" (*ibid.*) – which, because they are not bound to a particular place or time or individual, are called "transposable" ('portable', as we would say to-day, in our computer-inspired terminology). The habitus is dialectically placed between the objective conditions, encountered as 'nature' or 'world', and the subjective categories through which we interpret them. The human activity aims at overcoming contrasting societal tendencies such as: equality vs. inequality, fact vs. 'view', personal preference vs. the common good, immigrants as threatening aliens vs. immigrants as indispensable work force, and so on and so forth. These oppositions are neither purely objective (in the sense that one can 'prove' them experimentally) nor are they created solely in the mind of the beholder, as it is often argued in today's public debates, when it comes to discussing problems of integration and assimilation with reference to the immigrant population.

By stressing the role of activity and interaction in the production and reproduction of society, Bourdieu has laid the groundwork for an objective evaluation of the societal formation, whose "sexual division of labour, domestic morality, cares, strife, tastes, etc. produces the structures of the habitus which become in turn the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (1979: 78). Consequently, the habitus is needed to guarantee an effective practice of communication through language, using the linguistic structures and constructions that are anchored

in our nature and culture. In Bourdieu's pithy formulation, "[habitus is] structured structures turning into structuring structures" (1979: 73), "history turned into nature" (ibid.: 78), our *natura secunda*, to borrow a term originally due to Aristotle, but famously adopted by St. Augustine.

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Womit identisch?[*]

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„Mia san mia!"
Motto des Fußballvereins Bayern München

Identität ist einer dieser Begriffe, die sich so leicht in den Mund nehmen lassen; jeder scheint etwas darunter verstehen zu können und wer ihn verwendet, wird selten herausgefordert, ihn doch zu definieren. Wir wissen ja schon, wovon die Rede ist. In der Soziolinguistik, oder um einen Begriff von Bucholtz und Hall zu verwenden, soziokulturellen Sprachstudien (2005: 586), hat man sich seit den achtziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts daran gewöhnt, der Untersuchung der Sprache eine wichtige Rolle bei der Erforschung von Identität zuzuschreiben. Aber was ist Identität überhaupt und wie verhält sich Sprache zu ihr?

Nicht nur die gesellschaftlich orientierten Sprachwissenschaftler betrachten Identität als einen brauchbaren Überbegriff für das, was sie unterrichten und worin sie forschen. Ich arbeite selbst an einem Institut für Kultur und Identität, das sich diesen Namen gegeben hat, als Philosophie, Geschichte, Kulturstudien sowie Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft im Jahre 2006 durch eine universitätspolitische und verwaltungsmäßige Maßnahme in einem Institut zusammengefasst wurden.

Wie andere Begriffe mit einer langen Geschichte wird „Identität" und seine Entsprechungen in anderen Sprachen des westlichen Kulturkreises (*identitet, identité, identity, ταυτότης, identità, identitats, identidad, identidade, identiteit*) in verschiedenen Traditionen und Kontexten verschieden verwendet, und wie Raymond Williams richtig unterstreicht, ist eine solche Verschiedenheit durchaus produktiv, denn "the complexity, that is to say, is not finally in the word, but in the problems which its variations of use significantly indicate" (1976: 81 s.v. *Culture*). So reden Philosophen, Mathematiker, Logiker, Psychologen, Soziologen, Soziolinguisten von Identität – mehr oder weniger begeistert; etwa sagt Wittgenstein „beiläufig", „von *zwei* Dingen zu sagen, sie seien identisch, ist ein Unsinn, und von *Einem* zu sagen, es sei identisch mit sich selbst, sagt gar nichts." (Tractatus 5.5303). Andere Logiker bestehen auf dem Unterschied zwischen Identität und Gleichheit: „Identität wird, werden wir sehen, erst im Zusammenspiel mit Nichtidentität bedeutsam …" (Freytag von Löringhoff 1961: 15) und „Identität ist nicht Gleichheit. Diese ist nämlich ein Grenzfall der Ähnlichkeit." (1961: 16) Damit sollten wir anderen lieber die Finger von der Identität lassen und mit der weniger vornehmen Gleichheit vorlieb nehmen – was aber gerade die Soziolinguisten durchaus nicht geneigt sind, zu tun.

