

Language acquisition

Needs analysis **Relativization** Language attitudinal study

covert predicates

Speech act

TEXT FUNCTION *Danish Humour*

English accent preferences

Genericity **Mellemamerikanske film**

Target and learning needs Bare noun subjects

Predicative adjectives Linguistic experiments

Macrostructure

EFL Transnational knowledge workers

Media and language attitudes

Genre analysis Narrative constructions

Legal agreements

Danish for occupational purposes

Legal language



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Hvis behov kunne tale! En undersøgelse om narrative konstruktioner af behov i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisning og behovenes kompleksitet

Martin Carlsholtt Unger, Syddansk Universitet

Abstract: This article investigates target and learning needs of three stakeholder groups: 1) consisting of transnational knowledge workers, who participated in a Danish course for occupational purposes Danish for knowledge workers, 2) the teachers, and 3) administrative staff at the University of Copenhagen. Through qualitative and quantitative analysis of data collected at the University of Copenhagen in 2017 – 2018, this study sought to analyse how learners in semi-structured interviews from a narrative perspective construct their target and learning needs based on their past and present experiences with language classes and their view on their own needs in future language classes. The interview data indicate that the construction of target and learning needs is highly individual. Except for one participant, none of the informants were aware of their past target and learning needs. Instead, there is a tendency to become more aware of their needs as adults. Additionally, through narrative reflection, the learners were able to construct their present and future needs, and it became clear that these needs are linked to an English-as-lingua-franca-discourse. The quantitative results indicate that the three informant groups seem to construct relatively comparable target and learning needs. Of the three groups, the teachers appear quite homogenous. The analysis of the data collected from learners and the administrative staff demonstrates the complexity of needs, with emphasis on language learning areas and content subjects. Overall, all three stakeholder groups define their target learning goals to primarily be topics concerning everyday life and culture.

Keywords: Needs analysis, transnational knowledge workers, Danish for occupational purposes, target and learning needs, narrative constructions.

1. Indledning

Vidensarbejdere, der i en voksen alder kommer til Danmark for at arbejde, ankommer med livserfaring og større eller mindre erfaring med at lære et fremmedsprog i en undervisningskontekst. De har i Danmark mulighed for at lære dansk inden for rammen af en statslig danskuddannelse, der er arbejdsmarkedsrettet. Men understøtter danskundervisningen deres læringsbehov i dansk eller det, de måtte ønske at lære på dansk? Bygger disse *ønsker* på deres tidligere og nutidige erfaringer i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen, og tager undervisningen højde for deres fremtidige behov?

Center for Internationalisering og Parallelsproglighed (CIP) udbød fra 2013 til 2018 det arbejdsmarkedsrettede DU3-kursus Dansk for vidensarbejdere, der var baseret på en behovsanalyse (BA). Den foreliggende undersøgelse tager afsæt i CIP's læringsrum. Undersøgelsen fokuserer på narrative konstruktioner af behov og en analyse af informanternes vægtning af behov i forbindelse med DU3-kurset Dansk for vidensarbejdere (i det følgende DFV). For at kunne belyse ovenstående spørgsmål blev der gennemført semistrukturerede interviews og spørgeskemaundersøgelser med informanter. Informanterne repræsenterer tre stakeholdergrupper: transnationale vidensarbejdere, der deltog i DFV, deres undervisere og administrativt personale (TAP) på Københavns Universitet (KU). Informanterne blev adspurgt i en spørgeskemaundersøgelse bestående af to dataindsamlingsrunder (efterårssemester 2017: juni til december og forårs- og efterårssemester 2018: april til december) og interviewet via semistrukturerede interviews med narrativt fokus på konstruktionen af deres behov.

Med afsæt i dataindsamlingen søges følgende to forskningsspørgsmål besvaret:

1. Hvordan italesætter lærende narrativt deres behov i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen ud fra deres fortid, nutid og fremtid?
2. Hvilke målrettede sproglige behov og læringsbehov formulerer de tre stakeholdergrupper i spørgeskemaundersøgelserne i forhold til DU3-kurset Dansk for vidensarbejdere?

Ifølge et studie gennemført af den australske sprogforsker Geoffrey Brindley (1984, 1989) omkring behov og behovsafdækning i andetsprogsundervisningen mener nogle af de til formålet adspurgte undervisere i engelsk som andetsprog, at lærende generelt ikke kan italesætte deres respektive behov i forbindelse med andetsprogsundervisningen. Underviserne begrundet dette ved at henvise til et bestående hierarki, hvori de selv som vidende instans står ”over” de lærende, og hvor de lærendes rolle i hierarkiet er betinget af deres sociale baggrund og en fastlagt rollefordeling over for underviseren. Følger vi undervisernes udsagn i Brindleys undersøgelse, fremstår det således, at lærende nærmest anses som umyndige, når det gælder italesættelsen af behov inden for det system, de undervises i. Dette system kunne være et skolesystem. I den vestlige verden er der typisk etableret et uddannelsessystem, hvor fx børn påbegynder sprogundervisningen i en tidlig alder, og der findes et uddannelsessystem for voksne, som i Brindleys undersøgelse, hvor mennesker i en senere alder fx lærer engelsk.

Undersøgelsen tager afsæt i antagelsen om, at alle informanternes italesættelser af behov er præget af deres fortid med sprogundervisning i et uddannelsessystem, der påvirker deres udsagn om behov i nutiden og sprogundervisningen i dansk som andet- og fremmedsprog i et fremtidigt perspektiv. Undersøgelsen bygger derudover på en antagelse om at mennesker er forskellige, og at behov derfor også må være forskellige fra person til person, samt at menneskers vægtning af behov må være afhængig af den rolle, som de indtager som stakeholder i forhold til sprogundervisning.

I det følgende gøres der rede for den teori og metode, der ligger til grund for undersøgelsen. Herefter følger en beskrivelse af de indsamlede data, hvorefter undersøgelsens resultater præsenteres og diskuteres.

2. Teori

Hvad er behov egentlig, ud fra hvilken tilgang analyseres de, og hvad betyder behovsanalysen for de involverede parter i et sprogforløb? I sin redegørelse for BA og behov tager denne artikel teoretisk afsæt i den teoretiske syntese, der opstilles i Unger (2021a). Syntesen tager udgangspunkt i BA-definitionen af Brown (1995, 2016) og Brindley (1989) og bygger bro mellem de to definitioner. Derudover inddrages Hutchinson og Waters’ (1987) inddeling og definition af behov i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen samt Browns (2016: 14) behovssynspunkter, som kategoriserer forskellige behovstyper, der kan tages udgangspunkt i, når et sprogforløb tilrettelægges.

Med udgangspunkt i syntesen gøres der i det følgende først rede for begreberne behovsanalyse og behov.

2.1. Behovsanalyse

Begrebet BA definerer Brown (1995: 36, 2016: 4 ff.) som en proces, der har til formål at skabe et ”validt og forsvarligt” (2016: 4) curriculum til et sprogforløb. For at kunne gøre dette skal der ud fra Browns perspektiv indsamles kvalitative og kvantitative informationer fra alle relevante stakeholdere. Brown (2016: 4) definerer stakeholdere som ”people who have a stake or interest in the curriculum (for example, teachers, students, administrators, and parents)”. Som Unger (2021a) påpeger, kan der dermed fx være tale om sproglærende, undervisere, virksomheder, forældre eller organisationer, som i processen bliver adspurgt om deres behov (Unger 2021a: 41). Et forsvarligt og validt curriculum tilgodeser derfor, ifølge Brown, sproglærendes behov ved sprogtilegnelse inden for en given kontekst i en given institution, men tager også højde for alle andre stakeholderes behov (Brown 2016: 5-6).

Den foreliggende artikel definerer derudover BA med afsæt i Brindleys (1984; 1989) forståelse af, at en BA er læringscentreret og procesorienteret, dvs. at der for sprogundervisningen, inden sprogforløbet påbegyndes, baseret på en indledende BA, kan opstilles en ramme for undervisningens indhold og udformning. Derudover vil den lærende ifølge Brindley i løbet af undervisningen blive opmærksom på læringsbehov, der løbende skal forhandles og genforhandles. Genforhandlingen kan fx ske igennem en evaluering. Dermed bliver den procesorienterede BA cyklisk (Brindley 1989; jf.

også Dudley Evans & St John 1998).

2.2. Behov – målrettede sproglige behov og læringsbehov¹

Richterich (1983) fastslår, at man i forskningen hidtil har været utilbøjelig til at finde en definitions-mæssig konsensus af begrebet behov. En gennemgang af central forskningslitteratur i Unger (2022) (fx Richterich 1973, 1983; Brindley 1984, 1989; Hutchinson & Waters 1987; Berwick 1989; Nunan 1999; Brown 1995, 2016; West 1994, 1997) viser behovsbegrebets kompleksitet, og at der samtidig er en stor begrebsmangfoldighed.

Behovsbegrebet defineres i Unger (2021a) med udgangspunkt i Hutchinson og Waters (1987), der ligesom Brindley advokerer for en procesorienteret BA. Hutchinson og Waters (1987: 62-63) trækker i deres kategorisering af behov på en distinktion mellem *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*. Kategorien *målrettede sproglige behov* står for behov, der er orienterede mod et mål i en bestemt sproglig situation. Den indeholder tre behovstyper: *nødvendigheder*, *mangler* og *ønsker*. *Nødvendigheder* kan defineres som de behov, der i tilrettelæggerens perspektiv er nødvendige for, at den lærende sprogligt kan fungere i en bestemt sproglig sammenhæng. *Mangler* er de sproglige behov, som en lærende, der skal opnå en sproglig kompetence i en bestemt sproglig sammenhæng, men som vedkommende ikke mestrer endnu, har. En typisk analyse for *mangler* ville fx være en indplaceringstest, der afdækker, hvad den lærende sprogligt formår, og hvad denne mangler. Den sidste behovstype, Hutchinson og Waters opstiller inden for *målrettede sproglige behov*, er *ønsker*. *Ønsker* defineres som den behovstype, der kan stå i konflikt med andre stakeholderes behov, da der her er tale om individuelle behov.

Ved siden af *målrettede sproglige behov* opstiller Hutchinson og Waters kategorien *læringsbehov* (1987: 62-63). *Læringsbehov* omfatter de behov, der går ud over de sproglige behov, og defineres som de behov, der vedrører læringsprocessen, altså fx hvorfor man lærer et sprog, hvordan den lærende lærer bedst, og hvilke læringsstrategier denne har. De kan være knyttet til den lærendes motivation. Ud over dette omfatter *læringsbehov* fx også, hvilke underviserressourcer der skal eller kan indgå i undervisningen, de lærendes profiler eller fysiske faktorer som tid, sted og gruppestørrelse for sprogundervisningen. I deres skelnen mellem *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*, som den lærende oplever før og i løbet af sprogforløbet, anser Hutchinson og Waters behov som noget foranderligt over tid.

3. Metode og data

Informantgrupperne består af transnationale vidensarbejdere² fra forskellige universiteter på Sjælland og enkelte med job i en privat virksomhed, der deltog i CIP's BA-baserede og arbejdsmarkedsrettede DU3-danskkursus DFV, deres undervisere og TAP'er (teknisk-administrativt personale) fra forskellige fakulteter på KU. Informanterne er udvalgt ud fra Browns BA-definition. Underviserne og de lærende udgør de stakeholdere, der er mest involverede i undervisningen, og TAP'erne repræsenterer KU, der som stakeholder har en interesse i sine ansattes danskundskaber. Valget af TAP'erne som repræsentanter for KU er begrundet i, at KU som virksomhed, ligesom andre virksomheder, må have en interesse i, at deres medarbejdere, som deltager i sprogundervisningen, opnår særlige sproglige kompetencer, som er gavnlige i arbejdshverdagen. Idet TAP'erne antageligt er en gruppe medarbejdere, der i høj grad har en kontaktflade med de transnationale vidensarbejdere, er det sandsynligt, at denne medarbejdergruppe har nogle meninger og forestillinger om, hvad der er brug

¹ Her, som i det følgende, oversættes de engelsksprogede begreber inden for BA til dansk. I Unger (2021a) blev de danske betegnelser af Hutchinsons og Waters' (1987) behovsbegreb introduceret. Disse bruges også i denne artikel: *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov* er en oversættelse af de engelske udtryk 'target needs' og 'learning needs'. I forhold til 'target needs' skelnes der mellem tre underkategorier af behov, 'necessities', 'lacks' og 'wants', som er blevet oversat til *nødvendigheder*, *mangler* og *ønsker*. Oversatte begreber står i kursiv.

² Vidensarbejdere forstås i denne artikel ud fra Druckers (1996) og Drucker et al.s (2008) definitioner.

for i vidensarbejdernes danskundervisning.

Informanterne blev adspurgt skriftligt i tidsrummene juni til december 2017 og april til december 2018. Dette blev gjort via en spørgeskemaundersøgelse, hvoraf de kvantitative data fremgår. Derudover blev der mellem juni 2017 og december 2018 gennemført semistrukturerede interviews, hvoraf de kvalitative data fremgår. De kvalitative data analyseres med afsæt i en narrativ analyse for at besvare forskningsspørgsmål 1, og spørgeskemaundersøgelsernes kvantitative data, der analyseres med afsæt i deskriptiv statistik og kvalitativ indholdsanalyse, bidrager til at besvare forskningsspørgsmål 2.

3.1. Semistrukturerede interviews og narrativ analyse

Det kvalitative datasæt består i sin helhed af 11 semistrukturerede interviews, der fordeler sig på de indledningsvis nævnte informantgrupper: i alt tre undervisere, tre lærende og fem TAP'er.

Interviewene fokuserede på forskningsspørgsmål 1 og blev foretaget i København (in situ) og i Kiel (in situ via programmet Zoom). Længden af dem var på 42 til 115 minutter, og de blev transskriberet efter Larsens (2013) let modificerede version af Atkinson (2005), se tabel 1.

Tabel 1: Transskriberingsnøgle, Larsens (2013) let modificerede version af Atkinson (2005)

,	A short pause
....	Pauses very roughly counted as seconds
.	Falling intonation followed by a pause
?	Rising intonation followed by a pause
<i>italics</i>	Emphasis marked by stress, volume, voice quality, or raised intonation
% %	Transcriber doubt (can be filled or unfilled depending on whether or not a reasonable guess can be ventured)
[]	Transcriber comments for additional description, background information or explanation
()	Overlapping, short turns, or backchanneling speech without any longer turn
<>	Quoted written text
' '	Quoted speech of self or someone else

TAP'erne og underviserne blev interviewet på dansk (otte interviews), hvorimod de lærende grundet deres sproglige niveau i dansk på interviewtidspunktet ikke blev vurderet til sprogligt at være i stand til at gennemføre samtalen på dansk. Derfor blev de tre interviews med de lærende gennemført på det fremmedsprog, de og interviewerens beherskede bedst: engelsk.

Forud for alle interviews blev informanterne af interviewerens oplyst om de rettigheder, de havde med henblik på de indsamlede data og deres anvendelse. Ligeledes underskrev hver informant en samtykkeerklæring. Indsamling og opbevaring af alle indsamlede data skete i overensstemmelse med databeskyttelsesforordningen GDPR (Retsinformation.dk 2018). Informanterne, der medvirkede i denne undersøgelse, blev ydermere pseudonymiseret.

Informanterne blev interviewet på baggrund af en interviewguide, der blev konstrueret til BA-formålet. Interviewguidens opbygning tog udgangspunkt i Kvale og Brinkmann (2009). Guiden bestod af i alt tre dele: en definitionsdel, en narrativ del og en diskursiv del. Den narrative del blev udformet med afsæt i Kvale og Brinkmann (2009) og Glinka (2016). Glinka inddeler det narrative interview groft i tre forløb, der består af (1) et forhandlingsforløb, hvor et narrativt omdrejningspunkt i interviewet forhandles, (2) hovedfortællingsforløbet, hvor informanten, der interviewes, fortæller om en eller flere narrative hændelser, og (3) en opfølgingsdel, hvor der stilles opfølgende spørgsmål omkring hovedfortællingen.

De data, der blev genereret fra den narrative del, danner genstand for nærværende undersøgelse og besvarelsen af forskningsspørgsmål 1. Data udledt af interviewguidens definitionsdel og diskursive del indgår i Unger (2021a).

Alle tre grupper i den narrative del blev bedt om at fortælle om de erfaringer, de har gjort i deres eget liv med at lære fremmedsprog, og om de var opmærksomme på deres behov i sprogundervisningen, fra de var børn, der startede med at lære fremmedsprog i skolen, frem til i dag og i et fremtidsperspektiv. På baggrund af deres egne erfaringer med sprogundervisning blev TAP'erne bedt om at tage stilling til, hvilke *målrettede sproglige behov* nu og fremover de mente burde afdækkes for de lærende i DFV's danskundervisning. Underviserne blev i forlængelse af det narrative interview bedt om at italesætte, hvordan deres egne erfaringer som lærende af et fremmedsprog afspejlede sig i deres egne behov i dag som undervisere i undervisningen, og hvilke *målrettede sproglige behov* eller *ønsker* de ud fra disse erfaringer lige nu fandt nødvendige eller ønskelige at afdække for de lærende i DFV.

Inden for rammerne af den foreliggende analyse fokuseres der på de lærendes perspektiv. Til analysen blev der udvalgt to interviews med de lærende Hannah og David. Dette kan begrundes med, at de lærende ifølge Long (2005: 26) udgør en central stakeholdergruppe i BA-processen med "special rights when it comes to deciding the content of courses they are to undergo". Der blev gennemført interviews med tre lærende: Hannah, David og Lena. Hannah og Davids besvarelser blev udvalgt til denne artikel, fordi de i deres interviews i højere grad end Lena italesatte og reflekterede over deres erfaringer i forbindelse med målrettede sproglige behov og læringsbehov.

De lærende blev ligesom de to andre grupper bedt om at fortælle om deres liv og deres erfaringer i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen i fortiden og nutiden: De blev bedt om at italesætte behov, de oplevede i fortiden, og dem, de oplevede i DFV. Derudover blev de opfordret til at tale om de behov, de mente, at de ville have fremover i danskundervisningen, eller de ville have, hvis de skulle flytte til udlandet og lære et nyt andet- eller fremmedsprog. Desuden blev de spurgt, om de kunne tilslutte sig udsagnet om, at deres behov i dag og fremover kunne føres tilbage til deres erfaringer i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen.

Den narrative analyse af de gennemførte semistrukturerede interviews bygger på Johansson (2005). Johansson (2005: 284-285) trækker på Hallidays inddeling af sprogets funktioner, der muliggør en tolkning af en sætning. Der skelnes mellem en ideationel, tekstuel og interpersonel funktion. Derudover inddrager Johansson Faircloughs (1992) diskursanalytiske tilgang, der indebærer en sprogvidenskabelig tekstanalyse. Den foreliggende undersøgelse fokuserer på den ideationelle funktion, som Johansson beskriver som den funktion, der omhandler indholdet af den narrative beretning. På trods af en manglende sprogvidenskabelig tekstanalyse i den foreliggende undersøgelse kan der med den kvalitative indholdsanalyse, Johanssons ideationelle funktion lægger op til, afledes relevante diskurser i teksten.

Det vil i det følgende blive undersøgt, hvordan informanterne narrativt konstruerede deres behov i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen i et interview, der italesatte en tidsramme, der omfattede deres fortid, nutid og fremtid. For at analysere indholdet af interviewet blev den respektive informants fortælling sat i en kronologisk rækkefølge, hvorefter det med afsæt i Johansson (2005: 284-285) undersøgtes, 1. hvilke begivenheder der fandt sted i denne fortælling, og om disse blev skabt af informantens eller andre personers handlinger, 2. om begivenhederne var knyttet til en bestemt tid; om de fx blev gentaget, og om der derigennem kunne dannes et mønster, 3. hvilket plot der lå til grund for de skildrede begivenheder/historier, og om der var et vendepunkt, der fik informanten til at indtage fx en ny holdning, 4. hvilke steder og lokaliteter der optrådte i forbindelse med begivenhederne, og 5. hvilke personer (eller instanser) der var involveret i begivenhederne, 6. hvilke handlinger de foretog sig i beretningerne, og til sidst 7. hvordan informanterne begrundede deres handlinger. Disse elementer indgår i den samlede analyse, uden at der eksplicit skelnes mellem de enkelte kategorier.

3.2. Spørgeskemaundersøgelse, deskriptiv statistisk og kvalitativ indholdsanalyse

Der blev gennemført i alt to spørgeskemaundersøgelser. Den første indsamlingsrunde blev gennemført fra juni til december 2017. Det første spørgeskema indeholder fem sektioner, der er inddelt i undersektioner, hvor informanterne via en Likert-skala, afkrydsningsfelt eller tekstfelt bedes tage stilling til fx, hvorvidt de kan tilslutte sig bestemte spørgsmåls indhold. For at kunne differentiere informanternes svar mere hensigtsmæssigt indeholder Likert-skalaen i begge spørgeskemaer seks kategorier: (1) *Strongly agree*; (2) *Agree*; (3) *Neither agree nor disagree*; (4) *Disagree*; (5) *Strongly disagree* og (6) *Don't know*.

Det første spørgeskema består af sektionerne: 1. *Language Learning*, 2. *Content Subjects*, 3. *Usage of Language*, 4. *Changes* og 5. *Personal Information*.

Informanterne blev efter hver sektion i et tekstfelt bedt om at give feedback til spørgeskemaet ved at angive, om de ville ændre noget i den respektive sektion, de lige havde afgivet deres svar til, eller ej. Ligeledes blev alle informanterne i anden sektion af spørgeskemaet omhandlende *Content Subjects* i en åben svarkategori bedt om at tilføje, om de har *ønsker* til, hvad der skal tilføjes i denne sektion. Præmissen for spørgeskemaet har derfor været, at dette vil forandre sig fra første til anden indsamlingsrunde. Ændringerne består i tilføjelser og udvidelser, der blev foretaget ud fra informantgruppernes skriftlige tilføjelser til spørgeskemaets indhold og deres metodiske feedback på de enkelte sektioner, som det første spørgeskema består af. Det betyder for undersøgelsen, at denne kun tager udgangspunkt i de spørgsmål, der er ens i begge spørgeskemaer, med henblik på at kunne belyse informanternes vægtning af behov på tværs af de to spørgeskemaundersøgelser.

Den anden indsamlingsrunde fandt sted fra april til december 2018. Spørgeskemaet for alle tre grupper blev i anden runde på baggrund af informanternes feedback reduceret til fire sektioner ved at fjerne sektionen *Changes*. Der blev derudover foretaget omfattende ændringer i sektion 3 og 4. Det er derfor kun i svar på en række identiske spørgsmål og svarkategorier i de første to sektioner af spørgeskemaet, der bærer overskrifterne *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*, hvor det er muligt at observere forskelle i vægtningen, der går på tværs af de to spørgeskemaundersøgelser. Den første sektion har fokus på lærendes sprogtilegnelse, herunder de fire kommunikative færdigheder, og anden sektion zoomer ind på kursets tematiske emner. Endvidere blev alle informanter også i anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse bedt om i en åben svarkategori at angive *ønsker* i forhold til *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*, hvis disse ikke er indeholdt i spørgeskemaets valgmuligheder.

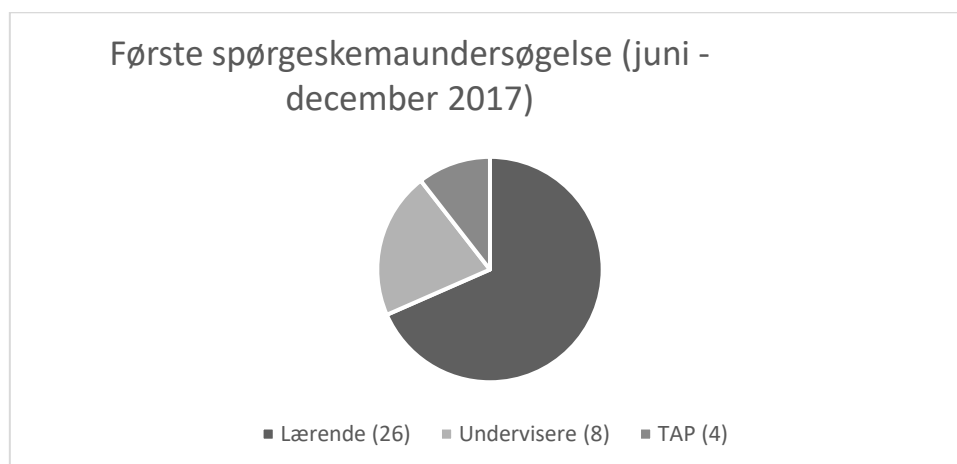
Opbygningen og udformningen af spørgeskemaerne fra begge indsamlingsrunder bygger i deres konstruktion og udformning på Dörnyei (2003) og indholdsmæssigt på undervisningsvejledningerne til danskuddannelserne (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration 2006; Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2018). De statslige undervisningsvejledninger, der ligger til grund for DFV, er ikke baseret på en BA, hvor lærende er inddraget. Dog er formålet med DFV, at de lærende efter den afsluttede danskuddannelse kommer i mål med et sprog, de kan anvende i en bestemt målsituation: arbejdsmarkedet. Konceptet af analysetilgangene Target Situation Analysis (TSA) og Present Situation Analysis (PSA), med afsæt i Robinson (1991), er derfor tænkt med ind i spørgeskemaets udformning, da man med PSA kan undersøge, hvordan stakeholdere (og i dette tilfælde informanterne) vurderer undervisningsmaterialet, som det er på et givet tidspunkt, og via TSA undersøge de behov, stakeholdere (i dette tilfælde informanterne) yderligere måtte have.

Spørgeskemaet tager desuden indholdsmæssigt udgangspunkt i spørgeskemaer, der blev udformet af Frederiksen og Jakobsen (2012) og Frederiksen og Årosin Laursen (2015), der blev anvendt til at gennemføre behovsanalyser til DFV. Spørgeskemaet fra 2012 blev udsendt til lærende, før det daværende DFV-kursus blev lanceret, og CIP's skræddersyede undervisningsmateriale til DFV-kurser blev udviklet på baggrund af denne behovsanalyse (se Frederiksen 2018). Frederiksen og Årosin Laursen (2015) er en videreudviklet version af det oprindelige spørgeskema fra 2012, der i 2015 blev anvendt til en BA af DFV. Begge spørgeskemaer blev udviklet og analyseret under

inddragelse af domæneeksperter (jf. Long 2005: 26-28) i form af CIP's sprogkonsulenter samt TAP'er på KU, der med deres viden om universitetet som arbejdsplads bidrog til spørgsmål om specifikke opgaver, genrer og diskurser, der indgår i en arbejdsplads på universitetet (jf. også Jürna 2014).

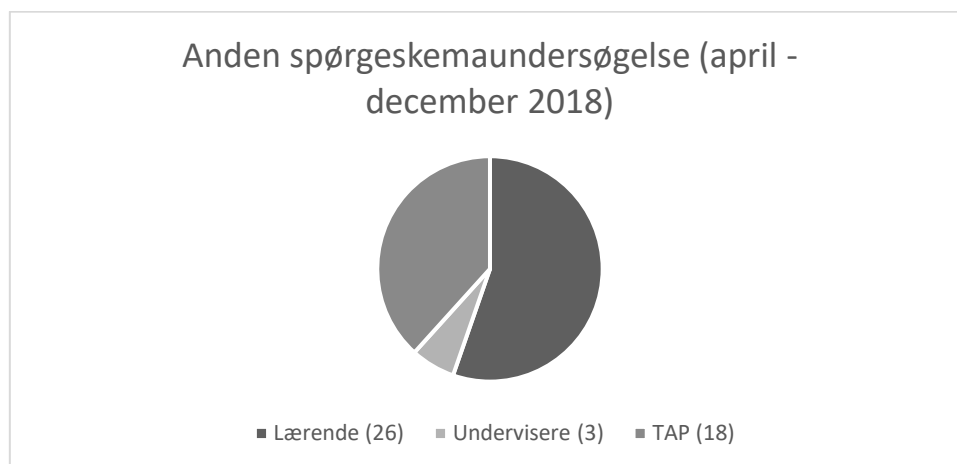
I første indsamlingsrunde (juni-december 2017) gennemførte i alt 38 informanter fra alle tre grupper spørgeskemaundersøgelsen. Fordelingen af informantgrupperne fremgår af diagram 1 og 2.

Diagram 1: Fordelingen af informanter i første spørgeskemaundersøgelse



I anden indsamlingsrunde (april-december 2018) gennemførte i alt 47 informanter fra alle tre grupper spørgeskemaundersøgelsen. Fordelingen af informantgrupperne fremgår af diagram 2.

Diagram 2: Fordelingen af informanter i anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse



Sammenligner man antallet af informanter, der deltog i første og anden indsamlingsrunde, med hinanden, kan det observeres, at antallet af informanter inden for gruppen lærende er identisk, hvorimod antallet af undervisere og især TAP'er viser udsving. Den oprindelige tanke var, at et mindre antal informanter skulle deltage i første spørgeskemaundersøgelse. Derefter skulle spørgeskemaet videreudvikles, og en større gruppe informanter adspørges i en anden og om muligt også i flere efterfølgende spørgeskemaundersøgelser. Det begrænsede antal undervisere i anden indsamlingsrunde skyldes, at danskuddannelserne blev sat i udbud af Københavns Kommune i 2018. CIP deltog i udbuddet, men vandt ikke. Af den grund måtte CIP fra juli 2018 indstille den del af sin kursusvirksomhed, der omfattede DFV-kurserne, og derfor kunne der kun gennemføres to spørgeskemaundersøgelser med et mindre antal undervisere og lærende.

Informantgruppen bestående af TAP'er består i første spørgeskemaundersøgelse af fire informanter og i anden runde af 18 informanter. Denne forskel skyldes, at det var vanskeligt at finde TAP'er, der ville deltage i den første undersøgelse, mens det, i overensstemmelse med det oprindelige design for undersøgelsen, var muligt at finde en større gruppe TAP'er ved den anden indsamlingsrunde.

Nogle informanter har deltaget i begge spørgeskemaundersøgelser, men de fleste informanter har kun deltaget i en af de to undersøgelser. Det er ikke formålet med den kvantitative undersøgelse at analysere eventuelle ændringer i forhold til informanternes behov, men at belyse informanternes vægtning i forhold til de konstruerede behov.

Data bliver analyseret ved hjælp af deskriptiv statistik, der ifølge Dörnyei (2003: 114) har funktionen at "summarize sets of data in order to conserve time and space". De indsamlede data undersøges med henblik på, hvorvidt informanternes behov i de tre grupper er forskellige, og om der manifesterer sig forskellige behov hos informanterne inden for de tre grupper.

De kommentarer, der er blevet tilføjet af informanterne i de åbne kategorier i undersøgelsen, analyseres ved hjælp af kvalitativ indholdsanalyse (jf. Mayring 2015: 29; Fiebigler et al. 2008).

Efter at have gjort rede for de teoretiske og metodiske perspektiver samt for informanterne og de indsamlede data belyses nu analyseresultaterne. Der zoomes først ind på analysen af undersøgelsens kvalitative data. Derefter præsenteres de kvantitative analyseresultater.

4. Hannah og David – to lærendes narrative konstruktion af behov

Interviewguiden, der blev anvendt i den kvalitative dataindsamling, lægger op til, at den adspurgte informant i kronologisk rækkefølge (fortid, nutid og fremtid) fortæller om sine erfaringer med andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen og afledt deraf konstruerer behov, der er forbundet med undervisningen. I det følgende præsenteres indledende kort tendenser, der manifesterer sig i de kvalitative interviews, der blev gennemført med lærende, undervisere og TAP'er. Derefter fokuserer analysen på to lærende: Hannah og David.

Kronologisk set konstruerer alle interviewede informanter i deres svar deres erfaringer med andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen på en sammenlignelig måde: De påbegynder deres andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisning i et eller to sprog i grundskolen, fortsætter undervisningen videre i mellemskolen og på gymnasiet og i nogle tilfælde senere hen på universitetet. Med undtagelse af et enkelt tilfælde, der udgøres af den lærende Hannah, giver ingen af de adspurgte informanter i alle tre grupper udtryk for, at de som børn og unge har været opmærksomme på deres *målrettede sproglige behov*. Derudover tematiserer de kun i ringe grad deres *læringsbehov*. Mange af de adspurgte informanter – både undviserne, de lærende og TAP'erne – fremhæver, at de ikke kan huske, hvilke tanker de havde, og hvilke behov de oplevede i forhold til deres sprogundervisning i skolen. En del af deres narrativ er, at de har fulgt den læreplan, som sprogundervisningen var baseret på. De fleste informanter mener, at de har haft en vag forestilling om, hvad de ville lære i forhold til det nye sprog, når de påbegyndte et nyt fremmedsprog, men at de ikke har været bevidste om deres *ønsker* eller *læringsbehov*. Dog formår de tre lærende, der er blevet interviewet, i højere grad at konstruere disse, når de italesætter nutidig og fremtidig sprogundervisning.

Informanterne Hannah og David har begge afsluttet DFV's modul 3, og i deres interviews afspejles de oplevelser og erfaringer, som de har gjort i deres liv, herunder i deres andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisning, samt deres tanker om deres fremtidige *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*. Hannahs narrativ indikerer, at hun allerede tidligt har været bevidst om sine *ønsker* og *læringsbehov* og fortsætter med at være meget bevidst om disse gennem sit liv. David derimod giver udtryk for, at han først med mere livserfaring blev mere bevidst om sine behov, om end ikke i samme omfang som Hannah.

Hannah er født og opvokset i Østrig, hvor hun har haft hele sin skolegang og har læst på universitetet. David er født og opvokset i Italien, hvor han har gået i skole og sidenhen har læst på

universitetet. De centrale personer, der i de tidlige år har haft indflydelse på begge informanternes sproglige opdragelse, er i høj grad deres forældre.

I grundskolen husker Hannah engelsk, der er hendes første fremmedsprog, som skemalagt uden mulighed for elevmæssig indflydelse:

In my opinion it has been very strict forward ehm how things have been conducted and I think there have been some slight adaptations in in areas I don't know we call it %gross% education that basically where are you living what is the history of your village, basic things I think in this case they have been a bit flexible there but in general it has not been and English was kind of, sometimes when you didn't even expect it when English lessons would start it was comprised in this bulk called general education (Hannah, 19. december 2017).

Hannah har ifølge sin fortælling haft klare *ønsker* til engelskundervisningen, der manifesterer sig i, at hun gerne vil lære om dyr og madlavning, da hun som barn har set mange dyreprogrammer i tv og holder af at stå i køkkenet med sin bedstemor. Ingen af delene indgår i det curriculum, hendes engelskundervisning baserer sig på i grundskolen.

David's første fremmedsprog i grundskolen er fransk. Han begynder at lære sproget, da han er otte år. Hans forældre bestemmer samtidig, at han skal have privat engelskundervisning uden for skoletiden. Senere fortsætter David med at lære engelsk i rammen af grundskoleundervisning. Hans forældre beslutter dog, at han så skal have privatundervisning i fransk. Han husker ikke sin grundskoletid så godt, men fremhæver, at han ikke har tænkt nærmere over sine behov i den alder. David fortsætter med engelsk og fransk i gymnasiet. Modsat Hannah giver David udtryk for, at han hverken som barn i grundskolen eller senere som teenager på gymnasiet har tænkt over sine behov.

Fra 5. til 13. klasse går Hannah på gymnasiet, hvor hun fortsætter med engelsk som fremmedsprog gennem hele gymnasietiden. Hun beskriver, at undervisningen ligesom i grundskolen her er fastlagt med et tilhørende undervisningsmateriale.

Gennem gymnasietiden har eleverne ifølge Hannah kun haft marginal indflydelse på fremmedsprogsundervisningen. Selv om Hannah til den tid er meget bevidst om sine *ønsker*, tør hun ikke give udtryk for dem, da hun bliver mobbet i skolen og er bekymret for, at mobningen så vil blive forstærket. Hendes forældre viser sig igen at være sproglig primus motor i gymnasietiden, da Hannah har problemer med engelsk grammatik. På trods af at Hannah ikke tør gøre opmærksom på sine *ønsker* i engelsk, bliver hun selv aktiv, da hun føler, at hendes *læringsbehov* ikke bliver opfyldt.

I sin fortælling trækker hun på en diskurs om læringsbehov, som hun konstruerer sine behov ud fra. Hun vil gerne lære engelsk med det formål hurtigt at få et stort ordforråd og mundtligt kunne kommunikere på sproget. Med sine 14 år finder hun dog undervisningsmaterialet, der anvendes i skolen, kedeligt og ikke autentisk:

... these ehm how was it called superfugde or spokesk% I don't know it is about a very dumb ehm boy act actually (mh) really boring and describes everything particularly%% not in a not in a authentic%% way (mh) but, *boring* (yeah) you know is the kind of the way that there is no story no real story behind it and it is super boring ?that's it (mh) so basically this thing where you learn vocabulary and describe things but reading it, yea *terrible* (Hannah, 19. december 2017).

Med afsæt i denne erfaring begynder Hannah aktivt uden for undervisningen at læse engelske tekster, der interesserer hende, og at se engelsksprogede tv-serier for at få opfyldt sine *læringsbehov*.

Oplevelsen af, at hun selv kan tage hånd om sine behov, kunne anses som et vendepunkt. Ved

siden af engelsk bliver Hannah fra sit tredje år på gymnasiet undervist i latin i seks år og fra sit femte år på gymnasiet i fransk, og hun vælger yderligere italiensk som tilvalgsfag. Hannah beretter, at der i undervisningen i alle tre fag ikke er mulighed for at få indflydelse på sprogundervisningens indhold.

Begge informanter læser efter gymnasiet på universitetet, hvor de ikke har nogen andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisning, mens de læser naturvidenskabelige fag. Hannah afslutter sit kandidatstudie i 2016. Efter at have afsluttet sit studie får David mulighed for at blive ph.d.-studerende i Spanien og flytter til Madrid. I sin fortælling om den spanske arbejdsplads og de dermed forbundne sprog trækker David på en diskurs om engelsk som *lingua franca* på arbejdspladsen, som han narrativt konstruerer sine behov ud fra. Han italesætter, at det er engelsk i modsætning til spansk, der er det relevante sprog i faglige sammenhænge, og at han ingen formel spanskundervisning får.

David beretter, at han vælger at tilegne sig spansk til hverdagsbrug på egen hånd. Davids tilegnelse af spansk er drevet af et *læringsbehov*: Han vil gerne kunne begå sig på spansk i hverdagen. Spansk på arbejdspladsen beskriver han som sproget, der anvendes i sociale sammenhænge kollegerne imellem, hvorimod det professionelle sprog mellem kollegerne er engelsk.

... my work as a PhD student was mostly in English and and I, so at the very beginning we had this funny separation so we spoke with my supervisor and some other postdocs in English when we were discussing research and then we will go over for lunch and at lunch we will spea% switch to Spanish because it was most like daily life conversation (David, 9. januar 2018).

David udtrykker det som et problem ikke at kunne spansk som fagsprog, når han som en del af sin stilling skal undervise studerende på spansk i matematik:

And actually, that was my problem that my Spanish was mostly about ehm daily life%% like I could go shopping groceries but I never used Spanish to do math so I actually was missing the math related Spanish like some terminologies ... I would just ask my students 'What do you guys call this in Spanish?' but sometimes I-I was stuck in like 'I don't know what you guys call this but I can explain this to you' ... there was a definitely miss there was some part of math related Spanish that I missed. (David, 9. januar 2018)

Davids holdning til engelsk som *lingua franca* til arbejdsbrug går igennem hans videre fortælling og konstruktion af behov som en rød tråd. Da han efter sin tid i Spanien i 2016 skal flytte til Danmark, hvor han har fået tilbudt en stilling som postdoc, er det Davids oplevelse, at han for første gang gør sig tanker om sine *ønsker* til et kommende sprogkursus i dansk, men fortæller, at disse var meget vage, og han husker ikke konkret, hvilke emner han tænkte på. I Danmark får han igennem en kollega kendskab til DFV. Han har en forventning om, at DFV er et sprogkursus, hvor man langsomt, men sikkert lærer dansk. Kursets tidsmæssige tilrettelæggelse appellerer til hans *læringsbehov*, da det kan tilpasses hans travle arbejdsdag modsat andre sprogcentre, hvor man ikke må have for meget fravær:

So I heard the %[asked]% my colleagues and and which ones already have been studying already Danish and and and I asked for it because I knew that because I went to %% international staff mobility events that we had, could take these language classes and ehm so people told me about eh where are the language schools and where is this university center, and so I %% what everybody told me ehm, ehm, the language schools are more intense people are more committed because many of them would need Danish for work so it's more effective but it takes more time and and they are less flexible when you are skipping one class or missing one deadline because....yeah, like, yeah people %%% this

university ones was like more easy to organize around your schedule but the downside was that some time people were less committed because they already have a job so they are not dying to learn Danish and that meant that the groups were sometimes slower (David, 9. januar 2018).

Forud for kurset tænker David ikke på, hvad kurset måtte indeholde, men danner sig et overblik via en kursusbeskrivelse. I løbet af kurset oplever David, grundet sit *læringsbehov* for at kunne begå sig praktisk i hverdagen, at han uden for arbejdet har behov for at kunne kommunikere på et simpelt sprog. Han ønsker, at samfundsmæssige og kulturelle emner i højere grad indgår i undervisningen.

Hannah får i 2016 tilbudt et job i Danmark. Ligesom David trækker Hannah, når hun narrativt italesætter og konstruerer sine behov i forbindelse med danskundervisningen, på en sproglig diskurs om engelsk som *lingua franca* på arbejdspladsen:

For everything that is going on in the lab including teaching new students, it should be based on English I think because, as I said, this is part of becoming a researcher, it's part of being a researcher ehm but in terms of basic lectures and basic courses, those should be in Danish (Hannah, 19. december 2017).

Men samtidig fastholder Hannah også:

I am a research scientist everybody that is not able to comply with the English that I can they simply don't belong ... If you are not able to follow in English there is no point at learning it in Danish ... If other people come here and expect the introduction in Danish as a foreign ehm researcher I would say *no* if you cannot listen to me in English there is no point you being here because if you work in research in a research institute that is very international and you are not able to follow basic instructions in English and you ehm had basic anatomy then for example then you have no place here whether it is German Danish English French or whatever so you have to follow English as ah as the basic language here *and if you cannot follow that one* there is no point in me learning Danish as well (Hannah, 19. december 2017).

