Akkomodationsteori

Syntactic positioning Cohesion social communication

Cameroon English

e-mail

INTENSIFIER Adverbs

Conference proceedings

Texture Relationskommunikation

Dansk lexical competition

World Englishes move structure

German

Abstracts intercultural business communication

Hilsner

delexicalization Genre analysis

Innovation

Contrastive Rhetoric

intercultural business communication

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Investigating the move structure of management forewords:
A comparative study of forewords from Spanish and Danish annual reports

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Abstract: With a view to enhancing the empirical knowledge of variations in international business communication, the present study investigates an aspect of communication in two European cultures not yet examined, namely the structure of Spanish and Danish management forewords of corporate annual reports. A qualitative analysis is carried out to explore the similarities and differences between a Spanish and Danish corpus. The results suggest a certain homogeneity in terms of move structure and lexico-grammatical shifts from one move to another along the text, but also some differences in the occurrence and length of individual structural elements. Some of these differences may be attributed to the cultural context in which the foreword is situated.

Keywords: Genre analysis, move structure, intercultural business communication, management forewords.

1. Introduction

The publication of companies' annual reports attracts the attention of a variety of stakeholders in financial circles, primarily the shareholders of the individual companies. Part of the presentation of the annual results of facts and figures is subject to different kinds of regulations, such as national legislation and EU directives, as well as International Financial Reporting Standards. The opening of the annual report, i.e. the management foreword - also labelled 'letter to the shareholders' - is a conventional element of the publication, but is, however, not subject to any normative regulation. In this sense, it gives the chairman or CEO, or both, a certain liberty within the established conventions to choose and elaborate on the content, structure, and stylistic elements which he, she, or they find(s) convenient in order to realise the communicative goals of this element of the annual accounts, i.e. to provide shareholders, future investors as well as the general public with an overview of the company's operations during the financial year (e.g. Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno 2016: 3), and to impart confidence (Hyland 1998: 224) to convince the readers of the company's success (e.g. Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno 2016: 3; Conaway & Wardrope 2010: 152).

From a rhetorical perspective, the management foreword can be classified as a genre in itself. Studies, however, point to certain structural variations. In other words, the genre-constitutive features, i.e. the recurrent moves and sub-moves (steps) exist, but their presence and extension may vary as a function of national conventions, bottom-line results, etc. (e.g. Conaway & Wardrope 2010; Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno 2016). These previous studies on comparative features have focused on British-Dutch companies (de Groot 2008), US-Latin American companies (Conaway & Wardrope 2010), Kuwaiti-Malaysian companies (Mobasher & Afida 2015), and Polish, Spanish, and British companies (Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno 2016). However, we lack empirical knowledge about similarities and differences across northern and southern European companies. The present study aims to contribute to filling this research gap by investigating possible variations in a corpus of Spanish and Danish management forewords. To this end, the study addresses the following questions:

1) How can Spanish and Danish management forewords be segmented into moves and steps?

2) Which factors, if any, affect the variations in moves and steps in terms of their presence and extension across the two sub-corpora?

3) Which lexical features characterise the individual moves?

Research article

An exploration of these genre analytical aspects will provide knowledge of cultural similarities and differences, particularly important in intercultural communication, where the various elements, their weighting as well as the lexico-grammatical choices have a pivotal role when ideas are to be communicated in a different cultural setting.

2. Literature review
2.1 Studies of move-and-step structure
On a general level, the study of text structures, i.e. moves and further segmentation into sub-moves (Bhatia 1993), steps (Swales 1990) or strategies (de Groot 2008), paints a very diverse picture in terms of the number, identification, and delimitation of individual moves. In early genre studies, the focus has been on academic settings due to their relevance for article writing. The structure of, for example, research article introductions has been identified (Swales 1981's four-move structure), developed (Swales 1990's three-move structure), and discussed (Bhatia 1993's three- or four-move structure), as well as used as a model in a large number of analyses (e.g. Anthony 1999). Furthermore, typical steps have been identified within each move (Swales 1990: 141).

Turning to business settings, a frequent object of genre analysis is the management foreword of corporate annual reports. The foreword is of special interest for being less formulaic than the regulated sections of the report, opening up for more or less emphasis on different achievements or perspectives, and different causalities for the bottom-line results.

Comparative studies have used an array of parameters to examine the features of the management foreword and the distribution of features across cultures, or across the individual moves. Aiming at comparing cross-generic and cross-cultural features, de Groot (2008) compares Dutch and British annual reports and identifies 10 moves and 20 strategies within the management forewords. She identifies cross-cultural variations in the use of moves and strategies and finds, for instance, that the 'addressing the reader' move combined with the 'salutation' strategy, are more typical of the Dutch than the British texts.

Also from a cross-cultural perspective, Conaway & Wardrope (2010) compare US- and Latin America-based CEO letters in terms of topics, writing style, and embedded cultural attributes, and identify eight themes or moves. They find that the Latin America-based letters have a greater mix of topics and a more complex writing style with cultural dimensions, including references to political and regional issues.

With a view to identifying genre moves and writers' communicative intentions, Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno (2016) compare the number of moves in CEO letters from British, Polish, and Spanish listed companies. Their analysis identifies differences in the number of moves, i.e. nine moves on average in Polish letters, 15 moves on average in Spanish letters, and 17 moves on average in British letters. The authors suggest a number of reasons for the inclusion or not of specific moves, e.g. acknowledgement of the management's achievements or indication of share values and dividends, ascribing these differences to a more or less transparent (company) culture or external factors such as the latest economic crisis or the renationalisation of a specific company (Sznajder & Giménez 2016: 9).

In their attempt to streamline previous models of management forewords, Mobasher & Afida (2015), based on a corpus of Kuwaiti and Malaysian forewords, present a model of six moves, each split into three to five strategies. The moves reflect past and future aspects, macro- and micro-aspects, and financial and operational aspects. They find that all moves are highly recurrent throughout the corpus although the move on the financial performance is the most recurrent one present in all the texts.

2.2 Identification of moves
Conventionally, move analyses have been designed as top-down processes where the analytical

framework – the moves – is developed at the outset, sometimes supplemented by a study of linguistic data that characterise the specific moves. In the reverse method, favoured by the proliferation of corpus linguistic tools and coined as a bottom-up approach (e.g. by Biber, Upton, and Connor 2007: 16), corpus analysis and a subsequent focus on linguistic patterns come first. In other words, the discourse unit types emerge from the corpus patterns. An example of the latter is the study by Conaway & Wardrope (2010: 149). Here, during the first reading of the texts, central topics are underlined and noted with keywords. The registered keywords are then reviewed for frequent repetition, and similar keywords are grouped together and placed in general categories or themes. In this sense, keywords appear as the basic element, along with the necessary knowledge of e.g. finance. By contrast, de Groot (2008), in the rhetorical part of her study, employs a top-down approach when chunking the texts into moves and strategies, following e.g. Paltridge (1994: 295), who suggests that text division is based on cognition rather than linguistic elements, and depends more on e.g. conventions and content than on formal signals (de Groot 2008: 141-142). Likewise, Mobasher & Afida (2015) elaborate their move model on the basis of existing literature on text structures. This top-down procedure results in a cognitively grouped 6-move model, which, however, involves the extraction of keywords at a later stage. Like Mobasher & Afida (2015), Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno (2016) make use of convention and cognition. Their perception of moves includes both cognitive groupings, like key issues about the past year, and mere conventional letter elements, like date and signature.

The above review reflects a lack of consensus on what might constitute a move, how to identify it and delimit it. Some studies are based on a move structure of an uneven mixture of single elements, like date and signature, and cognitively grouped moves, like 'financial reporting', which result in an excessive number of moves (de Groot 2008; Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno 2016). In contrast, other studies are based on a set of moves which are grouped exclusively on the basis of conventions and cognition, resulting in a lesser number of moves and a clearer impression of move progression, shifts and boundaries (Conaway & Wardrope 2010; Mobasher & Afida 2015).

As will be evident in the following section, the present study falls within the latter group of top-down studies as it is based on a clearly structured model of cognitively identified moves.

3. Research design and method

Against the backdrop of this review of focus and procedures applied in previous comparative genre studies, the next section presents the methods and procedures employed in the present study.

3.1 The corpus of the study

A corpus of 45 management forewords, corresponding to 51,139 words, was compiled. The managerial texts were retrieved from the annual reports of companies listed in the leading stock exchange index in the two countries in question, i.e. the Ibex 35, benchmark stock index of the Bolsa de Madrid in Spain, and the C25, leading index for the Nasdaq Copenhagen exchange in Denmark. The forewords were gathered in December 2017 from the websites of the companies according to the following two sampling criteria: 1) the foreword was either an integral part of the annual report in the native language concerned, or a separate document with a title indicating its status as foreword, e.g. *Letter to shareholders* and *Statement from the president,* accompanying the native language report in question, and 2) the foreword had to comply with the conventions of management foreword design, i.e. the letter format. This sampling procedure resulted in 29 Spanish forewords (38,323 words) obtained from 22 companies, and 16 Danish forewords (12,816 words) collected from 11 companies and representing a range of different sectors and industries[1]. The uneven number of forewords and

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[1] The corpus comprises Spanish management forewords from 20 presidents, eight CEOs, and one with both president and CEO as senders, and Danish management forewords from five presidents, six CEOs, four with both president and

companies is partly due to the difference in the number of listed companies in the two indices. Moreover, the extensive use of English in the financial reporting of Danish companies explains, to a large extent, the rather low number of Danish companies presenting annual reports and forewords in their native language. As regards the difference in number between Spanish companies listed in the Spanish leading stock exchange index, i.e. 35, and Spanish forewords included in the study, some Spanish companies presented their foreword as questions-and-answers with the CEO or president, thus failing to satisfy the sampling criteria of complying with the conventions of designing management forewords.

3.2 Method of analysis
Following the procedure recommended by Biber, Upton, and Connor (2007: 33), a pilot coding was conducted taking the 6-move model elaborated by Mobasher & Afida (2015) as the starting point[2]. The pilot corpus of five Spanish and five Danish forewords was coded manually and independently by the two researchers. The sentence was chosen as the unit of analysis, and preliminary analyses were discussed and fine-tuned until there was an agreement on the communicative content of the different text segments in the coded texts. During this phase, the segmentation and subsequent discussion and fine-tuning were seen in the light of the relevant communicative purpose laid down in various studies of this genre (Hyland 1998: 232-233; Garzone 2005: 193; Sznajder & Giménez-Moreno 2016: 3-4), on the one hand, and the different profiles of the stakeholders, i.e. potential readers of the foreword, on the other hand (see the description of the model below). Moreover, this top-down approach was complemented by supporting keywords selected intuitively, e.g. *ventas* and *omsætning* [turnover] for step 3.1, commenting on the company's financial performance, and *mercado*, *producto*, and *negocio* and *marked*, *produkt*, and *forretning* [market, product and business] for step 4.1, commenting on the company's hard value activities (see Table 1 below). The result of this preliminary analysis was an adjustment of the initial model in terms of the number and/or the labels connected to the different moves or steps, resulting in a new protocol of move-and-step features with clearly defined content and boundaries (cf. Table 1 below). Subsequently, this new template was applied to the entire corpus. Afterwards, an interrater reliability test was carried out to confirm the agreement on moves and steps, resulting in an intercoder agreement of 85.3% on the moves in the Spanish forewords, and of 81.9% in the Danish forewords.

In the posterior analysis of lexis (see the Lexical Feature section below), the freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis, AntConc (www.laurenceanthony.net), was employed to extract a list of keywords which were not included in the keywords selected intuitively. At this stage, the keyword list function was used to single out the lexis of one move and compare it to that of the other moves, thus uncovering the words with frequencies above the average and providing information about the specific vocabulary characterising the move in question.

3.3 The model for analysing moves and steps in management forewords
After the adjustment, the original 6-move structure has been kept, but subdivided and labelled in the following way.

CEO as senders, and one from a president and CEO where both titles are held by one person.
[2] In their modelling of the macrostructure of management forewords, Mobasher & Afida (2015) draw on other scholars such as Swales (1990), Bhatia (1993, 2004), Nickerson & de Groot (2008), de Groot (2008), and Conaway & Wardrope (2010).

Table 1. The model for analysing moves and steps in management forewords

MOVE	STEP
Move 1: Foreword introduction	Step 1.1: Salutation
	Step 1.2: Presentation of the report
	Step 1.3: Overview of the year's performance
Move 2: Performance conditions at a macro-level	Step 2.1: Market conditions
	Step 2.2: Measures taken to influence the market and their outcomes
	Step 2.3: Company's ability to navigate in the above market conditions
Move 3: Company's financial performance	Step 3.1: Financial performance of the year
	Step 3.2: Financial strategies or measures
	Step 3.3: Investor Relations issues *per se*
Move 4: Company's non-financial performance	Step 4.1: Company's hard value activities
	Step 4.2: Company's soft value activities
Move 5: Previewing the future	Step 5.1: Future plans and strategies
	Step 5.2: Expectations for the future
Move 6: Concluding remarks	Step 6.1: Concluding remarks

Move 1, *Foreword introduction*, has a 3-step structure: step 1, *Salutation*, reflects the default understanding of the foreword as a letter (cf. Introduction), often addressing the conventional stakeholder of the company in question (the shareholders); step 2, *Presentation of the report*, sets the scene of the report, indicating the fiscal year and the event (the report), often underlining positive feelings ('I am pleased to …'); and step 3, *Overview of the year's performance*, suggests superordinate concepts to be elaborated upon later, such as results and growth.

Move 2, *Performance conditions at a macro-level*, follows a tripartite pattern, and is formalised as follows: step 1, *Market conditions*, comments on the recent macroeconomic aspects such as economy, prices, markets, environment, etc.; step 2, *Measures taken to influence the market and their outcome*, focuses on antidumping measures, CO2 emissions, and oil prices, etc.; and step 3, *Company's ability to navigate in the above market conditions*, often highlights the efficiency of the company and its good results in spite of the circumstances.

Move 3, *Company's financial performance*, is structured to reflect the composite nature of the (potential) investor group. As investors emphasise different aspects of the company's performance, this move has been chunked according to the preferences of the individual investor groups for 1) growth, 2) solvency, or 3) the immediate remuneration of the investor, resulting in the following three steps: Step 1, *Financial performance of the year*, including details on the main results, the top and

bottom line, and the cash flow; step 2, *Financial strategies or measures,* with a view to funding, investments, and the issuing of bonds; and step 3, *Investor Relations issues per se*, e.g. dedicated to dividends and share buy backs, stock exchange issues, prices, and IPOs (Initial Public Offerings).

Move 4, *Company's non-financial performance*, is based on the following dichotomy of steps which takes into account the present stakeholder attitude to performance in terms of conventional growth-oriented values versus soft values, addressing the highly contemporary discourse related to conscience-driven investments. In this sense, step 1, *Company's hard value activities*, comments on tangible strategies, leadership, and the ownership situation, highlighting e.g. new markets, geographical expansion, innovations, acquisitions, and the appointment of new executives. By contrast, step 2, *Company's soft value activities*, focuses on issues of sustainability and ethical behaviour, commenting e.g. on CSR, code of conduct, transparency, and customer satisfaction.

Move 5, *Previewing the future*, takes on a bipartite pattern supporting the division between tangible plans and expectations for the future, as follows: step 1, *Future plans and strategies*, focuses on goals, ambitions, priorities, and objectives; whereas step 2, *Expectations for future*, comments on visions, challenges, and possibilities.

Move 6, *Concluding remarks*, has been analysed as one coherent move with the exclusive purpose of imparting confidence and as such with no content-based shifts that could justify a further sub-division. The move might therefore be conceived as a toast with polite words, appreciation and acknowledgement of the efforts made by employees and management, and the confidence of the shareholders.

4. Results and discussion

In the following sections, we will unfold and discuss the results of the analysis with a particular focus on the frequency and size of the moves and steps, as well as the linguistic characteristics of the individual moves.

As appears in Table 2 and 3 below, the number of moves employed in the corpus varies, however most forewords contain 5 or 6 moves. In this sense, the two sub-corpora in the present study seem more homogeneous than the Polish, Spanish and British sub-corpora in the study by Sznajder & Giménez Moreno (2016), which show pronounced variation in the average number of moves particularly between the Polish sub-corpus with 9 moves on average on the one hand, and the Spanish and British sub-corpora with an average of 15 and 17 moves, respectively, on the other hand. This contrast of findings in the two studies may be a reflection of the different cultures represented or it may be attributed to the different approaches to move identification.

Table 2. Distribution of moves and steps in the Spanish sub-corpora

	Move 1 Foreword Introduction			Move 2 Perf. conditions macro-level			Move 3 Financial perf.			Move 4 Non-financial perf.		Move 5 Future preview		Move 6 Conclu-sion	
Number of forewords	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	6.1	Sector
7	2	1	4	6	1	5	5	7	2	6	6	4	4	6	Banks
2	1		2	1		1	1		2		2			2	Communication and Publicity
3	2		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	Construction
4	3	4		3	2	2	3	1	1	4	4	2	3	3	Electricity and Gas
1	1		1			1			1	1	1	1		1	Food and Beverage
1	1	1	1			1	1	1			1			1	Insurance
1	1			1		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	Leisure, Tourism, and Hotel Industry

No. of forewords	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	6.1	Sector
2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	Mineral, Material, and Transform.
1	1	1					1	1		1	1	1		1	Pharmacy Products and Biotechnology
2	2	1	2			1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	SOCIMI (REITS)
1	1		1							1	1	1		1	Textiles, Clothing, and Shoes
2	2	1	2	1		1	1		2	2	2	1	1	2	Toll Roads and Infrastructure
2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	Transport and Distribution
TOTAL	20	11	17	16	8	15	22	19	17	25	27	17	15	24	
PERCENT	89.65%			65.51%			93.10%			100%		72.40%		82.75%	

Table 3. Distribution of moves and steps in the Danish sub-corpora

	MOVE 1 FOREWORD INTRODUCTION			MOVE 2 PERF. CONDITIONS MACRO-LEVEL			MOVE 3 FINANCIAL PERF.			MOVE 4 NON-FINANCIAL PERF.		MOVE 5 FUTURE PREVIEW		MOVE 6 CONCLU-SION	
NUMBER OF FOREWORDS	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	6.1	SECTOR
1	1	1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Banks
2		2	1				1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	Food and Beverage
5	1	3	2	1		1	4		2	5	5	3	2	5	Health Care
2				2		2	1		1	2	2	2	2	2	Industrial Goods and Services
2				2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2		2	Oil and Gas
1							1			1	1		1	1	Personal and Household Goods
1	1	1	1				1			1	1		1		Tele-communications
2			1	1		2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	Utilities
TOTAL	3	7	5	6	1	7	13	4	8	16	16	12	9	15	
PERCENT	50%			50%			100%			100%		87.50%		93.75%	

4.1 Distribution

There is no doubt that financial performance (move 3) is a pivotal element of annual reports. However, the presence of the companies' *Non-financial performance* (move 4) throughout the corpus, as appears in Tables 2 and 3 above and Table 4 below, suggests that this type of information is the crucial element of management forewords. In their thematic analysis of US and Latin American CEO letters, Conaway & Wardrope (2010) reach a similar conclusion, namely that the "CEOs may perceive the need to summarize fiscal information in the annual report letter to be minimal" (Conaway & Wardrope 2010: 163) due to the fact that the financial statements of the annual report, like the profit and loss account and the balance sheet, can be communicated by the numbers themselves. This finding, however, is incongruent with the observations made by Mobasher & Afida (2015), namely that the financial performance move is more frequent than the non-financial move.

Table 4. Percentage presence of individual steps in the two sub–corpora

	MOVE 1 FOREWORD INTRODUCTION			MOVE 2 PERF. CONDITIONS MACRO-LEVEL			MOVE 3 FINANCIAL PERF.			MOVE 4 NON-FINANCIAL PERF.		MOVE 5 FUTURE PREVIEW		MOVE 6 CONCLU- SION
	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	6.1
SPANISH	69.0	37.9	58.6	55.2	27.6	51.7	75.9	65.5	58.6	86.2	93.1	58.6	51.7	82.8
DANISH	18.8	43.8	31.3	37.5	6.3	43.8	81.3	25.0	50.0	100	100	75.0	56.3	93.8

Returning to the present study, and in spite of the dominance of the *non-financial performance*, the reporting of the *financial performance* in move 3 is highly recurrent across the two sub-corpora.

In this move, one particularly interesting observation can be made. Step 3.2 commenting on the balance sheet movements, i.e. the equity, is much more frequent in the Spanish sub-corpus compared to the Danish sub-corpus. This might point to a general Spanish tendency to verbalise this issue, which contributes to convincing the investors of the actual solidity of the company in question. However, the emphasis on the equity may also be sector dependent in the sense that the issue is especially important for the banks, whose economic capital challenges have characterised the financial sector since the end of the 2000s – bankruptcies, stress tests, etc. – and also, to a minor extent, for the construction sector, whose huge projects always involve a risk of being confronted with claims of delays, damages, etc. Such companies are much more salient in the Spanish sub-corpus (ten companies out of 29) than in the Danish sub-corpus (one out of 16). In other words, this difference in dominating sectors in the two sub-corpora might explain the difference in the frequency of this particular step, suggesting therefore that it is sector dependent. Still, any conclusions in this regard will require further investigation (see also Hyland 1998: 241). It is also worth mentioning the difference in the frequency of step 3.3, touching upon investor relations *per se*, which may reflect that the dividend issue is conventionally important for investors in Spanish shares, mirrored by the traditional semiannual or quarterly dividend distributions, scrip dividend distributions, etc. in contrast to the conventional annual dividend distribution to the shareholders of the Danish shares. This step, thus, may be determined by the investment cultures in the two countries.

Another rather common move in both sub-corpora is move 5, *previewing the future*, step 5.1, *future plans and strategies*, being more frequent in the Danish sub-corpus than in the Spanish. The future theme has not been discussed from an intercultural perspective in other comparative studies on management forewords, and the corpus of the present study shows no indications of the difference in frequency of this step being culturally rooted. On the other hand, the future theme has been highlighted in studies concerning the relation between, for instance, bottom-line results and the mentioning of future plans and expectations, e.g. Kohut & Segars (1992). However, this aspect has not been explored in the present study. As to the possible sectorial dependence referred to in move 3, the future move shows no systematism in terms of sectors.

At the other end of the scale, move 2, *company's performance conditions at a macro-level*, is the least prioritised move. On a general level, this move reflects differences across the two sub-corpora as to the explicit report on the exterior forces which influence the companies' performances. This might correspond to the cross-cultural difference observed by Conaway & Wardrope (2010), i.e. when comparing Latin American CEO letters to US CEO letters, there is a higher tendency in the former to refer to political and economic issues to illustrate the course of the year. Also, the difference observed in the present corpus could be accentuated by the composition of the two elite indices on which the corpus selection is based. As stated above, the Spanish index is dominated by banks, which are dependent on global or European interest rates, and to a certain extent by cyclic companies associated with industries such as construction and electricity and gas which tend to perform in line

with the global trade cycles. The sectorial composition of the Danish index, on the contrary, shows a prominence of medical companies whose shares belong to the defensive category meaning that they are not dependent on economic development.

Another salient difference is found in the *Foreword introduction* in move 1, present in more than nine out of ten Spanish forewords and in only half of the Danish forewords, in particular in relation to the formal *Salutation* (step 1.1), but also in relation to the *Overview of the year's performance* (step 1.3). The obvious explanation of the difference in step 1.1 is the Spanish convention of salutation corresponding to 'dear sirs' present in any kind of letter, whereas this feature is normally absent in the Danish business letter template – though still present in private Danish correspondence, which might have inspired some of the Danish forewords. As regards step 1.3, the difference in presence between the two sub-corpora could reflect the difference in communication style along the line of the culture-bound directness vs. indirectness found in other comparative studies of Danish vs. Spanish business contexts (see e.g. Grindsted 1989). One would expect this distinct difference in (in)directness or formal tone to be reproduced in move 6, *Concluding remarks*, ending the forewords. With an almost identical – and high – presence in the two sub-corpora, this, however, is not the case.

4.2 Size

When turning to the size of the individual moves and steps measured relatively by the number of words within the two sub-corpora and by the average number of words within the individual moves, cf. Table 5 below, the significance of move 4 in terms of frequency, cf. Tables 2 and 3 above, is made even more explicit by the fact that it is, by far, the most comprehensive move, relatively, in both sub-corpora, making up almost half of the Spanish forewords, i.e. 44.3%, and more than half of the Danish forewords, i.e. 58%.

Table 5. Move size compared

	MOVE 1 FOREWORD INTRODUCTION	MOVE 2 PERF. CONDITIONS MACRO-LEVEL	MOVE 3 FINANCIAL PERF.	MOVE 4 NON-FINANCIAL PERF.	MOVE 5 FUTURE PREVIEW	MOVE 6 CONCLUSION
SPANISH						
NO. OF WORDS	1937	5737	7412	16976	4593	1668
% OF THE FOREWORDS	5%	15%	19.3%	44.3%	12%	4.4%
AVERAGE NO. OF WORDS	96.9	358.6	336.9	628.7	270.2	69.5
DANISH						
NO. OF WORDS	402	821	935	7412	2252	994
% OF THE FOREWORDS	3%	6.3%	7.3%	58%	17.6%	7.8%
AVERAGE NO. OF WORDS	57.4	117.3	71.9	463.3	187.7	66.3

In this sense, the relative volume of the move confirms the above-mentioned conclusions drawn by Conaway & Wardrope (2010: 163), namely that management may restrain itself from summarising financial information in the foreword, letting the financial statements already present in the annual

report speak for themselves. Moreover, the tendency of the financial information in move 3 to be more varied and prevalent in the Spanish sub-corpus than in the Danish, as stated in the previous section, is even more distinct when it comes to the volume. Also, the scarcity of words addressing the financial information in the Danish corpus results in a gap between the body of financial information and of non-financial information (move 4) which is even more pronounced in the Danish forewords than in the Spanish. The average number of words in the moves in question accentuates this picture, given the remarkable contrast between the scarcity of the number of words on average employed in the Danish move compared to the Spanish move (cf. Table 5).

The rather explicit difference in size in the *Company's performance conditions at a macro-level* in move 2 supports the above-mentioned idea of a cultural difference suggested by the difference in frequency in the two sub-corpora (see Tables 2 to 4); i.e. that Spanish forewords, like the Latin American tendency pointed to by Conaway & Wardrope (2010), are likely to making use of references to the macroeconomic context to illustrate the course of the year. This difference is mirrored in the average number of words devoted to this move in the two sub-corpora.

Previewing the future in move 5 and *Concluding remarks* in move 6 show similar patterns in terms of frequency and relative size, the moves being slightly more frequent and extensive in the Danish forewords. On the other hand, while the average number of words in move 6 is almost identical across the two sub-corpora, the average number of words used to realise move 5 in the Spanish forewords exceeds the average number of words used in the Danish forewords.

As to the *Foreword introduction* in move 1, the relative size of the two sub-corpora is fairly similar. However, the average number of words used to realise the move in the Spanish forewords exceeds the average number of words used in the Danish forewords, reflecting the fact that steps 1.1 (*Salutation*) and 1.3 (*Overview of the year's performance*) are not particularly frequent in the Danish sub-corpus, as discussed in section 4.1 above.

4.3 Lexical features

As observed by Connor, Upton, and Kanoksilapatham (2007), shifts in vocabulary through the text might be an add-on to the description of the individual moves. As described by Biber, Csomay, Jones, and Keck (2007), a bottom-up approach to the structural analysis can rely on shifts in vocabulary as a means of identifying the boundaries of the moves (Biber et al. 2007: 155). Likewise, a top-down approach might profit from a posterior study of the lexis as a confirmation of the boundaries and as a detailed description of the sub-structure realised in order to fulfil the communicative purpose of the text in question.

As already stated in the *Method* section, in the present study of the managerial forewords – carried out as a top-down exercise with a supporting set of keywords, intuitively selected – the *keyword* list, as well as the concordance feature of the AntConc software program, have been used to capture the lexical characteristics of the moves and the shifts between them. Special focus has been on the contrasts, if any, between the Spanish and the Danish moves. In order to spot the shifts between the moves, the keyword list has been elaborated by adding the rest of the moves as a 'reference corpus'.

The following section describes and discusses the results of the analysis of lexis.

Move 1: Foreword introduction. Salient in move 1 is a strongly interpersonal and attitudinal lexis addressing the readers and informing them briefly of what comes next in general language terms. In this sense, top keywords of the Spanish move include *estimados* [dear], *queridos* [dear], *accionistas* [shareholders], *señores* [sirs], *señoras* [madams], and *amigos* [friends], and the corresponding salutation reflected in the Danish keyword list reveals *kære* [dear] and *aktionær(er)* [shareholder(s)], reflecting the tendency of downtoning this element in the Danish forewords, cf. the presence and size of move 1 above. The overall review of the year is represented by words like *principales* [main],

elementos [elements], *resultados* [results], and *progreso* [progress] in the Spanish keyword list, and by words like *opjustering* [upgrading], *forventninger* [expectations], and *fornyelse* [renewal] in the Danish keyword list.

Move 2: Performance conditions at a macro-level. The description of the market conditions includes a mix of general language and semi-specialised terms. The top 50 keyword list and the concordance lines of the Spanish move 2 appear to address a set of global issues, such as *economías emergentes* [emergent economies], *recuperación* [recovery], *incertidumbre* [uncertainty], *Unión Europea* [European Union], *cumbre del clima de París* [Paris climate summit]. Topping the list is *precios* [prices], which links to the other set of issues, namely the price trends of raw materials like *níquel* [nickel] and *acero* [steel]. Like already stated, the Danish move 2 is far less extensive in terms of relative size and average number of words (cf. Table 5). Focus, according to the ranking, is on *vedvarende energi* [renewable energy], *vind* [wind], and pharma-related issues like *diabetes* [diabetes]. The also high-ranking adjectives *vanskelig* [difficult] and *lav* [low] contribute to describing the circumstances of the specific industries, e.g. *et vanskeligt marked* [a difficult market], and *de historisk lave fragtrater* [the historically low freight rates].

Move 3: Financial performance. Compared to move 2 (and, also, the remaining moves), the two keyword lists extracted from move 3 reflect the essence of financial statements through a spectacular list of specialised terms. Salient Spanish keywords are *beneficio* [profit], *acción* [share], *dividendo* [dividend], *margen* [margin], and *EBITDA* [EBITDA], and the Danish counterparts are *resultat* [result], *pengestrømme* [cash flow], *udbytte* [dividend], *aktie* [share], and *primært resultat* [operating result].

Move 4: Non-financial performance. As opposed to move 3, in this move, verbs are prominent and the vocabulary returns to the mix of semi-specialised and general language apparent in move 2. In the Spanish keyword list, *hemos* [we have] is the most frequent word with 90 occurrences, used as a constituent of verb phrases pointing to a wide range of actions and performances. In line with the segmentation of this move in a conventional growth-oriented focus and a soft value focus, the nouns in the Spanish keyword list indicate, on the one hand, activity or action, such as *proyecto(s)* [project(s)], *ejecución* [execution], *ingeniería* [engineering], including sector-specific products like *carbón* [charcoal] or *vapor* [steam] and, on the other hand, 'intangible' or uncountable entities, such as *compromiso* [compromise], *responsabilidad* [responsibility], and *sostenibilidad* [sustainability]. The Danish keyword list incorporates a number of words indicating movement or growth, such as *lancerede* [launched], *voksende* [growing], and *udvikling* [development], as well as a large number of sector-related products or results, such as *høreapparat* [hearing aid], and an array of pharmaceutical products, for instance *Darzalex*, and *Victoza*. Soft value keywords are *kultur* [culture], *kundetilfredshed* [customer satisfaction], and *sikkerhed* [safety].

Move 5: Previewing the future. The tendency of mixing general and semi-specialised vocabulary continues in this move. Verbs in the future tense are predominant in the Spanish keyword list, e.g. *permitirá* [will allow] and *crecerá* [will grow], as well as verbs and adjectives with a semantic 'future' component, e.g. *seguir* [continue] and *próximos* [next]. Nouns on the list addressing future perspectives are *plan* [plan], *reto* [challenge], and *desarrollo* [development], and sector-specific issues such as *energías renovables* [renewable energy] and *digitalización* [digitalisation]. In contrast to previous moves, this move contains a number of value-laden adjectives like *ambicioso* [ambitious] and *atractivo* [attractive]. In the Danish keyword list, the future aspect is also present either formally by means of auxiliary verbs *vil* [will], or *skal* [shall / have to], or by means of verbs and nouns with a semantic 'future' component, such as *fortsætte* [continue], *forvente* [expect], and *vision* [vision]. Global themes like *grønne løsninger* [green solutions], as well as internal issues or specific corporate issues like *fusioner* [mergers] and *konsolidering* [consolidation] also occur here.

