Semantics and the lemmatisation of idiomatic expressions: an analysis of Bilingual Italian-English Dictionaries

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Abstract

The lemmatisation of idiomatic expressions represents a difficult task for any lexicographer due to their multiword composition. This results in lexicographers having to select one or more elements, under which they consider to be the most suitable location(s) to list the expression. An alternative strategy may be to divide idioms into three groups according to their semantic compositionality; pure idioms, semi idioms and figurative idioms, as each category has an individual semantic identity. In light of the proposed categorisation, this paper examines the lemmatisation of idioms in six bilingual Italian-English dictionaries; Il Ragazzini (ZIR) (2006), Hoepli Grande Dizionario di Inglese (HGDI) (2003), Collins Sansoni Italian Dictionary (CSID) (2003), Oxford Paravia Italian Dictionary (OXID) (2001), Il Sansoni Inglese (ISI) (2006) and Hazon Garzanti Inglese (HGI) (2006) The analysis reveals two major inconsistencies. Firstly, the lemmatisation of idioms varies greatly between dictionaries. Secondly, dictionaries do not treat semantically (and syntactically) equal idioms in a consistent and systematic manner. Therefore, the use of semantics may provide a more suitable platform to guide lexicographers in the lemmatisation of idioms.

1 The Lemmatisation of Idiomatic Expressions: A Theoretical Perspective

The compilation and organisation of dictionaries presents a number of challenges for lexicographers. Words and phrases comprise the two most important categories in a dictionary. They share an equal status in the lexicon, but lexicographers usually make a distinction in how they record both categories. Words are usually listed as main-entries with their meanings, contextualisations and inflections included as sub-entries. Phrases are also listed as sub-entries, but lexicographers encounter a wider range of issues when dealing with phrases, particularly in relation to their presentation and recording. According to Zgusta (1971), the detection and correct presentation of multiword units is one of the most important tasks for a lexicographer. The difficulty in presentation of phrases is somewhat more complex given their multilexical composition, which offers a number of possible entry points and also their positioning as sub-entries gives them a reduced visibility due to the volume of surrounding information.

At the core of the issue of presentation is the problem of lemmatisation. This refers to how and where the lexicographer chooses to list a word or phrase in a dictionary. A key observation is that phrases are not a homogenous group and the different types all have unique lexical, semantic and syntactic features. The most problematic phrasal sub-category is idioms. Hartmann and James (1998:71) define an idiom as 'a fixed expression whose overall meaning is not always transparent from the overall meaning of its

constituent words.' Fernando (1996:30) classifies idioms from a more lexical and syntactic perspective as 'indivisible units whose components cannot be varied or only varied within definable limits.' These diverse statements show the true complexity of idioms as a phrasal category as well as highlighting the difficulties that surround choosing the most appropriate strategy to record them in a dictionary.

Although many theorists (cf: Al-Kasimi 1977; Cowie 1981; Benson 1985; Gates 1985; Botha 1992; Singleton 2000; Bogaards 2003) propose possible solutions as to the best method to lemmatise idioms, dictionaries still fail to systematically deal with the problem. There are two approaches to recording idioms in a dictionary, firstly, giving them a separate entry or secondly, recording them as sub-entries, the latter being the favoured approach of modern-day reference works. Some theorists (cf: Chafe 1968; Zgusta 1971; Gouws 1991; Botha 1992) agree that words and idioms share a common trait in that they both exist as a single semantic unit. Zgusta (1971:154) cites this as 'parallelism between multiword units and words' and says that it 'must be taken into consideration by the lexicographer.' Therefore, lexicographers should treat words and phrases equally by giving both categories independent entries. The main advantage of this strategy is that it reflects the unique meaning of the phrase as well as making a distinction between the meaning of main entry and its meaning as idiomatic constituent.

Almost all modern-day bilingual dictionaries choose the second available approach of listing idioms as a sub-entry. Although it remains the conventional method, it has a number of issues that merit discussion. Firstly, recording idioms as sub-entries leads to a semantic mismatch between the main entry and the idiom constituent, which is not signaled to the user. This problem arises particularly in the treatment of pure and figurative idioms, both of which are non-compositional, as their lexical constituents gain a new idiomatic sense which bears no relation to their normal literal meaning. This contrasts somewhat with semi-idioms, which have at least one component that retains its literal meaning in the overall figurative sense of the idiom. Secondly, the decision to list an idiom, or any phrase, as a sub-entry necessitates the lexicographer to choose an element of the phrase, which they believe to be the most suitable point of entry as well as being the most identifiable to the dictionary user listing. Certain theorists propose different strategies to list idioms as sub-entries, for example, Tomaszczyk (1986) advocates a listing under all of the lexical components, whereas Gates (1986) suggests entering the phrase under a variable word or a major element of the expression. A particular problem with sub-entry listing is that it immerses idioms within a large amount of information, which reduces their visibility to the dictionary user. Empirical research carried out by Marello (1987) reveals that the use of a single typeface for listing idioms complicates the retrieval of phrases for native speakers and making it nearly impossible for foreign users of bilingual Italian-English dictionaries.

Table 2.1 User Expectations in the Location of Multiword Entries (MWEs) in Dictionaries

DICTIONARY ENTRY			DICTIONARY ENTRY			DICTIONARY ENTRY		
Lame	97	47%	To split	151	74%	To do	137	67%
Duck	91	44%	Hair	37	18%	Without	61	30%
Lame Duck	13	6%	Split hairs	11	5%	To do without	5	2%
Don't know	4	2%	*Don't know*	6	3%	*Don't know*	2	1%
Total	**205**	**100%**	**Total**	**205**	**100%**	**Total**	**205**	**100%**

(Source: Atkins and Varantola, 1998:30)

Béjoint (2000) notes that dictionary users do seem to expect all MWEs to have one element that is more important than the others, and they seem to prefer to look them up within the entry for this element. This gives substance view that idioms contain what some theorists consider as a major element, but the selection of these may be subjective in certain cases. An empirical study undertaken by Atkins and Varantola (1998) explores the look-up strategies of French, German, Italian and Spanish speakers of three different types of MWE; a compound noun (*lame duck*), a verbal idiom (*to split hairs*) and a verb + particle (*to do without*) across monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. The results reveal that dictionaries differ largely in their listing strategies, but found that dictionary users expect to find MWEs under a certain headword. Of the 205 Italian speaking students analysed in the study, 47 percent looked up **lame** for *lame duck*, 74 percent choose the headword **split** as their first point of search for *to split hairs* and 67 percent searched under **to do** to locate *to do without*. This suggests that there may be a tendency among Italian speaking dictionary users to look up MWEs in dictionaries under their first major component, but the inclinations of users is not always integrated into the lemmatisation strategies for MWEs in bilingual Italian-English dictionaries.

Lemmatisation Maxim – Collins Sansoni Italian Dictionary (2003)/Il Sansoni Inglese (2006).

The list of phrases and idioms for each word is preceded by the symbol □. To help find individual phrases given under a headword, the phrases have been put in alphabetical order according to the phrase's first key word or words, which have been highlighted in a different colour.

The phrases, idiomatic expressions, sayings and proverbs that make up the core of the phraseology section are listed under the first key word (or words) contained in the expression (be they verb, noun or adjective). Therefore, for example, the proverb *he who pays the piper calls the tune* is found under the verb (to) **pay**, and the phrase as *hard as iron* is listed under the adjective **hard**. Likewise, the Italian proverb *le bugie hanno le gambe corte* is given under the headword **bugia** and the phrase *i cavalieri della Tavola Rotonda* under **cavaliere**.

In the phraseology section of certain verbs, not all idiomatic expressions based on the verb in question have been given because of the quantity. This is the case for

certain extremely common verbs (*be*, *have*, *go*, *come*, *do*, *get*, *make*, *take*, *let*, *give*, *keep*, *put*, *can*, *must*, *will* in the English section and *essere*, *avere*, *fare*, *andare*, *venire*, *prendere*, *lasciare*, *dare*, *tenere*, *mettere*, *stare*, *potere*, *dovere*, *volere* in the Italian section). As a result, the phrase, to get one's cards is given in the phrases under the headword **card**, and *prendere qcu. in castagna* is given under **castagna**.

<div align="right">(Source: Collins Sansoni Italian Dictionary, 2003:xiii)</div>

Lemmatisation Maxim – Oxford Paravia Italian Dictionary (2001)
Where there are sections containing idiomatic expressions under the entry they are marked with the special symbol ♦. These also include proverbs, preceded by the label PROV.; they are translated, wherever possible, with an equivalent proverb (even if formally different); otherwise, they are translated literally or explained (with the symbol =). Since more is better than less to a user of a bilingual dictionary, translations of idiomatic expressions can be found under more than one of its components in order to make them easier to find.

<div align="right">(Source: Oxford Paravia Italian Dictionary, 2001)</div>

In the context of this paper, the Italian-English dictionaries contain quite an extensive coverage of idioms, but the organisation of these phrases is quite unsystematic and varies significantly across the different dictionaries. On a fundamental level, the absence of a definitive lemmatisation maxim for idioms in three of the six dictionaries creates uncertainty as to their location in the overall structure. The three dictionaries that include idiom listing policy differ in some respects; firstly, the CSID (2003) and ISI (2006) provide information in great detail through a clear statement of listing under the first component, except in the case of common verbs. Secondly, the lemmatisation maxim in the OXID (2001) is more ambiguous with the preface stating that idioms are found under more than one of their components. Although no one dictionary analysed has a complete coverage, the absence of guide to phraseology in some dictionaries is central to the problems associated with listing idioms. In addition, the variety of different lemmatisation strategies for idioms results in some dictionaries offering a more comprehensive coverage than others.

2 The Lemmatisation of Idiomatic Expressions: Evidence from Bilingual Italian-English Dictionaries

	IL RAGAZZINI (2006)	HOEPLI (2003)	COLLINS SANSONI (2003)	OXFORD PARAVIA (2001)	SANSONI INGLESE (2006)	HAZON GARZANTI (2006)
To beat about the bush	V	N	V	V, N[CIT]	V	V
To bite the dust	V, N	V	V	N	V	V
To call the shots	V, N	N	V	N	V	N
To come a cropper	N	N	N	N	N	N
To fly off	V, N	N	V	N	V	V, N

the handle					
To kick the bucket	V, N	N	V	N	V	N
To pass the buck	V, N	N	V	N	V	N
To play the gooseberry	N	N	V, N	N	V, N	N
To pull someone's leg	V, N	N	V	N	V	V, N
To run amok	ADV	ADV	ADV	ADV	ADV	ADV
To smell a rat	V, N	V	V	N	V	V, N
To spill the beans	V, N	N	V	V, N	V	V, N
To split hairs	V, N	N	V	N	V	N
To sweep the board	V, N	N	V	N	V	V, N
To take the plunge	N	N	N	N	N	N

Figure 1 The Lemmatisation of Pure Idioms in Bilingual Italian-English Dictionaries

A pure idiom, as defined by Fernando and Flavell (1981:48), is a 'non-literal set expression whose meaning is not a compositional function of its syntactic constituents but which always has a homonymous literal counterpart.' Fernando (1996:35-36) gives a more working definition of it as 'a type of non-literal, multiword expression.' This category displays all the classic characteristics of idioms; semantic opacity, limited syntactic flexibility and frozen lexical constituents, which places it at the top of the scale of idiomaticity. Given that all pure idioms have a non-compositional meaning, there is an equal state of lexical and semantic importance for each constituent. This may result in pure idioms being a particularly difficult category to lemmatise, particularly for dictionaries that use the major element principle as a basis for choosing a suitable point of entry. In contrast, pure idioms have a particularly advantageous feature of being lexically frozen; therefore lexicographers do not have to legislate for verb or noun alternatives in the expression.

The analysis of 15 pure idioms reveals that dictionaries use a number of different lemmatisation strategies varying from a listing under both components (verb and noun) in the expression to a specific point of entry (either verb or noun). The ZIR (2006), for the most part, is consistent in its listings with 66 percent of the analysed idioms found under both components. The remaining 33 percent follow various strategies with three inserted under the noun component (*to come a cropper*, *to play the gooseberry and to take the plunge*), one under the verb element (*to beat about the bush*) and one under the adverb (*to run amok*). Similarly, 73 percent of pure idioms in the CSID (2003) and ISI (2006) have a verb listing, which is in line with the dictionary's lemmatisation policy of entering under the first component, except for high frequency verb entries. Both dictionaries largely

adhere to their maxim with 86 percent of the chosen expressions listed under the correct component. In the case of two idioms, there is a deviation from the stated listing with a V, N for *to play the gooseberry* and an ADV listing for *to run amok*, both of which should be inserted under their verbs.

The OXID (2001) and the HGDI (2003) generally tend to list pure idioms under their noun component with 80 percent of expressions in both dictionaries listed in this way. However, they do not always lemmatise idioms at the same point, for example, the OXID (2001) inserts *to bite the dust* under **dust**, but the HGDI (2003) lists it under **to bite**. Similarly, the HGDI (2003) enters *to spill the beans* under **bean**, whereas the OXID (2001) includes it under both **to spill** and **bean**. The most inconsistent listing strategy is found in the HGI (2006), which gives 33 percent of the selected expressions a double listing and 46 percent a noun entry. The absence of a clear strategy in the HGI (2006) has two particular implications for pure idioms and phrases in general; firstly, dictionary users may not be able to predict a possible point of entry for an idiom, thus complicating the look-up process. Secondly, the imbalanced coverage results in some pure idioms having a greater coverage than others, despite them being semantically and syntactically equal. A trend that emerges from the analysis of pure idioms is that all dictionaries opt for the same point of entry for three expressions; *to come a cropper* (noun listing), *to run amok* (adverb listing) and *to take the plunge* (noun listing).

	IL RAGAZZINI (2006)	HOEPLI (2003)	COLLINS SANSONI (2003)	OXFORD PARAVIA (2001)	SANSONI INGLESE (2006)	HAZON GARZANTI (2006)
To beg the <u>question</u>	V, N$^{CR \rightarrow V}$	N	V	V	V	N
To foot the <u>bill</u>	V,N	V	V	V	V	V, N
<u>To know</u> the ropes	V$^{CR \rightarrow N}$, N	N	N	N	N	V, N
<u>To leave</u> someone in the lurch	V,N	N	N	N	N	N
To ring the <u>changes</u>	V,N	V	V	N	V	V,N
To strike <u>lucky</u>	V	V	V	ADJ	V	NOT LISTED
<u>To talk</u> shop	V, N	N	V	N	V	V, N
To <u>test</u> the waters	NOT LISTED	V	V	V	V	N
<u>To upset</u> the applecart	V, N	N	N	N	N	N
<u>To go</u> to earth / ground	V, N1	N1, N2	N2	N1, N2	N2	N1, N2
<u>To miss</u> the	V, N1, N2,	N1, N2	V	V, N1	V	V, N1, N2

boat / bus						
To promise earth / moon	V, N2	V	V	V	V	V, N1, N2
To bend / stretch the rules	V1, V2, N	V2^{CIT}, N	V1	V1, N	V1	V1, N
To fill / fit the bill	V1$^{CR \to V2}$, V2, N	V2, N	V1,V2	V2, N	V1, V2	N
To raise / up the ante	N	N	N	N	N	N

Figure 2 The Lemmatisation of Semi Idioms in Bilingual Italian-English Dictionaries

Fernando (1996:36) defines a semi idiom as having 'one or more literal constituents and at least one with a non-literal sub sense.' In terms of semantics, semi idioms are less complex than pure idioms as their meaning is partially transparent, for example, *to promise the moon* interferes that something is being promised. The availability of a literal component presents a more obvious point of location as dictionary users can relate to the original literal meaning, even when it is used in an idiomatic context. Findings from the analysis, however, show that dictionaries tend not to use the literal element as an exclusive point of entry for these expressions.

Similar to its coverage of pure idioms, the ZIR (2006) lists 66 percent of the selected semi idioms under at least two components. This includes five invariable and five variable idioms. Variable idioms are more problematic to lemmatise due to the availability of multiple lexical alternatives. The findings show that the ZIR (2006) does not deal with them consistently, for example, all six variable idioms have a different listing ranging from complete in some cases, such as *to miss the boat/bus* (V, N1, N2) to a single listing for *to raise/up the ante* (N). The remaining 33 percent of semi idioms with single entries also display inconsistencies with each recorded differently; *to beg the question* (V, N$^{CR \to V}$), *to know the ropes* (V$^{CR \to N}$, N), *to strike lucky* (V), *to raise/up the ante* (N) and *to test the waters* which is not recorded at all. The analysis suggests that the ZIR (2006) does not use the literal element as a guiding device for lemmatising semi idioms as none of the selected 15 idioms are solely listed under this point.

In contrast to pure idioms, the HGI (2006) uses two distinct strategies to record invariable semi idioms with four listed under their verb component and five recorded under their noun element. Conversely, the listing patterns are more consistent with two idioms (*to go to earth/ground* and *to miss the boat/bus*) having N1, N2 listings, two (*to bend/stretch the rules* and *to fill/fit the bill*) with V2, N entries and *to promise the earth/moon* and *to raise/up the ante* having V and N listings respectively. Findings from the HGDI (2003) show that three idioms (*to beg the question*, *to test the waters* and *to promise the earth/moon*) are exclusively lemmatised under the literal element.

Both the CSID (2003) and ISI (2006) record semi idioms in a very consistent way. Similar to that of pure idioms, the preferred point of entry for the majority of semi idioms is also under the verb component. This is used for nine of the 15 selected idioms,

including one variable idiom, *to bend/stretch the rules*, which has a V1 listing. The next most popular lemmatisation method is a noun only listing, which occurs with five semi idioms. This also includes one variable expression, *to go to earth/ground*, which has an N2 listing. In total 11 of the 15 semi idioms are recorded in line with the dictionary's listing policy giving 73 percent accuracy in idiom look-ups. This rigid lemmatisation policy, however, is not suitable for every type of idiom. A particular limitation is evident with variable idioms, which may require more than one listing in order to indicate the variability and the semantic equality of both variants to the dictionary user. In the context of this selection of variable semi idioms, 83 percent have a listing under one component only. Both dictionaries list five idioms under the literal component, which is the highest number of all the dictionaries surveyed.

The tendency of the OXID (2001) to lemmatise under the second main component also arises in the listing of semi idioms with the majority of invariable semi idioms (66 percent) entered at a point other than the verb. Variable semi idioms do not display the same consistency with different listing patterns for each phrase. The greatest example of this inconsistency can be seen in the listing of variable noun semi idioms with three markedly different recordings for each expression; *to promise the moon* (V), *to miss the boat/bus* (V, N1) and *to go to earth/ground* (N1, N2). A notable characteristic of variable idioms is that 80 percent have a listing under the noun component, which is consistent with the dictionary's chosen point of entry for both pure idioms and invariable semi idioms. Like other dictionaries, the OXID (2001) does not list a large number of semi idioms under their literal element with four expressions entered exclusively at this point.

The HGI (2006) uses either a V, N or an N listing strategy for invariable semi idioms and does so quite equally with four expressions (*to foot the bill*, *to know the ropes*, *to ring the changes* and *to upset the applecart*) entered under both components and four (*to beg the question*, *to leave someone in the lurch*, *to test the waters* and *to upset the applecart*) listed under the noun component. The decision to use a different strategy and give multiple listings to certain semi idioms cannot be truly explained, particularly given the absence of information relating to the positioning of phrases. A greater consistency, however, is apparent in the lemmatisation of variable idioms with two variable noun phrases (*to miss the boat/bus* and *to promise the earth/moon*) listed under all components. Similarly, two variable verb idioms, *to fill/fit the bill* and *to raise/up the ante,* are both entered exclusively at their noun element. The dictionary records one expression, *to beg the question*, at the literal element only. In overall terms, only one idiom, *to raise/up the ante*, has a consistent point of entry every dictionary listing it only under **ante**.

	IL RAGAZZINI (2006)	HOEPLI (2003)	COLLINS SANSONI (2003)	OXFORD PARAVIA (2001)	SANSONI INGLESE (2006)	HAZON GARZANTI (2006)
To break the ice	N	N	V	N	V	N
To bury the hatchet	V, N	N	V	N	V	V, N
To carry coals to Newcastle	$V^{CR \rightarrow N1}$, N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1

To cut one's teeth	V, N	N	V, N	V, N	V, N	V,N
To dig in one's heels	V, N	V	NOT LISTED	N	NOT LISTED	V
To nip in the bud	V, N	V, N	V	V, N	V	V, N
To rest on one's laurels	V, N	N	N	V, N	N	V
To see red	V, N	N	N	N	N	V, N
To skate on thin ice	V,N	V	V,N	V,N	V,N	V,N
To burn one's boats / bridges	V, N1, N2	V	V	V	V	V, N1, N2
To hit the hay / sack	V, N1, N2	V, N1	V	N1, N2	V	V, N1, N2
To hit the ceiling / roof	V, N1, N2	V	V	V, N1, N2	V	V, N1
To drop / lower one's guard	V1, V2, N	N	N	V2, N	N	V2, N
To foam / froth at the mouth	V1,V2	V1,V2	V1,V2	V1,V2	V1,V2	V1, V2CIT
To sugar / sweeten the pill	V1, N	V1, N	V1	V1, N	V1	V1, N

Figure 3 The Lemmatisation of Figurative Idioms in Bilingual Italian-English Dictionaries

Figurative idioms have a global opaque meaning, but can also be interpreted literally. They describe events, situations or actions that may actually occur, but are normally only referred to in a figurative sense, for example, *to beat one's breast*, *to carry coals to Newcastle* and *to skate on thin ice*. The relationship between both their literal and figurative senses is closer than that of pure idioms, which in some cases facilitates a greater understanding of the figurative sense of the expression. For example, the meaning of *to skate on thin ice* is more deducible and transparent than that of a pure idiom like *to blow the gaff* or *to kick the bucket*. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* (1994), the literal meanings of these expressions do not survive alongside their figurative ones in normal everyday language and may be considered unrelated by some certain speakers. Given that figurative idioms carry a unitary meaning that is more accessible than that of pure idioms and do not contain a component that keeps its literal meaning, their position on the scale of idiomaticity is between pure idioms and semi idioms. In addition, certain figurative expressions allow minimal variation, such as *to burn one's boats/bridges*, which weakens their lexical integrity and distances them from pure idioms which do not permit any lexical replacements.

The ZIR (2006) affords a wider coverage to fixed figurative idioms with 77 percent having an entry under both components in the expression. This compares to 55 percent of invariable semi idioms and 66 percent of pure idioms. In comparison to semi idioms, the dictionary is more consistent with certain variable figurative idioms. For example, variable noun idioms have a listing under every component, whereas each of the three variable noun semi idioms is recorded differently. The dictionary fails to extend this consistency to variable verbs with all three listed differently; *to drop/lower one's guard* (V1, V2, N), *to foam/froth at the mouth* (V1, V2) and *to sugar/sweeten the pill* (V1, N).

Fixed figurative idioms benefit from a more consistent point of entry in the HGDI (2003) with 66 percent entered under their noun component, which contrasts with the two listings strategies used for invariable semi idioms. Conversely, it is not as consistent in the recording of variable figurative idioms with five different listing patterns used for six expressions. There is, however, some consistency in the category of variable noun idioms with two, *to burn one's boats/bridges* and *to hit the ceiling/roof*, listed under all parts. In contrast, all three variable verb idioms are recorded differently, ranging from a listing under both variants (*to foam/froth at the mouth*) to a listing under the invariable element (*to drop/lower one's guard*).

The CSID (2003) and ISI (2006) maintain a relative consistency with the other two categories by listing the majority of figurative idioms (46 percent) exclusively under their verb component. This is somewhat lower when compared to other categories; pure idioms (73 percent) and semi idioms (60 percent). Generally, figurative idioms appear to be a less predictable category in terms of point of entry with six of the 15 phrases deviating from the lemmatisation maxim of the dictionary. Variable noun idioms are the most consistent category with each recorded under their verb component. The point of entry for variable verbs is less predictable with quite diverse listings for each phrase; an N listing for *to drop/lower one's guard*, a V1,V2 listing for *to foam/froth at the mouth* and a V1 listing for *to sugar/sweeten the pill*.
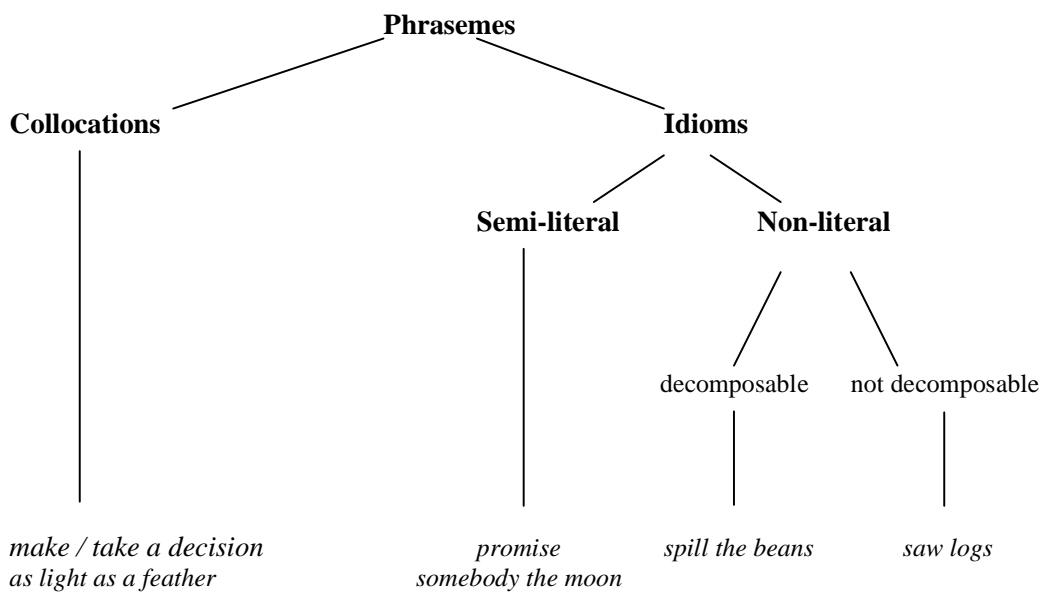
In comparison to its treatment of pure and semi idioms, there is a less defined lemmatisation strategy for figurative idioms in the OXID (2001). The analyses of the two earlier categories show a preference for a noun listing, particularly in the case of pure idioms and invariable semi idioms. The dictionary utilises two different strategies on an almost equal scale for invariable figurative idioms with four expressions having a V, N listing compared to five that are found exclusively under a noun component. The group of expressions with V, N listings is the most obvious case of where the dictionary applies its strategy of entering '*translations of idiomatic expressions...under more than one of its components to make them easier to find*' as only two pure idioms and no invariable semi idioms have entries under two elements. Its recording of variable figurative idioms highlights the lack of systematicity and consistency in this category with all expressions listed differently. This varies from a listing under each constituent for *to burn one's boats/bridges* to a verb listing for *to hit the ceiling/roof*.

Findings from the analysis of figurative idioms in the HGI (2006) once again highlight the failure of the dictionary to adopt a particular lemmatisation strategy. Like the two

previous categories, the dictionary uses a dual listing strategy for invariable expressions with five listed under both verb and noun and four having a single listing under either a verb or noun element. Its coverage of variable figurative idioms is somewhat less consistent than that of semi idioms with only two expressions in the same category (*to burn one's boats/bridges* and *to hit the hay/sack*) with identical V, N1, N2 recordings. Like other dictionaries, the HGI (2006) does not systematise its point of entry for variable expressions, which results in many solutions being used for the same problem. In overall terms, there are two idioms, *to carry coals to Newcastle* and *to foam/froth at the mouth*, which have the same entry point across all six dictionaries. The former can be found under **coal** and the latter is entered under both variable verbs, **to foam** and **to froth**, in each dictionary.