Hannah anser dansk som det sprog, man bruger i fritiden, men det hører ifølge Hannah, der trækker på en høflighedsdiskurs, tillige også til den gode tone at lære et fremmed lands sprog, når man lever der.

Ud fra dette *læringsbehov* vil hun gerne lære dansk. DFV er interessant for Hannah, fordi det er gratis, og fordi det yderligere appellerer til andre af hendes *læringsbehov*, idet det er et sprogkursus for vidensarbejdere som hende selv. Hannah forventer modsat David, at læringsprocesser og dermed sprogtilegnelsen vil gå hurtigere på DFV end på andre sprogkurser, fordi sprogkurset netop er designet til vidensarbejdere med en speciel læringsprofil, der kan give mulighed for en hurtig progression.

Hannah oplever også *ønsker* i løbet af DFV: Hun vil gerne have et emne som madlavning, der er en del af undervisningen, uddybet yderligere. Derudover nævner hun tempuslære og rektion.

Begge informanter blev slutteligt adspurgt om, hvad de gerne vil lære i deres fremtidige danskundervisning, og hvilke behov, de tror, de vil have. De fastholder begge diskursen om engelsk som *lingua franca* i deres konstruktion af fremtidige behov og ser dermed også fremadrettet engelsk og ikke dansk som deres arbejdssprog:

I am in the situation that I'm kind of% ehm If I had to somehow split my life between in an ehm a part of me where I speak English and a part of me where I try to learn the local language, work would be the place I would liv% would speak English, so work related would not be the top priority you know (David, 9. januar 2018).

Derudover ser ingen af dem sig i Danmark i fremtiden. Hannah refererer i sit interview til de erfaringer, hun som barn har gjort med engelsk, og som hun faktisk også på interviewets tidspunkt ser som et fremtidigt *ønske* i danskundervisningen: grammatik. Ifølge Hannah er grammatikken uundværlig for at kunne afkode sprogets struktur. Da hun som barn havde udfordringer i grammatik, kunne dette *ønske* være et levn fra hendes skoletid, som hun holder fast i. Som et andet *ønske* nævner Hannah emnet høflighed, der gør det muligt at begå sig endnu bedre i hverdagen og kunne konversere bedre med danskere i forskellige situationer uden for arbejdspladsen.

David fastholder sit *læringsbehov* om at ville lære dansk, der omhandler hverdagen uden for arbejdspladsen, og nævner mere ukonkrete *ønsker* som det at uddybe de emner, der er relevante for hverdagen uden for arbejdet. Dette ville også være tilfældet, hvis han skulle flytte fra Danmark til et andet land, hvor han skulle lære et nyt fremmedsprog. Adspurgt, om han i fremtiden ved tilegnelsen af yderligere fremmedsprog ville trække på sin livserfaring i forbindelse med at lære sprog og måske de behov, han har oplevet i løbet af DFV, bekræfter David, at dette ville være tilfældet.

Sammenligningen mellem Hannah og David peger i retning af, at deres behov ser ud til at ændre sig, i takt med at de får mere livs- og undervisningserfaring. Begge informanter lader til i deres narrative konstruktion af deres behov som voksne at være præget af og trække på en sproglig diskurs om det engelske sprog som *lingua franca* i arbejdsmæssig henseende. Begge lærer dansk som andet- og fremmedsprog for at kunne anvende sproget uden for arbejdet i hverdagen og fritiden. Ud fra denne diskurs og indstilling konstruerer de narrativt deres *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov* for deres situation nu og for fremtiden. David fastholder sin fremtidige narrative konstruktion af behov i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisning, på trods af at det har vist sig som værende problematisk, at han udviste manglende faglige sprogkompetencer i spansk, da han arbejdede i Spanien.

Hannah lader til at være et absolut særtilfælde, da hun allerede fra en tidlig alder og op gennem livet har været bevidst om sine *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*. Resultaterne tyder på, at de *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*, hun formulerer for nutiden og fremtiden, er præget af de erfaringer, hun har gjort i sin tidligere andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisning, og af den indflydelse, hendes forældre har haft i forbindelse med hendes sprogundervisning. Det samme lader til at gøre sig gældende for David. Derudover trækker begge informanter i deres fortællinger i større grad på deres *læringsbehov* end på deres *målrettede sproglige behov*. David beretter dog ikke om, at hans forældre har tematiseret konkrete behov, som han har i forhold til sprogundervisning.

5. Analyse af spørgeskemaundersøgelserne

De indsamlede data fra spørgeskemaundersøgelserne består af kvantitative data, hvor informanter via Likert-skalaen bedes tage stilling til, i hvilken grad de kan tilslutte sig udsagnet om forskellige emners nødvendighed. I denne del spørges der udelukkende til *målrettede sproglige behov*. Derudover indsamles der kvalitative data i form af skriftligt formulerede *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*, som informanterne i spørgeskemaundersøgelsernes åbne kategorier har mulighed for at formulere som yderligere behov. I det følgende gives først et overblik over, hvilken vægtning af behov de tre stakeholdergrupper giver udtryk for i spørgeskemaundersøgelserne: Hvor viser der sig udsving i de udsagn, som informanterne tilslutter sig via Likert-skalaen på tværs af de to spørgeskemaundersøgelser, og hvilke yderligere behov formulerer de skriftligt?

5.1. De tre stakeholdergrupper behov – kvantitative data

Alle tre informantgrupper blev via Likert-skalaen bedt om at tage stilling til, i hvilken grad de er enige i, at bestemte emner inden for rammerne af DFV er vigtige: under *Language Learning* opsummeres forskellige kommunikative kompetencer, og *Content Subjects* berører arbejds-, hverdags-, fritids- og kulturemner.

Videreudviklingen af spørgeskemaerne fra første til anden gang har resulteret i, at de emner, der oplystes under *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*, ikke er ens i de to spørgeskemaer. Derfor tages der i analysen kun udgangspunkt i de underkategorier i *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*, der stemmer overens i begge spørgeskemaer, og hvor vægtningen dermed kan sammenlignes på tværs af de to indsamlingsrunder (for et overblik se: tabel 2).

Tabel 2: Overlappende underkategorier i de to spørgeskemaundersøgelser

Language Learning	Content Subjects
1. One-way communication	1. Introduction/Describing yourself
2. Writing	2. Accommodation/Your home
3. Listening	3. Shopping and prices
4. Reading	4. Health (e.g., describing your physical condition)
5. Pronunciation	5. Express the like/dislike of something
6. Grammar	6. Visiting a restaurant
7. Vocabulary	7. Holidays
8. Spelling	8. Fairytales
9. Adequate communication in different social contexts	9. Organizing of work-related seminars or meetings
10. Language learning and language strategy	10. Clothing and colours
	11. The weather
	12. Going to the hairdresser and other services
	13. Food and cooking
	14. Asking for direction/Finding your way
	15. Job meeting culture in Denmark
	16. Ways of discussing topics in a professional manner
	17. Performance and development review (PDR)
	18. Reparations of broken items (e.g., fridge, TV...)
	19. The education system in Denmark

5.2. Forskelle i informanternes vægtning ift. underkategorier

I analysen tegner der sig inden for rammen af de indsamlede data et billede af, at informanterne i alle tre grupper overordnet set vurderer, at de fleste emner, der er oplyst under *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*, er relevante. Denne tendens er mest udpræget hos underviserne, der fremstår som en nærmest homogen gruppe, der gennem deres svar støtter tydeligt op om undervisningsindhold, der er defineret for kurset. Derimod kan der hos de lærende og TAP'erne observeres nogle forskelle i vægtningen i forhold til underkategorierne i *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*.

Derfor zoomes der i den følgende analyse ind på de lærende og TAP'erne, og der tages udelukkende udgangspunkt i de underkategorier i *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*, hvor der viser sig en variation i forhold til tilslutningen.

I første afsnit belyses, hvilken vægtning der manifesterer sig i forhold til underkategorierne i

Language Learning, og i andet afsnit zoomes der ind på *Content Subjects*.

5.2.1 Særligt vægtede underkategorier i *Language Learning*

I tabel 3 og 4 nedenfor gøres der rede for spørgeskemaundersøgelsernes udfald i de underkategorier inden for *Language Learning*, hvor der viser sig forskellige vægtninger hos lærende og TAP'erne. Inden for kategorien *Language Learning* er der tre underkategorier, hvor der kan være en divergerende vægtning: *One-way communication*, *Grammar* og *Spelling*.

Tabel 3 viser, at der hos de lærende i den første spørgeskemaundersøgelse er en gruppe, der er uafklaret i forhold til alle tre områder, men især *One-Way Communication* og *Spelling* ('Neither agree nor disagree').

Der er også en lærende, der erklærer sig uenig i, at undervisning i *One-Way Communication* er nødvendig. I anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse forstærker denne tendens sig. Her er der derudover flere, der er uafklarede i forhold til grammatiske emner ('Neither agree nor disagree'), og der er også enkelte lærende, som synes, at alle tre emner er unødvendige. Derudover viser der sig i anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse en noget mindre tilslutning til nødvendigheden af *One-Way Communication* og *Grammar* fra 'Strongly agree' til 'Agree'.

Tabel 3: De lærendes særlige vægtning i forhold til underkategorierne i *Language Learning*

Language Learning	One-Way Communication	Grammar	Spelling
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 1	(n=24)	(n=24)	(n=24)
Strongly agree	n=10	n=12	n=04
Agree	n=10	n=11	n=15
Neither agree nor disagree	n=05	n=03	n=05
Disagree	n=01	n=0	n=01
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=0
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 2	(n=24)	(n=24)	(n=24)
Strongly agree	n=06	n=04	n=05
Agree	n=12	n=15	n=13
Neither agree nor disagree	n=07	n=06	n=06
Disagree	n=01	n=01	n=02
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=0

Tabel 4 viser, at tilslutningen i forhold til de tre nævnte underkategorier også hos TAP'erne er mindre i sammenligning med de andre underkategorier i *Language Learning*. Hos TAP'erne kan der inden for underkategorien *One-Way Communication* i første spørgeskemaundersøgelse observeres en positiv tilslutning, men to TAP'er svarer 'Don't know' i forhold til retskrivning, og en TAP'er giver til kende at være uafklaret i forhold til grammatiske emner ('Neither agree nor disagree'). I anden

spørgeskemaundersøgelse er 12 ud af de 18 informanter positive omkring nødvendigheden af *One-Way Communication*, dog svarer fem informanter 'Neither agree nor disagree', og én 'Disagree'. Der viser sig grundlæggende en større variation i den anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse, der kan forklares med, at informantgruppen i den anden runde var tydeligt større. Derudover kan det antages, at de fire TAP'er, der var villige til at deltage i den første spørgeskemarunde, var særligt positivt indstillede over for undersøgelsen, og at dette også afspejler sig i deres svar. I underkategorien *Grammar* kan der i en sammenligning af begge spørgeskemarunder observeres, at flertallet af de adspurgte informanter i den anden spørgeskemarunde, ligesom i den første, er positive i forhold til nødvendigheden af dette undervisningsemne; dog er fem informanter mere kritiske: Fire svarer 'Neither agree nor disagree', og én 'Disagree'. I den første runde er der også en informant, der hverken er enig eller uenig om grammatikkens nødvendighed. Når det gælder *Spelling*, kan det observeres, at næsten halvdelen af de adspurgte informanter i den anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse svarer med 'Neither agree nor disagree', og at halvdelen af informanterne i den første runde angiver 'Don't know' (se tabel 4).

Tabel 4: TAP'ernes særlige vægtning i forhold til underkategorierne i *Language Learning*³

Language Learning	One Way Communication	Grammar	Spelling
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 1	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)
Strongly agree	n=01	n=0	n=01
Agree	n=03	n=03	n=01
Neither agree nor disagree	n=0	n=01	n=0
Disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=02
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 2	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)
Strongly agree	n=02	n=02	n=0
Agree	n=10	n=11	n=10
Neither agree nor disagree	n=05	n=04	n=08
Disagree	n=01	n=01	n=0
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=0

5.2.2 Særligt vægtede underkategorier i *Content Subjects*

Analysen viser, at informanternes vægtning i forhold til underkategorierne inden for *Content Subjects* er mere heterogen, end den er inden for *Language Learning*. Både de lærende og TAP'erne udtrykker en grundlæggende opbakning i forhold til en række underkategorier inden for *Content Subjects*. Hos TAP'erne kan der dog observeres forskellige vægtninger i forhold til ti ud af 19 underkategorier. Der viser sig forskellige prioriteringer inden for underkategorierne 'Visiting a restaurant', 'Holidays', 'Fairytale', 'Clothing and colours', 'The weather', 'Going to the hairdresser', 'Food and cooking',

³ Det kan diskuteres, om det giver mening at behandle fire respondenters svar kvantitativt. Denne fremstillingsform er blevet valgt for at præsentere resultaterne på en overskuelig og transparent måde. Se også tabel 6.

'Performance and development review (PDR)', 'Reparation of broken items (e.g., fridge, TV...)' og 'The Danish education system'. De lærende er ifølge deres svar mindre kritiske over for de tematiske emner. Inden for *Content Subjects* viser der sig hos de lærende forskelle i vægtningen i forhold til fire underkategorier: 'Holidays', 'Ways of discussing things in a professional manner', 'Reparation of broken item (e.g., fridge, TV...)' og 'The Danish education system'. Det er påfaldende, at der er forskellige holdninger i forhold til et arbejdsrelateret emne som 'Ways of discussing things in a professional manner' hos de lærende, mens dette emne vurderes som værende relevant af TAP'erne. I tabel 5 og 6 gøres der rede for spørgeskemaundersøgelsernes udfald i de underkategorier inden for *Content Subjects*, hvor der viser sig forskellige vægtninger hos henholdsvis de lærende og TAP'erne.

Sammenligner man de to spørgeskemaundersøgelser, kan det blandt de lærende (se tabel 5) observeres, at der er en række lærende, som udtrykker en positiv tilslutning i forbindelse med de fire mere vægtede underkategorier inden for *Content Subjects*.

Dog viser de indsamlede data også, at der i første spørgeskemaundersøgelse var en informant, der var uenig i, at 'Ways of discussing things in a professional manner' burde være et emne på kurset, og at to informanter tilkendegav, at de er meget uenige i at 'Reparations of broken items (e.g., fridge, TV...)' burde indgå som emne. Der var ingen informanter, der angav, at de ikke vidste, hvad de skulle svare. Derimod kan det observeres i anden runde, at der inden for hver af de fire undersøgte underkategorier er én informant, der ikke ved, om han/hun i sin vurdering af underkategoriernes nødvendighed kan tilslutte sig den respektive underkategori eller ej. Derudover kan der her observeres et øget antal informanter, der vægter underkategorierne negativt: To informanter er uenige om nødvendigheden af emnet 'Holidays', tre er uenige i vurdering af nødvendigheden af underkategorien 'Ways of discussing things in a professional manner', fem informanter er uenige i deres vægtning af underkategorierne 'Reparations of broken items (e.g., fridge, TV...)' og 'The Danish education system'.

Tabel 5: De lærendes særlige vægtning i forhold til underkategorierne i *Content Subjects*

Content Subjects	Holidays	Ways of discussing things in a professional manner	Reparation of broken items (e.g., fridge, TV...)	The Danish education system
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 1	(n=26)	(n=26)	(n=26)	(n=26)
Strongly agree	n=14	n=16	n=08	n=08
Agree	n=08	n=03	n=12	n=12
Neither agree nor disagree	n=04	n=06	n=04	n=04
Disagree	n=0	n=01	n=0	n=0
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=02	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 2	(n=26)	(n=26)⁴	(n=26)	(n=26)
Strongly agree	n=02	n=07	n=09	n=03
Agree	n=12	n=09	n=07	n=13
Neither agree nor disagree	n=09	n=07	n=04	n=04
Disagree	n=02	n=03	n=05	n=05
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=01	n=01	n=01	n=01

Hos TAP'erne viser de fire informanter i den første undersøgelse en bred positiv tilslutning til otte af de ti særligt vægtede underkategorier inden for *Content Subjects*, hvor informanterne svarer 'Strongly agree' og 'Agree'. Informanterne udtrykker i denne første runde en vis usikkerhed i forhold til to emner: 'Fairytale' og 'Clothing and colours', hvor henholdsvis tre og to informanter svarer 'Neither agree nor disagree'.

I anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse kan der, ligesom i *Language Learning*, observeres en større variation i forhold til TAP'ernes vægtninger. Der er kun tre underkategorier, hvor der viser sig en rimelig bred positiv tilslutning ('The weather', 'Performance and development review' og 'The education system in Denmark'), dog med en mindre tilslutning af informanter, der svarer 'Strongly agree'. Én undtagelse danner kategorien 'The education system in Denmark', hvor syv ud af de 18 informanter markerer deres tilslutning ved at svare 'Strongly agree'. Spredningen inden for underkategorierne i *Content Subjects* kommer også til udtryk ved, at der i alle ti underkategorier er informanter, der svarer, at de ikke er enige i, at dette emne er relevant. Ligesom i den første indsamlingsrunde, manifesterer der sig i den anden indsamlingsrunde en vis afstandtagen i forhold til emnet 'Fairytale'. I anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse er der seks informanter, der giver udtryk for, at dette emne ikke burde indgå i undervisningen. Derudover udviser nogle informanter en vis skepsis over for emnerne 'Going to the hairdresser and other services' og 'Reparations of broken items (e.g., fridge, TV...)'.⁴

⁴ Spørgsmålet var ved en fejl blevet sat til at være multifunktionelt i anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse, og én informant svarede derfor dobbelt på spørgsmålet.

Tabel 6:

Content Subjects	Visiting a restaurant	Holidays	Fairytales	Clothing and colours	The weather	Going to the hairdresser and other services	Food and cooking	Performance and development review (PDR)	Reparations of broken items (e.g. fridge, tv...)	The education system in Denmark
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 1	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)	(n=04)
Strongly agree	n=01	n=02	n=01	n=01	n=02	n=01	n=02	n=03	n=01	n=02
Agree	n=02	n=02	n=0	n=01	n=01	n=02	n=02	n=01	n=02	n=02
Neither agree nor disagree	n=01	n=0	n=03	n=02	n=01	n=01	n=0	n=0	n=01	n=0
Disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0
Spørgeskemaundersøgelse 2	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)	(n=18)⁵	(n=18)
Strongly agree	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=03	n=0	n=01	n=03	n=01	n=07
Agree	n=07	n=07	n=03	n=07	n=10	n=08	n=08	n=09	n=07	n=04
Neither agree nor disagree	n=09	n=09	n=09	n=10	n=03	n=06	n=07	n=05	n=08	n=06
Disagree	n=02	n=02	n=05	n=02	n=02	n=04	n=02	n=01	n=03	n=01
Strongly disagree	n=0	n=0	n=01	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0
Don't know	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0	n=0

En anden interessant observation er, at der i anden spørgeskemaundersøgelse er en del informanter, der svarer 'Neither agree nor disagree' vedrørende deres tilslutning til underkategorierne. I fire tilfælde udgør denne gruppe halvdelen ('Visiting a restaurant', 'Holidays') og mere ('Fairytale', 'Clothing and colours') af de adspurgte informanter (se tabel 6).

Samlet set kan der dermed hos TAP'erne observeres en tendens, der minder om de lærendes: Der er forskellige vægtninger ift. nødvendigheden af emner, og det gælder både emner, der er hverdags-, fritids- og arbejdsrelaterede. I sammenligning med de lærende er der flere emner, hvor forskellige TAP'er udtrykker en usikkerhed eller et forbehold.

5.3. De tre informantgruppers ønsker – kvalitative data

Efter at have udtrykt deres holdning ift. de kommunikative færdigheder og de tematiske emner gennem Likert-skalaen blev informanterne bedt om i et tekstfelt skriftligt at supplere listen over emner med deres *ønsker* for at give udtryk for, hvad de ønsker at tilføje som tematiske emner.

Det kan observeres, at de lærende i de fleste tilfælde skriftligt formulerer, at materialet dækker alt det, de mener, de har brug for. Nogle lærende noterer også emner, som materialet allerede dækker, som deres *ønsker*. Ud over dette peger de lærende hovedsageligt på hverdags- og kulturemner, fx politik i Danmark, samt et emne som opførsel, herunder punktlighed og høflighed, når de interagerer med danskere. Ydermere ønsker de lærende emner, der berører kommunikative færdigheder som tekstgenretræning og læseforståelse i form af fx avislæsning, lytteforståelse i form af lytning til nyheder og ordforråd, fx i forbindelse med boliger. *Ønsker* om arbejdsmarkedsrelaterede emner forekommer i mindre grad, men er fx specifikke kommunikative færdigheder som det at lære at skrive et CV på dansk eller en motiveret ansøgning og gennemføre jobsamtaler eller, som et af de få nævnte arbejdsrelaterede emner, videnskabelige diskussioner og tolkning af data og tal. Dette peger på, at der blandt informanterne er en bevidsthed om, at de har behov for dansk for at kunne få adgang til det danske arbejdsmarked. Underviserne, der valgte at komme med tilføjelser, formulerer også hovedsageligt fritidsemner som deres *ønsker*: fx familie, at kunne tale om fritidsaktiviteter som at høre musik, se Netflix eller tale om emner som at have været til en koncert. I mindre grad italesættes arbejdsrelaterede emner, men der kan i enkelte tilfælde observeres *ønsker*, fx reglerne på en dansk arbejdsplads. Derudover formulerer en underviser, at der i forløbet ud fra et progressionsperspektiv burde tages emner op, der motiverer de lærende til at tale, altså emner, som de lærende individuelt brænder for, herunder kunst, politik eller noget helt tredje. Også i undervisernes tilfælde kan det i de skriftlige svar observeres, at enkelte informanter mener, at materialet dækker det, de vurderer er relevant. TAP'erne giver udtryk for, at materialet dækker alt det, de mener er nødvendigt, og tilføjer som eneste *ønske* børnepasning/dagpleje.

Inden anden spørgeskemarunde blev der tilføjet de emner, informanterne tilføjede som *ønske* i den åbne svarkategori i første spørgeskemarunde, og som ikke var indeholdt i de bestående emnelister. I anden spørgeskemarunde kan der kun observeres få tilføjelser under kategorierne *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects* hos de tre informantgrupper. Der ses igen den tendens, at nogle lærende noterer emner, der allerede dækkes i listen. Derudover nævnes yderligere to emner: telefonopkald (til politi, taxa m.m.) og emnet at date danskere. TAP'erne tilføjer et kulturelt *ønske*, der til en vis grad overlapper de lærendes tilføjelse, nemlig: Hvordan bliver man venner med en dansker? Dvs. at begge grupper fremsætter *ønsker*, der indebærer interpersonelle romantiske eller platoniske relationer til danskere. Underviserne formulerer kun ét *ønske*: emnet *Grønland og Færøerne*. Der peges ikke på yderligere arbejdsrelaterede *ønsker*.

I begge spørgeskemaundersøgelser er det dermed i langt højere grad hverdagsemner og kulturelle emner, der formuleres som *ønsker* af alle tre grupper, mens arbejdsrelaterede emner formuleres i langt mindre grad. I den første spørgeskemaundersøgelse indgik kulturelle emner ikke. Disse blev på grund af informanternes svar tilføjet i den anden spørgerunde. Derudover har alle tre grupper udelukkende fokus på *målrettede sproglige behov*. Der er ingen udsagn, som i denne åbne

kategori formulerer et *læringsbehov*. Dette kan være betinget af, at emnelisterne ikke lægger op til dette. Det er derudover påfaldende, at der kun i ringe grad er overlap mellem de *ønsker*, der formuleres. Disse er individuelt forskellige.

6. Konklusion og diskussion

Det første forskningsspørgsmål skulle belyse, hvordan de tre stakeholdergrupper narrativt konstruerer deres behov i andet- og fremmedsprogsundervisningen ud fra deres fortid, nutid og fremtid. Undersøgelsen peger i retning af, at de adspurgte informanter i alle tre stakeholdergrupper i en yngre alder med mindre undervisningserfaring ikke er bevidste om deres *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*. Informanterne giver udtryk for, at de har fulgt en fastlagt læreplan, som de ikke har haft indflydelse på, og hvor deres behov, hvis disse fandtes, kun i meget ringe grad blev tilgodeset.

Analyseresultaterne af interviewene med Hannah og David tegner et billede af to forskellige lærende. Hannah beretter som den eneste adspurgte informant, at hun i en tidlig alder har været i stand til at formulere *målrettede sproglige behov* i form af sine *ønsker*, men også sine *læringsbehov*. Med hjælp fra sine forældre, der i dette tilfælde har ageret som en stakeholdergruppe med en aktiv interesse i deres datters sproglige uddannelse, lader Hannah til at have været modtagelig for forældrenes impulser og til at være blevet bevidst om, hvad hun gerne ville lære i sprogundervisningen. Hun beretter, at hun i gymnasiet tager sagen i egen hånd uden for undervisningen, da hendes *læringsbehov* ikke bliver tilgodeset i tilstrækkelig grad.

David lader modsat Hannah ikke til at være i stand til i en tidlig alder at formulere *målrettede sproglige behov* eller *læringsbehov* eller at være bevidst om dem. Dette lader først til at kunne lade sig gøre i en senere alder. Begge informanter har det tilfælles, at de som voksne i deres narrative konstruktion af deres *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov* trækker på en sproglig diskurs om engelsk som *lingua franca* på arbejdspladsen, og at de vurderer, at de ikke har behov for dansk i arbejdssammenhæng, også fordi ingen af dem ser deres fremtid som værende i Danmark.

Deres konstruktion af behov, der gør sig gældende for deres aktuelle situation og i fremtiden, er præget af, at dansk, også i et fremtidsperspektiv, læres med det formål at kunne begå sig i hverdagen, men ikke i en arbejdsmæssig sammenhæng.

Dermed kunne undersøgelsen pege i retning af, at sproglærende først med mere undervisningserfaring bliver bevidste om deres *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*, og at disse derudover er betingede af, hvilken livssituation den lærende befinder sig i, og hvilken livsplanlægning den lærende har.

Artiklens andet forskningsspørgsmål skulle undersøge, hvilke *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov* de tre stakeholdergrupper formulerer i spørgeskemaundersøgelserne, og om der kan observeres forskelle i deres vægtning på tværs af de to indsamlingsrunder og i givet fald hvilke. De indsamlede data tegner et billede af, at de tre informantgrupper konstruerer relativt sammenlignelige *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov* i forbindelse med kurset, og at underviserne frem for alt fremstår som en relativt homogen gruppe, der gennem deres svar tydeligt støtter op om det undervisningsindhold, der er fastlagt for kurset. I de data, der er indsamlet fra de lærende og TAP'erne, bliver kompleksiteten af behovene tydelig. Her udtrykkes en vis vægtning med hensyn til forskellige underkategorier i både *Language Learning* og *Content Subjects*. Der er tre underkategorier i *Language Learning*, hvor både forskellige lærende og TAP'er udtrykker et forbehold: *One-Way Communication*, *Grammar* og *Spelling*. I forhold til *Content Subjects* kan der både hos de lærende og TAP'erne observeres, at der er forskellige vægtninger ift. nødvendigheden af en række hverdags-, fritids- og arbejdsrelaterede emner. Der er flere TAP'er end lærende, der udtrykker en usikkerhed eller et forbehold. En forklaring på dette kunne være, at TAP'erne ikke direkte er involveret i undervisningen og derfor har et mere distanceret blik på kursusindhold og derfra formulerer deres svar.

Spørgeskemaundersøgelsen peger på, at der er en tendens til, at alle stakeholdergrupper i langt

større grad fokuserer på hverdags-, fritids- og kulturemner end på arbejdsrelaterede emner. Samme mønster kan iagttages, når de tre grupper skriftligt formulerer yderligere behov. Disse formuleres som *ønsker* og formuleres udelukkende som *målrettede sproglige behov*. Det er påfaldende, at kulturelle emner ikke i tilstrækkelig høj grad har været inkluderet i den første spørgeskemaundersøgelse, og at der i alle tre informantgrupper formuleres et *ønske* om, at disse indgår i forskellige former i DFV.

På trods af at hverdags-, fritids- og kulturemner udgør de hyppigste emner, der ønskes, viser analysen, at de specifikke *ønsker*, som hhv. informantgrupperne og de enkelte informanter i disse grupper formulerer, ikke er de samme. Denne kompleksitet og heterogenitet i forbindelse med formuleringen af behov tyder på, som Long (2005: 1) udtrykker det, at det ikke er nok med en tilgang, der udmønter sig i "one-size-fits-all", fordi de lærende sprogligt skal operere i mange forskellige sammenhænge og diskurser og deraf afledt har meget forskellige *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*. Ud af dette udspringer et væld af behov, der vil tilgodeses. BA må derfor ses som et vigtigt værktøj i forbindelse med tilrettelæggelsen og planlægningen af sprogforløb, hvor forskellige stakeholdere skal høres, og deres respektive formulerede behov skal analyseres.

Præmissen for en BA er ifølge Brown (2016) på den ene side, at man ved at spørge stakeholdergrupper skal kunne anføre deres behov og derudfra konstruere et curriculum. Ifølge Long (2005: 25-26) er fx de lærende i en BA en usikker kilde, hvis ikke de spørges om deres behov *in situ* eller med tiltagende erfaring inden for den diskurs, de sprogligt skal operere i. Derfor kan der her argumenteres for den procesorienterede BA, der i en løbende genforhandlingscyklus adspørger alle stakeholdergrupper om de *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov*, de måtte have, også i forbindelse med deres aktuelle situation og livsplanlægning. Ved at gennemføre en BA *in situ* for stakeholderne (se Long 2005) kunne det undersøges, om man kan skabe en mere målrettet sprogundervisning, der støtter de lærendes *målrettede sproglige behov* og *læringsbehov* og motiverer dem, da de får indflydelse på undervisningens indhold (jf. også hertil Ågård 2015: 20-28). Dette vil også medføre, at der er mindre sandsynlighed for, at enkelte lærende som Hannah, der formulerer deres behov, oplever at blive negativt udstillet.

I forlængelse af de resultater, den kvantitative undersøgelse peger i retning af, vil jeg vende tilbage til Hannah og David. I deres interviews kunne der observeres udtalelser, der kunne støtte op om resultaterne fra den kvantitative undersøgelse. De to lærende konstruerer i deres fortællinger engelsk som fagligt *lingua franca*. Begge udtaler, at de ikke anser dansk som nødvendigt sprog i forbindelse med deres arbejdsliv, da de mener, at engelsk er det vigtigste sprog på arbejdspladsen. Begge formulerer som deres *læringsbehov* og *målrettede sproglige behov* et behov for et dansk, der gør, at de kan begå sig i hverdagen. Dette kunne understøtte resultaterne af den kvantitative undersøgelse, hvor netop arbejdsrelaterede emner samt mere komplekse hverdagsemner tendentielt lader til at miste tilslutning, når det gælder informanternes opfattelse af deres nødvendighed. I begge spørgeskemaundersøgelser blev informanterne, hvoraf gruppen af vidensarbejdere enten har en ansættelse på universiteter eller i private virksomheder, også spurgt, om der på deres arbejdsplads er en sprogpolitik, der fastlægger brugen af bestemte sprog. Af begge undersøgelser kan det afledes, at når der er en sprogpolitik, peger den i retning af, at engelsk som arbejdssprog dominerer på både universiteter og i private virksomheder.

Selv om der i Danmark er blevet etableret arbejdsmarkedsrettede danskuddannelser med fokus på dansk som arbejdssprog, lader de lærendes udsagn om, hvorfor de ønsker at lære dansk og til hvilket formål, til at være i overensstemmelse med undersøgelser af fx Jürna (2014) og Mortensen og Haberland (2012). Disse undersøgelser viser, at engelsk på danske universiteter i en arbejdssprogsdiskurs indtager rollen som *lingua franca* i den akademiske verden. Dansk anses som uvæsentligt i denne forbindelse. I internationale virksomheder dominerer opfattelsen af engelsk som virksomhedssprog også, som forskellige undersøgelser (fx Lønsmann 2015, 2017; Lønsmann og Kraft 2018) viser. Nyere forskning af Kirilova og Lønsmann (under udgivelse) peger dog på, at manglen på danskundskaber i hverdagen og på jobbet for vidensarbejdere, der er ansat på

universiteter og i virksomheder, kan resultere i sproglig og social udelukkelse i arbejdshverdagen og i social og sproglig segregation i privatlivet. I spørgeskemaundersøgelsen formulerede de lærende og TAP'erne *ønsker* om emner, der har at gøre med socialt at kunne interagere med danskere (dating og venskab). Disse *ønsker* kunne være indikationer på, at de to informantgrupper kunne være bevidste om den sproglige problematik, der er forbundet med den sproglige og sociale segregation, Lønsmann og Kirilova fremhæver. David udtrykte i sit interview, at han lærte spansk, der kunne bruges i sociale sammenhænge på arbejdspladsen og i hverdagen. Kirilova og Lønsmanns undersøgelse peger i retning af, at vidensarbejderne på universiteter grundet manglende dansk kundskaber desuden kan opleve en nedgang i mulighederne for karriere. David gjorde i sit interview også rede for, at det var et problem for ham, at han ikke beherskede spansk inden for den kontekst, han skulle operere i. Spørgsmålet er, hvordan hans karrieremæssige chancer havde været, hvis han var blevet i Spanien. For mange transnationale vidensarbejdere indgår undervisning som en del af deres arbejdshverdag. For at kunne undervise på dansk kræver mange universitære institutioner et kompetenceniveau omkring C1 efter Den Fælles Europæiske Referenceramme for Sprog (Dimova 2021). Der er langt fra det niveau, nyankomne transnationale vidensarbejdere starter med, til C1. Spørgsmålet, der knytter sig til dette og de tendenser, analyseresultaterne viser, er, hvordan man kan tilrettelægge en danskundervisning med en overkommelig progression fra et A- til et C-niveau, og hvordan man overhovedet motiverer vidensarbejdere til at lære dansk, der ikke kun skal anvendes i hverdagen, men også i embeds medfør.

Kirilova og Lønsmanns forskning afdækker et fremmedsprogsbehov til arbejdsbrug, som virksomheder som fx universiteter og danskunderviserne i deres rolle som stakeholdere måske ikke er bevidste om. Igennem en BA, der i sit design implementerer elementer, der zoomer ind på vigtigheden af dansk som arbejdsprog hos de lærende, vil der muligvis kunne skabes en bevidsthed om dette behov. Long (2005: 25-26) påpeger, som tidligere nævnt, at lærende i en BA er en usikker kilde. Det samme kunne gøre sig gældende for andre stakeholdere som undervisere og universitetsrepræsentanter. En BA, der tager højde for de forskellige stakeholdergrupper, og som er udformet og gennemføres af en behovsanalytiker, vil muligvis kunne skabe en større bevidsthed hos stakeholderne.

Til fremtidig forskning inden for feltet kunne det derfor være interessant at gennemføre studier på forskellige internationale universitære sprogcentre, hvor der arbejdes med en BA, der skaber bevidsthed om vigtigheden af det lokale sprog som arbejdsprog, og på universitære sprogcentre, hvor der ikke arbejdes med denne form for BA. Med afsæt i spørgeskemaundersøgelser, interviews og undervisningsobservationer kunne der foretages en sammenligning af, hvorvidt der gennem BA'en kan skabes en bevidsthed om vigtigheden af det respektive andetsprog/fremmedsprog, der undervises i, som arbejdsprog hos stakeholdergrupperne. Især kunne det i den forbindelse også belyses, hvilken indflydelse denne bevidstgørelse ville have på undervisningen samt på de lærende og deres motivation for at lære deres respektive andetsprog/fremmedsprog.

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Native Danish listeners' evaluation of English accents

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Abstract: This paper examines native Danish listeners' attitudes towards five native English accents and some of the factors which are likely to influence listeners' evaluations. Forty-seven native Danish listeners participated in a verbal guise test in which they rated samples from five English varieties on status/competence (the power dimension), solidarity and voice quality dimensions, and had to guess the speaker's origin: Standard Southern British English (SSBE), General American (GA), Australian English (AUS), Scottish English (SCO), and Southern US English (SUS). Additionally, the listeners stated their accent preference and responded to questions regarding their English media consumption. The standard varieties SSBE and GA were rated highly on the power dimension, but downgraded on solidarity. The varieties AUS, SCO, and SUS were rated more positively on solidarity, but downgraded on power. SUS was correctly identified most frequently, followed by SSBE and GA, while the listeners had problems identifying SCO and AUS correctly. Accent preference and English media consumption were related to some of the individual traits, and the listeners' ability to identify GA correctly was related to their English media consumption. Overall, the present results suggest that future studies should examine the influence of media consumption on attitudes towards accents in greater detail.

Keywords: Language attitudinal study, English accent preferences, EFL, media and language attitudes.

1. Introduction

When George Bernhard Shaw, more than a hundred years ago, noted that "it is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishmen hate or despise him" (Shaw 1916, Preface to *Pygmalion*), he was probably right, but we know now that he was far too exclusive. Of course, it is not just males whose linguistic choices may offend other males, and it is not just native speakers of a language who react to linguistic traits of other native speakers of that language. A fairly large number of studies has documented, for English as well as many other languages, that people evaluate speakers along various social and psychological dimensions based on how the speaker is conveying the message (for a recent review, see Kinzler 2021). This "how" can be at the level of lexical items and morphosyntactic constructions, and in oral communication it is always and unavoidably the speaker's accent that provides a large amount of information about the speakers' social status and psychological state to the listener.

1.1. Language attitudinal studies

Accent-based evaluations of native speakers by native listeners have been examined in a range of studies with native listeners from various regions, e.g., Australia (Bayard, Weatherall, Gallois & Pittam 2001; Bradley & Bradley 2001), Canada (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum 1960), New Zealand (Bayard et al. 2001), the UK (Brown et al. 1985; Dixon, Mahoney & Cocks 2002; Bishop, Giles & Thakerar 2005; Coupland & Bishop 2007), and the US (Stewart, Ryan & Giles 1985; Preston 1999; Heaton & Nygaard 2011). The accents involved are often the standard varieties SSBE and GA, but also regional standards such as Australian English (AUS), New Zealand English (NZ), Irish English (IR), and Scottish English (SCO), as well as a range of regional accents as in the Coupland and Bishop (2007) and Heaton & Nygaard (2011) studies. These studies typically implement the matched guise test or the verbal guise test combined with a set of direct questions to elicit how native listeners evaluate the different varieties. In a matched guise test, participants are

presented with speech samples of different accents or even different languages recorded from the same speaker (the “guises”), which they then rate for a number of different characteristics, such as *humorous* or *educated*. The verbal guise test is a modified version of the matched guise test, where participants listen to different speakers. Whereas the matched guise test has the advantage of controlling for variables such as voice quality of the speaker, it can be very difficult to find speakers who can produce valid and believable speech samples of different accents or languages.

In the process of evaluating language attitudes, the attitudes are often measured along dimensions such as power/status and solidarity. The power dimension relates to a speaker's status (e.g., perceived occupation and education), whereas the solidarity dimension relates to perceived social attributes, such as friendliness and helpfulness. The most common findings in language attitudinal studies involving native listeners are that SSBE is rated highest on the power dimension (e.g., intelligence and wealth), and that SSBE rates fairly well on solidarity traits, but not as high as on power. GA tends to be rated second highest on the power dimension or, in some cases as in Bayard et al. (2001), rated higher than SSBE. In general, native listeners do not evaluate regional accents such as AUS, NZ, IR, SCO, and Southern US English (SUS) as positively as GA and SSBE on the power dimension, but they tend to rate higher on the solidarity dimension with traits such as friendliness, humor, and helpfulness. Importantly, the Bayard et al. (2001) study suggests that these evaluations may change over time; they report that “the American accent seems well on the way to equaling or even replacing RP as the prestige - or at least preferred - variety, not only in New Zealand but in Australia and some non-English speaking nations as well” (22).

Like native speakers, nonnative speakers also associate native speakers of their target language with certain characteristics based on their accent. This has been documented for a range of countries including Austria (Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboek & Smit 2003), China (Chan 2018), Japan (McKenzie 2006, 2008), Korea (Yook & Lindemann 2012), Spain (Carrie 2017; Carrie & McKenzie 2018), and Denmark (Jarvella, Bang, Jakobsen & Mees 2001; Ladegaard 1998; Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006). These studies reported that SSBE and GA are evaluated as the most preferred accents on the power dimension, but are downgraded on the social attractiveness dimensions. These studies also suggest that nonnative speakers whose target accent in school is SSBE tend to favor SSBE more than GA (Carrie 2017; Carrie & McKenzie 2018; Dalton-Puffer et al. 2003; Ladegaard 1998; Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006), and that nonnative speakers whose target accent in school is GA tend to favor GA over SSBE (McKenzie 2006). Regional varieties of English are rated lower in terms of power but are evaluated higher on the solidarity dimension.

One important difference between the bases for native and nonnative evaluations of accents is that for nonnatives, experience with target accents is likely to be more limited than for native speakers, both in terms of quantity of exposure and in terms of authenticity when direct exposure to native speakers of the target language is outweighed by indirect exposure through media such as movies. For the most widely used lingua franca, English, television and streaming make it possible for nonnatives to get exposed to different varieties of English. It is likely that this media exposure could shape listeners' attitudes toward different varieties as it is “an important socializing agent, providing knowledge about the social world and shaping (i.e. cultivating) viewers' social and cultural construction” (Dragojevic et al. 2016: 63).

In Denmark, English has a special and prominent role both in the educational system, at many workplaces, and in the media. English is the first foreign language taught in schools and introduced early in grade school, and it is frequently used as the medium of communication in tertiary education and in business (McArthur 2006). Foreign films and TV programs are being shown in their original language in Denmark, and with the majority of films and TV-shows being English, exposure to English is almost unavoidable (Preisler 2003). Much of this exposure is to GA, as reported by Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006), who found that during a random week, out of 472 programs broadcast on eight Danish national TV channels, 43% percent were American, and 6 % were British. Preisler

(2003) reported that Danes who prefer GA are interested in pop music or computer games, whereas Danes preferring SSBE are also interested in classical music and golf. This suggests that attitudes towards these varieties are intertwined with individuals' identity and that people's attitude towards accents might be influenced by one's personal preference. Preisler (2003) also reported that Danes who prefer GA tend to be younger and less educated than Danes who prefer SSBE.

