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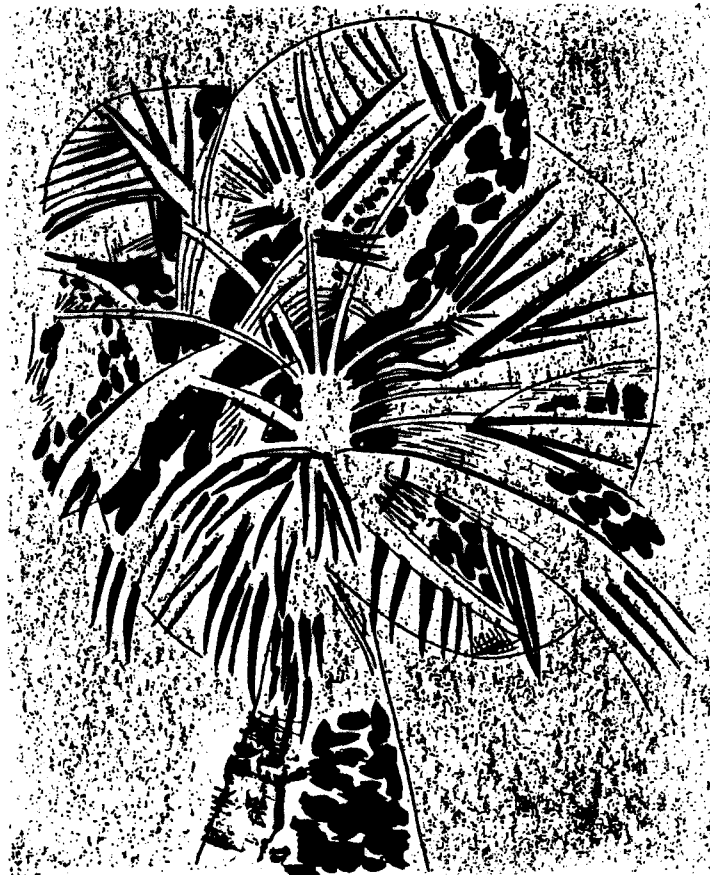
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Roel Vismans

# MODAL PARTICLES IN DUTCH DIRECTIVES: A STUDY IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR



**Roel Vismans**

## **MODAL PARTICLES IN DUTCH DIRECTIVES: A STUDY IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR**

Roel Vismans (1958) studied English at the Free University, Amsterdam, and Linguistics at the University of Manchester. He has been a lecturer in Dutch Studies at the University of Hull since 1981.

Verbal interactions whose object it is to get someone to do something for you are referred to as 'directives'. The subject of this study is the fact that in Dutch directives like *Close the door* or *Look at me* regularly contain so-called Modal Particles (MPs). Superficially these MPs have the same form of certain adverbs, but they do not have the (often temporal) meaning that is normally associated with those adverbs. This study not only describes the precise functions of MPs in directives within the framework of Functional Grammar, but also provides a survey of their diachronic development and investigates the strong link between MPs and intonation.

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**MODAL PARTICLES IN DUTCH DIRECTIVES:  
A STUDY IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR**

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**MODAL PARTICLES IN DUTCH DIRECTIVES:  
A STUDY IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR**

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de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam,  
op gezag van de rector magnificus  
prof.dr E. Boeker,  
in het openbaar te verdedigen  
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie  
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in het hoofdgebouw van de universiteit, De Boelelaan 1105

door

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geboren te Rotterdam

Promotoren : prof.dr J.L. Mackenzie  
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to Janice



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## Preface

One of the greatest challenges for foreign language teachers is to explain the seemingly unexplainable. It is, for example, very hard to teach English-speaking learners of Dutch the difference between the perfect tense and the imperfect or simple past. It is not so much the morphology of the Dutch tense system, complete with strong, weak and irregular verbs, that creates the difficulty, but rather the use of the various tenses in actual everyday spoken Dutch. There are two levels of exposition when it comes to teaching such phenomena to foreign learners: the analytical level at which the 'grammar' is explained, and the practical level at which the learner will (hopefully) acquire the item in question and become able to use it. Of course, these two levels of exposition do not necessarily have to occur in any particular order. The sequence of their presentation rather depends on the level of sophistication of the learner or group of learners in question.