3 The Lemmatisation of Idiomatic Expressions: A Semantic-based approach
Figure 4 A Classification of Fixed Expressions

Phrasemes

Collocations   **Idioms**

Semi-literal   **Non-literal**

decomposable   not decomposable

make / take a decision   *promise*   *spill the beans*   *saw logs*
as light as a feather   *somebody the moon*

(Source: Harras and Proost, 2002:280)

Hartmann and James (1998:83) refer to lemmatisation as 'a problem awaiting a comprehensive solution (attempted by computational approaches) in connection with wider tasks such as how to choose a suitable headword from the constituents of a fixed expression….' In light of this suggestion a lemmatisation strategy proposed by Harras and Proost (2002) that reflects the lexical (and semantic) status of idioms could enable a more systematic lemmatisation based on their semantic characteristics. The proposed strategy by Harras and Proost (2002) could rectify this problem in certain ways. Firstly, pure idioms should be inserted separately under the headword of the first main component, either noun or verb of the expression. The listing as a separate entry codifies the unrelated semantic senses between the headword as a stand alone lexical item and its idiomatic sense. Secondly, semi-idioms should be entered under the component that preserves its literal meaning, for example, listing *to promise the moon* under the

headword **promise**. Cross-references may be included at other components to guide the user to the point of entry for the expressions.

The conceptual lemmatisation design proposed by Harras and Proost (2002) identifies figurative idioms as non-literal, but highlights some as having a decomposable meaning. This draws on previous studies of idiom semantics (cf: Nunberg *at al*. 1994; Jackendoff 1997 and Horn 2002), which suggest that some non-literal idioms may be more semantically compositional than others. Jackendoff (1997:168) refers to these types of idioms as 'having a sort of metaphorical semantic composition.' Horn (2002:249) elaborates on this theory by stating that idioms with such qualities have a 'thematic composition' that results in the thematic structure of the verb in both its literal and figurative sense being identical. Jackendoff (1997) identifies some expressions in which the meaning of the lexical components, normally the verb, in their abstract, figurative senses bear strong relation to their literal meaning. He identifies the four expressions listed as having a metaphorical semantic composition, their 'extended meanings' are included in square brackets.

To bury the hatchet   *To break the ice*
[to reconcile] [a disagreement]   [to break down] [a barrier]

To draw the line   *To let the cat out of the bag*
[to make/enforce] [a boundary]   [to reveal / a secret]

From the perspective of lemmatisation, analysing figurative idioms through a metaphorical semantic composition may have some limitations. Firstly, not every figurative idiom has a decomposable meaning; therefore this theory cannot be applied universally within this category. Secondly, while the theory has certain validity, it is somewhat subjective and may not have the necessary substance upon which to build a maxim for the lemmatisation of idioms. Therefore, it is proposed that the following approach would successfully achieve an individual lemmatisation strategy for each idiom category. Firstly, pure idioms, as advocated by Harras and Proost (2002), should be inserted separately, however given that lexical components are all semantically equal a listing under each component may be more suitable as it also avoids the lexicographer having to subjectively judge if one element is more important than another. Secondly, the most appropriate point of entry for semi idioms is under their literal component. In addition, they could be listed in the upper layer of the phraseology section of dictionary entries, which gives them a greater physical proximity to the headword and recognises the semantic link between the main entry and the idiom constituent. Thirdly, figurative idioms could be inserted under their verb component in the lower layer of the phraseology section. This takes into consideration that they are not semantically related to the head *per se*, but recognises that there may be a closer link to the headword than that of pure idioms.

Another problematic issue is that of variable idioms, which dictionaries fail to deal with in a consistent way. There are three possible listing strategies; entering the phrase either under all components, under all variable or at the fixed element in the expression. Given that users may not be aware of all variations, a listing under the fixed element may be more suitable for

two reasons. Firstly, this method gives a definite point of entry, which makes it easier for the dictionary user to find and the lexicographer to list the expression. Secondly, it would minimise the number of listings as only one would be required for every variable expression. Some difficulties may arise in the recording of semi idioms as the literal element may not always be the fixed element in some expressions. Therefore, cross-references could be inserted under the literal element(s) to guide users to the fixed point.

4 Conclusion

The combination of theory and findings from the analysis reveal the complexity of lemmatising idioms. Modern-day dictionaries include an extensive range of idioms but use a number of different strategies to record, which leads to some inconsistencies. This results in idioms in the same semantic and syntactic category being recorded differently. An alternative approach would be to use semantics as a definitive factor in selecting the most appropriate entry point. The fact that idioms are not a homogenous semantic group provides a clear delineation between each category. This would allow lexicographers to develop and implement a lemmatisation framework for idioms, which would reduce, if not entirely remove, the inconsistencies that affect their representation in modern-day bilingual dictionaries.

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LEGEND FOR TABLES

(CIT)	-	CITATION OF PHRASE
(CR)	-	CROSS REFERENCE TO ENTRY OF ANOTHER ELEMENT OF EXPRESSION
N	-	LEMMATISED UNDER NOUN
N1	-	RECORDED UNDER FIRST NOUN IN THE EXPRESSION
N2	-	RECORDED UNDER SECOND NOUN IN THE EXPRESSION
NOT LISTED	-	NOT LISTED IN DICTIONARY
V	-	LEMMATISED UNDER VERB
V1	-	RECORDED UNDER FIRST VERB IN THE EXPRESSION
V N	-	ENTERED UNDER BOTH VERB AND NOUN IN THE EXPRESSION

UNDERLINED ELEMENT (SEMI IDIOMS) – ELEMENT THAT RETAINS ITS LITERAL MEANING

Multiple Standard Values, One Comparison?

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to describe a seemingly deviant comparative construction, which exists in languages licensing both clausal and bare DP comparative complements (than-XPs). The nonconformity of such constructions lies in the fact that they include recursive Degree Phrases, inasmuch as a DegP is embedded in another DegP, representing distinct standard values in the semantic derivation of the clause.

1. Introduction

In prototypical comparative constructions, the values (degrees) related to two entities are compared and placed on a dimensional scale (Kennedy 1997, Bierwisch 1989). For example, in *John is taller than Bill is*, the degree related to *John's height* is the reference value (d_R), whereas *Bill's height* is the standard value (d_S). The constituent responsible for the standard value is the degree clause (or phrase), typically introduced by *than*. However, in certain languages (e.g., Hungarian, Russian), when *than* is followed by only a DP, this phrasal comparative complement can also manifest itself in the form of a bare DP supplied with a special, inherently assigned and morphologically realized case (*adessive* in Hungarian, *genitive* in Russian; see Wunderlich 2001, Pancheva 2006).

      Nevertheless, there has not yet been proposed any explanation of the following phenomenon, which can be detected in Hungarian and certain Slavic languages as well: in the place of the comparative complement, there may appear a bare DP comparative complement, immediately followed by *than* and another bare DP comparative complement, as exemplified below:

(1)   *Anna magasabb Jánosnál   mint Péternél.*   (*Hungarian*)
        Ann taller   John-ADE than Peter-ADE
        'Ann is taller than both John and Peter, and the difference between Ann's height and
        John's height is greater than the difference between Ann's height and Peter's height.'

In other words, three degrees related to the comparison appear in the clause, two of which seem to be embedded in the place of the constituent responsible for the standard value. As the English translation of (1) shows, it may be a challenge for both the syntactic and the semantic analyses of comparatives as of today to derive the structure and meaning of (1) properly. The aim of this paper is to throw light on the problematic data and provide an adequate analysis of comparative constructions with three values involved.

2. Comparatives: the basics

In this paper, I will make use of the syntactic notions put forward by Corver (1990, 1997), Kennedy (1997) and Lechner (1999), with minor modifications.

      It is important to mention that the head of the comparative construction can host the comparative marker *-er* (*-bb* in Hungarian; Corver 1990:34, on the basis of Abney 1987).

Primarily, this degree head (Deg^0) projects a functional DegP projection; also, it determines the most important feature of the DegP: whether it is comparative [+COMP] or absolute [-COMP]. The feature [± COMP] requires external merge (cf. Chomsky 2005:7), thus it does not trigger movement, and it can be satisfied by merging a dimensional predicate – i.e., an AP or an AdvP – into the specifier position of the DegP (Lechner 1999:25).

For a comparative construction to converge, there must be two syntactic constituents overtly available in the functionally extended degree expression (Izvorski 1995, Keenan 1987). One of them is the already mentioned AP/AdvP providing the dimension of comparison, and the other one is the *than*-XP (or degree clause, comparative complement) specifying the standard value of comparison, to which the compared element is compared/related (cf. von Stechow 1984, Kennedy 1997:56). The following example illustrates the syntactic notions described above in practice:

(2)   *John is taller than Peter.*

On the dimension defined by the adjective *taller*, *Peter* provides the standard value of comparison, while *John* (being the entity compared to the one in the *than*-XP) gives the reference value (Kennedy 1997:50ff.). Nevertheless, *John* sits in a position outside the functionally extended degree expression.

However, comparative constructions do not generally consist of a single DegP-layer, as a number of languages use periphrastic comparatives; that is, the formation of comparative adjectives or adverbs is not executed by affixation, as can be seen below:

(3)   *John is more elegant than Peter.*   *(English)*
(4)   *Juan es más elegante que Pedro.*   *(Spanish)*
        John is more elegant than Peter.

Furthermore, preceding the elements *more*/*más*, there may appear another degree expression as well (see Bresnan 1973):

(5)   *John is much more elegant than Peter.*   *(English)*
(6)   *Juan es mucho más elegante que Pedro.*   *(Spanish)*
        John is much   more elegant than Peter.

On the basis of Corver (1997), the degree elements *more* (in English) and *más* (in Spanish) are *quantifier-like degree items*, which only mark the comparative status of APs/AdvPs if necessary; however, the *much*/*mucho*-type elements (as well as *very*, *so*, *too*) can be regarded as *determiner-like degree items* or *measure phrases*, which specify the measure of comparison (i.e the degree to which the reference value is greater than the standard value on the dimensional scale as determined by the AP/AdvP), while in absolute constructions (which naturally lack standard values; e.g., *John is very tall*) they specify the degree to which the reference value is placed on the dimensional scale. On the basis of these assumptions, it can be purported that quantifier-like degree items project their own functional phrase (QP) on the top of DegP, and measure phrases sit in the specifier position of that QP.

Finally, it should be mentioned that standard values are typically represented by clauses or reduced clauses (Lechner 1999:100), which may be true for English. However, as mentioned above, certain languages (e.g., Russian, Hungarian) may manifest the standard value of comparison by using a bare, inherently case-marked nominal expression (DP); the inherent case can be genitive (Russian) or adessive/ablative (Hungarian). Such phrasal

comparatives cannot be derived via ellipsis, as a deletion process cannot change the properties of case assignment in any clause. These assumptions are supported by the data below:

(7) *Sasha siln'eye, [CP ch'em P'etr].*   *(Russian)*

(8) *Sanyi erősebb, [CP mint Péter].*   *(Hungarian)*
     Alex stronger   than Peter

(9) *Sasha siln'eye [DP Petrá].*   *(Russian)*
     Alex stronger   Peter-GEN

(10) *Sanyi erősebb [DP Péternél / Pétertől].*   *(Hungarian)*
     Alex stronger   Peter-ADE / Peter-ABL
     'Alex is stronger than Peter.'

Also, the comparative conjunction is prohibited, when inherently case-marked DPs are used to represent the standard value:

(11) **Sanyi erősebb [mint Péternél].*
     Alex stronger than Peter-ADE

Therefore, it can be concluded that phrasal and clausal comparatives both exist, and while certain constituents in the *than*-clause can be elided, canonical phrasal comparatives – such as DPs in genitive/adessive – are base-generated as DPs, and not as clauses.

To sum up, on the basis of Lechner (1999:25), the above assumptions can be illustrated by the following tree diagram:

(12)
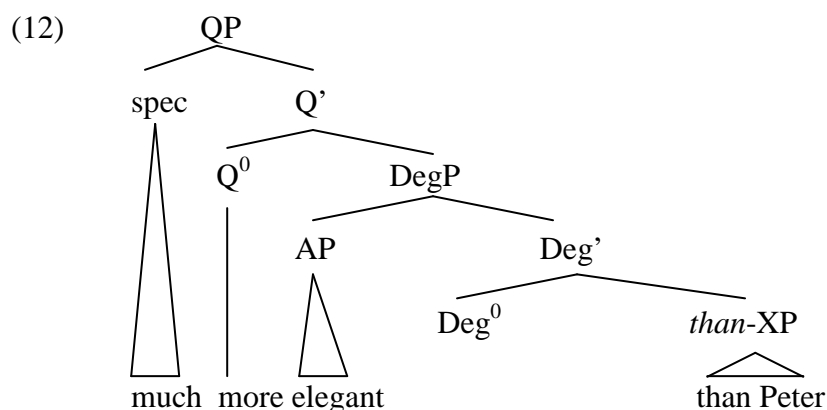
It can be seen that the functional phrase projected by the quantifier-like degree item is placed on the top of the DegP. Moreover, as QPs (or functionally extended APs/AdvPs) are typically adjuncts, or are complements of *be* if in a predicative position, the constituent representing the reference value – which can actually be modified by the QP – is generated outside the QP.

3. The significance of meaning in comparatives with multiple values

If the clause in (1) is examined, it may sound odd because the reference value (*Ann's height*) is compared to a standard value (*John's height*), while there is an extra standard value (*Peter's height*); therefore, there are three values involved in one comparison. The question is how to accommodate all syntactic constituents of (1), if comparatives are assigned the structure presented in (12). The values (the degree to which **A**nn is tall, the degree to which **J**ohn is tall, the degree to which **P**eter is tall) will be referred to as d_A, d_J and d_P respectively.

First of all, it must be investigated how many comparisons can be found in (1); d_A is the reference value, and it is clearly compared to d_J; therefore, $d_A > d_J$ is the primary comparison (marked by QP1 and DegP1 henceforth). Secondly, d_A is also compared to d_P; therefore, $d_A > d_P$ is the secondary comparison (marked by QP2 and DegP2 henceforth). Thirdly, the degree to which Ann is taller than John (d_A-d_J) is compared to the degree to which Ann is taller than Peter (d_A-d_P); therefore, (d_A-d_J)>(d_A-d_P) is the tertiary comparison (marked by QP3 and DegP3 henceforth). These are exemplified below:

(13)   1. $d_A > d_J$ *Ann taller than John*
         2. $d_A > d_P$ *Ann taller than Peter*
         3. (d_A-d_J)>(d_A-d_P)   *the degree to which Ann is taller than John is greater than the degree to which Ann is taller than Peter*

The question is how to accommodate all these comparative QPs in one syntactic structure. To start with, it has been mentioned that measure phrases in comparatives (generated in specQP) specify the degree to which the reference value (d_R) is greater than the standard value (d_S) on the dimensional scale; in other words, they show how great the difference is between the two values of the primary comparison. As a matter of fact, they are typically absolute, as can be seen in (5), hence they have only one value (the reference value), which is the one mentioned above (d_R-d_S), generated outside the measure phrase. As measure phrases are clearly degree expressions, they are considered full QPs generated in specQP.

However, being full-fledged degree expressions (QPs), there is nothing that could prevent measure phrases from being comparative, as can be seen below:

(14)   *[$_{QP}$[$_{specQP}$ <u>Nagyon</u>] fontos] az emberiség számára az áram.*   (*Hungarian*)
                very   important the mankind for   the electricity
      'Electricity is very important for mankind.'
(15)   *[[<u>Sokkal inkább mint valaha</u>] fontos] az emberiség számára az áram.*   (*Hungarian*)
           much rather than ever   important the mankind for   the electricity
      'Electricity is more important for mankind than ever.'

The constituents underlined are measure phrases: *nagyon* (*very*) is absolute, whereas *sokkal inkább mint valaha* (*much more than ever*) is comparative; still, the adjective *fontos* (*important*) is absolute in both examples. In (15), the reference value of the comparative measure phrase is the degree to which electricity is important now, and its standard value is the highest degree to which electricity has ever been important before.

The recursivity of comparative constructions can be captured in the fact that a comparative measure phrase can be in the specifier of a higher comparative QP. As for the nature of the standard value of measure phrases, just like in the case of any other d_R/d_S pairs, it is such that it can be placed on the same scale as the reference value. As the reference value in this case (d_R-d_S) is computed as the difference of two degrees, so is the standard value. That is, the standard value of a comparative measure phrase is also the difference of two degrees, which can be manifested only if yet another comparative construction is embedded in the constituent representing the standard value of the comparative measure phrase.

In order to derive (1), it must be purported that the primary comparison ($d_A > d_J$) is modified by a measure phrase; this measure phrase is comparative as well, and it takes the difference of the values of the primary comparison as its reference value and needs a standard value of the same design; hence the secondary comparison ($d_A > d_P$) is entered into the construction functioning as the standard value of the comparative measure phrase; the

comparative measure phrase ensures the presence of the tertiary comparison ((d_A-d_J)>(d_A-d_P)). The clause constructed in this way can be seen below:

(16)   ?*Anna_i [sokkal inkább mint amennyivel (ő_i) magasabb Péternél] magasabb Jánosnál*.
          Ann   much rather than how-much she taller   Peter-ade taller   John-ade

The meaning of (16) is identical to that of (1); the primary comparison is underlined with one line, the secondary comparison is underlined with two lines, and the tertiary comparison is represented by the constituent in brackets. As for the extra elements in the measure phrase, *sokkal* (*much*) is an optional embedded measure phrase in the specifier position of the comparative measure phrase QP, and *inkább* (*rather*) is an optional adverb in specDegP of the comparative measure phrase. The presence of *sokkal* and *inkább* proves that the measure phrase is indeed a full-fledged QP, containing another (absolute) measure phrase in its specifier and a dimensional predicate (Adv.) in specDegP. It can be realized that there is no overt verb in (16); the reason is that in Hungarian the equivalent of *be* in present tense, indicative mood, 3rd person singular has no phonological representation in neutral contexts.

Still, in order to derive (1) from (16), the *than*-XP *mint amennyivel magasabb Péternél* needs to be extraposed, and some of its constituents need to be deleted. In the following sections, I will examine whether the appearance of *than*-XPs is licit in extraposed positions, and then I will return to the structural derivation of the clause in (1).

4. Subordinated and coordinated comparatives

To start with, it must be mentioned that the syntactic position of the *than*-XP is highly controversial. Although it was put forward in section 2 that it is base-generated in the complement position of Deg^0, this approach can be criticized on several grounds.

First of all, let's go through the evidence in favour the *than*-XP's being base-generated in a subordinate position. One of the most straightforward arguments supporting this approach is that there are selectional restrictions affecting the degree head and the *than*-XP. For example, a [+COMP] degree head selects for a degree clause headed by *than*, whereas a [-COMP] degree head selects for a degree clause headed by *as*, as can be seen below:

(17)   *Cleo ate more apples than/*as/*that Matilda did*.
(18)   *David is less worried than/*as/*that Monica is*.
(19)   *Anastasia is as tall as/*than/*that Daniel is*.
          (Bhatt and Pancheva 2004, exx. 1a,b,d)

Also, there is semantic constituency despite nonadjacency between Deg^0 and the *than*-XP:

(20)   *Joe was eating more_Deg apples than Dan was*.
(21)   [Deg [(than) λd_1 Dan was eating d_1-many apples]] [λd_2 Joe was eating d_2-many apples]
          (on the basis of Wold 1995 and Heim 2000)

Therefore, in the semantic representation, the degree head and the *than*-XP form a constituent excluding the rest of the clause.

Nonetheless, it may also be argued that the *than*-XP is right-adjoined to a phrase in the construction at some level. For example, *than*-XPs can appear clause-finally (hence the nonadjacency of the degree head and the *than*-XP):

(22)   *I met a taller man yesterday than Joe*.

Second, there are restrictions on gapping in the *than*-XP similar to those found in the case of gapping in coordinate conjuncts, as can be seen below:

(23)   *The girls want to eat ice-cream and the boys ___ biscuits.*   (coordination)
           ___ = want to eat
                    *eat
(24)   *More girls want to eat ice-cream than ___ biscuits.*   (comparative)
           ___ = want to eat
                    *eat

According to Lechner (1999:114), "the antecedent and the Gap have to be embedded at the same depth" of the construction (*isomorphism condition*); as a result, if only a single verb were deleted in (34) and (35), it could not be reconstructed from the antecedent clause, as there are different constructions with different verbs in them.

Third, there are narrow and wide readings available in comparatives, which could also be explained by analysing *than*-XP as a coordinate conjunct (cf. Lechner 1999:187):

(25)   Joe wanted to get more money than Bill ___.
           ___ = wanted to get (*wide reading*)
                    got   (*narrow reading*)
(26)   [[$_{IP}$ Joe wanted to get more money] than [$_{IP}$ Bill ~~wanted to get d-much money~~]]
(27)   [John wanted [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ PRO to get more money] than [$_{IP}$ Bill ~~got d-much money~~]]]

In the case of the wide reading, the structure is like an ATB-construction, as in (26): the whole antecedent clause is available to be the source of the reconstruction. On the contrary, in the case of narrow reading (see 27), only the lower IP is available for reconstruction.

As a result, selectional restrictions and the semantic constituency support the subordinate analysis, whereas the clause-final appearance of *than*-XPs, the restrictions on gapping in comparatives and the narrow/wide readings favour the coordination analysis.

In order to account for the contradicting behaviour of the *than*-XP, as well as describe the problematic construction in (1), I claim that there are two designated positions available for *than*-XPs throughout the derivation of comparatives: one of them is the complement of the degree head, while the other one is right-adjoined to the construction at some level (similarly to coordination). This assumption is supported by empirical data, as can be seen below:

(28)   *I have [more conservative] views on this topic [than Peter has].*   right-adjoined
(29)   *I have [more than five] participants to work on the project.*   complement of Deg

In (28), the *than*-XP is at the right edge of the construction, whereas it can be found in the subordinate comparative complement position in (29).

In addition, Hungarian also seems to provide solid evidence in favour of the existence of both positions. First of all, subordinate phrasal *than*-XPs can serve as DegP-internal topics (similarly to DP-internal topics; cf. Simpson 2005), whereas clausal *than*-XPs cannot:

(30)   *Péter [$_{DegP}$ Annánál$_i$ érdekesebb t$_i$] emberek könyveit*   *olvasta. (Hungarian)*
           Peter   Anna-ade more-interesting people books-3sg-poss-acc read-def
           'Peter has read books by people more interesting than Anna.'
           (Kenesei et al. 1998, ex. 154)

(31)   **Péter [$_{DegP}$ [mint Anna]$_i$ érdekesebb t$_i$] emberek könyveit*   *olvasta.   (Hungarian)*

Peter   than Anna more-interesting people books-3sg-poss-acc read-def

The reason for this is that degree expressions function as adjuncts, and as such they function as islands. Still, in (30) the phrasal comparative *Annánál* precedes the AP and Deg after local movement. This operation is reserved for phrasal comparatives, as their clausal counterparts are outside the DegP, and therefore they cannot move into the comparative degree expression.

Secondly, there is inherent case assignment in phrasal comparatives, whereas structural case assignment takes place in clausal comparatives (cf. Wunderlich 2001):

(32)   *Péter magasabb Annánál.*   *(Hungarian)*
        Peter taller   Anna-ADE
        'Peter is taller than Mary.'
(33)   *Péter magasabb mint (amennyire) Anna   (magas).*   *(Hungarian)*
        Peter taller   than how-much   Anna-NOM tall.
        'Peter is taller than (%what) Anna is.'

It must be mentioned here that inherent case assignment operates within local or restricted areas, and the element receiving inherent case is expected to receive a theta-role as well (hence the name *semantic case*; cf. Chomsky 1986:194). As the subordinate phrasal comparative complement position can host the argument of the degree head, it seems to be a viable step to purport that the DP in adessive case in (32) receives the standard theta-role from Deg^0 besides the inherent (adessive) case. On the contrary, inside clausal *than*-XPs, only structural case (nominative) is assigned, as that DP sits in the specifier position of the IP embedded in the *than*-XP, and therefore it is very far from the inherent case assigner Deg^0.

Thirdly, Condition C of the Binding Theory can be violated by phrasal comparatives, whereas it is not violated by clausal comparatives in certain cases:

(34)   **János azt akarta, hogy $ő_i$ gyorsabban fusson   Péter$_i$ öccsénél.*   *(Hungarian)*
         John it   wanted that   he faster   runs-subjunct Peter brother-3sg-poss-ade
(35)   *János azt akarta, hogy $ő_i$ gyorsabban fusson,   mint Péter$_i$ öccse.* *(Hungarian)*
        John it   wanted that   he faster   runs-subjunct than Peter brother-3sg-poss-nom
        'John wanted Peter to run faster than Peter's brother.'

In (34), *Péter öccsénél* is a DP in adessive case, and *Péter* is the possessor embedded in this DP. However, as this DP sits in a subordinate position, *Péter* is bound by its main clause counterpart, and thus the derivation crashes. However, if *Péter* is higher up in the coordinated clause, as in (35), no main clause element can bind it, and therefore the derivation converges.

Fourthly, phrasal *than*-XPs can move to the preverbal focus position, whereas clausal *than*-XPs cannot:

(36)   *Péter ANNÁNÁL   magasabb, (és nem Máriánál).*   *(Hungarian)*
        Peter Anna-ADE-FOC taller   and not Maria-ADE.
        'It is Anna, who Peter is taller than, and not Maria.'
(37)   **Péter [MINT ANNA]   magasabb.*   *(Hungarian)*
         Peter [than Anna]-FOC taller

The reason for this is that the phrasal comparative is generated in a subordinated position, and it moves up to the focus position, which is reserved for exhaustive identification; there is only one such position in each clause, and nothing can be base-generated there; in order to fill that position, an element has to be moved there (see É. Kiss (2002:77-104) for further discussion).

Nevertheless, a coordinated *than*-XP cannot move there, as it could not c-command its trace from within the FocP in the first coordinate conjunct:

(38)   [IP Péter [FocP ANNÁNÁL_i [VP [QP magasabb t_i]]]].
(39)   * [[CP [IP Péter [FocP [MINT ANNA]_i [VP [QP magasabb]]]]] [CP t_i]].

Finally, phrasal and clausal *than*-XP positions are not even in complementary distribution, as there are sentences in which both of them are filled simultaneously:

(40)   *Anna sokkal magasabb [Jánosnál], [mint amennyivel magasabb Péternél].*
          Ann much taller   John-ADE   than how-much taller   Peter-ADE
          'Ann is taller than both John and Peter, and the difference between Ann's height and John's height is greater than the difference between Ann's height and Peter's height.'

As can be seen, both *than*-XPs positions are filled, and the sentence is grammatical. This puzzle can be solved only if the hypothesized rigidity of the nature of comparative complements – as argued for by Lechner (1999) – is loosened, so that two positions would become available.