Two studies examined native Danish listeners' evaluations of native English accents. In one study, Ladegaard (1998) and Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006) employed a verbal guise test and an accent recognition task with five varieties of English: SSBE, SCO, GA, AUS, and what was labeled as "Cockney". High school students and university undergraduates evaluated these accents in terms of status, competence, social attractiveness, personal integrity, and perceived quality of the language. SSBE was rated most positive on status and competence, GA was rated higher than SSBE on personal integrity and social attractiveness, and SCO and AUS as the most positive on the solidarity dimension. GA was most successfully identified correctly, followed by SSBE. The three other accents were difficult for the Danish students to correctly identify, particularly AUS, which high school students identified correctly at a rate of 8%, and undergraduates at a rate of 17%.

Participants were also asked to answer a set of direct questions about their attitudes to British and American language and culture, and which accent they were aiming at. This was included to test the hypothesis that younger people would rate an American accent more positively than other English varieties due to the high exposure to American culture, primarily through American media. The authors reported that American culture is viewed as more exciting than the participants' own culture and British culture. Interestingly, this cultural preference did not influence their choice of a target accent (with a preference for SSBE) or the evaluation of SSBE and GA as SSBE was rated highest on status and competence.

The other study is Jarvella et al. (2001), which focused on how skillful Danish students were at identifying speakers from England, Ireland, Scotland, and the USA. This study also had the students rate each speaker for attractiveness. Jarvella et al. (2001) excluded SSBE and GA as they wanted the listeners to rate for attractiveness and these two accents, as described above, tend to receive a higher rating on power and prestige dimensions. Two speakers from each accent were included. There were two experiments in which the listeners had to identify and rate speakers for attractiveness: In the first experiment evaluations were based on the speakers reading a word list out loud, and in the second experiment the speakers produced casual speech. The Danish students were able to identify the speakers 74% of the time and were more successful in identifying the speakers from England and USA. In terms of ratings of attractiveness, the British speakers were rated highest, and the American speakers were surprisingly rated the lowest (Jarvella et al. 2001).

1.2 The present study

One important motivation for the present study is that the data for the two earlier studies were collected more than 20 years ago. In the meantime, conditions for exposure to English in Denmark have changed considerably. The starting age for introducing English in the school curriculum has successively been lowered to first grade (in 2014), and, perhaps more importantly, the availability of English-language media has drastically increased with the wide-spread accessibility of the internet and social media.

The present study examined native Danish listeners' attitudes to a range of English accents by eliciting their reactions to audio files with verbal guises representing these accents, and by asking participants directly about their attitudes towards English accents. Participants were also asked whether they could identify the accents to determine whether knowledge of an accent might influence its evaluation, and participants provided estimates of their English-language media consumption. The design of the present study is inspired by previous language attitudinal studies as reviewed above to enable comparisons of our results with those of earlier studies. Five native English accents were

selected for the evaluations: Standard Southern British English (SSBE), General American (GA), Australian English (AUS), Scottish English (SCO), and Southern US English (SUS). These are accents which are frequently used in language attitudinal studies. From a Danish perspective, there are additional reasons to include these five accents. SSBE is the accent primarily taught in Danish educational settings, thus Danes are highly exposed to this variety and are likely to associate SSBE with a high degree of “correctness” (Milroy 2007: 133). GA was included because the Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006) study suggests that native Danish speakers are more exposed to this variety through English-language media than other varieties, and Bayard et al. (2001) reported a shift by native English speakers from SSBE to GA as the preferred English accent. This motivates our question of whether a shift in accent preference would also be observable for native Danish listeners. In some of the studies, varieties such as AUS, IR and SCO tend to be rated higher on traits that are related to solidarity. Compared to other regional variety speakers, the origin of Scottish and Australian English speakers is expected to be harder for native Danes to identify. Lastly, SUS is included because previous studies have not included this accent to the same extent as other regional varieties. Preston (1999) and Heaton and Nygaard (2011) reported that SUS tends to be rated lower on traits that are related to the power dimension, such as intelligence. It is expected that native Danish listeners will express similar attitudes towards SUS.

In summary: The questions that this study attempts to address are:

1. How do native Danish listeners rate the different native English accents?
2. How accurate are the native Danish listeners at identifying each of the English accents?
3. Do native Danish listeners show any preferences for specific English accents and if so, how do these affect the evaluation of the accents?
5. Does English media consumption influence how native Danes evaluate the English accents?
6. How do the present results relate to other language attitudinal studies?

2. Methods

This section will describe how we conducted the experiment: the participants, linguistic features of the speakers, the procedure, and decisions on how the questionnaire should be formed.

2.1 Participants

47 native Danish speakers (m age: 28.7 years, 24 f, 23 m) participated as unpaid volunteers. Depending on their age, participants had between 5 and 8 years English language instruction with SSBE and GA as target varieties. 42 of the participants had attended Danish high school, where English is an obligatory subject with exposure to a few regional varieties (Ladegaard 1998). Five of the participants, who had a BA or MA in English, were included in the study because even though they had acquired some linguistic knowledge about accents, their responses did not differ systematically from the other participants.

Participants were recruited via Facebook and word of mouth. Participants filled in a background questionnaire (Appendix 3) which elicited information on their gender, age, current occupation, their estimated daily use of English, length of residence in an English-speaking country, and on the estimated amount of weekly English media consumption.

2.2 Materials: speech samples

We chose the verbal guise test as it ensured having authentic speech samples and a sufficient number of sound samples. In the process of choosing the speech samples, speakers with similar voice quality and speaking rate were selected. The verbal guise voice samples were selected from the Speech Accent Archive (<http://accent.gmu.edu>). The Speech Accent Archive currently features nearly 3,000 samples of the same read text from both native and non-native speakers with many different English

accents. The text, reproduced below, “contains most of the consonants, vowels, and clusters of standard American English” (Weinberger 2015).

Please call Stella. Ask her to bring these things with her from the store: Six spoons of fresh snow peas, five thick slaps of blue cheese, and maybe a snack for her brother Bob. We also need a small plastic snake and a big toy frog for the kids. She can scoop these things into three red bags, and we will go meet her Wednesday at the train station.

For the current study, we included only the first half of the passage (until *Bob*) because it contained enough accent-specific features for each speaker and because it limited the time that participants had to spend on the task. The Speech Accent Archive also contains demographic information about each speaker, which helps select speakers based on variables such as gender, age, and regional origin.

We selected samples from two male speakers each for the five English varieties Standard SSBE, GA, SUS, SCO, and AUS.¹ These speakers were selected because they differed primarily with respect to accent properties (see below), and as little as possible with respect to other properties of the speech samples which were irrelevant for the aims of the present study, such as speaking rate and voice quality.

Speaker 1 (GA) from Pittsburgh, PA, USA, was 42 years old at the time of recording. His typical GA features include the use of /r/ in non-prevocalic positions (in *store* [stɔːr]), the flap [ɾ] (in *ask her to bring* [æsk əɹ rə bɪŋ]), the vowel [æ] (in *ask* [æsk]), and the diphthong [oʊ] (in *snow*).

Speaker 2 (SCO) from Glasgow, Scotland, was 37 years old at the time of the recording. His typical SCO features include the alveolar trill [r] (in *bring* [brɪŋ]), the occurrence of /r/ in non-prevocalic positions (in *her* [ər]), and the monophthongs [o] and [e] instead (in *snow* [sno] and *maybe* [mebi]).

Speaker 3 (AUS) from Darwin, Australia, was 24 years old at the time of the recording. His features, typical of Cultivated Australian English, and shared with SSBE, include non-rhoticity, linking and intrusive /r/, lack of /r/ in non-prevocalic positions (in *brother* [bɪˌlðɛ]), the onglide [ə] (in *snow* [snəʊ]) is [əʊ]. Specifically, AUS features include the diphthongized /i/ (in *please* as [pliːz]), and the fronted /u/ (in *spoons* [spʊnz]).

Speaker 4 (GA) from Idaho Falls, ID, USA, was 32 years old at the time of the recording. He exhibits many of the same GA features as Speaker 1, such as the use of non-prevocalic /r/ (in *store* [stɔːr], *brother* [bɪˌlðɛ]), the vowel [æ] (in *ask* [æsk]), and the diphthong [oʊ] (in *snow*).

Speaker 5 (SCO) from Glasgow, Scotland, was 32 years old at the time of the recording. His Scottish accent is not as prominent as that of Speaker 2, but he exhibits the typically SCO features of a monophthongal [o] (in *snow* [sno]) and rhoticity (in *her* [hɛr], *brother* [bɪˌlðɛr]).

Speaker 6 (SUS) from Atlanta, GA, USA, was 56 years old at the time of recording. His Southern features include the monophthong [a] (in *five* [fav]) and the so-called the southern drawl, which “involves relatively greater length in stressed, accented syllables as compared to unstressed; this is accompanied by diphthongization and other modifications of some accented syllables” (Wells 1982: 529). Like many other Southern US speakers, his speech is rhotic (in *her* [hɛr], *store* [stɔːr]).

Speaker 7 (SSBE) from Bury St. Edmunds, UK, was 18 years old at the time of the recording. His SSBE features included non-rhoticity, the use of [ɑ] (in *ask* [ask]), and the onglide [ə] (in *snow* [snəʊ]).

Speaker 8 (SSBE) from Stratford-on-Avon, UK, was 43 years old at the time of recording. Like speaker 7, his SSBE features included non-rhoticity, the use of [ɑ] (in *ask* [ask]), and the onglide [ə]

¹ In the Speech Accent Archive, Speaker 1 is *english1* (GA), Speaker 2 is *english24* (SCO), Speaker 3 is *english73* (AUS), Speaker 4 is *english75* (GA), Speaker 5 is *english80* (SCO), Speaker 6 is *english116* (SUS), Speaker 7 is *english145* (SSBE), Speaker 8 is *english368* (SSBE), Speaker 9 is *english579* (AUS) and Speaker 10 is *english619* (SUS).

(in *snow* [snəʊ]).

Speaker 9 (AUS) from Adelaide, Australia, was 22 years old at the time of the recording. Like the AUS speaker 3, his features include non-rhoticity (in *brother* [brʌðə]), the onglide [ə] (in *snow* [snəʊ]) is [əʊ], the diphthongized /i/ (in *please* [pli:z]), and the very fronted /u/ (in *spoons* [spʊnz]).

Speaker 10 (SUS) from Jackson, TN, USA, was 21 years old at the time of the recording. Like the SUS speaker 6, this speaker has post-vocalic /r/ (in *her* [həɹ]) and the monophthong [a] (in *five* [fəv]) and the so-called southern drawl is also present. This speaker realizes /u/ as a diphthongized vowel with a fronted onglide (in *spoons* [spʊənz]).

The ten sound files were separately uploaded as a black-screen video to Youtube for presentation in SurveyXact.

2.3 Materials: questionnaire

The present study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, which dictated a number of methodological decisions. We designed an online questionnaire which did not require a physical meeting of experimenter and participants. The entire questionnaire and the introduction were written in Danish.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts: The verbal guise test, the three direct questions that elicited participants' overt attitudes towards English, and background information for each participant.

In the verbal guise test, the participants had to evaluate each speaker on three dimensions Power (*Intelligent, Educated, Rich, Authoritative, and Confident*), solidarity (*Friendly, Reliable, Humorous, Helpful and Honest*), and voice quality (*Pleasant Voice and Powerful voice*), see Appendix 1. These dimensions were chosen based on the studies by Bayard et al. (2001), Ladegaard (1998), Ladegaard and Sachev (2006), and Cargile et al. (1994). Participants rated each trait on Likert scales ranging from 1 ("very little") to 6 ("very much"). Below the rating scales, participants were asked to identify the speaker origin (free classification), and to rate how confident they were in their assessment of the speaker's origin on a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 ("uncertain"), 2 ("somewhat uncertain"), 3 ("somewhat certain"), 4 ("certain"). The ability to correctly identify the origin of the speaker was also included to examine if the native Danish listeners' speaker origin identification would be similar to native English speakers, and the confidence rating was included to examine if there would be a relation between how well the native Danes correctly identified the origin of the speaker and how confident they were in their assessment. A separate questionnaire elicited responses regarding English accent use/preferences (Appendix 2), namely *Which English accent do you aim at using when speaking English? Which English accent do you most frequently encounter? and Which English accent do you least prefer to hear spoken?*

2.4 Procedure

The experiment was run via SurveyXact. Participants were first introduced to the aim of the study and the structure of the questionnaire, and they were instructed to wear headphones to listen to the sound files. Participants then gave their informed consent and received assurance that their data would be treated in compliance with the GDPR. Next, participants were presented with one page for each speaker which contained the sound clip and the evaluation and identification questions for that speaker (see Appendix 1). Finally, participants responded to the questions regarding English accent use/preferences (Appendix 2). Once the participant had completed the page for a speaker, the participants would be presented with the next page with a new speaker. Because SurveyXact lacks facilities to randomize pages, the order of presentation of the ten speakers was fixed as follows: Speaker 9 (AUS), speaker 1 (GA), Speaker 2 (SCO), Speaker 6 (SUS), Speaker 5 (SCO), Speaker 8 (SSBE), Speaker 10 (SUS), Speaker 4 (GA), Speaker 7 (SSBE), Speaker 3 (AUS). This sequence ensured that the same varieties were not presented right after each other.

3. Results and data analysis

This section is organized as follows: We first present the participants’ evaluations of the samples from five English accents along the 12 rating scales. Next, we focus on how good participants are at identifying each speaker’s regional origin, and how confident they are in their assessment. We then present listeners’ attitudes towards accents (preferences/dislikes) and whether these attitudes affected ratings for the 12 traits. Finally, we examine whether media consumption influences accent evaluation and the ability to identify accents correctly.

3.1 Overall rating for the five English varieties

We grouped the 12 traits of the questionnaire into three categories: Power, Solidarity, and Voice Quality. These categories correspond to Ladegaard and Sachdev’s (2006) “Social status and competence”, “Social attractiveness and personal integrity”, and “Quality of language”. Figure 1 shows how the listeners evaluated the English accents for these three categories, with SSBE scoring the most positive rating out of all accents on the Power dimension and rating fairly high on the Solidarity and Voice Quality dimensions as well. GA is rated second highest on Power but compared to the other varieties GA is rated low on Voice Quality and lowest on Solidarity. SCO and AUS rate high on both the Solidarity and Voice Quality dimensions but lower on Power compared to SSBE and GA. Finally, SUS is rated considerably lower on the Power dimension compared to the other accents. SUS is also rated lower on Voice Quality and is almost on par with GA in terms of Solidarity

Figure 1: Mean ratings for Power, Solidarity, and Voice Quality traits for five English accents.

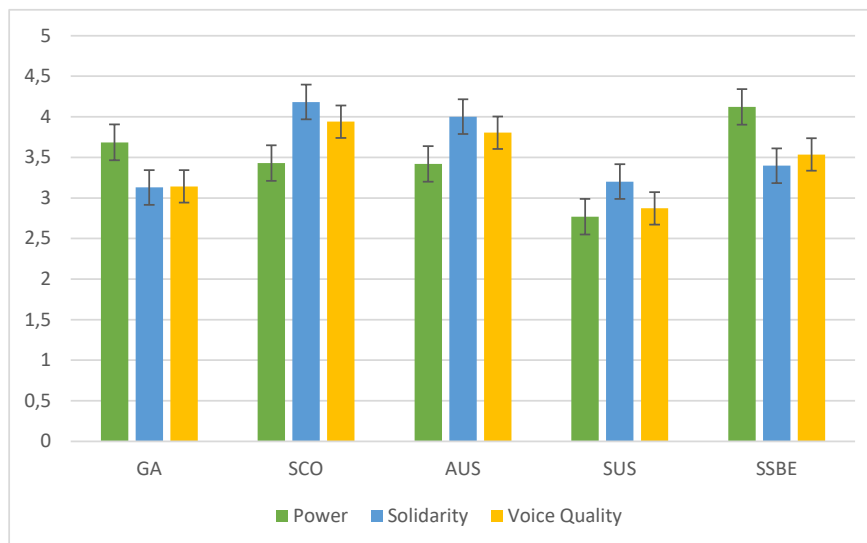
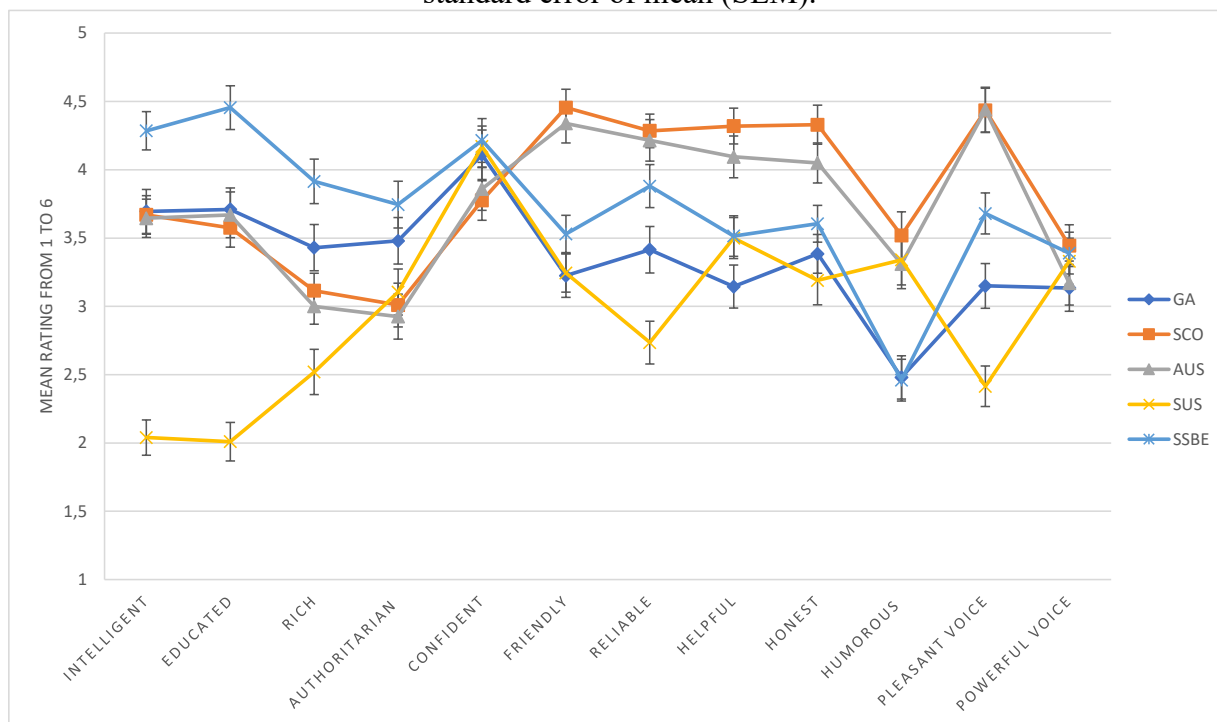


Figure 2 presents in more detail the mean ratings for each trait for the two speakers of each variety. In order to examine whether the differences shown in Figure 2 are statistically significant, we performed a series of ANOVAs with post-hoc Tukey tests. The results reported below are all based on non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis One Way ANOVAs on Ranks because Shapiro-Wilk tests revealed that none of the scores were normally distributed, which prevented using parametric tests.

Figure 2: Mean rating for each English accent by the Danish listeners. Error bars indicate the standard error of mean (SEM).



The Kruskal-Wallis ANOVAs on Ranks revealed that all traits significantly differed from each other between the accents except for *Powerful Voice* and *Confident* where there was no significant difference between the medians for the groups. Table 1 lists the results of the post-hoc tests showing statistically significant (with $\alpha = .05$) differences between the evaluations of the five accents

Table 1: Differences in the evaluation of traits for the English accent groups. NS is non-significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$, ***: $p < 0.001$

Intelligent	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	**	**	**	***
GA		NS	NS	***
SCO			NS	***
AUS				***

Educated	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	**	***	***	***
GA		NS	NS	***
SCO			NS	***
AUS				***

Rich	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	NS	<u>***</u>	<u>***</u>	<u>***</u>
GA		NS	NS	<u>***</u>
SCO			NS	<u>**</u>
AUS				*
				-

Authoritarian	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	NS	<u>**</u>	<u>***</u>	<u>**</u>
GA		NS	<u>**</u>	NS
SCO			NS	NS
AUS				NS

Friendly	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	NS	<u>**</u>	<u>**</u>	NS
GA		<u>***</u>	<u>***</u>	NS
SCO			NS	<u>***</u>
AUS				<u>***</u>

Reliable	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	<u>**</u>	<u>**</u>	<u>**</u>	<u>***</u>
GA		NS	NS	<u>***</u>
SCO			NS	<u>***</u>
AUS				<u>***</u>

Helpful	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	NS	<u>***</u>	<u>**</u>	NS
GA		<u>***</u>	<u>***</u>	NS
SCO			NS	<u>***</u>
AUS				<u>**</u>

Humorous	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	NS	***	***	***
GA		***	***	***
SCO			NS	NS
AUS				NS

Honest	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	NS	***	***	NS
GA		***	NS	NS
SCO			NS	***
AUS				***

Pleasant Voice	GA	SCO	AUS	SUS
SSBE	*	**	**	***
GA		***	***	**
SCO			NS	***
AUS				***

The statistical analyses confirm some of the differences observed in Figure 1 and Figure 2. Table 1 shows that SSBE and SCO, AUS, and SUS differ significantly on the Power dimension (*Intelligent, Educated, Rich, Authoritarian, and Confident*). There is also a significant difference between the median of SSBE and GA on *Intelligent* and *Educated*, but there is no statistically significant difference between SSBE and GA for *Rich* and *Authoritarian*. SUS differs significantly from the other accents on *Intelligent, Educated* and *Rich*.

SCO and AUS differ significantly from the other three accents on *Helpful* and *Friendly*. For *Honest*, there are statistically highly significant differences between SCO and GA, SSBE, and SUS, and between AUS and SUS and SSBE. For the trait *Pleasant Voice*, SCO and AUS are both significantly different from GA, SSBE and SUS. SSBE differs significantly from GA and SUS, and GA differs significantly from SUS in *Pleasant Voice*.

3.2 Identification of the speaker's origin

In the verbal guise test, one of the questions asked the participants to guess where each speaker is from. The participants did not have a list to choose from but had to write their guesses in text. Therefore, the answer from each participant had to be assessed to determine whether they had correctly identified the speaker. For SSBE, *London, South England, British, and England* were accepted as correct. For GA, *American, North American, and USA* were accepted as correct. For SUS, *Southern US, Texas, Alabama* were accepted as correct, as were *South US* and *Southern part of USA*, since the geographical area covers the specific ones. For SCO, *Scotland* and *Northern England* were

accepted as correct – the ten responses of *Ireland* for SCO were not accepted as correct even though SCO and Irish English share several phonetic traits. For AUS, *Australia* was accepted as correct. The participants were also asked to rate on a scale from 1 (not certain) to 4 (certain) how confident they were in their assessment. Table 2 summarizes the percentage of the participants who correctly identified the accent of the speakers, the mean rating for the participants' confidence rating ranging from 1 to 4, and the Recognition index for each speaker. The Recognition index is the product of the proportion of correct identification and the confidence rating scores, which results in a range of Recognition indices from 0 to 4. For example, the Recognition index for Speaker 7 is $0.66 * 2.19 = 1.44$. For SUS, SSBE, GA, and AUS, the recognition indices per speaker only differed between 0.06-0.36, whereas there was a large difference in recognition indices between the two SCO speakers of 1.47.

Table 2: Correct identification of accent, confidence rating, and recognition index for each accent

	SSBE	GA	AUS	SCO	SUS
Correct Identification	64.9 %	62.8 %	30.9 %	40.5 %	93.6 %
Confidence Rating	2.23	2.39	2.02	2.35	3.22
Recognition Index	1.44	1.50	0.62	0.95	3.01

The native Danish listeners were particularly good at identifying SUS with a recognition index at 3.01. This indicates that the Danish listeners were accurate in their identification of the accent and were very confident in their assessment. This is not surprising as the Southern US accent is very characteristic and is an accent that Danes are familiar with from American movies, tv-shows and news coverage.

For GA and SSBE, the Danish listeners were fairly good at identifying these two accents with recognition indices of 1.50 and 1.44 respectively. It is not surprising that the SSBE and GA were frequently identified correctly by the listeners, who also were somewhat confident in their assessment, because these varieties are often encountered by Danes in media and educational settings, and they are categorized as the “standard” varieties of English.

SCO was a bit more difficult for the listeners to identify with a recognition index at 0.95. The listeners expressed more uncertainty in their assessment of Speaker 5 than Speaker 2. This could be a result of Speaker 5 having fewer linguistic features characteristic of the Scottish accent compared to Speaker 2, and several of these features link him more to a SSBE speaker – see section 2.2. Unsurprisingly, many of the listeners guessed that the SCO speakers were from *Ireland* or *Northern Ireland*, since these varieties share several linguistic cues (Ladegaard 1998: 261).

Lastly, for AUS, the listeners had difficulty identifying the two speakers, which is evident from the lowest recognition index of all accents at 0.62. Many listeners guessed that Speaker 3 and especially Speaker 9 were from *England*, *UK* or *London*, which are reasonable guesses as the Australian English speakers share several linguistic features that are also present in SSBE. It should be noted that Speaker 9 received a lower correct identification and lower confidence rating than Speaker 3. A possible reason for this difference could be that Speaker 9 was presented as the first speaker and Speaker 3 was the last speaker. The listeners may have been more confident in their

assessment in the beginning of the study compared to the end. This could also have affected the identification as all the listeners heard Speaker 9 in the beginning and might have picked up on more linguistic cues as they heard more speakers.

3.3 Preference for a particular accent and evaluation of that accent

The second part of the questionnaire contained two direct questions, the first of which asked the participants which accent they aim at using when speaking English. 25 (of 47) participants wrote that they aimed at British English, with answers including *British*, *English*, *Oxford* and *Standard English*. 14 participants answered that they aimed at using a Standard American accent, with answers being *American*, *US* or *Standard American*. The remaining nine participants had diverse responses with three aiming at a *mix of British and American*, two aiming at a *Danish accent*, one responded aiming at a *Nordic accent*, and three who were not aiming at using any specific accent.

With most of the listeners either preferring British or American English, we decided to only compare preferences for these accents in this section. The mean rating for all traits for GA and SSBE speakers was split into two groups based on the variety the listeners aimed at using. The difference in mean rating of the traits for each speaker are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Mean rating for GA and SSBE as a function of participants' preferred accent (Error bars indicate Standard Error Mean (SEM))

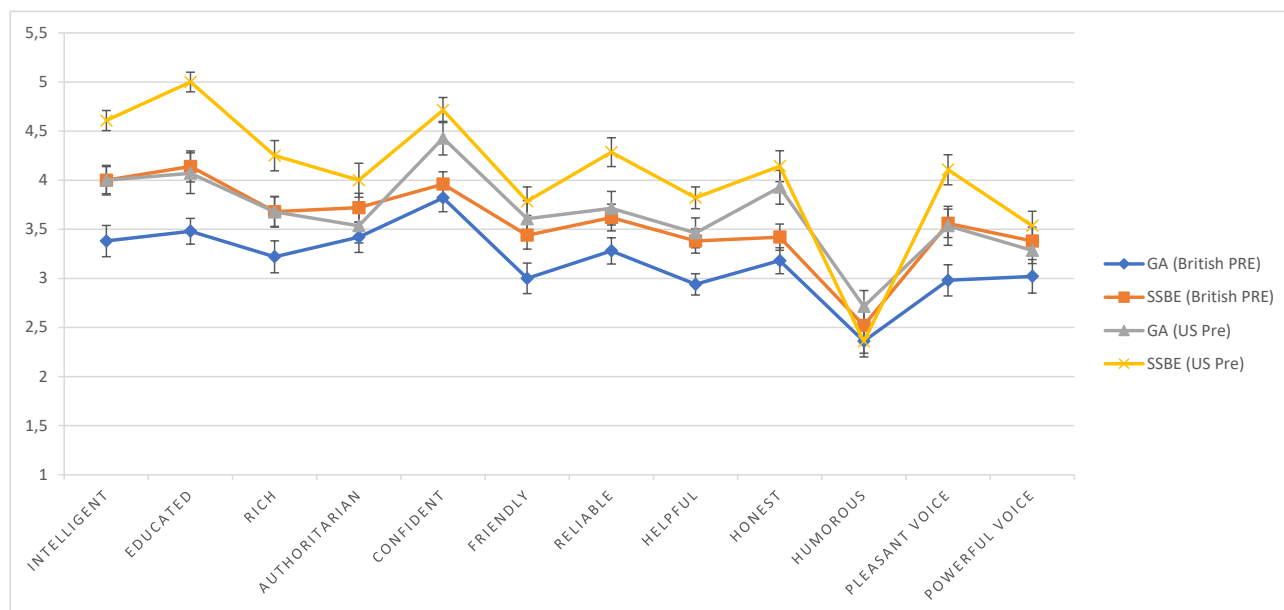


Figure 3 suggests that listeners who aim at using an American accent are rating both GA and SSBE higher than the listeners who aim at using a British accent. The evaluation of each accent by each group follows a similar pattern. However, it appears that the rating of SSBE by participants who aim at using American is higher than for GA for all traits except for *Humorous*. The same pattern can be observed in how the two groups differ in their evaluation of the GA accent. Furthermore, the participants who aim at American English also rate GA on par with how participants with a British English preference evaluate SSBE. Moreover, it seems that some of the traits are evaluated similarly across all participants and between the two accents. These traits are *Humorous*, *Authoritarian* and *Powerful Voice*.

To examine whether the visual impression provided by Figure 3 would be statistically supported, we conducted a series of analyses. We first ran Shapiro-Wilk tests to determine whether

the ratings were normally distributed, which made it possible to conduct parametric t-tests, or not, in which case we conducted non-parametric Mann-Whitney U tests. For the samples of the GA accent, the ratings were normally distributed for 6 out of the 12 traits: *Educated*, *Rich*, *Friendly*, *Reliable*, *Pleasant Voice* and *Powerful Voice*. For the SSBE, only two ratings were not normally distributed: *Educated* and *Powerful Voice*. It was possible to conduct parametric independent t-tests on these ratings. For the ratings that were not normally distributed, non-parametric Mann-Whitney U tests were conducted. Table 4 contains the *p*-values for the two-tailed independent t-tests and Mann-Whitney U tests that were significantly different.

Table 4. Levels of significance for trait evaluation differences between GA and SSBE preference listeners. NS is non-significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < \text{Bonferroni correction}$

Trait	Preference	GA rated	SSBE rated
Intelligent	GA	*	*
	SSBE	—	—
Educated	GA	*	**
	SSBE	—	—
Rich	GA	*	*
	SSBE	—	—
Confident	GA	*	*
	SSBE	—	—
Honest	GA	**	**
	SSBE	—	—
Pleasant Voice	GA	NS	*
	SSBE	—	—

With a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$, the two groups differed significantly in how they rated GA for the trait *Educated* ($p = 0.02007$) and for rating SSBE for *Intelligent* ($p = 0.00803$), *Rich* ($p = 0.01428$), *Honest* ($p = 0.0029$), *Confident* ($p = 0.00717$) and *Pleasant Voice* ($p = 0.0181$). For the non-parametric test, the two groups differed significantly in how they rated GA for *Intelligent* ($p = 0.00908$), *Confident* ($p = 0.02191$) and *Honest* ($p = 0.00800$). For SSBE, the two groups differed significantly for *Educated* ($p = 0.00129$). However, with multiple comparisons, we adjusted the alpha level using the Bonferroni correction, which resulted in an alpha level of $(.05/6, \text{the number of comparisons}) = .0083$ for both the parametric and the nonparametric tests on the GA ratings, and alpha levels of $(.05/10) = .005$ and $(0.5/2) = .025$ for the parametric and the nonparametric tests, respectively, on the SSBE ratings. With this adjustment three traits are still statistically significant for GA: *Honest* ($p < 0,0083$) and for SSBE it is also *Honest* ($p < 0.005$) and *Educated* ($p < 0.025$). In other words, listeners who aim at using a British accent and an American accent differed significantly in the evaluation of GA speakers in terms of *Honest* and SSBE speakers in terms of *Honest* and *Educated*.

3.4 Attitudes towards accents and its influence on accent evaluation

The last direct question that the participants had to answer in the second part of the questionnaire was *which accent do you least prefer to hear*. Participants provided numerous responses with some disliking specific accents such as *Scouse* and *Geordie*, and some disliking *Indian accent*, *Danish accent*, *British* and *American English*. A few participants also had no strong aversion towards any English accent. However, the most noticeable aversion toward any English accent given by the native Danish listeners was the *Southern US accent* – with 17 out of the 47 listeners stating they dislike hearing SUS. In order to examine if this aversion for a specific accent would influence the accent evaluations, the listeners were divided into two groups: one group consisting of the 17 participants who expressed a dislike for SUS and the other group consisting of the remaining 30 participants who expressed a dislike for some other accent or who did not have any particular dislike towards any English accent. Figure 4 summarizes the mean rating for all traits for SUS by the two accent dislike groups.

Figure 4: Mean rating for SUS based as a function of accent dislike for SUS (Error bars indicate Standard Error of the Mean (SEM))

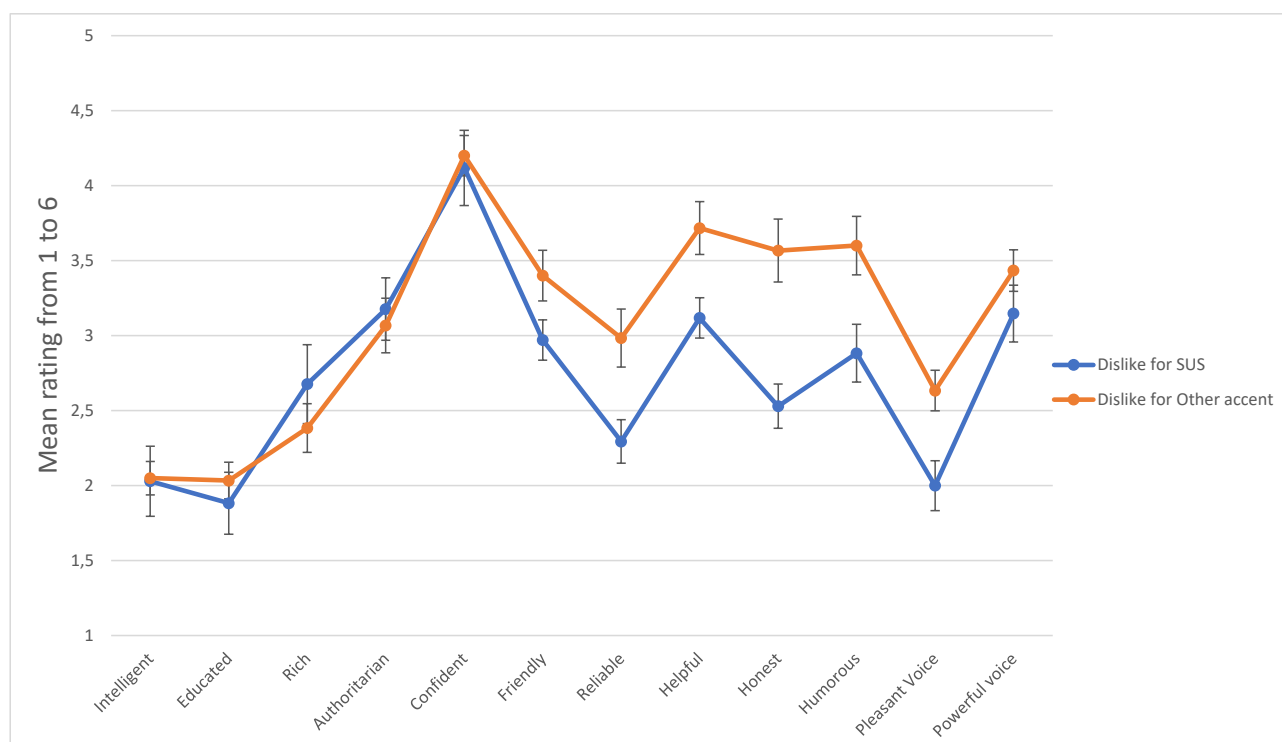


Figure 4 suggests that for some of the traits, such as *Intelligent*, *Educated*, *Authoritarian*, *Rich* and *Confident*, there are no noticeable differences between the two groups, i.e., the two groups evaluate SUS equally on the Power dimension (*Intelligent*, *Educated*, *Authoritarian*, *Rich*, and *Confident*). The ratings for *Confidence*, as pointed out in section 3.1., are stable across all 10 speakers. However, for the remaining seven traits, the Solidarity dimension and the Voice Quality dimension, it seems that listeners with an aversion towards SUS evaluate this accent lower than listeners who do not. This could indicate that the group of native Danish listeners who dislike hearing SUS have stronger negative social connotations associated with this accent compared to listeners who do not express an aversion towards SUS. In order to determine if the differences shown in Figure 4 are significant, additional statistical analyses were conducted.

We checked whether the differences followed a normal distribution. The ratings for *Educated*, *Honest* and *Rich* did not follow normal distributions, so we conducted Mann-Whitney U tests which revealed that the only trait out of the three where the two groups differed at the significance level $\alpha = 0.05$ was *Honest* ($p = 0.0015$). For the other nine traits independent t-tests were conducted. Significant differences existed only for the evaluation of the traits *Helpful*, *Humorous*, *Reliable* and *Pleasant Voice* (at $p > 0.05$). The independent t-tests suggest that the two groups differ significantly for *Pleasant Voice*, *Reliable*, *Helpful* and *Humorous*. However, when the Bonferroni correction is applied, the alpha level for the parametric t-tests has to be adjusted to $(.05/9) = .0056$, and for the non-parametric tests to $(.05/3) = .01667$. With these adjustments, none of the p -values reach significance. Differences between the evaluation of the traits *Pleasant Voice* ($p = 0.0069$) and *Reliable* ($p = 0.0077$) are marginally significant. However, the p -value obtained from the Mann-Whitney U test for the trait *Honest* remains significant even when adjusted for multiple comparisons. Interestingly, this was also the trait that was significantly different for listeners who preferred a particular accent (section 3.3). This indicates that accent preference and accent aversion have similar rating patterns.

3.5 Media consumption: influence on evaluation

Participants had to estimate how much English media they used in an average week. Their answers were examined individually as they had the option to write freely, so some answers were *10-15 hours*, *30+*, *around 20 hours*, etc. For our analyses, it would be useful to divide the participants into two groups with either low or high consumption of English media. There was a somewhat natural threshold for the two groups at 15 hours. Therefore, the group with low English media consumption was defined as 0 to 15 hours a week (with 26 participants), and the group with high English media consumption was defined as 20+ hours (with 20 participants; there were no answers between 15 and 20 hours). One of the participants was not included as the person wrote that they used 140 hours a week on English media. The evaluation of each accent was calculated in a similar manner as the previous sections: the average rating for the speakers with the same accent was calculated for each listener according to their media consumption. Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the mean ratings for each accent based on the participant's media consumption.

Figure 5: Evaluation of the five accents by participants with low English media consumption

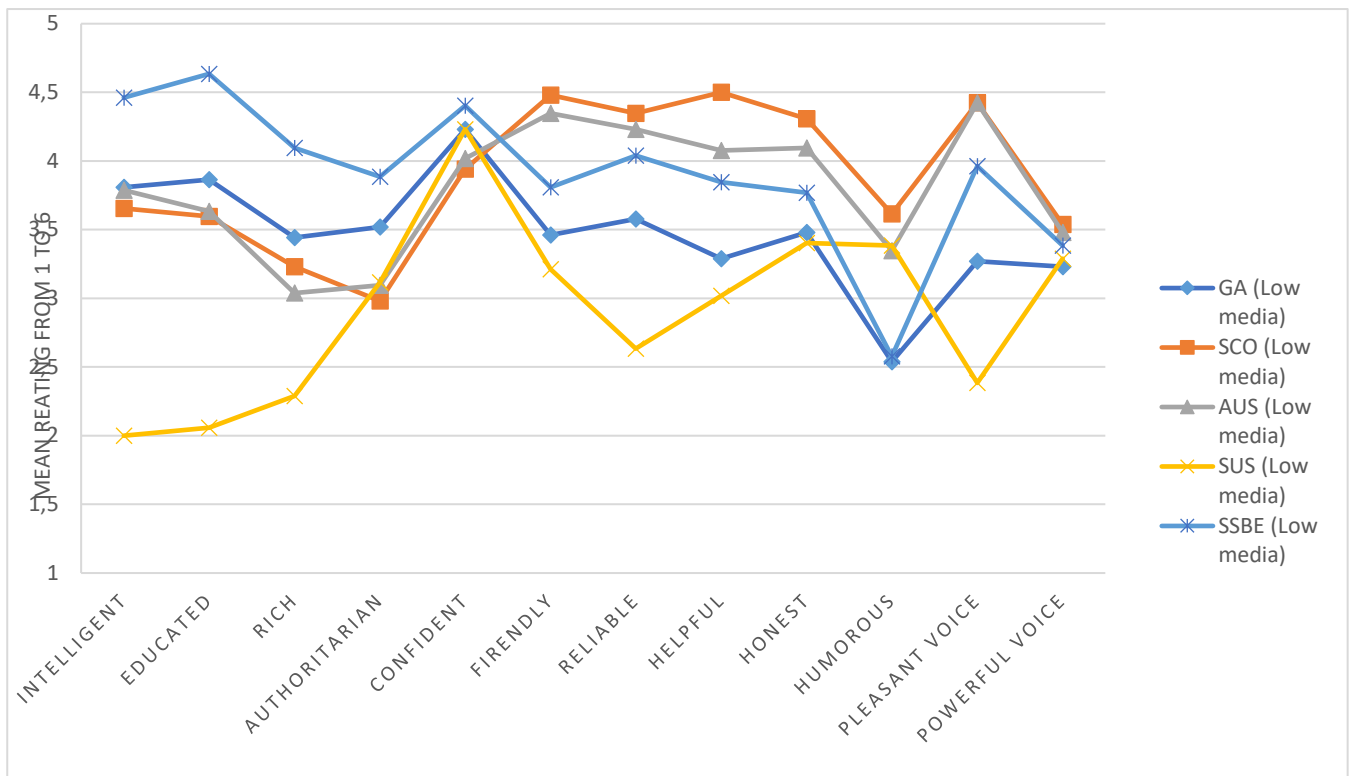
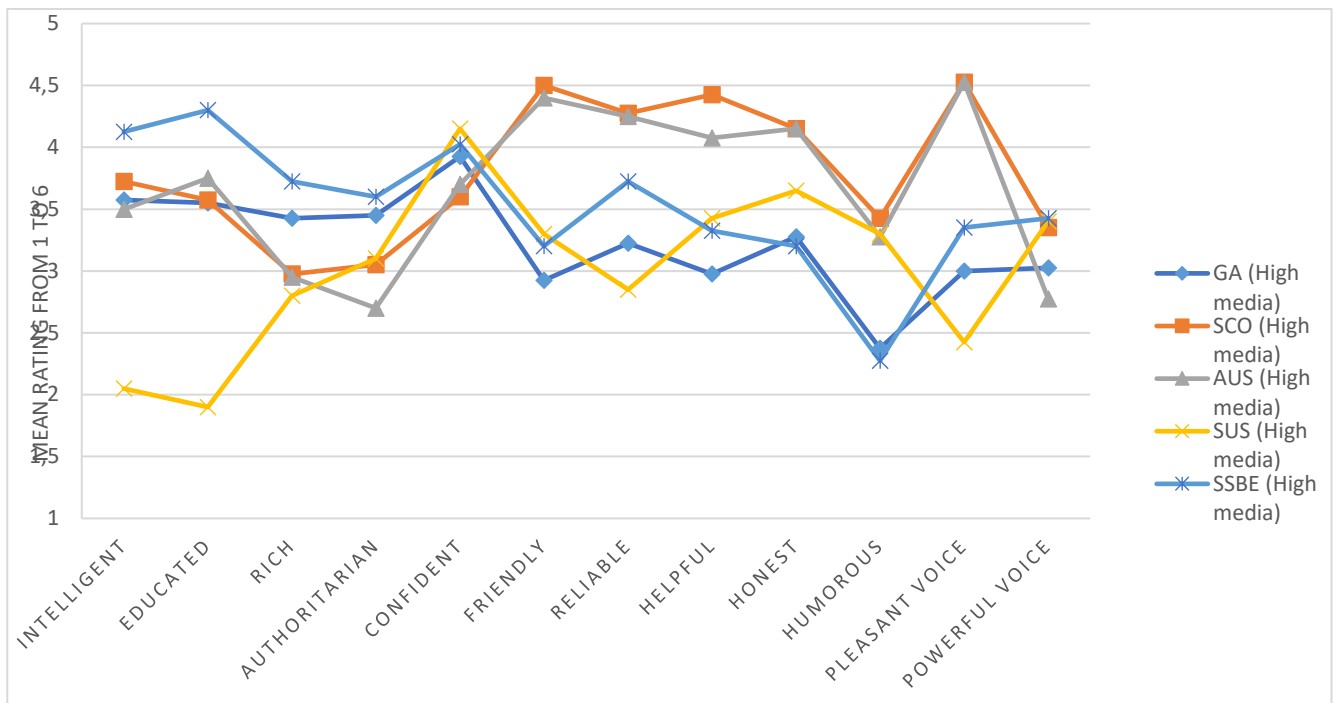


Figure 6: Evaluation of the five accents by participants with high English media consumption



The mean ratings shown in the two graphs do not appear to differ considerably from each other as there are similar patterns for each accent and trait. However, there are a few differences that would need to be examined. Comparison of Figure 5 and Figure 6 suggests that participants with high

English media consumption rated *Rich* higher for SUS compared to those with low English media consumption. This comparison also suggests that for the SSBE accent the traits *Pleasant Voice*, *Honest* and *Helpful* are rated higher by the participants with low English media consumption. To determine whether these differences are significant, it is necessary to perform an independent t-test for each accent based on the two media consumption groups.