Many questions like the one about the different past tenses in Dutch have led foreign language teachers to research these hard-to-explain phenomena. The present study is no exception. In my first few years as a teacher of Dutch in Britain questions like: 'What does *toch* mean?' used to unnerve me. Whenever I felt unable to answer the question decisively, my first reaction would be to resort to a dictionary. However, at best the dictionary would answer the question only partially. In the course of time a language teacher learns to live with the fact that some linguistic issues cannot be explained in a clear-cut way. And a good language teacher uses such cases as illustrations of the nature of language. *Toch*, for example, illustrates that a one-to-one correspondence between many words in Dutch and in English (and between many words in different languages in general) does not exist. It also shows that one word often has more than one 'meaning'. Moreover, it is often not so much the 'meaning' of a linguistic item that is important, but the way the item is used, its practical application in everyday verbal interaction. This investigation into Dutch modal particles (henceforth MPs) was triggered by questions from students about the meaning of words like *toch*. However, it will not so much give an answer to the question: 'What does *x* mean?', but rather shine some light on a particular application of *x*.

Readers of this study are not necessarily familiar with Dutch. All the examples have, therefore, been provided with both glosses and translations. The glosses are intended to explain the structure of the examples. However, the nature of Dutch MPs is such that lexical equivalents in English do not really exist, so that all modal particles are glossed merely as 'MP'. For all examples presented in this book, it is important to reflect as accurately as possible the subjective and emotional flavour of the examples. I hope that the translations achieve that aim.

I have not felt it necessary to include information in the glosses that can easily be inferred from literal English word-for-word 'equivalents'. Thus, the example:

Je moet de deur dichtdoen.

has been glossed and translated, respectively, as:

You must the door closed do  
You must close the door.

and not as:

You-SUBJ must-2ND-SG the door closed do-INF

(indicating that *je* is the subject form of the second person pronoun, *moet* the second person singular verb form and *dichtdoen* an infinitive), because I felt that such a gloss would detract from the real issue. A small number of untranslatable items have had to be glossed in this way, such as MP (for modal particle) and DIM (for diminutive suffix). A complete list of such abbreviations and others used in the text has been included.

The real issue is the nature of the modal particles that can be inserted in the above sentence between *deur* and *dichtdoen* and that may change the message of the utterance completely.

Prefaces to doctoral dissertations are always peppered with expressions of gratitude. However well-intentioned, they often sound like clichés. I hope that I can avoid the worst platitudes, but even if it sounds disingenuous my gratitude is real. What has really surprised me is the fact that so many people have shown genuine interest and have been immeasurably helpful over the past few years.

In a class of his own in my taxonomy of gratitude is Lachlan Mackenzie, my *promotor*. His greatest achievement is that he challenged every effort I made to limit the scope of the project, and forced me to include in my research the clustering of modal particles, their history and the role played by intonation. A glance at the table of contents shows that at least one other cliché is true: without Lachlan's help this book would not have been written.

Secondly, I thank Theo Janssen, the *tweede promotor*, for challenging my views and the ways in which they were expressed at a crucial stage in the development of this book. His must have been a difficult task at times, but he carried it out with good humour and I am convinced that he has helped me improve the final product.

Thirdly, I thank Ad Foolen for acting as *referent* and giving a fair and balanced verdict on my work.

In the more distant past I have been encouraged and helped on the way by a number of people. I recollect an afternoon's introduction to the world of particles with Ad Foolen in Nijmegen, helpful comments from Mike Hannay on a very early first draft of something that looked like an introductory chapter at the time, and friendly correspondence from Werner Abraham encouraging me to continue my research after the particle workshop in Groningen in November 1989. At a later stage Martin Durrell, who in 1980-81 supervised my Master's dissertation in Manchester, made very helpful comments on an early paper which set out some of the issues involved.

I am also grateful to a number of people with whom I have discussed drafts of chapters and whose expert advice I wish to acknowledge: Saskia Daalder read and made extensive comments on chapter 3 and an early draft of chapter 6; Roel Zemel and Mark Van Vaeck made helpful suggestions about editions to be used for the historical survey in chapter 4, and Professor A.Th. van Deursen put me on the track of the history of manners discussed in that chapter; Kees Hengeveld took time to discuss with me issues relating to layering and Functional Grammar; Carlos Gussenhoven commented extensively on a draft of chapter 7 about intonation; Chris Butler made a knowledgeable assessment of the statistics in chapter 8.

The encouragement I have received from colleagues in Hull has been fantastic. My colleagues in the Department of Dutch Studies, Brigitte Schludermann, Sabine Vanacker and Agaath de Vries have been especially supportive. Among colleagues in the School of European Languages and Cultures I would like to single out my appraiser, Gertrud Buscher, for pointing out to me that I had an interesting story to tell and for discussing the introductory chapter with me, and the Dean, Alan Best, for pushing me.