5.   The solution

The only question to be answered is how (1) is generated. If (16) – repeated here as (41) – is examined, it can be seen that in order to derive (1), the *than*-XP embedded in the comparative measure phrase needs to be extraposed, and some of its constituents should be elided:

(41)   ?*Anna_i [sokkal inkább mint amennyivel (ő_i) magasabb Péternél] magasabb Jánosnál*.
          Ann   much rather than how-much she taller   Peter-ade taller   John-ade

The clause in (41) is slightly marked; nonetheless, once the clausal *than*-XP is moved to the right edge, it becomes fully acceptable. The structural representation of the clause following the extraposition and deletion processes can be seen below:

(42)

The relevant structure building processes are: (i) the primary comparison is created, including the reference value (*Anna*) by building QP1-DegP1 and the core clausal structure on the left; (ii) the secondary comparison is created by building QP2-DegP2 and later merged into the complement position of Deg3; (iii) the tertiary comparison is created by building QP3-DegP3 and merging them into the specifier position of QP1; (iv) the clausal *than*-XP in QP3 is extraposed; (v) unnecessary elements are deleted in the extraposed constituent while obeying the isomorphism condition.

As a matter of fact, the recursive nature of comparative constructions can clearly be seen in the tree diagram above: it must be pointed out that it is the comparative phrasal constituents (QP/DegP) that appear recursively in the construction, as every comparison is equipped with two values each.

In addition, I admit that extraposition might be problematic, inasmuch as it is an instance of rightward movement; still, as the length of the present article restrains this theory to be developed in that direction, I suggest the Bhatt & Pancheva (2004) be consulted for technical solutions and further discussion concerning the extraposition of *than*-XPs, as they also explain how *than*-XPs can retain their argument-like status after being merged into the clausal coordinate position. As for deletion, the isomorphism condition is obeyed; that is, every deleted constituent has an appropriate corresponding antecedent of the same type and at the same depth in the first conjoint, hence deletion is licit in all cases. Furthermore, both *sokkal* (the measure phrase in specQP3) and *inkább* (the adverb in DegP3) are optional; therefore, the clause in (1) has the syntactic structure presented in (42).

6. Conclusion

To sum up, it can be concluded that there are two distinct positions available for *than*-XPs; furthermore, it is a tendency that canonical phrasal comparative complements (i.e., DPs with inherently assigned case) sit in the complement position of the degree head, whereas coordinated clausal *than*-XPs are adjoined to the construction at some higher level. As a matter of fact, both positions can be filled at the same time. Furthermore, there can be recursive comparative constructions, one being embedded in another; as a result, if there are multiple values represented in a comparative clause, the idea of two values per comparison can still be maintained.

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English in Singapore: diglossia or continuum?[1]

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Abstract

Several models have been proposed to account for the variation inherent to Singapore English. An early attempt by Platt (1975) takes DeCamp's (1971) post-creole continuum hypothesis and applies it to the Singapore speech community. Standard (Singapore) English becomes the acrolect, colloquial 'Singlish' the basilect, and they, together with the intervening mesolects, form a continuum from which speakers draw for stylistic purposes. The basilect is called a 'creoloid', because a pidgin, so Platt, was not involved in the creation of Singapore English – a view that has been challenged more recently (Ansaldo, 2004).

Another approach is taken by Gupta (1994; 2001), who views the Singapore speech community as diglossic – Standard Singapore English (SSE) is H, and Colloquial Singapore English (CSE, 'Singlish') is L. The two sub-varieties are used in different domains, and while H, promoted by the government, is viewed as a useful socioeconomic asset, L has become a marker of national identity, much more so than the traditional 'mother tongues' of the ethnically diverse population.

This paper attempts to find support for either of these approaches, using partial results from my ongoing research. The data, collected in various situational settings, show that more L features are used as the formality of the interview setting is reduced, thus evidencing focalisation on a binary system, rather than one-way decreolisation. The trend is more noticeable with some variables than with others; but overall, a clear break is observable, which coincides with the presence/absence of the researcher.

1   Introduction

While Singapore English (henceforth SgE) has received a tremendous amount of attention over the past few decades, the question of its sociolinguistic typological status is one that remains unsolved: an early attempt by Platt in 1975 proposed the application of DeCamp's 1971 post-creole continuum to SgE, and concurrently introduced the concept of 'creoloid', of which SgE is, so Platt, a prime example. Other models followed, most notably Gupta's 1994 diglossia approach. All other models can be viewed as based on either of these two approaches.

This paper presents findings from ongoing research, and argues for an open-minded approach to the two opposing models. Rather than being mutually exclusive, a combination of the two seems to explain the observed data most convincingly.

1.1   Background

Some background may be needed to put SgE into context. Singapore is a small (650 km^2) island-state, located about one degree north of the equator, at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. With a population of just under 4 millions, it is among the world's most densely populated countries.

Singapore was founded in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles of the East India Company. Its natural deep-sea harbour made the island a prime choice for the establishment of a badly-needed port in the region. Thanks to its location on a major shipping route, it soon became a vital centre of the Empire in South-East Asia; the port is a major pillar of the economy to this day.

In terms of population structure, when the British landed in 1819, there were not more than a few hundred Malay fishermen on the island, as well as a handful of Chinese. As the city prospered, however, masses of immigrants arrived from the region (Malaya and Indonesia) as well as southern China. The British also brought a good number of South Asian soldiers, civil servants, and teachers, over from their Indian colonies. This explains the complex ethnic make-up of the population, a point of importance to which I shall come back. Since independence, which was thrust on Singapore in 1965, this tiny nation has seen remarkable economic growth and is now second richest territory in East and Southeast Asia after Hong Kong[2].

1.2   Population

The ethnic composition of the population, according to the 2000 census, is shown in Figure 1 below.

Three quarters of the population are Chinese, some 15% are Malays, and 8% are of South Asian or Indian origin. These are the major groups and are recognised by the government as such: each one of these ethnic groups has one of their languages as an official language – Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians. In this system of official languages, English is ethnically neutral, and serves as the language of government (all legislation is in English only), the sole medium of education, and the default language of the white-collar workplace.
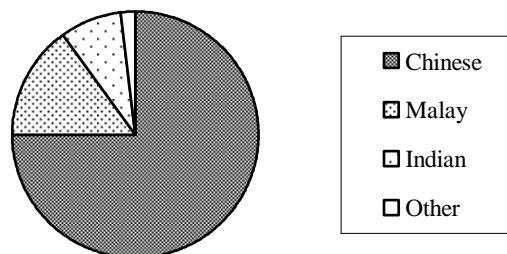
Figure 1: Ethnic composition of Singapore's population (Department of Statistics, 2000b)

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[2] In terms of GDP per capita at purchasing power parity, according to the IMF
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(PPP)_per_capita).

In terms of actual language use, things are clearly not as simple as the one ethnicity-one language paradigm used by government officials. Figure 2 below shows the answers to the question 'language most frequently spoken at home' (2000 census[3]).
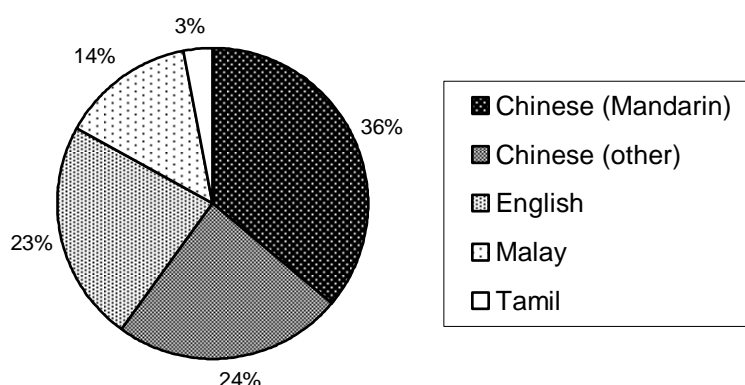
Figure 2: Language most frequently spoken at home (Department of Statistics, 2000a)

Mirroring the ethnic breakdown explained above, Chinese varieties represent the majority of home languages. Mandarin has the largest share. This is a tribute to government language planning: Mandarin is not traditionally the native language of any sizeable Chinese Singaporean group, with most immigrants having come from southern Chinese provinces. The most widely spoken varieties used to be Min Nan (Hokkien, Teochew) and Cantonese, which, nowadays, are in second place after the official variety Mandarin. The Indian community is very diverse, too: Tamil and Malayalam are spoken by a majority, but Panjabi, Hindi, and Urdu are widespread as well. Only the Malay community is relatively uniform; it includes, besides autochthones, also immigrants from Indonesia and the wider Malay-speaking world. English is the main home language for almost a quarter of the population, but this is set to increase, especially since the introduction of English-only education in the late eighties.

2 Singapore English

2.1 Ecology

When talking about English in Singapore, we need to distinguish between Standard Singapore English (SSE), which is often described as Standard English with a Singaporean accent, and Colloquial Singapore English, which is often called 'Singlish' by both speakers and policy-makers – and, indeed, academics (Gupta, 1989; 2006b, inter alia; e.g. Platt, 1975). Singlish, or Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), is a contact variety, with an English lexifier and a substrate consisting of mainly southern varieties of Chinese, Malay, and the so-called Indian languages (which includes both Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages). If the number of speakers is anything to go by, then the Chinese languages are clearly those which left the most lasting impression on CSE.

The variety has many of the features typically found in creoles: copula-deletion, regularised inflections, syntactic plural marking (Ho & Platt, 1993), and a transferred aspect system (Bao,

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[3] The problems associated with the self-reporting of linguistic usage, such as the Census data used here, have been commented on in the literature (Trudgill 1974; Gupta 1994, inter alia). Following Gupta (1994), however, I use them here on the premise that firstly, they are the best figures available, and secondly, if they do not reflect actual usage, at least they reflect either perceived usage or some kind of aspiration. Neither of these warrant an outright rejection of the data.

2005), to name only few. CSE also has a fair amount of lexical borrowing from the substrate, mainly from Hokkien and Malay. There is also an invariant question tag *is it*, and existential constructions formed by invariant *got* (Bao, 2005; Teo, 1995).

2.2 Analysis of variation

2.2.1 Post-creole continuum

The first proposal for a model for SgE came from John T. Platt in 1975, in a paper where he also introduced the concept of the 'creoloid', a contact variety that shares many of the features of a creole but lacks the initial pidgin (which was thought crucial for the definition of a Creole). More importantly, however, he proposed an application of DeCamp's 1971 analysis of Jamaican Creole English to the Singaporean case. On the diagram in Figure 3 below, the scale on the left represents the social continuum of the Singapore speech community, with lower social classes in the lower part, and higher ones further up the scale. On the right-hand side is the SgE speech continuum, which is analogous to the lectal scale found in Jamaica, with the basilect, 'Singlish', at its bottom, and the acrolect SSE, at the top.
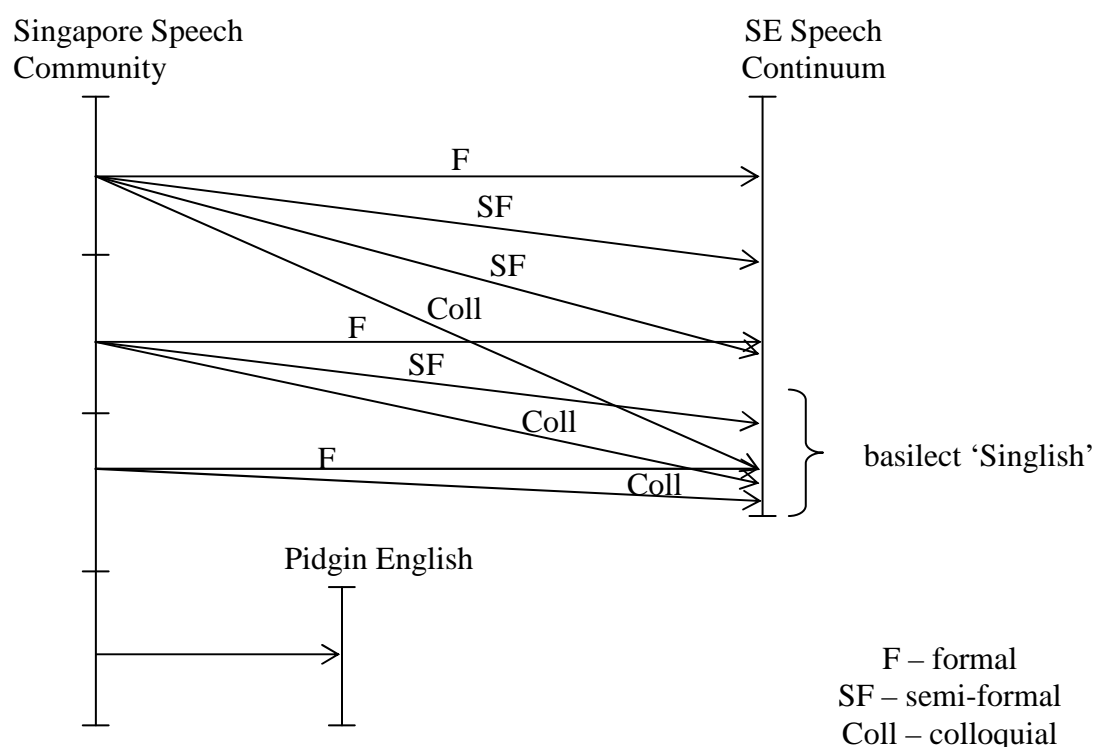
Figure 3: SgE as a post-creole continuum (Platt, 1975: 369)

Figure 3 shows the linguistic repertoires of four speakers of SgE. Each of these commands a variety of lects, and all of them master the basilect to a greater or lesser extent. However, those higher up on the social scale have access to a wider range of sub-varieties, including the acrolect, mesolects, and the basilect. The further down speakers are on the social scale, the narrower the choices of lects.

A central point of this model, and also one of its weaknesses, is that speakers are seen to use their repertoire stylistically, according to the level of formality required by the situational setting. This may seem intuitive at first glance, but raises important questions as to the definition of formality. Platt (1975: 368ff) links this to concepts as diverse as setting, domain, addressee, etc., in which the lect is used: he gives the example of university students conversing in the acrolect to their lecturer, mesolects among themselves, and the basilect to the canteen waitress (1975: 369). This same waitress, however, 'would have only the basilectal variety at her disposal for all uses' (loc. cit.). The fact that speakers approximate the standard more closely in 'formal' situations is in itself not surprising: similar behaviours were observed in a multitude of speech communities (see Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974 for two famous examples). The difference between traditional style-shifting and DeCamp's (1971) post-creole continuum is that in the latter there is, firstly, a diachronic, contact linguistic explanation for the presence of the lectal scale, which is then re-appropriated for stylistic purposes, and secondly, a synchronic association of the basilect and lower mesolects with lower levels of education (and vice-versa).

2.2.2 Diglossia

A different approach is taken by Gupta (1989; 1994; 1998), who regards Singapore as a diglossic speech community, within the original framework of Ferguson's (1959) diglossia. The H variety is SSE, different from Standard British English only in certain aspects of the lexicon, and L is CSE, or 'Singlish'. Her findings are based on work with child speakers of Singlish, so the model is primarily concerned with speakers for whom it is a native language. As in every diglossia, the two varieties H and L are in complementary distribution according to domains of use: here H is taught in school, used in business and government, whereas L is used among peers, in the army, and generally in informal situations. One point where Gupta's brand of diglossia differs from Ferguson's is in the existence of various degrees of code-switching between H and L. This is necessary to explain the different levels of variation observed in everyday use, but does pose a problem if it is based, as Gupta's model is (2006a: 248), on Ferguson's classic definition of complete codes: there is no intra-sentential H-L code-switching in traditional diglossia (except possibly the odd quote or loanword).

These are the two main approaches to variation in Singapore English. Other models proposed can basically be analysed as belonging to either of these two: a continuum of varieties on the one hand (Pakir, 1991; Poedjosoedarmo, 1995), or a diglossic two-way approach on the other (Gupta, 1989, 2006b; Platt, 1977).

3   Current study

3.1   Research question & fieldwork design

My research question, therefore, is: 'Is the variation inherent to Singapore English one that is best analysed as a continuum or as diglossia?'

3.1.1 Informants

In order to answer this question, I use data collected during fieldwork in Singapore. My informants come from three post-secondary institutions (average age 17.5): a vocational training institute, a polytechnic, and a junior college. They differ in terms of entry requirements, with the brightest students going to Junior College, where they get their A-

levels and can apply for university, the middle range going to polytechnic, where they study for a diploma. Those who achieve less well in secondary school usually attend the Institute of Technical Education, a vocational training institution, which is much more practice-oriented. These three options account for almost 90% of all secondary school leavers. I use an equal number of informants from the three ethnic groups Chinese, Malays, and Indians, with 12 informants from each group. Thus the total sample amounts to 36 informants with an equal ethnic and educational distribution.

3.1.2 Interview structure

The interviews were structured as follows: in each of the three schools are three ethnically homogeneous groups of four students, which were recorded on different days, with approximately just over two hours per group. Every participant was first interviewed individually, before moving on to dialogue interviews. Then followed two settings were I was not directly involved, with the last one taking place in a stereotypically relaxed setting, the school canteen. This means that we were gradually moving from a highly formal setting, with one-to-one interaction, to much more informal settings, where I had much less impact on their interaction. In the group recording (stage 3), I was outside the classroom they were in, totally unaware of what they were doing, and during stage 4 (in the canteen), I was outside overhearing distance.

These interviews resulted in some 16.5 hours' recording time, which in turn gave a transcription of 110,426 words (excluding turns by the interviewer). The 72 texts (4 individual interviews, 2 dialogues interviews, 1 group and 1 radio-microphone recording, for 9 groups) were then input into WordSmith Tools 4.0 for word counts, giving us the results presented in the next section.

3.2 Variables under investigation

The variables used herein are grammatical: discourse particles and existential constructions. Discourse particles are one of the stereotypical features of Singapore and have been investigated extensively (Gupta, 1992, 2006a; Ho & Platt, 1993; Wee, 2004). Their origin is disputed, but they fulfil important and various pragmatic roles, such as indicating the obviousness of an assertion, or to signal solidarity. They usually occur clause-finally. In this study, nine different ones are investigated, including the high-profile *lah*. Although they do fulfil different pragmatic functions, they can be considered a single variable for our purpose here. Example (1) shows two of them in action: *mah*, which indicates information as obvious, and *lor*, which conveys a sense of resignation (Wee, 2004).

(1)   Because she wants to sing *mah*. So she want to […] join to sing, so we just groom her *lor*.
        (ii.C.rm)[4]

As far as existential constructions are concerned, CSE uses invariable *got* where SSE uses *there is* in sentences like (2) below. It's also common in locative uses such as (3). Again, in a diglossic framework, this is considered indicative of L.

(2)   There got very famous story […] about the Barang and Randa, something like that.

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[4] ii=polytechnic, C=Chinese, rm=radio-microphone recording.

'There is a very famous story about the Barang and Randa, or something like that.'
(i.I.gr)[5]

(3)   I think got waterfall *what*.
        'I thought there is a waterfall there, isn't there?'
        (iii.C.gr)[6]

4   Results

4.1   Discourse particles

Figure 4 below shows the results obtained for discourse particle usage per 1,000 words. Firstly, it appears that the first two settings have a roughly equal proportion of particles: 9.26‰ and 9.25‰ respectively. The two less formal settings, however, have a much higher rate – 21.95‰ and 23.98‰ respectively. Thus we have a gradual increase in occurrence rates, but also, secondly, a clear break between the two sets of settings. This break is statistically significant.[7]
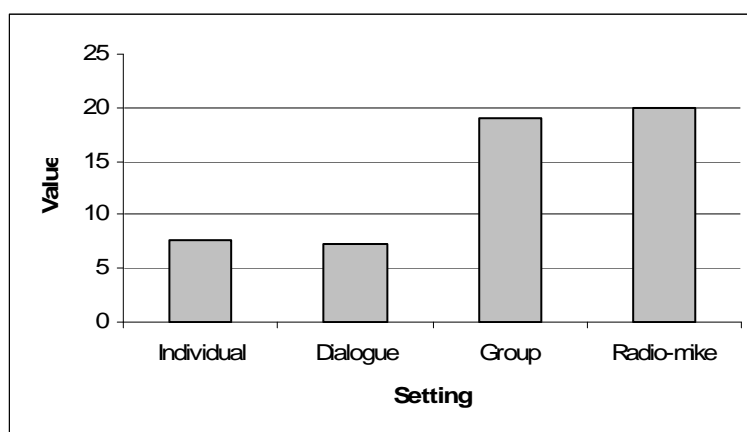
Figure 4: Particles per 1,000 words by situational setting

4.2   Existential/locative constructions

In terms of existential/locative constructions, I'm looking at the occurrence rates of CSE variants per 1,000 words of text. This is shown in Figure 5: again, the two more formal settings score low and relatively equally, whereas in the two less formal settings, many more instances of the diglossic L variant are observed. Here there is very little in terms of a gradual increase, but a very strong indication of a clear break between the two sets of situational settings, which is, again, statistically significant[8].

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[5] i=junior college, I=Indian.
[6] iii=vocational school, gr=group recording.
[7] Z=17.33, confidence level of 0.16%, p<.0001 at 95%.
[8] Z=8.482, confidence level of 0.06%, p<.0001 at 95%.
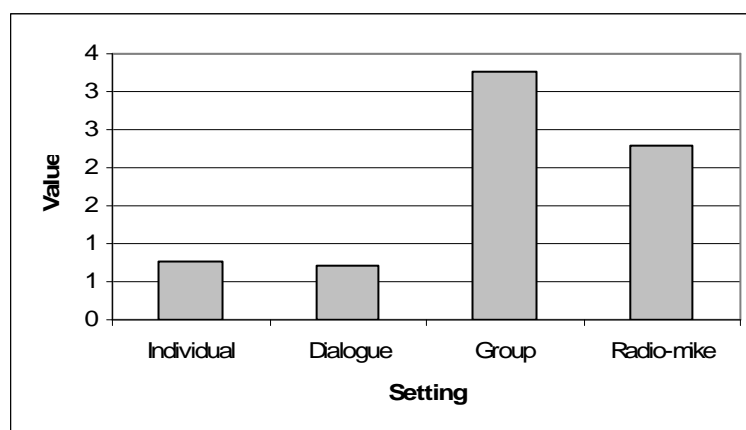
Figure 5: Rates per 1,000 words for (got), according to situational setting

4.3   Discussion

Importantly, both variables follow the same trend. The four situational settings fall into two distinct groups, with a different linguistic behaviour, which is statistically significant. And these two resulting groups also reflect the presence/absence of the researcher, an 'outsider'. All this seems to point to the existence of two codes, which are used in different settings: is this diglossia?

The diglossia proposed for Singapore by Gupta is, as explained above, one that is explicitly based on Ferguson's classic diglossia (1959): two related varieties that are in complementary distribution; L is acquired natively while H learned at school, L is used in everyday conversation while H limited to writing and highly formal situations. Gupta, however, allows for code-switching between H and L, something that is slightly controversial in a traditional definition of diglossia. It does happen to a certain extent, more so in the Arabic world (Freeman, 1996) than elsewhere, but intra-sentential code-switching between H an L is certainly not the norm in German-speaking Switzerland, or in Tamil, for example. Another problem is the social meaning of this variation. Platt's (1975) model clearly shows a difference between the higher classes, who can use acrolectal varieties among themselves, and the lower ones, who are limited to a small slice of the lower lectal scale. This is, again, not in the spirit of Ferguson's definition, where H 'is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation' (1959: 435). Not so in Singapore, where social judgements are possible on the basis of one's English – much in the same way than in other, non-diglossic situations (e.g. Norwich (Trudgill, 1974), New York (Labov, 1966)).

An important point, however, is that the speakers themselves seem to be aware of the existence of two codes: Gupta (2001) shows how this perception is used in online chat-rooms and folk literature, for example, where H and L are used for stylistic effect. Even the government recognises 'Singlish' as the target of their annual 'Speak good English' campaign (see Rubdy 2001). The complex question of how national (or ethnic, etc.) identity is achieved by linguistic means is tackled elsewhere (e.g. Joseph 2004; and particularly Bockhorst-Heng & Wee 2007 for the Singaporean case) and beyond the scope of this paper, but it is generally the case in diglossic communities that L has a strong identity function (Ferguson 1959; Siebenhaar 2006; inter alia), and it is therefore not surprising to find this in Singapore. This public support, awareness, and acceptance of diglossia – albeit by a different name – should not be ignored either.

5   Conclusion

From the results presented here and the above analysis, I conclude that although, as has been shown, L variants occur in all situational settings, the data clearly show the existence of two codes, which correlate with the formality of the setting. Furthermore, the concept of diglossia, being very much an integral part of the speech community's language attitudes, cannot be dismissed easily. With all this in mind, the initial research question can be provisionally answered by diglossia. Future research will have to, firstly, confirm these trends with other variables, and secondly, look into a satisfactory model for the variation observed both across the two codes, and within both H and L. Only this type of approach can adequately reconcile the two opposing approaches of continuum and diglossia.

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Adverbs as evidence for functional structure in appositives

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Abstract

This paper presents an investigation into the functional structure of appositives. Taking Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of adverbs and functional categories as a point of departure, the analysis shows that all but one of Cinque's adverb classes can be found in appositives. The exception concerns speech act adverbs. Because appositives are non-finite, they lack phi features, resulting in an inability to represent discourse roles such as Speaker. Speech act adverbs obligatorily select Speaker as an argument, accounting for their failure to appear in non-finite structures such as appositives.

1 Introduction

Prototypical examples of appositives with nominal antecedents appear at first to be rather limited syntactically, as shown by the examples in (1), where the appositive is underlined and the type is given before the example[1]:

(1)   a. Nominal: John, <u>the village doctor</u>, lives next door.
        b. Adjectival: John, <u>unhappy about the proposal</u>, left the meeting early.
        c. Prepositional: John, <u>in hospital with the flu</u>, was unable to come to the reception.

This characteristic has led researchers working on appositives to focus on the external syntax, in other words how the appositive is linked to the clause containing its antecedent (e.g. McCawley, 1996), or on the semantic or pragmatic aspects of these structures (e.g. Doron, 1992; Koktovà, 1985; Matthews, 1981).

However, an examination of attested examples reveals that appositives may contain adverbs, as shown in (2).

(2)   He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, *now* his fiefdom *no longer*. (*The Guardian*, 20/11/01, page 9, column 2)

Adverbs have been shown to be associated with the presence of functional structure (e.g. Cinque, 1999), suggesting that appositives may in fact contain more extensive structure than has previously been proposed.

With this in mind, the goal of this paper is to examine systematically the presence of adverbs in appositives. Section 2 provides a summary of previous research relating adverbs to the determination of clausal structure. Section 3 contains an outline of the theoretical approach to adverb placement adopted for the analysis which then permits, in section 4, an evaluation of adverbs in appositives and the implications for their syntactic structure. Section 5 explores the absence of one class of adverbs. A summary and conclusion are provided in section 6.

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[1] Appositives can also be verbal: 'Limes, fast becoming a trend in popular cuisine, are selling like hotcakes.' In the interest of limiting the field of study, these types are not included here.

2 Background: Adverbs and clause structure

Adverbs have long been recognized as implicated in the determination of clause structure (e.g. Jackendoff, 1972). Broadly speaking, there are two different factors at work. First, adverbs seem to belong to different semantic classes (e.g. sentential, subject-oriented, agent-oriented and manner adverbs) which are restricted to particular zones of the sentence. Thus, as might be expected, manner adverbs tend to be found in the lower part of the sentence close to the predicate that they modify, whereas sentential adverbs are generally found in the higher zones of the sentence, before the subject or between the subject and the predicate (e.g. Jackendoff, 1972).