As with the other analyses reported in this section, Shapiro-Wilk tests were conducted to determine if each sample followed a normal distribution. This test for normality failed for many of the samples and for these cases, we used non-parametric Mann-Whitney U tests. For the normally distributed samples we conducted independent t-tests. Table 5 shows the traits that were significantly different at significance level = 0.05. None of the Mann-Whitney U tests found any statistically significant differences between any groups.

Table 5. Levels of significance for trait evaluation differences between listeners with high vs. low English media consumption. NS is non-significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < \text{Bonferroni correction}$

Trait	Media Consumption	GA rated	SSBE rated	AUS rated
Friendly	Low	*	*	NS
	High			
Helpful	Low	NS	*	NS
	High			
Honest	Low	NS	*	NS
	High			
Pleasant Voice	Low	NS	**	NS
	High			
Powerful Voice	Low	NS	NS	*
	High			

At a significance level of .05, statistically significant differences for how the two English media groups evaluated were found for: *Friendly* for GA, *Powerful voice* for AUS English and *Friendly*, *Honest*, *Helpful* and *Pleasant Voice* for SSBE. However, applying the Bonferroni correction, the alpha level had to be reduced to $(.05/12) = .00417$. With this correction, only one of the comparisons is still statistically significant, i.e., the trait *Pleasant Voice* for SSBE. This means that the participants' evaluation of how *pleasant* the SSBE accent is differs significantly depending on their English media consumption.

3.6 Media consumption: influence on identifiability

We also examined the influence English media consumption has on the participants' ability to identify the accents correctly. We first assigned participants to either the low or the high English media consumption groups and then compared their guesses for each speaker. Similar to the procedure in section 3.2, each guess had to be assessed as correct or incorrect, e.g., if the listeners guessed that the speaker origin of Speaker 7 (SSBE) was *London, England* or *Southern England* it was judged to be a

correct guess. The results are summarized in Table 6, which presents the correct percentage identification of each speaker for the two English media consumption groups. The correct identifications of the speakers with the same accent were grouped together into one category, which was deemed acceptable due to the mostly similar evaluation of the two speakers.

Table 6. Percent correct identification of accents by listeners with low and high media consumption

	SSBE	GA	AUS	SCO	SUS
Low Media	59.65 %	46.15 %	26.95 %	38.45 %	92.45 %
High Media	72.50 %	80.00 %	37.50 %	42.50 %	100 %

The data in Table 6 indicate that the participants with high English media consumption are better at identifying the origin of the speakers than the group with low English media consumption. It would be necessary to support these observations with Chi-square tests to determine if there is a relationship between media consumption and correctly identification of the accents. The *p*-values obtained by the Chi-square tests adjusted with the Yates correction can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7: Results of Chi-square tests with Yates correction

Accent	<i>p</i> -value obtained by the Chi-square test with Yates correction
General American	0.0002056**
Scottish	0.859383
Australian English	0.391923
Southern US English	0.2013
Southern Standard British English	0.2866
** The median difference is significant adjusted with the Bonferroni correction	

The results of the Chi-square tests indicate that there is a statistically highly significant relationship between the English media consumption groups' ability to correctly identify the GA accent, even if the Bonferroni correction is applied, which results in an alpha level of $(.05/5) = .01$.

3.7 Summary of results

The results from section 3.1. showed that the native Danish participants rated SSBE and GA most positive on Power dimension but that these accents are downgraded on the Solidarity dimension. The regional varieties are rated lower on Power, especially SUS, but SCO and AUS are rated highly positive on Solidarity. In section 3.2, the accent most easily identified by the listeners was SUS with a recognition index at 3.01, followed by GA with 1.50 and SSBE with 1.44, then SCO with 0.95 and AUS with 0.62. Having an accent preference (section 3.3) is significantly related to how participants perceive *Honesty* of the speakers, and the same pattern was found for having an accent dislike (section 3.4). Lastly, English media consumption was only found to be significant for how participants perceived SSBE as a pleasant accent (section 3.5). In terms of English media consumption and

speaker origin identification, a higher consumption of English media was related to a significant difference in correct identification of GA (section 3.6).

4. Discussion and conclusion

The present study addressed three questions: (1) How do native Danish listeners evaluate five native accents of English along the dimensions of Power, Solidarity, and Voice Quality, (2) how these valuations are affected by the preference or dislike for particular accents of English, and (3), how do media consumption patterns affect these evaluations. The sections below will discuss the results of the present study and conclude with a discussion of its shortcomings and suggestions for future research.

4.1 Native Danish listeners' attitude towards English varieties

The results from the verbal guise test show that native Danish listeners' evaluation of the five English varieties are similar to results found in other language attitudinal studies for both native and non-native listeners. The Danish listeners rated SSBE as most positive on Power dimension and SSBE also scored fairly high on the Solidarity and Voice quality dimensions, but lower than SCO and AUS. This rating pattern of SSBE is similar to results in previous language attitudinal studies (Ladegaard 1998; Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006; Carrie and McKenzie 2018; Coupland and Bishop 2007). With the native Danish listeners being young (average age 28.3 years), it was expected that GA would score closely to SSBE due to English media consumption. Surprisingly, GA did not score as well as expected on the three dimensions. GA did receive the second highest score on the Power dimension which is a pattern that has been reported in previous studies (Ladegaard 1998; Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006).

However, amongst the five accents, GA was rated the lowest on Solidarity and second lowest on Voice quality – GA only surpassed the regional of SUS accent on voice quality. It is surprising that GA did not score higher than SSBE on the solidarity dimension as this is a pattern found in several studies (Ladegaard 1998; Bayard et al. 2001; Jarvella et al. 2001). Based on their results, Bayard et al. (2001) argue that General American might be on the way to surpass SSBE as the preferred accent. Bradac and Giles (1991) hypothesize that Scandinavian learners of English as a foreign language should evaluate GA more favorably than SSBE and be more motivated to learn GA because of the influence of American English and culture. The results from the present study do not support these views as SSBE was rated more positively than GA on Power and GA was rated most negatively on Solidarity. Of the accents examined here, GA was not rated the most positive on any of the 12 traits. There were also 25 listeners in the present study who aimed at using a form of SSBE when speaking English whereas 14 listeners aimed at using American English. This also suggests that Danes are more motivated to learn SSBE than GA, which is similar to the findings of Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006).

The case of SSBE being rated higher than GA on Power could be due to SSBE being the preferred accent in English educational settings in Denmark, which may lead to a perception of SSBE as being the “correct” accent. The ratings of the regional varieties SCO and AUS were as expected, they outperformed SSBE and GA significantly on the Solidarity and Voice quality. Cargile et al. (1994) point out that this is a rating pattern that is often reported in language attitudinal studies. Scottish and Australian English were downgraded when native Danish listeners had to evaluate the two accents on Power. It should be noted that Speaker 5 (SCO) was rated as expected on Solidarity, however, Speaker 5 was also rated higher than speakers of other regional varieties on Power. This result is not surprising as this speaker's Scottish accent was more atypical of SCO than the accent of Speaker 2. The accent of Speaker 5 resembles Canadian English on some linguistic traits more than SCO, which could explain the positive rating of Speaker 5 on the Power dimension. Lastly, SUS was rated significantly lower on Power compared to the other four accents. This is not surprising as “one

of the primary characteristics of the stereotyped Southern [US accent] is ignorance, but it is a specific kind of ignorance – one disassociated from education and literacy” (Lippi-Green 2012: 223). This suggests that Danes have a particular stereotype of people from the Southern states as being less intelligent. Similar to the other non-standard varieties, SUS is rated noticeably higher on Solidarity than on the Power dimension. SUS was also the accent that received the most negative rating on Voice quality (*Pleasant and Powerful Voice*). This could be the result of the number of participants having a particular dislike for the SUS accent.

In terms of identification of the five English varieties, native Danish listeners varied considerably across the accents. The accent which was most frequently correctly identified was SUS with a recognition index at 3.01. This is not surprising as the SUS accent has certain noticeable linguistic features compared to the other varieties, such as the so-called Southern drawl. The representation of SUS speakers in English media is likely also a factor that influences the level of correct identification of the SUS accent. If the Danish listeners have certain associations about people speaking with a SUS accent, then those associations might be reflected in their rating of these people. Both GA and SSBE were fairly well identified with a recognition index of 1.50 and 1.44, respectively. These two varieties are varieties that native Danes are exposed to via media and educational settings. Therefore, it is not surprising that the identification of these two varieties is relatively high.

The correct identification rate of SCO and AUS was much lower than the three other accents. SCO and AUS had recognition indices of 0.95 and 0.62 respectively. The results for identification of the five accents are similar to other studies for native listeners (Bayard et al. 2001; Lambert et al. 1960; Steward et al. 1985) and non-native listeners (Ladegaard 1998; Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006; Dalton-Puffer et al. 2003).

As briefly touched upon with the evaluation and speaker origin identification of the SUS speakers, the social connotation hypothesis could explain the evaluation of SUS, SSBE and to some degree also GA. However, even though many Danish listeners could not correctly identify the AUS speakers and the SCO speaker 5, the rating in the Verbal Guise Test illustrates a pattern that reflects social connotations and cultural norms associated with speakers from these regions. The two SCO and AUS speakers are rated the most positive on Solidarity and Voice quality. Therefore, the data support the proposition by Ladegaard (1998: 269) that listeners to some extent might rely on subconscious information.

4.2 Preference /dislike for a particular accent and evaluation of that accent

If listeners have a specific preference for a particular accent, it would be a fair assumption that the preference/dislike would affect how listeners rate that particular accent. The direct questions about listeners' overt attitudes showed a strong preference for using British English when the listeners had to speak English themselves; 25 out of the 47 participants chose British English. The accent that came in second place in terms of preference when speaking English was American English; 14 out of 47 participants chose American English. Coupland and Bishop (2007) also found that listeners tend to rate an accent similar to their own as more preferable. In the case of the Danish listeners, it would be expected that those listeners who speak with an American accent would favor GA and those who speak with a British accent would favor SSBE. However, the results in the present study did not find this pattern, i.e., the Danish listeners who preferred American English voted both SSBE and GA more positively than those listeners who preferred British English. Dalton-Puffer et al. (2003) also found that participants who preferred General American were more tolerant in their accent rating. However, the statistical analysis in the present study revealed that the only trait that was significantly different across the two groups was *Honest*. *Honest* was significantly different for the evaluation of both GA and SSBE. This suggests that preferring a particular accent affects the evaluation of speakers in terms of how honest the listeners perceive them.

The focus of having a particular dislike for an accent and how it influences accent evaluation

has not received the same attention as having a preference for an accent. The present study found only a dislike for one particular accent, which was SUS; 17 out of the 47 listeners expressed this specific dislike. The Danish listeners who dislike SUS and those listeners who dislike another English accent evaluated SUS similarly in terms of Power. This could suggest that the stereotype of Southern US people as being ignorant is particularly strong amongst Danes and that this stereotype is not directly related to a dislike of the accent. However, the data indicate that Danish listeners who dislike SUS English rate it noticeably lower on Solidarity. The rating by the two accent dislike groups was significantly different for the trait *Honest*. Interestingly, this was the same trait that was significantly different for the groups that had a particular accent preference. This suggests that having a particular preference or dislike for an accent influences how listeners evaluate speakers on the *Honest* dimensions.

4.3 Media consumption and its influence on accent evaluation and identifiability

For numerous reasons, the question about the influence of media on language attitude is difficult to examine. Studies have not found significant results regarding the influence of media on language change, and media's influence on attitudes is also difficult to fully explore (Stuart-Smith 2007). Perhaps the opportunity to easily access tv-shows, movies, podcasts, and influencers from all over the world could affect attitudes towards languages/accents. Bayard et al. (2001) found results indicating that there is attitudinal change towards of preference of GA over SSBE, which could be related to media exposure. For the present study, it was expected that the evaluations from listeners who consumed more English media would differ from listeners who consumed English media less. Media can, unintentionally, be the source which promotes or reinforces stereotypes both in terms of informational and entertainment venues (Moyer 2013: 110). Therefore, it was expected to find a difference based on English media consumption as American tv-shows and movies are easily accessible on the television for native Danes, but also simple to access on online streaming services. Regional accents are also less represented in the media landscape and when they are represented in the media, they are often portrayed less favorably on status-related traits (Dragojevic et al. 2016). However, there were no significant differences in how the 26 listeners with low English media consumption rated the GA speakers compared to the 20 listeners with a high English media consumption. There were also no strong differences between the two groups for the other varieties. Out of the five English varieties, only one trait was significantly different between the two groups, i.e., the rating of *Pleasant Voice* for SSBE. However, it is not clear why a higher consumption of English media would lead individuals to rate SSBE as a more pleasant voice or being better at identifying speaker origin.

The question on the influence of English media on native Danish listeners' evaluation of the speaker, apart from the rating of *Pleasant Voice* of SSBE, did not reveal any major findings. However, it was also of interest to examine if there is a difference in identifiability for the two English media consumption groups. The speaker origin identification was included for the focus on English media as "it may be easier for listener-judges to recognize speech varieties that they are exposed to via television, film and social media" (Carrie and McKenzie 2018: 314). Interestingly, there was a statistically significant difference in the identifications of GA. For the other four varieties, no significant differences were observed, because the two groups were both largely correct in their identifications, SUS and SSBE, or incorrect in their identifications, SCO and AUS. This indicates that listeners who have a high consumption of English media are better at identifying the origin of General American speakers. This could be a result of the group with high English media consumption being more exposed to General American than the other group due to the dominance of American produced tv-shows and movies. Other studies have reported that levels of accurate identifications of speaker origin are influenced by prior exposure to the accents, which is largely provided by education and English media (Carrie and McKenzie 2018: 325).

The results of identification based on participants' encountering of GA and another English variety did not reveal any significant difference. This could indicate that higher consumption of English media leads to a better identification of the General American accent. Therefore, the findings of this study support the hypothesis that there is a link between media variables and linguistic variables (Stuart-Smith 2007).

4.4 Shortcomings and future research

Two major shortcomings for this study have to do with the participants. Firstly, only 47 participants completed the entire questionnaire, which makes it problematic to generalize the findings. Secondly, as it was not possible to administer the questionnaire as a group administration and it had to be done online, primarily, through the same network of people, several of the 47 participants have a high level of education, which is not representative of the entire population. However, many researchers in the field also conduct experiments on students (Ladegaard 1998; Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006; Bayard et al. 2001). Many of the participants, who were students, came from many different departments such as *medicine*, *political science*, *psychology*, and *history*, which is somewhat more varied than if they all came from the same department.

In terms of the questionnaire, it was problematic that the speech samples could not be randomized to avoid bias. It was also not ideal that Speaker 5 (SCO) was deemed as the second-best choice for SCO since his Scottish accent was not that characteristic. However, the sound clips of the other Scottish speakers either had technical problems (e.g., background noise) or did not match the other speakers in terms of voice quality. On the other hand, an advantage when using the verbal guise test is that participants are responding to different speakers who are all speaking authentically. The verbal guise test is also a well-established method used to elicit participants' covert attitudes.

There were numerous aspects that were not touched upon in the analysis even though it would have been relevant to examine. Social factors, such as age (Coupland and Bishop 2007), gender (Coupland and Bishop 2007; Chan 2018), and occupation (Garrett et al. 1999) have been found to influence the evaluation of languages/accents. Length of exposure to particular English accents is also a factor that could have been included in the analysis as length of exposure likely influences listeners' attitudes. However, for this study, the focus was particularly on how native Danish listeners would evaluate different English varieties and how well they were at identifying these accents.

The decision to focus on having a particular preference/dislike for an accent and how it would influence the evaluation of that particular accent was included. Future studies with a larger number of participants could investigate the differences in listener's evaluation of English accents with specific attention to the solidarity trait *Honest*. Future research could also focus on how a particular preference/dislike for an accent might influence the rating of other varieties.

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Appendix 1. Verbal Guise Test

Sound clip of Speaker #

	Scale (1 = very little, 6 = very much)					
Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pleasant Voice	1	2	3	4	5	6
Reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Educated	1	2	3	4	5	6
Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6
Humorous	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rich	1	2	3	4	5	6
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6
Authoritarian	1	2	3	4	5	6
Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6
Powerful Voice	1	2	3	4	5	6

Where do you think the speaker is from? _____

How confident are you in your guess?

Unsure	A little unsure	A little sure	Sure

Appendix 2. Direct questions regarding attitudes to English accents

Which accent do you aim at using when speaking English? _____

Which English accent do you most frequently encounter? _____

Which English accent do you least prefer to hear spoken? _____

Appendix 3. Background information

In this section, please provide information about yourself as mentioned in the preface to the questionnaire, anonymity will be ensured.

Age: _____

Gender:

Male (), Female (), Other ()

How much do you use English on a daily basis?

Very little (), little (), a bit (), much (), very much ()

How many hours do you spend on a weekly basis on English media? (Tv-shows, movies, podcasts, music, etc.) _____

Occupation:

Student in an upper secondary education ()

Student in a higher education ()

The private sector ()

The public sector ()

Not currently employed ()

Pension ()

Independent ()

Other ()

If you have been or are a student in a higher education, please write the name of the education:

Have you lived/stayed in an English speaking country?

Yes (), No ()

If you have lived/stayed in an English-speaking country, how long was the stay? _____

Danish bare singular count nouns in subject position¹

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Abstract: This paper aims at investigating under which conditions Danish Bare Singular Count Nouns (BSCNs) can function as subjects in standard categorical statements, i.e. outside special discourse types such as proverbs, newspaper headlines, titles of paintings, etc. Taking as a point of departure a brief discussion of the distributional differences between, on the one hand, Bare Plural count nouns (BPs) and mass nouns and, on the other, BSCNs, it is shown that, contrary to BP- and mass noun subjects, BSCNs in subject position are non-referential and do not imply existential presupposition. On these grounds, and on the basis of analyses of phenomena such as agreement features, genericity and pseudo-incorporation, it is argued that the BSCN-subjects of categorical statements are objects which, owing to the lack of realisation of nominal functional categories, act as property-denoting modifiers restricting the denotation of a covert predicate. Consequently, it is concluded that BSCNs in subject position do not function as arguments in themselves, but are instead pseudo-incorporated into the covert predicate as modifiers.

Keywords: Bare noun subjects, covert predicates, event denotation, genericity, predicative adjectives, pseudo-incorporation, qualia structure, relations of telicity and possession.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study the conditions under which Bare Singular Count Nouns (BSCNs) occur as subjects in Danish categorical statements, as in (1).

- (1) **Pibe** er usundt.²
pipe is unhealthy
'To smoke (a) pipe is unhealthy.'

The main issue that is addressed in this paper is that the type of subject-BSCNs discussed below are actually non-argument modifiers which pseudo-incorporate into a covert predicate, as in *at ryge pibe* 'to smoke (a) pipe'. Consequently, rather than individuals, the relevant subject-BSCNs are analysed as property-denoting event modifiers which restrict the denotational scope of the V (the covert predicate) so that the V+BSCN structure names a subtype of the V's denotation.³ Together, the V and the BSCN form a complex unit of meaning which denotes either an activity event, as e.g. the activity of pipe-smoking in (1), or a 'possessive event' (exemplified later in the paper) (see also Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006; Dayal 2011; Müller 2017). The paper focusses mainly on Danish, but also draws on evidence from the two other mainland Scandinavian languages, Norwegian and Swedish.

The issue of BSCNs being licensed in subject position is interesting from both an empirical and a theoretical perspective.

¹ An earlier version of the ideas behind this study was presented at the yearly seminar of the Danish Grammar Network in the autumn of 2017. I wish to express my gratitude to the participants at this venue for their helpful comments and invaluable suggestions. A preliminary and very simplified outline of parts of the analysis has been published in Danish (Müller 2018).

² The bare noun is shown in bold in the numbered examples throughout the paper. Where no source is mentioned, the example has been constructed, or it is considered a common expression in Danish.

³ Here, 'individuals' refer to the objects denoted by the arguments of a well-formed sentence, while 'properties' correspond to what is predicated about them.

It is well-known that in languages that have articles the distribution of BSCNs is usually strongly restricted in comparison with that of Bare Plurals (BPs) and bare mass nouns and, of course, even more so if their limited occurrence is accounted for in contrast with fully-fledged Determiner Phrases (DPs).⁴ This is also the case in Danish (see e.g. Müller 2017), but overall the mainland Scandinavian languages are comparatively tolerant when it comes to licensing BSCNs both in predicative positions and in non-predicative ones, either as object arguments or arguments of prepositions (although taking very different approaches, see e.g. Hansen & Heltoft 2011 for Danish; Faarlund et al. 1997 for Norwegian and Delsing 1993 for Swedish).

Apart from traditional works, which in many cases mention the generic ‘flavour’ associated with the interpretation of bare nouns (see e.g. Mikkelsen 1975[1911]; Hansen 1927, 1967; Hansen & Lund 1983; Hansen 2001[1994]), Danish linguistic literature has focused mainly on the incorporation of BSCNs (and BPs) in object position into the V and almost completely disregarded the possibility of their surfacing as subjects (see Nedergaard Thomsen 1991; Herslund 1994, 1995; Asudeh & Mikkelsen 2000; Nedergaard Thomsen & Herslund 2002; Petersen 2010, 2011, 2013; Hansen & Heltoft 2011; Müller 2017). In fact, with the exception of Borthen’s (2003) extensive work on BSCNs in Norwegian, including Grønn’s (2006) and Rosén & Borthen’s (2017) papers on particular aspects of the same topic, the Scandinavian literature on bare nouns either neglects BSCNs in subject position or explicitly states that they hardly ever occur as subjects.⁵ The analysis presented in this paper shares important theoretical aspects with Borthen (2003: 212-223, 332-336), and also the examples discussed are to some extent overlapping with Borthen (2003: 212-223). Specifically, the present paper follows Borthen’s approach in assuming that Danish BSCNs in subject position are licensed by a covert predicate, and that Pustejovsky’s (1995: 85-104) qualia structure can be used to predict what predicates are likely to be inferred. However, the analysis conducted here, in broad terms, differs from that of Borthen by its emphasis on interpreting BSCNs as modifiers pseudo-incorporated into the covert predicate, and by drawing on the concept of ‘pancake sentences’ (see e.g. Josefsson 2009).

As for the theoretical perspective, the challenge of developing an elegant, unified theory that reconciles apparent contradictions between the structure of nominals, their syntactic position and the status of argumenthood has been on the agenda as a minimum since the seminal work by Carlson (1977a) on the semantics of bare nominals in English. Notably the works of Longobardi (1994, 2001) and Chierchia (1998) have been very influential and much debated, as well as criticised, internationally, because they offer a cross-linguistic explanation for the mapping between syntactic structure and semantics within the nominal domain. Briefly stated, Longobardi’s (1994, 2001) approach, based on a clear distinction between predicative and non-predicative positions, predicts that in order to occur in argument position a nominal must be a DP. Following this line of reasoning, BSCNs can occur only in predicative positions, as they do not (overtly at least) project a DP level. According to Chierchia’s (1998) classification of languages, which builds on the potential denotation of their NPs, in the Germanic (and Romance) languages NPs, and not only DPs, can be names of kinds, i.e. function as arguments. However, in order for bare NPs to be argumental, i.e. to be type-

⁴ Perhaps this is why especially DPs/NPs, but also BPs and mass nouns, in the main seem to have received much more attention from scholars than BSCNs (see e.g. Carlson 1999 for a comprehensive outline of the literature on bare nouns, and Le Bruyn et al. 2017 for a cross-linguistic view on the grammar and meaning of bare nominals).

⁵ Also in a broader cross-linguistic perspective, works on BSCNs focus primarily on their occurrence in object or predicative position, probably for the very good reason that in most languages they are simply not licensed as subjects (see e.g. Kiefer 1994 and Farkas & de Swart 2003 for Hungarian, Kallulli 1999 for Albanian; Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006 and Dobrovie-Sorin 2009 for Romanian; Espinal & McNally 2007, 2008, 2011 and Espinal 2010 for Spanish and Catalan; Zamparelli 2008 for singular predicate nominals in the Romance languages; Booij 2009 for Dutch; Stvan 2009 for English; Dayal 2011 for Hindi). However, Schmitt & Munn (1999, 2005) show that BSCNs can occur in subject argument position in Brazilian Portuguese, but importantly they are number neutral DPs and thus differ radically from the Danish BSCN subjects analysed in this paper.

lifted/shifted from predicates of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ to kinds of type $\langle e \rangle$, they have to be BPs or mass terms, which once again excludes BSCNs from argument positions (see also Grønn 2006: 76-77).

This paper contributes to the understanding of how BSCNs – without denoting individuals or generalised quantifiers, i.e. without having the denotation of canonical DP-arguments, or denoting in the plural domain – as property-denoting constituents can occupy the subject position in Danish categorical statements.

1.1. Some notes of clarification

In this context, bare nouns are informally defined as nominal constituents which appear unaccompanied by left peripheral elements expressing functional categories (e.g., articles, quantifiers, demonstratives or possessors), and are morphologically unmarked for definiteness by suffixation.⁶

With respect to the distinction between count and mass nouns employed in the paper, it is generally assumed, following e.g. Moltman (1997) and Müller (2014), that mass nouns show cumulativity and divisivity of reference, i.e. they denote homogeneous entities, such as *sand* or *blood*, which can be cumulated or divided into smaller parts without changing ontological status. Popularly speaking, *sand* will still be sand if more sand is added to it, or if it is divided into portions. By contrast, count nouns, such as *pipe* and *violin*, denote heterogeneous entities, which, if dissected or cumulated, will turn into different types of objects. For instance, a piece of a pipe does not qualify as a pipe in itself, and more violins do not constitute the same kind of object as one single violin.⁷ However, as is the case in many other languages, Danish nouns are to a large extent open to recategorisation, cf. the contrast between e.g. *købe hund* ‘buy (a) dog’ and *spise hund* ‘eat dog (meat)’, or *bruge sæbe* ‘use soap’ and *sælge sæbe-r* ‘sell soap-PL’.

A question that arises in this context is the meaning of ‘singular’. When used as part of the BSCN-expression, this term exclusively refers to the morphological surface form of the nominal expression, as BSCNs are often semantically number neutral and, thus, do not contrast with the plural (see e.g. Hansen 1967: 167; Müller 2017: 60-63).

Finally, it is important to note that the present paper deals only with BSCNs occurring in the subject position of categorical (predicative) sentences, since BSCN-subjects ofthetic (existential) sentences – although their occurrence is also restricted to some extent – seem to appear both more freely and, perhaps more importantly, to be governed by radically different principles from the former, probably due to their resemblance to syntactic objects (see Borthen 2003: 176-179 and the specific comments in section 2.2).⁸ Moreover, given the fact that Danish is a strict V2 language, i.e. the subject of any main clause will appear in post-verbal position if another constituent, e.g. an adverbial, an object, an interrogative, etc., is fronted, word order in itself does not mark the difference between categorical/predicative sentences andthetic/existential sentences. However, prototypically categorical sentences have SV word order, while the subject always surfaces in post-position in existential *der* (‘there’)-constructions.

⁶ In the mainland Scandinavian languages definiteness is marked with a suffix, as e.g. in the Danish expression *hund* ‘dog’ – *hund-en* ‘dog-DEF’.

⁷ I here disregard the insight from cognitive linguistics that certain entities can be seen as having a core part, which according to Croft & Cruse (2004: 156) is the smallest possible portion of an X that can be construed as a whole X. One could, of course, imagine that a pipe would have such a core part and that this part may substitute for the whole (see also Aitchison 1994: 55 concerning prototype theory).

⁸ For a discussion of the distinction between categorical andthetic statements, see e.g. Kuroda (1972) and Ladusaw (1994). Following these authors and many others, it is in the present paper assumed that existential *there*-constructions are inherentlythetic and, therefore, the terms ‘existential’ and ‘thetic’ are used indiscriminately.

1.2. Structure of the paper

The remainder of this paper is divided into four parts. **Section 2** contrasts the distribution in subject position of BPs and mass terms with that of BSCNs. It is shown that the distribution of subject-BSCNs is strongly restricted, but also that – apart from functioning more or less sporadically as DP projections in several standardised discourse types – they can occur in regular categorical sentences under certain conditions. **Section 3** argues that BSCN-subjects of categorical sentences should be interpreted as objects of a covert predicate. The argumentation is based on an analysis of factors such as adjectival agreement features, mass vs. event reading of the BSCN, as well as its interpretation in terms of genericity. **Section 4** studies the relation between the covert predicate and the BSCN, and it is substantiated that the BSCN acts syntactically as a modifier that is pseudo-incorporated into the covert predicate. Together, the BSCN-modifier and the covert predicate form a complex unit, V+BSCN, which either denotes an activity event or a possessive event. In **Section 5**, the main conclusions of the paper are summarised and a brief discussion is provided of how the facts described in the paper fit into a more general consideration of principles of mapping between syntax and semantics.

2. Distribution

Although bare nouns in Danish, understood as comprising the three categories of BSCNs, BPs and mass terms, occur in predicative as well as in non-predicative positions, both as verbal (subjects/objects) and prepositional arguments (see e.g. Petersen 2010, 2011; Hansen & Heltoft 2011; Müller 2014, 2017), the following outline concentrates on their function as subjects, given the topic of this paper.

2.1. BPs and mass terms as subjects

The following examples show that BPs and mass terms – which in Danish, as well as in many other languages, pattern together in various ways, for instance by admitting many of the same determiners (see e.g. Jackendoff 1991: 19) and appearing essentially in the same basic syntactic positions – occur unconstrained as subjects of both categorical (2) and existential,thetic statements (3).⁹

- (2) **Løve-r/mudder** ødelægger mange landsby-er.¹⁰
lion-PL/mud destroy(s) many village-PL
 ‘Lions/mud destroy(s) many villages.’
- (3) Der ligger **løve-r/mudder** ved sø-en.
there lie(s) lion-PL/mud by lake-DET
 ‘There are/is lions/mud by the lake.’

When BPs and mass terms are used as subjects of pure, context-less categorical statements, they are interpreted generically, while an episodic reading can be obtained, for instance, by embedding the same statement under a matrix clause that places it in a specific situation, as in [*Jeg har set [løve ødelægge mange landsbyer]*] ‘I have seen lions destroy many villages’. The existential reading of (3) is induced by using the locative subject marker *der* ‘there’ as a formal subject (see

⁹ According to Dobrovie-Sorin et al.’s (2006) analysis of bare nouns in the Romance languages, BPs and mass nouns are both projections of the functional category Number, i.e. syntactically they are NumPs, which to a large extent provides an explanation for their distributional co-occurrence. BSCNs, on the other hand, are essentially lexical projections of nouns, i.e. NPs, and, thus, belong to a different syntactic category, which means that we can also expect a distribution different from that of BPs and mass nouns.

¹⁰ Here and in the following examples, the single slash separates individual words, while a double slash indicates separation of sentences or expressions consisting of several words.

Müller 2017 for a more comprehensive discussion of Danish BPs and mass nouns in argument position).

2.2. BSCNs as subjects

The next three examples point to the well-known fact that Danish BSCNs are normally not licensed in subject position, neither in categorical sentences with generic or episodic readings as in (4) and (5), nor in existential sentences as in (6) (see also Müller 2015: 200, 2017: 45).

- (4) ***Løve** spiser grøntsag-er.
lion eats vegetable-PL
- (5) ***Løve** løber gennem have-n.
lion runs through garden-DET
- (6) *Der ligger **løve** ved sø-en.¹¹
there lies lion by lake-DET

Exceptions to this tendency of not licensing BSCNs in subject position are special types of discourse such as proverbs, specific subject-related descriptions, newspaper headlines, titles of pictures, etc., cf. (7)-(10) below (see also Hansen 1927: 12-22, 1967: 166-173, in which further BSCN-endorsing contexts are mentioned, and Borthen 2003: 17 for similar examples in Norwegian).

- (7) **Tyv** tror hver mand stjæler.
thief thinks every man steals
 ‘The jaundiced eye sees all things yellow.’
- (8) **Gulerod** vokser stadig vildt i stor-e del-e af Europa.
carrot grows still wild in large-PL part-PL of Europe
 ‘The carrot still grows wild in large parts of Europe.’
<https://opskrifter.coop.dk/madleksikon/ingrediens/540> (accessed 26 of July 2022)
- (9) **Politimand** dræber demonstrant.
policeman kills demonstrator
 ‘Policeman kills protester.’
- (10) **Barn** spiser æble.
child eats apple
 ‘Child eats an apple.’

It should further be noted in this context that the BSCN-subjects in (7) and (8) have generic reference, while *politimand* ‘policeman’ in (9) and *barn* ‘child’ in (10) have specific reference – in the case of (9) the subject referent can be understood as both identifiable and non-identifiable. In addition, some relational nouns, typically role-denoting nouns such as kinship terms (*mor* ‘mother’, *onkel* ‘uncle’) and nouns of professions (*rektor* ‘principal’, *dyrlæge* ‘veterinarian’), may also appear in bare form as referential subjects (see e.g. Hansen 1993: 16; Pedersen 1993: 21).

¹¹ In (6), it would be possible to interpret *løve* ‘lion’ as connoting a non-distinct quantity (lion meat), i.e. a mass as opposed to a whole, discrete object, and in this case the example is not ungrammatical.

The examples presented so far lead to two interrelated considerations. First, given the fact that cross-linguistically the subject position of bipartite categorical statements usually requires strong (as opposed to weak) nominals in the sense of Milsark (1977) (see also Vangsnes' 2001 determiner classification), it is to be expected that the BSCNs in (7)-(10) must be interpreted as uniquely referential. This is a natural consequence of the inherent semantic and pragmatic prominence of the subject position in bipartite structures (see Rothstein 2004: 17-18). Second, it is not surprising that BSCNs generally show reluctance towards appearing in subject position, since they lack projection of a functional structure that permits them to be obvious candidates for argumenthood. Consequently, it is with good reason that Danish BSCNs – although strictly speaking not impossible – show a strong tendency not to appear as subjects (see e.g. Hansen 1967: 168-169; Müller 2017: 45).

As illustrated in (6), the subject position of existential sentences is usually also not available for BSCNs, but in this case examples of the following type constitute a systematic exception to the general ban. It should be noted that in the case of (11) the Novelty Condition (see e.g. McNally 1998: 384) generally associated with existential sentences also applies, which means that the BSCN, consistent with the indefinite DP in 'regular' existential structures, is referential and introduces a novel referent into the discourse.

- (11) Der er **bad** og **biograf** i kælder-en.
there is bath and cinema in basement-DET
 'There is a bath and a cinema in the basement.'

In line with Borthen's (2003: 178-179) assumptions for similar examples in Norwegian, the type of existential,thetic judgments exemplified in (11) could, in view of their expression of availability of the BSCN's denotation, be analysed as analogous to possessive constructions of the type *de har bad og biograf i kælderen* 'they have (a) bath and (a) cinema in the basement', which denote a stereotyped or institutionalised property (Asudeh & Mikkelsen 2000). It is well-known from a number of languages that *have*-predicates (see e.g. Borthen 2003 for Norwegian; Espinal & McNally 2011 for Spanish and Catalan; Dobrovie-Sorin 2009 for Romanian) generally accept BSCNs in object position.¹² Interestingly, as compared with the categorical sentences, the relatively reduced prominence of the subject position of existential sentences seemingly makes it more prone to hosting BSCNs, at least within a specific semantic domain. However, this analytical approach related to the concepts of availability/possession will not be pursued further here since this paper, as mentioned earlier, focusses on BSCNs in categorical sentences.

Returning to the central theme of this paper, the following authentic examples indicate that a certain type of data seems to constitute a systematic exception to the generalisation proposed so far that BSCNs are banned from the subject position of Danish categorical sentences.

- (12a) Mange tror, at **vandpibe** er mindre sundhedsskadelig-t end cigaret-ter, men ...
many think that water.pipe is less health.harmful-N than cigaret-PL but ...
 'Many people think that smoking water pipe is less harmful to health than cigarettes, but ...'
<https://www.sst.dk/da/Viden/Forebyggelse/Tobak/Fakta-om-tobak-og-rygning/Typer-af-tobaksvarer/Vandpibe> (accessed 29 September 2022)

¹² Borthen (2003: 138-139) mentions that in Norwegian event-denoting BNs can occur in existential sentences, and that in these cases the locative phrase following the BSCN – usually referred to as the *Coda* (see e.g. Leonetti 2008: 139) – is not compulsory. The situation seems to be identical in Danish, e.g. *der er karneval (i København)* 'there is (a) carnival in Copenhagen'.

- (12b) (...) hvorfor **køkkenhave** i **højbed-e** kan være god-t for ryg-gen, (...)

 (...) why kitchen.garden in raised.bed-PL can be good-N for back-DET (...)

 ‘(...) why kitchen gardens in raised beds can be good for the back, (...)’

 <https://haveselskabet.dk/gomorgendanmark> (accessed 26 July 2022)
- (13a) **Pibe** smager mig absolut bedst, når jeg er alene.

 pipe tastes me absolutely best when I am alone

 ‘I absolutely enjoy pipe smoking most when I am on my own.’

 (Weekendavisen, section 1, page 14, 24 March 2017)
- (13b) Ja, **køkkenhave** kræver arbejde, men (...)

 yes kitchen.garden demands work but (...)

 ‘Yes planting/maintaining a kitchen garden does indeed require a lot of work, but (...)’

 <https://tornvig.blogspot.com/2020/05/8-sandheder-om-at-dyrke-kkkenhave.html>

 (accessed 26 July 2022)

(13a) comes from the Danish newspaper *Weekendavisen*, while the other examples have been extracted from Google, where it is easy to find similar examples. In (12a) and (12b), the common gender (uter) BSCNs *vandpibe* ‘water pipe’ and *køkkenhave i højbede* ‘kitchen garden in raised beds’ are subjects of copular sentences and, crucially, do not follow the ‘normal’ grammatical rule in Danish of showing gender agreement with the post-copular, predicative adjectives *sundhedsskadeligt* ‘harmful-N to health’ and *godt* ‘good-N’, which, as indicated by the gloss, appear in the neuter (see section 3.1. for a detailed description). Their counterpart examples, (13a) and (13b), represent non-copular constructions with BSCNs in subject position.

The explicit focus on providing examples of both copular and non-copular sentences is prompted by the fact that the generalisations about subject-BSCNs presented in this paper go beyond copular constructions with non-agreeing predicative adjectives, which have been the centre of attention of many Scandinavian linguists, who deal with various types of weakly referential (in the sense of Milsark 1974, 1977) NPs in subject position (see e.g. Faarlund 1977; Hellan 1986; Enger 2004, 2013; Josefsson 2009, 2010).¹³

Finally, it is crucial to recognise that, contrary to the exceptions exemplified in (7)-(10), the BSCNs in (12ab) and (13ab) are non-specific and non-referential in the sense that they do not carry the presupposition or assert that their referents exist. Given that they lack the syntactic structure that maps noun predicates onto argumental DPs, the BSCNs in these last examples do not denote referents identifiable to the interlocutors of some imagined communicative exchange, but rather denote the conceptual content itself, i.e. the idea of a (water) pipe or a kitchen garden. Therefore, as we shall see, the most plausible explanation for their behaviour is that they function as modifiers that restrict the denotation of covert predicates.