Sonst so hilfreich, lässt uns Raymond Williams' mit seinen *Keywords* von 1976 im Stich. Sein Wörterbuch der Kultur und Gesellschaft enthält kein Stichwort "Identity". Cassins « Dictionnaire des intraduisibles » (2004) hilft uns schon eher auf den Weg. Dort werden drei Bedeutungen von Identität unterschieden (2004: 581); Identität als Ununterscheidbarkeit, auf Französisch « même que » oder « identique à » (wo aber zum Unwillen der Logiker nicht Gleichheit und Identität auseinandergehalten werden), was dem Lateinischen *idem* ‚der selbe' entspricht, weiter die persönliche Identität, das « soi-même » oder die « ipséité », was dem Lateinischen *ipse* ‚selbst' entspricht, und schließlich die ‚reflexive' Identität, die als Möglichkeitsbedingung der « énonciation » gedacht wird, also die Identität des sprechenden Subjekts – die letztere, philosophischste, und am Übergang von der Ontologie zum Transzendentalen verortet, wird

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Celebratory essay

letztlich auf Kants „Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht" zurückgeführt, wo vom „Bewußtsein seiner selbst" die Rede ist; „Daß der Mensch in seiner Vorstellung das Ich haben kann, erhebt ihn unendlich über alle auf Erden lebenden Wesen" (Cassin, Hrsg. 2004: 645, Kant 1907: 127). Das Historische Wörterbuch der Philosophie von Ritter und Gründer (1976: 144) weist darauf hin, dass Identität eine Gedankenbeziehung ist, die die „durch das diskursive Denken ermöglichte Vervielfältigung" der Bezeichnungen für einen Gegenstand wieder aufhebt: der Gegenstand mag viele Namen haben, das Bezeichnete ist das gleiche. Freges Morgenstern und Abendstern fallen uns hier ein.

Die Unterscheidung von « le même » und « soi-même », von *idem* und *ipse*, von dem Selben und dem Selbst ist später auch von Paul Ricœur hervorgehoben, der den Gegensatz dieser beiden Identitäten in seinem Begriff der narrativen Identität aufzuheben sucht (Ricoeur 1991).

Eins scheint aber klar zu sein: ein immer wiederkehrendes Thema in den Versuchen, Identität einzukreisen, ist der Hinweis darauf, dass Identität ohne ihren Gegensatz, den Unterschied eigentlich uninteressant ist; wenn es nur Identisches gäbe, bräuchten wir nicht davon zu reden; Identität ist erst interessant im Gegensatz zu etwas, was nicht identisch ist, eben anders. Das kommt bereits bei Heraklit zum Vorschein, von dem uns nicht überliefert ist, dass er von Identität redet, aber was er offenbar an dem gleichen, mit sich selbst identischen Fluss interessant findet, ist, dass er aus immer wieder verschiedenen Wassern besteht: „ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνουσιν, ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ." (Fragment 12), oder in Diels' Übersetzung: „Denen, die in dieselben Flüsse hineinsteigen, strömen andere und wieder andere Wasserfluten zu." (Diels 1972: 154) Auch bei Locke im 27. Kapitel des 2. Buches seines *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* von 1690 wird Identität gleich zusammen mit Verschiedenheit eingeführt: "Another occasion the mind often takes of comparing, is the very being of things, when considering anything as existing at any determined time and place, we compare it with itself existing at another time, and thereon form the ideas of identity and diversity." (1823: 47) Vielleicht wird Identität nicht geradezu als Unsinn gesehen, aber doch als etwas, was erst interessant wird, weil es zweierlei gleichsetzt, nämlich ein Ding zu zwei verschiedenen Zeitpunkten. Und in beiden Fällen haben wir mit relationalen Begriffen zu tun. Identität ist keine Eigenschaft eines Dings, sondern eine Beziehung zwischen zwei verschiedenen Dingen, die erst einmal verschieden gedacht werden müssen, bevor sie gleichgesetzt werden können. Dass die Venus mit sich selber identisch ist, ist trivial, aber nicht, dass der Morgenstern und der Abendstern der gleiche Planet sind, eben die Venus.