Move 6: Concluding remarks. This move returns to the interpersonal attitudinal lexis from move 1. The keyword list of the two sub-corpora shows more or less identical profiles: Verbs and nouns

expressing thanks are predominant, i.e. the Spanish *agradecer* [to thank], and *gracias* [thanks], vs. the Danish *takke* [to thank]. The gratitude goes to the staff, i.e. the Spanish *equipo* [team] vs. the Danish *medarbejdere* [staff], and the shareholders, i.e. the Spanish *accionistas*, vs. the Danish *aktionærer*. An interesting feature in both sub-corpora keyword lists is the function word *and*, i.e. the Spanish *y*, and the Danish *og* with high occurrences of 88 and 55, respectively, in the sub-corpora. A closer look at the concordance lines shows that the coordinator involves a set of near-synonyms constituting a specific emphatic figure of speech, in this case emphasising the effort of the staff, e.g. *motivado y comprometido* [motivated and committed] and *indsats og engagement* [effort and commitment].

5. Concluding remarks

Previous studies on comparative and contrastive features of management forewords have been carried out across different cultures within and across continents. However, no studies have focused on the European continent from a northern-southern perspective. Hence, with a view to enhancing the empirical knowledge of variations in this instance of intercultural business communication, the present study has investigated the structure of Spanish and Danish management forewords.

To fulfil this purpose, and in response to the first research question – based on existing literature and a corpus of Spanish and Danish management forewords – a genre model of moves and steps has been identified which has proven applicable to both sub-corpora. The model includes six moves which, with a varying number of steps, address the environment in which the company operates, the past year's performance – both the financial and the non-financial – as well as future aspects, surrounded by introductory and concluding remarks.

As to research question two, the data collected in the two sub-corpora show a high degree of similarity. However, a few moves show spectacular differences.

The salient differences found in move 1, *Foreword introduction*, represent traces of culture in the formal salutation*,* which is highly present in the Spanish forewords, due to the conventional Spanish letter template, and hardly present in the Danish equivalent, and, to a lesser extent, in the overview of the year's performance, which is nearly twice as present in the Spanish sub-corpus compared to the Danish and where a culture-bound directness vs. indirectness found in other business contexts might be at play.

In the case of the move 2, which comments on the economic environment, there is a much larger representation of this move in terms of both presence and volume in the Spanish sub-corpus compared to the Danish. This contrast between Danish and Spanish companies could be a mirror of the cultural contrast between Latin American and US companies observed by Conaway and Wardrope (2010), namely that Latin American companies have a higher tendency to refer to political and economic issues to illustrate the course of the year. However, it is possible that the contrast reflects a sector dependence. The focus on global or European interest rates and on the global economy in general is especially characteristic of banks, heavyweights in the Spanish index, and partly of the cyclic energy and construction sectors, also represented in the Spanish sub-corpus. In contrast, the dominant Danish medical sector is defensive, and as such not particularly dependent on the trade cycles.

Another remarkable difference in the two sub-corpora is the relatively high frequency and volume in the Spanish sub-corpus of the steps referring to balance sheet movements and investor relations (IR) in move 3. The higher tendency to verbalise the equity of the companies might be seen as a cultural Spanish characteristic in general. However, there are some indications that also this difference is sector dependent. Balance sheet movements are especially important to highlight for the banks, to convince their investors of their solidity. The issue of solidity is equally relevant for the construction sector, whose huge projects always involve a risk of being confronted with claims of delays, damages, etc. In other words, the correlation of the higher representation of these sectors in

the Spanish sub-corpus and the salient presence and volume of these steps points to a certain sector dependence. Still, any conclusions in this regard will require further investigation (see also Hyland 1998: 241). The higher Spanish focus on IR issues, payment of dividends, and other types of shareholders' remuneration reflects the preferences of the investors of Spanish shares, and is, in this sense, culturally determined.

As regards moves 4 and 6 no particular variations are found. As regards move 5, the step previewing the future (5.1) shows a slight difference in frequency, but the present corpus shows no indications of this difference being culturally or sectorially rooted.

In response to the third research question, the lexical features of the moves shows more similarities than differences between the two sub-corpora. On a general level, the shifts between the individual moves are characteristic for both. Salient in the first move is a strongly interpersonal and attitudinal lexis addressing readers and informing them briefly of what comes next in general language terms. The shift to move 2 implies a shift in vocabulary to a mix of general and semi-specialised language in terms of common economic words or expressions. The move on financial performance (move 3) shifts to specialised accounting terms dominated by nouns. The move on non-financial performance (move 4) is characterised by verbs of action and a mix of semi-specialised and general language. The future move (move 5) is equally a mix of semi-specialised and general language, with an intervention of positive adjectives. The final move (move 6) returns to the interpersonal attitudinal lexis, showing gratitude to staff and shareholders, which is underlined by the frequent use of specific emphatic elements like 'motivated and committed' and 'effort and commitment'.

This study is a qualitative investigation of a relatively limited number of Spanish and Danish forewords meaning that it does not allow for broader generalisations. However, the qualitative nature of the study has contributed with a detailed analysis of the structure of the Spanish and Danish management forewords, and has offered insights into the moves and steps employed and their distinctive linguistic features*,* as well as pointed to possible factors responsible for the observed differences. In this sense, the study has contributed to the empirical knowledge of similarities and differences in this particular instance of intercultural business communication. However, there is room for future studies to shed light on other aspects related to this study and to further enhance our understanding of communication of ideas in different cultural settings. In particular, we would like to emphasise three different research foci.

First, in order to clarify whether the observed differences in this study can be attributed to the different cultural contexts or the sectorial composition of the two elite indices on which the corpus selection is based, future studies would benefit from compiling a set of corpora within specific sectors thus eliminating a possible sectorial bias as indicated above.

Second, the present study has focused on managerial forewords of corporate annual reports from Denmark as a representative of Northern Europe, and Spain representing Southern Europe. It seems relevant to extend this line of research to also include neighbouring countries, such as Sweden, Germany or Italy, as this would allow for nuancing, for instance, the Latin American influence or the specific Danish directness suggested in the study.

Finally, on the basis of the model developed in this study, it would be highly interesting to explore the possible impact of a company's financial results on the profiles of the individual moves, i.e. whether good or bad financial results generate variations in the tendency to highlight or minimize themes like, for instance, external factors, equity issues, non-financial strategies or expectations for the future.

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German *super* and intensifiers in social communication

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Abstract: This study examines the intensifier *super* in German with data taken from *Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (DWDS, Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Geyken 2020). We inspect the morphosyntactic and semantic development of *super*, and aim to explore its delexicalization tendency. In closing, the development of intensifiers in social communication is presented. The results show that German *super* enjoys morphosyntactic flexibility. The meaning of this versatile intensifier shifts freely among various magnitudes of intensification, from 'more than', 'very', to 'top most', and even has gone lower than the reference point to mean 'actually not good'. German *super* has advanced itself in terms of linguistic performance and is gradually losing its role as an intensifier. A diachronic inspection of the use of German *super* attests linguistic revival in that from a rarely used intensifier, *super* escalates its use in the last decades in German society. Outer world influences have put *super* through lexical competitions. Reports on general intensifiers reveal the inner linguistic motivation of change that intensifiers own, and sociolinguistic factors such as gender, age and education background all contribute to the variability of intensifiers in social communication.

Keywords: Intensifier, German, delexicalization, lexical competition, social communication.

1. Introduction

A "super good beer" is better than a "very good beer". Intensifiers like *super* and *very* have semantic delicacy to strengthen tones and highlight the value of the targeted object or information. In a conversation, intensifiers also serve to "strengthen the speaker's position as well as their attitude towards what they are saying" (Núñez Pertejo & Palacios Martínez 2014: 212). *Very* was the most popular intensifier until the beginning of the 21st century (Lorenz 2002: 153; Paradis & Bergmark 2003: 71). *So, really* and *bloody* are trendy in teenagers' colloquial language (Pertejo & Martínez 2014). The present paper focuses on the intensifier *super* in German (*super*). We examine the morphosyntactic, semantic and delexicalization development of *super* and then approach the internal motivation of lexical change and external sociolinguistic behaviors of intensifiers in society.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces related previous literature. Section 3 presents the roles of *super* in German, starting with the general morphosyntactic pattern and collocation, followed by its semantics discussion. Section 4 reports the motivation of change and sociolinguistic aspect of overall intensifiers in society. Section 5 concludes.

2. Previous studies

This section begins with introducing the terminology of intensifiers. It then reviews the literature on German intensifiers, English intensifiers, the works on specific grammatical categories of intensifiers, the studies on cross-linguistic variations and, lastly, lexicalization of intensifiers.

Stoffel (1901) first refers to intensifiers as *intensive adverbs*. Bolinger (1972: 18) calls them *degree words*, and Paradis (1997) addresses them as *degree modifiers*. Intensifiers are categorized into two types (Stoffel 1901; Quirk et al. 1985), namely, amplifiers and downtoners. For example, *extremely* expresses a higher degree than the assumed standard and is an amplifier, whereas *almost* utters a lower degree than the assumed standard and is thus a downtoner (Quirk 1985: 589-591, 597-598). After comparing German and English intensifiers, Siemund (2000) proposes three uses of intensifiers—adnominal intensifiers, adverbial inclusive intensifiers and adverbial exclusive intensifiers.

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Linguists pay attention to German intensifiers such as *äußerst* 'extremely' (Androutsopoulos 2001), *einfach* 'just' (Fronhofer 2015), *echt* 'really' (Dorna & Emele 1996), *total* 'absolutely' (Brumme 2012) and so on. To be more specific, Gehweiler (2010) observes the Early New High German intensifier *lauter* 'pure, unmixed' and indicates that *lauter* originally denotes 'pure, unmixed' but came to be used as an intensifier with a negative connotation in Early New High German, and now *lauter* is a determiner in Present Day German. Also focusing on adjectival intensifiers, Stratton (2020a) reports that amplifiers are used more frequently than downtoners while boosters are more common than maximizers. In addition, Claudi (2006) aims to show that intensifiers are a culture-dependent phenomenon. Siemund (2000) delves into self-form like *sie selbst* "she herself", and Hole (2002) focuses only on the intensifier *selbst* 'self' and asserts that *selbst* conveys the identity function and takes the agentive Voice head as proposed by Kratzer (1996). Nevertheless, Stratton (2020a: 183) was right to express that "intensification in the German language is underexplored" because English intensifiers have been the subject of "much empirical discussion".

Various linguistic contexts have been looked into in order to study English intensifiers. Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) observe data taken from *Friends,* a popular American television series, and conclude that media contribute to producing innovative intensifiers and words. Stratton (2018) explores the intensifier *well* in the British TV show *The Inbetweeners*. Instead of using the intensifier *very*, the Canadian teenagers have been using the adjective boosters *so* and *pretty* more and more frequently (Tagliamonte 2008), whereas the New Zealand teens tend to use *so* and *really* (Bauer & Bauer 2002). Furthermore, Xiao & Tao (2007), based on the spoken data of the British National Corpus, find that female speakers use more intensifiers than male speakers do. English intensifiers do receive much attention. Well documented are also studies on *utterly* (Partington 2004), *wondrously* (Calle-Martin 2014), *very* (Sacks 1971; Troseth 2009), *ass* (Miller 2017), *-ly* (Nevalainen 2008), *pretty* and *fairly* (Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002). Additionally, Méndez-Naya (2008) edited the *Special issue on English intensifiers* published by Cambridge University Press.

Intensification is incorporated in all parts of speech at different levels as indicated by Taboada (2016) and is capable of expressing semantic prosody to communicate negativity or positivity. For example, Louw (1993) declares that the right collocations of intensifiers usually convey negative meanings which makes the entire context negative. Van der Wouden & Foolen (2017: 84) also indicates that adverbial intensifiers "have a strong negative connotation" and vary from language to language. In contrast, Tagliamonte & Pabst (2020) investigate positively evaluated intensifiers in Canada and England. Likewise, Tao (2007) examines the syntactic and pragmatic features of *utterly* and finds that *utterly* is a modifier as well as a discourse marker that usually expresses positive sentiment. In fact, also the Hebrew [X PRD *al* Y] construction[1] expresses intensified emotion of love, desire or adoration (Vardi 2015).

Furthermore, researchers have proposed various communicative behaviors of intensifiers. Concentrating on the adverbialization of intensifiers, Nevalainen & Rissanen (2002) compare *fairly* and *pretty* and indicate that although nearly synonymous, they differ in the path to adverbialization. Partington (1993) investigate intensifiers such as *very, utterly* from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives to reveal their changes of meanings and conversational functions. When asked about how *really*, which can be found in letters from the early 18th century, could become an intensifier, Ito & Tagliamonte respond that, just like the case of *very*, the linguistic development of *really* grows step by step from the meaning of *true, real* to become a predicative adjective (2003: 269).

A good many previous studies on intensifiers have called our attention to the cross-linguistic variations. Comparing German and English, Umbach (2011) expresses that both *very* in English and

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[1] The Hebrew idiomatic construction [X PRD *al* Y] can be translated into English and illustrated as, e.g. [X die/crazy/ill/devastated on Y] where the words *die* or *crazy* are used to express intensified positive emotion (Vardi 2015).

sehr 'very' in German articulate a gradable property. From a different perspective, Greenbaum (1974) examines six verb-intensifier collocations in American and British English with the conclusion that each intensifier collocates with a different kind of expression; for instance, *very much* associates with a favorable attitude, whereas *badly* concerns with requirement. Focusing on adjectival intensifiers in German, Dutch and English, van der Wouden & Foolen (2017) indicate that while German seemingly prefers words from the domain of excrement, words related to diseases are inclined to be selected in Dutch, and the domain of sexuality dominates in English. Furthermore, Depner (2018) compares *super* in German (*super*) and Mandarin Chinese (*chāo jí* 'super' and *chāo* 'super'). She concludes that Mandarin Chinese *chāo* enhances the gradable property of states, and *chāojí* tends to emphasize modern events and technology. In comparison, German *super* has advanced its linguistic performance and gradually lost its role as an intensifier.

Lexicalization is relevant to the present study. Delexicalization is defined as "the reduction of the independent lexical content of a word, or group of words, so that it comes to fulfill a particular function" (Partington 1993: 183), which is also the focus of our study on German *super*. Researchers support the argument that intensifiers start as lexical items with semantic content but gradually undergo delexicalization (e.g. Peters 1992). Kong (2017) investigates the manner of speaking markers in Chinese and English, in which lexicalization, grammaticalization and pragmaticalization are highlighted. Meanwhile, Smirnova (2015) considers secondary grammaticalization as a non-linear path of diachronic development, where lexicalization is an essential step, based on two case studies in German. Taking a cognitive linguistic view, the corpus finding of Neels (2020) reports general subjects in cognitive research such as the from-corpus-to-cognition issue and proposes a cycle of constructional generalization driven by the interaction of frequency and habituation.

Among the different studies, none has examined *super* in a comprehensive manner. The present research examines the use of intensifiers in social communication after exploring the linguistic performance of *super* in German.

3. *Super* in German
The German data on *super* in the present study were taken from *Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutsche Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (DWDS, The Word Information System for the German Language in Past and Present, Geyken 2020). DWDS is a continuously expanding digital dictionary system based on large electronic text corpora. This system is built on the six-volume dictionary of German contemporary languages (WDG) and currently contains about 22 billion words. Sources include fiction, journalistic prose, technical texts, and utility texts.

3.1 Morphosyntactic pattern and collocation
German *super* is flexible to modify nouns (example (1), *Typ* 'guy'), verbs ((2), *gemacht* 'done'), adjectives ((3), *brutal* 'brutal'), and can also appear in the sentence final position or act as an exclamation (4). *Super* does not limit the syllabic length of its heads either, and is free to modify mono- (1), bi- (3), or multi-syllabic (6)-(7) heads.

> (1) *Und er ist charakterlich ein **super Typ**.*
>   'And he's a **great guy** in character.'
> (2) *Das war natürlich **super gemacht**.*
>   'That was of course **done well**.'
> (3) *Stimmt, das ist **super brutal**. Aber das ist ein realer Zustand.*
>   'Right, that is **super brutal**. But that is a real state of affairs.'
> (4) *Immer noch oben? **Super**.*
>   'Still up? **Super**.'

(5) *„**Super Ergebnis**", sagt sie dann, „toll gemacht."*
'"**Great result**", she then says, "well done."'

(6) *Laßt die beiden mal gemeinsam spielen, sie **passen super zusammen**.*
'Let the two play together, they **go great together**.'

(7) *Freilich könne man die atomare Schrift nur mit einem **Super-Elektronen-mikroskop** lesen.*
'Of course one can read the atomic writing only with a **super electron microscope**.'

The frequent collocations of *super* are provided in DWDS as a word profile, some of them are presented in Table 1. We see that (A) nouns (ist Prädikativ von), (B) adverbs or conjunctions (hat Adverbialbestimmung), and (C) verbs or verb phrases (ist Adverbialbestimmung von) are listed. The most frequent nouns that German *super* collocates with are *Stimmung* 'spirit' (logDice index 8.3, frequency 113 million tokens), *Atmosphäre* 'atmosphere, environment' (8.0), *Fans* 'fans' (7.6), etc. with adnominal syntactic structure [super + N.] therein. When *super* collocates with adverbs or conjunctions and behaves as an adverbial modifier, the majority of the collocations are *natürlich* 'of course' (3.9), *trotzdem* 'yet' (3.4), *übrigens* 'by the way' (3.2), etc. For example, *Der Start heute war <u>natürlich</u> super* '<u>Of course</u>, the start today was great', *Die haben in Bestbesetzung gespielt und wir in der Defensive <u>trotzdem</u> super gestanden* 'They played in the best line-up and we were <u>still</u> super defensive', and *Der Wein hat <u>übrigens</u> super geschmeckt* '<u>By the way</u>, the wine tasted great'. The highest proportion of verbs and VPs that *super* juxtaposed includes *draufhaben* 'have got' (6.2), *tanken* 'refueling', and *laufen* 'go, run' (3.2).

Note that in (B) the adverbs/conjunctions are usually prepositive of super, but in (C) *super* has its special allocation. Here, *super* can be preposed or postposed on the verbs, and in the case of VP splitting when inflection-medial is applied, *super* will be placed within the VP. For instance, *ich hatte das super drauf* 'I had this super on it; I can do it well' for the VP *draufhaben* 'have got', or *kommt super rüber* 'come super across' for *rüberkommen* 'come across'. Collocations show lexical firmness which gives rise to their partial lexicalization (Strakatova & Hinrichs 2019) and can reveal semantic polarity of the target word.

Table 1: DWDS Word profile for *super*

A. ist Prädikativ von	logDice	Freq.	B. hat Adverbial-bestimmung	logDice	Freq.	C. ist Adverbial-bestimmung von	logDice	Freq.
Stimmung	8.3	113	natürlich	3.9	76	draufhaben	6.2	9
Atmosphäre	8	23	trotzdem	3.4	25	tanken	6	9
Fans	7.6	15	übrigens	3.2	9	laufen	5.7	338
Moral	7.3	6	Doch	2.9	129	rüberkommen	5.4	5
Wetter	7.1	18	irgendwie	2.8	7	hinlegen	5.3	7
Tore	7	8	Alle	2.7	24	finden	5.3	622
Show	6.9	5	Immer	2.2	90	schmecken	5.2	25
Essen	6.9	8	eigentlich	2.1	20	erfinden	5	165
Vorbereitung	6.9	7	jedenfalls	1.7	9	zusammen passen	5	9
Hotel	6.5	5	Heute	1.5	51	anfühlen	4.8	6

* retrieved on April 9, 2020
** per million tokens

3.2 Semantic analysis and delexicalization
We first refer to the etymological meaning of *super*. According to *Duden-das Herkunftswörterbuch* (Duden-the Dictionary of Origin, Pescheck et al 2020) and *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen* (Etymological dictionary of German, Pfeifer et al. 1993), *super* was derived from the Latin meaning *über* 'more than' or *obendrauf* 'on top'. It underwent semantic broadening by the sixteenth century and meant *sehr* 'very', *überaus* 'exceedingly', *äußerst* 'ultimate', or *höchst* 'top most', an excerpt taken from the theologist Timotheus Kirchner's work in the year 1592 where *super* modifies the verbal *erkläret* 'explains'.

(8) *Solches rein und **superfein** Silber* (Cundisius 1648)
     'Such pure and **super fine** silver'
(9) *Aber wie können **superkluge** Leute hören?* (Sarganeck 1740)
     'But how can **super smart** people hear?'
(10) *es steckt unter der Dummheit eine Art **Superklugheit*** (Börne 1832)
     'there is a kind of **super cleverness** under stupidity'

Pfeifer et al. (1993) gave a chronological list of the development. *Superfein* 'extremely fine' appears in the sixteenth century (8), *superklug* 'particularly clever, overreacting' in the seventeenth century (9), *Superklugheit* 'super cleverness' eighteenth century (10), and *superfaul* 'super lazy' nineteenth century. Note that *super* and the heads appeared as compounds. Contexts were not provided in Pfeifer et al. for interpreting the specific meaning of each example, but exemplars can be found in DWDS to match the time when the compounds appeared. *Super* was not as flexible morphosyntactically as it is at the present time, yet these meanings have been widely used as Riecke and Wermke (2014) pointed out that it was since the late twentieth century due to the influence of American English. When it is used independently (11), it means *erstklassig* 'top, first class', *großartig* 'great', or *toll* 'awesome'. This suggests that German *super* tended to shift among various magnitudes of intensification, from 'more than', 'very', 'exceedingly', to 'top most' with the strengthening growing stronger and stronger.

(11) ***Super**!* (Die Zeit 1998)
     '**Super**!'
(12) *Mit der Maus läßt der 14jährige in fünf bis sechs Stunden eine Stadt entstehen, die rein **theoretisch super** funktioniert.* (Berliner Zeitung 1994)
     'With the mouse, the 14 year-old can create a city in five to six hours that works purely **theoretically super**.'
(13) ***Das Prinzip ist super**, die Umsetzung könnte aber schwierig werden.* (Die Zeit 2008)
     '**The principle is super**, the transformation, however, could be difficult.'

Nonetheless, German *super* also has gone lower than the reference point - namely, from top to bottom as we can see in (12) to (13) where *super* means 'actually not good'. In (12), the modifier *rein* 'purely, clearly' releases negation, because it is now "clearly/only theoretically super". While in (13) *könnte aber schwierig werden* 'could be, however, difficult' also implies the real judgement from the speaker and reveals the truth value of *Das Prinzip ist* super 'The principle is super'. Pragmatic operation is at work here. We can now postulate the semantic development of *super* before going on with the pragmatic survey. German *super* set out its spatiotemporal movement (see Fig. 1), whereby the trajector glided up from right above the point of reference (the standard point) and meaning *über*,

obendrauf, to the topmost, meaning *äußerst, höchst*. Then in modern German, the trajectory slipped down to under the reference point and acquired the antonymous connotation meaning 'actually not good'.

Figure 1: Semantic change of German *super*
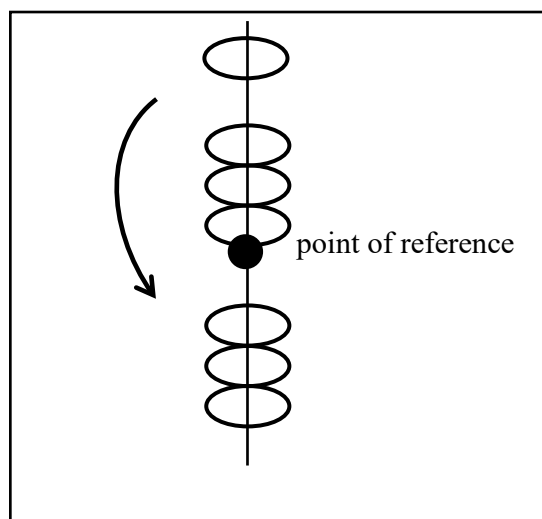
Super meaning 'actually not good' performs innate drive of semantic change as well as pragmatic competence. According to Eckert (2008), Hock & Josepf (2009), Beaton & Washington (2015), in the realm of lexical indexicality, pejoration (gradual worsening of meaning) and melioration (meaning improved, more positive) can be found in succession. It is not a surprise that the meaning of *super* goes under the point of reference. The meaning 'actually not good' (e.g. (12) and (13)) usually appears as [adjective/adverb + super] construction with collocates such as *eigentlich* 'actually', *natürlich* 'naturally, of course', *echt* 'really', *absolut* 'absolutely', *jedenfalls* 'in any case', or *schon* 'already'. (For example, *Der war eigentlich super gesprungen* 'He had jumped really well' and *Wir sind natürlich super glücklich* 'We are of course super happy'.) Such collocates are degree adverbs or adverbs of manner that carry the semantic prosody of 'totality' (e.g. absolutely, really, naturally); their truth value can vary depending on the pragmatic purpose of the speaker.

In other words, the formulaic [adjective + super] can show the speaker's personal opinion, which may not coincide with the facts or may even contradict the truth value oriented by the speaker's subjectivity. Pragmatically, *super* in German can be a replacement for irony (14), disappointment (15), politeness (16), etc. Example (14) is an irony for it "would be kind of great, but predictably boring". The colleague in example (15) said "It works great" to show sarcasm as well as disappointment when the outcome of their cooperation was not satisfactory, whereas the speaker in (16) tried to be polite by just voicing the pleasing training.

Let us observe this semantic development from another perspective and consider examples like (17). For the *super bequem* in (17), though positivity remains, the meaning of *super* has been reduced in terms of intensity and can now weaken the gradable property of the head, thus *super bequem* in (17) can mean "very comfortable" or just "comfortable", but not necessarily "*very much* comfortable" any more. The semantic bleaching of *super* has its reasons, including delexicalization and societal motives, just as Hock and Joseph (2009: 232) expressed: "social factors cause words to change from one sphere to the other". We shall elaborate social factors in the next section and continue the discussion here with delexicalization.

(14) *…plötzlich bei ihm zu Hause auftauchen würde (was zwar **irgendwie super**,*
     aber vorhersagbar langweilig wäre).
     '…would suddenly show up at his home (which would be **kind of**
     super, but predictably boring)'
(15) *Das **klappe super**, sagt die Kollegin.*
     'It **works super**, says the colleague'
(16) Die seien doch jetzt ***super ausgebildet***.
     'They're **super trained** now.'
(17) ***Super bequem*** zu tragen.
     '**Super comfortable** to carry.'
(18) Danke dass ich bei euch ***super Information*** bekommen habe.
     'Thank you that I got **super information** from you.'

As demonstrated above, *super* has advanced itself in terms of morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic performance and has gradually lost its role as an intensifier. Such loss is referred to as delexicalization, a general process of grammaticalization (Sinclair 1992; Partington 1993). Either diachronically or synchronically, one way to study on-going delexicalization is to observe the function patterning (Mustanoja 1960: 326-7). Partington (1993) indicated that there is a relation between delexicalization and collocational patterns; the more delexicalized an intensifier is, the more widely it collocates, hence expanding its "width of collocation". In other words, some intensifiers tend to collocate with specific clusters of lexical items, while others regularly collocate with broader selections. As illustrated in the above discussion of German *super*, we see that *super* collocates with a generous set of lexical items. The head of *super* can refer to an event (14), an outcome (15), a training (16), a person (1), a piece of work (2), and an event (3), etc.

Pejoration and melioration can be found in succession as cited in the above. Much earlier, Partington (1993) also demonstrated that the delexicalization of *awfully* is advanced because its head can have positive connotations (e.g. *cute*, *funny*, and *pretty*) or have negative ones (e.g. *boring* and *silly*), whereas *terribly* tends to collocate only with negative expressions. In the case of *super*, it can collocate with positive connotation heads as in (6), (8), (9), (10), (16) and (17), as well as negative modifiers, as in (3) and (12). Example (12) can be paraphrased as *super Theorie* 'super theory', but it is often said as *theoretisch super* 'theoretically super' and with a further supplement as to why the topical subject is actually not doable. Other German examples with negative modifiers include *super schlecht* 'super bad', *super hässlich* 'really ugly', and *super unwohl* 'super uncomfortable', among others. Subjectification is likewise apparent in the above examples in that the degree of *super* depends on the speaker, rather than the epistemic fact. In terms of exclamation, *Super*! (11) can mean the exact opposite of *super*, constituting subjectivity understood based on the spot-on deictic realization.

German *super* is now losing its emphasizing tone. Consequently, instead of *super gut* 'super good', the following are often used among youth in the German society: *krass gut*, *total gut*, *cool gut*, *mega gut*, *voll gut*, *endgut*, *hamma*, *hammer*, *tiptop*, *genial* and *todschick*, that all mean 'super good'. Further, girls have developed *supi* 'super good' with an "endearment" manner.

4. Sociolinguistic study of intensifiers

Having demonstrated the morphosyntactic pattern and semantic development of German intensifier *super*, this section moves on to examine the use of German *super* over time to show the motivation of such change as well as reporting the general use of intensifiers in social communication.

As a matter of fact, *super* was not a popular intensifier in German history. One can see the frequency spectrum of *super* and the lexical competition with its synonyms based on DWDS newspaper corpus (DWDS-Zeitungskorpus). In the graph, *krass* (see the red line in Fig. 2) had always

been in the lead and, since 1945, it was the most frequently used among the four synonyms (7.63 million tokens) until 2004 when *super* took over. *Super* (see the blue line) itself has had a remarkable increase in use over the years. It had been the least used intensifier among the four, and then it was used a little bit more than *geil* in 1951 (*super* 0.39 : *geil* 0.35). *Super* and *geil* competed with each other for over a decade from 1951 to 1966. The popularity of *super* took a sudden increase around 1985 and surpassed that of *geil* in 1992 (*super* 2.94 : *geil* 2.91). Subsequently, *super* won over *spitze* in 2002 (*super* 7.40 : *spitze* 7.24) and finally exceeded *krass* in 2004 (*super* 8.65 : *krass* 8.56). The dramatically increasing use of *super* since the late twentieth century is due to the influence of American English.

Figure 2: Frequency spectrum of *super* and synonyms
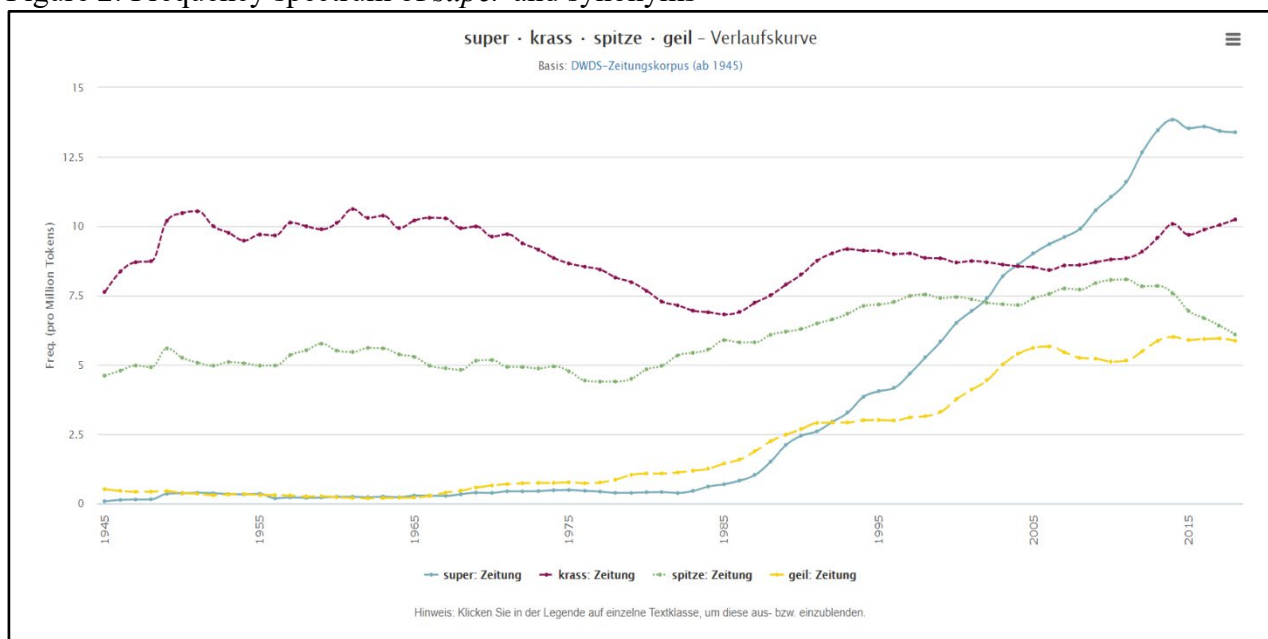
We see that society itself is an external factor that facilitates the development of intensifiers. The influence of English on German is certainly a result of the development of the global village. Although *super* did not die out before the contact with English, such linguistic change is referred to as revival by Mustanoja (1960: 59), also known as competition and recycling of intensifiers (Altenberg 1991; Bolinger 1972; Ito & Tagliamonte 2003). *Well* as an intensifier (as in *well cool*, *well dirty*) is also recognized as a revival (Denison 1999; Andersen & Hasund 2002). Research has found that *well* became less popular after the mid fourteenth century (Mustanoja 1960: 319-327) but appeared again in Present Day British English (Stenström 2000; Stenström, Andersen & Hasund 2002; Stratton 2018).