3. BSCN-subjects as objects of covert predicates

In the following, a number of factors are discussed which aim to show that subject-BSCNs in the type of sentences exemplified in (12ab) and (13ab) above are, in fact, objects of unrealised predicates (according to Pustejovsky 1995 event projection from nominals based on coercion processes extends far beyond BSCNs). This means that the actual subject of the matrix sentence is a verbal construction, an event-denoting predicate, and not the BSCNs per se.

¹³ However, data provided by Borthen (2003: 194-223) indicates that Norwegian BSCNs in subject position (and other argument positions) are also not restricted to copular constructions with non-agreeing adjectives.

3.1. Agreement of predicative adjectives

As a rule, in standard Danish, as well as in the other mainland Scandinavian languages, adjectival subject and object complements display overt number and gender agreement with the argument they modify, cf. (14ab).

(14a) Pibe-n (den) er dyr. // Pibe-r-ne (de) er dyr-e.
*pipe-C.DET (it.C)*¹⁴ *is expensive* // *pipe-PL-DET (they) are expensive-PL*
 ‘The pipe (it) is expensive. // The pipes (they) are expensive.’

(14b) Hus-et (det) er dyr-t. // Hus-e-ne (de) er dyr-e.
house-N.DET (it.N) is expensive-N // *house-PL-DET (they) are expensive-PL*
 ‘The house (it) is expensive. // The houses (they) are expensive.’

In (14b), the predicative adjective *dyr-t* ‘expensive-N’ occurs in its neuter form – indicated by the suffix *-t* – and it agrees with the neuter gender noun *hus* ‘house’, while in (14a) *dyr* ‘expensive’ modifies the common gender noun *pibe* ‘pipe’ and, thus, appears in its common gender form without a *-t* suffix.¹⁵ The gender distinction also emerges in the contrast between the doubling pronouns *det* (it.N) and *den* (it.C). The contrast between common and neuter gender only applies in the singular, cf. the non-variation with respect to the predicative adjective *dyr-e* and the doubling pronoun *de* between the plural forms of (14ab) to the right of the double slash.

Apart from this system of grammatical gender, Danish, again together with Swedish and Norwegian, uses the split between neuter and common gender (in Norwegian Bokmål and Nynorsk neuter vs. masculine/feminine) to encode a semantic distinction between making reference to non-individuated and individuated entities, respectively (see Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 455-466). Without being specific about the many empirical implications of this distinction, the examples in (15a) illustrate that definite mass nouns, which refer to individuated entities, follow the grammatical agreement system, while the non-individuated bare mass noun-subjects in (15b) obligatorily are modified by predicative adjectives in the neuter.

(15a) Røg-en (den) er usund. // sukker-et (det) er usund-t.
smoke-C.DET (it.C) is unhealthy // *sugar-N.DET (it.N) is unhealthy-N*
 ‘The smoke (it) is unhealthy. // The sugar (it) is unhealthy.’

(15b) Røg/sukker (det) er usund-t.
smoke/sugar (it.N) is unhealthy-N
 ‘Smoke/sugar (it) is unhealthy.’

These observations are consistent with the fact that also event nominalisations (in the sense of Grimshaw 1992) and complement clauses in subject position, cf. (16ab), trigger mandatory neuter agreement in the predicative adjective, although *piberygning* ‘pipe smoking’ is common gender and clauses are unmarked for gender.

¹⁴ The pronouns *den/det* can be realised either as a stressed strong form (corresponding to English *that*) or an unstressed weak form (corresponding to English *it*). The latter is used consistently throughout the glossing.

¹⁵ Note that the definite article tagged onto the end of the noun, is *-(e)n* with common nouns in the singular, cf. *violin-en* (violin-DET/the violin), and *-(e)t* with neuter nouns in the singular, cf. *hus-et* (house-DET/the house) (see also footnote 6).

- (16a) Piberygning (det) er usund-t.
pipe.smoking (it.N) is unhealthy-N
 ‘Pipe smoking is unhealthy.’
- (16b) At Ole spiller violin, (det) er dejlig-t.
that Ole plays violin (it.N) is wonderful-N
 ‘That Ole plays the violin is wonderful.’

Bare mass nouns, event nominalisations and clauses have in common that they refer to homogeneous entities (see also the introductory section), i.e. items or phenomena that lack spatial boundaries and are consequently non-countable. The assumption that these types of nominal constituents do not carry any number feature is further corroborated by the insight that their coordination does not trigger plural agreement (see also Josefsson 2006: 1349-1355, 2013: 3). Consider the contrast between (17a) and (17bcd).

- (17a) Pibe-n og hus-et (de) er dyr-e.
pipe-C.DET and house-N-DET (they) are expensive-PL
 ‘The violin and the house (they) are expensive.’
- (17b) Sukker og røg (det) er usund-t
sugar and smoke (it.N) is unhealthy-N
 ‘Sugar and smoke (they) are unhealthy.’
- (17c) Piberygning og øldrikning (det) er farlig-t.
pipe.smoking and beer.drinking (it.N) is dangerous-N
 ‘Pipe smoking and beer drinking (they) are dangerous.’
- (17d) At Ole spiller violin, og at Pia synger, (det) er dejlig-t.
that Ole plays violin and that Pia sings (it.N) is wonderful-N
 ‘It’s great that Ole plays the violin and that Pia sings.’

The coordination of individuated nominals in (17a) is matched by plural agreement both in the doubling pronoun *de* ‘they’ and the predicative adjective *dyr-e* ‘expensive-PL’, while the coordinated, non-individuated nominals in (17bcd) systematically trigger the use of the neuter gender pronoun *det* ‘it.N’ and the neuter *-t* form of the predicative adjectives.

With respect to the pronominal reference system, the Danish data outlined above fit well with Josefsson’s (2012: 134-135) analysis of the opposition between syntactic (*den* ‘it.C’) and referential pronouns (*det* ‘it.N’) in Swedish. She argues convincingly that due to its singular number feature, *den* ‘it.C’ contributes to a bounded reading of the referent, while *det* ‘it.N’ lacks a number feature and, hence, makes reference to all kinds of arguments devoid of boundaries, such as substances, events and propositions (see also Müller 2017: 44).

3.2. Mass vs. event interpretation

Bare mass nouns in subject position either refer directly to first-order ontological entities, i.e. *liquids* (blood, vodka), *powders* (sugar, flavour), *gases* (smoke, damp), and *substances* (metal, wood), or ‘covertly’ to third-order ontological entities, i.e. events (actions, processes, states) which take place in the world, be it real or fictional (following the classification of entity types presented in Lyons 1977: 442-447). The specific interpretation as to whether they refer to one or the other entity type depends on whether they are followed by I(individual)-level predicates, which ascribe stable, and

often inherent, properties to their argument, or S(tage)-level predicates, which can be viewed as expressing temporary, episodic properties of the individuals they are attributed to, cf. (18) (see e.g. Carlson 1977 for the distinction between I- and S-level predicates).

- (18) *Vodka er gennemsigtig-t/ dejlig-t.*
vodka is transparent-N/ wonderful-N
 ‘Vodka is transparent/ wonderful.’

The property of being transparent is a permanent quality which, other things being equal, holds for the first-order subject referent *vodka* ‘vodka’ in any situation, while being wonderful, rather than a stable and objective feature, is likely to be interpreted as a value judgment attributed to situations where vodka is consumed. Justification for this assumption is provided by the evidence put forward in (19), where the VP-adverbial *om morgenen* ‘in the morning’ added to the left of the finite verb triggers an event interpretation of the subject (paraphrasable as ‘drinking vodka in the morning’) which is compatible with S-level predicates, but incompatible with I-level predicates.

- (19) *Vodka om morgen-en er dejlig-t/ *gennemsigtig-t.*
vodka in morning-DET is wonderful-N/ transparent-N
 ‘Drinking vodka in the morning is wonderful (*transparent).’

Similarly, we can see in (20) that only the event reading fits into constructions with the expletive *det* ‘it’ and a PP introduced by the preposition *med* ‘with’, (see Josefsson 2009: 58-63 for a more detailed account of this kind of construction), which is parallel in meaning to what (19) expresses.

- (20) *Det er dejlig-t/ *gennemsigtig-t med vodka om morgen-en.*
it is wonderful-N/ transparent-N with vodka in mornings
 ‘It is wonderful (*transparent) to drink vodka in the morning.’

In contrast to mass nouns in subject position, BSCN-subjects can only induce third-order entity event interpretations, not interpretations as first-order entities. Moreover, BSCN-subjects do not allow modification by I-level predicates, cf. (21), and they generally license the possibility of introducing VP-adverbials before the finite verb, cf. (22).

- (21) **Pibe er ofte træfarvet. // *Violin er et strengeinstrument.*
pipe is often wood-coloured // violin is a stringed.instrument
- (22) *Pibe om morgen-en er usund-t. // Violin om morgen-en er ubehagelig-t.*
pipe in morning-DET is unhealthy-N // violin in morning-DET is unpleasant-N
 ‘To smoke (a) pipe in the morning is unhealthy. // To listen to/play (the) violin in the morning is unpleasant.’

Since Danish is a strict V2 language (see introduction), the possibility of adding VP-adverbials to the left of the finite verb in cases such as (22) provides a very compelling argument in favour of analysing subject-BSCNs as stimulating event interpretations. Standardly in Danish, VP-adverbials (or any other constituents for that matter) cannot occur in pre-verbal position in SV word order sequences, because, owing to the V2 principle, the subject, must occur in post-verbal position in order for the sentence to be correct. Consequently, the following sentence results in a V2 violation, as two constituents, both the subject *violinen* ‘the violin’ and the VP-adverbial *i går* ‘yesterday’, appear

before the finite verb.¹⁶

- (23) *Violin-en i går fald-t ud af kasse-n.
violin-DET yesterday fall-PST out of box-DET

From this we can deduce that the VP-adverbial *om morgenen* ‘in the morning’ in (22) cannot modify the finite copular sentence verb *er* ‘is’, but instead – precisely because it is a VP-adverbial, which by definition modifies the predicative part of the clause (Jackendoff 1972) – must modify a covert predicate which takes the BSCN as its direct object/internal argument.

In this way, and in accordance with the basic assumption proposed in the introduction, a further central argument has been provided for claiming that the subject-BSCNs under investigation should be analysed as embedded under a larger structure with the status of a predicate.

3.3. Genericity

Intuitively, it would seem that the expressions with BSCNs in subject position treated so far have a generic flavour. This is surely so, first, because the BSCN-subjects clearly do not refer to specific individuals or objects, but rather designate kinds of entities and, second, because the sentences as such do not report on specific episodes; instead they express some kind of regularity or general rule. However, (24ab) show that the occurrence of BSCNs as generic subjects turns out to be restricted as compared with that of indefinite NPs, definite NPs and BPs (including mass terms) (see also Borthen, 2003: 204-208 about genericity and BSCNs in Norwegian, which has informed and inspired this analysis).

- (24a) En bil/bil-en/bil-er er (et) køretøj(er) // har fire hjul.
a car/car-DET/car-PL be (a) vehicle(s) // has/have four wheels
 ‘A car/the car/cars is/are (a) vehicle(s) // has/have four wheels.’

- (24b) ***Bil** er et køretøj. // ***Bil** har fire hjul.
car is a vehicle // car has four wheels

According to Krifka et al. (1995: 2-3, 16-18), so-called characterising (or generic) sentences, defined as propositions which, instead of reporting on specific episodes or facts, express general properties by summarising particular episodes or facts, fall into two major classes: 1) habitual characterising sentences, and 2) lexical characterising sentences. The former typically include episodic verbal predicates and thus generalise about patterns of events, as in *landmænd ryger ofte pibe* ‘farmers often smoke (a) pipe’, while the latter contain stative verbal predicates, i.e. predicates which are not related to episodes, which instead make generalisations about characterising properties of individuals (objects), as in *biler er køretøjer* ‘cars are vehicles’ or *biler har som regel fire hjul* ‘cars usually have four wheels’.

The examples in (24b) show that BSCNs cannot be subjects of lexical characterising sentences. Following the basic assumptions outlined in the previous section, a plausible explanation for this constraint is that since subject-BSCNs refer to events rather than individuals, they are incompatible with predicates that generalise about properties of individuals. In other words, they cannot form part of lexical characterising sentences because they make reference to the ‘wrong’ entity type, so to speak. This insight is further corroborated by the following two examples.

¹⁶ I disregard the reading of (23) where the PP *i går* ‘yesterday’ forms part of the NP-constituent as a postmodifier. In this case, *violinen i går* ‘the violin yesterday’ would mean something like ‘the violin we saw/were concerned with yesterday’.

- (25) ***Bil** kører hurtig-ere end mange andre køretøj-er.
car drives fast-COMP than many other vehicle-PL
- (26) ***Løve** er udbredt i Afrika.
lion is widespread in Africa

The first example shows that BSCN-subjects cannot fulfil the Agent-role, a limitation that does not apply to ‘regular’ generic NPs, or any other types of NP for that matter. This observation can be seen as supporting the assumption that BSCN-subjects are non-argumental, i.e. they behave syntactically as property-denoting modifiers (see also the description in the following section) and, as such, they cannot be assigned semantic argument roles in the way that DPs can. Moreover, as indicated previously, subject-BSCNs are in object position of an unrealised predicate and thus modify this V with semantic content corresponding to the Theme argument, not the Agent argument.

The second example shows that BSCNs do not refer to kinds of individuals, as they cannot be the subjects of kind-level predicates (see also Borthen 2003: 196 for Norwegian). Once again, it seems reasonable to interpret this restriction as a consequence of the assumption that subject-BSCNs do not denote in the domain of individuals, i.e. they are not expressions of semantic type <e>, but denote properties and are thus of semantic type <e,t>.

The distinction between habitual and lexical characterising sentences can also shed light on the empirical fact (see previous examples) that the occurrence of BSCNs in subject position is not limited to copular constructions with non-agreeing predicative adjectives (see e.g. (13ab), here repeated as (27a) and (28a)).

- (27a) (at ryge) **Pibe** smager mig absolut bedst, når jeg er alene.
(to smoke) pipe tastes me absolutely best when I am alone
 ‘I absolutely enjoy pipe smoking most when I am on my own.’
- (27b) ***Pibe** har en stor brændflade.
pipe has a large burning.surface
- (28a) Ja, **køkkenhave** kræver arbejde (at anlægge/vedligeholde), men (...)
yes kitchen.garden demands work (to plant/maintain) but (...)
 ‘Yes it’s true, planting/maintaining a kitchen garden requires a lot of work, but (...)’
- (28b) ***Køkkenhave** kan bestå af højbed-e.
kitchen.garden can consist of raised.bed-PL

The non-copular structures in (27a) and (28a) license BSCNs in subject position because, as habitual characterising sentences, they contain the episodic verbal predicates *smage* ‘taste’ and *kræve* ‘require’, which here generalise about instances of the events of pipe-smoking and kitchen garden planting/maintenance, respectively. In both cases, the eventive reading is compatible with the possibility of inserting an infinitival predicate form (indicated in parentheses) – either before the BSCN-subject as in (27a), or after the predicate as in (28a) – which makes semantically explicit what kind of main event the BSCN modifies. Adding the infinitive *at ryge* ‘to smoke’ in (27a) signals overtly that it is the event of pipe-smoking which is subject to generalisation. Moreover, the possibility of stating the predicate explicitly also implies that (27a) cannot be understood as generalising about instances of the subject-BSCN referent (understood as some kind of mass) involved directly in the activity of tasting. Following the insights obtained previously concerning genericity and the agentivity status of the subject, it is also important to note that precisely the matrix

clause verbs in (27a) and (28a) subcategorise for events and, hence, accept non-agentive NPs in subject position.

The contrasting examples of (27b) and (28b) show that lexical characterising sentences, whose main predicates are morphologically unrelated to episodic verbs (see Krifka et al. 1995), such as is the case with *have* ‘have’ and *bestå* ‘consist’ in the examples, do not accept BSCNs in subject position (see also the examples in (24b)). The reason for this is, naturally, that instead of generalising over events, they express regularities that hold for the kind of referents denoted by the subject-NPs, i.e. they report on the properties of the subject referents, not on events in which they may be involved. Therefore, these sentences are also not compatible with infinitival predicates similar to the ones in (27a) and (28a), which prompt an eventive reading on the subject.

From this discussion we can conclude that BSCN-subjects can occur outside the domain of copula sentences provided that the expression is a habitual characterising sentence whose matrix verb subcategorises for subjects which induce eventive (by definition non-agentive) interpretations. Consequently, there are no differences in terms of the conditions under which BSCNs occur in copula and non-copular sentences, apart from the fact that in the former the event status of the BSCN-subject is often directly prompted by non-agreeing predicative adjectives.

The generalisations about subject-BSCNs presented in this section concerning genericity can then be represented formally in the following way for a model example like *pibe om morgenen er usundt* ‘pipe-smoking in the morning is unhealthy’, where ‘ \forall_{Gen} ’ is a quasi-universal quantifier that allows exceptions:

$$(29) \quad \forall_{\text{Gen}}(e)[\text{pipe_smoking}(e) \wedge \text{in_the_morning}(e) \rightarrow \text{is_unhealthy}(e)]$$

The representation above approximately translates into ‘in most cases, every pipe-smoking event that takes place in the morning is unhealthy’, where, for simplicity, the three complex expressions are treated as simple, unanalysed 1-place predicates. In the following section, a detailed proposal for the representation of the subject-BSCN predicate (the pipe-smoking event) will be introduced.

4. Analysis of a hidden clausal structure

The analysis that has been suggested so far is that the BSCN-subject is an object of an unrealised predicate and that it is this VP that constitutes the sentence subject - not the BSCN in itself. This analysis, which implies as a general requirement that the matrix clause predicate is able to subcategorise for a clausal structure, can be illustrated in a non-technical manner as follows.

$$(30) \quad \begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\quad \text{Event} \quad \quad \quad} \\ \text{[(At ryge) pibe] er usund-t.} \\ \text{└─ O ─┘} \end{array} \quad \text{‘To smoke (a) pipe is unhealthy.’}$$

In (30), the arrow below the text indicates that *pibe* ‘pipe’ is the object (O) of an unrealised predicate *at ryge* ‘to smoke’, and the arrow above the text shows that the neuter inflectional ending -*t* of the predicative adjective *usund-t* ‘unhealthy-N’ in the present context (see the analysis presented in the previous section) automatically prompts an event reading of the sentence subject. The parentheses enclosing *at ryge* ‘to smoke’ specify that this predicate is unrealised in the syntactic structure and the square brackets that it is the larger structure in which the object is embedded which functions as the subject of the copula construction.

This initial suggestion of an analysis raises the important question of what are the requirements and restrictions with respect to the nature of the unrealised predicate and its relation to the BSCN.

4.1. Null-predicates and their semantics

In their analyses and discussions of so-called ‘pancake-sentences’ in the Scandinavian languages, both Enger (2004: 7-9) and Josefsson (2009: 43) reject the approach presented in early versions of generative theory (Faarlund 1977; Faarlund et al. 1997: 767) that the nominal constituent is the object of an underlying infinitive which has been deleted through syntactic transformation.¹⁷ Such a transformational analysis, they rightfully claim, brings with it the obvious problem that it seems impossible to determine with any precision which specific verb has actually been deleted. In many cases, it is certainly possible to create meaningful sentences by inserting different lexical verbs, cf. the Swedish example in (31).

- (31) Att ha/få/se/möta arga hundar är obehaglig-t
 to have/get/see/meet angry dogs is unpleasant-N
 ‘To have/get/see/meet angry dogs is unpleasant’
 (Josefsson 2009: 46)

This leads Josefsson (2009) to suggest that instead of an analysis based on the deletion of the infinitival form of a specific verb, it would make more sense to assume a verb with an empty phonological form, i.e. a null-predicate, whose meaning corresponds to a basic concept such as Possession or Movement, glossed as HAVE and GO, respectively. On these grounds and with reference to Butt & Lahiri’s (2004: 36) conception of *passepertout* verbs, Josefsson’s main idea is that the unrealised predicate should be conceived of as a light verb, i.e. a semantically bleached predicative element which introduces a very general relation between, in this case, a non-overt generic PRO subject and the object DP. Consequently, light verbs can be characterised as concepts with a reduced intension and a broad extension, meaning that their formal definition includes relatively few semantic features, which implies that the set of contexts to which such verbs apply is relatively large (see also Herslund 2014: 76 for a definition of specific vs. general verbs).

An approach similar to Josefsson’s conception of semantically underspecified null-predicates is adopted here, albeit with some important differences, as will be shown below.

As illustrated in the examples below, the occurrence of BSCNs in object position as both direct and prepositional objects is widespread in Danish (for an analysis of these structure as instances of pseudo-incorporation, see section 4.2).

- (32a) Bo maler **hus** // vasker **bil** // pudser **næse** hele tid-en.
 Bo paints house // washes car // blows nose all time-DET
 ‘Bo paints his house // washes his car // blows his nose all the time.’

¹⁷ ‘Pancake sentences’ is a term used primarily in Scandinavian linguistics to cover the phenomenon that in certain sentences the predicative adjective disagrees in formal gender with its subject, because the subject DP, instead of referring to an individual, triggers an event reading (see also Wechsler 2013). Crucially, however, while analyses of ‘pancake-sentences’ traditionally treat DPs in subject position, this paper, as indicated previously, deals with subject-BSCNs that function as property-denoting modifiers, not DP-arguments. Having said that, the two analyses have in common that the nominal constituent in subject position, i.e. the DP/BSCN, is in both cases considered as being embedded in a clausal structure as an object. Apart from the Scandinavian linguistics, cases of non-agreement and covert event interpretation comparable to ‘pancake sentences’ have been studied, for instance, by Danon (2012) for Hebrew, Roy & Shlonsky (2019) for French, and Martin et al. (2020) for French and Brazilian Portuguese. Finally, attention should be drawn to the fact that the phenomenon of nominals projecting event structure extends far beyond the use of BSCNs, or DPs in ‘pancake sentences’, as it is a fundamental element in the literature on semantic compositionality, type-coercion, etc., as e.g. Generative Lexicon Theory (see e.g. Pustejovsky 1995, 2001 and references therein).

- (32b) Lise søger efter **lejlighed** // sørger for **bil** hele tid-en.
Lise looks for flat // arranges for car all time-DET
 ‘Lise looks for a flat // organises transport all the time.’

As a first hypothesis, one could assume an analogy between the structures in (32ab) and the possibility of BSCNs to occur as subjects in the sense that if a BSCN is allowed in object position of a particular V at the sentence level, the same BSCN will also be licensed in subject position with the V in question as a covert null-predicate. However, the structures in (33ab), which in terms of parentheses annotation follow (30), show us that the assumption of such a direct analogy is unwarranted both with respect to direct and prepositional objects.

- (33a) *[(at male) hus] / *[(at vaske) bil] / *[(at pudse) næse] hele tid-en er usund-t.
to paint house / to wash car / to blow nose all time-DET is unhealthy-N
- (33b) *[(at søge efter) lejlighed] / *[(at sørge for) bil] hele tid-en er besværlig-t.
to look for flat / to arrange for car all time-DET is difficult-N

In the above examples, it is hard to decode how the BSCNs should be interpreted when they appear without overt predicates in contextless copular sentences. Danish native speakers unambiguously judge examples like **hus hele tiden er usundt* ‘house all the time is unhealthy’ and **lejlighed hele tiden er besværligt* ‘flat all the time is difficult’ to be ungrammatical because, presumably, there is no indication of which predicate these semantically underspecified structures should naturally be inferred from. By contrast, examples such as the authentic ones in (12ab) and (13ab) are of course acceptable because in these cases we have a clear idea of the existence of a covert predicate with a more or less specific semantic content. So, we can conclude that while it is a prerequisite for BSCNs to occur in subject position that they are licensed as objects by a null-predicate, not all BSCNs licensed as objects can occur in subject position.

On this basis, it is, therefore, proposed that the common semantico-pragmatic grounds on which all the uses of BSCN-subjects rest is that they either should be interpreted in accordance with what prototypically can be considered the primary function of the BSCN-referent (a dynamic perspective), or, alternatively, they convey a meaning which makes us infer an underlying relation of possession (a static perspective). Let us first look at the functional, dynamic perspective.

Following Generative Lexicon Theory (see e.g. Pustejovsky 1995 and later papers), the meaning of any lexical item is structured on the basis of four factors, the FORMAL, CONSTITUTIVE, TELIC and AGENTIVE qualia-roles, which provide a systematic account of how we as humans understand entities and relations in the world; see the template of the artefact-denoting noun *violin* in (34).

- (34) **Qualia-structure of X (*violin*)**
 FORMAL = is-a-relation [X is a musical instrument]
 CONSTITUTIVE = parts-of-relation [X consists of strings, tuning pins, fingerboard, etc.]
 TELIC = purpose-of-relation, ‘**play-act**’ [X has the purpose of being played, making sound, etc.]
 AGENTIVE = bringing-about-relation, ‘**make-act**’ [X is made by a violin maker, a company, etc.]

The qualia-structure specifies that *violin* is an artefact of the instrument type [FORMAL], which consists of a number of parts [CONSTITUTIVE]. Further, it indicates that *violin* includes producer and purpose relations, which are encoded by the predicates **make-act** and **play-act** in the AGENTIVE and TELIC roles, respectively. Artefact-denoting nouns by definition hold these four relations – the first two are static, and the last two dynamic – as part of their lexical meaning, while nouns denoting

natural kinds do not necessarily involve the AGENTIVE and TELIC roles.

The important point here is that it is the TELIC (purpose of) relation of the BSCN which is automatically prompted when it occurs in subject position. Therefore, the null-predicate we as readers infer from the structure is one associated with the prototypical purpose-act of the entity denoted by the subject-BSCN.

More specifically, this means, e.g. for the copular sentences in (12ab), that the interpretations prompted by the BSCN-subjects can be paraphrased as ‘smoke (the) water pipe’, ‘cultivate (the) kitchen garden in raised beds’, i.e. activity interpretations projected in accordance with the TELIC role for the nouns in question (see also Borthen 2003: 332-336).

An objection to this explanation, which might seem valid at first sight at least, could be that context-free, simple examples may be ambiguous, as they can often be paraphrased in different ways (see also Enger 2004: 7-8; Josefsson 2009: 46).

- (35) **Pibe** er ulækker-t. → At ryge // at lugte til **pibe** er ulækker-t.
pipe is repulsive-N → *to smoke // to smell to pipe is repulsive-N*
 ‘It is repulsive to smoke a pipe. //The smell of pipe is repulsive.’
- (36) **Violin** er frygtelig-t. → At spille // at lytte til **violin** er frygtelig-t.
violin is awful-N → *to play // to listen to violin is awful-N*
 ‘It is awful to play // to listen to the violin.’

The examples to the left of the arrows can be understood in at least two ways: as sentences uttered by persons who see the events from the perspective of actually performing the act of smoking or playing, or as sentences uttered by persons who see the events from the perspective of being exposed to these same acts. However, in both cases the meaning is associated with different aspects of what could be characterised as the basic purpose of the objects in question – i.e. to produce smoke and sound. Although the possibility of inferences associated with meaning relations other than TELIC cannot be excluded, we are ‘naturally’ prone to call to mind a verbal predicate that denotes an activity related to the typical function of the entity denoted by the BSCN.¹⁸ It is not surprising to find this default status of the purpose reading since artefacts are always made for a purpose – the result of that being that the TELIC role is an inherent and potentially prominent feature of any artefact-denoting noun – and we conventionally associate artefacts with situations in which their function prototypically plays a decisive role. By contrast, it seems reasonable to speculate that in general we are less concerned with the origin or ‘bringing about’ of an object, as these factors normally do not influence our ‘everyday’ interaction with that object and, hence, tend not to serve as default patterns of thinking and reasoning. On these grounds, the purpose-of-relation can be considered one of the default readings of artefact-denoting BSCNs in subject position.

In several cases, examples of BSCNs in subject position can be appropriately paraphrased with both stative and dynamic predicates that clearly differ semantically from the dynamic predicates projected from the TELIC role of the BSCNs treated so far. Consider the following example, where the stative verb *have* ‘have’ and the dynamic verb *købe* ‘buy’ both seem to fit the intended meaning of the original sentence.

¹⁸ Borthen (2003: 215) highlights the Norwegian example *sykkel er risikabelt* ‘(to steal a) bike is risky’ as evidence supporting the view that both the matrix clause predicate, by means of some sort of pragmatic inference, and a specific context, in this case of interlocutors discussing what to steal, can affect what kind of relation will be inferred in a process of lexical semantic co-composition between the elements. To this we might add that also the agentive role can be evoked given the appropriate context, cf. the following Danish example heard at a dinner party *tagterrasse er virkeligt dyrt* ‘(to build a) roof terrace is really expensive’.

- (37) **Hus** er for dyr-t. → At have/købe **hus** er for dyr-t.
house is too expensive-N → *to have/buy house is too expensive-N*
 ‘To have/buy a house is too expensive.’

This observation matches well with the renowned cross-linguistic tendency that object-BSCNs are licensed by so-called HAVE-verbs (Borthen 2003: 164-193; see also section 2.2), i.e. predicates which carry an implication of availability between the arguments, in this case the non-overt generic PRO subject and the object-BSCN (formally the matrix sentence subject). By way of pragmatic inference, this availability implication often results in interpretations of a possessive nature (see e.g. Müller 2017: 47).

Moreover, in her definition of HAVE-verbs Borthen (2003: 164-167) explains that Norwegian verbs like *ha* ‘have’, *ønske seg* ‘want (REFL)’, *treng* ‘need’, *mangle* ‘lack’, *finne (seg)* ‘find (REFL)’, *motta* ‘receive’, *låne (seg)* ‘borrow (REFL)’, *kjøpe (seg)* ‘buy (REFL)’, etc. have in common ‘that they all can be decomposed into a semantic structure that includes a *have-relation* (at least on some readings), or, in other terms, *introduce* a have-relation’. Thus, within this broad definition of HAVE-verbs, it becomes apparent that a verb of achievement like *købe* ‘buy’ allows object BSCNs because it implies availability of something as the result of a buying process, cf. (37).

However, as is evident from the unlikelihood of accepting *købe* ‘buy’ in (38) below as a candidate for fulfilling the role of covert predicate, it is not sufficient that the verb in question introduces a have-relation. In order to license BSCNs, the have-relation as an additional requirement must be *profiled* (Borthen 2003: 168-169), which means that the relevant context, rather than focussing on how the verbal activity or action is carried out, must profile the final state of possession.

- (38) **Bil** er behagelig-t. → At have/køre i/*købe **bil** er behagelig-t.
car is pleasant-N → *to have/drive in/buy car is pleasant-N*
 ‘To have/drive/(*buy) a car is pleasant.’

(37) contrasts with (38) in this respect, in the sense that while the predicative adjective *dyr-t* ‘expensive-N’ in (37) allows us to draw attention to the result of the buying process, the state of possession, the predicative adjective *behagelig-t* ‘pleasant-N’ tends to encourage a reading which profiles the event of buying as a manner of achievement, i.e. the emphasis is on the succession of pragmatically determined buying stages prior to the actual taking possession. Therefore, the HAVE-verb *købe* ‘buy’ is acceptable as covert predicate in (37), but not in (38). In (38), the context does not naturally lead to a profiling of the have-relation of *købe* ‘buy’ and, consequently, it is not likely to make us infer that the verbal event of buying ‘underlies’ the BSCN-subject.

On this basis, we can conclude that depending on the context – which in these simple copula examples essentially is tantamount to the semantics of the predicative adjective – either the inference of a null-predicate takes place in accordance with the TELIC (purpose of) relation of the BSCN-subject or the BSCN-subject suggests projection of a null-predicate which expresses a static or dynamic have-relation. Furthermore, it is important to realise that the inducement of null-predicates in specific examples is also subject to general rules of pragmatic inference. For instance, we are probably conventionally prone to think and talk about a house as something we acquire and own, whereas a pipe is more likely to evoke patterns of thought associated with its function. Therefore, apart from the influence exerted by the BSCN’s lexical specification and the context, obviously the semantics of the induced predicate also depends on whether it makes more sense pragmatically to interpret the expression in question from a telic or a possessive perspective.

4.2. BSCNs as property-denoting event modifiers

In this section, it is suggested that the relation between the unrealised predicate and the BSCN can be

accounted for by being analysed as pseudo-incorporation (PI). Following e.g. Dayal (2011, 2015), Borik & Gehrke (eds.) (2015), Müller (2017), among several others, PI of complements in object position can be defined as the process by which an NP – in this case a noun without elements expressing nominal functional categories, such as case, articles, quantifiers, demonstratives or possessors (Massam 2009) – gives up its status as bona fide, independent object argument and shifts to a modifier which is pseudo-incorporated into V to form a complex unit or predicate (see e.g. Farkas & de Swart 2003; Dayal 2011, 2015).¹⁹

According to Borik & Gehrke (2015), the PI approach to the study of object-BSCN structures has been used in a number of languages (for a non-exhaustive list, see Borik & Gehrke 2015: 11, note 5). Despite language-specific differences, typically related to the degree of bareness and the position of the NP, the following morphosyntactic and semantic properties seem to be central to this construction type across languages: 1) narrow scope, 2) word order restrictions, 3) prosody and 4) modificational restrictions. In the following, these factors will be discussed in an eclectic manner, meaning that the analysis concentrates exclusively on the data considered immediately relevant to the occurrence of subject-BSCNs in Danish.²⁰

BSs differ from singular indefinites in terms of scopal behaviour in the sense that the former only allow narrow scope interpretation, whereas the latter are ambiguous with respect to narrow vs. wide scope interpretation (see e.g. also Carlson 1977a, b for English, Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca 2003 for examples from Spanish, Italian and Romanian, and Dayal 2011 for Hindi).

- (39) Han regner med at købe **hus/et hus** om et år.
he counts on to buy house/a house in a year
 ‘He expects to buy a house in a year.’

The singular indefinite *et hus* ‘a house’ in (39) can either be interpreted as referring to a specific house the subject referent considers buying, i.e. the nominal takes wide scope with respect to the predicate, or as any non-specific house which may be to the potential buyer’s liking, in which case the nominal is within the (narrow) scope of the predicate. By contrast, the parallel BSCN *hus* ‘house’ can only make reference to a non-specific house, i.e. here only the narrow scope reading is possible. Standardly, this interpretive restriction on object-BSCNs is seen as a cross-linguistic stable indication that a tighter bond between V and BSCN is established than is the case in normal complementation structures (see e.g. Borik & Gehrke 2015; Dayal 2011, 2015, and references therein). Put briefly, in narrow scope structures the nominal stays under the scope of the predicate so that expressions of negation, modality and quantification operate on the full V+BSCN, not separately on one or another of the elements (see also Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006).

Closely related to these observations concerning scope relations is the fact that the occurrence of object-BSCNs – in opposition to fully-fledged arguments – is confined to the post-verbal position under normal conditions of intonation and prosody, see (40).²¹

¹⁹ Importantly, PI differs from the phenomenon of ‘real’ morphosyntactic incorporation, which we find in verbal compounds with the structure [NV]_V or [VN]_V, i.e. expressions created through morphosyntactic absorption of the N-component by the V-component (see e.g. Booij 2009: 5). In PI, the BSCNs permit certain kinds of modification (see e.g. Borik & Gehrke 2015; Müller 2017), as well as possible non-contiguity of the V-N/N-V structure, while in morphosyntactic incorporation, the incorporated noun must belong to the category of N⁰, i.e. a completely unmodified noun (see Baker 1988; Baker et al. 2005).

²⁰ For a comprehensive study of Danish BSCNs in object position and their PI under V, see Müller (2017).

²¹ In Danish, object fronting of BSCNs is licensed in contrastive contexts, cf. e.g. *Bo ryger pibe, men VIOLIN spiller han ikke* ‘Bo smokes (a) pipe, but (the) VIOLIN he does not play’ (see also Müller 2017: 67, note 11). Fronting of the object obligatorily triggers subject-verb inversion.

(40a) Bo køber **hus/hus-et** næste år.
Bo buys house/house-DET next year
 ‘Bo is going to buy a house/the house next year.’

(40b) ***Hus** køber Bo næste år. // **Hus-et** køber Bo næste år.
house buys Bo next year // house-DET buys Bo next year

Moreover, left-dislocation of BSCNs is only warranted in cases where the nominal – irrespective of its formal gender – is followed by the neuter pronoun *det* ‘it’, whereas DPs are obligatorily doubled by gender-agreeing pronouns (see also section 3.1). Compare the examples in (41) containing the common gender BSCN *villa* ‘villa’.

(41) **Villa** *det* (*den) køber Bo næste år. // **Villa-en** *den* (*det) køber Bo næste år.
villa it.N it.C buys Bo next year // villa-DET it.C it.N buys Bo next year
 ‘Bo is going to buy a villa/the villa next year.’

Finally, the following examples show that object-BSCNs also do not permit detachment from their natural post-verbal position when exposed to focalisation in cleft sentence or passivisation operations.

(42) *Det er **hus** Bo køber næste år. // ***Hus** bliver købt af Bo næste år.
It is house Bo buys next year // house is buy-PCPT by Bo next year

In Danish, prosodic patterns and syntactic structure are interrelated in the sense that bareness of the object-noun triggers prosodic reduction of V, which leads to the phenomenon termed ‘unit accentuation’ between V and BSCN, while non-bareness results in full stress on the V (see Jespersen 1934; Diderichsen 1946; Rischel 1983; Hansen & Lund 1983; Nedergaard Thomsen 1991; Scheuer 1995; Petersen 2010, 2011, 2012; Hansen & Heltoft 2011), see (43).²²

(43) Bo ₀køber ¹**hus** næste år. // Bo ₀køber ¹**hus-et** næste år.
Bo buys house next year. // Bo buys house-DET next year
 ‘Bo buys (a) house next year. // Bo buys the house next year.’

Importantly, unit accentuation is closely connected to the rigidity of the word order of V+BSCN structures mentioned before, meaning that the post-verbal position of the BSCN is a precondition for the verbal stress reduction and, hence, unit accentuation of V and BSCN (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 338).

Apart from a few exceptions concerning mainly the adjective *ny* ‘new’, object-BSCNs do not allow modification by qualitative adjectives or relative clauses, see (44).²³

(44) Bo køber (*moderne) **hus**, (*der ligger i København).
Bo buys modern house which is in Copenhagen

²² The subscript ‘₀’ indicates weak stress, while the superscript ‘¹’ designates main word stress.

²³ In their article on bare nouns and incorporating verbs in Spanish and Catalan, Espinal & McNally (2011: 99) indicate that BSCNs in object position allow modification by relational adjectives or PP-complements if the expressions denote kinds of entities. A similar pattern seems to hold for Danish in the sense that expressions such as *han bærer høj hat* ‘he wears (a) top hat [lit.: high hat]’ and *han bygger sommerhus* ‘he builds (a) summer house’ are fully acceptable, because the adjectively modified BSCN *høj hat* ‘top hat’ and the compound BSCN *sommerhus* ‘summer house’ denote subtypes of hats and houses, respectively.

In the same vein, it can be noted that, as opposed to object-DPs, object-BSCNs cannot form a secondary predication with an adjective, i.e. function as subjects of predicative adjectives in what are termed ‘resultative small clauses’ (as defined by, e.g., Hoekstra 1988; Doetjes 1997), see (45).

- (45) Bo maler hus-et rød-t / *hus rød-t.
Bo paints house-DET red-N / house red-N
 ‘Bo paints the house red.’

The facts concerning scope relations, word-order, prosody and modification – seen as both isolated and interdependent phenomena – strongly suggest that instead of acting independently in syntax as free arguments, BSCNs are relatively inaccessible to the external syntax and ‘locked’ in their post-verbal position, forming in this way a tightly linked unit with the verb. Moreover, notably the constraints on modification and secondary predication formation and the triggering of pronominal non-agreement with BSCN-antecedents in left dislocation structures, indicate that BSCNs in object position are not subject to individuation, i.e. they do not seem to denote identifiable individuals, but rather act as property-denoting nominals that modify the verb. More specifically, given the fact that the function of attributive adjectives is to ascribe characteristics to individuals, i.e. to modify nouns or pronouns, the general lack of possibility of adjectival modification of object-BSCNs, exemplified in (44) and (45), is a strong indication that these nominals do not denote individuals but properties. In other words, the object-BSCNs act as modifiers themselves and, thus, reject modification by other modifiers.

Consequently, following e.g. Dayal’s (2011, 2015) definition of PI in Hindi (see also previous references to PI analyses in this section), which exactly predicts that object-BSCNs incorporate into V as property-denoting modifiers that restrict the scope of V to a subtype of V’s denotation, the observations presented here provide evidence for regarding Danish V+BSCN structures as a case of PI. Empirically, this implies that V+BSCN structures such as *ryge pibe* ‘smoke (the) pipe’, *købe hus* ‘buy (a) house’ and *spille violin* ‘play (the) violin’ actually denote subtypes of events, here specifically paraphraseable as sub-activities of pipe-smoking, house-buying and violin-playing.

According to Dayal (2011: 146), PI structures of the type relevant here can be represented in formal semantic terms as $\lambda P \lambda y \lambda e [P-V(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(e) = y]$. In comparison with the representation of regular transitive structures of complementation, the placeholder P replaces the internal Theme argument and functions as a property-denoting predicate modifier restricting the denotation of V (see also Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006).

However, Dayal’s formal representation of PI obviously does not take into consideration the previously presented assumption that it is the TELIC (purpose of) relation or the have-relation of the BSCN which by default is activated when the BSCN surfaces in subject position. As a result, the inferred null-predicate and its object BSCN must refer to types of event which either involve the TELIC quale or the ‘availability aspect’ of the concept associated with the BSCN. In order to account for these constraints, Dayal’s PI formula needs to be expanded for Danish by a ‘purpose-of-relation’ and a ‘have-relation’ in the following way:

- (46) $\lambda P \lambda y \lambda e [P-V(e) \wedge (\text{Agent}(e) \vee \text{Experiencer}(e)) = y \wedge (\text{Purpose-of-relation}(e) \vee \text{Have-relation}(e))]$

In this manner it is made explicit that the object position is occupied by a property-denoting nominal which modifies the V so that the PI sequence denotes a subtype of the event denoted by the V determined semantically by the TELIC quale of the nominal, or the extent to which it is likely that the context indicates a relation of availability. The fact that the external arguments inevitably are non-overt generic PRO subjects is disregarded in this formal representation, as it is not considered

immediately relevant to the focus of the analyses discussed in this paper.