Von Sprache ist hier noch gar nicht die Rede, allenfalls in dem Sinne, dass Gleichheit und Verschiedenheit nicht bloß gedacht werden müssen, sondern auch sprachlich ausgedrückt. Bevor sich die Soziolinguisten als *Sprach*wissenschaftler aber für Identität interessieren konnten, mussten die *Sozial*wissenschaftler erst den Schritt von der persönlichen Identität-mit-sich-selbst zu der sozialen Identität-mit-anderen vollziehen. Henri Tajfel schreibt 1978, "social identity will be understood as that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to this membership." (Tajfel 1978: 63) Hier ist noch vom Selbst (*ipse*) des Individuums die Rede, aber als ein wesentlicher Teil dieses Selbst – und nicht etwa identisch mit ihm – wird das Wissen gesehen, dass dieses Individuum zu einer Gruppe gehört, deren Mitglieder etwas miteinander gemeinsam haben, also unter einem bestimmten Gesichtspunkt gleich sind. Und im gleichen Band schreibt Howard Giles, dass "social identity acquires meaning, however, mainly in comparison to other groups" (Giles 1978: 385) – Gleichheit ist nur interessant oder bedeutungsvoll, weil sie im Gegensatz zur Ungleichheit im Verhältnis zu anderen Gruppen gesehen wird. Giles interessiert sich aber nicht bloß für soziale Identität und soziale Differenz ganz allgemein, sondern für soziale Identität von Sprachgruppen. Hier und später bei Lachman Khubchandani ist Sprache plötzlich ein Index für Gruppenzugehörigkeit (Khubchandani 1986). Identifikation mit einer Sprache – aber nicht unbedingt Verwendung einer Sprache – wird als indexikalisch für

Gruppenzugehörigkeit gesehen; aber in einer brüchigen, nie ganz eindeutigen und immer in Bewegung befindlichen Weise; wie Khubchandani es später für Indien ausgedrückt hat:

> Until as recently as four or five decades ago, one's language group was not generally considered as a very important criterion for sharply distinguishing oneself from others ... Following Independence, language consciousness has grown, and loyalties based on language-identity have acquired political salience. (Khubchandani 1997: 92)

Zum relationalen – einschließenden wie abgrenzenden – Charakter der Identität kommt jetzt hinzu, dass Sprache als Index dieser Identität gesehen wird, vielleicht am deutlichsten und am ehesten bei Mary Bucholtz und Kira Hall in der Weise formuliert, wie es für uns Soziolinguisten heute Gemeingut ist. Bucholtz und Hall identifizieren den Mechanismus, durch den Identität konstruiert wird, als Indexikalität, "the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 594)

Wenn Bucholtz und Hall schreiben, "Identity is the social positioning of self and other." (2005: 586) gehen sie aber noch einen Schritt weiter: Identität ist nicht bloß – wie wir gesehen haben – das Gegenteil von Verschiedenheit. Es ist auch eine Beziehung (also ein mindestens zweistelliges Prädikat) und keine Eigenschaft (die ein einstelliges Prädikat wäre) und schließlich etwas, worauf sprachliche Indizes verweisen. Und nicht bloß das: Identität ist auch ein Prozess, und Sprache steht zu diesem Prozess in einer bestimmten Beziehung, sie ist indexikalisch für diese Identität. Sprache kann dabei die Wahl einer Sprache in einer Situation sein, in der mehrsprachige Repertoires zur Verfügung stehen, es kann aber auch die Verwendung einer phonologischen Variable sein, wie etwa die Wahl zwischen [ɑː] und [a] im Namen der Stadt Newcastle:

<div align="center">

ɑː   a
F07: they won't let me say Newcastle it has to be Newcastle

</div>

(Fabricius and Mortensen 2013: 391) – 'they' sind dabei Leute aus Nordengland. Das interessante – nicht bloß in einem technischen Sinne – ist aber auch, dass *diese,* indexikalische, Beziehung von Sprache zur Identität eine andere ist als die vorher erwähnte Beziehung zwischen verschiedenen, aber gleichen Dingen und Personen, die die Identität ausmachen. Die Identitätsrelation ist reflexiv, symmetrisch und transitiv. Was identisch ist (wenn auch vielleicht bloß im abgeschwächten Sinne der Gleichheit oder weitgehenden Ähnlichkeit unter dem hier jeweils relevanten Gesichtspunkt), ist identisch mit sich selbst; wenn etwas identisch mit etwas anderem ist, ist das andere auch umgekehrt identisch mit dem ersten; und wenn etwas mit etwas anderem identisch ist und dieses mit einem dritten, sind das erste und das dritte auch miteinander identisch. Die Indexikalitätsrelation ist aber weder reflexiv (nichts ist Index für sich selbst), symmetrisch (keine zwei Dinge sind Index für einander) noch transitiv: Indexikalität bildet keine Ketten.

Die Frage ist aber, ob wir Identität als *produziert* und nicht bloß *indiziert* von sprachlichen Elementen auffassen wollen. Die Mode geht heute dahin, alles als diskursiv produziert aufzufassen, also dem Diskurs nicht bloß die Rolle zuzuweisen, zu reproduzieren und auszudrücken, sondern geradezu alles das zu schaffen, was er zunächst einmal bloß durch die Indexikalisierung sinnlich erfassbar macht. Wir brauchen diesen letzten Schritt nicht vorzunehmen, der analytischen Schärfe unserer Beschreibungen geht dadurch nichts verloren.

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A journey through the stylistics of poetry

Review of Peter Verdonk, *The Stylistics of Poetry: Context, Cognition, Discourse, History.* (Series: Advances in Stylistics). London: Bloomsbury, 2013, xi + 198 pp., ISBN 978-1-4411-5878-9.

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1. Introduction

Sadly, many English departments at universities around the world are characterized by somewhat of a rift between the linguistically oriented aspects of their degree programs and the literature oriented ones. Fortunately, the English department where I work is happily free of such a problem, and its linguists and literary critics live in peace, harmony, and mutual respect. But I have witnessed and heard stories of near civil war in other English departments. In extreme cases, this rift is manifested in direct hostility between the department's linguists and its literary critics, and in many cases there is at least a lack of communication and sympathy between the two camps. This obviously has a number of unfortunate research-related and educational consequences, potentially resulting in a lack of coherence in the English degree program.

In such cases, what is needed is often a mediator-type of discipline which combines the literary and linguistic aspects of the English degree. One such discipline is stylistics, which combines literary and linguistic analysis and may indeed be seen as a discipline that captures the very spirit of philology. Peter Verdonk, Professor Emeritus of Stylistics at the University of Amsterdam, is among the most important figures in English stylistics and has always been driven by a fascination with both language and poetic literature. Throughout his long academic career, he has contributed with findings that have taken massive steps towards our understanding of the literary effects of poetic language as well as the interaction between poetry and the many contextual dimensions in which it exists. Importantly, Verdonk has always treated insights from both linguistics and literary criticism as valuable, and his work has helped bridge the gap between the two.

In 2013, Verdonk published, as part of Bloomsbury's *Advances in Stylistics* series, a volume entitled *The Stylistics of Poetry: Context, Cognition, Discourse, History*, which collects articles and papers published by Verdonk in the period from 1984 to 2010, thus spanning a great part of his career.