Second, the same adverb may belong to more than one class, resulting in an interplay between adverb position and interpretation. When an adverb occupies more than one position there may be no effect on the meaning, as in (3), or it may provoke a change in the scope of the adverb, as in (4): in (a) *cleverly* is subject-oriented, whereas in (b) it is a manner adverb. Alternatively, the meaning may be ambiguous between the two interpretations, as in (5).

(3) a. Mary *probably* has left already.
     b. Mary has *probably* left already.

(4) a. *Cleverly*, Mary opened the letter.
     b. Mary opened the letter *cleverly*.

(5) Mary *cleverly* opened the letter.

Together, these facts present a challenge for linguists interested in accounting for adverb placement. Two major approaches to the problem have emerged. The first, which might be termed the adjunction approach, assumes that adverbs are adjoined to the various projections that compose the clause (see, e.g., Ernst (2002) and references therein). Semantic rules interact with the syntax to restrict semantic classes of adverbs to particular zones of the clause.

The second approach can be called the functional specifier approach (e.g. Alexiadou, 1997; Cinque, 1999; Laenzlinger, 1996). Under such an analysis, adverbs are found in the specifiers of functional heads containing semantic features relating to, for example, modality, aspect, tense and manner. These functional heads are fixed in a rigid hierarchy, and form in some sense the backbone of clausal structure. The adverb found in a particular specifier position is interpreted as being semantically related to the features expressed by the functional head, explaining the relationship between an adverb's position and its meaning.

Both approaches offer interesting possibilities for studying the structure of appositives. Under the adjunction approach, the presence of an adverb implies the presence of the projection to which they are adjoined. For example, the presence of a manner adverb indicates that the VP (or other projection) to which it adjoins is necessarily present. If, on the other hand, a functional specifier approach is adopted, the presence of an adverb means that the associated functional projection is integrated into the structure. The present analysis adopts the functional specifier approach: the more rigid structure defined in this approach means that the conclusions drawn concerning appositives are all the more precise.

3 Theoretical framework

Several competing versions of the functional specifier approach have emerged. For the current analysis, the proposal developed by Cinque (1999) has been adopted, as it is the most comprehensive and has served as the basis for subsequent research along the same lines.

Cinque bases his proposal on a cross-linguistic survey of adverbs and functional morphemes. He first demonstrates that the order of different classes of adverbs is the same cross-linguistically based on an examination of languages from several different families. He then examines the order of classes of functional morphemes and shows they also exhibit the same order across languages. Comparing the orders for the classes of adverbs and functional heads, Cinque finds that the base order of adverb classes corresponds to the base order of the classes of functional morphemes. He thus proposes that each adverb class is located in the specifier of the functional projection headed by its corresponding morpheme. The end result is a highly articulated structure for the clause, with a series of functional projections located high in the clause before the canonical subject position.

Based on his cross-linguistic study, Cinque establishes the order of functional projections shown in (6), starting at the leftmost edge of the clause and moving rightward. An associated adverb is given in italics with the name of the semantic class as a subscript.

(6) $frankly_{\text{MoodSpeechAct}} > fortunately_{\text{MoodEvaluative}} > allegedly_{\text{MoodEvidential}} > probably_{\text{ModEpistemic}} > once_{\text{T(Past)}} > then_{\text{T(Future)}} > perhaps_{\text{MoodIrrealis}} > necessarily_{\text{ModNecessity}} > possibly_{\text{ModPossibility}} > willingly_{\text{ModVolitional}} > inevitably_{\text{ModObligation}} > cleverly_{\text{ModAbility/Permission}} > usually_{\text{AspHabitual}} > again_{\text{AspRepetitive(I)}} > often_{\text{AspFrequentative(I)}} > quickly_{\text{AspCelerative(I)}} > already_{\text{T(Anterior)}} > no\ longer_{\text{AspTerminative}} > still_{\text{AspContinuative}} > always_{\text{AspPerfect}} > just_{\text{AspRetrospective}} > soon_{\text{AspProximative}} > briefly_{\text{AspDurative}} > characteristically_{\text{AspGeneric/Progressive}} > almost_{\text{AspProspective}} > completely_{\text{AspSgCompletive(I)}} > tutto_{\text{AspPlCompletive}} > well_{\text{Voice}} > fast/early_{\text{AspCelerative(II)}} > again_{\text{AspRepetitive(II)}} > often_{\text{AspFrequentative(II)}} > completely_{\text{AspSgCompletive(II)}}$

Under Cinque's analysis, the fact that the same adverb can occupy two different positions without a change in meaning, as in (3), results from the movement of other elements across the adverb, from movement of the adverb in topicalisation or focalisation or from movement of the larger constituent containing the adverb. Cases such as those in (4), where an adverb changes meaning as a function of its position, arise when an adverb occupies the specifier of two different functional heads with different semantic features. This can be seen for adverbs such as *quickly*, *again*, *completely*.

It should also be noted that one class of adverbs, called Aspect Plural Completive, is not relevant for English, which does not distinguish singular from plural within the completive aspect. It is represented in the hierarchy by the Italian adverb *tutto*. Since the present analysis is concerned with English, this class will not be considered further.

With respect to appositives, the adoption of Cinque's approach has important implications. Essentially, the acceptability of a particular class of adverbs within an appositive provides evidence for the presence of its corresponding functional projection in the syntactic structure. Likewise, the unacceptability of a particular class of adverbs is evidence for the absence of its corresponding functional projection. In this way, a much finer-grained picture emerges.

4 Testing the hierarchy

Cinque's hierarchy of adverb classes was tested in order to determine the acceptability of each class within an appositive. Whenever possible, attested examples were employed.

Sample sentences are given in (7). For each adverb class, a representative sentence is provided with the appositive underlined and the relevant adverb given in italics.

(7) a. *completely*_{AspSgCompletive(II)}: The eastern arm is a golden building called the Café de Paris, *completely* rebuilt in 1988, which houses restaurants, sidewalk cafes and one-armed bandits. (*New York Times* online, 'Churchill slept here', 04/03/90)

b. *often*_{AspFrequentative(II)}: The movement, which takes place in Bruce Steinberg's shifting landscape of light, ranges from images of battle — like a soldier worming his way across hostile terrain — to frankly sexual writhing, *often* repeated like a tic. (*New York Times* online, 'Slithering over the edge of the envelope to see what happens', 20/02/07)

c. *again*_{AspRepetitive(II)}: John, *again* away from home, missed the reception.

d. *fast/early*_{AspCelerative(II)}: Utilities also found that they had overestimated power demand for the early 1980's; smaller plants, more *quickly* built, do not require such accurate long-range projections. (*New York Times* online edition, 'The nuclear industry tries again', 26/11/89)

e. *well*_{Voice}: Roberts, *well* suited to the task, seemed confident during the meeting.

f. *completely*_{AspSgCompletive(I)}: Robinson, *completely* in the dark about the government project, was surprised to learn about it on the evening news.

g. *almost*_{AspProspective}: The car, *almost* out of control, just missed hitting a pedestrian.

h. *characteristically*_{AspGeneric/Progressive}: Over the years he had worked with quite a few accomplices and there was one with him tonight, *characteristically* silent, standing beside him lost in his own thoughts. (*The Perfect Crime*, Peter Balfe)

i. *briefly*_{AspDurative}: By that test the former Young Liberal, *briefly* MP for Neath and 52 next month, will make it into the cabinet sooner rather than later.

j. *soon*_{AspProximative}: Jerry Nielsen's South Pole saga, *soon* in stores everywhere, recounts her fight against breast cancer.

k. *just*_{AspRetrospective}: It was July 2000 when the hospice trustees, only *just* aware of a very large legacy, were shown Russell House, a redundant residential care home that would not be economically viable for the Council to update. (http://www.uphillvillage.org.uk /HospiceSupport.htm)

l. *always*_{AspPerfect}: Within a week of his arrival Mr Morton, *always* an interventionist in his economics, was gone.

m. *still*_{AspContinuative}: But Rusedski, a winner in Auckland last week and *still* a little tired, needed to fire himself up with uncharacteristic shows of aggression and histrionics and Henman, up against a man ranked No191, struggled for inspiration, and like Rusedski, was pleased to get off court after only three sets.

n. *no longer*_{AspTerminative}: He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, now *no longer* his fiefdom.

o. *already*_{T(Anterior)}: Robin Saxby, *already* one of the country's most successful entrepreneurs, having built the ARM microchip-design company into a £7.4billion business, is the most "underpaid executive."

p. *quickly*_{AspCelerative(I)}: The rumor, *quickly* denied by the Kremlin, briefly lifted the dollar and the Swiss franc while hurting the German mark. (*New York Times* online edition, "Rumor that Yeltsin had died briefly lifts dollar vs. the mark", 10/10/96)

q. *often*_{AspFrequentative(I)}: But the tendency has accelerated recently as business travel has rebounded and hotels have invested heavily in their public spaces, expanding them and installing wireless Internet service — *often* available at no charge — in their lobbies and restaurants. (*New York Times* online, 'Let's meet in the lobby', 02/05/06)

r. *again*_{AspRepetitive(I)}: Cluff, *again* under criminal investigation by county prosecutors, was ordered Friday by the EIDC's executive board to take a paid leave of absence, but he said he would defy the request.

s. *usually*_{AspHabitual}: Fill out the form provided by your state's health department, *usually* available from your doctor or local hospital. (*New York Times* online, 'Personal health; Name a proxy early to prepare for the unexpected', 18/11/03)

t. *cleverly*_{ModAbility/Permission}: Such absurd and obvious manipulation of reality lay at the heart of this hourlong solo, *cleverly* disguised as a quartet. (*New York Times* online, 'The emperor does have clothes (but he says he doesn't)', 24/01/07)

u. *inevitably*_{ModObligation}: In his work, Mr. Moore seeks to elevate the level of conversation, *inevitably* lowered by the screen adaptations of his work.

v. *willingly*_{ModVolitional}: This noble life, *willingly* sacrificed for love of God, makes a book of which it can rightly be said, 'it will change your life.' (http://www.amazon.ca/Jungle-Pilot-Russell-Hitt/dp/1572930225)

w. *possibly*_{ModPossibility}: It is by far the longest short in the book, *possibly* a novella to some, and in my opinion it should have ended much sooner than it did. (http://www.legendsmagazine.net /138/orbit.htm)

x. *necessarily*_{ModNecessity}: The 'Senior' following Peter Cornwell's name implies the existence of at least one other Peter Cornwell in the area, not *necessarily* his son, but one younger than he. (http://boards.ancestry.com/mbexec/message/an/ localities.northam.usa.states.virginia.counties.fauquier/1714)

y. *perhaps*_{MoodIrrealis} : This year the world's population will reach six billion, reports a Swedish newspaper correspondent from Geneva. Somewhere, a child, *perhaps* a girl, will be born to mark this threshold event. (http://www.rotarydoctorbank.org /99i/db_99_3b.htm)

z. *then*_{T(Future)}: The story involves an elaborate safari about bagging an exotic African game animal, *then* flown fresh to Paris.

aa. *once*_{T(Past)}: [H]is father, *once* a businessman himself, helps to keep things running smoothly and interacts with individuals who would otherwise act differently towards Blaustein because of his comparative youth. (http://www.gradyhighschool. org/southerner/southerner1103/ pizza.html)

bb. *probably*_{ModEpistemic}: His death, *probably* a suicide, is glossed over and there is no actual diagnosis to back up the pop psychology.

cc. *allegedly*_{MoodEvidential}: Smith, *allegedly* unaware of the proposed amendment, declined to comment.

dd. *fortunately*_{MoodEvaluative}: Racial profiling, *unfortunately* a frequent occurrence in American society, must be stopped.

ee. *frankly*_{MoodSpeeechAct}: *Mr. Minghella, *frankly* not particularly excited by the prospect of the book, *was hooked by the time he finished it.

Two important observations can be made concerning the results. First, there is evidence of movement operations within appositives. Sentence (7n) is a constructed example showing the adverb *no longer* in its base position. However, the constructed example is in fact a manipulation of an attested example, given in (8).

(8)   He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, <u>now his fiefdom *no longer*</u>. (*The Guardian*, 20/11/01, page 9, column 2)

For Cinque, example (7n) results from movement of 'his fiefdom' to a position higher in the structure. The implication is that, like matrix clauses, appositives contain some functional structure and permit some of the same movement operations.

Second, it appears that all of Cinque's adverb classes are present in appositives except[2] speech act adverbs, such as *frankly*. While the example given in (7ee) is unacceptable, other examples can be found in which *frankly* is grammatical, as seen in (9).

(9)   a. Mapplethorpe courted commercial success by concentrating more on flower images: <u>elegant, cold and often *frankly* sexual depictions of orchids and lilies in single blooms or arrangements</u>. (*New York Times* online edition, 'Fallen angel', 25/06/95)
        b. The facts are uncontroversial, but unacceptable, therefore turned into their opposite here with amazing regularity (<u>though discussed *frankly* in Israel</u>). (http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199601--.htm)
        c. During my time in Oakhurst, my brother, <u>*frankly* a racist</u> (he openly admits it), was telling me about the catastrophe called Southern California.

This variation in acceptability is related to the differing functions of the adverb. There appear to be at least four. First, in (7ee), is the standard speech act adverb interpretation, which qualifies the illocutionary force of the utterance, expressing the speaker's attitude toward what he/she is saying, signifying that he/she is being frank. In (10) an example of *frankly* with this interpretation in a finite clause is given.

(10)   *Frankly*, the idea that there was a distinction to be made…strains credibility. (*New York Times* online, 'Air of truth', 08/07/07)

In (9a), *frankly* is used as an intensifier before an adjective. In these cases, it seems to have the meaning of "openly and completely". In this use, it does not belong to the class of speech act adverbs discussed by Cinque, but seems to be similar to degree adverbs such as *well*, *truly* and *very* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1997).

A third interpretation of *frankly* is as a classic manner adverb, exemplified by (9b). This use is generally found with verbs expressing speech acts, such as *say*, *ask*, *answer*, etc., and can be paraphrased to mean 'in a frank manner' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1997). Like other manner adverbs, *frankly* always has this interpretation when placed after the verb and its complement, without a comma or an intonation break.

The fourth function of *frankly* is exemplified by the example in (9c). Here, it acts as a sentential intensifier (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1997). In such cases, it appears between the subject and the verb and indicates the attitude of the subject with respect to the action described by the VP, as has been suggested for sentences like those in (4).

In sum, *frankly* does appear in appositives, but not in its function as a speech act adverb. In the following section, two different are considered to account for this.

5 Speech act adverbs

The absence of speech act adverbs in appositives can be accounted for in at least two ways. First, as proposed by Haegeman (2004) for certain types of adverbial clauses, the tree structure of appositives may be truncated below the projection that contains these adverbs.

Alternatively, there may be a property inherent to appositives that inhibits the appearance of speech act adverbs.

The first possibility, whereby the tree of an appositive is truncated below the projection containing speech act adverbs, would explain their absence without any difficulty. This predicts that any projections located higher than that of speech act adverbs will not be present. However, this immediately raises a problem. Consider Rizzi's (1997) decomposition of the CP space into four projections, as shown in (11). Rizzi assumes that complementisers are located in ForceP, the highest projection in the clause. If the tree structure of an appositive is assumed to be truncated below the speech act projection, then complementisers are predicted to be absent from appositives. Yet this is not the case, as shown in (12), where the appositive contains the conjunction *though*.

(11)   Rizzi's (1997) CP: ForceP > TopicP > FocusP > FinP > IP

(12)   The road, *though* no longer an officially designated route, has been celebrated in books, song and a TV series. (*Los Angeles Times*, 26/12/02, page B2, col. 1)

This problem can be worked out by adopting Haegeman's (2004) proposal for central adverbial clauses. As is the case for appositives, speech act adverbs are not permitted in certain adverbials, whereas conjunctions are (see Haegeman (2004) for a fuller description of the characteristics of central adverbials). Haegeman proposes that speech act adverbs are associated with Rizzi's (1997) ForceP, and she further assumes, *contra* Rizzi, that conjunctions are located in a higher projection called SubordinateP. She then claims that central adverbials have a truncated structure that does not allow Force to be projected, but maintains SubP. Her structure for central adverbials is given in (13).

(13)   Haegeman's (2004) truncated CP: SubP > FinP > IP

This permits the presence of conjunctions, but not that of speech act adverbs. However, Haegeman's solution is also designed to eliminate evidential, evaluative and epistemic adverbs, which are unacceptable in central adverbial clauses; yet, as the examples in (7bb), (cc) and (dd) show, all of these are grammatical in appositives. In addition, the solution suffers from a failure to find motivation in other syntactic principles.

Alternatively, the absence of speech act adverbs may be due to some other property inherent to appositives. Before proceeding to a discussion of what that property might be, it is first important to consider how speech act adverbs differ from other adverbs that compose the class known as point-of-view adverbs: evidential, evaluative and epistemic adverbs.

In sum, the difference is that speech act adverbs require the presence of Speaker, whereas the others do not. This has been expressed in different ways. For example, Bellert (1997) distinguishes speech act adverbs from other point of view adverbs in terms of argument structure: speech act adverbs form the only class that takes Speaker as an argument. This idea is developed further by Speas and Tenny (2003), who propose that discourse roles such as Speaker and Hearer are governed by syntactic principles, and that the syntax-pragmatic interaction takes place in a part of the syntax called the point of view domain. While they recognize that evidential, evaluative and speech act adverbs can all express the point of view of the speaker, only evidential and evaluative adverbs can also transmit the point of view of a third person. Ernst (2002) also treats speech act adverbs differently from other point of view adverbs. In his model, speech act adverbs take as their argument the abstract predicate *Express, which is introduced by an operator representing the speech act. By contrast, the other point of view adverbs select the proposition as their argument. This

distinction accounts for the intuition that speech act adverbs modify the way the speaker expresses the content of the proposition, whereas the other adverbs modify the content of the proposition itself. In sum, it appears that speech act adverbs are obligatorily linked to the speaker, while the other point of view adverbs are not. Nonetheless, the question remains as to how this tight link to the speaker explains the lack of speech act adverbs in appositives.

One important observation is that speech act adverbials are disallowed in certain other types of non-finite clauses, such as infinitivals and root infinitives (Grohmann & Etxepare, 2003), as shown in (14).

(14) a. *For *frankly* Mary to come is not a good idea.
      b. *Frankly* for Mary to come is not a good idea.
      c. *John *frankly* win the election?!
      d. *Frankly* John win the election?!

This suggests that there may be a relationship between speech act adverbs and finiteness. In the remainder of this section, it will be suggested that finiteness licenses [person] features, which in turn license discourse roles such as Speaker.

The notion that there is a relationship between finiteness and [person] features is not revolutionary. Jespersen (1924), for example, claims that a finite verb has two major properties: the capacity to serve as the main verb in an independent clause and the ability to assign person features to its subject. In government and binding theory, several proposals have been made relating finiteness to [person] features. Hornstein (1990) and Cowper (2002), for instance, claim that Agr is only projected in finite clauses, while several others have suggested that phi features are present only when IP is finite. In the *Minimalist Program*, it is claimed that nominative case and subject-verb agreement are two manifestations of the link between verbal inflection and the subject (e.g. Chomsky, 1995).

Bianchi (2001) takes this relationship one step further to relate tense and person features to the discourse. She claims that finiteness features are located in Rizzi's FinP, along with S, which stands for the moment of speech. Moreover, S encodes information concerning the participants in the discourse. This is accomplished by allowing the head of FinP to select [person] features only when S is present. Crucially, S is only present when the FinP is [+finite].

The relationship between features and discourse is further developed in the work of Harley & Ritter (2002), who propose the geometry of discourse features in (15), which is similar to the feature geometries used in generative phonology in that it encodes dependency relationships between features.

(15)   Referential Expression
               /   \
         Participant   Individuation
         / \
   Speaker Addressee
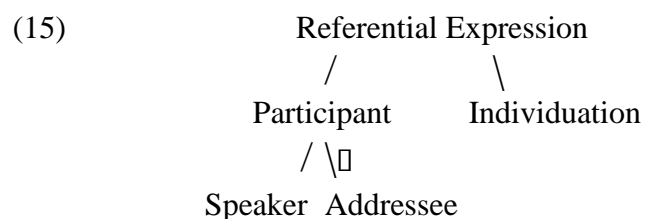
The root node of the geometry is a referential expression that branches into two nodes: Participant and Individuation. The Individuation node, which is not relevant to this paper, can be set aside. The Participation Node has two branches, Speaker and Addressee, which interact to identify the R-expression. If Speaker is present and Addressee is absent, then the R-expression is identified as first person. When Addressee is present and Speaker is absent, the R-expression is defined as second person. The absence of the Participant node altogether

identifies the R-expression as third person. Harley and Ritter thus establish an explicit link between [person] features and discourse roles. Combining this analysis with the previous observations concerning the relationship between finiteness and [person] features, the conclusion is that a non-finite clause such as an appositive bears no [person] features and consequently no representation of the discourse role of Speaker.

Returning to the discussion of speech act adverbs, the explanation for their absence is now clear. Since they obligatorily select Speaker as an argument, the unavailability of Speaker results in a clash. Other point of view adverbs, on the other hand, do not select Speaker as an argument, and are thus permitted to appear freely in appositives. In terms of functional structure, nothing prevents the speech act projection from being integrated into the tree structure of appositives. Consequently, the presence of CP-level conjunctions, paradoxical under a truncation analysis, does not represent a problem for this account.

6 Conclusion

In sum, it appears that appositives do indeed contain a considerable amount of functional structure. Using Cinque's (1999) model for the position of adverbs as a starting point, the above analysis shows that the vast majority of adverb classes, and consequently their associated functional projections, can be found in appositives. In turn, the analysis represents an initial test into the validity of Cinque's hierarchy for non-finite structures.

This study is intended to set the stage for further investigation into the structure of appositives. As the example in (12) shows, appositives may contain at least one type of element associated with the CP layer, raising questions about the left periphery and its associated structures and operations. Other issues relate to the status of the NP, AP or PP that composes the appositive itself, as well as to the more widely studied problem of how the appositive is integrated into its host clause. While appositives are of interest in their own right, such investigations are also relevant to broader questions concerning the syntax of non-finite structures and their relationship to finite clauses.

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Resumptive pronouns in Mauritian: examining the nature of specificity effects[*]

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Abstract

This study looks at Discourse-linking effects in Mauritian Creole relative clauses where the use of a resumptive pronoun triggers a reading whereby one or more individuals is selected from a contextually-defined subset of individuals. Mauritian Creole resumptives confirm Erteschik-Shir's (1992) hypothesis concerning the 'restrictive focus' reading. Resumption is also incompatible with Sells' (1984) 'concept' reading. Furthermore, I look at the interaction between determiners and resumptive pronouns: it is observed that bare nouns and indefinite noun phrases cannot be the antecedent of a resumptive. As a consequence, it is not possible to observe the purportedly obligatory wide-scope reading of resumptives in Mauritian.

1 Introduction

One of the issues surrounding resumption is whether there exists an interpretive difference between gaps and resumptive pronouns (henceforth, RP). A quick look at available descriptions shows that languages vary with respect to the licensing of RPs and that within one language, RPs are licensed in some contexts but not in others. This paper attempts to bring a partial answer to the issue of interpretation by looking at non-embedded restrictive clauses in Mauritian Creole (henceforth MC) and, in particular, at those few instances where both an RP and a gap are available.

I will not examine contexts where RPs and gaps are in complementary distribution on the assumption that such cases are constrained by syntactic rules. A number of proposals have been made on this matter and while it is outside of the scope of this paper to evaluate each of them, I will briefly mention a few. The Highest Subject Constraint proposed by McCloskey (1990) accounts for a ban on RPs in subject position in unembedded relative clauses by a prohibition on local binding. The 'last resort' approach advocated by Shlonsky (1992) assumes that RPs are inserted to allow extraction in contexts such as islands where extraction is otherwise banned. It has also been observed that the greater the distance between an RP and its antecedent, the more acceptable it becomes for speakers: in analyses by Erteschik-Shir (1992) and Alexopoulou and Keller (2007), distance is measured in terms of layers of embedding (that is, number of CP nodes).

The main point of this paper will be the existence of a specificity effect triggered by an RP and how best to characterise it. Such effects have been shown to exist in Hebrew relative clauses (Doron 1982). Erteschik-Shir (1992) studied the contexts which permit resumption and proposed that, in non-embedded direct object relatives, the use of an RP expresses restrictive focus, that is an individual is picked out from a contextually-defined set.

Syntactic analyses make a distinction between 'true' and 'intrusive' resumption. 'True resumptive' is the term used by Asudeh (2007) to describe those RPs that may occur in all the

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positions where a gap might be expected. A well-known example of a language with 'true' resumptives (another label might be 'generalised resumptives') is Irish, where as McCloskey (1990) shows, all types of WH-constructions allow for RPs: in addition, for all of these constructions, RPs may appear in all positions inside the clause. The following segment illustrates a case of restrictive relativisation where the RP *é* occurs in object position in place of a gap.

(1)   an   fear   [S'   ar   bhuail tù   (é)]
      the   man   COMP struck you   him
      'the man that you struck (him)'   (McCloskey 1990: 206)

'Intrusive' pronouns or 'last resort' (Shlonsky 1992) pronouns intervene to prevent the violation of a rule of grammar (Asudeh 2007; Sharvit 1999). Observing that RPs and gaps are in complementary distribution in Palestinian Arabic, Shlonsky proposes that when an RP is compulsory, its role is to prevent the violation of a rule of grammar. McCloskey also observes that RPs or gaps are freely chosen in Irish but that RPs become the only option whenever an independent principle of grammar (such as subjacency or the Empty Category Principle) applies. For instance, the pied-piping or the stranding of a preposition is allowed neither in Hebrew (illustrated here) nor in Palestinian Arabic, a constraint which forces the use of an RP in-situ.

(2)   ha-ʔiš   še-   xašavti   al-   *(av)
      the man   that (I) thought   about (him)
      'the man that I thought about'   (Shlonsky 1992: 445)

It is worth noting that there is a debate over the 'last resort' strategy: Alexopoulou & Keller (2007) argue on the basis of experimental data that resumptives inside islands do not make extraction out of islands acceptable, yet they acknowledge that RPs are acceptable if they are deeply embedded. Islandhood and embedding will not be tested in this paper: the best way to test the authors' claim, I believe, is to reproduce their experiment with a number of different speakers. The fact that the present study is limited to my own intuitions as a native speaker of MC does not represent a problem in my view since I believe that different speakers are liable to have different grammars with respect to resumption (see Napoli 1977, for instance).

Alexopoulou and Keller's experiments also show evidence for the 'processing' view of resumption: the further away RPs are from their antecedent by embedding, the more they are preferred. Since this generalisation is uncontroversial and seems to be supported by a number of languages, such cases will be left out of the present study.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 contains an overview of different explanations of specificity effects that have been proposed in the literature. Next, I provide a short description of the syntax of restrictive relative clauses which includes the position of determiners. In section 4, I look in detail at NP and PP resumption, the contexts where RPs are obligatory or forbidden and those where they may appear. I will then test whether the claims about constraints and interpretive effects apply to MC. Finally, possible constraints on the ability of various NP types to be antecedents of resumptives will be examined.