If the analysis presented above is accurate, one would expect the V+BSCN structure not to be confined to the subject position, but that other argumental positions should also be available for BSCNs projecting this type of generic event. The following examples show that this is indeed the case (see also Borthen 2003: 212 for Norwegian).

(47) Rejsebureau-et foreslår **bus**.
travel.agency-DET proposes bus
 ‘The travel agency suggests taking the bus.’

(48) Det gør **bil** alt for dyr-t.
it makes car all too expensive-N
 ‘It makes it far too expensive to use the car.’

In (47) the BSCN *bus* ‘bus’ appears in object position, and in (48) the common gender BSCN *bil* ‘car’ is the object of a causative construction where the predicate adjective *dyr-t* ‘expensive-N’ shows neuter agreement. In both examples the translations into English indicate the implicit understanding of a covert predicate in order for the sentences to make sense.

With respect to (47), a spontaneous objection to the event structure projection analysis might be that the BSCN could just as well be analysed as incorporating directly under the main verb, i.e. without the ‘interference’ of a covert predicate. However, such an approach can easily be discarded as an alternative because the two types of structures show different syntactic transformation patterns, cf. (49) and (50).

(49) Han foreslår **bus**. // **Bus** bliver foreslå-et. // **Bus**, det bliver foreslå-et.
he proposes bus // bus is propose-PCPT // bus it.N is propose-PCPT
 ‘He suggests taking the bus. // To take the bus is suggested.’

(50) Ole maler **hus**. // ***Hus** bliver male-t. // ***Hus**, det bliver male-t.
Ole paints house // house is paint-PCPT // house it is paint-PCPT
 ‘Ole is painting the house.’

While BSCNs cannot appear as subjects of the passive in incorporation structures such as (50) (cf. also (42)) – either with or without realisation of the neuter pronoun *det* ‘it.N’ – this is totally unproblematic for BSCNs embedded in a covert predicate, as in (49). This is an inevitable consequence of the fact that the BSCNs in (50) are tightly linked to the V as incorporated modificational elements and, thus, are reluctant to accept detachment from their ‘natural’ post-verbal position (see Müller 2017: 50), whereas the BSCNs in (49) together with their covert predicate are free clausal elements that can act independently of the V, just as any other DP. Moreover, in aspectual terms PI-structures such as *male hus* ‘paint (the) house’ predominantly denote activities, while an event like ‘to suggest taking the bus’ clearly constitutes an achievement (following Vendler’s 1967 event model). So, also according to this parameter the two types of structures noticeably differ from each other.

Although this paper has concentrated on BSCNs in subject position, we can conclude that the phenomenon of embedding BSCNs under covert Vs extends beyond the subject position. This is to be expected precisely because the V+BSCN structure forms an independent clausal element which functions similarly to other event-denoting DP-nominals.

5. Conclusive remarks and brief discussion

The distributional analysis opening this paper shows that while BPs and mass nouns occur unconstrained in subject position of both existential and categorical sentences – leading to either generic or episodic readings of the bare nouns – BSCNs are licensed only within a limited semantic (possessive) domain in existential statements, and are practically banned from appearing in categorical statements, except for a few sporadic examples where the BSCNs have either generic or specific reference.

However, contrary to what seems to be the prevailing opinion in the Danish linguistic literature, it appears from empirical evidence that under certain conditions BSCNs are systematically allowed in subject position of both copular and non-copular categorical sentences. On the basis of an analysis of the agreement features exhibited by predicative adjectives, it is shown that BSCNs have in common with bare mass nouns, event nominalisations and clauses that as subjects they obligatorily trigger neuter agreement with the predicative adjective by which they are modified, irrespective of the grammatical gender of the bare subject-nouns. From this we can deduce that BSCNs in subject position denote in the domain of entities with homogeneous reference, i.e. they point to items/phenomena with no spatial boundaries. However, in contrast to mass nouns in subject position, which denote first-order entities, BSCN-subjects are shown to denote events (third-order entities) which leads to the assumption that they are embedded under a larger structure consisting of a covert predicate with the BSCN in object position.

In support of this covert predicate analysis, certain specific genericity conditions further corroborate that expressions with BSCNs in subject position generalise over patterns of events, as opposed to properties of individuals, both when it comes to copular and non-copular sentences. Among other factors, especially the (in)compatibility with certain matrix sentence predicates and the (im)possibility of making the covert predicate explicit in particular contexts serve as evidence supporting the claim of the BN being an eventive subject exposed to generalisation in the form of a generic statement. Consequently, it is assumed that instead of acting as arguments referring to kinds of individuals, BSCN-subjects are property-denoting modifiers which narrow down the denotation of the covert predicate under which they pseudo-incorporate.

Essential to the PI-analysis is an examination of the nature of the covert predicate and its relation to the BSCN. On the basis of Generative Lexicon Theory (e.g. Pustejovsky 1995) and Borthen's (2003) notion of 'profiled have-relations', the argumentation above suggests that the covert predicate must be interpreted as a verb which either corresponds semantically with the TELIC (purpose of) relation or the have-relation of the BSCN. In order to verify the assumption that the BSCN-subject should be interpreted as a constituent in object position without any referential implication or existential presupposition, i.e. as a modifier, the properties of obligatory narrow scope, fixed V+BSCN word order, unit accentuation and modificational restrictions were examined. They all point towards viewing the covert V+BSCN structure as an event-denoting complex semantic unit in which the BSCN pseudo-incorporates under the V and, thus, restricts its denotational scope.

Returning to the theoretical question mentioned in the introductory section of whether a nominal in the Germanic and Romance languages must be a DP to occur in argument position, cf. Longobardi (1994, 2001), it is clear that the PI-analysis suggested in this paper implies that there are compelling arguments for assuming that it is not the BSCN per se that occurs in subject position, but instead a larger structure in the form of an IP in which the BSCN is embedded. This means that, if the PI-analysis is correct, the event-structure projected from the BSCN functions on a par with other event-denoting nominals, such as complementiser phrases, infinitival phrases, gerunds and event-nominalisations, which, following Longobardi (1994, 2001) and many others, either by being headed by overt or null determiners, fully qualify as DPs and, thus, occur unconstrained in subject position. A principle objection that could be raised against the hypothesis that nominal projections must be DPs to occupy argument positions is that BSCNs, as we have seen, quite frequently occur in object

position in Danish (and other languages) (see also Müller 2017). However, here it is important to emphasise that the PI-analysis actually predicts that the BSCNs in object position cease to exist as arguments and instead convert into members of the syntactic category known as modifiers. Consequently, we can uphold the DP-hypothesis by claiming that BSCNs in these cases, from a syntactic perspective, do not have the status as arguments. Of course, such a discussion ultimately will depend on the definition of argumenthood applied and a broader look at all the possible uses of BSCNs (including the ones in predicative positions), issues that go far beyond the scope of this article.

As mentioned in the introduction, Chierchia (1998) states that in the Germanic and Romance languages bare nominals are predicates, and that in order to function as arguments they must be either DPs, BPs or mass terms. The analysis advocated here clearly rules out the possibility that the subject-BSCNs in question, through some type-shifting process, can be read as denoting in the plural domain or as compatible with non-atomic interpretations. But, again, following the PI-analysis, it is more than questionable whether the BSCN-subjects meet the requirements of occupying an argument position in the first place. Rather, it appears that the PI-analysis is consistent with Chierchia's view that in Germanic and Romance languages basically bare nominals are predicate-denoting NPs of the type $\langle e, t \rangle$, meaning that the relevant BSCNs are only 'surface subjects', which, being the predicates they, according to Chierchia, truly and inherently are, incorporate into a covert V and modify its denotation, i.e. they function as modifiers, not as arguments.

We can conclude that seen as an isolated phenomenon the BSCN-subjects under scrutiny in this paper do not conflict with the theoretical foundations laid out by Longobardi and Chierchia.

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The use of English relativizers by non-natives. A comparison of Danish, Serbian and Slovene students

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Abstract: This paper presents a study of the acquisition and use of English relativizers by non-native university students of the English language. Danish students of English Business Communication, Serbian students of general English studies and Slovene students of Translation Studies serve as informants for this work, which is quantitative and comparative in nature. The informants' mastery of English relativizers is investigated by questionnaire surveys. The study tests 3 hypotheses concerning challenges that the learners are likely to face due to possible interference from their mother tongues. The study does not only address the hypotheses themselves, but also possible ramifications for the theory of cross-linguistic influence. Two of the hypotheses are shown to be valid, showing that cross-linguistic influence is indeed real. The hypotheses in question concern the correct choice of relativizer with respect to animacy, and the misuse of *whom* in subject position. The results regarding the third hypothesis, i.e. concerning problems thought to be specific to Danish informants, are inconclusive, suggesting that cross-linguistic influence alone cannot explain all the challenges that non-native users of a language face.

Keywords: Relativization, error analysis, linguistic experiments, language acquisition, cross-linguistic influence.

1. Introduction

This paper is part of an on-going study of the difficulties that Danish university students have with the acquisition of theoretical grammar and of written English (Madsen 2017a). According to the error analysis in said project of a corpus consisting of over 600 000 words by almost 600 informants, mistakes with English relativizers make up about 1% of all the mistakes detected. It may not seem much; nevertheless, mistakes with relativizers are among the most frequent *grammatical* mistakes that Danish students make. Furthermore, fellow university teachers too indicate that this type of mistakes figure prominently in their thinking as an area that merits extra attention in the teaching of English.

For this reason, a paper (Madsen 2017b) was dedicated to relativization in Danish students' interlanguage, in which paper the issue was studied in a questionnaire-based experiment. The paper at hand is a direct follow-up of that study. It employs the same experimental set up; however, it goes a step further. It does not only test another group of Danish students in a revised experiment, but also Serbian and Slovene students. The purpose is twofold. One of the goals is to validate the first study's findings; the other is to investigate to what extent the contrastive theory of language acquisition (or the theory of cross-linguistic influence) is justifiable (Odlin 1989). Results in the above-mentioned project so far suggest that up to 75% of the mistakes that students make can be explained by cross-linguistic influence, i.e. interference from the students' L1's. However, even if this finding is correct, 25% of the mistakes still beg for an explanation, not to mention that also the 75% seemingly already accounted for may need corroboration. To this end, the present study also involves the Slavonic informants as control groups in an attempt to ascertain the limits of the contrastive theory.

The following three hypotheses are tested in this study. (1) All the informant groups should have difficulties with relativizer agreement concerning animacy since none of these languages shows agreement between the relativizer and the antecedent in animacy. (2) Danes may use *as* and *there* erroneously as relativizers whereas Serbs and Slovenes should not. (3) Danes may use *whom* instead of *who* whereas Serbs and Slovenes should not. An elaborate description and justification of the

hypotheses can be found in Section 2.1.

2. Theory

As mentioned in the introduction, up to 75% of the mistakes that Danes make when using English can be explained by referring to the differences between English and Danish. The main theory of this study is therefore the contrastive analysis theory developed by Lado (1957).

The main postulate of Lado's theory is that it is possible to identify a priori the areas of difficulty a particular foreign language will present for native speakers of another language by systematically comparing the two languages. To be precise, it is expected that learners will have difficulties with those areas of the target language that differ from their mother tongue's system.¹ Corder (1967, 1981) later modified the contrastive approach by arguing that one should not make a priori assumptions about what might be difficult for learners but should instead focus on learners' actual errors. He believed that the errors of learners are what can reveal reliably the areas of difficulty for the learners. For it has transpired that not all cross-linguistic differences are equal, i.e. not all of them are indeed problematic for language learners. This so-called error analysis is thus the method followed in this study.

Because of the less than perfect predictive power of the contrastive theory, it is not only used as the theoretical framework of this paper, but also as one of the objects of the study. For even though the contrastive theory can explain a large portion of the mistakes made by Danes, it may not be the only or even the best explanation for those mistakes (Jarvis 2000; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008). That is why two control groups, who were exposed to the same task, are used to validate the findings. The two groups are Serbian and Slovene students of English, respectively. These groups were selected for two reasons that make them suitable objects of comparison to Danish students. One is that their mother tongues are generally quite different from Danish. The other is that the relativization systems of these languages nonetheless bear significant similarities to that of Danish.

There are two overarching assumptions based on the contrastive theory in this study. One is that the three groups of informants should perform in the same way in the cases where their mother tongues' relativization systems are similar to each other but different from English. The other, converse, assumption is that they should perform differently in the cases where their mother tongues' relativization systems differ from each other. How differently they should perform in these cases should depend on the exact differences between the relativization system of English and the relativization systems of their L1's. This section gives a brief overview of the relativization systems of the languages involved in the study, after which the concrete hypotheses to be tested are presented. In the analysis, the hypotheses are also tested numerically with the help of the chi-square test of independence (Urđan 2012; Hartshorn 2015).

Table 1 shows the nature of the antecedents and of the relativizers in the sentences used in the questionnaires. The prepositions expected depend on the concrete verbs in the relevant sentences. The actual questionnaire given to the informants can be seen in Appendix A. The following description of the relativization systems is not exhaustive but focuses on the parts that are relevant for this study.

Inspired by Keenan and Comrie (1977), the term relativizer is used as a generic term for a linguistic element that refers back to a nominal element (the antecedent) and starts a subordinate clause. The relativizer indicates that the antecedent is described or modified by the subordinate clause in which the relativizer appears (the relative clause). Relativizers thus subsume relative pronouns, relative particles, specific subordinators, etc., depending on the language described and the

¹ It has since been acknowledged (Odlin 1989; Jarvis 2011; Madsen 2015) that not only one's mother tongue can influence one's non-native languages, but also a non-native language can influence one's mother tongue or another non-native tongue. Hence, it is common to use the term cross-linguistic influence to refer to any kind of interference between languages in use.

grammatical nomenclature followed by a given description.

Table 1: The antecedents and relativizers employed in the study

	Antecedent's animacy	Relativizer's function	Expected English relativizer
1	? ²	Subject	which/who
2	Animate	Possessor	Whose
3	inanimate	direct object	Which
4	inanimate	Subject	Which
5	animate	Subject	Who
6	inanimate	locative adverbial of containment	in which ³
7	animate	indirect object	to whom
8	animate	direct object	Whom
9	animate	prepositional complement	after/from whom
10	inanimate	prepositional complement	about/of which
11	inanimate	Possessor	Whose
12	inanimate	Possessor	of which

Each of the 12 combinations in Table 1 appears both as a multiple-choice and a cloze-type question, cf. Section 3 on methodology. As suggested by the expected English relativizers, all the relative clauses are parenthetical and finite. Consequently, the animacy-neutral relativizer *that* and the zero relativizer are not allowed in any of the cases; nevertheless, some of the informants did use them sometimes. None of the antecedents is a clause. To sum up, the paper studies postmodifying finite relative clauses with explicit relative-clause-initial relativizers and nominal antecedents. Such structures are completely ordinary in all the four languages (Svane 1958; Bray 1980; Jug-Kranjec 1995; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Togeby 2003; Greenberg 2006).

A major difference between English and the other three languages and therefore one of the objects of this study is that English relativizers agree with their antecedents in animacy. There is no such agreement in the other languages.⁴ Tables 2 thru 4 give overviews of the relativizers which are expected to appear in the translation equivalents of the English sentences in the questionnaires.

² Here the antecedent is a collective noun, the name of a company, and the purpose of this question is to determine whether the informants prefer to construe such a collective noun as animate or inanimate.

³ Most informants preferred to use *where* regardless of their L1.

⁴ It is obviously not claimed that *all* English relativizers show agreement in animacy, and there is also a very limited possibility for such agreement for Danish relativizers, see below.

Table 2: The relativizers of Danish

Relativizer	Antecedent	Function in relative clause
<i>som</i>	any except clause	any except possessor
<i>der</i>	any except clause	only subject
<i>hvis</i>	Any	only possessor

Som and *der* are the relativizers that are used by far most frequently in modern Danish. They do not show any kind of agreement with the antecedent. When *som* serves as a prepositional complement in the relative clause, the preposition is invariably stranded similarly to the case when *that* is used as a relativizer in English. A further similarity to *that* is that *som* can be omitted when it is not the subject of a relative clause. On the other hand, neither *som* nor *der* is limited to restrictive relative clauses. *Hvis* is also invariable. It is the cognate of *whose* and can – just as *whose* – also be used with inanimate antecedents.

For the sake of completeness, it must be noted that *hvilken* and *hvem* can also be used as relativizers. They are the cognates of *which* and *whom*⁵, respectively, and thus show agreement with the antecedent in animacy. However, they are almost exclusively used as interrogative pronouns in modern Danish, only very seldom as relativizers with nominal antecedents and even so only when they are preposition complements. If *hvilken* is indeed used, it agrees with its antecedent in grammatical gender and number. In modern Danish, *hvilken* – in its neuter singular form *hvilket* – is virtually restricted to clausal antecedents. Because of the extreme scarcity of Danish relativizers showing agreement in animacy, it is assumed that animacy is an unknown category to Danes with respect to relativization. This assumption is strongly corroborated by the findings so far (Madsen 2017a).

A phenomenon specific to *som* and *der* is that they are homonymous with words that have nothing to do with relativization. Thus, they are also the translation equivalents of *as* and *there*, respectively. *Der* is, furthermore, the cognate of *there*. This homonymy, causing noticeable challenges for Danes, is the basis of one of the hypotheses below.

Table 3: The relativizers of Serbian

Relativizer	Antecedent	Function in relative clause
<i>koji</i>	any except clause	Any
<i>čiji</i>	any	Possessor

Koji agrees with the antecedent in number, and in grammatical gender for inanimate antecedents and in biological sex for animate antecedents. It is declined for case in accordance with its function in the relative clause. When a preposition is called for, it is placed invariably before *koji*, as Serbian does not employ stranded prepositions. *Čiji*, corresponding to *whose*, agrees with the possessum in gender, number and case not with the antecedent.

⁵ *Hvem* is originally the dative form of the animate interrogative and relative pronoun; however, it has completely replaced the original nominative form *hvo*, which appears only in a couple of proverbs in modern Danish.

Table 4: The relativizers of Slovene

Relativizer	Antecedent	Function in relative clause
<i>ki</i>	any except clause	any except possessor and prepositional object
<i>kateri</i>	any except clause	Any

Ki is the relativizer used most frequently in Slovene. It does not agree with the antecedent in any way and is not declined for any grammatical category. When the antecedent has the role of the subject of the relative clause, *ki* is used alone. When it is not the subject, pronominal repetition is employed alongside with *ki* to refer back to the antecedent. This resumptive pronoun (Lehmann 1984) is an enclitic form of the 3rd person personal pronoun. It agrees with the antecedent in number and grammatical gender for inanimate antecedents, and in biological sex for animate antecedents. It is also declined for case appropriate for its function in the relative clause.

When the relativizer functions as possessor or the complement of a preposition in its own clause, *kateri* is used instead of *ki*. The preposition is placed invariably before *kateri* as Slovene does not employ stranded prepositions. *Kateri* agrees with the antecedent in number and grammatical gender or biological sex. It is also declined for case in accordance with its function in the relative clause.

2.1 The hypotheses

Based on the brief contrastive comparison of English and the three languages in the study above, the following three hypotheses are formulated and tested.

1. Danes as well as Serbs and Slovenes should have difficulties with relativizer agreement (*who* vs *which*) since none of these languages has agreement between the relativizer and the antecedent in animacy. Of course, all these three languages make the distinction between animate and inanimate entities somewhere in their grammars, but not in their system of relativization with an explicit antecedent. Although Danish does so on paper, there is, as mentioned above, ample documentation that the virtually exclusive use of *som* and *der* as relativizers makes Danes susceptible to this pitfall. Thus, the three groups are expected to perform equally well (or poorly) in this test.
2. Danes may erroneously use *as* and *there* as relativizers; Serbs and Slovenes should not. Since the Danish relativizing words *som* and *der* can also be translated as *as* and *there*, respectively, Danes may and do sometimes believe that the latter words can function as relativizers in English too. Since the Slovene and Serbian relativizers are not homonymous with other words, such or similar misuses should not occur in their English.
3. Danes may use *whom* instead of *who*; Serbs and Slovenes should not. This is to be expected – and has been amply documented – because modern Danish lacks case inflection. Consequently, Danes are unfamiliar with the kind of distinction that exists between *who* and *whom*. This challenge is exacerbated by the fact that *hvem* in modern Danish, meaning 'who', is similar to *whom*, not to *who*. This seems to suggest to Danes concentrating on choosing the right relativizer with respect to animacy that *whom* is a viable choice with respect to case even when it is not with respect to case. On the other hand, Slovenes and Serbs are familiar with case inflection, and none of the words in their native vocabulary can make *whom* a favorable choice instead of *who*.

3. Method

The analytical method is a comparative analysis of the performance of 51 Danish students of English Business Communication, 18 Serbian students of general English studies and 26 Slovene students of Translation Studies.⁶ All the informants are first-year university students. Hence, they have had a comparable institutional exposure to the English language. However, the Danish students are on average 2 years older than their Slavonic colleagues because many pupils spend 10 years in elementary school instead of the prescribed 9 years. For Danes, it is also customary to take a sabbatical year before starting at university. During the sabbatical, many travel abroad, and English-speaking countries, especially the US and Australia, are favorite destinations. Thus, the Danish students are likely to have had a longer informal exposure to English than their Slavonic counterparts.

The informants were asked to fill in the questionnaire consisting of 12 cloze-type questions and 12 multiple-choice questions (see Table 1 above). For each multiple-choice question, the same 12 choices were given, of course in a random order (Oppenheim 1992; Gillham 2007). Table 5 presents the choices. See also Appendix A for the actual sentences in the questionnaire.

Table 5: The choices in the multiple-choice questions

<i>as</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>Who</i>	<i>Whom</i>	<i>whose</i>	<i>where</i>
<i>why</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>from whom</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>to whom</i>	<i>of which</i>	<i>about which</i>

As can be seen, the choices included the words *as* and *there*, which Danes, but not Slovenes and Serbs, were expected to use erroneously. Employed were also distractors (*why*, *what* and especially *because*) which were not at all reasonable choices. The cloze-type questions could be reasonably answered only with *who(m)* or *which*; in some cases by using only the relativizers on their own, and in other cases by using the relativizers with a preposition. The physical layout of the questionnaire did not make it possible to use stranded prepositions. Prepositions, when called for, had to be preposed the relativizers. Regrettably, this proved to be a nuisance because it seems to have caused extra challenges for the Danish informants, to whom placing a preposition before the relativizer does not come naturally. The responses are classified into 6 categories:

- (i) Correct in all respect.
- (ii) Correct with respect to animacy, but erroneous in other respect, e.g. wrong preposition or spelling error.
- (iii) Incorrect animacy without regard to the correctness of spelling and choice of preposition if applicable.
- (iv) Danicism, i.e. the erroneous use of *as* or *there* as relativizers as per hypothesis 2.
- (v) Erroneous use of *whom*. For the questions for which the expected response was *who* as the subject of the relative clause, it was noted whether *whom* was used erroneously instead.
- (vi) Miscellaneous, i.e. none of the above, e.g. the use of entirely inappropriate words.

The Danish informants were requested to do the survey in their grammar class as part of their regular classroom activities. It was administered to them electronically in Moodle. The Serbian and Slovene informants were asked to do the survey at leisure in Google Forms. This difference in the way the survey was administered explains why there are so many more Danish informants in this study. In hindsight, it would have been desirable to employ a more comprehensive set of questionnaires. However, preference was given to garnering as many responses as possible instead of a broader questionnaire. For experience has shown that prospective informants tend to opt out when a

⁶ Many thanks are due to Milica Vitaz, Belgrade, for administering the questionnaires to her students.

questionnaire is lengthy (Dörnyei 2014). This is likely reflected in the smaller numbers of Serbian and Slovene informants who self-selected for filling in the questionnaire.

The animacy of the antecedents was assumed to be obvious with the exception of one question per question set.⁷ The two exceptions are collective nouns, which are used to probe whether the informants prefer to interpret collective nouns, such as the names of companies, as animate or inanimate antecedents. It was made sure that the verb's form (singular vs plural) could not give any bias as to the choice of the relativizer. All statistical calculations have been performed in Microsoft Excel (Bovey et al. 2009; Jelen & Syrstad 2010; Carlberg 2014; Harmon 2014).

4. Analysis

To start with, the main outcomes are shown at the beginning of this section. Then, the three hypotheses are discussed one by one, and further details are tabulated as necessary. Table 6 and Table 7 present the frequency analysis of the multiple-choice questions for animate and inanimate antecedents, respectively. Table 8 combines the responses in which the choice of the relativizer was correct with regard to animacy, summing the first two columns of the previous tables. The tables also show the corresponding aggregated results synthesized from Table 5 in Madsen (2017b: 100), which are called "DNK previous".

Table 6: Frequency analysis of multiple-choice questions with animate antecedents

Informants	Correct	Correct animacy	Incorrect animacy	Danicism	Misc
SLO	88.46%	7.69%	2.88%	0.00%	0.96%
SRB	81.95%	11.11%	2.78%	4.17%	0.00%
DNK	79.41%	9.31%	4.90%	1.96%	4.41%
DNK previous	75.62%	17.28%	5.25%	0.62%	1.23%

Table 7: Frequency analysis of multiple-choice questions with inanimate antecedents

Informants	Correct	Correct animacy	Incorrect animacy	Danicism	Misc
SLO	74.04%	11.54%	2.88%	4.81%	6.73%
SRB	69.44%	16.67%	1.39%	4.17%	8.33%
DNK	60.78%	20.59%	6.86%	7.84%	3.92%
DNK previous	55.56%	27.16%	4.32%	9.26%	3.70%

⁷ Incidentally, question 12 in the cloze-type questionnaire (see Table 1) is also a collective noun. However, since the structure of the relative clause facilitates the expression *the major product [of relativizer]* the relativizer functioning as possessor, and because *of whom* is not considered well formed in this context, it is assumed that this context should provide clear evidence that the antecedent is construed as inanimate.

Table 8: Aggregated frequencies of correct choices of relativizer with respect to animacy, disregarding formal mistakes in responses to multiple-choice questions

Informants	Animate antecedent	Inanimate antecedent
SLO	96.15%	85.58%
SRB	93.06%	86.11%
DNK	88.72%	81.37%
DNK previous	92.90%	82.72%

Table 9 and Table 10 present the frequency analysis of the cloze-type questionnaire for animate and inanimate antecedents, respectively. Table 11 combines the responses in which the choice of the relativizer was correct with regard to animacy, summing the first two columns of the previous tables. The tables also show the corresponding aggregated results synthesized from Table 4 in Madsen (2017b: 99).

Table 9: Frequency analysis of cloze-type questions with animate antecedents

Informants	Correct	Correct animacy	Incorrect animacy	Danicism	Misc
SLO	74.04%	11.54%	1.92%	0.00%	12.50%
SRB	80.56%	13.89%	1.39%	0.00%	4.17%
DNK	53.44%	32.35%	4.90%	0.00%	9.31%
DNK previous	45.99%	41.98%	6.79%	0.00%	4.94%

Table 10: Frequency analysis of cloze-type questions with inanimate antecedents

Informants	Correct	Correct animacy	Incorrect animacy	Danicism	Misc
SLO	62.50%	0.96%	0.00%	0.00%	36.54%
SRB	68.06%	6.94%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%
DNK	61.28%	12.75%	0.98%	0.00%	25.00%
DNK previous	45.37%	33.64%	2.78%	0.62%	17.28%

Table 11: Aggregated frequencies of correct choice of relativizer with respect to animacy disregarding formal mistakes in responses to cloze-type questions

	Animate antecedent	Inanimate antecedent
SLO	85.58%	63.46%
SRB	94.45%	75.00%
DNK	85.79%	74.03%
DNK previous	87.96%	79.01%

As Table 8 and Table 11 show, the two Danish groups perform fairly similarly when animacy is concerned. A chi-square test, presented in Table 12, also suggests that the two studies of Danish

informants have consistent results in this respect.⁸ Note that because similarity between the studies of Danish informants is sought here, higher p values are “better”, indicating samples that differ from each other only non-significantly.

Table 12: p values of comparing the two studies of Danish informants in a chi-square test

	Multiple-choice	Cloze-type
animate antecedent	0.098	0.411
inanimate antecedent	0.694	0.163

4.1 Hypothesis 1

Based on the findings above, Hypothesis 1 seems to be confirmed since none of the groups achieved 100% precision in the choice of the relativizer with respect to animacy. However, there are several details worth observing.

One of these details is that all the groups perform better with animate antecedents, i.e. get the animacy of the relativizer right, than with inanimate antecedents. This suggests that for some reason, the informants generally prefer using *who* as relativizer to using *which* as relativizer. Nothing in the informants’ mother tongues lends itself as an explanation for this difference. This finding might be tentatively explained by a general human preference for animate objects and thus for words that refer to animate objects. Another reason may be that *who* as a relativizer occurred more frequently than *which* as a relativizer in the informants’ previous exposure to English. Whether the latter supposition – if true – is accidental or based on the former supposition is unknown. In any case, these are just speculations at the moment.

Interestingly, the aforementioned seeming preference for *who* is corroborated only for the Danish informants by their choice between *who* and *which* when referring to a collective antecedent (Table 12). The Serbian informants clearly prefer *which* in this case while the Slovene informants’ preference for *which* is less pronounced. To probe into the differences between the groups, the chi-square test is employed, and the significance level set at 0.05. Based on the calculated p values for both questionnaires (multiple-choice questionnaire $p = 0.011$; cloze-type questionnaire $p = 0.001$), a statistically significant difference could be established.

Table 13: Preferences with respect to animacy in the case of a collective noun, the company Apple. Prevailing values within the informant groups are highlighted.

	<i>which</i>		<i>who</i>		<i>whom</i>		Misc	
	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze
SLO	57.69%	65.38%	34.62%	19.23%	0.00%	0.00%	7.69%	15.38%
SRB	83.33%	55.56%	5.56%	11.11%	0.00%	0.00%	11.11%	33.33%
DNK	37.25%	27.45%	41.18%	50.98%	5.88%	3.92%	15.69%	17.65%

There comes a further corroborating element for the preference of animate antecedents from the use of *whose*. As Table 13 and Table 14 show, all the informant groups use it more correctly when the

⁸ The larger difference between the Danish groups, which can be seen in the numbers of their entirely correct responses, is due to the fact that disproportionately many informants had challenges with certain questions in the previous questionnaire that also required prepositions.

antecedent is animate. ‘Correct’ means that the informants actually use the word *whose*. ‘Correct animacy’ means that the informants do not use *whose*, which is a mistake of course, but they use a relativizing form that matches the antecedent’s animacy. In a similar fashion, ‘incorrect animacy’ means that the informants do not use *whose* but a relativizer which does not match the antecedent in animacy.

Table 14: The use of *whose* with animate antecedent.

	Correct		Correct animacy		Incorrect animacy		Misc	
	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze
SLO	88.46%	57.69%	7.69%	19.23%	3.85%	0.00%	0.00%	23.08%
SRB	94.44%	77.78%	5.56%	5.56%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	16.67%
DNK	94.12%	56.86%	5.88%	31.37%	0.00%	3.92%	0.00%	7.84%

Table 15: The use of *whose* with inanimate antecedent.

	Correct		Correct animacy		Incorrect animacy		Misc	
	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	Cloze
SLO	42.31%	42.31%	53.85%	53.85%	0.00%	0.00%	3.85%	3.85%
SRB	77.78%	72.22%	16.67%	22.22%	5.56%	0.00%	0.00%	5.56%
DNK	54.90%	31.37%	43.14%	60.78%	1.96%	1.96%	0.00%	5.88%

It seems that all these non-native groups of students disfavor *whose* with inanimate antecedents even though there is nothing in their mother tongues compelling them to do so. One explanation may be that non-native English speakers believe it to be restricted to animate antecedents simply because it is similar to *who* but not to *which*.

One more detail emerging from the results shown above is that the Danish informants tend to perform less precisely than the Slavonic groups. Only in one case do they perform slightly better than the Slovene informants, namely in the cloze-type questionnaire where the matter of animacy is concerned and if formal mistakes are disregarded (Table 11). If only impeccable responses are considered, the Danes consistently fall behind.

However, even though it has been noted that Danes may be less proficient in English than they like to think (Madsen 2017a), this result may also be an artefact of the informant groups’ composition. The Danish group consists of virtually all students of a given year, including weaker students whereas the Slavonic groups consist of self-selected informants, and it may be the case that only the more proficient students attempted the questionnaires. Moreover, a chi-square test based on Table 8 and Table 11 does not indicate a statistically significant difference between the informant groups with respect to the sense of animacy since none of the *p* values (Table 15) is below 0.05.

Table 16: *p* values of correct choice of relativizer with respect to animacy according to the chi-square test of independence

	Multiple-choice	Cloze-type
animate antecedent	0.075	0.510
inanimate antecedent	0.133	0.114

4.2 Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 cannot be confirmed. In the cloze-type questionnaire (Table 9 and Table 10), none of the informant groups produce Danicisms whereas in the multiple-choice questionnaire (Table 6 and Table 7) all the groups do. In fact, in the case of animate antecedents, the Serbian informants produce more Danicisms than the Danish informants.

It is peculiar that the Danish informants do not produce Danicisms in the cloze-type questionnaire. For there is ample evidence that they produce such deviations in free writing, which the cloze-type questionnaire resembles better than the multiple-choice questionnaire does (Madsen 2017a). Perhaps, the informants pay more attention to precision in a questionnaire than they do in free writing.

On the other hand, the presence of *as* and *there* in the multiple-choice questionnaire might suggest to the informants that these may be viable choices. After all, *as* can function as a subordinator, in which capacity it resembles relativizers, perhaps further reinforcing the idea for the informants that *as* is a reasonable choice. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 16, *as* is used in the overwhelming majority of the cases, not *there*. *There* is – as expected – used erroneously only by the Danish informants.

Table 17: The absolute number of occurrences of *as* and *there* in the responses to the multiple-choice questionnaire

	<i>as</i>	<i>there</i>
SLO	8	0
SRB	5	1
DNK	20	5

The reason why the Slavonic informants use *as* as a relativizer cannot be explained by reference to their mother tongues and cannot be deduced from this small-scale study. However, it shows clearly that interference from one's mother tongue is not the only factor that leads to mistakes when using one's non-native language. It is again the case that all the informant groups perform better with animate antecedents than with inanimate ones (Table 6 and Table 7), i.e. use *as* or *there* erroneously in fewer cases when the antecedent is animate than when the antecedent is inanimate. However, the chi-square test does not indicate a statistically significant difference between the groups as the computed *p* values are 0.127 in the case of animate antecedents and 0.414 in the case of inanimate antecedents.

4.3 Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 is on somewhat shaky grounds. Table 17 shows the extent to which the informants use *whom* instead of *who* in subject position. Together with Table 12, it clearly shows that Danes are susceptible to using *whom* where only *who* is correct, and that they are more susceptible to it than the Slavonic informants. In line with the contrastive analysis, the Serbian informants manage to avoid the pitfall of *whom* altogether. However, unexpectedly, some Slovene informants do make such

mistakes.

Table 18: The erroneous use of *whom* instead of *who* where the relativizer is subject

	Correct		<i>whom</i> instead of <i>who</i>		Misc	
	mult.	Cloze	mult.	cloze	mult.	cloze
SLO	88.46%	57.69%	3.85%	3.85%	7.69%	38.46%
SRB	94.44%	94.44%	0.00%	0.00%	5.56%	5.56%
DNK	92.16%	66.67%	5.88%	9.80%	1.96%	23.53%
DNK previous	87.65%	80.25%	7.41%	9.88%	3.70%	9.88%

Yet, once again, the difference between the groups based on the values in Table 17 is not statistically significant although it comes very close to statistical significance ($p = 0.053$) in the case of the cloze-type questionnaire. The p value is 0.629 in the case of the multiple-choice questionnaire. The difference between the Danish groups is insignificant as the p values are 0.634 and 0.099 for the multiple-choice and cloze-type questionnaires, respectively.

Unfortunately, only one question per questionnaire is designed with Hypothesis 3 in mind, i.e. an animate antecedent's relativizer being the subject in the relative clause. Thus, even though Danes do seem to be more prone to use *whom* erroneously than the Slavonic groups, the result must be taken with some caution.

5. Conclusion

First of all, it is to be acknowledged that ours is a small-scale study, and thus the findings may not be robust. In hindsight, a couple of shortcomings could have been avoided. For one, it would have been desirable to have another control group too, say Hungarians, whose mother tongue exhibits the same distinction in relativizers with respect to animacy that English does. For another thing, more care should have been taken to only use questionnaire items that are about equally difficult for all the informant groups by, for instance, avoiding relativization in combination with preposed prepositions.

Nevertheless, some clear patterns transpire, which shows that a study such as this would be worth an effort on a larger scale as well. First, a previous study and the present one yield roughly the same results for the Danish informants, showing that the approach is reliable. Hypothesis 1 is clearly confirmed, as all three informant groups exhibit challenges when choosing the proper English relativizer with respect to animacy.

Not only do all the groups show the same kind of deviation from standard English, but also the same preference for animate antecedents. That is, all the groups are more precise when the antecedent is animate as if their default choice of relativizer were *who*, not *which*. No statistically significant differences are found between the groups in this respect except for collective nouns as antecedents. Here, the Slavonic groups prefer to treat companies as inanimate objects whereas the Danes prefer to construe them as animate objects.

Hypothesis 2 cannot be confirmed based on the data available because all the groups behave in a similar way. This counters Hypothesis 2, which posited a difference between the Danish and Slavonic informant groups. Whether this is an artefact of the questions used or has another underlying explanation can only be answered by a follow-up study.

Hypothesis 3 seems to be confirmed insofar as the groups do behave differently in line with the hypothesis. However, the difference only approaches but does not reach statistical significance. Therefore, more data is needed to gain a clearer picture.

As for the theoretical goal of the paper, it is clear that the theory of cross-linguistic influence cannot be dismissed since Hypothesis 1 holds, and Hypothesis 3 is not falsified either. Hence, this study, too, demonstrates that a considerable number of errors that L2 learners make are related to interference from their L1's. Nevertheless, this study also uncovers phenomena in L2 use that cannot be explained by reference to the L1's (alone), which is evident in relation to Hypothesis 2.

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Appendix A: The questionnaire

The table below displays the questionnaire used in the research. Questions starting with *m* were presented as multiple-choice questions, those with *c* as cloze-type questions.

Q	Sentence to fill in	Expected response
m1	People either love or hate Apple, () had had the Macintosh line of products before the iThings came along.	which/who
m2	I admire Jackie Chan, () dexterity is remarkable.	whose
m3	The US bought Alaska, () the Russian Tsar had set on sale.	which
m4	I drove a Seat Leon, () could exceed 150mph, in my Easter holiday.	which
m5	Those students () ask questions tend to do best.	who
m6	Nordrhein-Westfalen, () you can see many castles, is - precisely for this reason - one of my favorite federal states of Germany.	in which
m7	Peter, () James has sold his dilapidated house, is a gullible fellow.	to whom
m8	Satan, () Satanists worship, is the archenemy of the good and righteous.	whom
m9	Alfred Nobel's father, () he inherited his interest in technology, died in 1872.	from whom
m10	The Large Hadron Collider, () you must have heard, is the biggest machine ever built by humans.	about/of which
m11	The book "On the Origin of the Species", () author was Charles Darwin, revolutionized science.	whose
m12	The last sacrament, the proper Catholic name () is "the anointment of the sick", is usually given to a dying person.	of which
c1	Because of "Bendgate", many criticized Apple, { } had to do some damage control.	which/who
c2	I liked Carl Sagan, { } works popularized astronomy.	whose
c3	I liked the film "A Shot in the Dark", { } Peter Sellers made in the 1960s.	which
c4	I liked the series "The Invaders", { } scared the shit out of me when I was a child.	which
c5	I like the movies of Jackie Chan, { } is one of my idols.	who
c6	Mauritius, { } you can enjoy many different activities, counts as a part of Africa.	in which
c7	My students, { } I often tell short stories, might one day become teachers themselves.	to whom
c8	Carl Sagan, { } many people admired, was an eminent astronomer.	whom
c9	I'd like to meet Prof. Poliakoff, { } I have already learnt a lot.	from whom
c10	The topics, { } my students read in the grammar exams, all interest me.	about which
c11	Liechtenstein, { } capital is Vaduz, is one of the smallest states in the world.	whose
c12	Apple, the major product { } used to be computers, was co-founded by Steve Jobs.	of which

Functions of legal contracts. An analysis of macrostructure and speech acts in contracts represented by the example of German tenancy contracts

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Abstract: In this paper, the realization of fundamental functions of legal contracts is studied. To this purpose, the macrostructure of the contract (Gläser 1990) is analyzed, and the text part segments that occur in contracts are mapped and described, focusing on the speech acts that are being performed. The corpus of the survey consists of 23 German tenancy contracts, of which some form part of the mapping and some are selected for further exemplary analysis. Genre analysis is the point of departure of this study to look further into the functional element, using the notions of macrostructure and speech acts. A contract text fundamentally realizes two overall functions; firstly, it creates a legal relationship between the contract parties, and secondly, it establishes the rights and obligations of the two parties. Realizations of the latter function by far takes up the greatest part of the contract text, and the contract often provides answers to a lot of questions about what the parties can, must and must not do, as the norms of the contract process itself are established. The contract texts, used in practice, are usually very extensive when it comes to legal provisions, but in fact only very few text part segments are obligatory and genre constitutive, while most of the text part segments are optional. The investigation seeks to categorize the text part segments and show their individual contribution to the fulfillment of the overall functional complex of the contract. More precisely, the paper seeks to investigate which text part segments are obligatory and which are optional, which lexical features are characteristic in each of the text part segments as well as to what extent variations occur.

Keywords: Legal agreements, macrostructure, speech act, text function, genre analysis, legal language.