The experiments described in chapter 8 have had input from many people: first of all the anonymous guinea pigs, and colleagues in the Law Faculty at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and in the Department of History at the Free University, Amsterdam, who sacrificed part of their teaching time to my experiment; secondly the voices on the tapes, Vera de Groot and Elza Meijer; thirdly the technicians in the Language Centre at the University of Hull, Gill Edwards and Colin Richardson, who expertly recorded the tapes and inserted the bleeps; fourthly the Computer Centre of the University of Hull whose staff processed the data of the Rotterdam experiment (and later converted the original manuscript from Word 5.0 to WordPerfect 5.1); and fifthly Gerry Makepeace of the Department of Economics of the University of Hull who helped with the analysis of the Rotterdam data. If ever an experiment in university reorganization failed, it was the one in Hull in which three (or in some people's views four) totally disparate departments were forced together into a School of Economic and European Studies for purely political reasons.

The outcome was misery, yet also the unimaginable but fruitful cooperation for a short while of a linguist and two economists on an aspect of this project.

I am also very grateful to Adri Brugman for checking my quotes from *Het Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog*.

Casper de Groot of the *Instituut voor Functioneel Onderzoek van Taal en Taalgebruik* has been an extremely flexible publisher. His assistant, Yvonne Sanders, has done invaluable work in helping me prepare the manuscript for printing.

The people who one most depends on in circumstances like these are always mentioned last, as if in an afterthought. I would like to reinforce my gratitude to all those who make life worth living by simply doing their job with a smile and being around: cleaners, porters, secretaries, technicians and wine merchants. In particular I would like to thank Sandra Drop, our departmental secretary, for shielding me from interruptions for six months; Jacky Cogman for sharing my coffee in the mornings; Norma Broadly for keeping my house clean, ironing my shirts and telling me I work really hard; and the Northern Wine Company in Leeds and *Wijnhandel Van Krimpen* in Amsterdam for supplying good house wines.

I am also very grateful to my parents, not only for their moral support in the past few years, but also for their material support in earlier times and for their constant interest in me and my work. The same is true in equal measure for all my siblings and their partners, but in particular for Annemarie and Bas whose house has become a home from home for me whenever I return to the Netherlands.

Finally Janice, I thank you. You have been with me all the way and have given me the space to do this. Along the way you have taught me not to pity myself, and I think you have succeeded.



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## abbreviations

### glosses

AFF	affirmative particle
DP	discourse particle
CAP	connective adverbial particle
DIM	diminutive
FP	focus particle
MP	modal particle
PART	any particle

### Functional Grammar terminology

FG	Functional Grammar
ECC	extra-clausal constituent
GP	general principle (of constituent ordering)
ops	operators
sats	satellites
SoA	state of affairs
SP	special principle (of constituent ordering)

### speech act terminology

A	addressee
CC	conversational contract
CP	Co-operative Principle
FTA	face-threatening act
H/h	hearer
IFID	illocutionary force indicating device
LFH	literal force hypothesis
PP	Politeness Principle
S/s	speaker

### representations

x	term
f	predicate
e	predication
X	proposition
F	illocution
E	clause

xvi *abbreviations*

Pred	predicate
mitig	mitigator
reinf	reinforcer
O	object position
S	subject position
Vf	finite verb
Vi	non-finite verb

illocutionary frames

ILL	any illocution
DECL	declarative
EXCL	exclamative
IMP	imperative
INT	interrogative

pragmatic functions

Foc	Focus
GivTop	Given Topic
NewTop	New Topic
ResTop	Resumed Topic
SubTop	Sub-Topic

semantic functions

Ag	Agent
Go	Goal
Rec	Recipient

syntactic functions

Obj	Object
Subj	Subject

texts

ANS	Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst
WNT	Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal

Boerek.	Boerekermis
Busk	Buskenblaser
Kamersch	Het Kamerschut
NN	Nu Noch
Paemel	Het gezin Van Paemel
Pla	Plaijerwater
Reyn	Vanden Vos Reynaerde
Sp.Brab.	Spaanse Brabander
Taf	Tafelspeelken
WedHuwBed	Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog

other abbreviations

IPO	Instituut voor Perceptie Onderzoek (Institute for Perception Research)
SAAR	sentence accent assignment rule

# 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. what is this study about?

Leech (1983: 35) presents pragmatics as involving problem-solving for speakers and listeners. For a speaker he formulates this as follows: "Given that I want the mental state of the hearer to change or to remain unchanged in such and such a way, how do I produce an utterance which will make that result most likely?" If the change to be effected by the speaker in the hearer's mental state is such that he or she wants the hearer to take a particular action as a result of the utterance, the solution for the speaker's problem will involve imposing his or her will on the hearer. But imposing one's will does not necessarily involve verbal interaction. In fact, prior to a will-imposing utterance a number of choices is presented to the speaker, ranging from not imposing one's will at all to imposing it by taking direct action oneself.