In fact, revivals take place in language contact time and again. Hsieh & Hsu (2006) investigated Japanese loanwords in Mandarin and found that the lexical item *jiào shòu* (teaching; professor) is a revival because this lexical item was found to have been used around 90 AD (*Shiji*, *Annals*) but was lost or unpopular until the language contact with Japanese. Depner (2016) studied fruit naming and indicated that the names can vanish due to rare use, but they can also find a way to survive through a revival, such as the fruit name of apple in Mandarin Chinese (*píng guǒ*). Whether it is fruit names, academic titles like Mandarin *professor* or intensifiers like German *super*, various linguistic domains, target words and routes are all under the same social and linguistic contact influence in the use of lexicon.

Lexical changes such as revivals are influenced by an internal linguistic factor—motivation for change. Meillet (1905-6/1948) said that words are able to adjust their meaning for linguistic, historical or social reasons. Current intensifiers can lose their intensifying force (Stoffel 1901; Tagliamonte 2008) or change due to prosodic evidence, such as phonological stress (Stratton 2020b). Tagliamonte (2008: 389-391) indicated that some intensifiers do not die off but persist at the speakers' low-frequency variants word bank which "are available to be co-opted back into the active system" at any time. Aitchison stated that words like these do "exist in embryo in the language" (2001: 144), and Hsieh & Hsu (2006: 62) referred to such words as "linguistic seeds".

The change of intensifiers also involves external linguistic factors that are brought in from society, such as the preference of the speakers and the diffusion of certain intensifiers. Diffusion rarely starts with a variant used in a remote area. Rather, linguistic changes usually spread among highly populated communities (e.g. cities) and may even skip rural regions altogether (Trudgill 1972, 1974; Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Labov 2001). Yet, for the diffusion of the intensifier *well*, the data in Stratton's study (2020b) indicated that the intensifying use of *well* has been preserved in some dialects. Presumably, this retained dialectal use eventually spread in the twentieth century, and those who had not already used it regularly found it to be a new expression.

On the other hand, some studies have provided a rather complete set of arguments and interesting research outcomes to prove that the language speaker's gender, age, education, register, etc. are important social factors for the change of intensifiers. Specific gender guides the use of intensifiers (Stoffel 1901). Stoffel (1901) and Jespersen (1922) recorded that ladies delight in saying *He is <u>so</u> charming!* and *It is <u>so</u> lovely!* As such, women's leading role in the progress of intensifiers has been documented (Lakoff 1973; Bradac et al. 1995; Holmes 1995; Stenström 1999; Christie 2002; Ito and Tagliamonte 2003; McEnery & Xiao 2004; Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005; Xiao & Tao 2007; Tagliamonte 2008; Murphy 2010; Hancock et al. 2015). Then Fuchs (2017) asked, "Do women still use more intensifiers than men?" and explored recent change of intensifiers in British English. He came to the conclusion that both genders have come to use intensifiers frequently and speculated that the reason for the new development is "the spread of a stereotypically feminine, positively polite linguistic style in British society", as people have changed the way they perceive gender roles (2017: 365).

Age is a variable, too. Teenagers utilize intensifiers less than the 20-30-year age group (Núñez Pertejo & Palacios Martínez 2014; Palacios Martínez & Núñez Pertejo 2012; Tagliamonte 2008). Intensifiers are used frequently by the younger generation when the topics and settings are "right" (Peng 2009; Ito and Tagliamonte 2003). Ito & Tagliamonte (2003) found a noteworthy generation gap in York English as Figure 3 indicates: The intensifier *very* is used by adults aged over 35 while younger speakers tend to use *really*.

Figure 3: Distribution of *very* and *really* by age (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003: 267)
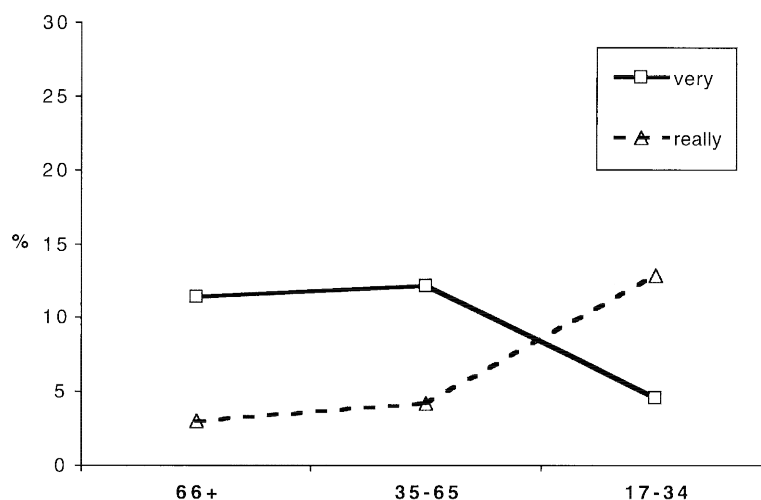
Furthermore, setting and register play a role as well. Labov (1985: 44) noted that *really* is one of the most frequently used intensifiers in daily conversation in American English. Speakers are liable to utter *really* in familiar talks more than in formal speech or writing. Likewise, Stenström (1999) found that *really* is the most common intensifier among teenagers in London. On the other hand, while investigating German intensifiers, Umbach (2011) found in the novel she examined that intensifiers were used predominantly when adults converse with children. "Neutral" intensifiers like *zu Tode* 'to death' are used (e.g. *zu Tode langweilen* 'bored to death'). The text in the novel reflects a social interaction pattern in which adults often use intensifiers when talking to children to generate a hyperbolic effect that would draw the listeners' attention. Other settings can be found in economic discourse (Griffin 2007), children's literature (Pugh & Wallace 2006) and conversational interactions (Korobov 2005). In addition to the above reported external linguistic factors regarding the preference of the speakers, social class (Wodak 2015) and dialect variants (Biber et al. 1999; Fuchs & Gut 2016; Holmes et al. 1998) are all variables known to influence the frequency of an intensifier.

An intensifier can escalate its popularity as a result of language contact. When intensifiers are changing and developing, both internal linguistic motivations and external social factors are exercising their influence.

5. Conclusion

This paper investigated the multi-dimensional nature of *super* in German and general internal and external push that change intensifiers in the social communication. I conclude that (a) the intensifier *super* in German is flexible on its morphosyntactic behavior in that *super* has minimum constraint in its modification position. It can be at pre-or post-verbal position, sentential final or act as an exclamation (*Super*!); and its collocation environment is varied. (b) German *super* set out its spatiotemporal movement since deriving from Latin, its semantic trajector glided up from right above the point of reference to the topmost (meaning very, ultimate, etc.). Then in modern German, the trajectory slipped down to under the reference point and acquired the antonymous connotation meaning 'actually not good'. (c) The truth value of the [super + modifier] construction varies depending on the pragmatic purpose of the speaker. (d) A diachronic survey of the frequency spectrum shows that *super* has achieved a lexical revival, thus winning over its synonyms. Linguistic and social factors are involved in intensifier development in language communities.

Is a "super good beer" better than a "very good beer" in German? Not before 1992, as the above

investigation has revealed, and presumably not in the late twenty-first century if *super* goes on to lose its intensity through delexicalization. The intrinsic motivation of linguistic change, extrinsic sociolinguistic factors of overall intensifiers and special semantic functions of *super* allow the syntactic flexibility and pragmatic participation. The linguistic revival that started in the early twenty-first century has made the intensity of German *super* what it is today.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Detailed source of examples taken from archives and newspapers.

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(9) Sarganeck, Georg: Ueberzeugende und bewegliche Warnung vor allen Sünden der Unreinigkeit und Heimlichen Unzucht. Züllichau, 1740.

(10) Börne, Ludwig: Briefe aus Paris. Bd. 1. Hamburg, 1832.

(11) Die Zeit, 20.05.1998, Nr. 22.

(12) Berliner Zeitung, 27.09.1994.

(13) Die Zeit, 16.10.2008, Nr. 42.

A cross-cultural study of semantic ties in the abstracts of conference proceedings

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Abstract: Connectedness in research article abstracts plays a vital role for them to be able to attract a broader readership. It also enhances abstracts' potential for acceptance at local and international conferences. In view of this, the study investigates variations in the strategies that writers from Anglophone and Francophone settings use to create connectedness in their conference paper abstracts. The data for this study comprise 50 abstracts submitted by these two groups of writers to the 30th West African Languages Congress and the 10th Linguistics Association of Ghana (LAG) Conference. For analytical methodology, it employs Halliday and Hasan's (1976) Cohesive Theory, which is complemented by Kaplan's (1966) Contrastive Rhetoric Theory. The findings reveal that the writers from the two cultural backgrounds employ similar strategies such as references, conjunctions, substitution, ellipsis, synonyms and repetition in maintaining connectedness in their abstracts. The differences between these two categories of writers are linked to the frequency with which these connectives are deployed in their respective abstracts. The study has implications for Contrastive Rhetoric Theory, by proving that people who belong to the same discourse community to a large extent demonstrate similar writing styles irrespective of their different cultural backgrounds.

Keywords: Abstracts, conference proceedings, contrastive rhetoric, cohesion, texture.

1. Introduction

The research article is one genre within the academic discourse community that has received a lot of attention in linguistic research, being considered a premier academic genre within the academic discourse community (Flowerdew & Wang 2015). After the pioneering work of Swales' (1990) genre analysis of research article introductions, many researchers have taken an interest in analyzing various aspects of the research article. Prominent among these studies are the introduction sections (Samraj 2002, 2005; Swales 2004), the methods section (Lim 2006), the results section (Taylor & Tingguang 1991; Yang & Allison 2003; Brett 1994) and discussion sections (Holmes 1997; Fallahi & Erzi 2003).

More recently, the abstract has received considerable attention mainly because of the particular role it plays as the first component of the research article. Most scholars point to the research article abstract as one of the most important research process genres within the academic discourse community (Salager-Meyer 1990). The abstract is considered one of the essential sections of the research article in the sense that it can determine the acceptance or rejection of an article for conferences, and its selection by readers (Marefat & Mohammadzadeh 2013).

Gillaerts & Van de Velde (2010) stress that the research article abstract acquired a significant position in the academic discourse community as a well-established genre "since Ventola's (1994) plea for a linguistic approach to the genre that was capable of combining a global structure view of the genre with a prescriptive local view of the linguistic realization of the abstract" (128). Its significance dates back to the 1970s, where it became a standard element in article publication.

Many scholars point out the problems with achieving a clear-cut function for research article abstracts. This issue has led to a serious debate within the applied linguistics literature on whether the abstract functions as a condensed reproduction of the text, an expansion of the title of a text or as an informative summary of the entire article (Ayers 2008; Hyland 2000; Stotesbury 2003; Yakhontova 2002). However, the abstract has been considered by some researchers as the readers' doorway to an article, journals' selection of contributions, and for conferences to accept or reject articles (Lores 2004). Abstracts have become a gateway into the research literature (Hartley & Benjamin 1998) and

are important avenues of learning and managing the numerous pieces of information that abound within the scientific community (Ventola 1994).

As a specialized opening stage of scientific studies, coupled with its potential to determine the breadth of the readership of the research article, the abstract is expected to be clear and succinct. In other words, scholars, especially those who aim to submit their research article abstracts for conferences, need to possess the skill or craft in composing abstracts that fit the standards recognized by the discourse community of experts in scientific publications. This craft is not limited to knowledge about the obligatory rhetorical stages of the genre, but also includes writers' ability to maintain connectedness.

To be more specific, since the abstract plays an essential role in "grasping the information of the whole research report, the writing of the abstract therefore should be concise and the logical relation among sentences is clear, coherent and cohesive" (Suwandi 2016: 253).

This study, therefore, aims to explore the kind of connectives (cohesive devices) employed by non-native speakers of English from two different cultural backgrounds – Anglophone and Francophone settings – to create semantic ties (connectedness) in their conference paper abstracts. The paper also investigates variations in the use of cohesive devices as a means of creating semantic ties in both the Anglophone and Francophone writers' abstracts.

2. Review of related literature
2.1. Some previous studies on abstracts

As an established genre within the applied linguistics literature, research article abstracts have received much scholarly attention. According to Afful and Nartey (2014), studies on this academic genre gained much prominence after the assertion made by Swales (1990) that the abstract continues to remain neglected by discourse analysts and scholars in English for Academic Purposes.

One of the earliest works on abstracts can be traced to the scholarly work of Santos (1996), who explores the rhetorical structure of 96 research abstracts in applied linguistics. Santos (1996) charts a five-move structure in the genre. These moves include situating the research (move 1), presenting the research (move 2), describing the method (move 3), summarizing the results (move 4), and discussing the results (move 5). These five rhetorical stages together realize the communicative purpose of summarizing the entire article.

Following Santos (1996), other studies have explored the rhetorical moves in research article abstracts from different contexts: Pezzini (2003), Dongmei & Ruiying (2005), Cross & Oppenheim (2006), Salager-Meyer (1991), Marefat & Mohammadzadeh (2013) and Al-Khasawneh (2017). Pezzini (2003) for instance, undertook a genre analysis of research article abstracts written in English and Portuguese while Dongmei & Ruiying (2005) focused on discourse structure and linguistics features across disciplines. Cross & Oppenheim (2006), on the other hand, explored the semantic organization and thematic structure in research article abstracts from the field of protozoa, and Salager-Meyer (1991) studied the structure of medical research articles. In addition to these, Marefat & Mohammadzadeh (2013) conducted a genre analysis of abstracts written in English and Persian, while Al-Khasawneh (2017) accounts for the variation in the move structure of abstracts written by native and non-native speakers of English.

Aside from the move analysis of abstracts, a different category of linguistic research aims at charting the kind of linguistic strategies used by writers. For example, Afful and Nartey (2014) examine grammatical cohesion in the Language and Literature abstracts of undergraduate dissertations at the University of Cape Coast. The data for the study comprises 25 Language and 25 Literature abstracts. By drawing on Halliday and Hasan's (1976) theory of cohesion, the study reveals that cohesive devices like conjunction, reference, substitution, and ellipses are used in the abstracts. It is further observed that students from these two disciplines significantly use references and conjunctions. Despite students' ability to use varying cohesive ties in their dissertation abstracts, the

findings reveal a lack of sophistication and flair in the abstracts of students from the two disciplines.

Within the same focus as Afful and Nartey (2014), Seddigh, Kafipour and Shokrpour (2009) compare and contrast the type of lexical cohesion used in English and Persian abstracts written by Iranian medical students. The data for the study comprise 100 English and Persian thesis abstracts which were analyzed by using Seddish and Yarmohammadi's (1996) lexical cohesion framework. The findings reveal similarity in the use of lexical cohesion in the English and Persian abstracts. Despite some degree variation, the differences are, nevertheless, noted to be statistically insignificant. The analysis further confirms repetition as the most prominent cohesive agent in the two corpora, while synonymy and meronymy were the least frequent.

The same concept of cohesion is also explored by Blanka and Hubackova (2013), who study grammatical cohesion in the abstracts of native speakers of British origin. Unlike previous studies that focused on grammatical cohesive devices like references, substitution, ellipsis and conjunctions, Blanka and Hubackova (2013) explore the organic grammatical means of cohesion, with emphasis on discourse connectives and discourse adverbials. By analyzing 45 research article abstracts and employing Quirk et al.'s (1985) seven conjunctive models, Blanka and Hubackova (2013) identify four groups of conjuncts. These include listing conjuncts, appositional conjuncts, resultative conjuncts and contrastive conjunctives. Blanka and Hubackova (2013) further confirm that listing conjuncts, which are typified by words like *in particular*, *secondly*, *then*, *furthermore*, *finally*, *moreover*, *more*, *thirdly*, *in addition*, and *equally* are the most dominant ones in the data. Listing conjuncts are followed by contrastive conjuncts (*however*, *despite*, *contrary to*, *though, yet*), resultative conjunct (*therefore*, *accordingly*, *as a result*, *thus* and *hence*) and appositional conjuncts (*such as*, *in other words, that is*).

From a broader perspective, Suwandi's (2016) study shares similarities with that of Afful and Nartey (2014), Seddigh, Kafipour and Shokrpour (2019) and Blanka and Hubackova (2013), as they are all concerned with the textual metafunction of language. That is, Suwandi (2016) investigates macro-level coherence in the abstracts of final project reports of undergraduate students of Indonesian university students, i.e. how each sentence is connected to the other to create logical relations, as well as the correct use of cohesive devices like conjunction, references, substitution, or ellipsis. The findings reveal that despite the dominant use of cohesive devices like references, conjunctions and ellipsis, the abstracts did not satisfactorily achieve cohesion.

This finding confirms an earlier study on research article abstracts by Afful and Nartey (2014) as they reflect that there is no one-to-one correspondence between frequency of cohesive devices and quality of writing. Cohesiveness therefore stems from the writer's ability to use cohesive devices effectively.

From a functional perspective, Ebrahimi and Chan (2015) explored the grammatical subject in abstracts from the fields of applied linguistics and economics. Specifically, the researchers compared the discourse functions of grammatical subjects used in research article abstracts in the two disciplines. They reveal disciplinary differences in the use of grammatical subject in abstracts in the two disciplines.

The implication of the findings of Ebrahimi and Chan's (2015) study is that genres within the academic discourse community are shaped by the writer's disciplinary background. This finding differs from that of Afful and Nartey (2014), whose study reveals insignificant difference in abstracts written by students with different disciplinary backgrounds, apparently because this study involved learners.

Within the context of cross-cultural studies on research article abstracts, Xiao and Cao (2013) explored the abstracts written by native and non-native English writers. By relying on a multi-dimensional analytical approach, the results reveal a seven-dimensional framework which represents seven different communicative purposes. The findings further confirm that five out of these seven-dimensional frameworks exhibit significant differences in the abstracts of the two sub-corpora. Xiao

and Cao (2013) further confirm that the abstracts written by the native English speakers demonstrate more active involvement and commitment in presenting their ideas. It is further revealed that the English native speakers' abstracts are dominantly characterized by intensifying devices whereas their Chinese counterparts favored conceptual elaboration, passives, and abstract noun phrases.

Different from the focuses of the studies mentioned above, Cao and Hu (2010) investigate hedging and boosting devices in the abstracts of applied linguistics articles. The findings reveal that the abstracts published in English-medium journals feature markedly more hedges than those published in Chinese-medium journals. It is also revealed that the abstracts of empirical research articles use significantly more boosters than those of non-empirical academic articles. Also, hedging devices and boosters in the abstracts published in the English and Chinese-medium journals have a collaborative and interactive effect on authorial certainty and confidence.

A review of literature on abstract-related studies reveals a lacuna of research on how the cultural background of writers affects the way they achieve semantic ties (cohesion) in their conference paper abstracts. This lacuna is particularly evident within the West African setting. Accordingly, the present study investigates the strategies used by West African writers from different cultural backgrounds – Anglophone and Francophone settings – to maintain connectedness (semantic ties) in their conference paper abstracts.

Specifically, the data for this study consisted in conference paper abstracts that featured in the book of abstracts of the 30th WALC/ 10th LAG Conference. As an international conference that attracted scholars from around the globe, the 30th WALC and 10th LAG Conference came out as one of the biggest conferences on the African continent. However, not all abstracts submitted to that conference were accepted. This must be assumed to reflect that the abstracts that were accepted must have been of a sufficiently high linguistic quality.

One marker of linguistic quality is the way in which writers successfully connect ideas and sentences in their abstracts. Hence, the research questions for the present study are:

1. What are the types and meanings of cohesive devices used in the abstracts of Francophone and Anglophone West African writers?

2. What are the differences and similarities in the cohesive devices used by these two categories of writers?

3. Theoretical/conceptual framework
3.1. The concept of cohesion
Cohesion, from Halliday and Hasan (1976), is a semantic concept which concerns the relation of meanings in the progression of a text. Thus, according to Klimova & Hubackova (2014), a major function of cohesion is text formation. Cohesion has the potential to link "together the elements that are structurally unrelated through the dependence of one on the other for its interpretation" (664). Cohesion, as stressed by Klimova & Hubackova (2014), plays a significant role in text formation because, without it, the semantic system within a text cannot be effectively activated. Texture is created when writers effectively use linguistic resources to connect sentences in a text. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), it is only when a piece of writing has texture that it can be categorized as a text. As the elements that create texture, Salkie (1995: 10) considers cohesive devices "the glue which holds different parts of a text together".

As an aspect of the textual metafunction, cohesion represents the grammatical and lexical relationship within a text (Kadiri, Igbokwe, Okebalama & Egbe 2016). Halliday and Hasan (1976) classify cohesive devices into two main broad categories: lexical and grammatical cohesion. Lexical cohesive comprises two main types – reiteration and collocation – while grammatical cohesion

consists of reference, conjunction (logical connectives), ellipsis and substitution.

According to Halliday and Hassan (1976), reference can either be endophoric or exophoric. Exophoric reference means reference to information from the immediate context of situation while endophoric reference is text-internal. Halliday and Hasan (1976) identify three main types of reference: personal, demonstrative and comparative.

As a second type of cohesive device, conjunctions differ from the other grammatical cohesive devices. Instead of backward or forward reference, conjunctions function within the context in which they are used in a text (Gueliane 2016): That is "conjunctive elements are cohesive not in themselves but indirectly by their specific meaning; they are not primarily devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meaning which presupposes the presence of other components in the discourse" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 226).

Gueliane (2016) extends Halliday and Hasan's (1976) four sub-categorization of conjunctions into ten, including additive, contrastive, amplifying, exemplifying, causal, alternative, explanatory, excluding, temporal and summary ones. This new extension is used as a reference point in analyzing conjunctive relations in this work. The reason for adopting Guelinae's (2016) classification is its higher degree of granularity.

As for ellipsis, Gueliane (2016) conceptualizes it as the omission of a linguistic element because the meaning of that omitted element is easily understood from the context in which it is used. Nunan (1993: 25), on the other hand, defines ellipsis as a situation "when some essential structural element is omitted from a sentence or a clause and can only be recovered by referring to an element in the preceding text". In other words, ellipsis occurs when a grammatical item is deleted from, but still presupposed in, a text (McCarthy 1991).

Unlike ellipsis, Halliday and Hasan (1976) define substitution as the replacement of an item that has been previously mentioned in a text, and is used to prevent repetition in the text. Halliday and Hasan (1976) further posit that substitution is a relation on the lexical level, unlike reference, which is a semantic relation. Like ellipsis, substitution can be nominal, verbal or clausal.

With regard to repetition, Adeyemi (2017) considers it the act of achieving cohesion through the repetition of lexical items already mentioned by the speaker or the writer in a given text.

Another subtype of lexical cohesion is synonyms, i.e. words with closely related meanings (Yule 2006). Because synonyms are words that are nearly identical in meaning, they can used with cohesive effect (Adeyemi 2017).

3.2. Contrastive rhetoric

Contrastive Rhetoric (CR) poses itself as an area of research in second language acquisition, aiming to identify challenges in the text composition of non-native speakers of English. It also uncovers the rhetorical strategies of the first language and attempts to explain them (Connor 1996). To be more specific, CR refers to "a comparison of the writing convention of various languages and cultures, and this is often linked with research on how they differ from the perceived norm of writing in America or British English, for typically in CR Anglo-American English patterns are considered as the norm" (Pietila 2007: 6). CR is premised on "the view that language and writing are cultural phenomena" (Connor 1996: 10).

This research paradigm, as stressed by Cumming (2013), can be traced to the seminal work on discourse analysis by Kaplan (1966), who considers it "a pedagogical solution to the problem of L2 organizational structures" (Matsuda 1997: 45). CR, therefore, does not regard the text as a static entity, but rather as what Connor (2002: 493) refers to as a "functional part of dynamic cultural contexts". CR is a field of study that has recently become independent (Matsuda 2003) and has expanded its focus to include four main areas. These four areas, as stressed by Connor (1996), include:

1. Contrastive text linguistics concerned with the differences and similarities in discourse features between different languages and cultures.

2. Applied linguistics which considers writing as an educational and cultural endeavor that primarily explores the process of literacy learning, the impact of literacy progression on one's native language and culture as well as the influence of L1 literacy development on L2 literacy.

3. Classroom-based contrastive studies which explore cross-cultural structures in teacher-student classroom discourse.

4. Contrastive genre analysis concerned with academic and professional writing.

This study is situated within the first area, being concerned with the differences and similarities in the cohesive strategies used by writers from two different unique backgrounds.

4. Methods
4.1. Design, corpus and procedures
The study employs the qualitative research design because the analysis and mode of data collection procedures are highly descriptive. However, the study also relies on quantitative data for the interpretation of its findings.

For materials, we collected 50 abstracts from the book of abstracts for the 2017 joint 30th WALC/10th LAG Conference held at the University of Education, Winneba. The non-probability sampling procedure specifically, the purposive sampling, was used to select 25 abstracts, each written by both Anglophone and Francophone writers from the West African sub-region. Non-English abstracts were excluded from the sample.

After this, we used Halliday and Hasan's (1976) cohesive theory as the framework to identify the cohesive devices employed in the sample. Abstracts by Anglophone writers amounted to a corpus of 5,273 words, while that of the Francophone writers was made up of 5,220 words. To ensure analytical validity, two raters apart from the present authors analyzed the abstracts. The 25 abstracts written by the Anglophone writers were given to a PhD candidate in Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape, while the other 25 abstracts written by the Francophone writers were given to a lecturer of Communicative Skills at the Ho Technical University in Ghana.

These two raters were tasked with identifying the cohesive ties employed in the abstracts that they were given. The inter-rater reliability score for the abstracts written by the French speakers was 80% while the score for those written by the Anglophone writers was 85%. The differences that came up in the raters' analysis and that of the present authors were noted, and corrections were made where necessary.

5. Results and discussion
This section presents interpretation of the findings of the study. Table 1 summarizes the types and frequencies of cohesive devices identified in the two sub-corpora.

Table 1: Types of semantic ties and their frequencies across the two sub-corpora

Cohesive Devices	Anglophone Writers	Francophone Writers	Total
References	276(37.05%)	508(55.41%)	784(47.17%)
Conjunction	313(42.01%)	281(30.64%)	594(35.74%)
Repetition	129(17.32)	101(11.01%)	230(13.83%)
Ellipsis	10(1.34%)	18(1.96%)	28(1.70%)
Synonym	15(2.01%)	07(0.76 %)	22(1.32%)
Substitution	02(0.27%)	02(0.22%)	04(0.24%)
TOTAL	**745(100%)**	**917(100%)**	**1,662(100%)**

Table 1 reveals that writers from the Anglophone and Francophone settings use similar cohesive devices. These devices include conjunctions, references, ellipsis, substitution, repetition and synonyms.

Across the two sub-corpora, the results reveal reference as the most frequently used connective agent. In descending order of frequency, reference relations are followed by the use of conjunction, repetition, ellipsis, synonym and substitution.

Despite the similarities between the two groups as far as *types* of cohesive devices are concerned, there were differences in the frequencies with which the devices are used. Altogether, the Francophone West African writers use more cohesive devices than their Anglophone West African counterparts do. In total, there are 917 instances of cohesive devices in the Francophone part of the corpus, but only 745 instances in the Anglophone part. The significance of these differences is discussed below.

5.1. Grammatical cohesion
As evident in Table 1, four grammatical cohesive devices featured in both parts of the corpus, viz references, conjunctions, ellipsis, and substitution.

5.1.1. Reference
Table 1 shows that reference is the most frequent device in both parts of the corpus, but one that occurs in different proportion in the two sub-corpora. Out of the 784 reference relations across the two sub-corpora, 508 (55.41%) instances feature in the Francophone writers' abstracts, while 276 (37.05%) appear in the Anglophone part. The findings further show that the use of reference manifests itself in three main forms in both sub-corpora: personal, demonstrative and comparative. Frequencies are listed in Table 2.

Table 2: Types of reference relations identified in the two sub-corpora

Types of Reference	Anglophone Writers	Francophone Writers	Total
Personal	78(28.26%)	317(62.44%)	395
Demonstrative	176(63.76%)	170(33.46%)	346
Comparative	22(7.98%)	21(4.1%)	43
Total Reference Usage	**276(100%)**	**508(100%)**	**784**

Table 2 shows that the Francophone writers use more personal reference than their Anglophone West African counterparts. In contrast, the Anglophone writers use more demonstrative reference. However, comparative reference, as evident in Table 2, is used almost with the same frequency in the two sub-corpora.

Examples are given below;

Instances of reference usage in the abstracts

1. **The paper** *discusses segmental phonology focusing on Dagbani dialects (Tomosili, Nayahili and Nanunli), a Gur language spoken in the northern part of Ghana.* **It** *aims at describing Dagbani dialects within the framework of Lexical phonology (AGA 14).*

2. *Conversation and interviews with some informant witnesses are the instruments* **we** *use to collect data from the field (FRA 4).*

Example 1 shows the use of personal reference, with *it* used as an anaphoric reference to the noun phrase *the paper*. In example 2, the personal pronoun *we* is an exophoric reference to the writers.

Instances of reference usage in the abstracts

3. *Genre studies has proved to be a good aspect of material development for language use in specific contexts, and* **this** *has made it much popular in various fields of study (AGA 8).*

4. *It is rather highly motivated. Hence, at the inception of the novel, one can see a well-written section. Curiously, the* **same** *section is reformulated containing this time neither punctuation nor capital letter (FRA 20).*

Example 3 shows the use of the demonstrative pronoun *this* to anaphorically refer to the content of the preceding clause.

Example 4, on the other hand, is an instance of comparative reference, with *same* used as a means of creating a semantic tie. The comparative reference *same* relates the two sections of the novel as equal in terms of meaning.

5.1.2. Conjunction
Instances of conjunctions include ten different forms, shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Frequency of conjunctive relations

Conjunction Relations	**Anglophone Abstracts**	**Francophone Abstracts**	**Total**	**Per. (100%)**	**Rank**
Addition	218(69.66%)	201(71.53%)	419	70.54%	1
Temporal Arrangement	26(8.31%)	18(6.41%)	44	7.41%	2
Contrast	19(6.07%)	16(5.69%)	35	5.89%	3
Alternative	13(4.15%)	12(4.27%)	25	4.21%	4
Cause Effect (Causal)	10(3.19%)	13(4.63%)	23	3.87%	5
Amplification	13(4.15%)	08(2.85%)	21	3.54%	6
Exemplification	11(3.51%)	03(1.07%)	14	2.36%	7
Summary/Conclusion	02(0.64%)	04(1.42%)	06	1.01%	8
Explanation	00(0.0%)	04(1.42%)	04	0.67%	9
Exclusion	01(0.32%)	02(0.71%)	03	0.50%	10
Total	**313**	**281**	**594**		

Table 3 shows that nine out of the ten conjunctive relations identified by Kennedy (2003) are present in the two sub-corpora. Only explanatory conjunction appears 4 (1.42%) times in the Francophone abstracts but not in the Anglophone ones. The findings further reveal that the additive type of conjunctive relation is the dominant connective agent across the two sub-corpora. Table 3 further reflects that the difference in the frequency of additives is moderate.

Temporal arrangement, on the other hand, features as the second-most frequent conjunctive relation across the two sub-corpora. In descending order of frequency, temporal arrangement is followed by adversative (contrastive) conjunction. This type of conjunction, like that of addition and temporal arrangement, appears almost at the same frequency in the two sub-corpora.

Similar to the use of adversative conjunction, other conjunction types that semantically *signify* cause-effect, alternative, amplification and summary/conclusion feature almost at the same frequency within the two groups of abstracts. The only conjunction type with marked differences in frequency in the two sub-corpora is exemplification conjunction (see Table 3).

Some instances of the use of conjunctions are given below;

1. *Based on the outcome of the test results, the paper concludes that most Nigerian L2 users of English are not proficient in the use of non-auxiliary verb questions. **Also,** the paper concludes that this aspect of English grammar which is problematic to these bilinguals requires close attention through intensive teaching and drills (AGA 4).*

2. *The National policy on Education recognizes the teaching of indigenous languages in Nigerian schools, particularly at the primary and secondary levels. **However**, the ethnic diversity of Nigeria made it practically impossible for the teaching of all indigenous languages, especially in highly heterogeneous communities (AGA 11).*

3. *Applying Fishman's Sociology of Language and Religion and Castell's Identity theory, the paper examines the role of their language and performance in the construction of identities*

> *in the sermons of Christian Pentecostal Pastors in Nigeria. **Specifically**, it explores the crea-tivity in the appropriation of linguistic and extra linguistic resources such as body language, pitch, gestures in the delivery of their sermons (AGA 6).*

4. *This previous approach has neglected the investigation of the discrete morpho-semantic fea-tures of coordination. **Therefore**, this paper concentrates on special types of coordination in Igbo, which are represented by morpho-semantic features of the language (FRA 1).*

Example 1 indicates the use of *and* to show addition. Here, the writer uses *and* to present another important finding of the research he undertook. This additional finding is linked to the need for non-auxiliary verb questions to be taught by means of intensive teaching and drilling to Nigerian L2 users.