1. Introduction

For many years, written contracts have constituted the basis on which parties build their legal relationships. Formulating a contract and signing it gives the parties the format and the rules for their legal relationship. This is beneficial for both parties as it reduces uncertainty, and it makes it clear for the parties, which obligations and rights derive from the legal relationship. Contracts lean on the provisions of the law to a large degree (Busse 1992). There is, however, also a large margin for the parties themselves to decide the content of their specific contract. Through the years, contracts have evolved extensively, and conventions have emerged, stating what is usually found in a contract (Hoffmann 1998). Each day thousands of contracts are signed, and in many cases one party signs several almost identical contracts with different counterparts, for example if you are the property owner renting out apartments in an additional house you own. In order for the parties to not have to negotiate and formulate each contract individually for each legal relationship, standard contracts can be found, e.g., on the internet, and filled in. Standard form contracts use “expressions that have been used before and have proven efficient” (Engberg & Pellón 2011: 60; cf. Anesa 2007), and they are “agreements that employ standardized, non-negotiated provisions, usually in pre-printed forms” which reduces transaction costs and makes transactions easier (Designing Buildings Wiki 2020).

In this study, we investigate the macrostructure of contract texts and the functions that legal contracts fulfill, represented by the example of German standard tenancy contracts. Tenancy contracts are used extensively in society, and most people meet them once or several times in their life when they rent a dwelling. In Germany, for example, several private companies and organizations have issued different standard tenancy contracts for housing that people can use free of charge or for a fee. There are several tenancy contracts for business rooms in Germany, too. In Denmark, on the other hand, there is only one authorized tenancy contract for housing in use, issued by the relevant Danish

Ministry, but there are several tenancy contracts for renting business rooms.

In this paper, we are interested in investigating how the structure of legal contracts is and which functions the contracts fulfill. It is a well-known fact that contracts contain obligations and rights of the contract parties (Engberg & Pellón 2011). Nevertheless, not all text parts deal with obligations and rights (i.e., the subfunctions permission, obligation, and prohibition), also other subfunctions such as definitions and the enacting function exist in the text as stated by Blom & Trosborg (1992). Therefore, a contract also fulfills other functions than to lay down obligations and rights, and it is interesting to investigate the relation between the functions of the contract. Another interesting question is which text parts are necessary for a contract in order for it to *be* a contract, for example if it is necessary for the text to contain all party obligations and rights. Based on the knowledge of which fundamental functions legal contracts fulfill, this study, therefore, addresses the following questions:

1. To what extent do variations in the themes and text part segments in standard contracts occur, i.e., which text part segments are obligatory, and which are optional?
2. Which role does party obligations and rights play in contracts?
3. Which lexical features are characteristic in the specific text part segments of contracts?

We will take genre analysis as our frame or point of departure and use macrostructure and speech acts as the focal points for the investigation. Furthermore, we will discuss the meaningfulness of the notions of macrostructure, speech act and text part segment in connection with functions with German legal tenancy contracts as an example.

2. Genre as a point of departure

Contracts constitute a genre of texts (Engberg & Pellón 2011). We can define a genre as a group of texts used in approximately the same kinds of situations, performing approximately the same functions, and making use of approximately the same linguistic means (Lux 1981; Engberg 1993). In this study, we concentrate primarily on one part of this definition, namely the functions of texts of a particular genre. Genre studies have played a significant role in text linguistics since the 1980s, making the study of patterns in professional language and professional communication in use possible (e.g., Lux 1981; Gunnarsson 1982), and were especially predominant in the 1990s in several fields of language (e.g., in the lines of Swales 1990 and Bhatia 1993). In the years after 2010, genre studies have sought to develop a critical perspective, as described in Bhatia (2015), renewing the field with the notion “Critical Genre Analysis” (CGA). The focal point nowadays is to study genres, and not only to describe and explain language use, but also to “account for professional practices in an attempt to investigate why and how professionals create, disseminate and consume specialized knowledge and exploit available semiotic resources and modes of communication to achieve their professional goals” (Bhatia 2015: 18). The purpose of this study is to account for professional practices as well as textual conventions and (ir)regularities in the functions of contract texts that help professionals achieve their professional goals through the texts. ‘Critical’ “reflects an attempt to be as objective as possible, rigorous in analytical procedures, integrating genre analysis and other relevant [...] dimensions of professional genres” (Bhatia 2015: 18 referring to Bhatia 2004). In this interpretation of ‘critical’ the aim is to “demystify, understand, explain and account for the kinds of professional practices in which we are engaged in our everyday life” (Bhatia 2015: 12). Focus is on linguistic (text-internal and intertextual) factors and contextual (text-external) factors that contribute to the analysis as well, e.g., genre conventions (Bhatia 2015: 16). The text-external factors can be characterized as professional practice and professional culture. The purpose of professional practice is achieving specific goals (pragmatic success) in the professional community (professional culture) (cf. Bhatia 2015: 10, 18). The study realizes this in accordance with Bhatia (2015: 14) through

“rigorous analysis of texts in contexts” and focusing on the discursive performance of professionals, i.e., how most professionals construct texts and why they do it in this specific way.

3. Macrostructure and speech act

The purpose of working with macrostructures is to investigate the framework of texts within a particular group of texts, in this case to identify regularities in the thematic structure of contracts. Macrostructure can be defined as a conventionalized text flowchart that is used for the mental and linguistic development of a subject-related theme, and it consists of a hierarchical – but within a certain range flexible – order of text elements that are invariable as to content and function, and that constitutes the structural framework in a specialized text genre Gläser (1990: 55). This definition is used by, for example, Göpferich (1995) and Koskela & Pilke (2002).

Along these lines, Baumann (1992: 82) defines macrostructure as a linear sequentially arranged and hierarchically organized functional system of connections between the text parts and elements. This definition, like Gläser’s definition, incorporates essential features, namely the functional aspect, the hierarchy aspect, and the sequence aspect. Swales’ (1990) notion of “move-structure” corresponds to “macrostructure” in the sense of the word used in this paper, where each “move” serves a particular communicative purpose that is subordinate to the overall communicative purpose of the genre (perhaps more correct: genre text) (Nielsen et al. 1997). This concept does not correspond to van Dijk’s (1978) more general concept of macrostructure. Van Dijk (1978: 45) defines macrostructure quite differently, distinguishing between superstructure and macrostructure, and seeing macrostructure as an abstract representation of the global meaning structure of a text.

The macrostructure consists of a number of text part segments (Gläser 1990)¹, and these text part segments realize different speech acts. Gläser (1990) defines the concept of text part segment in accordance with Langer (1986: 15), as a relatively completed, functional and thematic coherent text-constitutive unit, which in itself has a communicative function and thereby contributes to the realization of the overall text function. Text part segments are separated and structured hierarchically and can be formally marked using typographical means, e.g., paragraphs and headings (Gläser 1990: 56). In some cases, they are identical to paragraphs, but not always; in some cases, the text part segment may consist of one or more sentences, or in rare cases of just one elliptical sentence.

The communicative function of the text part segment is to realize a speech act. Engberg (1997) distinguishes two fundamentally different approaches to the speech act concept. The first approach focuses on the pragmatic conditions that must be met for the language process to succeed, whereas the content-formal characteristics of the linguistic means play an unimportant role for the analysis. This speech act theory is based on the view that the speech act significance of an expression is conventionally-systematically determined, which implies that the sender, encoding the message, gives to the expression a certain speech act value; a value that the recipient of the message simply decodes. Searle (1969) and Hjort-Pedersen (1994) are examples of this kind of language work.

The other approach to speech act theory focuses on both the pragmatic framework and the language resources used, that is, in this type of approach the linguistic design of a message is a criterion of equal importance for the analysis, next to the pragmatic framework. In this type, the speech act meaning occurs not through the encoding process, but through the decoding of the message, performed by the recipient. This means that every text obtains its speech act meaning only in a context, i.e., in an actual situation, and that the recipient adds the meaning to the expression (Engberg 1997). Engberg (1997) mentions Burkhardt (1986), and Busse (1992), as well as Engberg (1997), as examples of speech act work within the framework of this tradition. Felder (2017) and Keding (2016) are other examples.

¹ Gläser (1990) uses the German term “Teiltexthe”. The translation into the term “text part segment” is based on Gnutzmann & Oldenburg (1991).

We use the latter type of speech act approach (Engberg 1997) in this paper. This means that the linguistic resources of the speech act are important for the analysis, as is the pragmatic framework. The fact that the text receives its initial speech act meaning when it is decoded by the recipient, does not play any significant role in the tenancy contract's direct communication situation, where the tenant and the landlord agree on the contract. Both communication partners thereby act as sender *and* as recipient of the message, i.e., both parties encode and decode the text. In some cases, though, it would be problematic to argue that both parties encode and decode the text at the same time, at least in a situation where one of the parties has formulated the terms of the contract in advance, and also since both parties do not necessarily sign the contract at the same time. Nevertheless, in principle, the direct communication parties are both sender and recipient of the message as stated in Larsen (2009) in connection with the communication situation. In the context of the indirect communication situation, however, the determination of when the attribution of speech act meaning takes place plays a certain role. In this indirect communication situation, the recipient, i.e., the judge, is ultimately the person who attributes meaning to the text, written originally by a lawyer, as a realization of a particular speech act (see Busse 1992).

To determine the specific speech act in a specific situation, the speech act signals that appear in the text are important. Speech act signals consist of a number of linguistic elements. These elements have special content-formal characteristics that the sender uses to signal that they wish a text part segment to be understood as realizing a particular type of speech act. These linguistic elements may be, for example, headings and formula-like text part segment initiations, modality, and adverbs with special semantic features (Engberg 1997: 85).

4. Text corpus and method of analysis

The corpus analyzed for this paper consists of 23 German tenancy contracts. The contracts are standard contracts, that is, contracts meant for use on several occasions with different parties involved, as described above. Individually conceived contracts are not included in this study, i.e., contracts, which two parties formulate specifically for the use in one particular situation only. The reason for this selection is the purpose of the study, which is to gain knowledge of the overall (macro)structure and the typical speech acts of contracts as well as the typical realization of the speech acts in tenancy contracts and the relations of the text parts. A group of 11 is constituted by tenancy contracts dealing with the rent of dwellings; and another group of 12 is constituted by tenancy contracts used for commercial rent when businesspersons rent rooms for their business. They were made available by lawyers, property owners (landlords), tenants, tenant organizations and landlord organizations in Germany in the period 1997 to 2017. In most cases they are free of charge, for example the contracts uploaded by German property owners for their tenants, or from a large German tenants' organization (Deutscher Mieterbund); in other cases, a small payment is charged, e.g., for the contract from a property owners' association in Berlin.

The agreements were collected from different sources, for example, they were made available by individuals residing in Germany, or they were randomly selected using the keyword "Mietvertrag" (tenancy contract) combined with "Wohnung" (dwelling) and "Geschäftsraum" (business room) in a search with the internet search engine Google Chrome. The search results from the internet were filtered manually, selecting the highest ranked search results displaying standard contracts. Each contract has been provided with an identification code, marking their use for dwellings (D) or business room (B) and their number in the corpus, in order to enable easy referencing in the presentation of the results of the analysis.

The agreements were divided into text part segments, and these segments were categorized by their content and their necessity in the contract text in order to establish a framework of obligatory and optional text part segments. The segments were coded manually providing each of them with a theme label, a number, content information, and a speech act label based on the communicative

function each text part segment realizes in the agreement, showing the text flowchart of each contract.

The analysis was carried out by a concrete examination of the nature of the content in the text elements in each corpus text and of the frequency with which the individual elements occur in the contracts taken together. On this basis, the text part segments and speech acts formed by the text elements were subsequently determined. As a criterion of division, we have chosen articles because these units can be said to individually contain more or less completed topics and to realize a speech act. Furthermore, they are usually declared by a linguistic speech act signal, in this case by means of headings (see also Engberg 1997: 85-86). Hoffmann (1998: 536) similarly argues for a macrostructure based on the article distribution. Brinker (1985: 18) and other text linguists also rely on typographical text division signals as criteria for division, and the article division is perceived as an important delimitation signal for text part segments in law-texts as stated in Busse (1992: 43). Mináriková (2006) takes the division a step further by using the section of a law as basic text entity, calling the law section itself a text because it constitutes a linguistic and semantic entity (2006: 40). See also the discussion about delineating texts as units in Busse (1992: 41-72). It does not seem appropriate, however, to perceive each article of the contract as an independent text, as Mináriková (2006) does it with sections of the law. The reason is primarily that the contract, as a whole, is signed to the end of the document (not each article separately), and thus as a whole receives validity and truth-value.

In the first part of the analysis chapter, we find a typical overall macrostructure or text flowchart that is seen in the contracts in the corpus analyzed; in the second part of the chapter, we find an exemplary thick analysis of two selected contracts from the corpus.

The typical macrostructure chart, as suggested here, is the result of an analysis of all 23 contracts in the corpus, and it is an abstraction of the text flowcharts found in the individual, analyzed corpus texts. In this connection, we describe the content and structure of the individual text part segments, as well as the individual speech acts realized through each of the text part segments (cf. Göpferich 1995: 218).

The purpose of this macrostructure analysis is, on the one hand, to acquire further knowledge on the contract as a genre, and on the other hand, *inter alia*, to determine which features of the contract are genre constitutive – i.e., necessary for the contract to be a contract – and which are optional.

5. The macrostructure and speech acts of tenancy contracts

The typical division of the corpus contracts into text part segments, showing the macrostructure, is indicated in the table below. This table shows the theme(s) of each text part segment, their contents and the speech acts they realize, as well as their numbers given by me for clarity. Brackets ([]) indicate the speech acts realized by the text part segment in question. The genre constitutive text part segments are marked as gray rows, and the optional text part segments are marked as white rows.

Table 1: The text part segments of a contract

Text part segment no.	Theme	Content	Speech act
1	Preamble	Text designation, parties, performative formula	[determination of field, parties, and legal relationship]
2	Rental object	Nature of the rental object and the legal relationship	[determination of rental object and legal relationship]
3	Rental period and time frame of the contract	Start date, duration, and end date of the legal relationship	[determination of time frame]
4	Rental amount	Rental amount	[determination of rental amount]
5 to x-2²	Other obligations and rights of the landlord and the tenant	Obligations and rights of the parties	[determination of other obligations and rights of the parties]
x-1	Other conditions	Side agreements, partial invalidity, changes of the contract	[determination of reservations and validity for the contractual wording]
X	End	Place, date, and party signatures	[determination of validity for the contract]

As can be seen, the macrostructure of the agreement typically consists of the following elements: determination of the parties, determination of rental object, rental amount, rental period, and determination of several other obligations and rights as well as the parties' signatures. In the following, each text part segment is described more closely, and the obligatory text part segments as well as the optional text part segments are discussed.

A frequent criterion in genre linguistics for deciding whether a text part segment is obligatory or optional is a statistical one, but in this paper a pragmatic approach is chosen, in which legal criteria are in focus. In this case, text part segments that are necessary for the contract to be valid as a contract

² The category "5 to x-2" indicates the large variation in the number of text part segments in the agreements. This category includes text part segments number 5, 6, 7, ... up to the third last text part segment. The category "x-1" means the second last text part segment, and "x" means the last text part segment.

are considered obligatory. This should be seen in connection with the principles of CGA as mentioned above. In CGA, the text-external factors relating to professional practice and professional culture are central, as the purpose of professional practice is to achieve specific goals in the professional setting (cf. Bhatia 2015: 10, 18). In this case the goal is that the contract text is recognized as a contract and is legally binding. The denominations of the different speech acts connected to the text part segments are established inductively based on a discussion of each segment type in 5.3.

5.1. The obligatory text part segments

The obligatory text part segments of tenancy contracts (also known as rental agreement) are preamble, rental object of the agreement, rental amount and parties' signatures. The preamble is the first text part segment in all texts in this corpus, and the rental object of the agreement is handled as the second text part segment in all corpus texts. The rental amount is in the corpus the theme of the fourth text part segment in most of the contract texts, and finally, the parties' signatures make up the last text part segment in all corpus texts.

These elements are genre constitutive units, which means that these are features that are necessary for a given collection of words to be said to be a text belonging to the tenancy contract genre. If one or more of these elements are not present, the text is not valid as a tenancy agreement; if, for example, the signatures are missing, the text might be an agreement draft, but it is not a valid agreement.

In principle, a written contract as such requires only three elements, namely the determination of the parties, the grant of a right or obligation and the parties' signatures. An example of this can be seen in unilaterally binding contracts such as the German "Schenkungsvertrag" (gift agreement), in which one party promises to give a gift to the other party (JuraForum.de 2021a). We find another constellation of the obligatory features in contracts that are mutually binding. Here, the obligatory text part segments are the determination of the parties and two obligations (and rights) as well as the parties' signatures. This can be seen, for example, in sales agreements in the ordinary course of business in which one party, upon the conclusion of the agreement, is obliged to deliver goods, and the other party is obliged to pay an amount of money for the goods (JuraForum.de 2020; Sale of Goods Act 1979). In the case of renting, according to German law, it is required that the tenancy agreement includes the determination of the parties, the determination of rental object and rent amount (Schachner et al. 1995: 636; Ormanschick 2020: § 535) as well as signatures. All other features that an agreement may contain are, in fact, not necessary for the establishment of a contractual relationship and the fundamental existence of the relationship, as the German civil law "Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch" can provide information on all other issues (Schachner et al. 1995: 636). This supplementary information may, however, be highly appropriate and valuable in the contractual text because it serves practical, legal, or other purposes, and makes it easier for the parties to know what they are permitted and not permitted to do in their relation. Oral agreements and wordless agreements also exist, for example, when you take a newspaper in a kiosk, put some coins on the counter, and leave the kiosk without saying a word. However, in this context, we deal only with written agreements since agreements that parties make orally or without the use of words are outside the scope of this paper.

5.2. The optional text part segments

As already mentioned, the macrostructure of the tenancy agreement will, in most cases, also consist of several other elements in addition to the genre constitutive features, namely a textual title (heading), a determination of the rental period and place(s) and date(s) in connection with the parties' signatures. In addition, there will often be a number of other rights and obligations, and this part can be extensively elaborated. This elaboration takes place in special articles, which are separated from each other, for example by paragraph, the use of article marks as well as numbers (e.g., Art. 7 or § 7)

or numbers alone. Subdivisions also occur by using different types of numbers, for example Roman and Arabic numerals, and/or letters. If there is no agreement at all or the agreement does not make any statements on a particular subject, such as payment for repairs, the provisions of the law apply to the subject (Schachner et al. 1995: 636; Deutscher Mieterbund.de 2021).

The optional, that is, non-obligatory text part segments include, for example, the timeframe of the contract, i.e., the rental period (usually the third text part segment), and the other obligations and rights that the parties have in relation to each other (usually from the fifth text part segment) and finally additional conditions (usually the penultimate text part segment). There is a relatively large variation in the text part segments found in the individual agreements in the corpus, and thus the speech acts that are realized in the various contracts. We mark this variation by using the relatively abstract categorization of the text part segment “5 to x-2”. This marking indicates that, under this heading number, there is a great variety of text part segments with different content. These include the rights and obligations of landlords and tenants in multiple areas, such as maintenance and modernization, use of the rental object, permission to sublet, set-off of payment, supply of heating and hot water, access to the rental object, security deposit, placement of television antennas, repairs, and advertising. These text part segments naturally form the largest part of the contractual text.

5.3. Discussion of each text part segment

Each text part segment or group of text part segments is discussed in more detail below to provide a better understanding of their content and the linguistic realization of key contents in each text part segment.

5.3.1. Text part segment 1: preamble [determination of field, parties, and legal relationship]

Text part segment 1 can be perceived as a preamble, and it typically consists, firstly, of a text designation, i.e., a statement indicating that the present text is intended to be construed as a contractual text with the corresponding attributions of meaning to the following text parts. Hereby, the remaining part of the text becomes legally binding for the parties when they sign the contractual text. In addition, the heading indicates the subject area of the contract, in this case tenancy or rent, for example, “Mietvertrag für Gewerberäume” (B 08) (rental agreement for business rooms), “Wohnungs-Mietvertrag” (D 06) (rental agreement for dwelling) or simply “Mietvertrag” (D 03, B 12) (rental agreement). In this way, the text does not only clarify that the agreement is intended to be understood as a contractual text, but as a contractual text within a specific subject area, namely rent. As the agreement is provided with a heading indicating its subject area, often even the exact subject area (e.g., business rooms or dwelling), it is immediately placed within the given jurisdiction area, indicating that the following text must be interpreted in accordance with a certain, already existing frame of legislation and case law, etc. (cf. Busse 1992: 214). Accordingly, specific content and specific consequences, based on this legal framework, are attributed to the contractual relationship itself (cf. Klinge 1996), as the legal provisions for renting are different, depending upon the type of use for the rented object; dwelling or other purposes (Juraforum.de 2021b).

Subsequently, in text part segment 1, we find an indication of the two parties to the contract, stating the first and last name and address of each party, as well as attribution of part descriptions. Examples of this are “als Vermieter” (B 10) (as landlord) or “im Folgenden Mieter genannt” (B 12) (in the following called tenant). The parties are, as a rule, listed with the landlord first and the tenant in second place. However, in some cases there may be more than two parties to a contract. In tenancy agreements, for example, there may be more than one person especially on the tenant side when several persons are sharing a dwelling. As the parties are assigned abstract role names as “landlord” and “tenant”, a wide range of attributes, interests, obligations, and rights are attributed to them. Thus, they are no longer the individuals *Herr Müller* and *Frau Schulze*, but parties in a contractual relationship with rights and obligations that are already described in the law, prior court decisions as

well as in other sources in the legal system, as indicated above.

Finally, in text part segment 1, there is an explicit performative formula (cf. Viehweger & Spies 1987: 89). In the contract, the explicit performative formula consists in indicating that the parties have made the present agreement, for example,

“Zwischen ... als Vermieter und ... als Mieter wird folgender Mietvertrag geschlossen”
(B 10).
(Between ... as landlord and ... as tenant, the following tenancy agreement is made)

With this agreement promise, the parties show that they agree that they have made the agreement. The linguistic element that denotes the agreement is mostly the sentence subject, the parties are indicated as agents, using prepositional compounds, and the form of the verb is present passive. The word “folgender” (“following”) indicates the connection between the performative formula and the rest of the text. With this formulation, the parties assign the following sentences a truth-value of the agreement promise, that is, the parties indicate that they wish the rest of the contractual text to be interpreted as subordinate propositions that inherit their truthfulness from the agreement promise (Klinge 1996: 15-16). The parties thus state that they vouch for the rest of the contract text (see Larsen 2015). The “enacting function”, as it is called by Engberg & Pellón (2011: 60), “instantiates the authoritative framework around the communicative acts performed in and by the contract”. Consequently, the speech act of the text part segment 1 is [determination of subject area, parties, and legal relationship].

5.3.2. Text part segment 2: rental object [determination of rental object and legal relationship]

Text part segment 2 contains an indication of the legal relationship established by the contract, like the previous text part segment. This segment states the subject of the legal relationship that the contract regulates, for example, establishing a rental relationship: The actual legal situation is specified bringing the rental object into focus. The following text is an example of the realization of this, specifying which rooms are rented in which house:

“Vermietet werden in dem Anwesen ... folgende Räume als Geschäftsräume zum Betrieb eines Lebensmittelgeschäftes: 2 Verkaufsräume, 1 Lagerraum, 1 Kellerraum, 1 Küche, 2 Sanitäräume” (B 03)
(In the house...the following rooms are rented as business rooms for the use as a grocery store: 2 sales rooms, 1 storage, 1 basement room, 1 kitchen, 2 sanitation rooms)

The rental object is highly specified, with exact address (indicated in the example above with dots), distribution and number of rooms, etc. Text part segment 1 has already stated the parties and party roles, and they are therefore not necessary here. In this example, the linguistic element denoting the rooms makes up the sentence subject, and the form of the verb is present passive. In other cases, emphasis lies, once again, on the roles of the parties in the legal relationship, for example who rents out what to whom; and the parties are mentioned again along with the exact rooms and address. This takes the linguistic form that the element denoting the landlord is the sentence subject, the element denoting the tenant is expressed as indirect object (in German), the element denoting the rooms is direct object, and the form of the verb is present active, as in the example here:

“Der Vermieter vermietet dem Mieter zu Wohnzwecken folgende im Haus ... gelegenen Räume: ... Zimmer, ... Küche, ... Flur, ... Bad, ... WC, ... Mansarde, ... Speicherabteil, ... Kellerabteil, ... Garten (anteil), ... Balkon, ... Loggia, ... Garage ...” (D 07)

(The landlord rents to the tenant for dwelling the following rooms in the house...:
 ...rooms, ...kitchen, ...hall, ...bathroom, ...WC, ...attic, ...storage room, ...basement
 room, ... garden (part), ...balcony, ...loggia, ...garage)

In this example, the specification of the rental object is necessary as in the example mentioned before this. Subsequently, this text part segment is genre constitutive, and it usually stands as the first item after the preamble. This might serve to strengthen placing the contractual relationship in the legal universe, and furthermore, it clarifies the rental object. By this text part segment, in fact, a completely fundamental obligation for the landlord is realized, namely that the landlord has an obligation to make the rental object available to the tenant and to ensure that the tenant can make use of the rental object (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch § 535, Abs. 1). However, this obligation might be less explicit in its character than the text part segments 5 to x-2 are. In text part segment 2, we often find a wording that does not explicitly mention the parties, as we saw in the example from B 03, but in other cases, the parties might be repeated, as seen in D 07. The speech act realized in this text part segment is here termed [determination of rental object and legal relationship].

5.3.3. Text part segment 3: time frame [determination of time frame]

Text part segment 3 normally consists of more than one element. The first part is usually relatively short, often only one single sentence, and determines the duration of the contract, meaning its exact starting point, expressed as a date, and, in some cases, the time one of the parties can terminate it, or a fixed termination point. Examples: “Das Mietverhältnis beginnt am:..., es läuft auf unbestimmte Zeit.” (D 06) (the tenancy begins on:... it runs for an indefinite period) or “Der Mietvertrag wird mit einer Laufzeit von einem Jahr beginnend ab dem ... geschlossen.” (B 12) (the tenancy agreement is made with a term of one year starting on ...). Often, we see the linguistic element denoting the tenancy itself as the sentence subject, the time frame(s) is indicated using prepositional compounds, and the verb in present active. The reason for the use of the present tense in agreements goes back to the agreement promise and the performative formula again: It is not necessary to use modal expressions of obligation or right as the parties have agreed that all statements in the agreement must be understood in the light of obligations and rights and as representation of these. In standard contracts, we often find that both rent with time limit and without time limit are stated as options. This can be realized, for example, as follows, in different articles:

“Das Mietverhältnis beginnt am: ...

1. Das Mietverhältnis läuft auf **unbestimmte Zeit** und endet mit Ablauf des Monats, zu dem der Vermieter oder der Mieter die Kündigung unter Einhaltung einer Frist von 3 Monaten ausspricht. ...

2. Das Mietverhältnis läuft auf **bestimmte Zeit** und endet am ..., ohne dass es einer Kündigung bedarf, nur wenn ...“ (D 11 [boldface in original])

(The tenancy begins on:... 1. The tenancy runs for an indefinite period and ends with the conclusion of the month in which the landlord or the tenant gives notice of termination within 3 months. 2. The tenancy runs for a fixed period and ends on..., without the need to give notice, only when...)

If a fixed termination point is not stated along with the starting point, the second part usually contains an indication of the termination of the contract, that is, how and when the legal relation can end. This part often contains the conditions, on which the legal relationship can end, as well as the deadlines the parties must observe. For example, the realization may have the wording shown in the example below, which to a certain extent adopts the wording of the German civil law (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch § 573c Abs. 1). Again, in the following example, we see the linguistic element denoting

the tenancy itself as the sentence subject, the parties are indicated as agents, using prepositional compounds, but in this case, the modal expression “können” (can) is used in the verb, as the present tense of the verb would give the sentence a wrong meaning, expressing that the termination would happen automatically. Often, we find that the conditions for terminating the contract are not specified in detail, but rather that there is an imprecise reference to “the provisions of the law” as in the last sentence of the following example:

“Es [das Mietverhältnis] kann von jedem Teil spätestens am dritten Werktag eines jeden Kalendermonats für den letzten Tag des übernächsten Kalendermonats gekündigt werden. Nach fünf, acht und zehn Jahren seit der Überlassung des Wohnraums verlängert sich die Kündigungsfrist für den Vermieter um jeweils drei Monate. Im Übrigen richtet sich das Kündigungsrecht des Mieters und des Vermieters nach den gesetzlichen Vorschriften.” (D 07) (it (the tenancy) can be terminated by either part no later than the third working day of each calendar month for the last day of the month after next calendar month. Five, eight and ten years after the rental of the dwelling, the notice period for the landlord is extended by three months. Otherwise, the tenant’s and the landlord’s right of termination is based on the provisions of the law.)

In some cases, however, the normal termination and/or termination without notice are/is stated in separate text part segments, typically later in the contract.

The function of this text part segment is thus to determine the legal relationship in time. Though it is not obligatory, as stated above, it exists in almost all contracts in the corpus, probably for practical and legal reasons. If a period for the duration of the rent, is not included in the contract, the provisions of the law (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch § 542, Abs. 1) state that the provisions on termination specified in section 573c of Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch apply. If the parties want another notice of termination than the one stipulated in the law, it is crucial that they include this text part segment. Other reasons for including it might be a wish for clarification and unambiguity, as both parties basically are interested in succeeding with their relation enjoying as much benefit and as few problems as possible for both (Klinge 1996). To summarize, the speech act that is realized with text part segment 3 can be named [determination of time frame].

5.3.4. Text part segment 4: rent amount [determination of the rent amount]

The fourth text part segment defines the rent amount. We can see here – like in text part segment 2 – that it states a basic obligation; in this case the obligation for tenants to pay the rent amount (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch § 535, Abs. 2). The precise amount that is to be paid cannot be derived from the law, which makes this text part segment obligatory, and consequently it is genre constitutive. However, the fact that it is an obligation is often expressed indirectly in this text part segment. One realization of this text part segment, where the obligation is expressed indirectly, is, for example:

“Die Miete beträgt monatlich: Euro, in Worten: ... Euro.” (D 06)
(The monthly rent is: ... Euro, in words: ... Euro.)

This realization only states what the amount of the rent is in present tense, without a modal expression of obligation and without an explicit expression for the person who must pay. Again, from the readers’ knowledge of the nature of renting and the roles of the parties, they know that the tenant must necessarily pay the rent to the landlord. This corresponds, once again, with the agreement promise mentioned above, and makes it possible to state merely the amount of money to be paid. The readers also know who the parties are, as they are evident from text part segment 1. The speech act realized in this text part segment is [determination of the rent amount].

In addition to this realization of the specific rent amount, which is obligatory, we often find other elements in this text part segment, such as determination of the payment of other expenses, e.g., for heating and hot water, and rules for increasing the rental amount. In some cases, there is also in this text part segment a definition of how and when the rental amount is to be paid. However, these elements can also be found separately in other articles, typically in the 5 to x-2 text part segment group, and they are not obligatory for the genre.

5.3.5. Text part segments 5 to x-2: obligations and rights [determination of the parties' obligations and rights]

This group includes a large number of separate text part segments, and there are two reasons for this: Firstly, the content of the individual text part segments is similar to each other in determining a specific obligation and/or right for one of the parties or both parties. Secondly, the number, order, and presence of text part segments in this group are different in each contract so that it would be difficult or impossible to determine regularities.

The text part segments in this group explicitly name the rights and obligations that the parties have agreed to accept in relation to each other, that is, both the rights of the landlord - and hence the obligations of the tenant - and the rights of the tenant - and hence the obligations of the landlord. It could be argued that these text part segments generally perform the same speech act, namely [determination of the parties' rights and obligations]. However, it seems appropriate here to make them different text part segments because they contain different contents. As mentioned earlier, they may include the rights and obligations of landlords and tenants in areas such as maintenance and modernization, the use of the rental object, set-off of payment, supply of heat and hot water, access to the rental object, security deposit, placement of television antennas and repairs.

For the different text part segments, the 'direction' is different, i.e., which party is given an obligation or a right. Thus, there is a significant difference between these text part segments, in relation to the parties; it is, of course, of the utmost importance which of the two parties is given a right or an obligation through the wording. The significance is very clear for the contracting parties themselves, but also for any judicial court that has to decide in case of a dispute between the parties.

In addition to the stated obligations and/or rights, the text part segments may include, for example, the sanctions that may be imposed on the parties if they do not comply with the agreement promise they gave with the explicit performative formula and confirmed with their signature. An example of this could be that, instead of performing the obligations imposed on them by the contract, they perform an unauthorized act or fail to perform an obligatory action. Thus, these text part segments also inform the parties of the circumstances and conditions under which they may be subject to sanction or compensation.

Below, exemplarily a number of realizations of speech acts in different text part segments can be seen; and we note that there are a very large number of realization options for each speech act and each text part segment. In many cases, obligations and rights for both parties relating to a specific theme are expressed in the same text part segment. The linguistic elements denoting the parties are often realized as sentence subjects, and the verbal expression often includes modal expressions of obligation (müssen - must/shall), possibility (können - can), permission (dürfen - may), or prohibition (dürfen nicht - may not). In other cases, we find other direct expressions of obligation (e.g., verpflichtet sein - be obliged), possibility (e.g., Möglichkeit haben - have the possibility), permission (gestattet sein - be permitted), or prohibition (untersagt sein - be prohibited).

In these text part segments, we find many conditional constructions, as seen in 11.1 and 11.2 below: If one party performs a specific act, or if a specific situation occurs, the same party or the other party is permitted or obliged to perform another act. The condition may be expressed through a conditional sentence ("Ist das Mietverhältnis gekündigt..." - If the tenancy is terminated...) or through a prepositional compound ("In Fällen dringender Gefahr..." - In cases of urgent danger...).

Realization of [determination of landlord's and tenant's obligations and rights relating to the landlord's access to the rental object]:

“11.1 Der Vermieter oder sein Beauftragter können die Mieträume nach Ankündigung von einer Woche zur Prüfung des Zustandes betreten. In Fällen dringender Gefahr ist ihm das Betreten der Mieträume jederzeit gestattet.

11.2 Ist das Mietverhältnis gekündigt, so darf der Vermieter oder sein Beauftragter die Mieträume zusammen mit den Interessenten während der Geschäftsstunden des Mieters betreten.” (B 12, § 11)

(11.1 The landlord or his representative can enter the rented rooms after giving one week's notice to check the condition. In cases of urgent danger, he is permitted to enter the rented premises at any time.

11.2 If the tenancy is terminated, the landlord or his representative may enter the rented premises together with the interested parties during the tenant's business hours.)

It is significant that these text part segments set up the agreement's rules for a very large variety of eventualities and all kinds of possible situations, irregularities, and problems. We see this for instance in the extensive realization of the speech act [determination of tenants' obligations and rights relating to placing of firm signs and advertising] in the example below, which is divided into five detailed and comprehensive articles, stating rules for all aspects relating to firm signs and advertising. German nominal style is also used extensively in this part of the agreement, for example in article 1, 3 and 4, where we find numerous nouns, prepositional compounds, participle constructions and genitives.

Realization of [determination of tenants' obligations and rights relating to placing of firm signs and advertising]:

“1. Zur Anbringung von Schildern, Aufschriften und anderen Vorrichtungen zu Reklamezwecken, Rollläden, Blumenkästen sowie zur Aufstellung von Schaukästen und Warenautomaten ist die schriftliche Erlaubnis des Vermieters erforderlich. Der Mieter ist verpflichtet, eine angemessene Vergütung zu zahlen; behördliche Genehmigungen hat der Mieter auf eigene Kosten einzuholen.

2. Die Erlaubnis kann von dem Vermieter jederzeit widerrufen werden, wenn sich für das Gebäude, die Mitbewohner oder die Anlieger Unzuträglichkeiten ergeben, vor allem die Anlagen vernachlässigt werden.

3. Der Mieter haftet für die Schäden, die im Zusammenhang mit Anlagen dieser Art entstehen. Er verpflichtet sich, auf Verlangen des Vermieters bei Beendigung des Mietverhältnisses oder im Falle des Widerrufs der Erlaubnis den früheren Zustand wiederherzustellen. Bei Arbeiten an der Fassade hat der Mieter die Kosten für das Entfernen und Wiederanbringen seiner Schilder zu tragen.

4. Bei Einrichtung von Sammelschildanlagen ist der Mieter verpflichtet, diese zu benutzen und die anteiligen Kosten zu tragen sowie etwaige alte Schilder zu entfernen und dadurch erforderlich werdende Instandsetzungskosten zu tragen.

5. Der Mieter ist berechtigt, Firmen- und Reklameschilder anzubringen und gegebenenfalls zu wechseln.” (B 08, § 9)

(If attaching signs, inscriptions and other devices for advertising purposes, shutters, flower boxes and setting up display cases and vending machines, the landlord's written permission is required. The tenant is obliged to pay an appropriate fee; the tenant must obtain official permits at his own expense.

2. The permit can be revoked by the landlord at any time if the building, the neighbors,

or the residents are inconvenienced, especially if the facilities are neglected.

3. The tenant is liable for any damage that occurs in connection with facilities of this type. He is obliged to restore the previous condition at the request of the landlord upon termination of the tenancy or in the event that the permit is revoked. When work is done on the facade, the tenant must bear the cost of removing and reinstalling his signs.

4. When collective sign facilities are set up, the tenant is obliged to use them and to bear the proportionate costs as well as to remove any old signs and to bear the repair costs that become necessary as a result.

5. The tenant may install and, if necessary, replace company and advertising signs ...)

Furthermore, we find definitions of the extent of the obligations, as in the example of the realization of the speech act [determination of landlord's and tenant's obligations and rights relating to the use and maintenance of a garden] below. Here, the specific duties that are part of the tenant's obligation to maintain the garden are defined, with a high degree of detail to avoid later discrepancies. This includes, for example, how often the tenant has to perform the duties: mowing the lawn twice a month from April to October, pruning hedges, fruit trees and ornamental shrubs once a year, and keeping flower beds and paths free from weeds:

Realization of [determination of landlord's and tenant's obligations and rights relating to the use and maintenance of a garden]:

“Ist dem Mieter ein Garten überlassen, ist er verpflichtet, diesen ständig zu pflegen. Ein Ziergarten ist als solcher zu erhalten. Zur Gartenpflege gehört üblicherweise: Den Rasen in der Zeit von April bis Oktober zweimal monatlich zu mähen, Hecken, Obstbäume und Ziersträucher einmal jährlich zu beschneiden, Blumenbeete und Wege von Unkraut freizuhalten. Kommt der Mieter dieser Verpflichtung trotz Fälligkeit und Fristsetzung nicht unverzüglich nach, kann der Vermieter Schadensersatz verlangen. Der Mieter hat sich die erforderlichen Geräte und Betriebsmittel auf eigene Kosten zu beschaffen.” (D 11, § 19)

(If the tenant is given a garden, he is obliged to maintain it constantly. An ornamental garden is to be preserved as such. Garden maintenance usually includes: mowing the lawn twice a month from April to October, trimming hedges, fruit trees and ornamental shrubs once a year, keeping flower beds and paths free of weeds. If the tenant does not comply with this obligation immediately despite the due date and deadline, the landlord can demand compensation. The tenant must procure the necessary equipment and resources at his own expense.)

These many text part segments usually constitute a very large part of the contractual text and are, as mentioned above, very important for the parties themselves, as they provide the basis for their future actions in connection with the legal relationship. There are extremely large variations in the individual agreements when it comes to these text part segments. Later in this paper, we make an exemplary division of two entire agreements into text part segments to give an impression of the extent of the variations.

5.3.6. Text part segment x-1: other conditions [determination of reservation and validity of contractual wording]

In the agreement, there is usually a text part segment consisting of a number of conditions and reservations concerning the wording of the agreement itself. In this paper, this text part segment has the number x-1 to indicate the place of it in the contract. It is usually the text part segment before the

last text part segment (text part segment x), see below. Typically, it says for example that changes of the wording of the agreement must be made in writing, and that the provisions of the law replace provisions of the agreement that prove to be or become invalid. The realization of this severability provision, in German named “salvatorische Klausel”, can be as follows:

“Änderungen und Ergänzungen dieses Vertrages bedürfen der Schriftform. Dies gilt auch für eine Vereinbarung über die Aufhebung der Schriftform. Sollten einzelne Abschnitte dieses Vertrages unwirksam sein, so wird davon die Wirksamkeit des übrigen Vertrages nicht berührt. Die Parteien verpflichten sich für diesen Fall, eine Regelung zu treffen, die der unwirksamen am nächsten kommt.” (D 10, § 29)

(Changes and additions to this contract must be in writing. This also applies to an agreement on the cancellation of the written form. Should individual articles of this contract be unenforceable, this shall not affect the enforceability of the rest of the contract. In this case, the parties undertake to make a regulation that comes closest to the unenforceable one.)

The speech act of this text part segment can be named [determination of reservations and validity for the contractual wording], and we find one of the same linguistic features as in the other text part segments, i.e., conditional sentences, as different possibly occurring situations are dealt with. Furthermore, we find a special feature, namely the shifting of focus, as the focus in this part is on the agreement itself, making the linguistic elements denoting the agreement, its articles, and changes to the agreement the subjects of several of the sentences. Another special feature is in another part of this text part segment that the linguistic elements denoting the parties jointly are made sentence subjects, indicating that they both agree on their obligation to find another regulation if the one they chose is illegal – stating their joint effort to make the agreement legal and beneficial for both parties.

5.3.7. Text part segment x: end [determination of validity for the contract]

Finally, in text part segment x, there is a closing formula that is usually quite short and consists of place and date as well as the parties’ signatures. This is the fourth of the actual genre constitutive features that a contractual text has, as a contract is not legally valid without signatures. If there are no signatures in the text, the text in question does not belong to the text genre *contracts*, and the text cannot be used as a guide for the parties regarding their obligations and rights in relation to each other, nor can it be used as a basis for an assessment of disputes between the parties. Instead, one could say that the text belongs to the text genre *contractual drafts*. This subject will, however, not be discussed in further detail in this paper.

By means of their signatures, the parties indicate that they acknowledge having entered into the present agreement, that is, that they assign truth-value to the contract’s provisions. As we saw above in the description of the overall function of the contract, it has major and serious consequences for a party, if they, after signing the contract, cause a provision in the contract not to be fulfilled, by failing to perform an action or conducting a prohibited action. In this case, they have not fulfilled their part of the agreement (promise), neglecting the promise that they have given by signing the contract. Thus, the other party can assert their rights with the assistance of the judicial system; a right they have acquired by means of their own signature and the counterpart’s signature. The speech act realized with this text part segment is thus [determination of validity for the contract].

5.4. Exemplary division of two contracts into text part segments

For the purpose of this investigation, two tenancy agreements have been divided into text part segments, showing the distribution of text part segments and the realization of speech acts in these

contracts: a contract between two professionals and a contract between a private person (a nonprofessional) and a professional.