2 Background

Although resumptive pronouns represent a challenge for syntactic analysis (Adger 2005 ; Boeckx 2001 ; McCloskey 1990 ; Shlonsky 1992), I do not attempt to provide an analysis of their syntactic status here. I focus instead on the interpretive effects that they bring about. Characterising the interpretive effect of an RP depends a lot on what one's view of specificity is: this section is a brief outline of some proposals that have been made on this topic. Some authors view specificity in terms of scopal relations, but it is argued by (Enç 1991) among others that specificity is the relation between the denotation of a noun phrase and the domain of discourse: in this view, to determine the referent of a noun phrase, it is crucial to take the extralinguistic context into consideration.

One approach to resumption is the distinction between the de re and de dicto readings of the noun phrase. In Hebrew, where RPs are optional, it has been observed that an RP blocks the de dicto interpretation. The following Hebrew examples are taken from Bianchi (2007).

(3)a. Dani yimca et ha-iša še hu mexapes _. ^{ok}de dicto _ ^{ok}de re
        Dani will find the woman that he seeks.
   b. Dani yimca et ha-iša še hu mexapes **ota**.   *de dicto _ ^{ok}de re
        Dani will find the woman that he seeks her.   (Doron 1982; Sells 1984)

In (3a), the sentence containing the RP can mean that Dani will find a woman who will have the properties that he looks for in the ideal woman, whereas (3b) can only mean that there is a specific woman that Dani is looking for (say, Linda) and that he will find her. The de dicto reading is termed the CONCEPT reading by Sells.

An alternative analysis would be in terms of relative scope. It has been observed that antecedents of RPs have wide scope over all quantifiers in the sentence, in contrast to antecedents of gaps (e.g. Doron, cited by Suñer 1998). The following Hebrew examples exhibit a contrast in terms of scope:

(4)a. kol gever yimca et ha-iša se hu mexapes __
        every man will-find the woman that he is looking for __
   b. kol gever yimca et ha-iša se hu mexapes OTA
        every man will-find the woman that he is looking for HER
                                            (Erteschik-Shir 1992: 96-97)

Sentence (4a) may have three readings:
[1] There is one woman (say, Beth) such that every man will find her.
[2] For every man, there is a woman such that he will find her.
[3] Each man is looking for a woman with certain properties, but he does not know who that woman might be.

The discussion concerns the available interpretation(s) for (4b), the alternative containing the RP. Erteschik-Shir claims that contrary to what is thought, interpretation [3] is available with a resumptive under a certain context: she proposes that in a TV show with 5 men and 5 women, the show moderator can utter (4) with a resumptive. Furthermore, she adds that interpretation [2] requires that two distinct sets, one of men and one of women, be construed in order to be felicitous. These effects are decscribed by her as a case of a restrictive focus, a proposal along the lines of Enç (1991) for whom specificity is related to a 'partitive' reading. The fact that more interpretations are available than has been thought leads her to discard an analysis in terms of scope in favour of one based on pragmatic factors. Her

claim is that restrictive focus assignment prevents the Avoid Pronoun Principle from applying: restrictive should here be understood in the sense of selecting a limited number of referents out of many.

It has been noticed that it is impossible for an RP to give rise to a bound variable reading (Suñer 1998):

(5)a. kol exad yikne et ha me'il ha xadaš še hu carix _.   (non-specific)
        Every person will-buy the coat new that he needs
   b.   ?* kol exad yikne et ha me'il ha xadaš še hu carix **oto**.
        Every person will-buy the coat new that he needs it   (Sells 1984:400)

(5a) means that each person needs and will buy a different coat according to his individual needs. This reading is excluded in (5b) with the RP for Sells, but not for Erteschik-Shir who provides the following context: if the amateur actors in a play each need a special kind of coat for a play, say each one has been assigned a different colour, then (5b) becomes an acceptable sentence for the stage manager to utter (1992:98).

Another claim made in the literature is that negatively quantified antecedents cannot have an RP in their extraction position in Hebrew (Shlonsky 1992), but Suñer (1998) argues that it is not so in Spanish. The Hebrew example presented below is apparently ruled out whereas the Spanish sentence is acceptable:

(6)a. *Rina lo ʔahava af balšan$_i$ še-Dalya   hikira ʔet   ha−ʔiša   še-hu$_i$ pagaš.
       Rina   not loved no linguist that-Dalya   knew ACC the woman that-he met
       'Rina did not love any linguist$_i$ that-Dalya knew the woman that he$_i$ met.'
                                                            (Shlonsky 1992:448, n.3)
   b.   No conozco a ningún lingüista que sus articulos hayan sido aceptados todos por esa
        revista.
        'I don't know any linguist that HIS articles have all been accepted by that journal.'
                                                            (Suñer 1998: 356)

According to Erteschik-Shir, RPs that are coreferent with Prepositional Phrases have to be accounted for by another constraint than specificity or restrictive focus. Assuming the Avoid Pronoun Principle, PP resumptives cannot be deleted in Hebrew because they are cliticized onto the preposition and the APP cannot apply to them.

(7)a. Dibarti im haiš šenitkalt BO beyerušalayim.   (in-situ PP)
       'I spoke with the man that you bumped into him in Jerusalem.'
   b.   Dibarti im haiš BO nitkalt beyerušalayim.   (fronted PP)
       'I spoke with the man into him you bumped in Jerusalem.' (Erteschik-Shir 1992:100)

Erteschik-Shir concludes that PP resumptives in unembedded relatives do not need a restrictive interpretation to be licensed on the basis that they do not alternate with gaps. Such facts suggest that when RPs are the only option specificity effects are weakened (Bianchi 2007).

The pragmatic function associated with Hebrew RPs seems to be absent from Spanish. Suñer notes that « the resumptive alternative is favoured by indefinite antecedents, at least in Spanish, Yiddish and English » and that its function is anaphoric: an indefinite NP is used to introduce a new referent and is subsequently referred to by a pronoun.

(8)   hay una cosa que llaman infraestructura turística que él no tomó
       there.is a thing that call.3PL infrastructure touristic that he not took
       en cuenta   ESO para nada
       into account THAT at   all
       'there is something called touristic infrastructure that he did not take into account at
       all'.   (Suñer 1998:359)

Spanish data also contradict Doron's claim that resumptives always have wide scope: a narrow scope reading is available according to Suñer. In both of the following sentences, the preferred reading is the one where the *los tres estudiantes* 'the three students' means the same three students for each professor, in order words, the wide scope reading. But the distributive interpretation, in which each professor assigns homework to different groups of three students, cannot be excluded in either case: so the antecedent of an RP may have a narrow scope reading.

(9)a.   los tres estudiantes a los que cada   profesor debe dar   tarea   extra
        the three students   to whom every professor must give   homework   extra
   b.   los tres estudiantes que cada   profesor LES   debe dar   tarea   extra
        the three students   that every professor TO.THEM must give   homework extra
        'the three students whom every professor must give extra homework to'
                                                                      (Suñer 1998:358)

Abstracting away from semantic or pragmatic uses of resumption, Suñer proposes a syntactic analysis in terms of movement of the pronoun (or of an operator) to Spec,CP depending on the strong or weak pronominal feature of the complementizer.

(10)a. una   mujer que Luis   LA   llamó
        a   woman that Luis   HER   called
        'a woman that Luis called her'
   b.   la   mujer a   quien Luis   llamó
        the   woman A   whom Luis   called   (Suñer 1998:347)

COMP has a weak feature in (10a) and cannot attract the pronoun to its Specifier, whereas it has a strong feature in (10b) that makes fronting the relative pronoun obligatory.

3 Some descriptive facts about relative clause formation and determination in MC

Relative clause formation -

Let us consider some facts about relative clause formation in MC. It is still an open question whether in realis subordinate clauses (object clauses and relative clauses), a non-overt complementizer can be represented as a null complementizer. I will assume that it is so for the purposes of this paper and will therefore suppose that two forms show up in MC relative clauses: KI 'that, which' or a null complementizer, ø. KI can also act as relative pronoun, as illustrated in the following:

(11)a.Mala pu   suj   vit   ar   sifon.
       M.   MOD wipe   window   with   rag
       'Mala will wipe the window pane(s) with a rag.'

b. Mala bizin enn sifon [PP ar ki]ᵢ pu   suj vit   tᵢ.
     M.   need one rag   with KI MOD wipe window
     'Mala needs a rag with which to wipe the window panes.'

The issue of whether KI is a relative pronoun or in the complementizer is still unresolved: for the sake of neutrality, it will be glossed as KI. It has been proposed for French that the difference between *que* (complementizer and relative pronoun) and *qui* (relative pronoun) is not one of category but one of position. Both occupy a position inside the CP projection: *que* is the C head while *qui*, the required form when the subject is relativised, is in Spec, CP (see Kayne (1975:128).

(12)a. Le colloque [CP [C que]] j'ai raté. 'The conference that I missed'
    b. Le colloque [CP qui [C ø]] a lieu demain. 'The conference that takes place tomorrow'

The distribution of KI vs. null-C is the subject of current research: Alleesaib and Henri (to appear) study KI-omission in subject relativisation contexts: they find that it is maintained to avoid structural ambiguity and that its use is related to determiner choice. While KI is optional with a noun phrase which is definite and demonstrative, it is preferred whenever the noun phrase is indefinite and a restrictive reading is intended.

(13) Bann zenes $^{??}$(ki) ena   kas   roul bel loto.
      PL   youth   KI   have money drive big car
      (i) '(Those) youths who are rich drive big cars.'
      (ii) '(The/those) youths, who are rich, drive big cars.'

The authors do not study resumption, yet we might assume for the purposes of this paper that KI is obligatory when an RP is used (more speaker judgements are required to confirm this intuition):

(14)a. [DP Sa tifi *Ø/ki Zan inn   avoj li
       DEM girl C   Z. PERF send 3SG
       Lit. 'The girl that John sent (her)
    b. [DP Sa tifi Ø/ki Zan inn   avoj tᵢ
       DEM girl C   Z. PERF send
       Lit. 'The girl (that) John sent
        enn letdamur la] pu   gagn problem.
        one loveletter DET MOD get   problem
        a love-letter will get into trouble.'

Determiners and noun phrases –

Since it has been suggested by Suñer that RPs are more common in Spanish for indefinites than for definites, it might be worthwhile to look at the use of RPs with different types of noun phrases in MC. Bare nouns are found in argument position and, according to the context, trigger different interpretations; otherwise, regular indefinite noun phrases are also found.

(15) Mari pe   manz letsi.
      M.   PROG eat   litchi
      'Mary is eating litchi(s).'

MC has a determiner LA, described as a 'proximal suffix' by Baker (1976) and as a definite determiner by Déprez (2001, 2006) whose position is strictly postnominal as shown in (16):

(16) pye   la
     tree   DET
     'the tree (that you know)'

A demonstrative determiner also exists in MC: it is made up of the prenominal demonstrative element SA that obligatorily selects LA.

(17) sa   pye la
     DEM tree DET
     'that tree'

These two determiners are important in that LA occurs at the right of the relativised DP. LA and SA … LA determine the whole DP *zanfan ki pe dormi* 'child that is sleeping' in the next examples.

(18) Lev   [DP zanfan ki pe   dormi la].
     wake   child   C PROG sleep DET
     'Wake up the child that's sleeping.'
(19) Lev   [DP sa   zanfan   ki   pe   dormi la].
     wake   DEM   child   C   PROG   sleep DET
     'Wake up that child who is sleeping.'

4 NP and PP resumption in MC relative clauses

This section aims at illustrating the specific interpretation linked to resumption, which, as mentioned above, is analysed by Erteschik-Shir (1992) a restrictive focus interpretation. A difference in interpretation, she argues, means that RPs cannot be conceived as a purely surface phenomenon, as illustrated by Shlonsky's (1992) 'last resort' view. In the rest of this study, the term 'specificity effect' will be used as shorthand for this particular type of interpretation.

This study does not include the use of 'processor' or 'intrusive' pronouns, which are pronouns inserted to counteract island or embedding effects. It has been suggested that extraction out of islands cannot be saved by the insertion of an RP (Alexopoulou & Keller 2007): resolving this issue is out of the scope of this paper. The following table, based on the Noun Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), summarises the positions where gaps and RPs may occur in non-embedded relatives:

Position	Gap	RP
Subject	+	*
Direct object	+	*/%+
Recipient object	+	+
Prepositional Phrases	+	+
Genitive	*	+
Object of comparison	*	+

Table 1: The distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns in relative clauses

Table 1 shows that RPs are obligatory when genitive and objects of comparison are relativised. On the other hand, RPs are banned from subject position and for a certain number of speakers, from the object position too. Prepositional phrases are either pied-piped or are used with a resumptive, as we will see below. Specificity effects are claimed to arise when both a gap and an RP are possible, in which case they contrast in terms of semantic interpretation. Here is a brief recapitulation of the different proposals that have been made about specificity and resumption.

- RPs are felicitous when an individual is selected out a contextually given group (restrictive interpretation).
- RPs block the concept interpretation
- RPs are obligatorily linked to wide scope reading of the antecedent
- Specificity effects cannot be observed for PPs (in Hebrew)

In the rest of this section, I examine three of these claims and I shall leave 'wide scope' effects for the next section.

I hope to show that the 'restrictive focus' interpretation is triggered by the use of an RP. The first construction I examine is direct object relativisation where both a gap and an RP are available.

(20)a. Avi inn resi zwenn [$_{DP}$ sa minis (ki) li ti pe rode t_i la].
    A. PFV succeed meet DEM minister KI 3SG PST PROG search DET
    'Avi could meet the Minister (that) he was looking for' (no reference is made to other Ministers)
    [Among the Ministers of the Cabinet,]
   b. Avi inn resi zwenn
    A. PFV succeed meet
    [$_{DP}$ sa minis ki li ti pe rod **li$_i$** la].
        DEM minister KI 3SG PST PROG search 3SG DET
    'Avi could meet the Minister (that) he was looking for him' (among other ministers)

In the context that Avi met the Minister of Agriculture, the relative containing the RP implies that Avi was looking to meet just him. The relative with a gap does not say anything about the other ministers: information about whether he had been looking for other ministers is not available. This contrast provides support for the 'restrictive focus' view of specificity.

Recipient object relativisation is the next context: MC has double object constructions, and the expected order consists of the recipient NP occurring before the direct object as illustrated in (21).

(21)a Avi inn donn enn misje sigaret.
    A. PFV give one man cigarette
    'Avi gave a man a cigarette/ cigarettes.'

Both a gap and an RP are possible strategies in the relativisation of a recipient object.

(22) Recipient object relativisation
a. Li   mem   [DP sa misje_i ki Avi inn   donn t_i   sigaret   la].
   3SG self   DEM man   C A. PFV give 3SG cigarette DET
    Lit. 'This is the man that Avi gave a cigarette.' (presence of other men not implied)
        [In the context of more than one man]
b. Li   mem   [DP sa misje_i ki Avi inn   donn **li_i**   sigaret   la].
   3SG self   DEM man   C A. PFV give 3SG cigarette DET
    Lit.'This is the man that Avi gave him a cigarette.' (the others are excluded)

As for object relativisation, we find that use of an RP presupposes that a set of individuals is given, out of which one is selected and contrasted with the others: (22b) has to be interpreted such that the cigarette was given to that one individual and not to the others.

A second claim that has been made is that a resumptive blocks the 'concept' reading, a claim rejected by Erteschik-Shir for Hebrew on the basis that certain contexts might legitimate this reading (see (4) above). As shown in (23), resumption in MC blocks the concept reading, contrasting in this respect with Hebrew:

(23)   Sak   boug pou trouv   fam   ki   li   pe   rod li   la.
       Each   man IRR find   woman KI   3SG PROG   look 3SG   DET
       (i) 'Each man will find the (specific) woman that he is looking for her.'
       (ii) * a woman with certain properties

Resumption seems to be tied to a strictly specific interpretation and to be restricted to existentially quantified noun phrases.

I now turn to specificity in cases of PP relativisation: recall that the obligatoriness of PP resumptives in Hebrew (see 7) is an argument for saying that specificity effects are weakened in cases of obligatory resumption (Bianchi 2007). Relativisation of PPs is done in a number of ways in MC: some prepositions only admit one strategy, some two and some three. I start by illustrating the fact that PP relativisation involves more than one strategy: in some cases, an in-situ PP containing a resumptive may alternate with a pied-piped PP. When a PP whose head is *lor* 'on' is relativised, for instance, it can be either pied-piped or remain in-situ with an RP.

(24)a. [DP Sa size_i **lor *(ki)** Minta pe   travaj t_i la] pe   fatig li.
       DEM topic on KI   M.   PROG work   DET PROG tire   3SG
        'The topic on which Minta is working wearies her.'
    b. [DP Sa size_i (ki) Minta pe   travaj **lor la_i** la] pe   fatig li.
       DEM topic KI M.   PROG tire   on LA DET PROG tire   3SG
        Lit.'Among the topics, the one that Minta is working on it wearies her.'

In (24a), KI functions as a relative pronoun and cannot be deleted. (24b) involves a proform with a locative meaning (LA) which occurs in the extraction position of the antecedent. The above examples contrast with respect to the restrictive focus meaning, since the interpretation of (24b) presupposes a given set of topics but not (24a), a result that is consistent with what has been observed for DP relativisation. Other prepositions, such as

kuma 'like' exemplified here, cannot undergo pied-piping, but instead must occur with an RP (25a). This is the type of context where one can test whether specificity effects are weakened.

(25)a. [DP Sa aktris_i (ki) Devi abij parej kuma *(**li**_i) la] apel Malika.
　　　DEM actress KI D. dress same like 3SG DET name M.
　　　Lit. 'The actress that Devi dresses like her is named Malika.'
　b. *[DP Sa aktris_i kuma ki Devi abij parej la] apel Malika.
　　　DEM actress like KI D. dress same DET name M.
　　　'The actress like whom Devi dresses is named Malika.'

Indeed, the interpretation of (25a) does not require that a set of actresses be given out of which a particular one is selected. The generalisation whereby specificity effects in instances of obligatory resumption are weakened holds in MC too.

5 Types of noun phrases and resumption

One of the crucial points made by Suñer is the availability of resumptives for indefinite antecedents in Spanish, thereby raising the question of noun phrase determination and its effect(s) on resumption. I first examine resumption possibilities with cardinal noun phrases, bare nouns, quantified noun phrases and then turn to DPs determined by specific LA.
　　　One of the issues concerning resumption is the availability of a narrow scope reading for resumptives: recall that Suñer (1998) has argued against Doron (1984) that such a reading is available for Spanish RPs. I test this claim for MC resumptives with cardinal DPs, which in non-resumptive contexts, can have either reading.

(26)a. *Amenn [DP de diskur ki sak profeser bizin fer **zot**_i].
　　　Bring two speech KI each professor must make 3PL
　　　Lit. Bring two speeches that each professor must make them.'
　b. Amenn [DP de diskur ki sak profeser bizin fer **t**_i].
　　　'Bring two speeches that each professor must make.'

The gap relative in (26b) can have a reading where each professor makes any two speeches or one where the same two speeches are made by each professor, but the resumptive alternative is not available. This is a constraint against resumptives in relative clauses that are not separated from the antecedent by a subordinate clause.

(27)　Donn mwaenn gato ki Mama inn kwi {ø/*li}.
　　　Give me a cake that Mother PERF cook 3SG
　　　'Give me a cake that Mother has made.'

MC patterns differently from Spanish in disallowing RPs for cardinal DPs.

In MC, determinerless or bare nouns in object position are only allowed a narrow scope reading; they are also number-neutral (or number-deficient). While a bare noun can be relativised, it cannot be replaced by an RP in the extracted position, just like for cardinal DPs.

(28)a. Misie Binda bizin koriz devwar_i ki li inn ramase t_i.
　　　Mister B. need mark homework KI 3SG PERF collect

b.*Misie Binda bizin koriz devwar$_i$ ki li inn ramas zot$_i$.
MisterB. need mark homework KI 3SG PERF collect 3PL
'Mister Binda has to mark (the) homework he has collected.'

In (28a), the bare noun is interpreted as 'an unspecified quantity of homework'. Either because of the deficiency in number, or the narrow-scope reading, the RP cannot be used in the extraction position (28b).

Next, I look at quantified noun phrases: while it is claimed that such noun phrases are open to a bound variable reading with their RP in Spanish, they do not admit a resumptive in MC.

(29)a. *[$_{DP}$ Sak sofer (ki) mo inn donn li$_i$ enn laman] inn rod lager.
each driver C 1SG PERF give 3SG one fine PERF search fight
Lit. 'Among all the drivers, each driver that I gave him a fine wanted to pick a fight.'
b. [$_{DP}$ Sak sofer (ki) mo inn donn t$_i$ enn laman] inn rod lager.
Lit. 'Each driver that I gave him a fine wanted to pick a fight.'

It had been claimed that negatively quantified antecedents could not have an RP in their extraction position in Hebrew (Shlonsky, 1992) but could do so in Spansih (Suñer 1998: 357). In the following, we can see that MC does not admit resumption in such contexts.

(30)a. *Pa ena [$_{DP}$ personn$_i$ (ki) to kav fer li$_i$ konfjans].
NEG have nobody KI 2SG can do 3SG trust
b. Pa ena [$_{DP}$ personn$_i$ (ki) to kav fer t$_i$ konfjans].
Lit. 'There is nobody you can trust.'

It seems evident that a distinction should be made between Spanish resumptives on the one hand, and MC ones on the other. In the former, RPs may have narrow scope reading and their antecedent may be negatively quantified. In contrast, MC resumptives may not have indefinite antecedents, and, in addition, when they occur, they trigger a restrictive focus interpretation. Their different status in each case argues against a single analysis of resumptives. Suñer's description of Spanish facts supports a syntactic account of resumptives, but the constraints that have been identified for MC point to a pragmatic account[1].

In the investigation about noun phrase type and resumption, a legitimate question is the interaction between the interpretive effect of resumptives and 'definite' determiner LA, an issue that has not been investigated in the studies of LA.

Recall that LA occurs to the right of all the elements inside the noun phrase, including the relative clause. In the following sentences, I look at the different interpretations obtained when LA and an RP are used for an object noun phrase, separately and when combined. An informal semantic representation is provided for ease of exposition.

(31)a. Sak garson pu truv [$_{DP}$ tifi (ki) li pe rode t$_i$].
each boy IRR find girl KI 3SG PROG search
'Each boy will find whatever girl(s) he is looking for .'

a'. $\forall (x)$ [boy (x) $\rightarrow$ $\exists y$ [girl(y) $\wedge$ search (x,y) $\wedge$ find (x,y)]]

---

[1] Hebrew allows indefinite antecedents for RPs, but possible differences in interpretation is not treated by Erteschik-Shir whose examples are always definite.

b. *Sak garson pu truv [DP tifi$_i$ (ki) li pe rod li$_i$].
   'Each boy will find the girl he is looking for her.'

c. Sak   garson pu   truv [DP tifi (ki) li   pe   rode   t$_i$ la].
   each boy   IRR find   girl   C   3SG PROG search   DET
   'Each boy will find the one girl he is looking for.'

c'. ∀(x) [boy (x) → find (x, ɩy [girl(y) ∧ look (x,y)])]

d. *Sak garson   pu   truv [DP tifi   (ki) li pe rod li$_i$. la].
   'Each boy will find the girl he is looking for her.'(specific only)

e. Raj inn   trouv [DP tifi$_i$ li   ti   pe   rod   li$_i$ la].
   Raj PERF find   girl 3SG PAST PROG search   3SG   DET
   'Raj has found the girl that he was looking for.'

e'. ∃T [T ⊂ girl → find (r, ɩy [T(y) ∧ search (r,y)])]]

In (31a), *tifi* is non-specific (in the absence of LA) and, like other bare nouns in MC, it is number neutral. For all boys, if x is a boy, there is at least one girl such that he is looking for her and that he will find her. Sentence (31b) is ungrammatical: it may be explained by the constraint prohibiting resumption for bare nouns. In (31c), we have a gap and Det LA: LA produces a singular interpretation, represented here by the 'iota' operator. For all boys, if x is a boy, he will find the one girl that he is looking for. With LA, it is understood in (31c) that he is looking for one girl. Notice that the existential quantifier does not have wide scope over the universal quantifier in this sentence. Sentence (31d) has both LA and the RP combined and is unacceptable, but contrasts with grammatical (31e) which has the following interpretation: there exists a set of girls T which is a subset of all the girls in the world such that Raj has found that one girl (y) and that girl is part of the set of girls (T) and Raj was looking for her. Note that any modifying the TMA marking of either verb does not make (31d) acceptable: combining an RP and a determiner gives a noun phrase that is interpreted existentially, and as such, is no longer indefinite such that it can no longer be interpreted with respect to a quantified noun phrase.

In this section, we have seen that resumptives in MC cannot have indefinite antecedents in contrast to Spanish and possibly Hebrew. This has been tested for cardinal DPs, quantified noun phrases and bare nouns. Moreover, combining the 'definite' determiner and a resumptive is possible and that the resulting interpretation is obligatorily definite. If that is so, one has to explain why the presence of LA does not trigger a definite interpretation on its own: LA although linked to definitness does not prevent the gap from having a variable interpretation.

7 Summary and conclusions

I have explored the idea that the gap vs. resumptive alternation in a certain number of contexts is due to a difference in interpretation possibilities. While it is often admitted that the referent is interpreted as being specific, it is still not clear what causes this particular interpretation. Some approaches to this problem are semantic, others are more pragmatically oriented: in semantic terms, the alternation may be viewed in terms of the de re and de dicto interpretation, RPs being banned from having a de dicto interpretation. That RP antecedents have an obligatory wide scope reading has also been proposed. Other constraints that have been pointed out that are related to the semantic properties of resumption are a prohibition against a bound variable reading for RPs and a ban against negatively quantified antecedents.

Evaluating these claims has not been possible in MC because RPs are not allowed to have indefinite antecedents (in which I include bare nouns). A pragmatic approach which views specificity as the selection of one (or more) referents among a given set, the so-called 'restrictive focus' reading provides a plausible characterisation of the type of interpretation triggered by MC resumptives. This study finally deals with the interaction between resumptives and the definite determiner *la:* while a more detailed study is needed in order to tease apart the different nuances of meaning that each contributes, it can already be seen that LA contributes towards definiteness and that the RP is linked to specificity.

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Negotiating meaning in interactive teacher feedback on student draft essays in EAP writing classroom

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Abstract

Teacher's oral feedback has recently been widely adopted in EAP writing centres to encourage L2 student participation so L2 student writer's written work can be improved. As the nature of discourse is highly localised and socially co-constructed, there are certain patterns of discourse organisation in teacher's feedback interactions. This study explored patterns of discourse organisation in discussions between teacher and student in three different English for Academic Purpose (EAP) programmes at a British university: i) an International Foundation Diploma (IFD), ii) a Foundation Diploma Liberal of Arts (FDLA) and iii) a Graduation Preparation Diploma (GPD). It described a principle pattern of teacher's construction for providing feedback- though there were some complex patterns - that enabled student writers to engage with issues through discussion whilst scaffolding them to engage in a critical or logical manner. The role of the teacher's oral feedback is not simply described as a writing instructor, but as creating a supportive mutual environment. However some of interactional features suggested that writing teachers provided a critical judgment by evaluating student errors or by pronouncing whether student ideas are right or wrong in a way that seems to block student contributions.

1. EAP context and the research question

With the rapid growth in the numbers of students learning English as a Second/Foreign language instruction, especially English for Academic Purposes has developed significantly (Coffey, 1984; Robinson, 1991; Jordan, 1997; Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002). The needs of EAP students have been defined as "the quick and economical the use of English to pursue a course of academic study" (Coffey, 1984:3). EAP courses aim to facilitate students' speaking, writing and research skills, with a syllabus based on needs analysis of student activity in subject - specific disciplines. The EAP syllabus is often dominated by constrained time limits and a need for prioritisation of specific discourse in the medium of English e.g. mastery of appropriately handling textbooks, lectures, journals, seminars, group discussions, and so on (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002).