Example 2 also shows the use of the conjunction *however* to show contrast. With this, the writer indicates two contrasting views in the sentence. The first provides an idea about the recognition of the *National Policy on Education* on the teaching of indigenous languages in Nigerian schools, while the second aspect gives an adversative view on how the ethnic diversity in Nigeria inhibits the teaching of Nigerian indigenous languages at the various academic levels, especially at the primary and secondary levels. Thus, the adversative view in question relates to the failure of teachers in Nigeria to teach the indigenous languages as a result of the numerous ethnic groups that abound in Nigeria.

In example 3, the lexical item *specifically*, denotes amplification. By using this conjunct, the writer reechoes the focus of the research work he intends to undertake. In other words, the writer amplifies the focus of the research he intends to conduct. Moreover, the conjunction, *therefore*, as evident in example 4, is a typical instance of causal conjunction. The writer uses the conjunction, *therefore*, as a means to connect what is left undone about the topic he seeks to explore and his research focus, which seeks to fill the gap that previous scholars have not addressed.

5.1.3. Ellipsis

Ellipsis appears as the fourth-most frequent cohesive agent among the six cohesive devices that feature in the data set. Across the two sub-corpora, ellipsis occurs 28 (1.70%) times out of the 1,662 instances of the use of cohesive devices. It features 18 (1.96%) times in the abstracts of the Francophone writers whilst it appears 10 (1.34%) times in that of the Anglophone writers. These statistics show that the Francophone writers rely more on ellipsis than their Anglophone counterparts do. However, in percentage terms, it is clear that the differences in frequency is minimal.

Interestingly, nominal ellipsis is the only ellipsis type that is found in each group of abstracts, with verbal and clausal ellipsis being completely absent from the corpus. Ellipsis as a cohesive device is known to occur in dialogues or spontaneous conversations and is rarely used in formal writing (Halliday 2000), so the absent instantiation in the corpus is not surprising. Instances of ellipsis in the data are presented in the examples below:

1. *Cross-linguistic realizations of topic and focus structures have generated several **studies** in information structure. However, few [ ] have been done regarding topic constructions in Mabia languages (AGA 13).*

2. *The findings show that the male students predominantly made use of marked themes in the introduction sections of their essays. On the contrary, their female counterparts subscribed to the unmarked [ ] (FRA 17).*

3. *The results confirm three main challenges that make students unsuccessful in their quest to become good readers. The first [ ] relates to the poor reading habit of students whilst the second challenge relates to lack of reading materials in most schools (AGA 19).*

The examples above clearly show some instances of how nominal ellipsis are used as a means of creating semantic ties in the abstracts written by the writers from the two cultural backgrounds. Thus, nominal elements like *studies*, *themes* and *challenge* have been ellipted in Examples 1, 2 and 3 respectively. However, the deletion of these nominal elements in the excerpts above does not affect their (excerpts) meanings. This is due to the fact that the deleted nominal elements can be deduced from within the text.

For instance, in Example 1, the word *studies* should have been repeated after the lexical item *few* but the writer did not do so in that readers can retrieve the deleted noun from the previous sentence. The same issue applies to Example 2, where the lexical item *themes* should have been repeated after the lexical item *unmarked* in the last line of that example. However, the writer did not repeat the word *themes* but the meaning of that sentence is not distorted. The reason for this is that the ellipted noun in the form of *themes* can be retrieved from the first sentence of example 2.

5.1.4. Substitution
As evident in Table 1, substitution is the least frequent cohesive device identified in the two data sets. Out of the altogether 1,662 instances of cohesive devices in the two sub-corpora, substitution features just 4 (0.24%) times: 2 (0.27%) times in the Anglophone abstracts and 2 (0.22%) times in the Francophone abstracts. This proves that the writers with these two cultural backgrounds rarely use substitution as a cohesive agent in their abstracts. The results further reveal that the two groups of writers use only nominal and verbal substitution. No instances of clausal substitution occur in the data.

The infrequent occurrence of substitution across the two data sets is not surprising since "substitution is a speaker/writer choice, and not a compulsory feature, especially in written discourse" (McCarthy 1991: 43). The four instances of the usage of ellipsis as a means of creating semantic ties in the abstracts are listed below:

1. *This is so because of the increase rates at which **nations,** and particularly developing **<u>ones</u>** have continued to perpetually make use of colonial languages at the detriments of the ones indigenous to them (AGA 4).*

2   *Writing is considered as one of the complex language skills of ESL students and the literature review shows that it is not only non-native speakers who **<u>demonstrate weakness in writing</u>**. However, native speakers also **<u>do</u>** (AGA 12).*

4. *We also claim that mu is a plural **definite determiner** like "les" in French which commute with the singular **<u>one</u>**, a [+NAS] consonant (FRA 3).*

5. *The non-native English students to a very large extent **<u>show mastery in the use of verbless clauses</u>** whilst the EFL students also **<u>do</u>** (AGA 23).*

From the examples above, it is clear that writers from the two geographical settings use only nominal and verbal substitutions as agents in creating semantic ties in their abstracts. Examples 2 and 4 indicate how verbal substitution has been used as an agent of creating semantic tie in the abstracts of

the writers whilst examples 1 and 3 represent cases of nominal ellipsis.

In Example 1, the nominal substitute *ones* is used to replace the noun *nations* whilst the verb *do* in Example 2 substitutes the expression *demonstrate weakness in writing*. With respect to example 3, the nominal substitute *one* replaces the noun phrase *definite determiner,* whilst the verbal element *do in* Example 4 also substitutes the grammatical structure *show mastery in the use of verbless clauses.* These instances of substitution clearly indicate the writers' attempt to avoid unnecessary repetition.

5.2. *Lexical cohesion*
The results reveal two main types of lexical cohesion in each of the two sub-corpora. The two lexical cohesive devices that are recognized as means of creating semantic ties in the abstracts of the two groups of writers include repetition and synonymy. It is further revealed that there is no difference in terms of the types of lexical cohesion that the two groups of writers employ in writing their abstracts.

5.2.1. Repetition
Repetition is confirmed as the third-most frequent cohesive device, occurring 230 (13.83%) times. Within the Anglophone corpus, repetition is used 129 times (17.32%). Similarly, in the Francophone Corpus, repetition features as the third-most frequent cohesive device, with 101 (11.01%) occurrences.

This frequency shows that the Anglophone writers use repetition more frequently than their Francophone counterparts do. Typical instances of the use of repetition in the two sub-corpora are illustrated in Examples 1 and 2.

1.   *Language is a potent weapon of societal integration and development no doubt. This is evidently true of **proverbs** from one generation to another. **Proverb** is one of the avenues through which the social and cultural background of the people could be known and understood. To this end, this paper examines only flora and fauna in Bassa Nge **proverbs**. Since **proverbs** are context dependent, culture specific and exclusive to certain environment, to understand the prevailing context of **proverbs**, the linguistic, sociocultural and physical contexts must be accounted for. Hence, the main thrust of this paper is to adapt aspects of Austin (1962) theory of pragmatics for the analysis with a view to identifying societal integration and development in aspects of flora and fauna in Bassa Nge **proverbs**. The methodology involves **proverbs** obtained from audio recording of some elders of Bassa Nge through social gatherings. Besides, the writer's observation, introspection and intuitive knowledge are deployed. The paper reveals how aspects of **proverbs** that reflect flora and fauna foster societal integration and development (AGA 1).*

2. *This paper is part of an ongoing investigation of **coordination** in Igbo. It seeks to extend the erstwhile focus on the syntax of conjunctive **coordination**, to the morpho-semantic features of **coordination**. This previous approach has neglected the investigation of the discrete morpho-semantic features of **coordination**. Therefore, this paper concentrates on special types of **coordination** in Igbo, which are represented by morpho-semantic features of the language. The investigation adopts a purely descriptive approach, which focuses on the link between language use and cognitive experience. The recorded natural conversations of the speakers of the Nnewi, Nsukka and Onitsha varieties of Igbo provided the data for the study. The findings reveal that Igbo has four major types of special **coordination**. These include the –gàsì representative **coordination**, which marks the **coordination** of several similar items; the –zì augmentative **coordination**, which marks the **coordination** of cumulative activities; and the*

*nàkwà emphatic **coordination**, which represents the **coordination** of the highlights of an event. The fourth type, which is the na comitative **coordination**, has four sub types including the −gbà comitative marker, the jì verbal **coordinator**, the sò locative **coordinator** and the no̩ kwúrú copulative **coordinator**. The investigation concludes that Igbo morpho-semantic features are operationalized in determining **coordination** in Igbo (FRA 1).*

In Example 1, the word *proverb,* which is mostly accompanied by the plural marker −s as *proverbs*, has consistently been repeated. There are eight instances where *proverb* has been used in Example 1 and, in all these instances, it has the same semantic connotation. Another instance of repetition is also evident in Example 2. In this example, the word *coordination* has consistently been repeated. Sometimes, its form changes from *coordination* to *coordinator*. The repetition of the words *proverb* in Example 1 and *coordination* in Example 2 by the writer helps him maintain text unity and, to a large extent, creates cohesion and coherence.

5.2.2. Synonymy
Table 1 shows synonymy to be the fifth-most frequent cohesive device, appearing 22 (1.32%) times across the two sub-corpora, with 7 occurrences (0.76%) in the Francophone corpus, making this device the fifth-most frequent device in that sub-corpus. In the Anglophone sub-corpus, repetition features as the fourth-most cohesive device, appearing in 15 cases (2.01%). It can therefore be inferred from Table 1 that the Anglophone writers use more synonyms in their abstracts than that of their Francophone counterparts.

A possible explanation for this finding might be that the Francophone writers have French as their second language and might have a more limited vocabulary in English, putting restraints on their ability to varying their choice of words. Contrary to this, the Anglophone writers use English as a second language and as such may be assumed to master a richer vocabulary in English, enabling them to vary their choice of words. Instances of the synonymy from the data are provided below;

1. *The military and political crisis in Cote DIvoire is rooted in some form of identity politics. The **country** became polarized around the two leaders along both geographical and religious lines. This resulted in the 1999 military coup and the de facto division of the country in 2002. The root-causes of the crisis in this **nation** are to be researched elsewhere, namely in the ultra-nationalistic reading of identity in this former French. This paper seeks to debunk the idea that the recent crisis in this **state** is language-related and that plurality of languages cannot be a liability as claimed by some academics (AGA 5).*

2. *Using the "threshold level" hypothesis, this paper attempts to show the importance of early exposure of children to reading in the **native language**. The paper starts by highlighting the general importance of using **mother tongue** as a medium of instruction at the lower primary level. Thus, it focuses on the importance of using the **first language** of students as a medium of instruction in the lower primary level (FRA 14).*

In Example 1, specifically within the abstract of the Anglophone writers, words like *country*, *nation* and *state* are synonymous to each other. These words are synonymous to each other because they have the same semantic connotation within the context in which they are used. The writer strategically uses these synonyms to avoid unnecessary repetition. To be more specific, the three words – *country*, *nation* and *state* form ties because they are related to each other; hence, they create cohesion in the abstract.

In Example 2, the lexical items *native language*, *mother tongue* and *first language* are considered to be synonymous within the context in which they are used. Thus, these three expressions share a semantic tie and, as such, create cohesion in the abstract in which they feature.

6. Conclusion and implications

The study has explored the cohesive devices employed by writers from two cultural backgrounds – West African Anglophone and Francophone settings –to create cohesion in their conference paper abstracts. The findings show that these writers use similar cohesive means. Specifically, both groups of writers employ grammatical cohesive devices such as reference, conjunction, substitution and ellipsis, and they also rely on lexical cohesive devices like repetition and synonyms.

However, the findings reveal certain differences in the frequency with which cohesive devices such as references, conjunctions, repetition and synonyms are used in the two sub-corpora. The Anglophone corpus has more instances of conjunction, repetition and synonym than the Francophone corpus. On the contrary, references are deployed more frequently in the Francophone abstracts than that of the abstracts written by scholars from the Anglophone setting. The findings further reveal that the differences that are noticed in the use of ellipsis in the abstracts of the two group of writers are minimal.

Holistically, the two groups of writers use the same cohesive devices. This finding contradicts that of Hu (2010) and Xiao and Cao (2013), who found that differences in the cultural background of writers lead to differences in linguistic choice as far as the composition is concerned. On the contrary, the present study confirms the findings of earlier works like Afful and Nartey (2014), Seddih, Kafipour and Shokrpour (2009) and Suwandi (2016), who all found that differences in the cultural background of writers do not lead to any major differences in the linguistics choices of these writers in their abstract composition. Thus, the findings of this research also challenge the claim of Contrastive Rhetoric theory that cultural background has a significant influence on how writers structure their texts and the linguistic resources they dominantly employ in their text composition (Taylor & Tingguang 1991).

The findings of the present study have implications for further studies as it unlocks new research avenues and may serve as a source of hypotheses for further investigation of the use of cohesive devices across cultures.

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E-mailhilsner: Relation, variation og akkommodation

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Abstract: In this paper, we present a study of how Danish language users choose to greet each other in emails. The study is based on an online survey with 1311 anonymous respondents. The study shows that the choice of greeting forms is no trivial matter but something that prompts much consideration. Greeting forms are expressions of phatic communication, but they are also signals of how the senders assess the relation between themselves and the receiver. As a consequence of this, we see that accommodation is a driving force in the choosing of greeting form.

1. Indledning

De måder vi omgås på, udspringer på en gang af universelle menneskelige behov og af mere eller mindre fastlagte menneskeskabte konventioner. Det universelle er knyttet til vores behov for at interagere, det konventionaliserede til de skrevne og uskrevne regler forskellige grupper af mennesker benytter sig af i interaktionen. Vi omgås både verbalt og ikke-verbalt, mundtligt såvel som skriftligt. I sagens natur er konventionaliserede omgangsformer ikke naturlige i den forstand at de er biologisk nødvendige, men netop noget man indenfor en gruppe af mennesker er kommet overens om; en gruppe af mennesker kan variere i størrelse og i forhold til institutionel forankring. For nogle mennesker kan det være helt i orden at beholde skoene på i andre menneskers hjem, mens det for andre vil være fuldstændig utænkeligt. I nogle grupper kan det være fuldt ud acceptabelt at råbe *hvad så, røvhuller!* når man møder sine venner, mens andre ville anse en sådan hilsen for stødende.

Hilseformer er et interessant studieobjekt i og med at det er almindelige medmenneskelige foreteelser at møde mennesker og at skilles fra dem igen. Man bevæger sig således ind i kommunikationssituationer og ud af dem igen, og til de to typer bevægelse (at mødes og at skilles) bliver man som menneske stillet overfor spørgsmålet hvordan man gør: Hvordan kommer man ind i en situation, og hvordan kommer man ud af den igen? (Goffmann 1955).

At dette ikke er ligetil, vidner mængden af vejledninger om etikette i ind- og udland og i forskellige typer situationer om. Folk som korresponderer med forretningspartnere i udlandet, kan finde udførlige vejledninger til hvordan man gør i de pågældende lande (se fx Hermann 1995 om fransk, Web1 om tysk, Web2 om italiensk). Mange arbejdspladser i Danmark har også interne oversigter over hvordan man hilser i e-mails. Det kommer bl.a. til udtryk i konkrete forskrifter for hvordan den autosignatur medarbejderen får tilknyttet sin professionelle mail, skal se ud. Indsættelse af faste formularer som *med venlig hilsen* og *bedste hilsner* har bl.a. det formål at medarbejderen ikke behøver at tænke over sagen ved hver eneste mail. Det er især i professionelle sammenhænge man finder guider til hvordan man hilser; i andre sammenhænge er man mere overladt til sig selv og sine egne vurderinger.

I denne artikel fremlægger vi resultaterne fra en spørgeskemaundersøgelse om danske hilseformer i e-mail. Vi har tidligere publiceret tre mindre artikler med foreløbige resultater fra denne spørgeskemaundersøgelse (Rathje, Hougaard & Jensen 2020; Hougaard, Rathje & Jensen 2020; Jensen, Hougaard & Rathje 2020b). Desuden har vi i samarbejde med svensksprogede samarbejdspartnere undersøgt forskellen på hvordan man i danske og svenske akademiske e-

mailkorrespondancer bruger start- og sluthilsner, og i det arbejde indgår spørgeskemaundersøgelsen også, dog som supplement til et andet materiale (Hougaard et al., under udg.). I nærværende artikel undersøger vi mere detaljeret end tidligere i hvilken grad man kan identificere mønstre i hilseadfærd. Vi koncentrerer os om hilsner som udtryk for relationskommunikation, og vi fordyber os særligt i hvordan svarene i vores spørgeskemaundersøgelse kan forstås i lyset af teorierne om akkommodation, dvs. tilpasning af adfærd i forhold til kommunikationspartnere.

Artiklen er opbygget sådan at vi i afsnit 2 gør rede for det teoretiske begrebsapparat vi benytter os af i artiklen; af særlig interesse er begreber som *relationskommunikation*, *fatisk kommunikation* og *akkommodation* og begrebssættet *habituelle mønstre*, *konventioner* og *normer*. Fælles for disse begreber er at de er knyttet til mellemmenneskelig adfærd, og de tjener til at belyse hvordan vi opfører os sprogligt overfor hinanden. I afsnit 3 gør vi rede for vores datagrundlag, dvs. den spørgeskemaundersøgelse der ligger til grund for denne artikel. I afsnit 4 fremlægger vi analyserne af vores undersøgelse, og i afsnit 5 og 6 konkluderer vi og diskuterer vores resultater.

2. Start- og sluthilsner som relationel kommunikation

En vigtig, men ofte overset, del af både mundtlige og skriftlige interaktioner er den relationelle kommunikation, dvs. de aspekter ved interaktionen som ikke i snæver forstand drejer sig om informationsudveksling, men også orienterer sig mod relationen mellem de interagerende. Watzlawick udtrykker det således: "communication not only conveys information, but […] at the same time […] imposes behavior" (Watzlawick et al. 1967: 51). Erkendelsen at kommunikation ikke udelukkende består af overførsel af information, genfindes i en række faglige tilgange hvor også sproglig adfærd studeres. I det følgende skildrer vi kort begreberne *fatisk kommunikation*, *akkommodation* og *konventioner og normer*.

2.1. Fatisk kommunikation

Siden Malinowski (1923) har man været opmærksom på hvordan visse former for adfærd tjener den særlige funktion at fremme fællesskabet og forbindelsen mellem de interagerende (Malinowski 1923: 479). Begrebet knyttet til denne funktion er "phatic communion", og fordi adfærden kan komme til udtryk sprogligt, er det blevet almindeligt i sprogvidenskab at tale om fatisk kommunikation. Udbredelsen af begrebet skyldes i høj grad at Roman Jakobson indarbejdede den fatiske funktion i sin kommunikationsmodel fra 1950'erne (Jakobson 1960). I modellen opregnes seks *faktorer* der kan have indflydelse på et sprogligt udtryks udformning, og tilsvarende seks *sprogfunktioner* knyttet til faktorerne. Til faktoren *kanal* er knyttet funktionen *fatisk*. Sproglige udtryk hvis funktion er at åbne, lukke og vedligeholde den kommunikative kanal, kaldes *fatiske*. Begrebet fatisk kommunikation bruges altså om sproglige elementer og strategier der har en essentielt pragmatisk karakter som en måde at være sammen på, som "a mode of action" (Malinowski 1923: 479).

Ved hjælp af fatisk kommunikation undersøger man ifølge Jakobson som udgangspunkt de tekniske muligheder for responsiv kommunikation, dvs. om kanalen er åben. Derudover er det også en del af den fatiske sprogfunktion hvordan deltagerne indbyrdes forhandler deres kulturelle og sociale normer og konventioner og deres gensidige interesse i den pågældende relation, dvs. muligheden for social konvergens. Deltagerne etablerer et fælles referencerum og forankrer sig selv og hinanden i en fælles social kontekst. Med fatisk kommunikation arbejder deltagerne på at opfylde et menneskeligt behov for følelsen af social samhørighed og fælles genkendelse.[1]

Deltagerne i interaktioner forsøger at forholde sig både verbalt og nonverbalt til det sociale og adfærdsmæssige element. Særligt åbnings- og afslutningsfaserne i interaktioner er interessante at undersøge i forhold til fatisk kommunikation både fordi forhandlingerne foregår mest tydeligt i disse

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[1] Der er dog ingen simpel relation mellem fatisk funktion og kontakt. En kritik af Jakobson går fx på at der godt kan være en klar kanal (og dermed være forståelighed) uden at man er på bølgelængde (dvs. har forståelse for hinanden).

overgangssituationer, og fordi det fatiske er afgørende for denne og følgende interaktioners udfald. Hvis man fx oplever en meget uengageret farvelhilsen, påvirker det sandsynligvis lysten til at tage initiativ til nye møder. Åbninger og lukninger er forskellige overgangssituationer med forskellige funktioner. I åbninger afgør, koordinerer og forhandler man kvaliteten af deltagernes relation og undersøger hinandens velvilje og interesse i at søge konsensus. I lukninger konsolideres relationen mellem deltagerne (Coupland, Coupland & Robinson 1992: 209 f.).

Som fatiske udvekslinger betoner Laver (1975, 1981) åbninger og lukninger som rituelle aktiviteter med konstituerende og opretholdende effekt. De rituelle mønstre hjælper til at sikre gode overgange mellem ikke-interaktion og interaktion, og hilsner kan ses som fatisk design der indrammer interaktionen og begrænser en potentiel følelse af afvisning og usikkerhed der altid er forbundet med interaktion. Goffman (1955: 41) forklarer det på følgende måde: "Farewells sum up the effect of the encounter upon the relationship and show what the participants may expect of one another when they next meet".

Hilsner tildeler interaktionen mening og fungerer som udfyldning af en interaktionel tom plads, dvs. at deltagerne i alle interaktioner har en rituel forventning om en åbning og lukning, i form af formularagtige handlinger, men hvilken type åbning eller lukning der er relevant, afhænger af typen af interaktion og forskellige situationelle og relationelle faktorer, som fx tidspunkt på dagen og indbyrdes kendskab.

2.2. Akkommodation

Forskellige fatiske valg kan ifølge Laver (1975, 1981) blive et signal om solidaritet, intimitet, rolle og attituder. Dette kan perspektiveres ved hjælp af akkommodationsteorien. Akkommodationsteorien er en teori om kommunikativ tilpasning i social interaktion udviklet af Howard Giles. Med kommunikativ tilpasning menes hvordan deltagerne i en social interaktion nærmer sig eller tager afstand fra hinanden kommunikativt, og hvordan denne tilpasning viser sig sprogligt. Teorien forsøger at give socialpsykologiske forklaringer på sproglig adfærd, dvs. de gensidige sproglige modificeringer som forekommer i samtaler. Den primære antagelse i akkommodationsteorien er at individer bruger sprog til at opnå den ønskede sociale afstand (som kan være lille eller stor) mellem sig selv og samtalepartnere (Shepard et al. 2001: 34).

Akkommodationsteorien bygger på to socialpsykologiske teorier (Shepard et al. 2001: 35 f.; Giles et al. 1991: 18; Giles 1980: 106, 119), nemlig similarity-attraction-teorien (Byrne 1969, 1971) og social identitetsteori (Tajfel 1974, 1978). Similarity-attraction-teoriens hovedantagelse er at vi prøver at blive mere som dem vi er tiltrukket af, for jo mere lig en anden vi er, jo mere øges muligheden for at denne vil kunne lide os: Vi tiltrækkes alle af folk der ligner os.

Indenfor social identitetsteori antages det at når medlemmer af en gruppe interagerer med medlemmer af en anden gruppe, sammenligner de sig selv på dimensioner der er vigtige for dem. Disse sociale sammenligninger mellem grupper vil lede individer i en *indgruppe* (ingroup) til at søge efter eller endda selv skabe dimensioner, fx sproglige, på hvilke de kan ses som positivt forskellige fra en relevant *udgruppe* (outgroup). Dette kan lede personer til sprogligt at tilpasse sig indgruppen.

De mest centrale begreber i akkommodationsteorien er *konvergens* og *divergens*. *Konvergens* kaldes den strategi at en samtaledeltager tilpasser sig sin samtalepartner kommunikativt, fx ved at tale den samme dialekt som sine familiemedlemmer når man er hjemme på besøg, selvom man til daglig bor i en anden landsdel og taler den dialekt som tales der (se fx Shepard et al. 2001: 35). Talerens primære motiv til konvergens er (med afsæt i similarity-attraction-teorien og social identitetsteori) behovet for social anerkendelse og positiv bedømmelse fra en samtalepartner (Shepard et al. 2001: 36). Et andet vigtigt motiv er at kommunikationen flyder uproblematisk, dvs. effektivt og forståeligt (Shepard et al. 2001: 36; Giles et al. 1991: 20).

Divergens kalder man den modsatte strategi, nemlig at en samtaledeltager sprogligt tager afstand fra samtalepartneren. Konvergerende adfærd opfattes oftest som et tegn på velvillighed og

samarbejde og som en indstilling til at lette kommunikationen. I modsætning hertil opfattes divergerende adfærd som en strategi til at opretholde sociale forskelle og mindske forståelse (Dragojevic et al. 2016). Konvergens vurderes for det meste positivt (af samtalepartneren og observatører), og divergens opfattes for det meste negativt.

Hvis en taler hverken prøver at konvergere eller divergere, men forsøger at opretholde sin egen talestil, kaldes det *maintenance*. Psykologisk vurderes maintenance af lyttere og observatører som divergens, dvs. negativt og fornærmende (Shepard 2001: 35; Giles et al. 1991: 28), så det at en samtaledeltager ikke nærmer sig samtalepartneren, opleves altså som lige så kritisabelt som at øge den sproglige afstand.

2.3. Habituelle mønstre, konventioner og normer

I litteraturen om menneskelige adfærdsmønstre, herunder almindelig daglig tale, kan man finde ord som *konventioner* og *normer*. Disse ord bruges dog på meget forskellig vis; især er ordet *norm* vanskeligt at bruge, for det kan både anvendes som en rent beskrivende term (en syntese af de mønstre man kan iagttage) og som en værdidom (en anvisning af hvordan man bør gøre). I denne artikel anvender vi Dunckers taksonomi med de tre nøglebegreber: *habituelle mønstre*, *konventioner* og *normer* (Duncker 2011).

Habituelle mønstre er de ting et menneske gør igen og igen – måske uden at reflektere over det. Det kan fx være at tage bad hver morgen. Habituelle mønstre drejer sig altså om gentagne handlinger for det enkelte menneske og behøver ikke at involvere andre mennesker.

Konventioner er netop noget der involverer andre mennesker. Duncker beskriver konventioner som løsninger på praktiske koordinationsproblemer. Det kan fx være praktisk i trafikken at have faste regler for hvem der må køre frem i et kryds uden lysregulering – derfor reglen om højre vigepligt der uden moralske eller æstetiske motiver alene tjener som et praktisk redskab til at undgå trafikpropper og uheld.

Normer er i Dunckers taksonomi både noget der involverer andre mennesker, og som tillægges værdier. Noget anses for at være bedre end noget andet, og dermed er normer også noget man kan mene andre bør følge for at være ordentlige mennesker.

Habituelle mønstre er det mest enkle af de tre begreber for så vidt som det i udgangspunktet kun involverer et enkelt menneske. I sammenligning med dette er *konventioner* mere komplekse idet de altid involverer mere end et menneske; i Dunckers taksonomi er det et konstituerende element at begrebet konventioner er værdineutralt. *Normer* involverer ligesom konventioner mere end et menneske, men derudover involverer det værdidomme. Det er ikke usædvanligt at habituelle mønstre kan lede til normer: Hvis man altid selv tager morgenbad, kan man mene at det er noget alle bør gøre. Desuden er det slet ikke usædvanligt at konventioner (som i denne taksonomi jo egentlig bare er praktiske løsninger på koordinationsproblemer) kan opleves som normer. Kommer man til et land uden højre vigepligt (måske har man venstre vigepligt eller ingen vigepligt), kan man mene at folk det pågældende sted er udviklingsmæssigt eller intellektuelt tilbagestående, eller måske endda moralsk anløbne.

2.4. Sammenfatning

Hilsner udgør en særlig form for relationskommunikation, hvor det fatiske aspekt både viser sig i selve det at etablere kontakt og i hvordan de interagerende orienterer sig i forhold til hvad de anser for konventioner og normer i denne genre. I analysen undersøger vi hvorvidt og hvordan respondenterne forholder sig til normer og konventioner, og om de benytter de beskrevne akkommodationsstrategier.

3. Datagrundlag

Til brug for den undersøgelse vi foretager i denne artikel, gennemførte vi efteråret 2018 en spørgeskemaundersøgelse om hilsner i e-mails.[2] Selve spørgeskemaet blev udført vha. et online værktøj til spørgeskemaundersøgelser, SurveyMonkey. Det lå tilgængeligt for besvarelser i perioden 25. september - 2. oktober 2018. Der blev gjort opmærksom på undersøgelsen på forskellig vis. Dels via opslag og links på Dansk Sprognævns Facebookprofil og LinkedIn-profil, dels ved hjælp af opfordringer sendt ud til undervisere ved videregående uddannelsesinstitutioner. I løbet af den tilgængelige periode indløb der 1311 besvarelser.[3]

3.1. Beskrivelse af spørgeskema

Spørgeskemaet indeholdt 20 spørgsmål, se appendiks. Af de 20 spørgsmål var de 3 baggrundsspørgsmål (nr. 18-20), 2 var åbne spørgsmål (nr. 1 og 12), og 15 var opbygget som afkrydsningsspørgsmål med præformulerede svarkategorier (nr. 2-11 og 13-17).

Spørgsmål 1 og 12, åbne spørgsmål om faktorer. Spørgeskemaet indeholdt to åbne spørgsmål hvor der spurgtes til hvilke faktorer der afgjorde hvilken sluthilsen (spørgsmål 1) og hvilken starthilsen (spørgsmål 12) man valgte. Ved disse spørgsmål var der ingen præformulerede svarkategorier; i stedet skulle man formulere sig frit. Ved spørgsmål 1 besvarede 1054, ved spørgsmål 12 besvarede 1090.

Spørgsmål 2-11 og 13-15, afkrydsningsspørgsmål om specifikke hilsner. De 13 spørgsmål var udformet efter et fælles mønster: Der spurgtes til et specifikt hilseudtryk, og respondenterne blev bedt om at tage konkret stilling til om (og hvor ofte) de brugte netop dette hilseudtryk i korrespondancen med en række mulige skrivepartnere. Spørgsmål 15 var fx formuleret således: "Skriver du "Kære + fornavn" i begyndelsen af en e-mail til: …". Dette blev man bedt om at tage stilling til i forhold til 7 forskellige typer skrivepartnere, nemlig 1) en nær ældre slægtning, fx bedstemor, 2) en offentlig myndighed, fx kommunen, 3) din underviser på universitetet, 4) samarbejdspartnere, 5) kollegaer, 6) venner, 7) din chef. Ved hver af disse skulle man vælge en af følgende muligheder, nemlig a) ja, altid, b) nogle gange, c) det tror jeg ikke, d) nej, e) ikke relevant. Den mulighed der ved disse 13 spørgsmål var for at kommentere frit, blev i gennemsnit benyttet med 87 frihåndskommentarer pr. spørgsmål.

Spørgsmål 16-17, afkrydsningsspørgsmål om andre aspekter. Ved spørgsmål 16 og 17 var der også præformulerede svarmuligheder og mulighed for at give kommentarer. Disse spørgsmål handlede om andre aspekter af hilsner i e-mailkorrespondance. Spørgsmål 16 lød "Tilpasser du dine egne hilsner (både start- og sluthilsner) efter hvilke hilsner modtageren af din e-mail bruger?"; det handlede om akkommodation. Spørgsmål 17 lød "Oplever du at start- og/eller sluthilsner efterhånden udelades i en tråd med flere e-mailudvekslinger til samme modtager?"; det handlede om hvad man kunne kalde *trådadfærd*, dvs. den form for adfærd man ser i såkaldte *tråde*, fx sms-udvekslinger, udvekslinger om samme emne i chatforummer og i kommentarspor på internettet. I sådanne udvekslinger vil der ofte ikke være start- og sluthilsner, men kun selve den besked man ønsker at bidrage med.

Spørgsmål 18-20, baggrundsvariable. Af de 3 baggrundsspørgsmål udgjorde 2 af dem hyppigt anvendte variable i forbindelse med spørgeskemaundersøgelser: køn (nr. 18) og alder (nr. 19). Det tredje baggrundsspørgsmål (nr. 20) handlede om evt. status som studerende. Der var flere grunde til dette tredje baggrundsspørgsmål. For det første blev spørgeskemaet udarbejdet med henblik på blandt andet at lave komparative analyser af adfærden hos dansktalende studerende og svensktalende studerende, jf. det i note 3 omtalte samarbejde med svensktalende universitetsforskere (se også

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[2] Dette afsnit er en let redigeret version af Jensen, Hougaard & Rathje 2020a.

[3] Spørgeskemaundersøgelsen blev sat i værk i samarbejde med Jonathan White (Dalarna Universitet) og Camilla Wide (Turun yliopisto, Universitetet i Turku). Samarbejdet handler om forskelle og ligheder i svenske og danske hilsner især i akademiske sammenhænge som til/fra studerende og lærere, jf. Hougaard et al., under udg.