2. Synopsis

The volume contains eleven chapters, all of which, with the exception of the first chapter, are adaptations of articles published by Verdonk elsewhere. Save the first chapter, the chapters in the book are chronologically ordered in accordance with their original dates of publication. Although no formal grouping is made of the chapters into larger parts, the book may be divided into three major thematic sections, as it were. Chapters two to four offer stylistic analyses in a more traditional vein, while chapters five to seven primarily focus on contextual and discursive aspects of poetry and poetic language, and chapters eight to eleven primarily deal with poetry and poetic language in a cognitive perspective.

The first chapter is an introduction to the life and work of Verdonk, and to the book itself, and is written by Dan McIntyre, who is the editor of the *Advances in Stylistics* series. In this chapter, McIntyre also briefly accounts for some of the challenges faced by stylisticians of poetry. These are challenges which Verdonk has devoted his career to tackling from various angles, including discourse, semantics, pragmatics, pedagogy, cognition, history, and art – and his work has generated

numerous valuable insights and raised new questions, paving the way for important future research.

2.1. *Classic stylistics and poetry as discourse*

As mentioned above, chapters two to four are more traditionalist yet innovative and groundbreaking, which is why they are all summarized in this subsection.

Chapter two, 'Poetic artifice and literary stylistics' was originally published in 1984 and addresses some central issues in poetics, focusing on those formal features that are held to distinguish poetry from prose; the notion of poetic artifice itself is borrowed from Forrest-Thomson (1978). Tackling formal mimesis and form-function relations in poetry, the chapter offers a stylistic analysis of William Blake's poem 'London'; drawing on insights offered by Thurley (1983), Verdonk discusses the literary concepts of inwardly turned meaning and outwardly turned meaning. Focusing on the lexis, syntax, and phonology of the poem, Verdonk notes that there is an increase in intensity and foregrounding clashes and paradoxes within the three domains and takes this to reflect the intensity of Blake's indignation as the societal state of affairs in his contemporary London which the poem addresses.

The third chapter, "We have art in order that we may not perish from truth': the universe of discourse in W.H. Auden's 'Musée des Beaux Arts'" was originally published in 1987. While still primarily an instance of more traditional stylistic analysis, the chapter, as its title indicates, is somewhat inclined towards discourse analysis. Analyzing the style in Auden's 'Musée des Beaux Arts' (which Auden wrote after having visited the museum and seen Breughel's work during a short stay in Brussels in 1938) Verdonk points out that the poem is characterized by a style of understatement which, he argues, may be inspired by the painter's work. Verdonk's stylistic analysis addresses various rhetorical and linguistic elements and structures establishing the persona's understating style. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the analysis, however, is Verdonk's analysis of the deictic and thematic structure of the poem.

The fourth chapter is entitled 'Who are the performers of Owen's 'Anthem for Doomed Youth'?' and was originally published in article form in 1988. While traditional analyses tend to focus on the phonological aspects of 'Anthem for a Doomed Youth', Verdonk is more interested in the discursive aspects of the poem. More specifically, Verdonk addresses the implied interlocutors in the poem as well as various aspects of the poem's relation to its implied speech situation, drawing on Fowler's (1977: 76; see also Semino 2007) notion of 'mind style'. The notion of mind style enables Verdonk to address the line of thought of the poem's persona, as signified by stylistic features, and to address the persona's outlook and way of relating to the implied context of the poem as a piece of discourse. Among the elements of the poem's mind style addressed in the analysis are verb predicate deletion, the absence of first and second person pronouns, and a structural suppression agency.

2.2. *Poetic language, discourse, and contexts*

While context is an important element already in chapters two to four, in chapters five to seven, context takes up a central role.