The tables will show more clearly the specific distribution of text part segments, especially the text part segments 5 to x-2. However, it is important to point out that these two contracts are to be seen as examples only, because of the relatively large differences in actual text part segments that exist in the German tenancy agreements in the corpus used for this analysis. The text part segments are numbered individually, which means that specific numbers replace the notions x-2, x-1, and x. The genre constitutive text part segments are marked as gray rows in the table, and the optional text part segments are marked as white rows.

Table 2: Macrostructure of B 08 with the title “Mietvertrag für Gewerberäume”

No.	Speech act [determination of ...]
1	[field, parties, and legal relationship]
2	[rental object and legal relationship]
3	[rental time frame]
4	[rights of the landlord concerning termination without notice]
5	[rental amount and other costs]
6	[payment of the rental amount and other costs]
7	[rights (and obligations) of the tenant concerning setoffs and retention of payment]
8	[obligations (and rights) of the tenant and the landlord concerning heating supply, hot water supply and elevator]
9	[rights of the tenant and the landlord concerning the use of the rental object and sublet of the rental object]
10	[obligations and rights of the tenant concerning attachment of signs]
11	[obligations and rights of the tenant and the landlord concerning installation of external antennas]
12	[rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning animal husbandry]
13	[obligations of the landlord and the tenant concerning the condition of the rental object when the tenant moves in]
14	[obligations of the tenant (and the landlord) concerning maintenance of the rental object]
15	[obligations and rights of the tenant concerning when changing and making installations in the rental object]
16	[rights of the landlord and the obligations (and rights) of the tenant concerning maintenance and modernization of the rental object]
17	[lien of the landlord]

18	[obligations of the tenant concerning house cleaning]
19	[rights of the landlord and the obligations of the tenant concerning the landlord's access to the rental object]
20	[obligations of the tenant concerning the house community order]
21	[obligations of the tenant concerning termination with and without notice and moving out]
22	[obligations of the tenant in case of multiple tenants]
23	[validity of changes in the contract]
24	[other conditions, reservations, and validity for the reads of the contract]
25	[validity for the contract]

Table 3: Macrostructure of D 06 with the title "Wohnungs-Mietvertrag"

No.	Speech act [determination of...]
1	[field, parties, and legal relationship]
2	[rental object and legal relationship]
3	[rental time frame]
4	[rental amount]
5	[distribution and billing of heating and operating costs]
6	[(obligations of the landlord concerning) heating supply and hot water supply]
7	[obligations of the landlord before the tenant's moving in]
8	[obligations (and rights) of the landlord and the tenant concerning defects and damages on the rental object]
9	[obligations (and rights) of the landlord and the tenant concerning maintenance and modernization]
10	[obligations (and rights) of the tenant concerning items installed by the tenant]
11	[rights of the tenant concerning the use of the rental object and sublet of the rental object]
12	[rights of the tenant concerning household machines]
13	[rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning animal husbandry]
14	[obligations and rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning use of garden]
15	[obligations and rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning television and radio reception and installation of antennas]
16	[obligations and rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning the landlord's access to the rental object]

17	[information obligation of the landlord]
18	[obligations and rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning termination]
19	[obligations and rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning termination without notice]
20	[obligations and rights of the of the tenant's next of kin in case of the death of the tenant]
21	[obligations of the tenant when moving out]
22	[rights and obligations of the tenant in case of multiple tenants]
23	[other conditions, house community order]
24	[validity for the contract]

As we can see from the two tables, there are both similarities and differences in the macrostructure of the two contracts. These contracts consist of 24 and 25 text part segments, respectively. In the corpus analyzed for this paper, there are contracts with up to 29 articles (D 10, D 11) and as few as 5 articles (D 01). The first text part segment is a preamble indicating the parties and their roles, the nature of the legal relationship, and the subject matter of the contract, whereas the last text part segment contains date and place of signing as well as parties' signatures, and the penultimate one the "salvatorische Klausel". The remaining 21 and 22 text part segments are numbered articles: the first few of these contain specifications of rental object, rental amount, and rental period, and the rest of the text part segments contain information on the two parties' obligations and rights.

The differences in the content of the text part segments and the related differences in realized speech acts that appear in the contracts seem, to some extent, to go back to the fact that they regulate two different types of tenancy. It is relevant to a contract for tenancy of business rooms to include the determination of for example outdoor signs (text part segment 10 in B 08), while this is not relevant in connection with renting a dwelling. In the case of renting a dwelling, however, it is relevant to determine, for example, what rights a spouse may have on the death of a tenant (text part segment 20 in D 06), and if the tenant can use the garden belonging to the house, and in return maintain the garden (text part segment 14 in D 06). On the other hand, we find a large number of speech acts occurring in both types of contracts as well.

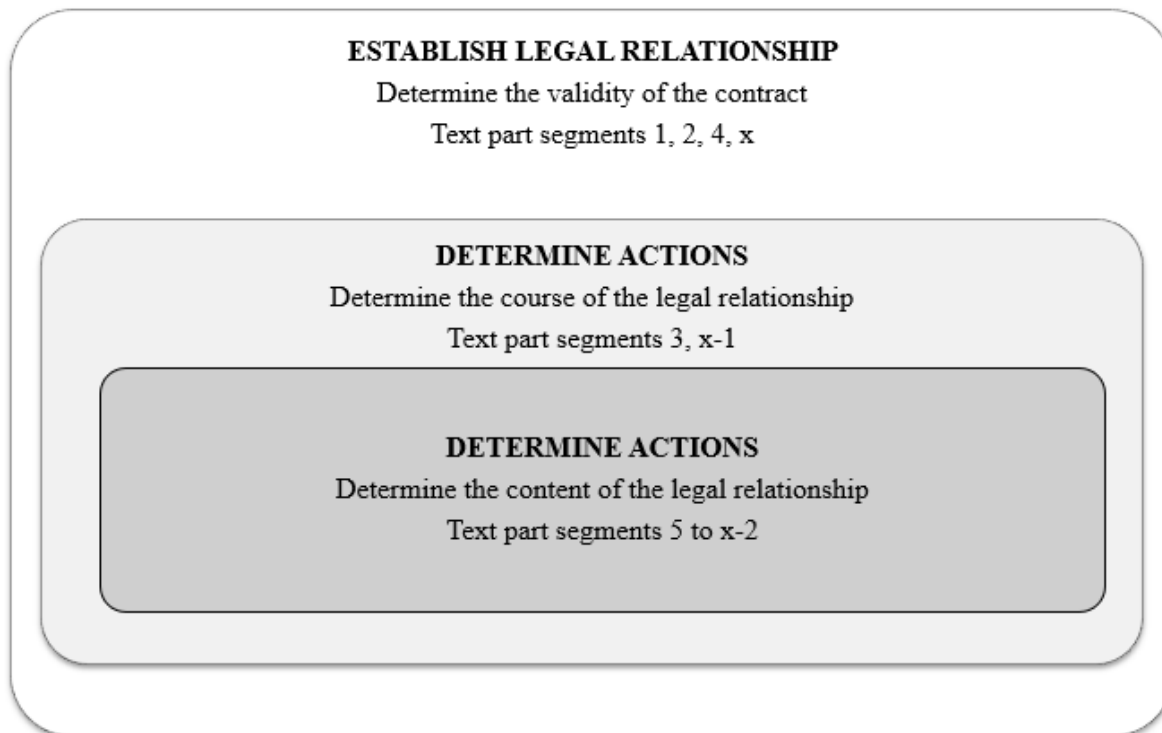
5.5. Realizing of the functions through the text part segments

The overall function of the contract is to ENTER INTO AGREEMENT, and the text part segments can be divided into groups based on a principle that relates to the character of the text part segment. This analysis does not concern the specific legal details in the content of each text part segment. Moreover, the character of the content realized in each of the text part segments is important here, i.e., what kind of content is in the text part segments. The character of the individual text part segment is related to the overall function of the agreement text and its sub-functions, as it realizes certain aspects of the functions. In accordance with this, Viehweger & Spies (1987) argue that different kinds of illocutionary acts define different types of content. However, in the text genre "Anordnung" (i.e., injunction) that they use for analysis, they distinguish between four different types of content or text part segments, namely norms of the legal system, validity, sanctions, and aid norms (1987: 102-103). In this paper, we prefer another distribution of the text part segment types, because it is a different genre with different functions.

We distinguish between three different types of text part segments: Firstly, we have text part segments whose function is the definition of norms for the legal relationship. Secondly, there are text

part segments whose function is the determination of norms for the course of the actual legal relationship. Thirdly, we find the text part segments whose function it is to determine the validity of the contractual text as such. The relationship between the three types of text part segment can be visualized as in the figure below.

Figure 1: The realization of functions through the text part segments.



In figure 1, the group consisting of the core text part segments for the parties is situated in the center; the group of text part segments indicating the legal relationship, in the middle; and finally, the group of frame texts units, at the periphery.

We lean on Gunnarsson (1982, 2009) who distinguishes between different function perspectives of law-texts; a “citizen perspective” and a “court perspective”. A law-text with a citizen perspective is adapted to the “action-directing function” and focuses on “action rules” from a citizen’s point of view, whereas a law-text with a court perspective is adapted to the “control-directing function” and has its focus on “judgment rules” seen from a court’s point of view (Gunnarsson 2009: 108).

Similarly, we can distinguish a “party perspective” and a “court perspective”. The first group of text part segments consists of the text part segments that can be termed “core text part segments” from a “party perspective”. They are probably the text part segments that the parties would call the core of the contract, namely text part segments 5 to x-2, which indicate the parties’ rights and obligations in relation to each other, in other words their “action rules”. As mentioned above, it is by far the most comprehensive group of text part segments, as a very wide range of obligations and rights can be identified here. The purpose of this group is to establish norms for the content of the legal relationship in order for the parties to know what they have agreed on, to have a smooth relationship and for the judiciary system to be able to decide in case of disputes between the parties.

The function of the second group of text part segments is to determine the norms for the course of the actual legal relationship. These are the provisions of the contract that deal with the time frame of the contract and, in some cases, the terms of termination of the contract, as well as the provisions

concerning changes to the contract, partial invalidity, etc.; that is, text part segment 3 and text part segment x-1. In text part segment x-1 we also find a number of conditions and reservations that are taken against the wording of the contract itself. If the contract does not contain a determination of these elements, the text is still categorized as a contract and valid as such. In such cases, instead of the missing information, the provisions of the law, prior court decisions, etc. apply and are used as guidelines.

These two first groups of text part segments thus determine, firstly, circumstances that relate to the parties' actions in relation to each other as they indicate the rights and obligations of the parties. Secondly, they determine circumstances relating to the actual course of the legal relationship, namely the beginning and termination of relationship, which are specified in text part segments 3, 5 to x-2 and x-1. One can thus say that they both relate to the function DETERMINE ACTIONS.

For the third group of text part segments, the function consists of determining the validity of the contractual text as such. This type of text part segments does not deal with the content or the course of the legal relationship itself, but with the requirements the contractual text must fulfill to be valid as a contract and to be able to form the basis of the parties' legal relationship. Text part segments 1, 2, 4 and x relate to this function. In the third group, we find the genre constitutive features of the contract. These text part segments indicate circumstances that are relevant to whether a legal relationship is established between the parties: Here the signatures of the parties can be found as well as the explicit performative formula, which indicates that the parties with their signatures enter into an agreement and wish the given text to be perceived as a contract. In these text part segments, usually text part segments 1 and 2, the type of legal relationship is also given. This information gives the legal expert an idea of the basic content of the contract, at the same time indicating implicitly which legal provisions to apply in case of a legal dispute.

We can say that this last group of text part segments is of great importance to the contract because they determine the validity of the contract. This means that all other text part segments completely lose their validity and significance if the genre constitutive features are missing in a text. This group of text part segments relates to the function ESTABLISH LEGAL RELATIONSHIP. These text part segments thus form the framework for the contractual relationship between the parties. With the distinction of Gunnarsson (2009), this group relates to the "court perspective" and "judgment rules". Of course, it is also possible to say that, especially text part segment 4 also sets out actions, as it contains rules for the payment of the rent, but after all it seems appropriate to place it in this third group because if it were not present, the contract would not be valid as a contract.

Hoffmann (1998) does not assess the significance of the text part segments in relation to each other; because it is difficult to establish a hierarchy in the form of a tree graph of the text part segments of this genre, as opposed to certain other genres, such as operating instructions (Hoffmann 1998: 536). Hoffmann is probably right when noting that a hierarchy in the form of a tree graph is not an optimal solution for this genre, but with another form of visualization, such as the one used in figure 1 in this paper, it may be possible to present a hierarchy of the text part segments.

6. Concluding remarks

In summary, we know that the overall function of the contract is to ENTER INTO AGREEMENT. The text part segments individually realize parts of the two sub-functions of the agreement. Firstly, we have the sub-function to ESTABLISH LEGAL RELATIONSHIP, i.e., to establish the agreement as an agreement, and thereby establish a context. Secondly, the sub-function to DETERMINE ACTIONS is seen, i.e., to describe and determine the rights and obligations of the parties. Each text part segment can mainly be ascribed to one of the two functions. Likewise, each text part segment can be classified into a group that fulfills a special function, namely either the function of establishing norms for the legal relationship, or the function of determining norms for the course of the actual legal relationship or, finally, the function of determining the validity of the contractual text as such.

The individual text part segment is either obligatory because it is genre constitutive and fulfills the sub-function to ESTABLISH LEGAL RELATIONSHIP, or it is optional and fulfills the sub-function to DETERMINE ACTIONS. The obligatory text part segments realize the speech acts [determination of object, parties, and legal relationships], [determination of tenancy and legal relationship], [determination of the amount of rent], and [determination of contract validity]. The optional text part segments realize the speech acts [determination of timeframe], [determination of reservation and validity of the contractual wording], and a large part of the text dealing with determination of the parties' obligations and rights and, so, determining the future actions of the parties. The latter consists of a large number of text part segments that implement different speech acts determining specific rights and obligations, either for one party or for both parties, e.g., [determination of rights of the tenant concerning household machines] and [determination of rights of the landlord and the tenant concerning animal husbandry]. This makes up most of the text by far.

We see that all text part segments concerning rights and obligations fulfil the same basic sub-function DETERMINE ACTIONS, and one might argue that this means that they make up one large text part segment [determination of rights and obligations]. This would, however, not be coherent with the definition of text part segment by Gläser (1990), stating that a text part segment is a relatively completed, functional and thematic coherent unit with a communicative function and that these units are separated and can be formally marked by typographical means, e.g., paragraphs and headings. Even though they do, seen from an overall perspective, deal with the 'same' type of content, namely rights and obligations, placing all separate units in one text part segment would be contradictory on a more specific thematic content level, and would contradict the definitive element of separation and marking by typographical means as well. Furthermore, this would make the use of text part segments less meaningful as we would then deal with only very few text part segments, of which one would comprise almost all the contract, and the amount of information we would then be able to derive from the notions of text part segments and macrostructure would be rather scarce.

Although only few text part segments are legally obligatory in the contracts, a large amount of optional text part segments are found in the specific contracts, mostly related to the obligations and rights of the parties. This is partly due to practical reasons, meaning that this large number of supplementary determinations helps the parties navigate their actual relationship and determine their future actions based on rights and obligations to each other and in connection with their legal relation. While the obligatory text part segments are, of course, found in all contracts, a few optional text part segments are found in all, or almost all contracts, first and foremost [determination of rental time frame] and [determination of payment of rent], primarily dealing with time and method of payment. The presence of these text part segments is not obligatory due to the contract's relation to the law and other legal resources, but they are added for practical reasons in order to prevent misunderstandings and legal disputes between the parties.

Variation occurs, however, to a large extent, and is related to the specific nature of the legal relationship and the thematic elements that (one of) the parties want(s) regulations for. Thus, in contracts concerning commercial rent, the text part segments are to a large extent related to the commercial use of the rented object, and they regulate, e.g., the placement of signs and advertisements. In contracts about renting housing, the text part segments are related to the use of the apartment as a private residence, e.g., the use of garden or household machines. Although some of the text part segments in both contract types are the same, regulating for example animal husbandry and the placement of television antennas.

The reason for this seems to be the legal nature of the relationship more than the fact that it is a contract between two professionals in one case, and a contract between a private person (a nonprofessional) and a professional in the other case. There is no evidence in this corpus that the structure of contracts per se takes the lacking knowledge of the private person into account, for example in the form of specifically added text part segments intended to facilitate the understanding

of the nonprofessional through defining specific legal concepts. Other studies have shown that this, in some cases, is done by adjusting the specific wording of the contract, adding explanations and examples in the text which can make it easier for the nonprofessional to understand (Larsen 2009). This is mostly done as additions to the existing text, and not in separately inserted text part segments.

The text part segments have specific linguistic features. In the first segments, we see a focus on identifying the parties themselves and their party roles, the rental object, and the rental amount. These elements are often stated in grammatical subject position and with a high degree of specification, as they are used for fulfilling the sub-function of ESTABLISHING LEGAL RELATIONSHIP. The use of verbs, however, is restricted to verbs indicating existence or verbs in a passive voice, emphasizing the agreement promise the parties made in the performative formula and confirm with their signatures. In the text part segments fulfilling the sub-function of DETERMINING ACTIONS, we find the formulation of obligations and rights, as well as the sanctions imposed on the parties if they do not fulfil their obligations. The linguistic variety is large in this section, and the linguistic elements denoting the parties are often realized as sentence subjects to make the sentence unambiguous, and the verbal expressions often include modal expressions of obligation, possibility, permission, or prohibition. The thematic specification is, also in this section, very high, but the focus is not so much on the subjects (the parties), but on the details of conditions and circumstances as well as the actions that are obligatory, possible, permitted, or prohibited. In order to offer solutions for all eventualities and thus be all-inclusive (Bhatia & Candlin 2004), the contract also makes extensive use of conditional constructions, shaped as conditional sentences and prepositional compounds.

Finally, it is noteworthy that this analysis demonstrates the applicability of the notions text part segment, macrostructure, and function to gain knowledge of the structure and hierarchy within a text of a certain genre, in this case, tenancy contracts. We can see the same basic structure in tenancy contracts across types of parties and situations. Further research into other types of contracts, for example working contracts and sales contracts, are necessary to establish which kinds of differences in the basic structure of the contracts can be found, especially when it comes to the text part segments concerning the obligations and rights of the parties. It may be assumed, however, that we, to a large degree, may find the same basic structure concerning obligatory text part segments as some obligatory text part segments will also be necessary in other contract types (parties, signatures, and performative formula). In these cases, the obligatory text part segments will, of course, not deal with determining rental objects and rental amounts, but, e.g., sales objects and sales prices. Accordingly, the optional text part segments concerning the specific obligations and rights of the parties can be expected to deal with a variety of aspects of the legal relationship.

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Book review of *Danish Humour – SINK OR SWIM*

by Lita Lundquist and Helen Dyrbye, Samfundslitteratur, 2022.

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Danish Humour – SINK OR SWIM is a 175-page e-book about Danish humour and Danes' *humour socialisation*, i.e. the process by which human beings are socialised into specific forms of humour through the culture (and language) in which they grow up. The book is based on this hypothesis, which is defended and substantiated throughout the book, supported by different theories and a multitude of examples of encounters between Danes and non-Danes. The idea of humour socialisation is not novel and was presented in earlier works by Lundquist (such as 2020 and 2021). However, in *Danish Humour – SINK OR SWIM*, Lundquist, Danish researcher in linguistics; text; discourse; and humour has a co-author, Helen Dyrbye, a British language consultant and translator. Dyrbye has lived in Denmark for many years and has therefore become acquainted with Danish humour in different settings. Examples of (failed) humour events from earlier works of Lundquist (2020, 2021) can be found in the book alongside new examples based on Dyrbye's experiences with Danes.

In the introduction, the goal of the book is described as two-fold: "to provide insight and warnings to a wide range of Danes", and "to help all other nationalities to open up and accept the friendly intention underlying what can come across as 'sledgehammer icebreakers'".¹

The book opens with the following three words: inappropriate, in-your-face, and rude. Indeed, this is the way non-Danes have described Danish humour in questionnaires. Not exactly a glowing recommendation.

The authors sketch two models in their introduction, which are pivotal to understanding the function of humour in interaction and what shapes humour. Their first model shows their humour event model, which describes how a humour event intervenes in an interaction between two speakers, A and B. This humour event essentially changes the interaction in one of two ways: either the relationship between A and B improves (that is, the humour event has a positive outcome) or the relationship deteriorates (when the humorous attempt causes offence or is unsuccessful). Their second model outlines the process of humour socialisation – a process in which language, society and humour are in a reciprocal relationship and thus shape and are shaped by each other.

The book itself is structured around these three aspects of humour socialisation and is split into three parts: Danish humour forms, characteristics of Danish society, and features of Danish language.

When we see the inverted commas around *charms* in the title of Part I, *The 'charms' of Danish humour*, we already feel warned about something that is supposed to be funny, not being funny, and when we get to the headline of Chapter 1 of this part, *Happiness, alcohol and sex*, we feel confirmed in our fear. The chapter is introduced by an example of a Chinese student's meeting with a Danish buddy and a supposed humorous comment by the latter that leaves the Chinese student not only very surprised, but also offended. According to the book, the Danes have a fondness for what might be termed 'speeding', and this is also what the Chinese student experiences: the "very quick reaction (of Danes) – as if it is an innate component in them". The chapter asks the relevant question "Was this an example of humour?" as a starting point for introducing the field of humour studies. According to the authors, it is generally accepted that "the prevailing feeling resulting from a positive humour event is a feeling of mirth and well-being" and that "this emotion is caused by the surprise of being

¹ The e-book does not contain page numbers and the origin of the quotes will be evident from the preceding context.

confronted with different ‘mental worlds’ that are suddenly and unexpectedly juxtaposed.” The authors also use the example to illustrate the typical Danish (self-) irony. Irony is then described through two theories: The Echo Theory and The Pretense Theory. In the example, the Danish buddy echoes “a traditional piece of wisdom” and he pretends to agree with the point of view that he voices while he actually dissociates himself from it.

Chapter 2 (*Police, passports and personal comments*) also begins with an illustrative example about Danish humour mentality, this time regarding a Serbian woman’s experience in a Danish airport, where the passport control officer makes a “funny” comment. Afterwards the chapter discusses what would have happened if the foreign visitors from their examples had understood the attempts at humour, what they could have responded, and what new relations could have been created. One of the main points in this chapter is that Danes do not make a clear distinction between private life and work life when using humour. In this chapter, it is also shown how it is possible to “cancel” a humour event if one recognises that it is unsuccessful by withdrawing a failed humorous comment.

Chapter 3 (*Virtual hilarity*) opens with a famous clip that went viral internationally, where the Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen in a speech at the inaugural session of the Danish Parliament began to laugh uncontrollably which, in turn, made several members of Parliament laugh as well. The episode serves as an example of two theories: *the relief theory of laughter* and *the superiority theory of laughter*. The first one describes laughter “as a “physical” event which, from a hydraulic mindset, releases energy in the nervous system precisely as the pressure-relief valve works in a steam boiler”. The authors describe how the laughter gradually spreads to all MPs and that “[i]t does resemble an obvious and massive release of energy, (*sic*) that is difficult to resist joining in”. However, as the British co-author suggests, the Danish Prime Minister’s speech links the specific situation (that of an elephant and a camel who were best friends) with another more serious topic: the blanket order to separate under-age refugee girls from their husbands, irrespective of individual circumstances. Therefore, the book argues, those with a non-Danish background could see the laughter as a sign of superiority. This interpretation relates to the superiority theory of laughter, which originates from Aristotle and Plato. The chapter then discusses these theories as two opposing explanations for the reasons and functions of laughter in the above example. The end of the chapter concerns non-Danes’ reactions to the laughter event in the Danish Parliament.

The first chapter of Part II (*The strengths of Danish Society*), Chapter 4, *The Danes and their “Great Humour”*, focuses on the process through which national humour arises with emphasis on Danish humour. The starting point of the chapter is that Danish humour, characterised by speed, irony, and self-irony, which in a Danish context may work as an icebreaker, works differently in international settings. The chapter aims to explain the origin of humour differences and the concept used to explain this is *humour socialisation*, which briefly explained consists of three steps: *humour breeding*, *humour socialisation*, and *humour civilisation*. The first step occurs in childhood, where specific humour breeding occurs in the context of the family and a specific national language. The next step is a broader humour socialisation where the individual’s humour is influenced by new social groups, such as school and work. Finally, individuals’ humour fuses with the humour expressed by their fellow countrymen and gains the characteristics of a specific national humour, because people are socialised by the same national context, which is formed by a specific process of civilisation. The authors are inspired by the Danish philosopher Harald Høffding who uses the terms “itsy-bitsy humour”, “the little humour” and “the great humour” for the humours we meet at the different stages. Afterwards, the authors zoom in on how Danes are bred into their great humour and which factors have led to the great humour typical of Danes characterised by irony and self-irony which are often found “astonishing and crushing” by non-Danes.

Chapter 5, *Humour civilisation*, focuses on the processes that have bred and socialised Danes into their great humour. The chapter opens with another cringeworthy example of a Dane’s attempt at being funny, this time experienced by the English author of the book. In brief, the example describes

how a Dane makes fun of an Indian gentleman's turban behind his back. The example serves to illustrate Danish “dumb-smart” comments, a new word first used by the Danish queen in her New Year’s speech in 1984, using “an innovative combination” of ‘daft’/‘dumb’+‘smart’ to describe Danish humour and a tendency to blurt out “smart” comments in the company of foreigners without being aware of others’ cultural norms. The royal incident serves as a point of departure for the subsequent attempt to “find out what has shaped and moulded this specifically Danish variant of a national humour style”. This part builds on the insights of Norbert Elias in particular, who provides a useful method for addressing a nation’s Great Humour. The authors conclude that a specific Danish variant of Great Humour “is rooted in a consensual, conflict-avoiding campfire mentality”. The chapter also offers descriptions of French and British history and society by way of comparison.

Chapter 6 (*Humour, irony and self-irony in Danish management*) focuses on the use of different forms of humour (including irony and self-irony) in Danish management. As in the other chapters, the examples are plentiful and include the Danish national football team, anecdotes from a backyard football match, snippets from interviews with non-Danes working in Denmark (and Danes working abroad) as well as references to popular Danish culture such as films and tv-shows. However, the main take-aways from the chapter pertain to the importance of “self-irony” which is often mentioned as a typical Danish form of humour, and, specifically, it can be seen as the “antidote to self-importance” and thus it fits right in with the Law of Jante, another oft-cited Danish cultural trait. And some Danes even take this a step further and suggest that self-irony can be seen as a “reflexive management practice” (Molin 2006): The argument is that if managers show themselves to be vulnerable through self-irony and self-deprecation, their staff and colleagues are better able to identify with them and feel relaxed in their presence. However, this is also tied in closely with the Danish organisational structure which is more often than not quite flat compared to that of other nations.

In order for self-irony to function in the Danish setting, one essential aspect needs to be present: trust (Kirkeby 2003). According to Danish philosopher Ole Fogh Kirkeby, a balance between four communicative moods (gravity, irony, humour and righteous indignation) is needed to foster trust between individuals. Kirkeby further urges managers (in the Danish context) to not be too controlling but instead see their staff as peers.

Lundquist and Dyrbye also link this to the power of the trade unions in Denmark - a country where “win-win solutions” are preferred and there is strength in numbers.

The third and final part (*The baffling Danish language*) of the book takes a closer look at features of the Danish language, in particular features which can be used to express humour.

In Chapter 7 (*Language and spontaneous verbal humour*), the authors state that we cannot avoid looking in detail at language when exploring “the function and effects of [verbal] humour”. As in previous chapters, this chapter also features another few examples of interactions between Danes and non-Danes in which the Danes somehow (inadvertently or not) seem to get themselves into deep waters through their humorous remarks. The authors also comment on the role of laughter and how that (as a response to a humorous remark or situation, even when unintentional) can function as a positive social mediator.

The authors also introduce the pragmatic aspects of language and the work of Grice, the cooperative principle, conversational implicatures and, of course, Grice’s four maxims. In the light of Grice’s work they then introduce a “conversational humour implicature” to help us make sense of what transpires in a humorous interaction. In short, if speaker A says something which at first seems hard to believe and listener B decides that it is not an outright lie, then listener B can infer that it must be humour.

The authors add that this humour implicature is also helpful when dealing with Danes’ use of irony and self-irony. Indeed, they suggest a “conversation irony implicature” which states that if listener B believes that an unsuitable remark made by speaker A is not an outright lie but instead indicates that the speaker is distancing themselves from what was said or a situation or somehow

shows a negative attitude towards what was said, then the remark was probably ironic. Finally, the authors also introduce a “conversational self-irony implicature” which adds an additional interpretative layer, namely that if listener B decodes that speaker A is the target of an unsuitable remark (and it is neither a lie nor an attempt at distancing) then it is likely an example of self-irony.

In Chapter 8 (*Meeting the Danish language*), the authors provide a whirlwind tour of the Danish language. They introduce the reader to the phonetics of Danish and even provide clickable recordings for a full immersive experience. The authors also comment briefly on features of Danish such as the duality of words in Danish (where the same word can mean different things), grammatical gender (Danish has two grammatical genders) and the important role of context in a language as ambiguous as Danish. Even the Danish numbers are mentioned as being particularly confusing.

Finally, in this chapter, the authors also touch upon what happens when Danes speak English as a *lingua franca*. In particular, they point out Danes’ lack of use of politeness markers such as different types of softeners, the usefulness of the words *sorry* and *please* (which have no Danish counterpart) and they mention the fact that, to Danes, no topic is too personal or off-limits, so it is not unusual for Danes to outright ask about political beliefs, issues of religion, rates of pay and sexual details.

Chapter 9 (*Fathoming the Danish language and humour*) introduces the reader to what the authors call the “humour warning signals” of the Danish language: small dialogical particles such as *nok*, *vist*, *da*, *jo* and *vel*. These particles are monosyllabic, unaccented adverbs which “act as triggers that warn listeners to supply extra meaning from the context and not to take what is said too seriously”. Indeed, these small particles indicate an assumed shared background and thus set the scene for ironic and self-ironic language use. However, similar particles do not exist in English, for instance, which is why, according to the authors, Danes using English as a *lingua franca* sometimes land themselves in hot water when attempting similar humorous remarks as in Danish.

The authors also use hypothetical reconstructions to show what their exemplary Danes might have said (were they speaking English) in the many examples sprinkled throughout the book.

The authors wrap up this chapter by considering the links between language and thought, specifically national mentality or national ways of thinking. They here draw on their previous chapters which considered the Danish Great Humour and the Danish ‘campfire mentality’.

In the conclusion, the authors briefly sum up the contents of the book but also introduce two additional terms. The first of these is *gelatophobia* – the fear of being laughed at. Danes, seemingly, do not take humour personally, however, Danes “are following today’s general movement towards feeling more readily offended” so perhaps Danes are (no longer?) as thick-skinned as previously (or as they themselves believe). The second term is the notion of *unlaughter*, which very clearly demonstrates disapproval to the person joking. In this way, the use (or non-use) of laughter helps socialise Danes and non-Danes alike into the current humour environment in which they find themselves.

The book is a further development of Lundquist (2020). Experiences and examples from the British co-author, who has personally experienced Danish humour, complement together with other new examples those we know from Lundquist (2020). The book benefits from the authentic examples, both because they add credibility to the book and because, despite their toe-curling nature, they have a certain entertainment value. It goes without saying that not all Danes share the same type of humour, but we have probably all become acquainted with types like the passport control officer. In addition, the book is written in a tongue-in-cheek style. The book’s prevailing use of sailing metaphors (as exemplified in the title) also contributes to this style.

The e-book format makes the book easy to distribute, and it is also this format that enables the inclusion of clickable recordings, although they may seem a little excessive in a book that is not about the Danish language *per se* but about humour. The format unfortunately also means that there are no page numbers on the individual pages. Each part of the book ends with some *Anchor points*, which is

a welcome summary of the part in question.

Similar to Lundquist (2020), also reviewed in this journal (Jensen & Dam 2020), the book is aimed at non-academics, however, with its interdisciplinary approach and use of many theories, it is also worth reading for academics, even if the many unsubstantiated claims and hypothetical reconstructions can be a little hard to swallow.

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Anmeldelse af *Modalidades de memoria y archivos afectivos: Cine de mujeres en Centroamérica*

by I. Rodríguez, CIHAC/CALACS, 2020.

http://www.calas.lat/sites/default/files/ileanarodriguez_modalidades_memoria.pdf¹.

Héloïse Elisabeth Marie-Vincent Ghislaine Ducatteau, Sciences Po Paris (campus de Nancy)

Mellemamerikanske film² er ikke særlig kendt i Frankrig, og det gælder endnu mindre for kvindefilmene. Mellemamerikanske film har først siden 2005 været genstand for en særlig behandling takket være María Lourdes Cortés' værk, der gennemgår et århundrede af mellemamerikanske film. Denne bog er nævnt i denne publikation. Det faktum, at Cortés Pacheco også skrev en artikel, som blev oversat til tysk under titlen "Zentralamerika auf Zelluloid" (2008: 643-657) af Alexandra Ortiz Wallner, lettede formidlingen af hans ideer (Navitski 2018: 298-311). Det var dog først i 2015, at en af María Lourdes Cortés Pachecos studerende præsenterede sin doktorafhandling på fransk om samme tema. Den er tilgængelig på HAL Åbne Arkiver: Andrea Cabezas Vargas. *Moderne mellemamerikanske film (1970-2014): konstruktionen af en regional film: socio-historiske og kulturelle minder*. Kunst og kunsthistorie. Université Michel de Montaigne - Bordeaux III, 2015. Tidligere blev der publiceret undersøgelser, der undersøgte mellemamerikanske film fra et nationalt prisme. Selvom María Lourdes Cortés Pachecos monografi er nævnt i bogen, der er anført her, er dette ikke tilfældet for Andrea Cabezas Vargas' afhandling. Ileana Rodríguez kunne dog have inkluderet elementer af kontekstualisering. Hvilke historiske elementer overskrider mellemamerikanske nationale grænser og retfærdiggør deres tilnærmelse? Hvad er de juridiske og økonomiske karakteristika, der forklarer, hvorfor kvindefilm kunne etablere sig tidligere i et land end i et andet og på en anden måde?

Den følgende publikation udelader ikke mandlige film og film fra udlandet, der beskæftiger sig med Mellemamerika. Den diskuterer således film om Nicaragua lavet af mænd som *Nicaragua... el sueño de una generación* af den argentinske filminstruktør Roberto Pesano.

Roberto Persano, Santiago Nacif Cabrera og Daniel Buak (2011) og film lavet i fællesskab af begge køn: *Nicaragua, una konfiskeret revolution* af franske Clara Ott og Gilles Bataillon (2012). Sammen med Antonio Gómez havde forfatteren allerede viet en artikel til en film instrueret af svenskeren Peter Torbiönson tre år efter udgivelsen, *Adiós Nicaragua*. Hvert kapitel fokuserer på en instruktør bortset fra det sjette og sidste, som omfatter to. De omtalte film går alle tilbage til det sidste årti og udgør kun en lille del af produktionen. Ileana Rodríguez har fokuseret på film, hvor vidnesbyrd indtager en central plads i El Salvador, Guatemala og Nicaragua.

Granito: How to Nail a Dictator (2011), den første film, der blev analyseret, blev instrueret af en amerikaner, Pamela Yates. Den fortæller om den kamp, advokat Almudena Bernabéu førte for at bringe retfærdighed til en gruppe af indfødte guatemalanske kvinder. Vi står i gæld til Fredi Peccerelli for at finde knogler i en massegrav og lede sit hold til at grave dem op. Arkivar Kathy Doyle modtog anonymt dokumenter, der kompilerede hærens ordrer. Bernabeus vedholdenhed gav pote, da general Efraín Ríos Montt og eks-forsvarsminister (mellem 1983 og 1989) Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova kunne stilles for retten, hvor sidstnævnte først skulle udvises fra USA. Cuevas' film *El eco del dolor de mucha gente* (2013) stræber også efter gengældelses- og overgangsretfærdighed. Denne gang blev

¹ Tilgået d. 12/05-2022.

² Levende billeder opfattet som medie, kunststart eller industri (*Den Danske Ordbog*: <https://ordnet.dk/ddo/ordbog?query=film>).

filmskaberens direkte berørt personligt, da hun vendte tilbage til Guatemala for at finde resterne af sin dræbte bror Carlos. Ordet gives til indfødte, men også mestizo-kvinder. Mens indfødte kvinder oftest er blevet myrdet, har mestizo-kvinder været særligt udsat for kidnapninger og forsvindinger. I baggrunden minder lyden af helikoptere os om bombardementerne. Selvtægtsmanden her er Nineth Montenegro, grundlæggeren af den gensidige bistandsgruppe. Ilaria Rodríguez fremhæver de mange fotografier, lighuse og fængsler, der er relateret til Shoah, som præsenteret af Ka-Tzetnik, der har overlevet Shoah og er forfatter.

Lad os nu gå videre til El Salvador. I *Los ofendidos* (2006) stiller Marcela Zamora spørgsmålstegn ved en mere mangfoldig række af vidner: sin egen far, en læge, direktøren for et historisk hukommelsescenter for menneskerettigheder i El Salvador og endda en torturbøddel. Lægen beskriver de former for tortur, han blev udsat for: elektriske stød, forbrændinger med cigaretter, seksuel vold, fingre bundet fast med ledninger, der forhindrede ham i at udføre en operation igen derefter. Han blev tvunget til at spise orme, ved at der blev trampet på ham. Fredsaftalerne udviser ikke bekymringerne for en ny krig. *El lugar más pequeño* (2011) af Tatiana Huezo adskiller sig fra andre film ved, at det er dokufiktion. Han fortæller, at familier vender tilbage til deres landsby Cinquero efter at have forladt den.

Og lad os slutte af med Nicaragua. Hovedpersonen i *Heredera delviento* (2017) instrueret af Gloria Carrión forsøger at finde ud af, hvem hendes forsvundne forældre er. Forældrene blev tortureret efter at have ført kampagne mod diktaturet og har efterfølgende været nødt til at benytte pseudonymer for at beskytte sig selv. En *voice-over* rekontekstualiserer begivenhederne for os. Smerten analyseres ud fra Deleuzes nærbilleder og Catherine Malabous begrebsliggørelse af selvberøringen. I den nicaraguanske sag erklærede regeringen sig selv for venstreorienteret i modsætning til de guatemalanske og salvadoranske. De samfundsmæssige konsekvenser er lige så alvorlige. Mercedes Moncadas kamera i *Palabras mágicas para romper un encantamiento* (2012) dvæler ved unge stofmisbrugere, forurenede vand, mudrede kanaler. Katastroferne efter jordskælvet i 1972 og stormen Mitch i 1998 bliver fortalt til os af en *voice-over*. Politiske ubalancer såsom Arnaldo Alemáns tilbagevenden til magten, en korrupt mand, bliver forklaret for os. *Exiliada* (2019) af Leonor Zúñiga fokuserer på feministen Zoilamérica Narváez, der i en alder af tolv år blev voldtaget og seksuelt chikaneret af Daniel Ortega. Den kommende præsident indledte derefter et forhold til pigens mor, Rosario Murillo, vicepræsident siden 2017. Da hendes datter indgiver en klage, beskytter moren sin mand. Da ordinationen blev overskredet, forblev Daniel Ortega ustraffet. Zoilamérica blev tvunget i eksil i Costa Rica.

Det geografiske område i Mellemamerika er ikke afgrænset her, selvom det ikke er enstemmigt accepteret af lande og forskere. Selv om det er forståeligt, at Belize ikke er repræsenteret, da landet var en britisk koloni indtil sin uafhængighed i 1983, og at det bibeholder engelsk som sit eneste officielle sprog, er det beklageligt, at den omtalte publikation ikke inkluderer costaricanske, panamanske og honduranske film, da Costa Rica, Panama og Honduras har en størrelse, der kan sammenlignes med Guatemala, Nicaragua og El Salvador. Selv hvis filmproduktionen er mindre, hvilket er logisk nok på grund af størrelsen af disse lande, som er mindre end de andre lande der undersøges, ville den have haft sin plads der. Andrea Cabezas Vargas havde således udelukket Belize, men integrerede Panama og Honduras. Vi kan især citere den tredive minutter lange kortfilm af den panamanske fotograf Sandra Eleta, *El imperio nos visita nuevamente*. Kortfilmen er filmet i 1990 og omhandler den nordamerikanske invasion, der fandt sted et år tidligere, og som gengives gennem vidneudsagn. Honduranske Elizabeth Figueroas doku-drama, *Fantasmas del huracán* er produceret i år 2000. Den behandler skaderne forårsaget af en naturkatastrofe, en orkan og de traumatiske familietab, der er resultatet heraf. En anden dokumentar ville have været meget relevant: *¿Quién dijo miedo? Honduras af en golpe* af den honduranske Katia Lara. Denne spillefilm stammer fra 2010 og viser os det foregående års kup fra hæren, der afsatte præsident Manuel Zelaya.

Modtagelsen af filmene, både i deres oprindelsesland og i udlandet, er heller ikke tilstrækkeligt

dokumenteret. Vi må nøjes med faglig modtagelse på spansk og i mindre grad engelsk. Og filmen med den mest dokumenterede modtagelse er *Palabras mágicas*, hvis modtagelse af den brede offentlighed ikke understøttes af kilder (Rodríguez 2020: 84-85). Der gives ingen indikation til os om modtagelsen reserveret til de andre film. Med andre ord ved vi ikke, om offentligheden opfattede disse film positivt eller negativt. En faldgrube ved dette arbejde, som risikerer at påvirke undervisningsbrug: fraværet af indikationer på timingen (med timer, minutter og sekunder). Til hvert citat har vi en fodnote, der minder os om filmen, det er taget fra. På nogle sider har vi otte identiske fodnoter, fordi de otte citater er fra samme film. Scenerne er derfor meget mere komplicerede at finde. Fraværet af *skærbilleder* eller endda filmplakater skader bestemt udenadslæren af sidstnævnte.

Det er også beklageligt, at den civilisatoriske komponent kun optræder i form af indsættelser i kapitlerne. En kronologisk frise, et indstik i margenen, ville have gjort det muligt at få bedre fat i den historiske udvikling igennem det sidste halve århundrede, både på det politiske og filmiske område hvad angår Mellemmamerika.

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