Hougaard et al., under udg.). For det andet forudså vi at der kunne komme vældig mange svar fra netop studerende, og vi ville gerne kunne isolere dem for det tilfældes skyld at deres svar var væsentlig anderledes end resten af respondenternes, se også afsnit 3.2.2.

Udformningen af spørgeskemaet afspejlede at vi på forhånd havde visse antagelser om hvad det kunne være relevant at spørge om. En tidligere undersøgelse af hilsner i e-mails i dansk, svensk, fransk og italiensk pegede for eksempel på en meget større variationsbredde i sluthilsner end i starthilsner (Jensen, Strudsholm & Jeppesen 2016). Hvor danskere typisk havde to foretrukne udtryk til at begynde en korrespondance med (*Kære …*, *Hej …*), havde de til gengæld et meget stort inventar af udtryk til at hilse farvel med. Som en konsekvens af dette stilledes der i spørgeskemaet 3 spørgsmål om starthilsner og hele 10 om sluthilsner.

3.2. Konsekvenser af vores måder at spørge og indsamle data på
3.2.1. Formuleringernes mulige påvirkning af svarene
Ved spørgsmål 1 og 12 blev respondenterne bedt om at formulere sig frit om hvilke faktorer der spillede ind på deres valg af hilsen. Dog var der givet stikord til hvilke faktorer der kunne være tale om, og disse stikord kan have bidraget som inspiration til nogle af svarene. Spørgsmål 1 så fx således ud:

> Hvad afgør hvilken sluthilsen du bruger i en e-mail? (Fx hvor godt du kender personen, din personlige smag osv.)

Vi kan se at vores formulering 'hvor godt du kender personen' går igen i nogle af svarene på dette spørgsmål 1, men også at der gerne føjes egne bemærkninger til. I (1), som er svar på spørgsmål 1, ser man dels tydeligt indflydelsen fra vores formulering, dels at respondenten også selvstændigt føjer noget til:

(1)   Hvor godt jeg kender personen, samt hvilken relation vi har (mor, veninde, studiekammerat osv.)[4]
         (Studerende, kvinde, 30-39 år)

Hvad vi på det foreliggende grundlag ikke kan vide, er om respondenterne under alle omstændigheder ville have svaret som de gjorde, eller om de er blevet påvirket af vores stikord. Et fingerpeg kan man dog få ved at se på hvordan respondenterne har forholdt sig til det andet stikord ('personlig smag'); det optræder interessant nok kun ganske få gange i besvarelserne. Dette kunne tyde på at respondenterne kun har taget vores stikord til sig dér hvor det har givet mening.

3.2.2. Repræsentativitet
Med hensyn til de 3 baggrundsvariable (spørgsmål 18-20) fordelte respondenterne sig som vist i tabel 1-3.

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[4] Alle eksempler fra materialet fremstår i artiklen skrevet med respondenternes oprindelige skrivemåde.

Tabel 1: Alder (spørgsmål 18)

under 20 år	20-29 år	30-39 år	40-49 år	50-59 år	60-69 år	70-79 år	80 år og derover
13 (0,99 %)	403 (30,74 %)	231 (17,62 %)	245 (18,69 %)	249 (18,69 %)	128 (9,76 %)	40 (3,05 %)	2 (0,15 %)

Tabel 2: Kønsfordeling (spørgsmål 19)

kvinder	mænd	andet
1052 (80,24 %)	246 (18,76 %)	13 (0,99%)

Tabel 3: Status som studerende (spørgsmål 20)

studerende ved en videregående uddannelse	ikke studerende ved en videregående uddannelse
364 (29,29 %)	927 (70,71 %)

Som det fremgår af tallene, er der flere ting der har betydning for undersøgelsens repræsentativitet: Størstedelen af respondenterne er kvinder, der er flere i aldersgruppen 20-29 år end i nogen anden gruppe, og lidt over en fjerdedel af respondenterne har svaret ja til at være studerende ved en videregående uddannelse.

Den kønsmæssigt skæve fordeling blandt respondenterne kan ses som en konsekvens af den måde vi har gjort opmærksom på undersøgelsen på. Undersøgelser har vist at langt flere kvinder end mænd benytter sig af Dansk Sprognævns tjenester (herunder henvendelser til spørgetelefonen, jf. Kjærgaard et al. 2007; Andersen 2014); desuden er der en overvægt af kvindelige studerende på de humanistiske fag (Tal om danske universiteter 2018: 24). I og med at vi især har rekrutteret vores respondenter gennem Dansk Sprognævns LinkedIn-profil og Facebookprofil og ved at bede undervisere på humanistiske fag om at gøre opmærksom på spørgeskemaet, er det dermed forventeligt at der vil være en slagside til fordel for kvinder blandt respondenterne.

Hvad angår aldersfordeling, udgøres den største gruppe som nævnt af unge voksne i alderen 20-29 år. Der er en forholdsvis ligelig fordeling i de næste 3 aldersgrupper: 30-39, 40-49 og 50-59 år. Derpå falder antallet af respondenter jævnt i de næste aldersgrupper. I aldersgrupperne under 20 og over 80 år er der kun ganske få respondenter, og for at undgå skævvridning er de derfor ikke medtaget i tabellerne i analyserne i afsnit 4.

Hvad angår forholdet mellem alder og status som studerende, havde vi en forventning om at der kunne være en overrepræsentation af studerende blandt respondenterne i sammenligning med befolkningssammensætningen. Dette viste sig at holde stik. Ifølge Dansk Statistik var der i oktober 2018 ca. 64.000 indskrevne studerende ved lange videregående uddannelser (jf. DST); det svarer til ca. 1 % af den samlede befolkning på ca. 5,8 mio. personer. Altså er studerende som respondentgruppe overrepræsenteret i vores undersøgelse.

Både hvad angår køn, alder og status som studerende, er vores respondentgruppe således ikke fuldstændig repræsentativ for befolkningssammensætningen i 2018.

Endnu en faktor der bør nævnes i denne sammenhæng, er at respondenterne er personer der kan anses for særligt interesserede. Dette er dog et vilkår for denne type undersøgelse der lægges åbent frem, og hvor man får sine svar fra dem der mere eller mindre af egen drift finder frem til undersøgelsen og besvarer spørgsmålene heri (*self-selection bias*, jf. Olsen 2008; Sterba & Foster 2008).

Endelig skal det bemærkes at når vi i analyserne skriver at respondenterne *bruger* en given

hilsen, betyder det egentlig at *de har skrevet at de bruger* en given hilsen. Der er altså tale om en *selvrapporteret* adfærd (Holbrook 2008), ikke en iagttaget adfærd.

Resultaterne af nærværende undersøgelse må ses i dette lys. De mønstre som viser sig i besvarelserne, gælder altså den population vores respondenter udgør, sådan som de selv opfatter deres adfærd, og postulerer ikke fuldstændig og objektiv gyldighed for alle danskere i alle e-mailsituationer.[5]

3.3. Databehandling

For at kunne afgøre om en svarforskel er tilfældig eller ikke tilfældig (statistisk *signifikant*), har vi signifikanstestet en del af undersøgelsens resultater ved brug af Fishers eksakte test i programmet R. Vi bruger et signifikansniveau på 0,05, dvs. at vi går ud fra at noget er signifikant hvis der er 95 %'s sikkerhed for at resultatet ikke er tilfældigt.

For nemmere at kunne behandle resultaterne har vi i analyserne inddelt svarmulighederne i *positiv* overfor en given hilsen (svarmulighederne *ja, altid* og *nogle gange*) og *negativ* overfor en hilsen (svarmulighederne *det tror jeg ikke* og *nej*).

Tabel 4: Gruppering af svarmuligheder

positiv	*ja, altid*
	nogle gange
negativ	*det tror jeg ikke*
	nej

Desuden har vi i visse af analyserne slået svarmulighederne *en nær ældre slægtning* og *venner* sammen til *privat modtager*, og svarmulighederne *en offentlig myndighed*, *din underviser på universitetet*, *samarbejdspartnere*, *kollegaer* og *din chef* er blevet til *ikke-privat modtager*.

Tabel 5: Modtagertyper

privat modtager	*en nær ældre slægtning*
	venner
ikke-privat modtager	*en offentlig myndighed*
	din underviser på universitetet
	samarbejdspartnere
	kollegaer
	din chef

Denne overordnede kategorisering slører dog nogle nuancer, og vi bruger den ikke overalt. For eksempel kan der være ret stor forskel på hvordan man henvender sig til en offentlig myndighed og til kollegaer, og der kan være stor forskel på hvordan man skriver til en nær ældre slægtning og til sine venner.

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[5] Hvis man vil sikre sig fuldstændig repræsentativitet, må man gå andre veje, for eksempel betale et opinionsinstitut for at udspørge et efter vedtagne kriterier repræsentativt udsnit af befolkningen.

4.   Analyse af respondenternes brug af start- og sluthilsner

I vores spørgeskemaundersøgelse gives der udtryk for at valget af hilseform er stærkt associeret med værdier, altså udtryk for normer (i Dunckers forstand). Der gives også udtryk for at man forsøger at akkommodere så vidt muligt med modtagerens adfærd. Dette vil vi vise i dette afsnit.

4.1. Faktorer ved valg af hilsen

Spørgsmål 1 og 12 var sat op uden afkrydsningsmuligheder. I stedet skulle respondenterne med egne ord besvare spørgsmålet: "Hvad afgør hvilken sluthilsen du bruger i en e-mail? (Fx hvor godt du kender personen, din personlige smag osv.)" (spørgsmål 1) og tilsvarende om starthilsner (spørgsmål 12). Ved disse to spørgsmål var der ingen begrænsning på hvor meget man kunne svare. Svarene varierede meget i længde, lige fra enkeltord til lange udredninger. (2a-2b) viser yderpunkterne (begge er svar på spørgsmål 1):

(2a)   Relation
            (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(2b)   Både hvor godt jeg kender personen og hvilken relation, jeg har til denne person. Desuden
            spiller det ind, hvilken hilsen den anden person normalt bruger. Jeg forsøger at afstemme
            min hilsen, så den udtrykker samme fortrolighedsgrad som den anden persons hilsen.
            (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Som det fremgår af svar (2b), er der mange faktorer der spiller ind på den pågældende respondents valg af hilsen, og det var ikke ualmindeligt at respondenterne nævnte en hel række motiverende faktorer for deres valg. For at få et overblik over og et indblik i hvilke faktorer der blev udpeget som relevante for valg af hilsen, foretog vi derfor en meningskondensering (Maegaard 2005; Kvale & Brinkmann 2008) hvor vi brugte respondenternes egne ord og udtryk til at kategorisere med.

I begyndelsen prøvede vi at arbejde med så få kategorier som muligt, men dette var ikke uproblematisk. Vi identificerede fx hurtigt at mange angav *relation* som svar – en del endda kun med dette ord. Men vi kunne ikke nødvendigvis se hvad de mente med *relation*: Mente de noget der havde med sym-/antipati at gøre, med forholdet mellem arbejde og privat, med hvor nær man følte sig på vedkommende?

Ved nogle af svarene kunne man se at *relation* pegede i retning af en skelnen mellem arbejde og privat, fx i (3a); ved andre pegede svaret *relation* snarere i retning af at det netop ikke var denne skelnen mellem det arbejdsmæssige og det private der mentes, men i stedet noget der alene handlede om forskellige typer private relationer, som i (3b).

(3a)   Primært relationen til modtageren - er den professionel, familiær eller lign. Derudover
            hvilket budskab jeg vil sende
            (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(3b)   Erhvervsmæssigt: Altid "med venlig hilsen" (auto). Privat: relationsafhængigt
            (Ikke studerende, mand, 30-39 år)

Denne type uklarhed dukkede op ved flere af svarene. Vi endte derfor med en meget forsigtig og tilbageholdende praksis, hvor vi, når vi identificerede hvilke motiverende faktorer respondenterne angav, ikke prøvede at tolke hvad de mente med fx *relation* (*kontekst*, *kendskab* osv.), men alene holdt os til de ord de selv satte på. På denne måde endte vi med at arbejde med kategorierne vist i tabel 6, som afspejlede de motiverende faktorer som respondenterne angav.

Tabel 6: Kategorier brugt til meningskondensering

kategori	eksempler på ord og svar der ligger til grund for kategoriseringen
kendskab	"kendskab", "hvor godt jeg kender vedkommende"
relation	"relation", "forhold", "tilknytning"
kontekst	"sammenhæng", "indhold", "anledning", "kontekst", "budskab"
formalitet	"hvor formel mailen er"
vane/smag	"personlig smag", "vane", "jeg skriver altid mvh" (inkluderer lister af faste hilsner fx "bh til kolleger, kh til venner")
akkommodation	"spejl", "om det er et svar eller første mail eller en tråd"
professionel vs. privat	"professionel/arbejde: privat" (inkluderer når der gives lister af typen 'familie, venner, kolleger')
humør	"humør", "sindsstemning"
modtager	"modtager", "den jeg skriver til", "hvem personen er", "person"
rest	alder, køn, tone, stemning, sym-/antipati, høflighed, sprog, humor, magtforhold/hierarki, tidspunkt
autosvar (kun relevant ved sluthilsner)	

Vi foretog derpå en fuldstændig kortlægning af samtlige svar på spørgsmål 1 og 12, hvor vi for hvert enkelt svar identificerede hvilke motiverende faktorer respondenten angav. En respondent kunne godt angive mere end én faktor, og derfor kunne et svar også blive lagt i mere end én bunke. Svaret vist i (4a) blev således lagt i bunkerne *kendskab*, *formalitet* og *professionel vs. privat*, og svaret i (4b) blev lagt i bunkerne *vane/smag* (på grund af ekspliciteringen af den faste praksis) og under *professionel vs. privat*.

(4a)   Hvor godt jeg kender personen, eller om det er i forbindelse med arbejde (er det en formel eller uformel e-mail).
(Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(4b)   I en arbejdsmail skriver jeg typisk "med venlig hilsen". I en mail til familie og venner skriver jeg ofte "kærligst" eller Kh.
(Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

Det resulterede i meningskondenseringen vist i tabel 7.

Tabel 7: Kategorisering af de faktorer respondenterne angiver som afgørende for valg af hilsen

	kendskab	relation	kontekst	prof./privat	vane/smag	Akkommodation	formalitet	modtager	humør	autosvar	Rest
starthilsner	430 (39%)	230 (29%)	220 (20%)	195 (18%)	174 (17%)	171 (16%)	128 (12%)	100 (9%)	17 (2%)	-	212 (19%)
sluthilsner	462 (44%)	321 (30%)	131 (12%)	321 (30%)	117 (11%)	93 (9%)	94 (9%)	83 (8%)	18 (2%)	25 (2%)	105 (10%)

Der var 1090 besvarelser af spørgsmål 12 (starthilsner) og 1054 besvarelser af spørgsmål 1 (sluthilsner). Procentangivelserne i tabel 7 læses altså således: Af 1090 afgivne svar angives det i 39 % at *kendskab* er en motiverende faktor for valg af starthilsen og så fremdeles.

Som det fremgår, er de mest nævnte faktorer *kendskab*, *relation* og (for starthilsnernes vedkommende) *kontekst* og (for sluthilsnernes vedkommende) distinktionen *professionel vs. privat*. Kategorien *akkommodation* fylder dog også en del: 16 % har angivet at dette er en vigtig faktor for deres valg af starthilsen, og 9 % har angivet at det er en vigtig faktor for deres valg af sluthilsen. Desuden skal udsagn der peger på *vane/smag* også tages med i betragtning idet de kan tages som udtryk for akkommodationsstrategien *maintenance*, jf. fx (5):

(5)   Min personlige smag. Jeg bruger kun to forskellige sluthilsner (mvh og knus) og kun én starthilsen (hej).
(Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

I afsnittene 4.2. og 4.3. inddrages dette løbende, og i afsnit 4.4. gør vi grundigere rede for på hvilke måder akkommodation spiller en rolle for valg af hilseudtryk, og sætter dette ind i en større ramme der har med relationskommunikation at gøre.

4.2. Starthilsner
I dansk er to af de almindeligste starthilsner i skriftsproget *kære* eller *hej*. *Kære* kan ikke bruges alene, men må stå sammen med et navn, fx *Kære Peter* eller *Kære Peter Jensen*. *Hej* kan i modsætning hertil bruges uden et navn, dvs. indledningen på fx en mail bliver slet og ret *Hej*. Herudover er der med *hej*

også mulighed for brugen med et navn, ligesom ved *kære*, fx *Hej Peter* eller *Hej Peter Jensen*.

I undersøgelsens spørgeskema har vi derfor ud fra disse tre mulige starthilsner spurgt til hvem respondenterne bruger de følgende tre hilsner til:

- *hej* (uden fornavn etc.)
- *hej* (+ fornavn)
- *kære* (+ fornavn)

Når vi ser overordnet på hvem respondenterne mener de bruger de tre ovenstående starthilsner til, altså om de anvender hilsnerne til private eller ikke-private modtagere, tegner der sig dette billede:

- *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) bruges signifikant mere til private modtagere end til ikke-private modtagere ($p<0{,}01$)
- *kære* (+ fornavn) bruges signifikant mere til private modtagere end til ikke-private modtagere ($p<0{,}01$)
- *hej* (+ fornavn) bruges ikke signifikant til hverken private eller ikke-private modtagere ($p=0{,}1268$)

Hej (+ fornavn) er altså for en del respondenter en allroundhilsen man kan bruge både i den private og ikke-private sfære, mens respondenterne mener at *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) og *kære* (+ fornavn) mest bruges til de modtagere vi grupperer som private.

Ser man mere specificeret på det, er det dog især til venner at respondenter mener at de bruger *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) som starthilsen. 52,2 % af respondenterne er positive overfor denne hilsen til venner, mens der er mindre tilslutning, nemlig 33,5 %, til *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) til en ældre slægtning. *Kære* (+ fornavn) er undersøgelsens respondenter til gengæld mest positive overfor når det gælder ældre slægtninge: Hele 79,7 % er positive overfor at vælge denne hilsen til ældre slægtninge.

De ovenstående resultater (altså at *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) og *kære* (+ fornavn) bruges til private modtagere, mens *hej* (+ fornavn) bruges til både private og ikke-private modtagere) kan vi se afspejlet i nogle af de kommentarer respondenterne har tilføjet:

(6a)   Jeg bruger "kære" + "fornavn" til mennesker, som jeg er følelsesmæssigt relateret til.
         (Studerende, kvinde, 30-39 år)

(6b)   'Hej' er i min optik en meget uformel indledning.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(6c)   Anvendelse af fornavn er for mig mere formelt [om *hej*].
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Men der er også respondenter der opfatter *kære* som en formel/neutral starthilsen som de bruger til nogle de ikke kender (altså ikke-private modtagere):

(7)   Den hilsen jeg bruger, hvis det er en mail til folk, jeg ikke kender og til offentlige
         myndigheder. [om *kære*]
   (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

4.2.1. Alder

Hvad angår alder, viser det sig at unge (dvs. under 30 år) er signifikant mere positive overfor *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) end respondenterne over 30 (p<0,01). De yngste respondenter er ligeledes signifikant mere positive overfor *hej* (+ fornavn) end respondenterne over 30 (p<0,01). Dette betyder samlet set at de unge respondenter i det hele taget angiver at de bruger *hej* mere end de ældre respondenter, og ifølge respondenterne i vores undersøgelse er *hej* i e-mails dermed en ungdomsmarkør.

På samme måde, men med modsat fortegn, er *kære* (+ fornavn) en aldersmarkeret hilsen, nemlig en som især er brugt af de ældre respondenter. Respondenter over 30 år rapporterer at de bruger *kære* (+ fornavn) signifikant mere end respondenterne under 30 (p<0,05), og respondenter over 60 angiver at de bruger *kære* (+ fornavn) signifikant mere end respondenterne under 60 (p<0,01). Det er altså især dem over 30, og særligt dem over 60 år, der oftest bruger *kære*.

Tabel 8 viser hvor mange respondenter der er positive overfor at bruge de tre starthilsner, fordelt på alder – med tiårsintervaller – og opdelt efter private/ikke-private modtagere:

Tabel 8: Brugen af starthilsnerne *hej* (uden fornavn etc.), *hej* (+ fornavn) og *kære* (+ fornavn) fordelt på aldersgrupper og privat/ikke-privat modtager
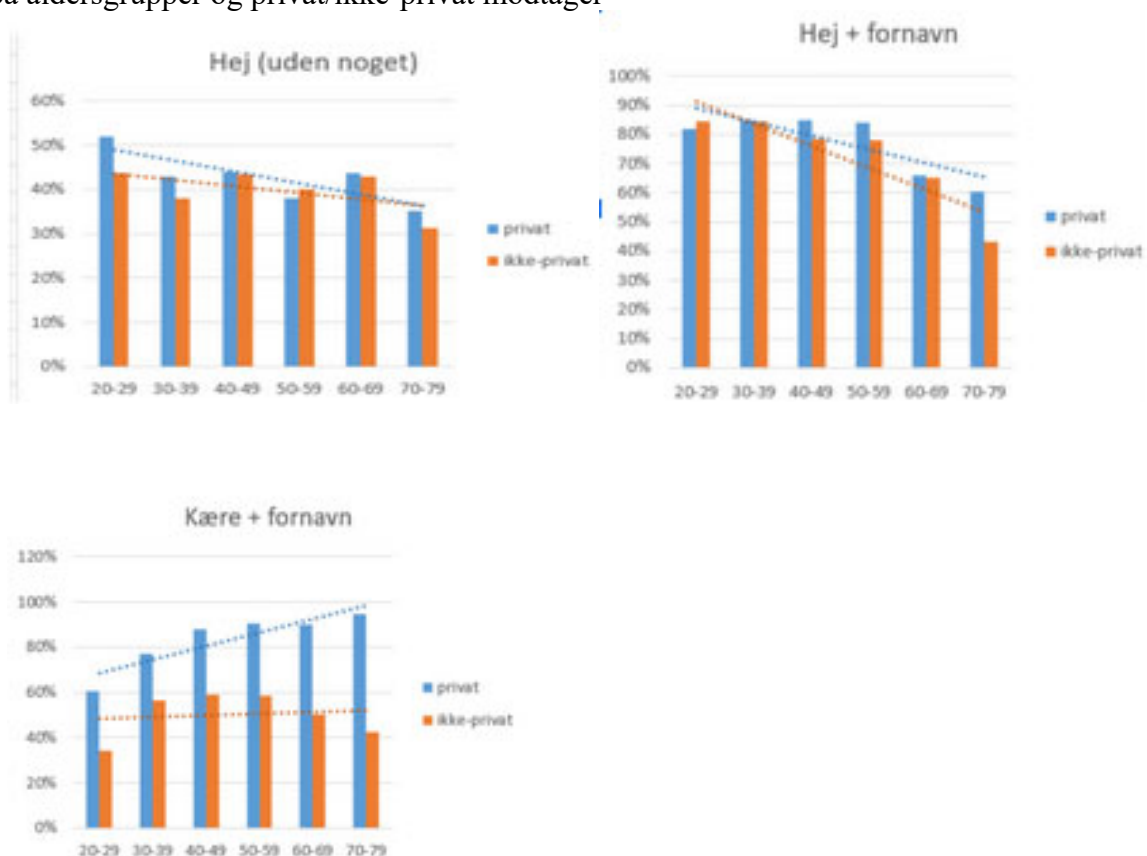
Som tabel 8 illustrerer, er der en tendens (se den stiplede tendenslinje) til at de yngste er mere positive overfor at bruge *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) og *hej* (+ fornavn), mens at de ældste er mest positivt stemt for at bruge *kære* (+ fornavn). Og dette gælder hvad enten der er tale om privat eller ikke-private modtagere - dog er *kære* (+ fornavn) kun meget svagt en ældremarkør når det gælder ikke-private modtagere.

Selvom (alders)tendensen er klar, er det dog bemærkelsesværdigt at denne er svagest når det

gælder *kære* (+ fornavn) i ikke-private sammenhænge. Her er de yngste og de ældste mest negative overfor at bruge *kære* (+ fornavn) til ikke-private modtagere, eller udtrykt på en anden måde: Den midaldrende generation i 30'erne, 40'erne og 50'erne er mest positivt stemt overfor at bruge *kære* (+ fornavn) i ikke-private sammenhænge. Dette kan skyldes at der har været en udvikling i gang hvad angår *kære*s semantiske potentiale, sådan at *kære* nu i forhold til tidligere bliver opfattet i mere bogstavelig betydning (til "elskede personer"), dvs. en sprogforandring (Gregersen 1999; se også Rathje, Hougaard & Jensen 2020 og Hougaard et al., under udg.). En anden tolkning ud fra tabellerne ovenfor er mulig: Generationen der nu er 30-59 år, er som nævnt mere positivt stemt overfor *kære* som starthilsen, og det kunne muligvis tolkes sådan at denne generation har en opfattelse af *kære* i en knap så bogstavelig betydning. Betydningen bliver angiveligt derimod opfattet som bogstavelig af den ældste generation eller i den nuværende unge generation: Begge generationer reagerer negativt på *kære* som starthilsen til ikke-private modtagere. Mere end en generel sprogudvikling af *kære* fra bogstavelig til ikke-bogstavelig betydning, er der måske snarere tale om et generationelt fænomen: fra bogstavelig til ikke-bogstavelig og tilbage til bogstavelig betydning igen. Endelig kan vi ikke udelukke fænomenet *age-grading* (Gregersen 1999), der defineres som sproglige træk der er karakteristiske på et livsstadie, og som man forlader igen når dette livsstadie er ovre. Ifølge denne mulige tolkning havde den midaldrende aldersgruppe, der er positive overfor *kære*, også i ikke-private sammenhænge, måske en anden holdning da de var unge og uden socialt pres ift. arbejdsmarkedet,[6] og måske får de en anden holdning til *kære* når de bliver ældre.

At starthilsnerne på forskellig vis signalerer alder, kommer også frem i de kommentarer som respondenterne havde mulighed for at tilføje i spørgeskemaet:

(8a)   Mine bedsteforældre, den "gamle" generation benytter denne [om *kære*]
         (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(8b)   Gammeldags [om *kære*]
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Respondenterne giver desuden udtryk for at de i deres starthilsen konvergerer, dvs. akkommoderer, efter alderen på den modtager de skriver e-mailen til:[7]

(9a)   Primært til folk jeg kender rimelig godt, medmindre de er meget ældre. Jeg ville f.eks. altid skrive "Kære mormor" (hun er 83). [om *hej* (+ fornavn)]
         (Ikke studerende, mand, 20-29 år)
(9b)   Det kommer an på alderen. Jeg skriver "hej" til mine unge medarbejdere. [om *hej* (+ fornavn)]
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 60-69 år)

I eksempel (9a) rapporterer respondenten at han sørger for at bruge *kære* (+ fornavn) når han skriver til sin mormor fra den ældre generation, mens respondenten i (9b) omvendt angiver at hun skriver

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[6] Dette betyder ifølge sociolingvistisk teori (særligt i forklaringen af fænomenet *age-grading*) at unge fx bruger varianter som ikke er standard, fordi de ikke ligesom voksne har arbejdsmæssige og familiære forpligtelser at tage sprogligt hensyn til (fx Holmes 2001: 168 f.). Ifølge denne tankegang kan ældre og unge have flere sproglige træk fælles ift. midaldrende fordi de unge og ældre står udenfor det nævnte sociale pres fra det "lingvistiske marked" (fx Sankoff 2006: 6).

[7] Der behøver ikke være tale om akkommodation til en faktisk sprogbrug: Der kan være tale om en stereotypiseret akkommodation til en forestilling om modtagerens produktive performans (Coupland et al. 1988: 28).

'ungt' til sine unge medarbejdere ved at bruge *hej*. Disse forestillinger om hvad hhv. den ældre og den unge generation foretrækker som starthilsen, understøtter de aldersforskelle vi har fundet i den kvantitative analyse ovenfor.

4.2.2. Køn

Hvad starthilsner og baggrundsvariablen køn angår, er der to signifikante forskelle på mænd og kvinder i vores undersøgelse: Kvinder angiver at de bruger både *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) (p<0,01) og *kære* (p<0,01) signifikant mere end de mænd der deltager i undersøgelsen.[8]

Tabel 9 angiver den procentuelle forskel på kønnene når det gælder de tre forskellige starthilsenudtryk fordelt på kategorierne privat/ikke-privat:

Tabel 9: Brugen af starthilsnerne *hej* (uden fornavn etc.), *hej* (+ fornavn) og *kære* (+ fornavn) fordelt på køn og privat/ikke-privat modtager
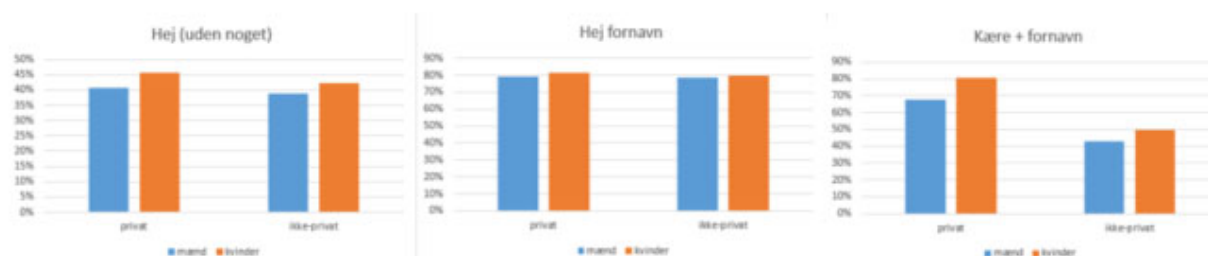
Flere af mændene tilkendegiver i deres kommentarer at det at udelade modtagerens fornavn forekommer mindre høfligt, men også at det kan være en mulighed i de sammenhænge hvor modtagerens navn ikke er kendt. Ifølge mændenes kommentarer er *hej* (+ fornavn) det tætteste vi kommer på en neutral standardstarthilsen.

4.2.3. Øvrige temaer

Ovenfor har vi behandlet starthilsnerne ud fra de to baggrundsvariable alder og køn. Ved spørgsmålene til hvorvidt og til hvem respondenterne brugte en given starthilsen, var der dog også et felt hvor respondenterne kunne tilføje en kommentar. Disse kommentarer kan give os et fingerpeg om hvilke kategorier respondenterne selv angiver som relevante når det gælder starthilsnerne, altså kategorier som vi ikke har udvalgt for dem.

Når det gælder *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) (90 kommentarer), anfører flere respondenter at de bruger denne i tilfælde af at 'jeg ikke ved hvem modtageren er', fx kommunen, SKAT, en kundeservice eller en institution, eller de bruger *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) hvis mailen er til flere personer på én gang, og de dermed ikke kan tilpasse starthilsenen personligt til hver enkelt modtager. Alternativt bruges denne hilsen også hvis respondenterne ikke kender modtagerens navn. Flere respondenter forbinder desuden det 'nøgne' *hej* med et hurtigt tempo, fx ved gentagne mailudvekslinger, mens andre forbinder det med svensk (hvor det da også er den mest udbredte starthilsen, jf. Hougaard et al., under udg.). Andre anfører at de kun bruger *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) hvis andre har gjort det, dvs. de konvergerer, og en del opfatter i øvrigt brugen af det nøgne *hej* som "upersonlig", "uhøflig" og "uprofessionel". Her værditilskriver respondenterne altså en hilsen, dvs. peger på en norm. Af andre varianter som respondenterne angiver at de bruger uden navn, kan nævnes *hi, hey, hejsa, halløj, yo, hola, hva'så* og *hej du*.

Angående kommentarer til starthilsenen *hej* (+ fornavn) i begyndelsen af en e-mail (61

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[8] I en tidligere version af denne analyse (Rathje, Jensen & Hougaard 2020) bemærkede vi at der ikke var kønsforskelle hvad starthilsner angår. Nærmere beregninger har dog vist at det alligevel forholder sig sådan.

kommentarer) anfører en del af respondenterne på den ene side at denne starthilsen er mere formel og upersonlig med navnet føjet til, i modsætning til hvis navnet ikke var der, mens andre modsat oplever det mere uformelt og personligt med navnet tilføjet. Her er der altså ikke enighed om hvad de forskellige praksisser konnoterer. Desuden nævnes det at navnet efter *hej* efter gentagne mailudvekslinger med den samme person kan slettes undervejs i udvekslingen.

Den sidste af de tre starthilsner, *kære* (+ fornavn), (88 kommentarer) forbinder mange af respondenterne med andre genrer end e-mailen. Fx fysiske breve, invitationer, fødselsdagshilsner, takkebreve, håndskrevne kort, fødselsdags-/jule-/postkort, højtidelige lejligheder eller dødsfald. Nogle forbinder ligeledes denne hilsen med en mail med et alvorligt eller seriøst indhold. Igen nævnes to helt modsatrettede konventionaliserede situationer ved denne starthilsen: For nogle respondenter signalerer *kære* (+ fornavn) en "tæt relation", mens det for andre er et signal om noget formelt og officielt. Atter nævner nogle respondenter også at de kun bruger *kære* (+ fornavn) hvis den person de skriver med, gør det (konvergens), og ellers forbindes det af mange med noget gammeldags, som vi også har set det afspejlet i de kvantitative analyser ovenfor.