A great deal of EAP pedagogic research is devoted to the theory and pedagogy of writing, as effective literacy teaching has been identified as one of the most problematic practices in Higher Education (QAA, 2002). As a process of situated rhetorical action, writing of any kind involves a complexity of cognitive and linguistic activities whereby writers match the expectancies and competencies of their readership (Hyland, 2000). Effective writing aims to result in texts which both meet the individual writer's goal and satisfy the needs of readers' in their professional context. This is especially so in EAP. However, it is not simply a matter of engaging student textual awareness. Alongside this students must develop awareness of their own personal and internal strategies in order to go beyond mere reproduction of models of practice, and to develop their own academic voice. In the process of achieving such a voice, and effective awareness of linguistic and rhetorical actions in text, it is generally believed important to engage students in teacher/peer feedback as this kind of interactivity generates awareness of practice, particularly of the recursive nature of the composing process in tasks

such as writing (Hyland, 2000). Undoubtedly, feedback activities – both interactions between student and teacher and between peers – play an important role in motivating and encouraging learners (Paulus, 1999).

In general, there has been a considerable body of research on classroom interaction (e.g. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: IRF model, Mercer, 1995; Benwell and Stokoe, 2002) but studies of the nature of feedback interaction during teacher feedback, especially within L2 students' literacy practices, have received limited attention in EAP pedagogy in UK higher education. Some scholars demonstrate how the negotiation process works well during the writing (Goldstein & Conrad, 1990); they looked at the length of 'teacher dominant' time between weaker and stronger students (Patthey-Chavez & Ferris, 1997); and at various aspects of teacher' feedback e.g. explicit, direct or questioning (Williams, 2004). Although their findings inform the importance of the negotiation process and identify some aspects of feedback interactions, the evidence gathered for a range of characteristics of the dynamic nature of teacher feedback/peer interactions remains insufficient.

My preliminary research (Cho, 2004) as a pilot case study addressed the issue of contextual and social factors in the EAP writing classroom. The thesis was that through understanding interactive feedback interactions, limitations and possibilities, instructors can encourage students to find and create their own 'voice' in their learning contexts. However, opportunities for detailed investigation were limited. Such interaction is almost certainly the key to a fuller understanding of the nature, particularly in language learning (van Lier, 1996: Gibbons, 2002). Therefore, this study will focus more on the nature of negotiated learning in interaction: that is, to give an account of how teacher to student behaviour works interactively around a writing task.

The aim of this research is to investigate the nature of feedback interactions between teacher and student (teacher's oral feedback), by exploring what happens when L2 writers engage in focus on the drafting process with teacher or peers in the classroom. This paper only presents an account of how teachers construct feedback on student draft essays focusing especially on the opening section of spoken interaction in the EAP writing disciplinary context. I begin by presenting the relevant literature about L2 literacy development through spoken discourse. I then present the methodology. After that, I analyse the openings in the structure of spoken feedback, showing the interactional characteristics which regularly occur in the opening sections; and elaborate how those interactions have been developed for the purpose of feedback. The paper concludes with a summary. Although the analysis isolates the opening interaction of the entire interaction, there is in this opening a great deal of the complexity of literacy disciplinary practice as it informs us how teachers support or develop ways of student thinking in an early stage of feedback.

2. Relevant Literature
2.1 Literacy enhancement through spoken discourse
Spoken language in learning has been recognised as an important and valuable approach as Vygotsky's (1978) theory emphasised. Vygotsky's well-known concept of the Zone of Proximal Development is focused on instruction and development and it is fundamentally organised in the social situation of development upon the basic contradiction between what the child can *presently* do on its own and what the child *will be able to do* with appropriate help given the possibilities and constraints of the environment. Spoken language or interactive discourse has recently been widely adopted in EAP writing centres to encourage student participation in their learning environment. Literacy development is not simple for L2 students as the literacy in question i.e. in English is embedded into a particular social context which is associated with their new academic discourse community which has their own genres and has required some specific lexis (Swales, 1990). Within such a particular

community, novice writers must learn the academic conventions for their field of study. This leads us to think about what needs to be taught or be learnt for literacy development in EAP.

2.2 Writing and community

Literacy is related to a social context and its language. Writing especially is rooted in the conventions of the host community which is defined by biological ties, or by the practice of a common discipline. So writers cannot simply produce any text without understanding concepts within that community (Bizzell, 1992). Clearly then, those who are new to the community and are not proficient in the dominant language must acquire the language and understand the ways that texts are written to be used in that social environment (Hamp-Lyons, 1988). Second language learners (L2) therefore, face complex challenges as the host conventions may conflict with their own when L2 students are pursuing new academic studies in a different language (Myles and Cheng, 2003). Unsurprisingly, engaging with this new community is not straightforward for second language student writers especially given the complex atmosphere of higher education. They must gain fluency in the specific conventions of English language discourses to study effectively in their own disciplines. In doing this they face complex issues within two different disciplinary communities (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002). The issues which L2 student writers are likely to encounter have been thought about especially in English for Academic Purposes on which the present study draws. Over the last few decades, the teachers and researchers of EAP have tried to develop techniques to deal with this challenge.

2.3 Scaffolding

The concept of scaffolding has become widely recognised as one of the principles of effective instruction in education settings. This metaphor refers to 'the steps taken to *reduce the degrees of freedom* in carrying out some tasks so that the learner can concentrate on difficult skills she/he is in the process of acquiring (Bruner, 1978: 19). It allows teachers to accommodate an individual student needs and is explicitly related to Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Distance (ZPD). The learner ordinarily could not achieve independently without some kind of help or assistance. Scaffolding is a process in which students are given support until they demonstrate their task mastery independently (Rosenshine & Meister, 1992). When students begin to demonstrate task mastery, the degree of the support from the teacher is decreased gradually and the responsibility for learning shift to the students.

3 Methodology
3.1 Research participants

The research participants in this study included three writing teachers and EAP students in pre-sessional writing classrooms in higher education at a UK university.

-*Student participant group:*

For teacher feedback observation, the group of student participants for the study were from three different levels of English language courses in an English for Academic Purpose (EAP) programme at a UK university: i) an International Foundation Diploma (IFD), ii) a Foundation Diploma Liberal of Arts (FDLA) and iii) a Graduation Preparation Diploma (GPD). A total of 24 non-native students participated in and consented to feedback activities. The student writers in these three classes also had similar tasks in that they had to produce a 3000word essay based on background reading of their specific interest or subject.

-*Teacher participants:*

There were three different female native teachers amongst the participants: Rose, Tania and Amy (not their real names). They had all been teaching English for 10 years or more and had all taught English outside the UK. They all used at least three drafts to assess student written

work: one for individual student writers' eyes only (a preliminary draft); one for peer and teacher feedback without grade (draft 1), and the final grade version of their assignment (draft 2) (course materials, 2006).

3.2 A Selected Method

For this study, Conversation Analysis was used as the appropriate research approach. As it is a qualitative method, it allows the researcher to get rich authentic evidence of micro-structural data -'details of actual events' (Sacks, 1984a: 26) - to find out what really happens. CA also enables us to understand phenomena in holistic way based on actual recorded data of naturally occurring interactions (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). Such data is developed along the lines of a detailed transcription system with a highly empirical orientation. As transcripts facilitate intensive analytical consideration with selective episodes transcription enables the analysts and other readers to have transparent access to the data content. It is to be noted that transcriptions cannot represent the recorded materials in their full details; rather they are necessarily selective: selective transcripts can be followed by the researcher's analysis and afford researchers an opportunity for deeper consideration. The study aims to capture a richness of details in regard to classroom interaction, and to apply the conversational analysis approach to maximize understanding of real feedback situations and to authenticate findings during teacher's spoken feedback.

-Data Collection

Each session of teacher spoken feedback was video/audio recorded over the period of approximately 6 months in 2006. The number of spoken feedbacks recorded for the three teachers were similar: 10 for IFD and 11 for both FDLA and GPD: total 32 tutorials. The length of these in the recorded corpus range widely. Total 10 hours 6 minutes 45 seconds were collected without measuring the time they spent on written comments. However, as mentioned earlier, this study does not intend to analyse the whole interaction: 32 tutorials in opening sequence were transcribed for intensive analytic consideration on how the ways that teachers speak to construct meaning and improve the students writing.

4 Analysis from the findings
4.1 The spoken feedback in the opening sequence

The first analysed extract is from the very beginning of spoken feedback given by Rose to Julia, her student from France. They are sitting next to each other in a classroom and Julia has brought along with her the first draft containing written comments given by Rose a week previously. T is the teacher, Rose, and S is the student, Julia.

[Extract 1]
RT5-FF1   00:19-1:45   T: Teacher-Rose   J: Student-Julia   (1) (2) (3): three part of feedback construction
The whole interaction length was 15.30 minutes. The student's topic was "Terrorism, the force behind a new law in the United Kingdom".
1T(1)   ((looking at Julia's essay and seeing her face)) °°Okay um: wo-were my comments understandable↑°°=
2J   Yes (.) °I think (.) I've got ALL the bibliographies° WR↑ONG ((smiling))=
3T   =° DID you↑° = ((seeing Julia's eyes))
4J   =YE::S(.hh) ((smiling)) in the (0.3) but I can change it (0.3) I just have to change it (.) but
5T(2)   >Ha-How did you make those mistakes↑<
6 J   I don't KN↑ow: but (.) I don't KN↑ow: (.) I, I looked the (.) in how to (.) I had the paper how to cite (.hh)
7   but (.) I don't kn↑ow (.hh) WHY I did it WR↑ONG (.h) ((smiling))
8T(3)   >you(.) you know what did I (0.5) why I (0.5) where is it? where is the bibliography? (1.0) ye (.) the problem is that the
9   date ((pointing at Julia's paper)) HERE! (1.0) and the date (.) here (.) Nicholson (.) here (.) it says nineteen ninety eight
10   (.) and here ((looking at Julia's bibliography)) it says two thousand two (.hh)
11J   WOO↑:: (1.0) I must have got it wrong (.)
12T   I mean (.) these are books you (.) you've got from library or?=
13J   ya?
14   =Yes yes yes (.) Actually this one is MINE (1.0) ((pointing her paper))
15T   Right
16J   but (2.0) the other ones are all from library
17T   because um:: I think you made a couple of mistakes (.) there was Nicolson one (.) there was another one you've got year
18   wrong (.) I think (2.0) anyway (.) and the the place anyway (.) you you can sort that one out can't you? =

19J   =Yeah
20T   and here always put the author (.) and if there isn't author then (.) in this case the paper >sorry I've got a cough<
21J   ok (.) it's ok
22T   A-CHEE:: (5.0) sorry (.) this cold has been building up all week (X) and finally hitting me (.) um:: SO↑ (.) SO↑RT
23   that O↑UT
22J   Yeah ((nodding)) (bibliography can change)

At this early stage, we can see the teacher inviting the student's contribution, and reflect on why she made the errors. At first, the teacher attempts to set up her talk by connecting with the student's past experience e.g. written comment on the student's first draft, which the teacher provided a week before. She begins with framing her talk "Okay um:" and initiates a close question: "were my comments understandable↑" which is a non-directive way and is not a specific attention that seems to encourage the student's participation. The student answers the question "Yes (.)" and provides new information, which is her own problematic issue "°I think (.) I've got ALL the bibliographies° WR↑ONG". Here, the student takes an active role and initiates self–nominated topic as her own specific problem rather than the teacher's proposed topic as of general problem in line 1. The teacher then treats the student's information as new and provides her interest "° DID you↑°". This teacher seems to collaborate with the student and provides a space to elaborate for the student so the student is able to construct her evaluation " …but I can change it (0.3) I just have to change it (.) but". When her turn seems to close down, the teacher initiates another turn: "How did you make those mistakes↑". The teacher, here, takes an inductive approach which seems to develop the learner's thinking process that probably encourages the student to explore her existing knowledge or to concede the efficiency of problem-solving strategies. However, when she sees that the student lacks knowledge or has wrong information in lines 6 and 7(even though she provided written comments a week before) "I don't KN↑ow: but (.) I don't KN↑ow: …WHY I did it WR↑ONG", she does finally inform and instruct. The instruction is related to specific content associated with the teacher's expertise as an academic writing instructor. In order to solve the problem, the teacher provides more explanation stimulated by the errors her student has made. In other words, she chooses contextual data from the text in front of them to offer examples of how the student has made errors rather than simply telling the student that errors exist or instructing her on how to correct them. For example, when she recognises the student's problem in lines 8 and 9 "ye (.) the problem is that the date", the teacher compares the cited references in the body of the student's essay and the bibliography at the end of the essay "it says nineteen ninety eight (.) and here ((looking at Julia's bibliography)) it says two thousand two (.hh)" . Her spoken elaboration possibly allows Julia to understand why she made her errors more than teacher's written comments which she appears not to have fully understood. So she finally admits her misunderstanding "WOO↑:: (1.0) I must have got it wrong" in line 11.

 However, the teacher reconstructs her turn as she wants to check accuracy of the sources whether the student has actually used those sources in her essay "I mean (.) these are books you (.) you've got from library or?". The student strongly denies the teacher's suspension that "Yes yes yes (.) Actually this one is MINE (1.0)". With the teacher's agreement "Right" in line 15, the teacher checks the student's understanding of Bibliography and closes the opening sequence "…SO↑ (.) SO↑RT that O↑UT" in lines 22 and 23. With the student's agreement, the opening sequence is competed. This result is supported by Conrad and Goldstein (1999) who observe that spoken feedback is an essential process in negotiating focus on complicated rhetorical errors or certain types of language errors e.g. argumentation, sentence structure and lexical items which may be hard to deal with in written form. Throughout the process of feedback in this encounter, the student not only has the opportunity to identify her errors by herself which helps her to participate dynamically in a discussion; she is supported in her

monitoring strategy by her tutor. The teacher on the other hand learns more about what her student doesn't know and can't do alone; and she is able further to fine-tune her instruction using contextualised data from the student own work.

In extract 1 discussed above, as a result of the feedback the process, the student finally demonstrated evidence of learning. The teacher's construction of this feedback suggests that it seems to consist of three parts: (1) begin with asking about the student draft essay then (2) allow the student to explore the cause of identified errors (3) provide explicit instructions to close knowledge gap. This three part sequence provides a first sample of teacher's construction in the opening sequence of the spoken feedback interaction. As my aim is to identify ways of talking or/and sequential patterns of teachers' knowledge construction in spoken feedback using CA tools, I will elaborate in the next section on how the opening sequence of spoken feedback is used in order to further the student's learning. However, note that I also consider that there are significant differences between each feedback activity in the light of teacher's knowledge construction.

4.2 Identifying the three parts of feedback construction in opening sequence

The analysis of data regarding opening interactive sequences suggests a certain similarity of construction amongst the teachers studied: that is an observance of a three part sequence. It seems to me that the following extract offers another example of how a teacher follows this three part routine.

[Extract 2]
TT4-MF1   00:00-1:57   T: Teacher-Tania   S: Student-Sofia   (1) (2) (3): three part of feedback construction
The whole interaction length was 9.18 minutes. Sofia's essay topic was "What would be the socio-political implications if the wall between the USA and the Mexican border is built".
1T   ((looking at Sofia's face)) SO↑: um: °you've CHANGED your subjects (.) after after a while↑°= ((smiling))
2S   =YEAH: ((smiling))
3T   ° Oka:y (.)° an:: d °you've come up with a subject you feel quite happy about↑°=
4S   =YEAH:
5T(1)   Yes (.) a:nd (h.) °How↑ do you feel about your first draft (.) yourself ?° (.) ((smiling))
6S   Um: (2.0) I think the ONLY thing is um: (1.5) coz I did it (1.0) ur (.) qu:ite: qui↑ckly=
7T   =Mm hm↑ ((nodding))
8S   >so (,) I don't think my grammar is (.) ve↑:ry ve↑:ry good an:d I think it's very informal<=
9T   =Okay
10S   um: I wer: I only wrote two thousand six hundred words (.) so I need to write a little bit more (.) and probably my
11S   CONCLU↑SION (.) I am not very happy with it (.) I think it should be more strong (.)
12T   So you could make it… ((trails off))
13S   YEAH a bit more mm
14T   So that is what you are planning (.) to do YEah↑=
15S   =YEAH (2.0)
16T(2)   Did you feel (.) you need to do anymore research↑(.) or: did you feel (.) you've done enough research as you need?=
17S   =I THI↑NK::(.) mm: (0.4) I have enough actually coz I didn't write complete bibliography(.) error's only reference actually
18T   about it
19T   Yes (.) Okay(.) mm: which is   yes yes ((looking at Sofia's paper))
20S   YEAH error's only reference list: that I used: inside into
21T(3)   Okay you will put the reference list (.) and then (.) you got the bibliographies (XXX)=
22S   u-hm Yes
23S   bibliographies (.) well YEAH (.) ((pointing her paper)) I need to write this again in the bibliography or not?
24T   um:: (2.0) ((looking at student's paper)) yes (.) you should
25S   So (.) this ones and I have five more
26T   Right (.) and so:: you feel you've got quite a: wide range of opinions and backgrounds?
27S   YEAH:: (.) I think so Yeah: I mean (.) I can't: I cannot get er really get the Mexican point of view because I can't use
28S   u-hehehe ((laughing))
29T   um um   °You've got°
30S   >BUT I think <(.) this ones are I mean (.) none of them are: their about their articles=
31T   um   yes   ye:s
32T   =um=
33S   =I mean (.) there is one which is quite (.) um:: (in favour of) while (.)
34T   u-hm
35S   but the others are really against it (.) I mean even though they are Americans
36T   yes   uhm
37S   (they) it will affect too much: to their relationship between Mexico and United States so
38T   u-hm but: bad relationship: ok (.) ((looking at S's paper))

In extract 2, the teacher, Tania, and a Mexican student, Sofia, are sitting next to each other in Tania's office. On a desk, Tania sets out Sofia's first draft essay, on which she has already made some written comments. This extract indicates a similar three parts of teacher's construction of feedback, although in this instance, the process involves a greater amount of student contribution. As a first part, the teacher initiates an open question: "How↑ do you feel about your first draft (.) yourself?" in line 5 acts as an invitation to the student. The question is related to the student's feelings on her draft essay: whether she has had difficulties with it. The "How↑ do you feel about your first draft (.) yourself?" format allows the student to go straight into her problem diagnosis "Um: (2.0) I think the ONLY thing is um: (1.5) coz I did it (1.0) ur (.) qu:ite: qui↑ckly…". Notice that during the student's description, the teacher uses verbal and non-verbal expressions: verbal- "Yes, Okay, Mm hm↑, Mm"; non-verbal- "((nodding)), ((smiling)), ((looking at Sofia's face))". As Far (2003) has suggested, teacher's verbal or non-verbal expression is a vital role reinforcement e.g. "Mm" as a 'weak acknowledging' token which is a way of making a low key contribution and which makes the student feel more relaxed or encouraged: hence it is preferred by the students. This teacher reinforcement seems to invite the student to talk more elaborately, just as it had in Extract 1: see such as "DID you↑". In fact, the student's speaking turn in this extract stretches from line 6 to line 11. She particularly elaborates her opinions using hedges e.g. "*I think*…" and "*I don't think*…"; using modal verbs e.g. "It *should* be more strong" and "I *need*..". Through the process, the student is not only able to reflect on her errors by herself e.g. in regard to reference but has an opportunity to explain what she has already done, and what she needs to do further in general. In this instance teacher's encouragement by open question, with verbal or non-verbal reinforcement, appears to guide the student's reflective procedure in order to encourage her to be an active participant in the discussion.

The second part noticed in opening sequence is another question: whether the student needs to do more research, in particular in line 16 where we find more narrowing down of the subject. In this way the student is able to focus on her problem. The teacher may want the student to explore further as there is a pause "(2.0)" in the student's turn in line 15 which makes a place for the teacher to start speaking. This more focused line of questioning allows the student to articulate her perceived errors in full. Her response is at first somewhat hesitant "mm: (0.4)" but she then elaborates her opinion by using more emphatic lexical items i.e. "actually" and "only": "I have enough actually coz I didn't write complete bibliography (.) error's only reference actually (.)" in line 17. The student tries to show that she has done some work, but is ready to identify gaps in her knowledge.

In the final part, the teacher provides explicit instruction. However this part of extract 2 differs from extract 1 in that the activity is co-operative between the teacher and the student. The teacher is jointly involved in the learning activity with the student. The teacher tries to address the issue of reference, using the example of the reference the student made in her paper and she also allows the student's question "I need to write this again in the bibliography or not?" in line 23. This activity reflects the teacher's professional responsibility in helping the learner to clarify the understanding of the use of the source. This would help the student to see a logical link between what she has already learnt and what she needs to do next. Throughout the process the writing teacher alternates the roles between *speaker and listener/reader* (Yngve, 1970) in spoken feedback. The teacher's role extends from listener, to counsellor, to reader, to speaker and to a joint constructor of text. While the first and second part sequences show her readiness to engage with the student's difficulty e.g. sharing knowledge and narrowing the focus, the final part is to exemplify and clarify the teacher's extended contextual framework for developing student understanding.

The next extract 3 in section 4.3 presents another example of opening sequence of spoken teacher feedback. This example demonstrates similarity in opening sequence to those in

Extracts 1 and 2. As noted earlier, however, the section is also looked at for the *details* of the interaction which contains many features.

4.3 Refining the Analysis

As seen in Extracts 1 and 2, there is a similarity of discourse patterns in opening sequence of spoken teacher feedback interaction: three parts of feedback construction. In this section, Extracts 3 and 4 now refine the three parts. In extract 3 below, the teacher, Amy, and the student, Min from China, are sitting next to each other in a small conference room. Many students have finished their first draft, but Min hasn't started it yet. Instead she has an outline of her research.

[Extract 3]
AT4-CF1 00:00-3:23 T: Teacher-Amy M:student-Min   (1) (2) (3): three part of teacher's construction
The whole interaction length was 17.07 minutes. Min's topic was "google"

```
1T (1)    um: °Mo:st important thing for YOU:↑ is (.) if you've got a research question° ((looking at Min's face and smiling))
2M        ur:: NOT↑ QUESTIONS (1.0) ((smiling))
3T        ((nodding)) (4.0) °°ok°°
4M        and er (0.4) I, I read a lot of A↑rticles (.) and er some of books>=
5T        =Goo::d= (( her face goes red))
6M        = but ur (0.4) <I found some information's not useful> er⌈HA: ((smiling))⌈My reading (.) is too slowly (.) I think=
7T                                                               ⌊Of course      ⌊Ye ((smiling))
8T        =WELL:: YES
9M         and ut (.) I found the er google (.) promoted a lot of new services this year
10T        YEAH
11M       like um:: cooperated with bt phone podapong (1.0)
12T        with what↑
13M       Podapongs (1.0) Podapong=
14T       =VO↑:DAPHONE ((looking at her lips)) =
15M        =Yeah (.) VOdaphone
16T       Yeah (.) good (.) sorry (.) Yeah Yep
I7M      and the um: it is er planning to put er data basis and (.) like online supermarket for Europeans' retailers
18T       Really?
19M       Yeah
20T       Yes
21M      coz er Google base (2.0)
22T       Right (.)
23M      Also want to um:: promote online the video frequency search⌈include entertainment programmes
24T                                                                   ⌊ok
25T(2)    Yes (.) ok right (.) That's (.) THAT'S the some FACTS on this about google =
26M       =Yeah
27T       What can you DO: with them? (2.0)
28M       mm:: (3.0)
29T(3)     so THIS IS (.) THIS IS um (2.0) okay CAN I just have (.) Can you just have a pen↑ (.hhh) (5.0) NOW (.) This kind of
30T        thing (3.0) This is dangerous
31M        mm::
32T        ((Underlining a section in Min's paper)) because this is the man who works for google (.) who says we're living in a
33         Google world (.) Do you see how it's the dangerous↑
34M        ((nodding)) because it's er not the reality but ur the someone who works for Google (.) ((nodding and smiling))
35T        SO so therefore (.) that is not um: (3.0) It's not academic (.) because if you if you write it down (.) you need to either
36         say proo::f! or you need to say (1.0) <this shows how strongly people want us to believe>
37M        yeah and the google's ambition
38T        (4.0) ((written down something)) ok (.)
```

In this sequence teacher's feedback construction has three parts; and her question seems to play a vital role in teaching as it seems to encourage student contribution. As a first part, through a question, the teacher establishes what they are going to talk about i.e. "a research question" which the student is supposed to identify as a writing topic. In fact most have already done their first draft. However, in this instance the teacher has learnt that the student hasn't yet arrived at a research question, but is attempting to establish a theme highlighting some information about google. It is assumed from the teacher's facial appearance i.e. her face reddening at line 5, that she is not happy with the student's excuse. However, she seems ready to support the student's talk using backchannels e.g. 'good', 'Yes', 'right'. But, the

student's turn at this point is blocked by a pronunciation problem 'Podapong' (Vodaphone). This is resolved as the teacher seeks and establishes her clarification after which she repairs the student's pronunciation.

In the second part, the teacher presents her view, evaluating the relevance of the student's ideas to the chosen theme. To do this, she asks a direct question. Initially the student is not able to formulate an answer to support her argument, as there is a pause "Mm::(3.0)". Perhaps the student's reaction supports Dashwood (2005)'s view that when the teacher poses direct questions, students tend not to develop their ideas clearly and not to produce elaborated answers. At this point therefore the teacher's question may have resulted in the students' failure to continue to expand on the meanings of the text and generally to make her own contribution. Nevertheless, in the third part, when the teacher continually tries to establish what the student's problem is, using another question after evaluation, the student tends to respond more readily, with more elaboration. This follow-up question after the provision of initial information, seems to allow the student to think more about her sources of information, and as a result she is able to articulate what her problem is, in line 34. It is noticeable that the teacher's direct question and critical evaluation or judgment seem somewhat to inhibit the student's arguments; but a follow-up question with further information brings the student back to a point where she can elaborate her problem.

The final extract below comes from a same course as extract 2. The teacher, Tania, begins talk to the student, Nadia, from Latvia about the student's feelings on her draft essay.

[Extract 4]
TT3   00:00 - 00:50   T: Teacher-Tania   S: student- Salvia   (1) (2) (3): three parts of the teacher's construction
The whole interaction length was 10.20 minutes. Her topic was "Analyse the reasons for Ikea's success in the international furniture market".

1T(1)   So↑ °How did you feel about this↑(.) um: after you had your feedback (ask me) °
2S   Ahh:: hh. As I said that I feel quite happy but I now have some er mistakes which I should improve and then if I want to
3   get a good mark ((smiling))
3T   °what sort of mark you are expecting to be thinking of °
4S   I want to get an A OF COURSE HEhehehehe
5T(2)   Okay he. hh. Okay what (.) what do you think you can improve on it?
6S   ur I need to put (.) ur put more information about (company X) and a little bit more analysing
7T(3)   Ok (.) ok I, I agree with that (.) yes

In this extract, the dominant element of the feedback process is the three part sequence: first the teacher invites the student to express her feelings on the draft essay (1); next she allows opportunities to explore the student's knowledge (2); finally she agrees with the student's opinion (3). Unlike, extracts 1, 2, and 3, a third part in the extract 4, the teacher agrees with the student's opinion straight away. It seems to me that as the student does not specify her problem, the teacher closes the sequence with "yes" and wants to move on to specific errors which the student has made in her text.