Chapter five, 'The language of poetry: the application of literary stylistic theory in university teaching', is quite different from the three previous chapters. Chapter five was originally published in 1989 as a chapter in an anthology on the teaching of literature. The main context here is that of pedagogy, as Verdonk reports an experimental course he taught in

the language of poetry. The article presents three analyses by Verdonk and his students: an analysis of Philip Larkin's 'Going', an analysis of John Silkin's 'Death of a Son', and an analysis of Sylvia Plath's 'Ariel'. Verdonk applies Leech (1965) to the first poem, Widdowson (1974) to the second one, and Cluysenaar (1982) to the third one.

The sixth chapter is entitled 'Poetry and discourse: the poetics of Philip Larkin' and was originally published in 1991 as a chapter in an edited volume on literary pragmatics. Taking its starting point in Larkin (1957), Verdonk discusses the role of the reader, the context, the formal discursive structure, and the creative process of a poem and relates these to the three states of Larkin's own model of poetics. An important point in this chapter is that seeing a poem as a mode of discourse allows the analyst to address its verbal elements, not as static objects, but as components in a dynamic communicative process between the poet and the reader.

In chapter seven, 'Poetry and public life: a contextualized reading of Heaney's 'Punishment'', Verdonk addresses various discursive and contextual aspects of Seamus Heaney's 'Punishment'. The chapter is excerpted from a chapter in one of Verdonk's own monograph from 1993, and, still treating poetry as contextualized discourse, Verdonk analyzes spatial, temporal, and interpersonal deixis in the poem.

2.3. *Poetry, rhetoric, and cognition*

Whereas chapters two to seven progress towards discourse-analytical stylistics, the remaining chapters fall under the rubric of cognitive poetics and cognitive stylistics.

The eighth chapter was originally published in 1999 as an article. As its title, 'The liberation of the icon: a brief survey from classical rhetoric to cognitive stylistics', indicates, the article provides an overview of stylistics, from its roots in classical rhetoric to cognitive stylistics. A major point in this chapter is that, with the development of cognitive poetics, stylistics became an interdisciplinary framework again, as it rejected the purely formalist view inspired by Practical Criticism and New Criticism.

Chapter nine, 'Painting, poetry, parallelism: ekphrasis, stylistics and cognitive poetics' offers an analysis of William Carlos Williams' poem 'The Dance' which describes Breughel's painting *The Kermess*. Originally published in 2005 as a research article, this chapter traces the literary subgenre of ekphrasis back to its roots in classical rhetorics and also discusses the close affinity between poetry and the visual arts. A brief outline of the basics of cognitive poetics is also provided. The analysis itself focuses on the phenomenon of parallelism, which is fairly typical of traditionalist stylistics. However, Verdonk takes his analysis one step beyond traditional stylistics in that he relates his analysis to cognitive science, in particular drawing on figure-ground alignment (Rubin 1915) in Williams' description of *The Kermess*. In doing so, Verdonk establishes a link between foregrounding and parallelism via observing linguistic poetic strategies, and human cognitive structures and processes.

The next chapter, which was originally published in 2006 as an encyclopedia entry, is simply entitled 'Style'. Like chapter eight, this chapter provides a historical overview rather than offering actual stylistic analysis (although it contains elements of analysis). This chapter offers an in-depth overview of the concept of style, tracing it from from its Greco-Roman early history via its role in linguistics and speech-act-theory to its current conception in cognitive poetics.

The final chapter of the volume was originally published in 2010 in an edited volume on

language and style and is entitled 'A cognitive stylistic reading of rhetorical patterns in Ted Hughes's 'Hawk Roosting': a possible role for stylistics in a literary critical controversy'. Combining insights from cognitive science with rhetorical analysis, Verdonk identifies the following rhetorical patterns in the poem: foregrounding of first person pronouns, foregrounding of present tense forms, hierarchical submission of any agent in the poem except the hawk that serves as the poem's persona, contrast between Latinate and Anglo-Saxon lexemes, and versification. As in chapter ten, Verdonk draws on figure-ground theory in creating a linkage between the poem and its cognitive context. In comparing five rather different readings of the poem to his own stylistic reading, Verdonk notes that literary analysts tend to focus on large-scale significance of the representations in literary work, while stylisticians focus on the specific relations between this significance and specific of language. The conclusion to the chapter, and thus the volume, is that stylistics and literary criticism are complementary.