4.2.4. Sammenfatning af analysen af starthilsner

Overordnet set er *hej* (+ fornavn) en allroundhilsen man kan bruge både i den private og ikke-private sfære, mens respondenterne mener at *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) og *kære* (+ fornavn) mest bruges til de modtagere vi grupperer som private. Det har desuden vist sig at både *hej* og *kære* er aldersmarkerede hilsner: *Hej* bruges mest af unge, og *kære* bruges mest af ældre. Særligt den midaldrende generation skiller sig ud ved at mene at *kære* er en neutral hilsen som kan bruges til ikke-private modtagere, mens både de respondenter der er yngre og ældre, forbeholder *kære* til dem de har "kær".

Endelig har vi fundet den forskel på kønnene at kvinderne i højere grad end mændene bruger *hej* (uden fornavn etc.) og *kære*, mens mænd og kvinder bruger hilsenen *hej* (+ fornavn) lige meget.

4.3. Sluthilsner

I forhold til det ret begrænsede udvalg af mulige starthilsner i dansk er der større variation i brugen af sluthilsner. Derfor har vi i dette afsnit om sluthilsnerne valgt at integrere respondenternes kommentarer i gennemgangen af de mange forskellige typer sluthilsner.

For det første gjorde respondenterne os opmærksom på at de brugte mange flere typer end dem vi havde spurgt til. De påpegede bl.a. følgende:

(10a)   Til mine nærmeste kollegaer slutter jeg med "- Mit navn" eller ingenting.
        (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(10b)   Bruger gerne formen "Kærligst"
        (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(10c)   Hvis jeg kender folk, skriver jeg oftest "knus" eller "kys".
        (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

I spørgeskemaet spurgte vi ind til brugen af 10 sluthilsner som efter vores formodning var meget udbredte. Nogle af sluthilsnerne var mere eller mindre forkortede udgaver af samme hilsen, fx *(med) venlig hilsen* med følgende forkortede udgaver: *mvh*, *venlig hilsen* og *vh*. Men ifølge respondenternes kommentarer er der mange flere. Hvis man tæller de forskellige sluthilsners mange variationsmuligheder med, eksisterer der således over 30 forskellige relativt almindelige sluthilsner i

dansk.[9] Dertil kommer personaliserede sluthilsner som fx *varme spejderhilsner*, *våde sommerhilsner* eller *gode ønsker for dig og din familie fra M*.

Det store antal valgmuligheder kan virke som en banal mulighed for at vælge mellem ligestillede alternativer, men subtile forskelle som det at skrive en hilsen i ental eller flertal, fx *venlig hilsen* og *venlige hilsner* er ifølge respondenterne ikke uvæsentlige variationer. Flere af respondenterne skriver i deres kommentarer til spørgsmålene at de foretrækker flertalsformen fremfor entalsformen fordi flertalsformen virker mere uformel og imødekommende. Nogle giver endog en udførlig forklaring på forskellen:

(11)   Jeg bruger sjældent "Med venlig hilsen", men snarere "Venlige hilsener". "Med venlig hilsen" bruger jeg hvis det er en helt neutral kommunikation (fx til mit elselskab, min vicevært, el.lign.). "Venlige hilsener" bruger jeg i situationer hvor jeg kommunikerer med folk jeg også har/skal have en fysisk kontakt med. Som regel.
(Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

En anden tilsyneladende lille forskel der bidrager til at give mange variationsmuligheder, gælder muligheden for at benytte præpositionen *med*, som flere svarer at de bruger oftere, end den korte udgave uden *med*. Mange giver begrundelser som den i (12):

(12)   Skrevet fuldt ud - med alle tre ord - er dette den bedste og mest generelt anvendelig hilsenformular - men aldrig til en nær relation, hvor den er på grænsen til at være 'kold'.
[om *med venlig hilsen*]
(Ikke studerende, kvinde, 70-79 år)

4.3.1. Respondenternes holdninger til de enkelte typer af hilsner
I den følgende gennemgang af de tydeligste mønstre i respondenternes mening om de enkelte hilsner nævnes relationen til modtageren og konteksten ofte som vigtig for valget af sluthilsen.

Den skelnen der ses mellem *med venlig hilsen* og *venlig hilsen*, peger ifølge Jacobsen & Jørgensen (2013: 356) primært på graden af formalitet. *Med venlig hilsen* angives i kommentarerne som den mest formelle og den mest anvendte af de to. Det er sikkert en af grundene til at 77 % af respondenterne på tværs af køn og alder er enige om at *med venlig hilsen* er den bedst egnede sluthilsen når det kommer til de offentlige myndigheder (se tabel 10).

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[9] Følgende sluthilsner supplerer ifølge respondenterne de 10 vi fokuserede på i spørgeskemaet: *knus; kys og kram; kys; kram; klem; hej hej; venlige hilsener; de kærligste hilsener; mange kærlige hilsener; med kærlig hilsen; venligst; kærligst; alt det bedste; m.v.h.; k.h.; mkh.; mh.; dbh.; bh.; varme, gode hilsner; mange gode hilsener* og *mange venlige hilsner*. Typer som disse er dog udeladt af spørgeskemaet for ikke at gøre det for omstændeligt og langvarigt at besvare, og fordi vi vurderede at disse sluthilsner enten er relativt sjældnere eller til en vis grad bruges overlappende med de valgte typer, som fx flertalsformen *venlige hilsener*.

Tabel 10: Hyppigst anvendte sluthilsner til en offentlig myndighed

77 %	*med venlig hilsen*
46 %	*venlig hilsen*
37 %	*mvh*
28 %	*hilsen*

Venlig hilsen får mange hårde ord med på vejen i kommentarerne. Den anses for *gammeldags*, *upersonlig* og *ubrugelig*, men i forhold til en offentlig myndighed indtager den alligevel andenpladsen blandt anvendelige hilsner.

12 ud af 71 kommentarer peger på det upersonlige og mindre respektfulde i at skrive *venlig hilsen*, men også på hilsenen som en indirekte måde at udøve magt på:

(13a)   Meget upersonlig, lettere afvisende hilsen
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 70-79 år)

(13b)   På mig virker ”venlig hilsen” afstumpet og mindre venligt/respektfuldt i en e-mail.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(13c)   Denne hilsen bruger jeg, når jeg skriver fra en magtposition om noget, der potentielt er ’en alvorlig sag’ for modtageren.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59)

Med venlig hilsen er på flere måder den sluthilsen der har den bredeste accept og anvendelse. Mange angiver at denne hilsen er en del af deres autosignatur og dermed noget deres arbejdsplads anbefaler eller direkte pålægger dem at bruge når de skriver professionelt:

(14a)   Jeg har (som 99% af befolkningen ?) en autosignatur, der indeholder”Med venlig hilsen”. Hvis jeg kender folk godt, føjer jeg sommetider noget personligt til overfor (ofte kh eller dbh).
          (Ikke studerende, mand, 40-49 år)

(14b)   Min signatur i min arbejdsmail er ”med venlig hilsen” - hvilket er bestemt oppefra. Der ligger derfor ikke nogen overvejelser bag hilsenen i mine arbejdsrelaterede mails.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Nogle af kommentarerne går på at *med venlig hilsen* fremstår *gammeldags*, *kedelig*, *stiv*, *tung*, *kold* og *distanceret*, så selvom der er udbredt enighed om at den hilsen er meget anvendelig, undgår man ikke helt at ens modtager kan føle sig distanceret ved at modtage denne hilsen fordi den kan forekomme rituel og tømt for indhold (jf. Laver 1975, 1981):

(15a)   Med venlig hilsen er yderst formelt og virker distancerede, så det bruger jeg yderst
         sjældent. Kunne være i en mail til et firma, hvor jeg er uenig i noget
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 60-69 år)

(15b)   Denne hilsen er i mine øjne meget generisk og upersonlig. Jeg ville typisk bruge den hvis
         jeg aldrig har været i kontakt med modtageren før, eller hvis jeg ikke kender den præcise
         modtager, som hvis det f.eks. er en info-adresse.
         (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

En sluthilsen man ofte ser i den type professionelle hilsner der kendetegner de relationer der er mellem
kolleger og samarbejdspartnere, er *de bedste hilsner*. 25 % svarer ja til at bruge den i netop denne
type professionel sammenhæng. Alligevel er det den af de ikke-forkortede hilsner der afvises klarest
– og særligt når modtageren er de offentlige myndigheder; her svarer 90 % at de ikke bruger *de bedste
hilsner*. Den generelle afstandtagen fra denne hilsen begrundes med at den er udansk eller
utidssvarende:

(16a)   Virker som en fordanskning af "Best regards" - engelsklefling!
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(16b)   Virker lettere gammeldags og højtideligt
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

En del af respondenterne tager som i (16a) kraftigt afstand fra *(de) bedste hilsner* alene fordi hilsenen
efter deres mening er en anglicisme. Til gengæld er det gammeldags præg påpeget i (16b) måske
noget der gør at denne hilsen samtidig beskrives som særlig velegnet i svære eller højtidelige
situationer hvor der er behov for at lægge afstand til det hverdagsagtige.

(17a)   Den afslutning vil jeg typisk bruge, hvis indholdet er af mere trist karakter. En venlig tanke
         til en fyret eller syg kollega eller lignende.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(17b)   Jeg bruger det kun i forbindelse med fx lykønskningskort
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

I stil med forskellen på om man tilføjer et *med* til *venlig hilsen* eller ej, tillægges det også her stor
betydning om man skriver *de bedste hilsner* eller blot *bedste hilsner*. *De bedste hilsner* foretrækkes
klart frem for den kortere udgave:

(18a)   Der skal "de" foran. Ellers er det lidt nødtørftigt.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(18b)   Jeg ville aldrig skrive "bedste hilsner" uden artiklen "de" foran. Det bliver for
         engelskklingende uden artiklen.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 30-39 år)

Den relativt store modstand mod (*de) bedste hilsner* bliver dog sat i relief af kommentarer som (19)

hvor dette hilseudtryk anerkendes som en mellemform der er imødekommende uden at blive for personlig:

(19)   Når jeg skriver "De bedste hilsner" mener jeg egentlig oftest "kærlig hilsen". Dog er den
         person jeg skriver "De Bedste hilsner til en anelse mere perifer for mig.
         (Studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

Når man skriver til en nær ældre slægtning, fx sin bedstemor, er der ifølge respondenterne ikke så mange valgmuligheder. Her er *kærlig hilsen* klart den foretrukne sluthilsen; 79 % af respondenterne er positivt indstillet overfor denne hilsen, mens 45 % angiver *kh* som anvendelig i den situation. 23 % mener også at *mange hilsner* kan bruges, men det er tydeligt – også i kommentarerne – at det kærlige islæt er afgørende for valg af hilsen til denne private relation.

Der er stor enighed om i hvilke situationer og til hvilke modtagere *kærlig hilsen* dur og *ikke* dur. Samlet set svarer 99 % klart nej til at skrive denne hilsen til offentlige myndigheder, og 87 % svarer nej både i forhold til deres chef og samarbejdspartnere. Flere konkretiserer i deres kommentarer restriktionerne for anvendelsen af *kærlig hilsen*:

(20a)   Jeg skriver snarere Kærlig hilsen til kvinder end til mænd
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(20b)   Kun til kæresten og børnene
         (Ikke studerende, mand, 60-69 år)

(20c)   Jeg bruger kun "kærlig hilsen" i et håndskrevet kort - aldrig e-mails!
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Det er således mange kommentarer der betoner at *kærlig hilsen* indebærer noget mere personligt og følelsesfuldt og derfor helst bruges til nogen der er nær på en, fx familie, venner og nære kolleger.

Den korte sluthilsen *hilsen* deler i nogen grad vandene. Når det kommer til nære relationer, dvs. venner og nære ældre slægtninge, afvises den ret tydeligt. Mange af respondenterne beskriver *hilsen* som decideret ikke-venlig. I knap halvdelen af de 63 kommentarer betoner respondenterne at *hilsen* bruges når afsenderen gerne vil markere kølighed eller en negativ indstilling og dermed netop ikke konsolidere relationen mellem deltagerne hvad der ellers er forventningen til lukninger (Coupland, Coupland & Robinson 1992: 209f):

(21a)   Kun hvis jeg er virkelig, virkelig sur.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(21b)   Jeg kan kun forestille mig at bruge det hvis der er et konfliktniveau, der ville gøre "venlig
         hilsen" irrelevant eller hyklerisk.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

Der er dog også nogle af respondenterne der ser *hilsen* som en mere neutral hilsen der i særlig grad egner sig til kommunikationsformer præget af hyppighed eller hurtighed. Uden at være en forkortelse er *hilsen* med sit ene korte ord hurtig at skrive, hvad der altså gør den attraktiv:

(22a)   Jeg bruger for det meste "Hilsen" som en neutral standard til alle der ikke er venner.
         Indimellem optoner jeg høflighedsniveauet eller spejler modtagerens egen hilsen til mig.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 30-39 år)

(22b)   Er en hurtig hilsen - typisk i hurtige mails med en uformel tone.
         (Ikke studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

4.3.2. Køn
Hvad baggrundsvariablen køn og sluthilsner angår, er der flere signifikante forskelle på mænd og
kvinder i vores undersøgelse. Mændene i undersøgelsen er mere åbne for at bruge *med venlig hilsen*
(p<0,01) og *mvh* (p<0,01) end kvinder, mens kvinder til gengæld er mere positivt stemt overfor *kærlig
hilsen* (p<0,01)*, kh* (p<0,01)*,* og *mange hilsner* (p<0,01) end mændene. Dette overordnede billede
kan nuanceres.
        Mændene er som nævnt signifikant mere tilbøjelige end kvinderne til at bruge både *med venlig
hilsen* og *mvh*, men som det ses i tabel 11, er forskellen i brugen signifikant større når modtageren er
privat. Mændene har altså ikke nær så store problemer med at bruge *med venlig hilsen* (p<0,01) og
mvh (p<0,01) til private modtagere som kvinderne har.

Tabel 11: Mænds og kvinders brug af *med venlig hilsen* og *mvh*
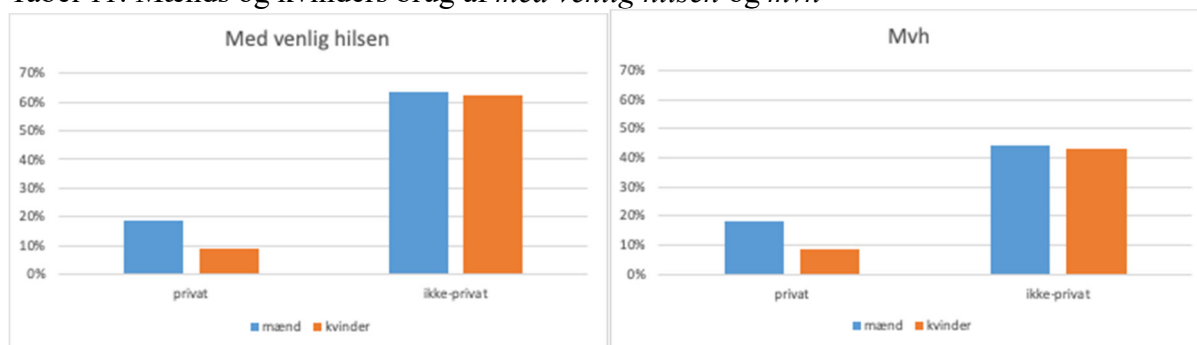
Hvis man zoomer ind på venner som modtagere, viser der sig den største forskel idet kun 9 % af
kvinderne svarer, at de bruger *med venlig hilsen* og *mvh* til venner, mens hele 21 % af mændene svarer
positivt.

Tabel 12: Mænds og kvinders brug af *med venlig hilsen* og *mvh* til venner
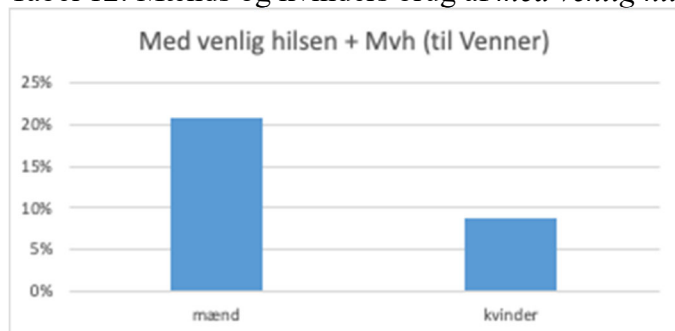
Når alle modtagertyper er indregnet, er der ingen kønsforskelle når det gælder en lignende hilsen,

nemlig *venlig hilsen*. Dog fremkommer kønsforskellene også her når relationen er privat, dvs. mændene er også her mere (p<0,01) velvilligt indstillet end kvinderne. Kvinderne er med andre ord mere afvisende end mændene overfor at bruge alle tre hilsner (*med venlig hilsen, venlig hilsen* og *mvh)* i private relationer. To kvinder uddyber i deres kommentar:

(23a)   Det er meget formelt og gammeldags. Til nære venner tæt på fornærmende. [om *med venlig hilsen*]
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 60-69 år)

(23b)   Jeg bruger udelukkende "med venlig hilsen" og varianter deraf, når jeg er sur på modtageren, men er nødt til at være nogenlunde høflig.
   (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 30-39 år)

Det tyder på at mange af kvinderne opfatter *med venlig hilsen* som høflig, men også kold. I stedet for at undersøge hinandens velvilje og interesse i at søge konsensus (jf. Coupland, Coupland & Robinson 1992: 209 f.) kan afsenderens brug af *med venlig hilsen* være et signal til modtageren om distance. Hvorvidt den slags subtile signaler opfattes og får konsekvenser, melder vores undersøgelse dog ikke noget om.

Svarene tyder på at mændene nærmest betragter *med venlig hilsen* som en allroundhilsen; det er klart den hilsen som mændene angiver som den mest brugte af alle sluthilsner. Som en 30-39-årig mand uddyber:

(24)   Med venlig hilsen ser jeg som en meget uformel. neutral hilsen der kan bruges i snart sagt alle sammenhænge
          (Ikke studerende, mand, 30-39 år)

Når man sammenligner de to køn, er det som nævnt tydeligt at kvinderne er signifikant mere positivt stemt overfor *kærlig hilsen, kh* og *mange hilsner* end mændene. For *kh* og *mange hilsner* er forskellene særligt store, som det ses i tabel 13:

Tabel 13: Mænds og kvinders brug af *kærlig hilsen*, *kh* og *mange hilsner*
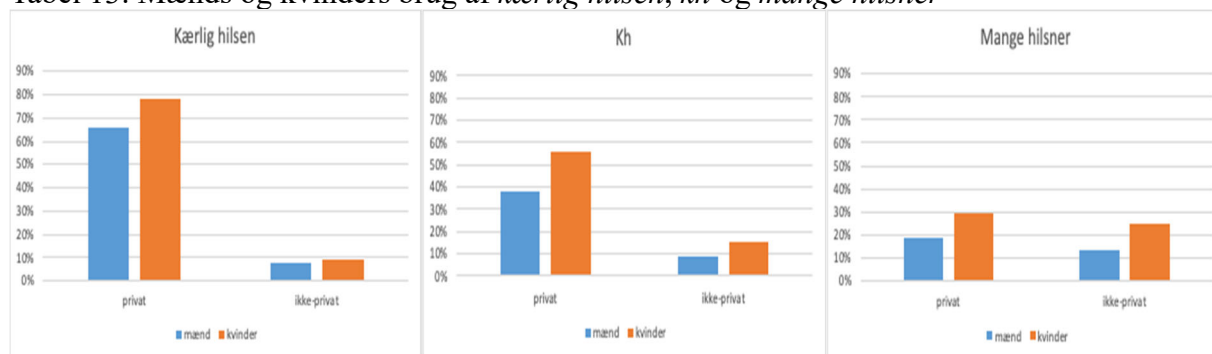
Især når det gælder samarbejdspartnere og kolleger, er mændenes tilbageholdenhed overfor *mange hilsner* meget udtalt (p>0,01). Her svarer kun 18 % af mændene at de bruger hilsenen, mens det samme gør sig gældende for hele 35 % af kvinderne. Måske hænger kvindernes hyppigere anvendelse sammen med at *mange hilsner* af undersøgelsens deltagere opfattes som et af de mere uformelle hilseudtryk og derfor ifølge kvinderne bedre egner sig til den type professionel relation der gerne må

være mere fri og uformel:

(25a)   Lidt "varmere" end venlig hilsen.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(25b)   Bruger Mange hilsner som en neutral hilsen med let begejstring.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

Kærlig hilsen og *kh* er signifikant mere foretrukket af kvinderne end af mændene. Som det ses i tabel 14, er begge køn dog enige om at hvis valget står mellem de to hilsner, egner den fuldt udskrevne version, *kærlig hilsen,* sig bedst når modtageren er en nær ældre slægtning. 86 % af kvinderne og 79 % af mændene svarer nemlig at de i den sammenhæng bruger *kærlig hilsen*, mens procenttallene er noget lavere for *kh*: 50 % af kvinderne og 38 % af mændene.

Tabel 14: *Mænds og kvinders brug af* kærlig hilsen *og* kh
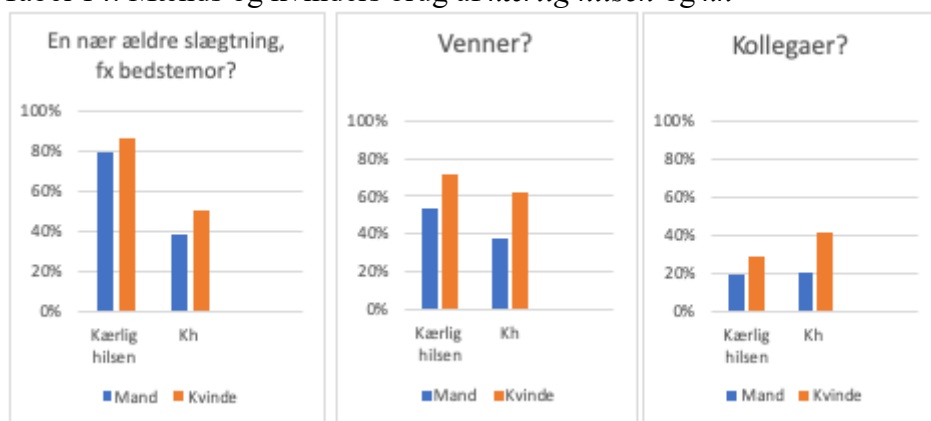
Når det gælder venner som modtagere, foretrækker alle *kærlig hilsen* fremfor *kh*, men når det gælder kollegerne som modtager, er kvinderne mere tilbøjelige til at bruge *kh* (42 %) end *kærlig hilsen* (29 %). Mændene skelner næsten ikke mellem de to hilseudtryk i den kollegiale relation. Tabellerne, der viser at kvinderne generelt synes bedre om disse hilsner, understøttes af nogle af deres kommentarer der fremhæver typer af hilsner med højere grad af intimitet:

(26a)   Eller "Knus" eller "Kram" til gode venner/familie.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(26b)   Hvis jeg kender folk, skriver jeg oftest "knus" eller "kys".
   (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

4.3.3. Alder
Med hensyn til alder viser det sig at unge (dvs. under 30 år) er signifikant mere positive overfor to typer hilsner end dem over 30 år: *mvh* (p>0,01) og *hilsen* (p>0,01).

Tabel 15: Brugen af *mvh* og *hilsen* mht. alder
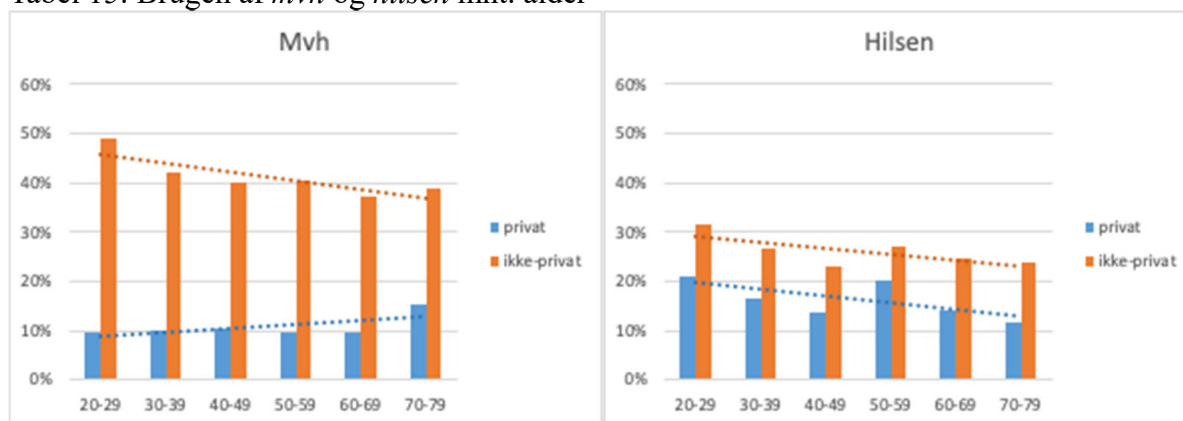
Som tendenslinjerne i tabellerne viser, er der forskel på brugen af disse to hilsner når det kommer til distinktionen privat : ikke-privat. I privat sammenhæng er de unge noget mere åbne for at bruge *hilsen* end dem over 30 år (p<0,01), jf. tidligere negative kommentarer vedr. *hilsen* (21a-21b) – begge skrevet af nogen over 30 år. I ikke-private sammenhænge bruger de unge *mvh* signifikant mere end dem over 30 år.

På samme måde, men med modsatrettet fortegn, kan vi se at de ældre respondenter (over 30 år) synes noget bedre om *kærlig hilsen, kh* og *mange hilsner* end dem under 30 år:

Tabel 16: Brugen af *kærlig hilsen, kh* og *mange hilsner* mht. alder
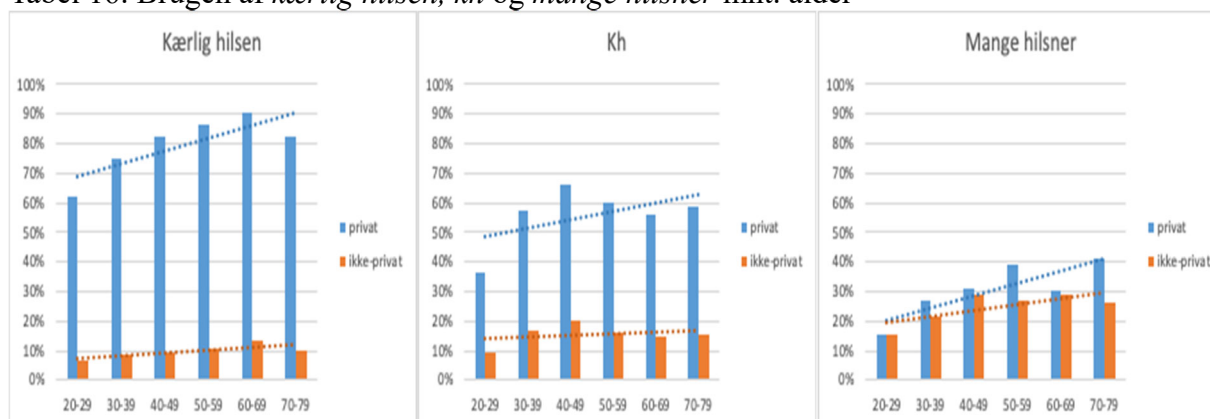
Når man sammenligner vedr. alder, er det tydeligt at særligt *mange hilsner* afvises som brugbar af de unge under 30 år (p>0,01). En enkelt kommentar (27b) går dog på muligheden for som en art konsekvenslogik at benytte hilsenen ved flere afsendere:

(27a)   Jeg benytter mig simpelthen ikke af den hilsen
          (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(27b)   Skriver kun mange hilsner hvis der er flere afsendere. Fx hvis jeg sender en mail sammen
          med én eller flere.
          (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

Tendenslinjerne viser at alle tre hilsner (*kærlig hilsen, kh* og *mange hilsner*) er mere accepteret jo ældre man er. De unge afviser klarest at bruge hilsnerne til ikke-private modtagere. Hvis vi nærstuderer *kærlig hilsen* og *kh*, ser vi at de unges begrundelser for at undgå disse hilsner handler om at de virker gammeldags og for personlige:

(28a)   Bruger det meget sjældent - synes det kan tolkes alt for intimt. Lader til at være stor forskel på hvordan folk læser det.
         (Ikke studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(28b)   'Kærlig hilsen' er for dem, jeg kender godt, men det er også lidt gammeldags. Derfor skriver jeg det ikke til mine venner, men ældre familiemedlemmer kunne jeg godt finde på at skrive det til. Det eller 'Kærligst'.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Kh er i visse sammenhænge en hilsen der skiller vandene. Som det ses i tabel 17, finder vi den største forskel på unge og ældres indstilling til at bruge *kh* som sluthilsen når det handler om venner og kolleger:

Tabel 17: Brugen af *kh* til kolleger og venner mht. alder
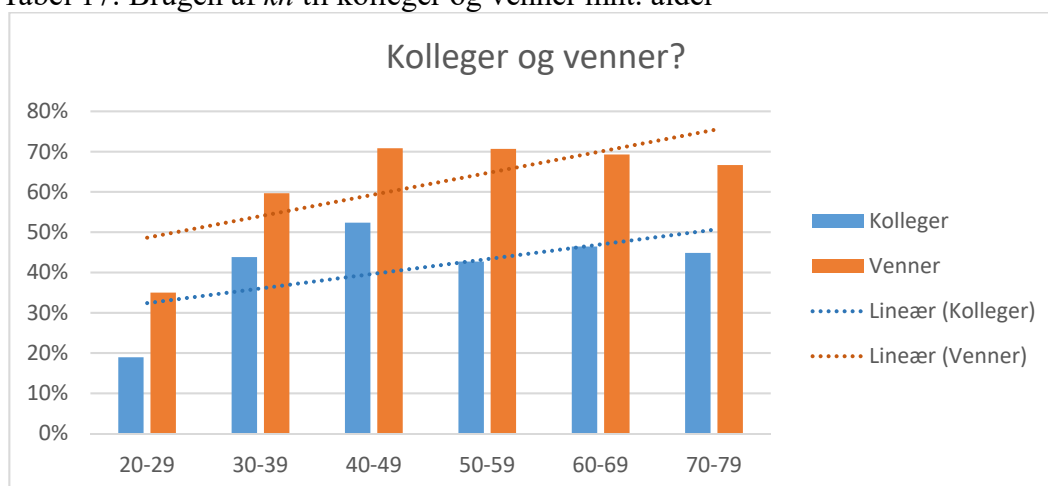
En af respondenterne forklarer problemerne ved at bruge *kh* til venner som et spørgsmål om oprigtighed:

(29)   Til venner vil et 'kh' blive opfattet komisk. Så bruger det nærmere som joke...!
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Eftersom de respondenter der er over 30 år, er betydeligt mere positivt indstillet overfor både *kærlig hilsen* og *kh,* tyder det på at spørgsmålet om bogstavelig betydning, som vi kan iagttage ved brugen af starthilsenen *kære*, i en vis udstrækning også kan iagttages ved sluthilsnerne.

4.3.4. Forkortelser
I spørgeskemaet blev der skelnet mellem forkortede og ikke-forkortede hilsner og spurgt om brugen

af og holdningerne til tre hilsepar: *med venlig hilsen/mvh, venlig hilsen/vh* og *kærlig hilsen/kh*. Som tabel 18 viser, er det overordnede billede at forkortelser bruges mindre end de ikke-forkortede pendanter.

Tabel 18: Brugen af forkortede og ikke-forkortede hilsner mht. alder
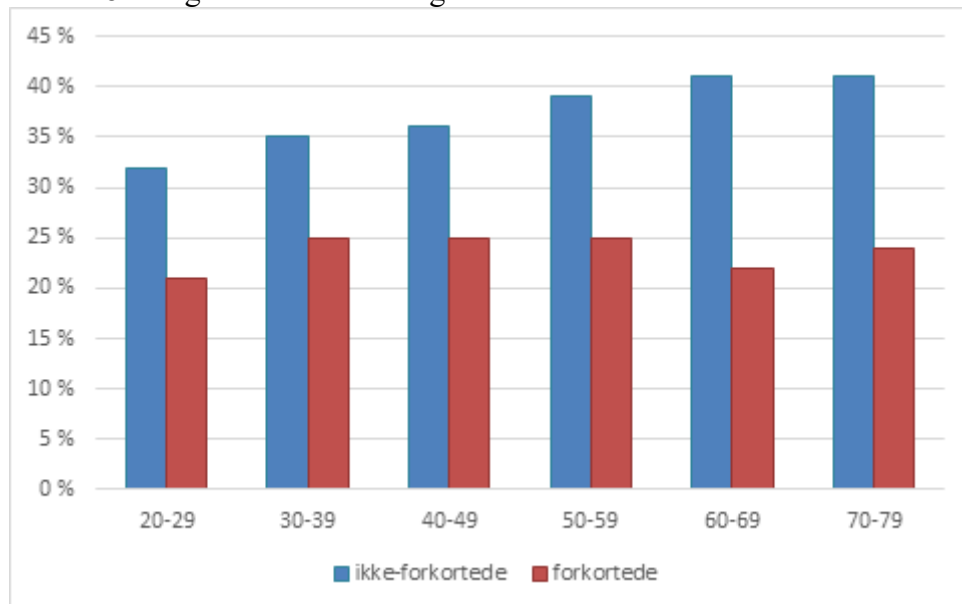
En detaljeret undersøgelse viser at brugen af forkortelser afhænger af flere faktorer: det specifikke hilsepar, respondentens alder og om relationen til modtageren er privat eller ikke-privat.