Additional observation about this sequence, seen also in extract 2 is that participant talks are characterized by particular linguistic features. Especially the student talk contains present tense such as *'now'* in line 2 which establishes a reference time for a plan in relation to the time of the student's utterance (Schiffrin, 1987:p245). The student gives an explanation of her feelings and evaluates her present situation using *now*. Then the student shifts to future actions using modal verbs e.g. *should, need* as also seen in extract 2. Such makers emphasise the student's willingness and the related notion of self-determination to be an active learner rather than a passive learner who only takes advice from teachers. On the other hand, the teacher's talks are characterized by asking open questions e.g. How did you feel…? What sort of mark…? What do you think…? In this instance, the use of open questions support the student contribution as the student is able to identify her problem and to build her future plan: what she needs to do further. These questions lead the student into a position where she collaborates on equal terms.

4.4 The components of the opening sequence in spoken feedback

The analysis of teachers' construction of spoken feedback in opening sequence has led to a major finding: three parts of feedback construction. In this study, the opening sequence is highly organized by the teacher who is interested in the process of writing. The student, on the other hand, challenges the agenda to diagnose and elaborate her/his errors/difficulties on draft essays.

In rest of the section I will present some components which have already been introduced in Extract 1, 2, 3, and 4; and I will also present additional data. Those components are presented and elaborated separately below in terms of each turn.

1. The 'opening' for the feedback activity by the teacher: asking the students what they feel about their draft essays

The teachers in this study are observed to offer the students a clear signal that they are now going to start talking seriously (to get down to business) about the draft. This is a similar pattern to that identified by Sinclair and Couthard (1975)'s study, which highlights signals such as *"Okay", "um:", "So",* the raising or the lowering the voice, and pausing briefly. Such moves appear to be related to the teachers' role and initiation to focus on the student's topic as a mediator, or to establish a sharing experience with the student.

Then, the teacher often asks for the student's feelings on her draft essays. In this case she opens a question by eliciting what the student herself thinks of her essay; whether the student has experienced some difficulties during the revision e.g. "how do you feel about your first draft yourself?", "were my comments understandable?". The language used by the teacher suggests that she/he cares about student feelings on writing, is interested in the draft process, and is willing to approach difficulties with supportive openings. This is indicated by the use of a soft voice '°…°' or an even softer voice '°°… °°' and smiling.

2. The initial error self- diagnosis by the student

The student often starts with hesitation or a pause utterances such as "Um: (2.0)" "Ur::" "<u>Ahh</u>:: hh." or Yes/no answer: "Yeah" seems to be used as a sign of her beginning point and related to the next talk which she is about to extend. Then the student often begins with describing errors she/he has made: "I think (.) I've got ALL the bibliographies° <u>WR↑ONG</u>" or " I think the <u>ONLY</u> thing is um: (1.5) coz I did it (1.0) ur (.) qu:ite: <u>qui↑ckly</u>…" or "but I now have some er mistakes which I should improve …". These turns are designed for narrative purposes, reflecting on the nature of the student's errors or the cause of error. The student may start with "I think…" or "As I said I feel…but…", indicating an active and reflective engagement in the discussion, as she/he attempts to identify errors by themselves. Here are more examples of the student initial self-diagnosis from the other three extracts:

(1) TT6-CyF1
1T   What did you think: um: of your own work↑
2S   um::? I am quite satisfied (.) just um: even, even if it's academic: because I included so many scientific::
3T   u-hm=
4S   =definitions and what all the doctors said and um:: researches all you know but it's little bit descriptive which=
5T   =u-hm=
6S   I had to

(2) TT9-JoF1
00.00-0.23
1T   okay R↑IGHT so↑ tell me what's been happening with your work ((smiling))
2S   um: well um:: I I researched a LOT of ur newspaper articles and journals ((smiling))
3T   U-hm
4S   um: well AC↑TUALLY (.) I (.) I(.) I found out that I did something extremely wrong with the referencing (.) coz I wasn't
5   suppose to reference wikipe↑dia
6T   u-hm
7S   and I did (.) in almost all of my projects ((laughing))

(3) AT2-JF1
0.10-0.57
1T   um: So let's have a piece of paper
2S   (12.0) ((finding her paper)) Ahhaha I think I am totally lost hihihi ((laughing))
3T   Yeah? hihi ((laughing)) ok
4S   I think (.) I tried to find (.) still I couldn't find the, the article about Japanese and English immigration policy in English
5   project=
6T   =right=
7S   =and: now I am thinking about I shouldn't compare with Japan and UK Just focus on UK or something other European
8   country

Additional note that, during the description, the student often smiles whether she says 'yes' or 'no', and also she often smiles before or after answering. This smiling may be related to politeness strategies, for example, Min's smiling after her excuse in Extract 3: "ur:: NOT QUESTIONS (1.0) and the ((smiling)) I read a LOT of articles…'. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), people try to avoid embarrassment or discomfort to others and maintain their own face without threatening acts as a face-saving act. Min's expression can be attributed to a negative politeness strategy because she has not done what the teacher wanted. But she wants to be respected, and uses as an excuse "((smiling)) I read a LOT of articles…".

3. The teacher allows the student to elaborate her/his problems further using open question
The teacher in this study often provides the student with an opportunity to elaborate her/his problems further, using a question to offer a turn. The teacher uses open forms such as 'what?', 'how?' and 'did you?', for example: "what do you think you can improve on it?" "Did you feel (.) you need to do anymore research↑(.) or . . ." "How did you make those mistakes↑". The teacher is looking forward to hearing the student's answer, which should contain extra relevant information about the errors. The teacher expects the student to arrive at a realization and understanding of her essay errors herself in preference to providing feedback directly. However, when it is established that the student has reached a point where she does not recognize certain errors, the teacher does provide explicit elaboration orally, with written feedback for further guidance. When the teacher uses open questions, the student turns are extended. This result is supported by Ho's study (2005) which observed that when teachers use open questions, students tend to take a turn and these turns are more extended. So open questions allow the students to explain their problems further, this encourages student motivation and maximizes their involvement.

4. Extended student descriptions of error
After the teacher's open question, there is more description narrowing down the focus to what the student needs to do further or why errors have occurred. The student's turn may contain hedges such as " I think, X…" or " I don't think, X… " and modal verbs " It should be X…" or " I need X and Y…". This turn design shows that the student tends to elaborate in a logical manner by careful analyzing or evaluating her/his own error and projecting how she/he can improve through certain procedures. However there is a limited response or a failure to extend the student's turn when the student has little knowledge to deal with the problem such as T: "That's the some facts. What can you do with them?" S: "Um::". This is a similar result in Pomerantz (1984)'s study that when a recipient does not respond to a speaker, the speaker treats her prior turn as a problem and provides explicit explanation. In this case, when the teacher supports the student with more elaboration about her problem, the student understands the problem better and begins to reconstruct her point e.g. T: ((Underlining a section in Min's paper)) "because this is the man who works for google (.) who says we're living in a Google world (.) Do you see how it's the dangerous↑" S: ((nodding)) "because it's er not the reality but ur the someone who works for Google (.)" ((nodding and smiling)).

5. The teacher provides feedback using contextual data
The teacher often starts to provide feedback using the contextual data i.e. the student's texts. When the teacher expresses or justifies student errors the teacher provides specific feedback in a personalized form so the teacher does not treat the errors as general academic errors: "where is the bibliography? (1.0) ye (.) the <u>pro</u>blem is that the date (1.0) ((pointing at Julia's paper)) HERE! and the date here (.)" in extract 1 or ((looking at Sofia's paper)) "You will put the reference list (.) and then . . ." in extract 2 or (underlining a section in Min's paper)) "This is the man who works for Google (.) who says living in a Google world . . ." in extract 3. The teacher tends to refer back to the student's papers when she/he explains the student's errors. The teacher describes how the student has made errors or how she could improve or deal with her problems after making an independent investigation. Notice that this support is not given by the teacher alone; rather it is completed jointly between teacher and student as the student has already diagnosed and elaborated her problems in the prior turn. In this final part, the teacher probably intends to summarise the main issues or to provide the final touch to specific details as the teacher is responsible for feedback as a mediator.

6. Reaching an agreement in the process of feedback activity
This study demonstrates that the spoken feedback seems to provide teachers and learners with a practical set of communication strategies that facilitate comprehension as the agreement of the student is attained e.g. "Yes", "Yeah", "<u>WOO</u>↑:: (1.0) I must have got it wrong". This agreement seems to result from joint elaborations where error is identified by the student while questions and elaboration arises from teacher's construction, using her/his superior expertise. Allowing the student's initial self-diagnosis and extended elaboration in the spoken feedback, appears to be a crucial source for both: stimulus to change because the teacher is able to direct or conduct student errors that leads student's comprehensible outcome. On the other hand, the teacher sometimes agrees with student's self-evaluation that appears to create a democratized context rather than hierarchical traditional institution. Although the teacher controls discourse, the student tends to joint in the discussion and sometimes takes a self-diagnosed turn which has already discussed above or a self-nominated turn which is seen as in extract 2 " ((pointing her paper)) I need to write this again in the bibliography or not?".

5 A systematic summary and conclusion
This analysis of detailed spoken feedback interaction in opening sequence has revealed a number of common features. One of the main features is that this feedback interaction is constructed in three parts which represents a joint achievement between student and teacher. This three part feedback construction is a shift away from a traditional hierarchical interaction such as IRF model (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) toward co-construction of knowledge, student preference to be an active learner as well as a responsible owner of the draft essay. These are all elements of an academic identity. In the opening sequence, this is evident as interactional stimulus: asking students' feeling on draft essays, allowing student elaborations and explicit explanations which comprise in the teacher's turns in the discussion. Teachers provide student opportunities to identify their errors by themselves and to elaborate how to deal with them. Here is a systematic summary of three part (three pairs) sequence in spoken feedback interaction.

T: Teacher   S: Student
1T: ꠰okay/um:/so꠰ ꠰asking for the students' feelings on their draft essays꠰
2S: ꠰um:/ur/hh.꠰ ꠰elaboration as an initial error diagnosis: I think, X or I did X꠰
3T: ꠰an open question: what?/how?/did you?꠰

4S: ☐an extended description: I think/ I don't think, I did/didn't X, I need X and Y /It should
  be X☐
5T: ☐providing feedback using contextual data from student's text☐or☐agreement☐
6S: ☐acceptance or agreement: Yes/okay☐
There is likely a minimal response if teachers evaluate or judge student work, or provide text-embedded questions. However, the teacher's follow up question after providing relevant information allows the student to take a turn again. Then finally teachers summarise the feedback provided and lead the students to an agreement.

5T: ☐evaluation and text-embedded question☐
6S: ☐silence: um:☐
7T: ☐description: relevant information and question☐
8S: ☐description or elaboration: because X☐
9T: ☐summary or elaboration☐
10S: ☐acceptance or agreement☐

In this study, teachers commonly use techniques like asking questions, elicitations and elaboration when interacting with students. These techniques are used for establishing new common knowledge during the discussion. We can see this clearly when the teacher respond to the student's lack of comprehension for her error, in particular "I don't kn↑ow (.hh) WHY I did it WR↑ONG (.h) ((smiling))" in extract1. In doing this the teacher is providing resources of common knowledge to build a shared contextual frame of reference, based on the student's error in her text. The student's understanding of the academic convention like dates in the bibliography of her essay help her identify why she made the error: "where is the bibliography? (1.0) ye (.) the problem is that the date (1.0) ((pointing at Julia's paper)) HERE! and the date here (.) Nicholson (.) here (.) it says nineteen ninety eight (1.0) and here ((looking at Julia's bibliography)) it says two thousand two (.hh)". The teacher refers back to the student's text and provides professional support through engaging in a joint activity with the student.

 In this instance, teachers try to be aware of students' individual difficulties which can potentially be shared with them. Over the interaction, this personalized shared error is treated as a conversational resource which raises an important issue where the expertise of the teachers provides relevant information or suggestions as a form of feedback. This personalized focus may related to keep the learner 'in their field' (Rose, 2004) or 'Zone of Proximal Development' (ZPD) (Vygotsky, 1978) where learning or negotiation process takes place. Eventually all teachers in this study are involved in personalized feedback using students' related information which leads students to a better understanding e.g. finding errors from the student's text and providing them with feedback on it.

 We may see this three part sequence as 'scaffolding' (Bruner, 1978) for the process of student's developing understanding or knowledge. This scaffolding is based on interaction between teachers and students who are able to identify their errors; so it is a joint activity. This sequence shows that knowledge is shaped by the discussion between the teacher and the student.

 The study, however, does not aim to prove the effectiveness of the oral feedback on the student draft essay, but it is certainly evidenced that the teacher's construction sequence seems to lead to a dynamic, if time consuming, student participation.

Acknowledgement

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Transcript Symbols for Conversation Analysis (Jefferson, 2004; Atkinson and Heritage, 1984)

CA form	Function	Description	CA form	Function	Description
[text]	Overlap	Left bracket marks the beginning of temporal overlap among utterances produced by two or more speakers. Right bracket marks the end.	?	Question	Rising vocal pitch
=word	Quick uptake	Immediate start in an ongoing piece of talk	(.)	Pause	Stop talking for 2seconds
Text= =text	Latching	Another utterance start without intervening pause	↑	Initial shift up	Voice shift to high pitch
.h or .hh or .hhh	Inhalation	Audible inhalation	>text<	Faster	Speech faster than surrounding talk
(XX)	Unclear	Inaudible so that impossible to transcribe	<text>	Slower	Speech slower than surrounding talk
(( ))	Comment	Comments including description	°text° or °°text°°	Softener	Speech softly than surrounding talk °°: softer than °
(2.0)	Timed pause	Intervals with silence which can be measured	CAPITAL Letters	Louder	Speech loudly than surrounding talk
Word::	Holding a sound	Holding a speaker's sound for a moment	Text	Stress	Stress on a word, syllable or sound
!	Emphasis	Emphatic and animated tone	(text)	Unclear	Unclear sounds

Chinese EFL Learners' Awareness in Rhetorical Strategy Use in English Writing: a Case Study in Taiwan

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Abstract

One significant area that has been indicated in contrastive rhetoric studies spins around the notion of culturally constructed rhetorical traditions and patterns. It is claimed that second language (L2) writers may have implicit culturally-driven presuppositions and values about academic writing in the first language (L1) that may transfer straightforwardly to academic writing in English. The present study looks at Chinese English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners' rhetorical strategy use in English writing at a university in Taiwan. The findings suggest that while cultural differences do in fact exist, Chinese writers' English rhetorical strategy use were intertwined with their writing experiences and teachers' writing instructions. The results also suggest the flexibility of writers and multiplicity of writing experiences within a cultural group. Theoretical and educational implications resulting from the study are then discussed.

Keywords: EFL; L1/L2; Contrastive rhetoric; Academic writing

1 Introduction

An EFL student's L1 and associated culture influence preferences for organization and structure of writing; these preferences may be different from native English language speakers' preferences (e.g. Connor, 1996; Grabe, 2001). Despite the fact that in the writing process the writers would organize during planning, the actual content of how the writers organize their writing might be different when they write in different languages. A very important strategy which has to be pointed out and documented in the literature is the organizational strategy (or rhetorical strategy) during the planning process, as it is particularly related to specific conventions when the writers write in the L2. The concept of genre is described as "abstract, socially recognized ways of using language" (Hyland, 2003, p. 21) which are deliberate communicative activities adopted by people of a specific discourse community (Swales, 1990). As writing teachers may agree, EFL students who come for help with their writing usually have different types of difficulties than do native English speakers. Predominantly in the field of applied linguistics, contrastive rhetoric has traditionally taken as its subject the differences that take place between the discourses of different languages and cultures

as mirrored in EFL students' writing. Rhetorical patterns transfer across cultures, causing EFL students unconsciously duplicate these in written English for the reason that they are not aware of why or how 'good' written English are different from 'bad' written English.

Most native speakers become familiar with the appropriate conventions through their long educational experience. Nevertheless, writers of other language speakers may have little or no awareness about other genre-specific rules and backgrounds in which the genres are employed. Writing is a personal as well as a social cultural communication (Flower, 1994). Given that language takes place in specific social cultural contexts, writing has to take into account the social and cultural context as well as the targeted audience. Writers employ different text types to achieve different objectives and to accomplish particular social functions (Paltridge, 2004). As a result, composition classes need to assist students to become aware of the social functions of a variety of genres and how language constructs meaning in diverse social cultural backgrounds (Hyland, 2003).

In 1966, Kaplan published his famous and controversial article on contrastive rhetoric, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-cultural Education," which served as a basis for the study of contrastive rhetoric. Contrastive rhetoric "is an area of research that has identified problems in composition encountered by L2 writers, and by referring to the rhetorical strategies of the first language, attempts to explain them" (Connor, 1996, p. 5). Contrastive rhetoric, based on the theoretical framework in linguistic relativity, posits that speakers of two different languages will organize the same reality in different methods (Kaplan, 1966, 1988). In an attempt to understand writers from backgrounds other than English, Kaplan (1966) developed the idea that language and writing are cultural phenomena and that each language has its own cultural conventions and claimed that the linguistic and rhetorical conventions of the first language have a significant effect on writing in the L2.

It should be noted that in this study the notion of culture is broadly defined as the large culture (Connor, Nagelhout and Rozycki, 2008). For example, Chinese speaking people in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore broadly share some similar core features in the large culture, but they vary in their small culture. By the same token, English speaking people in the US and UK broadly share some similar core features in the large culture, but they vary in their small culture.

2 Literature Review

2.1 English Written Discourse Pattern

Kaplan's assertion had an enormous impact, to a certain degree, because it is intuitively appealing and easily remembered (Connor, 1996). It brought about many changes in English language writing textbooks in English speaking countries and reminded thousands of language students and teachers to the differences in writing patterns across cultures. Studies after Kaplan's seminal research indicate that English academic writing is linear in order with the thesis stated at the start of an essay (e.g. Oshima, 1991). English academic writing is in general said to consist of three parts: the introduction, the development and the conclusion. These three parts are unified, that is, "every supporting sentence should be directly related to the main idea" (Oshima, 1991, p.29), they have coherence, in other words, "the movement from one sentence to the next must be logical and smooth" (Oshima, 1991, p.39), and they are explicit in transition within the paragraphs and between paragraphs.

2.2 Chinese Written Discourse Pattern

Contrary to an English text's linear pattern, the Chinese text is generally depicted by Western scholars as winding and twisted. Chinese people's writing is indirect, to some extent disjointed and circular. Kaplan attributed the supposedly indirect nature of Chinese rhetoric to the impact of the eight-legged essay (or ba-gu-wen), which he suggested a discourse style of talking around the central subject rather than attacking it directly (Kaplan, 1972).

The classical Chinese text structure, eight-legged essay dominated the field of Chinese writing as the major standard in grading candidates in the official civil-service examinations for five centuries (from 1487 to 1901) and was an arcane test of a person's ability to memorize the complex metrical and rhyme patterns of an ancient stylized Chinese writing form. It was a form adopted for the exposition of the Confucian classics, which served the basis for a reinstatement of the examination system. The eight-legged essay was a genre divided rigidly into 8 parts, presenting ideas through a variety of indirectly related views which often takes the form of an opening-up, amplification, preliminary exposition, first argument, second argument, third argument, final argument, and conclusion.

Compared with the traditional eight-legged essay structure, the structure of the contemporary Chinese text is more simplified. However, it is said that it has been influenced by the eight-legged essay. It has the beginning, the middle part, with its extensive body, and the end. Scollon's 1991 study found evidence of connection to this

form in Taiwanese university students' essays. Moreover, in accordance with Chen, the traditional four-part structure qi-cheng-zhuan-he can be distinguished in English essays of Singapore secondary students (cited in Kirkpatrick, 1995, p.44). Additional evidence of what manifests 'good writing' in the Chinese perspective comes from a book published by Li (1996), 'Good Writing in Cross-cultural Context'. She wants to find out how the characteristics of 'good writing' might diverge due to different cultural values. She quotes a Chinese writing teacher in the United States.

It is very unlikely that one would start a piece from a form [qi-cheng-zhuan-he]; we all start from ideas or from experience in life....Especially in a country like China that has a literary history of thousands of years, it is arrogant to think that one can surpass his predecessors without first learning from them. (p.74)

2.3 The Abundance of Contrastive Rhetoric

Matalene (1985) examines her students' English compositions in mainland China. They showed culturally determined features which were features that American writing textbooks would recommend against. Research carried out by Renshaw and Volet (in Watkins and Biggs, 1996, pp.85-106), however, shows that at university in Australia, Singaporean students of Chinese origin demonstrate a strategic flexibility in order to meet the new educational prerequisites. Kirkpatrick (1995) analyzed a number of English essays written by Chinese students in Mainland China for the national university exam and found that none of these display any apparent eight-legged essay influence. Kirkpatrick's 1997 study suggests that the eight-legged essay due to its intricacy and ideological distance does influence the writings of the contemporary writing of Chinese students. No matter what kind of force was, as stated by You (2005), the introduction of Western rhetoric into China at the start of the twentieth century enriched modern Chinese rhetoric. It helped to rejuvenate the abundant Chinese rhetorical tradition in Chinese writing.

While most of the contrastive rhetoric articles concern the analysis of written texts, in the 2002 article, Connor tried to provide new ways for a useful contrastive rhetoric. In dealing with the critiques, she sought to draw attention to a wide range of contrastive rhetoric and concluded that a new term would better cover the core of contrastive rhetoric in its present state. The phrase intercultural rhetoric better explains the expanding development of writing across languages and cultures. It maintains the traditional ways that use textual analysis, yet also brings in the ethnographic method that explores language in interactions. It suggests the analysis of texts that permits for more lively meanings of culture. Bazerman and Prior's 2004 article, on the other hand,

reflects a rising awareness of the socio-cultural dimensions of writing. As indicated by them, contrastive rhetoric has shifted to highlight the importance of the social context of writing. Nowadays, writing is often viewed as being socially situated; each situation may involve particular concern to purposes, degree of excellence etc. The rules of discourse communities or communities of practice may form these particular practices. Social construction of meaning as dynamic activities is a term used to portray this way to writing. Rather than examining what texts represent, people would like to know how they construct meaning. Two main issues—the acknowledgment of particular textual demands and better awareness of the social contexts of writing—have stimulated scholars of contrastive rhetoric to alter and complement research methods in their work (Bazerman and Prior, 2004).

3 Research Design

3.1 Research Questions
1. What rhetorical strategies do students adopt in the English writing tasks?
2. Is there any difference in rhetorical strategy use between the high- and low-achieving students?
3. What are the teachers' writing instructions in terms of teaching rhetorical strategies?

3.2 Research Method
The present study, which looks at Chinese EFL learners' rhetorical strategy use in English writing at a university in Taipei, Taiwan, is situated in the backdrop of globalization when the Taiwan Ministry of Education advocates a more liberal way to teach English to students so as to meet the social demands of a global culture. The participants were selected from students (n= 107 in total) in 9 university academic English composition classes. Data were collected through the analysis of English expository writings produced by 36 high- and low- achieving students' English writing samples and interviews from the students and their teachers. The achievement here was the level of performance attained by the students, particularly in a number of English essays written in the composition classes evaluated and marked by their teachers.

In this study, the definition of high achieving students in English writing was the top 2 students based on the average of multiple scores in English writing assessed by the university teachers who taught in the English composition classes over the one academic year. The definition of low achieving students in English writing was the 2 students with the lowest average score. In each class 4 students (the top 2 and the bottom 2) were recruited to partake in this study. In each English composition class the

number of the students ranged from 9 to 16. Their teachers also participated in the study. They were holders of PhD or MA degrees and were professor, associate professor or lecturer at this university. They could be considered experienced composition teachers, given that their teaching experiences were between 9 and 22 years.

A primarily process-oriented approach was adopted, and writing was not treated as a one-off activity—i.e. students wrote a composition and re-submitted it after feedback and corrections. When students received the marked compositions, they corrected the errors by revising either the whole composition or those sentences that contained errors. The ultimate goal of the writing courses was to develop the academic writing skills necessary to write good essays and research papers in English. Before entering the university, the students had studied English as a compulsory subject in elementary and secondary schools for at least 9 years. English is taught from the third grade in the elementary school in the curriculum set by the Taiwan Ministry of Education (Taiwan Ministry of Education, 2005).

3.3 Data Collection Procedures

As the high- and low- achieving students were distinguished, I informed the students of my interest in their rhetorical strategy use. With the consent of each student, the data sources included the student interviews to capture their own narratives of writing strategies and the students' English written texts. In this way the students' writing strategy use was approached from the point of view of what they thought they were doing, and from the evidence documented in their finished written texts. The topic chosen was "Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city. Use specific reasons and details to support your argument." As all the students have such an experience of living in either the city or the countryside, or both, a reasonable level of knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages on each side could be assumed, so that participation as a part of the classroom writing task could be expected. Once the students finished their writing, semi-structured interviews were conducted individually to capture their thoughts about their writing strategy use. The goal of the interviews was to obtain additional information about the process by which the students made relevance judgments on their rhetorical strategy use. It provided opportunities for the researcher to ask questions to gain clarification and explanation of the students' thoughts. Nisbett and Wilson (1977) suggest that, at best, these verbal reports from interviews reflect writers' plausible explanations of how they have gone about completing a writing task. "We can use such a tool [interview]…to uncover the hidden logic that comes to the

surface through the stories that writers tell us about why they made the choices they did in composing" (Smagorinsky, 1994, p.137). The data collected by interviews were then compared with the written texts. The semi-structured interview focused on students' opinions and attitudes toward academic writing, writing experiences, and writing processes that took place particularly when they composed for this study, resulting in better understanding of their rhetorical strategy use. Although particular interview questions were arranged in advance, follow-up questions were also integrated depending on the students' replies in the interviews. After analysis of the student data, interviews were conducted with the teachers to elicit their thinking about writing pedagogy and their interpretations of their students' rhetorical strategy use.

3.4 Data Analysis

In the present study, a writer's position statement either for or against the writing topic was regarded as a thesis statement. The discourse organization of the location of the position statement sentence in each written texts was distinguished as one of the following two: deduction (thesis stated in the introduction: the writer's thesis statement is followed by supporting reasons), or induction (thesis stated in the middle or final section: supporting reasons are followed by the writer's thesis statement).

(1) Deduction (Explanation): The writer's thesis statement is presented and then supporting reasons are illustrated. For instance, in the present study, the student chose to either agree or disagree that it is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city. Then he/she gave examples to explain and support his/her position only on the one side (i.e. countryside or city).

(2) Deduction (Comparison): The writer's thesis statement is presented and then supporting details are presented by making comparison between two elements. . For instance, in the present study, the first was the frame of an argument, in which the student stated their viewpoint in favor of one of the two options. The student chose to either agree or disagree that it is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city. Then he/she gave examples to support his/her position by comparing or contrasting the advantages and disadvantages of growing up in the countryside and city.

(3) Induction (Explanation): The writer's thesis statement is placed at the end and previous details comprise supporting details. For instance, in the present study, the student at the beginning did not clearly indicate his/her position on whether it is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city. Instead he/she only gave examples to explain one side (i.e. countryside or city). Then at the end, he/she stated that it is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city or vice

versa.