3. Evaluation and discussion

The Stylistics of Poetry: Context, Cognition, Discourse, History is an interesting read in a number of ways. Firstly, it documents Verdonk's own evolution as a stylistician, which, given his importance in the field, is in itself interesting. By extension, the volume also documents the evolution of stylistics – as witnessed through the work of Verdonk, of course (for instance, there is no mention at all of the Systemic Functional Linguistics-oriented tradition of stylistics which is also quite popular). The volume is characterized by elegant analysis and language which is clear and concise, yet colorful and rather easy for even novice academics to read. The book is less than 200 pages long, and the fonts are not exactly small; still, it is astounding the amount of information and insights conveyed within it. This obviously makes reading the volume a very positive experience. Another factor in this positive experience is Verdonk's treatment of the poetic data he analyses and the way that he approaches insights and theoretical frameworks of scholars. He treats both linguistic and literary concepts with utmost respect and seamlessly shows, time and again, that the two can work together and generate extremely interesting insights into poetry. Seeing that the volume is an edited work that chronologically collects articles and book chapters, some of which bear similarities in terms of theory and method, there are some overlaps and repetitions across a few chapters. In particular, the exposés of cognitive stylistics and cognitive poetics in the last four chapters overlap significantly.

Since the volume contains the writings of just one stylistician, albeit one who holds great authority within the field, it is not recommended as the only textbook in a university course in stylistics. Most of the individual chapters within it, however, would be incredibly valuable additions to the curriculum of such a course. For instance, chapters eight and ten would be very useful in a course in cognitive stylistics with, say, Stockwell (2002) as the main reading, as they would bring a critical historical dimension into the course. Likewise, chapters nine and eleven would be perfectly suited as case studies in such a course; in particular chapter eleven with its elegant reconnection of cognitive stylistics and rhetoric. Chapters two, three, six, and seven would be very suitable in a course on stylistics more generally as examples of studies that treat poetry as discourses and stylistic analysis which draws on discourse analysis; for the same reason, I can imagine that a philologically oriented course in discourse analysis would also benefit from including one or two of those chapters as readings,

while a course in literary criticism could benefit from including a chapter or two from the volume as examples of stylistic analysis of poetry. Chapters two and nine would, of course, also be suitable for a course in ekphrasis as a literary figure, with chapter two exemplifying the influence of visual art upon verbal art and chapter nine setting up a relation between poetic description of visual art and rhetorical patterns against the backdrop of human cognition.

I think that stylisticians, along with discourse analysts and cognitive linguists with an interest in literature, will benefit from reading this book. Firstly, it provides the stylistician with a wealth of valuable insights into the discursive and cognitive aspects of poetic language, and Verdonk's own contributions to both discursive stylistics and cognitive stylistics are now available to the stylistician in one concise and easily accessible volume. Secondly, the discourse analyst will find that many of the principles from his or her discipline are also applicable to the analysis of poetry, and, perhaps more importantly, that application of these may result in new understandings of poetry as discourse. Thirdly, a cognitive linguist, such as myself, will not only find that the brief exposés of cognitive stylistics serve as very useful entry points into cognitive stylistics, but also that application of cognitive science in the analysis of poetic language casts light on both poetic language in its cognitive function and the wealth of creative potential that resides in human cognition. Moreover, linguists and literary critics who are simply interested in each other's work should read the volume simply because of the way it bridges the gap between linguistics and literary criticism in a way that respects, appreciates, and validates the work on both sides of the gap.

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