I tabel 19 ses det at mønstret i forhold til de specifikke hilsepar er at forkortelsen *mvh* bruges oftere når man er ung, mens den fuldt udskrevne hilsen *med venlig hilsen* bliver brugt nogenlunde ens i alle aldersgrupper. *Vh* er generelt ikke særlig udbredt. Specielt de unge (90,7 %) svarer at de ikke bruger den hilsen. Den fuldt udskrevne hilsen *venlig hilsen* bruges noget mere og særligt af de ældre aldersgrupper. For parret *kærlig hilsen/kh* er forholdene mere komplicerede. De unge bruger *kh* meget mindre end dem over 30 år, og dem over 60 år bruger *kærlig hilsen* langt mere end de øvrige.

Tabel: 19: Brugen af 3 hilsepar mht. alder
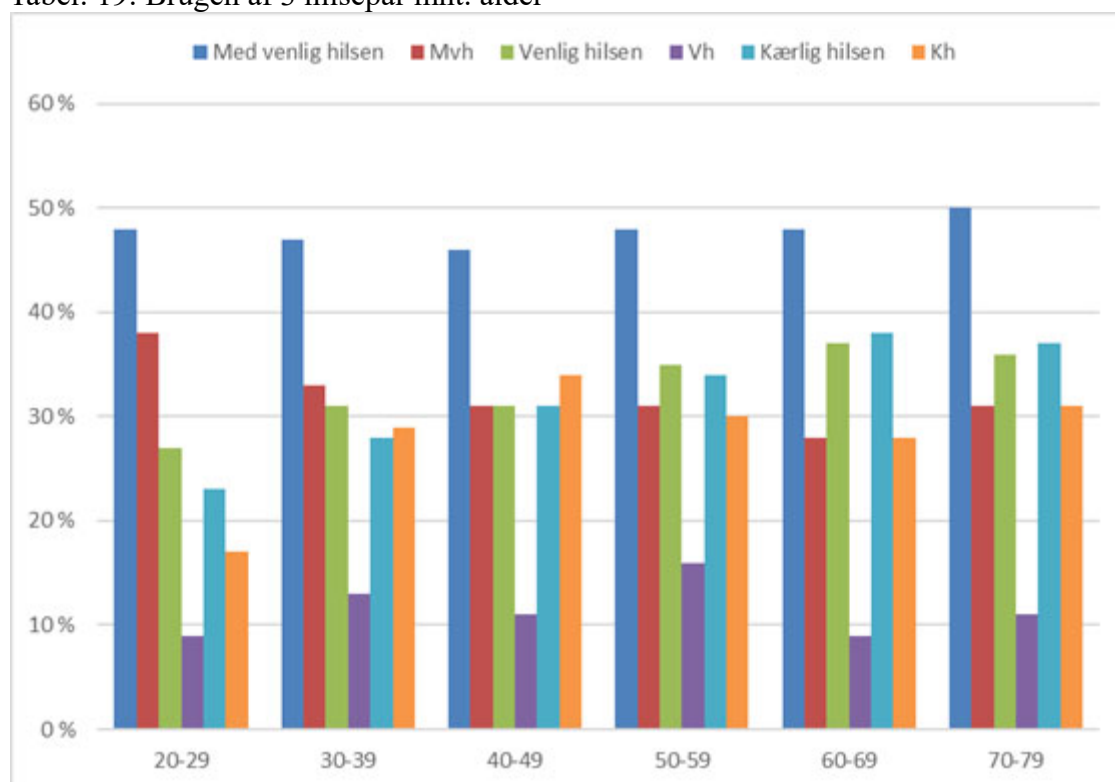
Aldersgruppen under 30 skiller sig generelt ud ved at være afvisende overfor brugen af både *kh* og *vh*. En forklaring kan være at de forkortede hilseudtryk forbeholdes andre teknologiske kommunikationsformer, fx sms og beskeder på Messenger. Dette antyder flere af respondenterne i deres kommentarer:

(30a)   Vh. bruger jeg aldrig. Godt nok benytter jeg mobil/chat-sprog i det daglige hvor ord forkortes, men aldrig så meget. Kan man sige at Vh ikke er lige så æstetisk som Mhv.? ”Kærlig hilsen” og ”Med venlig hilsen” er også flotte sætninger.
(Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(30b)   Kh. er ligesom Vh. Jeg bruger dem ikke trods mit mobil skriftsprog. De er ikke æstetiske, og så får jeg en følelse af, at de begge virker ligegyldige. Ligegyldige hilsner. Jeg ved ikke om det er fordi de er så korte. Det er samme fornemmelse når ”Okay” bliver til ”Ok” og til sidst ”K”(kay). ”K” virker som at personen er mere eller mindre ligeglad, hvor ”Ok” er bedre og ”Okay” er bedst, og den mest interesserede person. Tror det er det samme med Vh. og Kh. Det er dog ikke et godt argument, at jeg selv benytter Mvh. men det har jeg fra emails fra offentlige instanser, så den er godtaget ;)
(Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

Afledt heraf kan man forestille sig at de skriftsproglige situationer der ikke tydeligt lægger op til bogstavknaphed, fx e-mail, derfor associeres med at det er høfligt og betænksomt at skrive sluthilsner helt ud, hvad respondenterne kommer ind på i nogle af kommentarerne:

(31a)   Jeg bruger aldrig forkortelser i min hilsen - jeg synes det virker upersonligt, eller man får
          lidt det indtryk at man ikke har brugt tid på sin e-mail.
          (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(31b)   Aldrig ... hvor doven kan man være? [om *kh*]
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

Det ville dog være forhastet at advare mod forkortelser i private relationer. Det opdager man når man dykker ned i nogle af de kommentarer vores respondenter har skrevet til de enkelte hilseformer. Især kan forkortelsen *kh* bruges ved nære relationer; dog med det tidligere nævnte forbehold at nogle unge synes det virker komisk:

(32a)   Jeg har et lidt for tæt forhold til både kolleger, chef og undervisere; men det er kun efter at
          have knyttet et nært personligt bånd, jeg kan finde på at skrive KH.
          (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(32b)   Kun til de nære, og hvis det skal være lidt hurtigt. [om *kh*]
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

4.3.5. Sammenfatning af analysen af sluthilsner
Respondenternes svar tyder på at sluthilsnerne *(med) venlig hilsen* og *mange hilsner* kan bruges til næsten alt, dog er *med venlig hilsen* langt den mest udbredte og den der oftest nævnes som mere eller mindre tvungen autosignatur. Det viser sig at forkortelser og de specifikke hilsner *kærlig hilsen* og *hilsen* er mere risikable at bruge og derfor gerne bruges i særlige sammenhænge og til bestemte modtagere; her skelnes oftest mellem private og ikke-private relationer. I forhold til baggrundsvariablerne køn og alder kan det ses at mændene i undersøgelsen i højere grad bruger *med venlig hilsen* og *mvh* end kvinderne, mens kvinderne til gengæld er mere positivt stemt overfor *kærlig hilsen, kh* og *mange hilsner* end mændene. De unge respondenter under 30 år bruger i høj grad *mvh* og *hilsen*, mens dem over 30 år er mere positivt stemt overfor *kærlig hilsen, kh* og *mange hilsner* end de unge.

4.4. Akkommodation som relationskommunikation
Som det fremgår ovenfor, anfører respondenterne sommetider i kommentarfeltet at akkommodation spiller en rolle for hvilken starthilsen og sluthilsen de vælger, fx har 16 % som svar på spørgsmål 1 (se afsnit 4.1.) angivet at dette er en vigtig faktor for deres valg af starthilsen, og 9 % har angivet at det er en vigtig faktor for deres valg af sluthilsen. I afsnit 4.2. så vi også netop hvordan respondenterne angiver at de konvergerer, dvs. akkommoderer, i forhold til alderen på modtageren af en e-mail, så *hej* anvendes til unge modtagere og *kære* bruges til ældre modtagere. Der er på den måde tale om akkommodation ift. baggrundsvariablen *alder*. Akkommodation er altså et fænomen som bliver relevantgjort af respondenterne selv, hvilket uddybes i dette afsnit.
        Vi havde på forhånd en hypotese om at akkommodation er relevant ift. valg af start- og sluthilsner i e-mails, og vi stillede derfor respondenterne et spørgsmål til dette. Spørgsmålet lød: "Tilpasser du dine egne hilsner (både start- og sluthilsner) efter hvilke hilsner modtageren af din e-mail bruger?" (spørgsmål 16). Af tabel 20, som viser de kvantitative resultater af spørgsmål 16, fremgår det at akkommodation i høj grad spiller en rolle for respondenterne:

Tabel 20: Respondenternes svar på spørgsmål 16

▼ Ja, altid	28,42 %	372
▼ Nogle gange	63,94 %	837
▼ Nej	5,65 %	74
▼ Det har jeg ikke tænkt over	4,28 %	56

De fleste respondenter (64 %) mener at de tilpasser deres hilsen (dvs. konvergerer) "nogle gange", og hvis man slår svarkategorierne "ja, altid" og "nogle gange" sammen, er det hele 92 % af respondenterne der anfører at de i en eller anden grad tilpasser deres hilsen til modtageren. Kun knap 6 % svarer derimod at de ikke tilpasser deres hilsen til modtageren. I flere af respondenternes tilføjede kommentarer indgik desuden en metodisk kritik af svarmulighederne til spørgsmål 16: Flere angav at de manglede svarkategorien "Ja, ofte". Muligheden "Nogle gange" kan altså på den ene side have været for sjældent at give som svar for visse respondenter, mens "Ja, altid" kan have været for ofte. Nogle af de mange der har svaret "Nogle gange", tilpasser altså måske i endnu højere grad deres hilsner til modtagerens end denne svarmulighed repræsenterer. Vi kan dermed konkludere at akkommodation er en vigtig faktor for respondenterne i valget af hilsen.

Dette bekræftes i de frihåndskommentarer som respondenterne føjede til ved besvarelsen af spørgsmål 16 (113 kommentarer). Først og fremmest angiver respondenterne i majoriteten af kommentarerne at de tilpasser sig modtagerens hilsen, dvs. at de bruger akkommodationsstrategien konvergens:

(33a)   Jeg lader mig ofte inspirere af andre. Det viser hvad de er komfortable med.
          (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

(33b)   Hvis jeg er i tvivl om jargonen i relationen, så læner jeg mig op af den andens måde at starte og slutte på.
          (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Som kommentar (33b) peger på, er det særligt når respondenterne er i tvivl om hvilken hilsen de skal bruge, at de undersøger modtagerens brug af hilsen og konvergerer derefter. Især er det "formalitetsgraden" der kan herske tvivl om, som det ses i eksempel (34a) og (34b), og det bliver særligt relevant når der er tale om en modtager respondenten ikke kender i forvejen:

(34a)   Det kommer an på, hvor godt jeg kender den person, jeg skriver til/med. Hvis jeg ikke kender personen så godt, og jeg er i tvivl om, hvor 'nær ' en kommunikation, der følger, tilpasser jeg som regel mine svar efter den, jeg skriver med.
          (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(34b)   Det [dvs. tilpasser] gør jeg nogle gange. Hvis personen er mere uformel, så har jeg også tendens til at være det, og også den anden vej rundt.
          (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

Især er det starthilsner (i modsætning til sluthilsner) der konvergeres i forhold til:

(35a)   Det er primært starthilsner, jeg tilpasser. Jeg slutter stort set altid med "bedste Hilsner"
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(35b)   Starthilsen ja, men ikke sluthilsen, da den er præformuleret på arbejdsmail.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

Eftersom vi har set ovenfor (afsnit 4.2.) at der blandt respondenterne er uenighed om hvorvidt *kære* eller *hej* er det mest formelle/uformelle, er det ikke overraskende at netop starthilsner gør respondenterne usikre, og de dermed har brug for at kopiere modtagerens starthilsen. Akkommodationen bliver dermed anvendt som respondenternes måde at navigere mere sikkert på indenfor et område hvor normerne ikke ligger fast, og hvor relationens art måske endnu ikke er forhandlet på plads.

         Det er formodentlig også usikkerhed og tvivl om normer der får flere af respondenterne til at angive at de særligt konvergerer når de kommunikerer med en person der taler et andet sprog og derfor muligvis har en anden (hilse)kultur:

(36a)   På engelsk kan jeg finde på det.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(36b)   Især [til] udlændinge i forbindelse med mit arbejde
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

Det er ikke bare usikkerhed der kan få respondenterne til at konvergere: Flere respondenter påpeger at konvergensen er strategisk. Den forekommer til en person med mere autoritet end dem selv, dvs. én højere oppe i hierarkiet på arbejdspladsen, fx deres chef, hvis hilsepraksis de tilpasser sig:

(37a)   Ja, hvis det er til min fordel at kopiere det, gør jeg det. Det kan være strategisk.
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(37b)   Det gør jeg som oftest, men det afhænger også lidt af om de hierarkisk er over eller under
         mig.
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(37c)   Jeg gør det ret ofte. Især hvis det er personer med mere autoritet fx på en Arbejdsplads.
         (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(37d)   Især ift. min chef. Han skriver fx "Kære...", så derfor svarer jeg også tit med "Kære...",
         selvom jeg egentlig ville foretrække "Hej".
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 30-39 år)

Som udsagn (37a) ovenfor indikerer, kan man tilpasse sin (start)hilsen af strategiske årsager, selvom det egentlig er imod hvad man selv foretrækker. Coupland & Giles (1988: 175) påpeger netop at akkommodation kan ske af strategiske årsager: Man kan fx akkommodere *opad*, dvs. konvergere mod en variant som der er enighed om er prestigiøs (Shepard et al. 2001: 37, Giles et al. 1991: 11). I et forsøg (Giles 1973) fandt man netop beviser for at hvis en afsender i social interaktion opfatter modtagerens udtale som højprestige ift. sin egen, og vedkommende gerne vil integreres og opnå

anerkendelse fra denne modtager, vælges en modificeret udtale, så den i højere grad matcher den højprestigiøse udtale. Dette kaldte Giles *upward accent convergence*. I eksemplerne ovenfor (37b-37e) ser vi netop at en hilsen anvendt af en person med mere magt end respondenten selv efterlignes, selvom der ikke på samme måde som med udtale er 'enighed' (normer) om at denne hilsen altid er prestigiøs. Hilsnerne tilpasses altså fra person til person og fra situation til situation.

Selvom respondenterne generelt er villige til at tilpasse sig modtagerens hilsner og dermed hvad respondenterne forestiller sig modtageren foretrækker, er der dog grænser, nemlig hvis modtageren ifølge respondentens opfattelse ikke følger åbenlyse normer:

(38a)   For det meste [tilpasser jeg] med mindre jeg synes de rammer forbi skiven
         (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(38b)   [Jeg tilpasser] Bortset fra at jeg ikke er til "Kærlig hilsen" med mindre det er meget gamle
         venner eller nær familie
         (Ikke studerende, mand, 60-69 år)

En sprogliggørelse af hvad der "rammer forbi skiven", dvs. ikke følger normerne for hilsner i e-mails, har ifølge respondenterne især at gøre med *kære* og *kærlig hilsen* som af respondenterne i eksemplerne ovenfor opleves som alt for intimt (38b) at bruge til en modtager der er ukendt eller i hvert fald ikke er familie/venner.

Den netop beskrevne modvilje mod at akkommodere når modtager ifølge respondenten ikke følger en oplevet norm, nærmer sig definitionen på de to øvrige akkommodationsstrategier, divergens og maintenance, altså at man hhv. vælger en anden hilsen end den man skriver med, har valgt, eller bibeholder sin egen praksis. Der er dog kun en enkelt respondent der ud fra spørgsmål 16 har angivet en decideret divergensstrategi (selvom andre kommentarer kan tolkes i retning af divergens):

(39)   Jeg kan blive provokeret af manglende indledning og /navn, og går i modsat grøft og
         skriver både kære og med venlig hilsen.
         (Studerende, kvinde, 50-59 år)

Denne respondent mener ikke at mangel på starthilsen og/eller modtagernavn er acceptabelt og forsøger med sin divergensstrategi som en opdragende handling at pege på de normer hun mener der er.

Som vi også så det i tabel 20, er det dog ikke alle respondenterne som mener at de tilpasser deres hilsner til andre, dvs. der er tale om den strategi der i akkommodationsteorien kaldes *maintenance*.

(40a)   Jeg holder mig til mit system :)
         (Ikke studerende, ukendt/ikke angivet, 30-39 år)

(40b)   Så vidt jeg ved bruger jeg de samme [hilsner] uanset hvad modparten skriver til Mig
         (Studerende, mand, under 20 år)

(40c)   Jeg tænker lidt over det, men jeg bruger stort set altid hej + navn og med venlig hilsen, da
         det virker venligt og ikke alt for formelt/uformelt, men neutralt. Det passer i langt de fleste
         situationer.
         (Studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(40d)   I 9/10 begynder jeg med "hej + navn" og i 49/50 slutter jeg med Vh
         (Ikke studerende, mand, 30-39 år)

Som det fremgår af de ovenstående kommentarer, holder disse brugere af maintenancestrategien fast i deres hilserutiner uafhængigt af modtageren. De har valgt en start-/sluthilsen-formular som de bruger til enhver lejlighed. Som en af respondenterne påpeger, er valget af hilsen dog ikke sket ureflekteret: Hilsnerne er efter egen vurdering nogle der er neutrale i enhver situation.

I spørgsmål 16 spurgte vi direkte til i hvilken grad respondenterne havde oplevelser af akkommodation. Derudover finder vi også mange vidnesbyrd om akkommodation i frihåndskommentarerne til spørgsmålene om specifikke hilsner, og vi finder vidnesbyrd i svarene på spørgsmål 1 og 12, de to spørgsmål hvor der spurgtes til hvilke faktorer der spillede ind på respondenternes valg af hilsen. Disse vidnesbyrd understøtter de mønstre vi har beskrevet for besvarelserne af spørgsmål 16.

5. Konklusion

Vores undersøgelse har vist at engagementet i valg af start- og sluthilsen i e-mails er stort. Dette kan ses på flere måder. For det første fik vi mange besvarelser på relativt kort tid (1311 på cirka en uge), og det selvom det var frivilligt at besvare. For det andet benyttede rigtig mange af respondenterne sig af den mulighed der var for at kommentere frit ved de spørgsmål hvor man ellers kunne nøjes med at sætte kryds ved præformulerede kategorier. For det tredje giver indholdet af frihåndskommentarerne mange vidnesbyrd om at det ikke er et venstrehåndsanliggende at vælge en rigtig og passende hilsen, men faktisk noget man har reflekteret over.

Samtidig viser både de kvantitative resultater og frihåndskommentarerne at det kan være vanskeligt at ramme rigtigt, for de forskellige hilseudtryk har ikke samme konnotationer for alle. Hilseudtryk som nogle finder passende og rigtige, bliver af andre vurderet som respektløse og uhøflige (se fx udsagn om *med venlig hilsen* (23b) og (24)). Hilseudtryk som nogle finder neutrale og høflige, finder andre grænseoverskridende og nærmest gramsende. Sidstnævnte er for eksempel tilfældet med de to starthilsner *kære* og *hej*, hvor nogle føler det for intimt at blive hilst med *hej*, mens andre tværtimod har den oplevelse med *kære*.

I den udstrækning vi kan finde mønstre, er disse ikke entydige. Vi finder tendenser der har med alder at gøre; fx er det tilsyneladende især aldersgruppen 30-59 år der finder at *kære* er en god og neutral hilsen som kan bruges til alle og i alle sammenhænge, mens ældre respondenter reserverer denne hilsen til private relationer, og yngre respondenter næsten ikke bruger den, og i givet fald kun til kategorien "nær ældre slægtning, fx en bedstemor". Et andet aldersrelateret mønster er at unge under 30 gerne bruger den korte hilsen *hilsen*, mens en del ældre respondenter oplever denne hilsen som kold og afvisende.

Vi finder også mønstre der har med køn at gøre. For eksempel bruger kvinder i højere grad end mænd hilseudtryk indeholdende stammen *kær-*, dvs. *kære*, *kærlig hilsen* og *kh*.

Andre mønstre vi finder, har med modtagertype at gøre. Folk bruger ikke nødvendigvis de samme hilseudtryk i private relationer som i ikke-private, men selv indenfor overkategorierne *privat : ikke-privat* finder vi nuanceringer og forskelle, fx er det ikke lige meget om man i en ikke-privat relation skriver til en kollega eller til sin chef.

Alt dette vidner om at der som sagt ikke er entydige mønstre i hvilke specifikke typer hilsner folk bruger i forskellige sammenhænge. I en del af kommentarerne efterlyses nogenlunde sikre anvisninger til hvordan man navigerer i alt dette, men sådanne kan tilsyneladende ikke gives, i hvert fald ikke med baggrund i vores undersøgelse. Det bedste råd er faktisk at man som modtager af en hilsen ikke automatisk læser sine egne konnotationer ind i et tilsendt hilseudtryk, men holder sig for øje at den der har skrevet hilsenen, typisk søger at opføre sig respektfuldt.

De forskellige hilseudtryk bruges og opfattes altså forskelligt. I den forstand er de interessante at overveje i forhold til Dunckers taksonomi der blandt andet opererer med de to kategorier konventioner og normer. Det at komme ind i en kommunikationssituation og at komme ud af den igen kan betragtes som et praktisk koordinationsproblem, altså noget til hvilket konventioner er nyttige. Eftersom der dog ikke er én 'naturlig' måde at hilse på, vil der uanset hvilket hilseudtryk man bruger, være potentiale for værditilskrivning, hvorved det pågældende hilseudtryk vil blive opfattet som en norm (i Dunckers forstand). Alle de hilseudtryk vi har spurgt til i denne undersøgelse (og dem respondenterne selv har suppleret med), tillægges forskellige former for værdier. Det kan være negative værdier som *kold*, *afvisende*, *doven*, det kan være positive værdier som *høflig*, *respektfuld*, *passende*, og det kan være værdier som alt efter kontekst kan tolkes positivt, negativt eller neutralt som *standard*, *gammeldags*, *uformel* m.m. Ovenikøbet vurderes de respektive hilseudtryk forskelligt i forhold til de seks modtagertyper vi har lagt ind i undersøgelsen – det der vurderes som passende i ikke-private sammenhænge, vurderes ikke nødvendigvis som passende i private sammenhænge osv., og det der vurderes som passende til en bedstemor, vurderes ikke nødvendigvis som passende til vennerne.

I lyset af dette er det ikke mærkeligt at mange af respondenterne giver udtryk for at de tilpasser deres hilseudtryk efter hvad deres skrivepartner gør (eller hvad de formoder skrivepartneren gør). Vi kan se på vores resultater at akkommodation spiller en væsentlig rolle for valget af hilsen. Mange giver opfordret såvel som uopfordret udtryk for at de konvergerer til modtagerens måde at hilse på. Nogle giver udtryk for at de netop ikke konvergerer men enten divergerer (fx i opdragende øjemed) eller holder sig til egne vedtagne systemer, dvs. benytter den strategi der i akkommodationsteori kaldes maintenance. Mest almindeligt er det dog at konvergere. Dette kan belyses ved hjælp af de relationskommunikative aspekter vi nævnte i afsnit 2. I praktisk udført kommunikation er det relationelle aspekt typisk integreret med de andre kommunikative aspekter, herunder det informative indhold (hvad det ytrede handler om i denotativ forstand). I start- og sluthilsner er dette aspekt af det ytrede næsten ikke-eksisterende; her er det relationelle så dominerende at det helt overskygger alt andet.

6. Perspektiverende diskussion

Vores undersøgelse har resulteret i et meget stort materiale som giver anledning til mange refleksioner foruden dem vi har fremlagt ovenfor. I dette afsnit giver vi et lille indblik i nogle af disse.

6.1. Hilsner som passiv aggressiv kommunikation

Teorier om fatisk kommunikation og relationskommunikation er valgt som baggrund for vores arbejde med hilsner i e-mails, men på et punkt kommer teorierne i en eller anden grad til kort. De fokuserer naturligt nok på de tegn på fatisk kommunikation der findes i forskellige kommunikationssituationer, dvs. hvordan bestemte handlinger er med til positivt at fremme fællesskabet og øge koordinationen, men faktisk er der mange af vores respondenter der lægger vægt på betydningen af det fraværende, dvs. når der *ikke* er tegn på fatisk kommunikation. Det at man i de fleste kommunikationer via e-mail forventer både en start- og en sluthilsen, gør at en mærkbart fraværende eller uventet hilsen kan tillægges stor betydning, jf. Watzlawicks maksime om at man ikke kan ikke-kommunikere (Watzlawick et al. 1967: 52).

I danske e-mails er der en klar forventning om både starthilsner og sluthilsner selv om dette praktiske element i reglen er unødvendigt; det er kun hvis der er flere i adressefeltet, at der kan opstå tvivl om hvorvidt alle er adresseret på samme måde, dvs. om man er adresseret som gruppe eller som enkelte personer. I samme boldgade er der heller ikke megen tvivl om hvem en e-mail er fra, da det ofte kan læses i afsenderfeltet. Alligevel udpeges både afsender og modtager i stort set alle mails (på nær ved e-mailtråde), og derfor kan hilsnerne betragtes som en rituel handling. Det betyder endvidere

at det kan tillægges betydning hvis start- eller sluthilsen (eller begge dele) er udeladt, fordi ritualet dermed brydes. Der er ikke spurgt direkte til dette i spørgeskemaet, men mange kommentarer går på det at gøre sig umage med hilsner og vælge en passende. Selvom det sandsynligvis ikke er afsenders intention, vurderes det af respondenterne som dovent eller ligefrem uciviliseret at skrive forkortelser – som et udtryk for at man ikke gider skrive den uforkortede version.

    Respondenterne fortæller at de kan udelade hilsnerne hvis der er tale om en længere tråd med flere beskeder i hurtig vekselvirkning (jf. spørgsmål 17), men bortset fra disse situationer, går mange af respondenternes kommentarer på hvordan de fravælger bestemte hilseudtryk – eller vælger bestemte typer i stedet for det forventede – for med fraværet af det forventede at signalere noget bestemt, i reglen negativt eller distancerende:

(41a)   "Med venlig hilsen" er min foretrukne hilsen i helt kønsløse, passivt-aggressive formelle emails.
        (Studerende, mand, 20-29 år)

(41b)   Mvh. virker kort for hovedet og måske endda afvisende. Jeg bruger det sjældent, og måske mest, hvis modtageren irriterer mig. Kan dog også svare med Mvh., hvis det er sådan, jeg selv bliver tiltalt.
        (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 40-49 år)

(41c)   Ville kun skrive mange hilsner i en mail for at markere at det hverken er venligt eller høfligt. Fx hvis jeg skriver en vred klage, men stadig vil holde en formel tone.
        (Ikke studerende, mand, 30-39 år)

(41d)   Når jeg skriver "Hilsen" er jeg som regel vred og vil gerne udtrykke det, så jeg har faktisk haft skrevet det til en tidl. chef, hvor jeg måske plejede at skrive "Kh" eller "Vh". Det samme gælder kommunen eller anden myndighed, som fx har truffet en afgørelse, jeg er uenig i. Jeg kan også helt finde på at udelade en hilsen og navn.
        (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 20-29 år)

(41e)   Kan ikke fordrage udtrykket [*bedste hilsner*]. Hader når andre skriver det til mig (kan heller ikke lide "søde"). Bruger det i virksomhed, hvis nogen ønsker det eller det er "policy". Eller hvis kunderne bruger det. [om *bedste hilsner*]
        (Ikke studerende, kvinde, 50-59).

Som eksemplerne viser, kan flere af hilseudtrykkene indikere en manglende lyst til at konvergere fordi de med konvergens ville betragtes som nogen der ønsker modtagerens positive bedømmelse. I eksempel (41e) beskriver respondenten sin modvilje mod at tilhøre gruppen der skriver *bedste hilsner* selvom hun kan føle sig tvunget til at bruge hilsenen. Respondenterne (41a-41e) har en intention om med minimale virkemidler at vise afstandtagen, afvisning eller ligefrem vrede. Dette kunne man betragte som et ønske om at ikke-konvergere, og derved kan vores data bidrage til en mulig videreudvikling af teorierne om akkommodation. Det vil dog kræve yderligere undersøgelser at klargøre hvorvidt det at ikke-konvergere hænger sammen med modaliteten *skriftsprog* eller sproghandlingen *hilsner* eller noget helt tredje.

    I forhold til de gængse teorier om fatisk kommunikation foreslår vi at præcisere det fatiske til at indeholde to niveauer: et praktisk rituelt niveau og et refleksivt normativt niveau. Som ovenstående eksempler (og flere til) viser, vurderer respondenterne at valget af konkret hilsen i høj grad indeholder noget normativt og værdiorienteret. Ifølge en del af kommentarerne bruges en del tid på at vurdere

hvilken sluthilsen der vil være passende, fordi man med valget af hilsen ønsker at signalere sin bedømmelse af relationen både bagudrettet og fremadrettet. Særligt forkortede hilsner (både forkortelser og korte hilsner, som fx *hilsen*) har et potentiale som negativ relationskommunikation, eller det som af en respondent kaldes passiv aggressiv kommunikation, fordi man dermed kan vise at man ikke vil bruge ekstra tid på at være høflig i korrespondancen. Hvis den helt korte *hilsen* er valgt, fortæller nogle af respondenterne at det kan indikere noget koldt, afvisende eller decideret vredt. Afsenderen kan altså mene at *hilsen* viser at noget er mærkbart fraværende, og at modtageren hermed får et signal om at en mere venlig og imødekommende hilsen er valgt fra.

Udover valget af forkortet overfor ikke-forkortet hilsen fortæller respondenterne også om deres opfattelse af mindre forskelle på de enkelte ikke-forkortede hilsner: *De bedste hilsner* er således mindre kærlig end *kærlig hilsen* og kan således bruges til en modtager der befinder sig mellem det private og ikke-private, fx kolleger og samarbejdspartnere. Hvis fx *mange hilsner* bruges i en ikke-privat relation hvor det forventede var *med venlig hilsen*, kan det være et tegn på at afsenderen er vred, men ønsker at bevare det formelle forhold, jf. (41c).

Vores undersøgelse viser altså klare indikationer på at respondenterne ser muligheder for at benytte en hilsen som strategisk relationskommunikation. Det der måske ikke kan skrives eksplicit i e-mailens indholdsfelt, kan antydes i valget eller fravalget af hilsner. En undersøgelse af hvordan valget af hilsner tolkes af modtageren, ville kunne kaste mere lys over dette.

6.2. Praksisfællesskaber
Vi har en formodning om at hvad der anses for at være passende hilseudtryk, kan skildres ud fra teorier om praksisfællesskaber (se fx Wenger 1998). I visse organisationer anses *bedste hilsner* for at være passende, i andre bruges den slet ikke; i visse familier forventes det at *kærlig hilsen* skrives helt ud (*kh* er ikke godt nok), i andre er *kh* helt fint og udtryk for en stadig og kærlig relation. Dette er dog noget som vores undersøgelse ikke kan give svar på. For at kunne afprøve en hypotese om praksisfællesskaber skal man udføre helt andre typer undersøgelser. Undersøgelser om praksisfællesskaber er ofte tilrettelagt som antropologiske studier, men der er principielt ikke noget til hinder for at man kan søge svar på dette spørgsmål gennem spørgeskemaundersøgelser; det ville i givet fald kræve at man havde væsentlig flere baggrundsoplysninger om de enkelte deltagere, og nok også at man udså sig nogle etablerede fællesskaber som undersøgelsesobjekter, fx arbejdspladser, amatørkor, familier eller skoler. Dette leder frem til det sidste punkt, som handler om vores undersøgelsesdesign.

6.3. Andre undersøgelser
Den undersøgelse vi har foretaget, tager udgangspunkt i hvad folk (selv mener de) gør i forhold til (af os) udvalgte modtagere. Der findes andre undersøgelser af hilseadfærd. I det følgende skal kort omtales to.