(4) Induction (Comparison): The writer's thesis statement is located in the final section; the previous supporting details are organized in a form by making comparison between two elements. For instance, in the present study, the student at the beginning did not clearly indicate his/her position on whether it is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city. Instead he/she only gave examples by comparing or contrasting the advantages and disadvantages of growing up in the countryside and city. Then at the end, he/she stated that it is better for children to grow up in the countryside than in a big city or vice versa.

Finally, the presence of a conclusion at the end of the text is the other key feature in English writing and is generally considered as good academic style in English. Although the content in conclusion parallels with introduction, the way how it is written is different.

Individual follow-up interviews of all the students were conducted. They analyzed their own English writings in the points as follows: (a) what strategies do they use when writing their English and Chinese composition; (b) whether the discourse organization English writing differs from the Chinese writing in terms of location of thesis, introduction, development and conclusion; and (c) why they think their Chinese/English written texts are similar or different. The teachers were further interviewed to explore what kind of instruction they employed in teaching writing.

4 Results

4.1 Breakdown of Rhetorical Strategy Use

When the essays were examined, the way low achievers adopted their strategy use was quite similar to that of high achievers. This reflects the fact that at the written discourse level, low achievers grasped a similar strategy to that of high achievers. They were aware of the teachers' expectation and aimed to fulfill the requirement. They acquired such a skill in high school or college. Teachers' writing instruction may play a significant role in shaping the students' writing method. In the present study, the text analysis of location of thesis, introduction, macro-level patterns, and existence of conclusion are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Breakdown of Rhetorical Strategy Use

	High Achievers	Low Achievers
	Number	Number

Location of Thesis		
1. Initial	16	18
2. Middle	1	0
3. Final	1	0
Introduction		
1. Yes	18	18
2. No	0	0
Macro-Level Patterns		
1. Deduction (Explanation)	4	2
2. Deduction (Comparison)	13	16
3. Induction (Explanation)	0	0
4. Induction (Comparison)	1	0
Conclusion		
1. Yes	16	14
2. No	2	4

As Table 1 shows, regarding macro-level patterns, most high and low achievers adopted the deductive rhetorical pattern; that is, they put the thesis statement at the beginning rather than the middle or final position, except for two high achievers who put the thesis in the middle and final positions. All the students employed thesis statements to organize the contents, in which they strengthened their positions from a different perspective, and to develop the thesis with examples and evidence. When their body paragraphs were examined, 29 students (13 high achievers and 16 low achievers) who adopted the deductive rhetorical pattern gave supporting reasons by comparing or contrasting two parts while the other six gave supporting reasons after presenting their positions by explaining why they supported them. The only student who was a high achiever adopting the inductive rhetorical pattern gave supporting reasons by comparing. More specifically, as for high achievers, 13 students (72.2%) used deduction (comparison), 4 (22.2%) deduction (explanation) and 1 (5.6%) induction (comparison). As for low achievers, 16 students (88.9%) used deduction (comparison) and 2 (11.1%) deduction (explanation). Overall, 29 students (80.6%) used deduction (comparison), 6 (16.7%) deduction (explanation) and 1 (2.8%) induction (comparison). No participant in this study adopted induction (explanation), in which the thesis statement then was given after the presentation of the succeeding argument as well as the statement of supporting details. Dominant use of deduction (97.2%) in the present study can be explained first because the students have had some experience or training in English writing. They acquired the deduction pattern through such educational experiences. Second, as most students actually reported in the

interviews, they were aware of applying their learned rhetorical patterns (thesis-stating in the introduction→supporting the thesis with details→restatement in the conclusion) to this writing task.

4.2 Interviews with Students

In this section, in order to let us understand what the underlying assumptions in Chinese and English writing rhetorical patterns were, I will consider why most students stated their positions in the beginning, what these students who did not state their positions at the start of the introduction did instead and whether there is consistency of students' reports in the writing interviews. In the present study, the data shows that 34 out of 36 students put their positions in the initial section. First, why did the majority of students place a position statement at the start of their English essays? It is likely that previous writing instruction prompted them to do so and to adopt the deductive organizational pattern in the L2. In the interviews, most students who placed their position statements early in L2 texts said that they would make conscious judgments in placing their position statements. In their finished written texts, both high and low achievers did make conscious efforts to place it at the beginning, except for two high achievers, A2 and A5. More explicitly, the majority of them reported that they considered a thesis statement had to be placed at the outset, which they said they had been taught by their teachers at school. The students' general tendency to state their standpoint early in English shows that they tended to do what teachers said. They learned to locate the thesis statement at the initial position in accordance with what they planned in their heads. The change of their written discourse patterns from Chinese to English seemed to show that they consciously put learned school knowledge into writing practice. In the following below, there are a number of examples to support such a view. For example, B1 student reported her school experience leading her to write strategically different in Chinese and English composition. Moreover, she added that her writing behavior was clearly reflected on the teacher's writing assessment and score.

The teacher did not encourage us to write in this way, and it would be reflected on the score. He did not clearly indicate what to write, but he would say something we could not write…I think the Chinese writing is not encouraged to state the points in the first sentence and the supporting details then are developed. Instead it would be encouraged for example, to state something irrelevant to the writing topic at first or possibly to say some supporting details and then the points are concluded at the end.

A8 student gave a more in-depth explanation of organizational development in Chinese writing, kai-men-jian-shan or po-ti, which is likely to be similar to directness in English writing.

> The Chinese teacher taught us po-ti and kai-men-jian-shan methods, which mean to disclose the thesis at the beginning. If this is the case, there are similarities between Chinese and English writing. In English writing it seems that I have to kai-men-jian-shan and let people know what the main points are at the beginning.

However, B4 student reported another type of Chinese writing, qi-cheng-zhuan-he. It is probably that this kind of organization results in indirectness in Chinese writing.

> Chinese writing puts emphasis on qi-cheng-zhuan-he. The meaning of it is that, unlike English writing, the thesis is not disclosed at the beginning. You have to be qi-cheng-zhuan-he. That is to zhuan—turning the point to a deeper perspective. Finally, a conclusion is given…Basically, it is not easy for Chinese to write a thesis statement. If it does appear, it should be between cheng and zhuan, unlikely to be at the beginning.

In Chinese and English writing, different location of thesis statement is likely because of readers' interest. This may reflect the fact that Chinese readers may lose interest if the thesis is presented at the very beginning of an essay, while English readers want to get a very clear idea of what the article intends to convey at the beginning. D9 student gave an explanation as follows.

> In English writing I have to present my ideas straightforwardly. However, in Chinese writing I do not have to do so. Chinese writers often locate the thesis in the final position. Chinese readers know this. If I write the thesis at the beginning of Chinese writing, people may not be so interested in reading it.

Still the other possible interpretation for English direct writing and Chinese indirect writing is a matter of different cultural values about people's "face" in terms of inter-personal relationships and communications. For instance, in Chinese writing, C6 student explained: "Sometimes I am afraid of hurting other people and thus beat about the bush or write in circumlocutions and come back to the main theme at last. I then explain why it, as a matter of fact should be like this."

4.3 Interviews with Teachers

When the teachers interpreted their practice of teaching writing, they regarded developing a strategy for organizing and structuring thoughts and argument in a way that other people would be able to understand more easily was very important. In other words, in terms of organizing the L2 written discourse, an awareness of rhetorical strategy was a significant factor in students' success in academic writing and they emphasized this a lot in the teaching of writing. For example, teacher 2 stressed the importance of the rhetorical strategy use and applied it in his writing practice. He explained as follows.

> After teaching them organization, and especially paragraph organization that each paragraph should be a main idea, ideally introduced with a topic sentence, and then supported. And if you were luckier, you can then write a concluding sentence, which also serves as a bridge to the next paragraph. This is all ideal writing. But, at least they have a template from which to work their own…I demand it…Emphatic. I hope it's effective.

Teacher 5 further mentioned that an additional important reason why most students would locate the thesis statement in the initial paragraph was due to the textbooks the teachers used to teach them. The textbooks they used normally imported from the English speaking countries. Her practice of teaching writing was primarily based upon what the textbooks suggested and thus the students learned such a writing skill through them. She gave her explanation as follows.

> It is because of the textbook. It usually mentions that you should place your thesis statement in the first paragraph. In other words, it is placed in the introduction. Then readers can immediately know your real purpose in the essay. Moreover, you should have the supporting paragraph, often giving three points, which are very consistent.

5 Discussion

The results in the present study can be interpreted as follows. First, English writing is more direct in comparison with Chinese writing. For Chinese people, indirect writing is still regarded as a means to demonstrate harmony in the human relationship. They may not introduce the topic explicitly, rather articulate it in several other ways, leaving readers to speculate. If the thesis is stated at the very beginning, the reader might lose interest to read the essay. In spite of this, the tendency in locating the thesis statement only in the conclusion seemed to change to some extent in recent Chinese writing scholarship, such the emerging patterns in *po-ti and kai-men-jian-shan*. With respect to

English writing, the deductive forms in which an argument is clearly stated at the beginning tend to be widely accepted the English teachers. The students were taught in a way that would fulfill the norm as recommended in English writing textbooks. Second, data from students' interviews on the whole support their analysis of English written texts and adhere to their English teachers' writing assessments and instructions. The students reported that this was due to the effect of teachers' writing instruction. English discourse highlights logical reasoning and clear deductive organization of ideas with the thesis statement clearly stated at the beginning of the essay. The majority of the students in the present study did not hesitate to reveal their stance initially in English. Most of the students obviously used their knowledge taught by their teachers of stating the thesis at the outset and indicated that they adopted the deductive discourse organization in English writing as this might be easier for them to write, in that the thesis can in some ways serve the guidance for the essays. They had probably overgeneralized the rule regarding locating the thesis statement at the start of an essay (Rinnert and Kobayashi, 2001). It is also possible that the viewpoint writing task itself affected their selection of organizational patterns. The explicit writing task of taking a position on an issue may have pushed them a bit to express their positions for or against the given topic at the outset of their writing. Overall, the students chose to place their thesis at the start, use the deductive type organization, and most of them seemed to have an awareness of writing a conclusion in their writings. In some aspects, nevertheless, there were variations concerning the use of explanation or comparison in their body paragraphs. The predominant use of the comparison mode was probably due to most writers wanting to guide readers' attention to points of similarity and difference on the two sides for the purpose of providing a more complete view. Finally, the findings also suggest that no matter high or low achievers, deductive patterns may not be difficult for them to learn to employ especially in their English writing. Their consciousness of variant rhetorical patterning has been raised, and this in itself was a considerable advantage as they approached the acquisition of L2 writing. The L2 training induced students to implement a schema with the placement of the position declaration at the start, presentation of reasons in support of the argument, and, finally, the inclusion of a conclusion at the end of the essay.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study offers insights into the similarities and the differences between the two writing conventions in the school setting. It adds to our knowledge of students' awareness of writing rhetorical features in relation to specific social contexts in Taiwan. Both high and low achievers were conscious of similarities and differences between English and Chinese writing. They gave a similar account of three basic parts

in the macro-level organizational patterns in the written texts: introduction, development and conclusion, in both English and Chinese writings, and such features were predominantly exhibited in their English written texts in the present study. Regarding the location of the thesis statement, the students reported that they would adopt the deductive pattern in English writing with their position statement placed at the beginning of the essay in order to fit their English teachers' expectation in that this could potentially make their essay score higher. As stated by Connor, Nagelhout and Rozycki (2008), Grabe and Kaplan (1996), and many applied linguists, academic writing convention is a culture-specific practice. Understanding accurately what mechanisms have to be acquired is part of the students' learning process. Given the importance of textual organization procedure in English writing, in targeted rhetoric pedagogy, the objective is the awareness of literacy in the L2. The teachers in this study did stress a lot that writing was indeed a skill and the writing convention had to be learned, especially so in the organizational strategy as text genres are increasingly recognized as socially-mediated and culturally-determined within the community of writing practice (Connor, 1996).

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Against Hegarty's feature-based theory on the grammar of children with specific language impairment

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Abstract

Using the Leonard corpus in the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES), Hegarty (2005: 13) argues that children with specific language impairment (SLI) 'have a general deficit in their representation of functional categories'. That means SLI involves a deficit in the syntactic representation. However, using the same sets of data, Lin (2006) proposes that the children with SLI in the Leonard corpus do not have any deficit in syntax. Instead, it is suggested that these children with SLI have considerable problems in the PF component. Given that the conclusions drawn by the two studies go against each other, this paper addresses the issue of the deficiency of the featured-based theory and further argues that the children in the Leonard corpus do not have a deficit in their representation of functional categories.

1   Introduction

It is well known that functional elements emerge later and/or with differentiated paths in language acquisition. In particular, C-related phenomena (i.e. T-to-C movement), verbal inflection, auxiliaries, determiners and clitics are identified to be relevant domains to study the acquisition of functional categories within the generative framework. A substantial division of the debate on the acquisition of functional categories, commencing in the 90's, has been devoted to discuss whether the functional category is available in children's syntactic representation from the onset or whether it is subject to maturation. Many fine arguments have been advanced from both sides, making this an unsettled issue. The primary goal of this paper is to discuss the acquisition of functional categories from a certain group of children, namely, children with specific language impairment (SLI).

Although SLI is a heterogeneous disorder and different models have been proposed to explain the nature of grammatical errors made by children with SLI, two recent studies go to opposite extremes of the interpretation of the same data, namely the Leonard corpus on the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES)

website (MacWhinney 1995). One is Hegarty (2005), who argues that those English-speaking children with SLI have a deficit in their syntactic representation of functional categories, whereas the other is Lin (2006), who proposes that those children just have considerable problems in the PF component, viz. the interface between syntax and articulatory-perceptual systems. Within the framework of Chomsky's (1995, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005) Minimalist Program (henceforth MP), this paper will point out the deficiency of Hegarty's (2005) featured-based theory and further show that the children in the Leonard corpus do not have a deficit in their syntactic representation of functional categories. In the following section, the key claims and analyses made by the feature-based theory are presented.

2   Literature review on the feature-based theory

The feature-based theory of functional categories is proposed by Hegarty (2005) to study the nature of functional elements in human languages. Following the Minimalist Programme, this approach defines and constructs functional projections in terms of morpho-syntactic and semantic features. It not only addresses the issue of child language acquisition of functional categories but also applies to the syntactic analysis of adult language data. It also provides a new perspective to the study of the grammar of children with SLI. Since this paper is concerned with the contrastive conclusions made by Hegarty's and Lin's (2006) studies on the children with SLI in the Leonard corpus, this section will mainly focus on Hegarty's research on SLI.

The method that Hegarty adopts to determine if children with SLI have a deficient syntactic representation of functional categories is to count the number of clausal functional categories exemplified in each clause. Functional categories that appear in both main and subordinate clauses are included in the count. However, incomplete and repeat utterances in the corpus are not counted. The types of functional elements counted are indicated as follows. Overt auxiliaries (modals, and *have/be* in participial constructions), infinitival *to*, and subjects with nominative case are counted as the realization of the functional head Inflection (henceforth I), shown in (1) below:

(1) a. That *could* do it.　　　(child g)
　　 b. He *is* closing his eyes.　(child i)
　　 c. I have *to* stir it.　　　(child k)

Overt complementizers (i.e. *that, if, whether, so,* and *[be]cause*) and inverted auxiliaries are counted as the embodiment of the functional head Complementizer (henceforth C), as in (2) below:

(2) a. See *if* I get him to stand up.　　　　(child j)

　　b. *so* I see it.　　　　　　　　　　　(child c)

　　c. I know *because* I don't want anymore.　(child g)

Examples of *not* and the cliticized *n't* are counted as the instantiation of the functional head Negation (henceforth Neg) as in (3):

(3) a. I *not* take it back.　(child k)

　　b. I do*n't* see stickers. (child i)

In Hegarty's study, evidence of productivity is essential for these functional elements to be counted as instantiating a functional projection. More specifically, it is required that productivity should contain at least a partial paradigm. This is the reason why Hegarty's method is termed as "the conservative counting techniques."

After Hegarty's examination of each child in the Leonard corpus, it is concluded that SLI can be characterized by a diminished capacity to project functional categories. In other words, the syntactic system of children with SLI involves a structural deficit in the representation of functional categories. Yet there are problems with Hegarty's feature-based theory, mainly his conservative counting techniques, which will be discussed in the next section.

3　Three major problems for Hegarty's feature-based theory

Hegarty's conservative counting techniques, which lead to his conclusion that children with SLI have a deficit in their syntactic representation of functional categories, have three major problems in terms of the recent generative framework.

First, the conservative counting is not compatible with the generally assumed Predicate-Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH) in MP, which is proposed by Koopman and Sportiche (1991) as the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis within a Government and Binding setting.

According to the VPISH, external arguments, or subjects in the traditional term, are first merged in the specifier of the lexical head with which they enter into a θ-relation. Since the functional head I has an EPP feature, the subjects further move to the specifier of IP to delete the EPP feature of I and gets the nominative case feature from I.

However, when describing child h's competence, Hegarty (2005: 297) says '[t]he lack of productivity suggests that (on a conservative count) I is not productive' in (4):

(4) a. That one's not eating.

    b. It's not working.

    c. The person's not driving.

    d. The baby's not crawling.

Given the VPISH, the subjects in (4) (namely *that one*, *it*, *the person* and *the baby*) are merged with the lexical verbs (namely *eating*, *working*, *driving* and *crawling* respectively) and move across the negation marker *not* and the auxiliary *is* to the specifier of IP to get the nominative case. This is the so-called A(rgument)-movement, which is triggered by the EPP feature on the functional head I.

As shown in (4), the functional head I is active in child h's grammar; otherwise, the subjects would remain adjacent to the lexical verbs. In other words, Hegarty's conservative count underestimates child h's competence. The sentences in (4) shows that child h has the same syntactic representation of the functional category I as the typically-developing children do.

The second problem for the conservative counting is that it does not take the dialectal factor and the difference between morphological case and abstract Case into consideration. According to Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2004) theories of nominative case marking and A-movement, where agreement of φ-features plays a key role, the Case feature of the subjects in the following sentences is specified as nominative.

(5) a. *Them* are all good.   (child a)

    b. *Me* don't want it.   (child c)

    c. *Them* can't go in there. (child c)

The surface accusative form can be due to a gap in their mental lexicon. Therefore, it is important to determine whether or not these children have acquired the full paradigm of Case spellout forms that can be found in adult English. The complete range of pronoun spellout forms used by these children in different case contexts has been listed in the table in the appendix.

In this study, the percentage implementation of unambiguous adult case-forms, excluding from the count forms which are case-ambiguous in the adult grammar (viz. *it/you/them*[1]) is computed.[2] Each child's percentage usage of the correct adult case is

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[1] *You* and *it* are excluded since their nominative and accusative forms are identical. *Them* subjects are excluded due to the dialectal factor that *them* can function as personal or distal demonstrative pronoun.

[2] There are two other ways to quantify the data. One is to calculate the percentage usage of the correct adult form, which scores forms correctly used in adult terms irrespective of whether they are ambiguous in the adult grammar or not. This will lead to a very high percentage correct spellout score (above 90%). The other way is to calculate the percentage implementation of the correct form for case-forms which

summarised in the table below:

Summary of each child's percentage implementation of the correct adult case

Child	Age	Sex	MLU	Percentage suppliance of the correct Nom case
a	5;0	M	3.7	254/257(98.83%)
b	4;3	F	3.0	172/174(98.85%)
c	5;0	M	4.0	318/319(99.69%)
d	4;4	M	3.5	72/76(94.74%)
e	4;6	F	4.0	237/237(100%)
f	4;6	M	3.5	337/339(99.41%)
g	5;3	F	4.3	313/340(92.06%)
h	3;8	M	3.1	108/114(94.74%)
i	5;7	M	2.8	87/92(94.57%)
j	4;11	F	3.8	266/290(91.72%)
k	3;9	M	2.6	71/73(97.26%)
Overall				2235/2311 (97.26%, *SD*=2.67)

Table 1

The mean percentage implementation of the correct nominative case is 97.26% (*SD*=2.67). These figures show that these children's performance on case marking is almost adult-like. This suggests that the few case-marking errors found among the children in the Leonard corpus are case spellout errors rather than Case assignment errors. As shown, the nominative Case assigner, the functional head I, is not absent from these children's syntactic representation.

The last problem for the feature-based theory is that the conservative counting does not include the fronted Wh-words or phrases as the instances of the C projection. It is generally assumed that the fronted Wh-words or phrases are accommodated in the specifier of CP. Therefore, they should be counted as instances of the C projection. However, Hegarty's conservative count only includes the inverted auxiliaries but not the fronted Wh-words or phrases in questions. In other words, Hegarty's conservative counting techniques cannot detect the asymmetry in these children's performances on Wh-movement and subject-auxiliary inversion. For example, it is found that the

are case-unambiguous in child's grammar, which excludes forms that are case-ambiguous in the child's grammar; however, apparent gaps in the child's paradigm make it difficult to be sure whether particular forms are ambiguous or not for the child, since it is difficult to be sure whether gaps are accidental or systematic.

children with SLI in the Leonard corpus perform perfectly (100% correct) on Wh-movement but around chance level on auxiliary inversion (only about 53% correct).

Even if the fronted Wh-words or phrases were included, Hegarty's feature-based approach still needs modification in order to account for the asymmetry in these children's performances on Wh-movement and subject-auxiliary inversion. For instance, as pointed out by one of the reviewers, Hegarty has to argue that the fact that children with SLI perform well on Wh-movement but not on auxiliary inversion might be due to the fact that the former is triggered by an interpretable feature (such as a Q-operator) and the latter by an uninterpretable tense feature. It is plausible that the uninterpretable features (such as tense feature on C and agreement features on auxiliaries) are more difficult to be acquired by children with SLI.

4   An alternative account: PF deficit account

It is reported that the children with SLI in the Leonard corpus perform badly on tense marking (i.e. 53.87% correct for past tense marking on main lexical verbs) and agreement marking (i.e. 34.78% correct for the third-person, singular, present tense suffix -*s*). However, given Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2004) theories of nominative case marking and A-movement, where agreement of φ-features plays a key role, these children's adult-like performance on nominative case marking and no difficulty with A-movement suggests that the tense marking and agreement marking errors are all spellout errors. They are the result of a problem retrieving regular inflections and irregular inflected forms. In other words, these children have a deficit in the PF component of language faculty, which leads to their substantial problems in spelling out certain grammatical features such as tense and agreement (Lin, 2006).

The PF deficit account can also account for why these children perform well (100% implementation) on the syntactic operations such as A-movement and Wh-movement but poorly (52.45% implementation) on auxiliary inversion which Chomsky (2001) argues to be a PF operation.

5   Concluding remarks

By showing the problems with Hegarty's conservative counting techniques in his featured-based theory, the current study argues that the children in the Leonard corpus do not have a deficit in their representation of functional categories. Moreover, based on these children's poor performance on tense marking, agreement marking and auxiliary inversion, this study further proposes that the children with SLI in the

Leonard corpus have a PF deficit rather than a syntactic deficit.

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Appendix

Raw frequency of personal pronoun forms used by each child

Child	Type	Nominative	Weak genitive	Strong genitive	Accusative
a	1Sg	I = 125, me = 2	my = 39	my = 2	me = 30
	1Pl	---	our = 2	---	---
	2	you = 53	your = 10	yours = 2	you = 11
	3MSg	he = 124, him = 1	his = 18, him = 2	---	him = 14
	3FSg	she = 1	her = 1	---	her = 3
	3NSg	it = 35	its = 2	---	it = 101
	3Pl	they = 4, them = 6	---	---	them = 16
b	1Sg	I = 170, me = 2	my = 26	mine = 7, my = 1	me = 8
	1Pl	---	---	---	---
	2	you = 10	---	---	---
	3MSg	---	his = 2	---	him = 2
	3FSg	---	her = 1	---	her = 1
	3NSg	it = 20	---	---	it = 52
	3Pl	they = 2	---	---	them = 18
c	1Sg	I = 203, me = 1	my = 21	mine = 1	me = 4
	1Pl	we = 25	our = 2	---	we = 1[3], us = 4
	2	you = 67	your = 1	---	you = 5
	3MSg	he = 75	his = 45	---	him = 2
	3FSg	she = 9	---	---	---
	3NSg	it = 42	---	---	it = 69
	3Pl	they = 6, them = 23	---	---	them = 68
d	1Sg	I = 56, me = 3	my = 27	mine = 4	me = 30
	1Pl	we = 6	---	---	us = 1
	2	you = 32	---	---	you = 7
	3MSg	he = 5, him = 1	his = 4, him = 17	---	him = 18
	3FSg	---	her = 13	hers = 1	her = 2
	3NSg	it = 7	---	---	it = 38
	3Pl	they = 5, them = 9	---	---	them = 8
e	1Sg	I = 190	my = 66, me = 2	mine = 1	me = 26
	1Pl	we = 21	our = 13	---	---

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[3] This item may be a performance error because the child made a self correction immediately in the next sentence. Thus, it is excluded from the count of his performance on case-marking.

	2	you = 57	your = 19	---	you = 28
	3MSg	he = 12	his = 6	---	him = 5
	3FSg	she = 5	her = 10	hers = 1	her = 21
	3NSg	it = 37	---	---	it = 94
	3Pl	they = 9	---	---	them = 36
f	1Sg	I = 150, me = 1	my = 16	mine = 6, my = 1	me = 20
	1Pl	we = 5	our = 2	---	---
	2	you = 25	your = 2	yours = 1	you = 3
	3MSg	he = 168, him = 1	his = 32	his = 1	him = 12
	3FSg	she = 5	her = 10	hers = 1	her = 21
	3NSg	it = 38	---	---	it = 116
	3Pl	they = 9	---	---	them = 36
g	1Sg	I = 269	my = 24	mine = 2	me = 20
	1Pl	we = 40	our = 1	---	---
	2	you = 39	your = 1	---	you = 6
	3MSg	he = 2, him = 18	his = 1, him = 4	---	him = 1
	3FSg	she = 1, her = 9	her = 8	hers = 1	her = 3
	3NSg	it = 62	---	---	it = 56
	3Pl	they = 1, them = 9	---	---	them = 24
h	1Sg	I = 78, me = 4	my = 10	mine = 2	me = 8
	1Pl	we = 9	---	---	---
	2	you = 40	your = 7	yours = 1	you = 11
	3MSg	he = 14, him = 2	his = 1	---	him = 2
	3FSg	she = 1	her = 1	---	---
	3NSg	it = 36	---	---	it = 56
	3Pl	they = 6, them = 2	their = 1	---	them = 7
i	1Sg	I = 83	my = 11	---	me = 3
	1Pl	we = 1	---	---	---
	2	you = 8	your = 1	---	you = 9
	3MSg	he = 3, him = 4	his = 1	---	---
	3FSg	her = 1	her = 2	---	---
	3NSg	it = 10	---	---	it = 16
	3Pl	them = 3	---	---	them = 2
j	1Sg	I = 189, me = 1	my = 51	mine = 4	me = 17
	1Pl	we = 70	our = 3	---	---
	2	you = 35	your = 5	---	you = 12
	3MSg	him = 21	his = 1, him = 8	---	him = 12

	3FSg	she = 1, her = 3	her = 1	---	---
	3NSg	it = 7	---	---	it = 20
	3Pl	they = 5, them = 37	---	---	them = 64
k	1Sg	I = 70, me = 2	my = 22	mine = 1	me = 18
	1Pl	---	---	---	---
	2	you = 2	your = 1	---	---
	3MSg	him = 1	his = 1		him = 6
	3FSg	---	her = 2	---	---
	3NSg	it = 1	---	---	it = 9
	3Pl	them = 5	---	---	them = 1