Firmaet Bjerg Kommunikation gennemførte i 2015 en spørgeskemaundersøgelse som skulle afdække hvordan borgere ønskede at blive hilst i skrivelser fra det offentlige (Bjerg Kommunikation u.å.). Den grundlæggende forskel på deres og vores undersøgelse er perspektivet *afsender* : *modtager.* Hvor vi gennemgående har spurgt: *Hvordan henvender du dig til X?*, har Bjerg Kommunikation spurgt: *Hvordan vil du gerne have at X henvender sig til dig?* Desuden forholder Bjerg Kommunikation sig alene til korrespondance fra det offentlige. Endelig giver de flere starthilsenmuligheder end vi har gjort, nemlig *til ..*, *vedrørende ..*, og *til rette vedkommende*, og de giver mulighed for at differentiere mellem fornavn og fuldt navn. Derfor er de svar de får, en smule anderledes end de svar vi har fået. Her skal kun nævnes en enkelt af de mest interessante forskelle: Langt flere unge (aldersgruppen 18-34) end ældre respondenter (aldersgrupperne 35-49 og 50-70) ville foretrække starthilsenen *kære* (tabel 8). Dette er meget anderledes end de aldersbetingede

forskelle vores undersøgelse har vist, og det skyldes formodentlig at man i Bjerg-undersøgelsen ikke har begrænset svarmulighederne til *kære* og *hej* (med/uden fornavn), men også har givet mulighed for at vælge de andre nævnte muligheder; for eksempel svarer 42,1 % i aldersgruppen 35-49 og 54,4 % i aldersgruppen 50-70 at de gerne vil mødes af hilsenen *til* (+ fuldt navn). Havde vi givet flere svarmuligheder, kunne vores resultater altså være faldet anderledes ud.

HK har også for nyligt (15.-22. juni 2020) gennemført en undersøgelse af hvordan et repræsentativt udsnit af HK Kommunals medlemmer henvender sig til borgere (HK u.å.). Undersøgelsen giver ingen alders- og kønsdifferentierede resultater, men i lighed med Bjerg-undersøgelsen gives mulighed for starthilsenen *til ...* I denne undersøgelse angiver respondenterne at de bruger følgende starthilsner: *kære* (48,3 %), *hej* (35,5 %), *til* (18,6 %), ingen (34,9 %) eller andre (1,7 %).

Disse to andre undersøgelser illustrerer nogle af de vanskeligheder spørgeskemaundersøgelser ofte løber ind i. I afsnit 3 berørte vi nogle af vanskelighederne (hvordan vores formuleringer kunne påvirke svarene, og spørgsmålet om repræsentativitet). De to her nævnte undersøgelser føjer ekstra aspekter til, først og fremmest afsender-modtager-forhold (fx om man er afsender eller modtager af en hilsen), men også sættet af svarmuligheder (i de to nævnte undersøgelser er man ikke begrænset til de tre starthilsenmuligheder vi har spurgt til). Dette understreger vigtigheden af at forholde sig reflekteret til resultaterne af spørgeskemaundersøgelser og ikke bare tage dem som den rene og skinbarlige sandhed om verden.

Gengivet med tilladelse fra Christoffer Ziehler

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Appendiks: de 20 spørgsmål i spørgeskemaet

1.   Hvad afgør hvilken sluthilsen du bruger i en e-mail? (Fx hvor godt du kender personen, din personlige smag osv.)
2.   Skriver du "Med venlig hilsen" i en e-mail til:
3.   Skriver du "Mvh" i en e-mail til:
4.   Skriver du "Venlig hilsen" i en e-mail til:
5.   Skriver du "Vh" i en e-mail til:
6.   Skriver du "Kærlig hilsen" i en e-mail til:
7.   Skriver du "Kh" i en e-mail til:
8.   Skriver du "De bedste hilsner" i en e-mail til:
9.   Skriver du "Bedste hilsner" i en e-mail til:
10.   Skriver du "Mange hilsner" i en e-mail til:
11.   Skriver du "Hilsen" i en e-mail til:
12.   Hvad afgør hvilken starthilsen du bruger i en e-mail? (Fx hvor godt du kender personen, din personlige smag osv.)
13.   Skriver du "Hej" i begyndelsen af en e-mail (dvs. uden fornavn etc.) til:
14.   Skriver du "Hej + fornavn" i begyndelsen af en e-mail til:
15.   Skriver du "Kære + fornavn" i begyndelsen af en e-mail til:
16.   Tilpasser du dine egne hilsner (både start- og sluthilsner) efter hvilke hilsner modtageren af din e-mail bruger?
17.   Oplever du at start- og/eller sluthilsner efterhånden udelades i en tråd med flere e-mailudvekslinger til samme modtager?
18.   Alder
19.   Køn
20.   Er du studerende ved en videregående uddannelse?

Nativization of English among L2 learners:
Development in the grammar of adverbs in Cameroon English

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Abstract: In the discussion of Postcolonial Englishes, Cameroon English is a well-known variety, yet many of its features have not been fully described. One of these features is adverbs and their syntactic positioning. Hence, the present paper aims to show that the input-oriented feature specifications of adverbs and their syntactic positioning have undergone certain innovation processes in Cameroon English. These innovations include placement of adverbials to permit the SVAO information structure, employment of adjectives ending in -ly as adverbs, formation of adverbs from nouns by adding the suffix –ly, substitution of adjectives for adverbs, placement of adverbials after the verb in verb + long object clause, placement of an adverb modifying a participle after the word it modifies, and placement of adverbials of time between the subject and verb. The paper argues that the motivation behind novel adverbs as well as novel syntactic positioning of adverbs stems from the co-existence of English and many other languages in the linguistic ecology of Cameroon. The innovations can be codified into a variety-specific grammar of Cameroon English in its construction and semiotization of Cameroonians' sense of socio-cultural and linguistic identity**.**

Keywords: Adverbs, syntactic positioning, innovation, Cameroon English, World Englishes.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses adverbs and their syntactic positioning in the grammar of L2 speakers of English in Cameroon to highlight an aspect of the distinctiveness of Cameroon English in constructing, imprinting and semioticizing Cameroonians' sense of socio-cultural and linguistic identity. Each human language has a buildup of meaning-making resources and different ways of combining them, and such combinations are themselves meaningful (Van Valin 2004). Besides, according to Universal Grammar (Chomsky 1981), every language has unique parameter settings (specific rules) in combining meaning-bearing elements.

Regarding the semantics and syntax of adverbs, Stockwell & Trask (2007: 6-7, italics original) make the following observation:

> an adverb describes the circumstances of an action - where it is done (*here, elsewhere, overhead*), when it is done (*tomorrow, often, rarely, never*) or how it is done (*fast, well, carefully, dramatically, resentfully*). […] A typical property of adverbs is their position in the sentence. […] A typical adverb like *carefully* can be inserted into any one of three positions: *Carefully she poured the wine; She carefully poured the wine; She poured the wine carefully.* […] But not all adverbs are so flexible: *yesterday* and *downstairs* can only fit into the first and third of the three typical positions, while *fast* can only fit into the last.

From this observation, we deduce that adverbials may occur after the verb phrase: *Nicholas plays football slowly* (SVOA); in pre-subject position: *Tactfully, Nicholas scored five goals* (ASVO); and in medial position, i.e., between the subject and the verb: *Nicholas always plays football* (SAVO) etc (Ogura et al. 1997). Though there may be several appropriate positions for an adverbial in a particular context, some positions result in non-idiomatic or diffluent, ambiguous, or incoherent linguistic output (Zhong & Stent 2009: 229).

Based on the above-mentioned feature specifications, this paper explores adverbials and their

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syntactic positioning in the grammar of L2 speakers of English in Cameroon, with the aim of highlighting an aspect of the distinctiveness of Cameroon English. The article is divided into four sections: theoretical framework (2), adverbs and syntactic positions (3), data and methodology (4), and analysis and discussion of findings (5).

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical premise adopted for this study is the World Englishes framework, i.e., the concept of institutionalized second language varieties of English spoken around the world (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009). These new varieties have been conceptualized as the "linguistics of particularity" (Figueroa 1994:5), being focused on local identities of various national varieties of English. Further, the present study is premised on the notions of languages in contact (Weinreich 1970), nativization of English (Kachru 1982, 1986, 1992, 1996, 1997), and the Dynamic Model of the Evolutionary Development of New Englishes (Schneider 2003, 2007).

2.1 Languages in contact

When two or more languages come into contact, mutual influence is inevitable (Weinreich 1970) and the outcome of the contact, so called "interference phenomena" (Weinreich 1970:1), involves "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language" (Weinreich 1970:1). The deviations may be related to pronunciation, syntax, semantic shifts or extension, and lexis. The mutual influence of languages in contact is especially evident and pervasive in a multilingual setting such as Cameroon, where 286 indigenous languages co-exist side by side with two official languages (French and English) and four major lingua francas: Mongo Ewondo (spoken in the Centre and South Regions, where speakers of the Fang-Beti language group are found), Arab Choa (spoken in the Far North Region), Fulfulde (spoken in the Adamawa and North Regions) and Pidgin English (predominantly spoken in the South West, North West, West, Centre and Littoral Regions). The Cameroonian situation is thus a clear case of "multiple language contact".

In Cameroon today, the users of English are spread across the different ethnic groups in the country, and the mutual influence that exists between the myriad of languages in the Cameroon linguistic ecology, as a result of the contact, is especially evident when Cameroonians speak or write English. Consequently, linguistic borrowing, interference, code switching, loan translation, transliteration and other manifestations of language contact characterize this particularly dense multilingual situation. The inter-lingual influence may be from the official languages to the indigenous languages (Bitja'a Kody 1998), from the indigenous languages to official languages (Echu 1999; Epoge 2017a, 2015), from the indigenous languages to Cameroon Pidgin English (Mbassi Manga 1973; Epoge 2017), from Cameroon Pidgin English to the official languages (Kouega 1998; Epoge 2012), and from one official language to the other (Mbangwana 1999; Kouega 2005; Epoge 2017b). The present paper presumes that influence from the myriad of languages co-existing with English in the linguistic ecology of Cameroon is partly responsible for the novelty in adverbs and their syntactic placements in Cameroon English. This leads us to the notion of nativization of English.

2.2 Nativization of English

Although English is the world's leading language today, it does not maintain its purity in spreading across the globe. Rather, it accommodates the linguistic and cultural values of the different settings in which it is used. Thus, Kachru (1986: 31) asserts that the English language today "is acquiring various international identities and thus acquiring multiple ownerships". It has developed local forms and characteristics, so much so that people enjoy using it in their own way to express a sense of belonging to a place which finds expression through local culture (Schneider 2011). Schneider (2011:

2) points out that,

> wherever you go on this globe, you can get along with English. Either most people speak it anyhow, or there is at least somebody around who can communicate in this language. But then, you realize that mostly there's something you may find odd about the way English is used there. If you are abroad English is likely to be somewhat different from the way you speak it: people use strange words; it may take you a while to recognize familiar words because they are pronounced somehow differently; and sometimes people build their sentences in ways that will seem odd to you in the beginning.

This observation reveals that English has lost its homogeneity, and linguists have come to talk of different 'Englishes'. In view of this, the 'ecology of language' approach, "as a convenient heuristic metaphor for the explanation of linguistic processes such as language change and the emergence of contact languages" (Wolf & Polyzenhagen 2009:12), is identified as one of the strands of the World Englishes Paradigm. This approach views language as part of an overarching ecology which comprises not only the linguistic and socio-cultural values, but also the natural environment" (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009:12). Hence, the English language has been undergoing complex processes of nativization and acculturation in many colonial and postcolonial contexts (Kachru 1986, 1996).

In his broadly applied framework for the spread and use of English around the globe, Kachru (1992, 1996, 1997) posits "three concentric circles": Inner, Outer, and the Expanding (Kachru 1992: 358). The circles represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional use of English in diverse cultural contexts (Kachru 1992: 356). The Inner Circle presents the countries where English is the primary language and is used in daily life and government institutions, such as the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The Outer Circle includes countries that have British colonial ties, and English is widely used in social life or in the government sector. Most of these countries that belong to this circle are former colonies of the British Empire, such as Nigeria, Cameroon, Malaysia, Ghana, Kenya, India, Singapore, and others. Finally, the Expanding Circle includes countries such as Japan, China, Saudi Arabia, Korea, etc. that introduce English as a foreign language in education, mainly for the purpose of communicating in English with the Inner and Outer Circles. Although Kachru's model has been criticized by researchers such as Graddol (1997), Modiano (1999), Bruthiaux (2003), Mollin (2006), Canagarajah (2006), and Kachru (2005) for its oversimplification and the unclear membership to the circles, the model presents a valuable contribution for language researchers regarding English language in the world. It is one of the most influential models for understanding the use of English in different countries. The distinction shows that,

> the English language includes at least three types of varieties: (i) those that are used as the primary language of the majority population of a country, such as American and British; (ii) varieties that are used as an additional language for intra-national as well as international communication in communities that are multilingual, such as Indian, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Cameroonian, and Singaporean English; and (iii) varieties that are used almost exclusively for international communication, such as Chinese and German English. (Kachru& Smith 2008: 2).

English is thus no longer the property of a small handful of countries; it belongs to all who use it, especially in the Outer Circle countries, where new norms are rapidly emerging and solidifying as a

result of the on-going acculturation and nativization processes taking place. For this reason, Kachru (1986) argues that it will be a 'linguistic genocide' trying to dispossess people of their linguistic rights. He goes further to contend that the norms and standards that guide usage should no longer be solely determined by Inner Circle varieties. His view correlates the argument that non-native users of the English language have the right to express themselves in a way that suits them: "the very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it" (Widdowson 1994: 385). Besides, in many countries where English is used as a non-native variety, the users of English have developed a strong emotional attachment to the language, an indication that they feel they own English, and therefore think of it as one of their languages (Kachru 1982). This mindset leads us to the notion of the dynamic model of the evolutionary development of new Englishes.

2.3 Dynamic Model of the evolutionary development of New Englishes
The Dynamic Model (Schneider 2007) hinges on contact-induced changes as the basis for the development of postcolonial varieties of English. In language contact ecology, a "feature pool" (i.e., a number of novel distinctive features of a language collected together for shared use) is composed (Mufwene 2001, 2008) and the features selected need time to stabilize. The mechanisms for the composition of the "feature pool" may be referred to as "accommodation"; while "identity" may be the logical entity underlying the mechanism (Schneider 2007: 26-27), i.e., the identification and assembling of the novel distinctive features of a language for shared use is to enable the construction of a particularized linguistic identity. Therefore, Schneider (2007) discusses the development of postcolonial varieties of English from the perspective of contact linguistics, and proposes a Dynamic Model as an investigative paradigm. The theory comprises five phases explaining the distinctive features that emerge. The first phase, foundation, refers to the stage where a significant group of settlers bring English to a new territory where indigenous languages are spoken. Since most members of the settler group may not bother to learn the language of the territory, the task of learning the imported language is imposed on the indigenous group.

The second phase, exonormative stabilization, is entered when the invaded territory has been fully established as a colony and English is formally instituted as the medium of education, administration, law, etc. Though the standard linguistic norms of Britain are maintained, cross-cultural language contacts initiate a process of linguistic change; and the settler group gradually adapt their spoken English to local realities.

The third phase, nativization, is the starting point of the evolution of a distinctive local variety, characterized by marked restructuring of the language, affecting lexis, syntax, and discourse styles and genres (Schneider 2007).

The fourth phase, endonormative stabilization, is where English is retained as an official language in the Outer Circle, serving a wide range of functions internally in domains such as the press, business, governance, and education. In consequence, it presupposes that local linguistic norms are accepted also in formal contexts and a community is entitled to decide language matters as affairs of its own. At this stage, a stabilized variety is developed and noticeable social and ethnic dialects are discernable as markers of identity.

The fifth phase, differentiation, covers the stage where the endonormatively stabilized variety may further develop a plethora of regional, social, and ethnic dialects.

In view of the five phases discussed above, English in Cameroon currently finds itself somewhere between the nativization phase and the endonormative phase as many of its features have not fully stabilized.

3. Adverbials and syntactic positions
This phase presents an account of grammatical characteristics of adverbs and adverbials in

standard/non-dialectal English. The focus is on the morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. The adverb is a word-class just like noun**,** verb and adjective (Crystal 2003:14).

Morphologically, some adverbs are single, indivisible words (e.g. *yet, down, up, then, too*), whereas others are derived from adjectives by the addition of the suffix *–ly (*e.g. *quickly, clearly, splendidly, sadly, easily, fortunately)*; still others are formed from two words (e.g. *anywhere, sometimes, however)*.

Semantically, adverbs are usually treated as one-place predicates and often sub classified with respect to distinct conceptual notions such as time (e.g. *now, yesterday*), place (e.g. *around, here*), manner (e.g. *slowly, well*), reason (e.g. *therefore, consequently*), degree (e.g. *extremely, rather*), or express connections between sentences (e.g. *however, nevertheless*).

Syntactically, adverbs can be characterized with respect to their functions and scope. Adverb or adverb phrase can function as complement of a verb (e.g. She behaved badly), modifier of a verb (e.g. He ran *quickly)*, modifier of an adjective (e.g. It is *very* hot today), or modifier of another adverb (e.g. He plays *extremely* well).

The term "adverbial" refers to a syntactic function at clause level *which* can be realized by an adverb, adverb phrase, a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a subordinate clause Additionally, non-finite adverbial clauses exist, which may be subdivided into four categories: *to*-infinitive clauses, *ing*-clauses*, ed*-clauses, and verbless clauses, as example (3) drawn from (Svartvik & Sager 1996: 398, italics added) illustrates.

(3) a. She went *to see her sick mother.*

b. *Being an only child*, Claire has to take the whole responsibility.

c. *When asked to help*, she couldn't refuse.

d. *A basket in each hand*, she ran to the car.

The adverbial clause is a *to*-infinitive clause in (3a), an *ing*-clause in (3b), an *ed*-clause in (3c), and a verbless clause in (3d).

In summary, adverbs have two syntactic functions: They serve as clause element adverbials (e.g. John *quite* forgot about it), and as premodifiers in adjective phrases (e.g. Daniel's parents are *quite* happy) and adverb phrases (e.g. The Tribute Sisters sang *very* well). Thus, there is a difference between adverbs and other elements in the relative freedom with which adverbs can take up different positions in a sentence. The sentential positioning of adverbs is influenced by several factors, one of which is information structure. Therefore, Quirk et al. (1985: 491) point out that adverbs broadly occur in three positions: initial (i.e., before the subject), medial (i.e., between the subject and the verb) and end (i.e., after the end of the verb and any complement).

(I)   Initial position

Syntactically, initial position is taken up by adverbials that can readily constitute the ground, theme, or "scene-setting" for what follows (Quirk et al. 1985).

(5) a. *Suddenly*, the driver started the engine.
b. *Perhaps*, my suggestion will be accepted.

In direct questions, it is the position immediately before the operator or wh-element.

(6) a. *Seriously*, do you believe in ghosts?
  b. *Anyhow*, since when has she been ill?

In subordinate or coordinated clauses, it is the position following the conjunction.

(7) a. I had scarcely got into the taxi when *suddenly* the driver started the engine.
  b. Are you afraid of the dark and, *to be blunt,* do you believe in ghosts?

(II)   Medial position

Adverbials that occur in medial position are for most part rather short phrases, especially solitary adverbs.

(8) a. The driver *suddenly* started the engine.
   b. They *seriously* considered him for the post.

When the verb phrase includes an operator, medial position is immediately after the subject and the operator. This also applies to interrogative and imperative sentences.

(9) a. Did the driver *suddenly* start the engine?
  b. Don't *suddenly* start the engine!
  c. Do *seriously* consider him for the post!

It is important to note here that the verb *to be* is treated as an operator, even when it is the sole realization of the verb phrase (Quirk et al.1985). As a result, adverbials usually come after the main verb *to be*, except in emphatic clauses, where they come before the verb.

(10) a. She is *always* late for everything.
   b. Why should I have gone to see Celine Dion? I *never* was a fan of hers. (emphatic)

It should also be noted that only for a heavily special effect would a clause or lengthy prepositional phrase be placed at medial position. In such a situation, it would be clearly marked off by commas in writing and by prosody in speech (Quirk et al. 1985: 493).

(11) a. You have, *though you may say it was accidental*, ruined this man's chances of a happy life.
   b. She had not, *despite years of anxious endeavours*, succeeded in leaving down that initial mistake.

Semantically, the medial position is especially associated with modality and degree as the following examples illustrate:

(12) a. We *really* might be going to the party on Saturday.
   b. This wedding cake is *absolutely* wonderful.

(III)   End position

Examples of adverbials in end position (from Quirk et al. 1985: 498) are:

    (13) a. The light was fading *rapidly*.   (adverbial after SV)
        b. Dr Blackett is *in Tokyo*.   (adverbial in SVA)
        c. She was digging a trench *in the garden*.   (adverbial after SVO)
        d. They became teachers *in the end*.   (adverbial after SVC)
        e. He put the vase *in the cabinet without a word*.   (adverbial in SVOA)

As example E shows, more than one adverbial can be found in the end position (e.g., She kept writing *feverishly in her study all afternoon*).

    The foregoing discussion reveals that adverbials are the most movable elements in English (Carter, Hughes & McCarthy 2000; Maclin 1996). They take different positions within the sentence: before the subject, between the subject and the verb, or at the end of the clause. Despite this, placement of an adverbial in certain positions in a sentence can either make the sentence grammatical or deviate from the Standard English norms to represent the syntactic features of a new dialect. For instance, when we place an adverbial between the main verb and a direct object, it results in an established norm in the new dialect. Though this is tenable, it should be noted that, in exceptional cases, an English adverbial may separate a verb and an object to avoid ambiguity in the sentence or to produce a dramatic effect (Close 1998) as the example below illustrates.

    (14) We must examine *carefully* the meanings of the words we use.

In this sentence, ambiguity would be the result if the adverbial *carefully* were placed after the verb *use* instead of after the verb *examine*. Thus, the point of this example is to demonstrate the placement of the adverbial to produce a dramatic effect. Hence, Bing (1989), cited by Hernández (2006: 272-274), illustrates the complexity of adverbial positioning by pointing out the following details:

(i) When an adverb of negation, such as *never* and *rarely*, is used at the beginning of a sentence, it compels inversion of S and V.

(a) *Never* have I seen such a crowd!
(b) *Rarely* do we invite so many people.

(ii) Adverbials of frequency come after the verb *to be;* while with other verbs, they usually come before the main verb.

(a) It is *always* cold in Minnesota.
(b) Have you *ever* visited London?

(iii) Adverbials of time can occur in various positions in a sentence. When they are realized by prepositional phrases, they often come at the end of sentences (e.g., I worked on that jigsaw puzzle *on Saturday*). Adverbials of time can also occur sentence-initially; particularly, when there are other kinds of adverbials at the end of the sentence (e.g., *On Sunday*, I started another puzzle *because I was bored*).

(iv) The adverbials of time *just*, *still*, and *already* usually occur either after the first auxiliary verb or

before the main verb, and the negative forms *yet* and *anymore* usually at the end of a sentence.

(a) I *just* bought it last week.
(b) I have *already* worked on it for six weeks.

(v) Adverbials of manner occur before or after the verbs that they modify but never between a verb and its object (e.g., The director *quickly* offered Sylvia the role).

This concludes the account of the grammatical characteristics of adverbs and their use in Standard English. Since language input (i.e., the processible language the learners are exposed to while listening or reading – the receptive skills) does not always equal output (i.e., the language learners produce either in speaking or writing – the productive skills), the present study focuses on the particular way in which the grammatical characteristics of adverbs and their use in Standard English are systematically subverted in the grammar of Cameroonian speakers of English to create a specific variety of English .

4. Data and methodology

The present study is based on two data sets: One consists of responses provided to a production test administered to 125 ESL learners of English in Cameroon, and the second contains observations through recordings and field investigations over the past five years.

The test consisted of a Multiple Choice Comprehension Task (MCCT), a Grammaticality and Acceptability Judgement Task (GAJT), a Sentence Preference Task (SPT), and a Sentence Manipulation Task (SMT). In the MCCT, the respondents were asked to choose an appropriate phrase from a list of phrases containing an adverbial provided in brackets at the end of each sentence, and to fill in the blank to complete the sentence [e.g., The soldiers have _____ charged with murder. (*wrongly been*, *been wrongly*)]. In the Grammaticality and Acceptability Judgement Task (GAJT), respondents were asked to read, analyze, and mark each sentence as correct or incorrect with regard to the Standard British English (SBE) parameter settings. If a sentence was marked as incorrect, they had to provide a correct version of the sentence [e.g., "Joan and Paul have been married happily for ten years". "The rebel leader cowardly neutralized all his rivals"]. The Sentence Preference Task (SPT) comprised pairs of sentences. Respondents had to read and analyze each pair of the sentences and then encircle one of the options underneath it as illustrated by the following token:

a.   The security forces did it purposefully: it was not an error.

b.   The security forces did it purposely: it was not an error.

Only (a) is correct,   Only (b) is correct,   Both (a) and (b) are correct

The Sentence Manipulation Task (SMT) consisted of a sentence task in which respondents were given randomly shuffled sets of words, including an adverb, and asked to form a sentence using each set of these words [e.g., eat/restaurant/of/students/*most/school/the/time*/the/in]. The production test, which consisted of twenty (20) token sentences, was administered to 125 randomly selected English-major undergraduate and postgraduate students at the Department of English in the University of Yaounde I, the Higher Teacher Training College (ENS) Bamenda of the University of Bamenda, and postgraduate students of the University of Buea. The distribution of the respondents, according to institutions, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents according to university

University	Number of respondents
Yaounde I	49 (39.20%)
Bamenda	44 (35.20%)
Buea	32 (25.60%)
TOTAL	125 **(100%)**

The data collected through the production test were analysed using a scoring scheme whereby a response that reflected the SBE parameter settings earned a point and any other would not earn a point.

Data were also collected through recordings and field investigations through a dictaphone and a tape-recorder. The recordings mainly involved informal and formal conversations of university students, as well as educated speakers of Cameroon English at different social events, conferences, meetings, and seminars. Some data also came from radio and television programmes as well as local newspapers. The collection of data through recordings and field investigation was aimed at creating a corpus of spoken, impromptu language to supplement the one obtained via the production test. The innovations were itemized and categorized in terms of output feature specifications (i.e., the novel features of the language learners/speakers produce, either in speaking or writing).

5. Analysis and discussion of findings
Table 2 below presents the number of instances and the percentages scored by the respondents in applying the Standard British English (SBE) parameters in the identification and placement of adverbials, on the one hand, and in coming up with novel parameter settings, on the other hand.

Table 2: Respondents' performance in the placement of adverbials in sentences

University	SBE parameter settings	Novel parameter settings	Total
Yaounde I	261 (26.63%)	719 (73.37%)	980 (100%)
Bamenda	213 (24.20%)	667 (75.80%)	880 (100%)
Buea	198 (30.94%)	442 (69.06%)	640 (100%)
TOTAL	**672 (26.88%)**	**1828 (73.12%)**	**2500 (100%)**

As can be inferred from Table 2, the percentage of novel parameter settings far outweighs the SBE settings. The results thus reflect the fact that respondents have produced a dialectal variety with regard to the syntactic placement of adverbials, as an index of socio-cultural and linguistic identity to indigenize the alien language. In addition, data from the spoken corpus were carefully analysed, and, in the process, a number of novel syntactic features in the use and placement of adverbs was identified. These items were recorded, together with the sentences in which they occurred. The count revealed a total of 917 instances which provided corroborating evidence to the feature specifications already identified in the written corpus. Thus, to facilitate the process of data analysis, the two data sets were analysed as a single corpus. The analysis revealed that when speakers of English in Cameroon encounter difficulties in the identification and placement of an adverb or adverbial in a

sentence, they come up with a novel adverb and/or syntactic structure that makes communicative sense to them. The frequencies of the novel features identified in both data corpuses are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Frequency of novel features

Novel feature	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage of occurrence
Placement of adverbials to permit the SVAO information structure	249	09.07%
Placement of adverbial after the verb + long object sentence	265	09.65%
Use of adjectives that end in –*ly* as adverbs	356	12.98%
Formation of adverbs from nouns by adding the suffix -*ly*	315	11.48%
Placement of adverbial between the subject and the verb in subordinate or coordinated clauses	217	07.91%
Placement of adverbial between "to" of the infinitive and the root verb	405	14.75%
Placement of adverbials of manner before the auxiliary "been" in passive constructions	232	08.45 %
Placement of adverbials of time between the subject and verb	212	07.72%
Substitution of some adverbs for adjectives or other adverbs	293	10.67%
Placement of adverbial of time "already" after the object of the verb	103	03.75%
Placement of an adverb modifying a participle after the word if modifies	98	03.57%
TOTAL	**2745**	**100%**

In the following, the novel features will be exemplified.

(1) Placement of adverbials to permit the SVAO information structure order:

(a) The concerned students missed *most of the time* the warm-up task activities.
(b) This action benefited the slow learners who came *usually* late.
(c) The advert of email has brought *simultaneously* our society closer together and farther apart.

In Standard British English, placement of adverbials to permit the Subject-Verb-Adjunct-Object (SVAO) order is prohibited (e.g., *Cynthia watches often television). Only the English verbs, *to have* and *to be,* have the prerogative to permit the Subject-auxiliary-Adjunct-Verb-Object (SauxAVO) order (e.g., Paul has often visited Bamenda). Despite the above-stated rule, the data reveal that adverbials are placed in the Cameroon variety of English in such a way that the SVAO syntax is produced.

(2) Placement of adverbial after the verb in *Verb + Long Object clause*

(a) The Director General denied *angrily* that he had misappropriated the money.
(b) The Lord Mayor and his counsellors decided *secretly* to leave the town.

In Standard British English Verb + Object clauses, the length of the object affects the position of the adverbial. If the object is short, the Subject +Verb +Object + Adverb order is used (e.g., John looked at me *suspiciously*); and when the object is long, the adverb is usually put before the verb (e.g., They *carefully* picked up all the bits of broken glass). No matter the length of the object, the Cameroonian respondents, on the other hand, tended to use Subject +Verb + Adverb + Object syntactic order.

(3) Employment of adjectives that end in -ly as adverbs

(a) The Doctors arrived *timely*: some COVID-19 patients were already agonizing.
(b) The rebel leader *cowardly* neutralized all his rivals.

Whereas *cowardly and timely* are adjectives in standard English, some of the respondents use them adverbially.

(4) Formation of adverbs from nouns by adding the suffix *-ly*

(a) The Resolutions of the last Cabinet Meeting were discussed *detailly*
(b) Students are requested to pay their schools fees *instalmentally*.

Derivational adverbs are formed from adjectives in the English language by adding the suffix *–ly* (*odd – oddly, interesting –interestingly*). They are formed from certain nouns by adding suffixes such as -wise (clockwise), -wards (northwards). However, in the corpus, the suffix *–ly* is used to form adverbs from some nouns (e.g., *detail – detailly*, *instalment – instalmentally*). Consequently, in Cameroon English, we can discuss something *detailly* and pay something *instalmentally,* whereas in the British variety of English we can discuss something *in detail* and pay something *by instalment.*

(5) Placement of adverbial of time between the subject and verb

Our students *most of the time* eat in the school restaurant.

The adverbial of time*, most of the time*, is placed between the subject and verb with the syntactic order Subject + Adverb of Time + Verb in Cameroon English.

(6) Substitution of adjectives for adverbs

(a) You are taking it *personal*.
(b) *Funny* enough they have never liked us.

In 6a, the adjective *personal* has substituted the adverbial *personally* to qualify the verb *taking*; and in 6b, the adjective *funny* has substituted the adverb *funnily* to qualify adverb *enough*.

(7) Placement of the adverbial of time *already* after the object of a verb

The Taskforce has worked on it *already* for two weeks.

Adverbial of time *already* usually occurs either after the first auxiliary verb or before the main verb. In the corpus, it is often placed after the object of a verb.

(8) Placement of an adverb modifying a participle after the word it modifies

Joan and Paul have been married *happily* for ten years.

Adverbs modifying a participle occur before the participle they modify in standard British English whereas in the corpus, adverbs modifying participles are often seen to occur after the participles they modify.

6. Conclusion

English operates in different host countries around the world, where the language is adapted to a wide variety of socio-cultural environments, i.e., a combination of socio-cultural and sociolinguistic features. This leads to a variety of influences on the English language in the different socio-cultural environments in which it operates, and English in Cameroon is no exception to this. Thus, the data on innovation processes relating to adverbs and their syntactic positioning in Cameroon English evidences certain aspects of the nativization of English as a result of the contact of English and a myriad of languages in the Cameroon linguistic ecology. Certain distinctive syntactic features can be deduced which demonstrate Cameroonian English speakers' socio-cultural and linguistic identity in terms of communicative style. The construction of a socio-cultural and linguistic identity is here considered as part of the routine everyday life and everyday interactions, where a particularized communicative style is produced in the uses of adverbials. This trend suggests a healthy development for the character of new Englishes worldwide. The pedagogical implication of the feature specifications identified in this paper will be to codify the new norms in the form of a variety-specific grammar.

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