Choosing to maintain the status quo is one extreme in the range of choices: it leaves no options open to the speaker. At the other extreme lies imposing one's will by direct action: this leaves the hearer no negotiating room. In between these extremes lies the option of interacting, which leaves room for manoeuvre for both speaker and hearer. There is again a choice, this time between verbal and non-verbal interaction. Non-verbal interaction is relatively indirect and open to multiple interpretations. Verbal interaction, on the other hand, allows a further choice between indirect and direct verbal interaction.

A relatively simple situation will illustrate these points. For example, a radio is playing loudly in a public place and disturbing you. The problem to be solved is how to remove the disturbance. The first choice is between imposing your will and not doing so. In this situation imposing your will means having the radio turned down or switched off. This may offend the owner of the radio. But by not imposing your will the radio will continue to play. The next choice is between turning the radio off yourself (action) or getting someone else to do it (interaction). Non-verbal interaction in this situation would be something like putting your hands over your ears, or just looking at the radio or its owner. He or she may take the hint and turn it down. Verbal interaction may also involve just hinting at your desire for the radio to be turned down, for example by saying that you have a headache.

## 2 Introduction

To indulge in direct verbal interaction would be to request that the radio is turned down or even to give an order to that effect.

Verbal interactions whose object is to get someone else to do something for you are called 'directives'. This study is concerned with direct 'directives' in Dutch. In the situation sketched above a speaker of Dutch can typically use directives like:

1. Je moet de radio uitdoen.  
You must the radio off do.  
You must switch off the radio.
2. Kun je de radio uitdoen?  
Can you the radio off do?  
Can you switch the radio off?
3. Doe de radio uit.  
Do the radio off.  
Switch off the radio.

Clearly, directives are not limited to the traditional imperative sentence type, because (1)-(3) are examples of different sentence types: declarative, interrogative and imperative respectively. They are part of a wider typology of utterances which is based not on sentence type, but on the kind of verbal action performed: speech acts. Another speech act type is, for example, the expressive whereby a speaker expresses feelings, as in thanking and congratulating.

More specifically, the subject of this study is the fact that directives like (1)-(3) habitually contain so-called modal particles (MPs). Superficially, these MPs have the same form as certain adverbs, but they do not have the meaning that is normally associated with those adverbs. For example, the word *even* can be inserted into the sentences above.

4. Je moet de radio even uit doen.
5. Kun je de radio even uit doen?
6. Doe de radio even uit.

The adverb *even* means 'briefly', but the MP *even* does not have that meaning associated with it. It is possible for (4)-(6) to be interpreted as instructions or requests to switch off the radio and then, after a brief period, switch it on again. When the word *even* in (4)-(6) is stressed this will be the interpretation given. However, when the word *radio* is stressed and *even* not, they will be understood as simply instructions or requests to switch off the radio, not

instructions or requests to switch it off for a moment and then switch it on again. In this case the temporal meaning associated with the adverb *even* is absent. Yet, the word *even* does have a function in these sentences: it makes the order or request less urgent, more polite. However, other MPs have the opposite effect. Their insertion into (1)-(3) would make these sentences sound more urgent or impatient. The focus of this study is, then, on the function of these MPs in directives.

### 1.1.1. directives

The occurrence of MPs is not limited to directives. Other kinds of speech acts occur with them as well. The reasons for limiting this study to directives are twofold. On the one hand it allows the MPs to be studied in a fairly restricted context without complicating the issue by the introduction of different types of speech acts. On the other hand the directive is a communicatively very important and frequently used type of speech act which makes it an appropriate candidate for a study of MPs in a speech act context.

The three paradigms we are dealing with can be represented formally as follows:<sup>1</sup>

DECLARATIVE: Subj *moeten* [X][MP][Vi].

INTERROGATIVE: *kunnen / willen* Subj [X][MP][Vi]?

IMPERATIVE: (Subj) [Vf<sub>imperative</sub>][X][MP][Vi]

where:

Subj = (second person) subject pronoun

Vi = non-finite verb

Vf = finite verb

X = objects, adverbs

Whether or not a subject pronoun is present in imperatives depends primarily on the level of formality. In a formal setting the formal pronoun *u* is

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the three paradigms listed (declarative, interrogative and imperative), a subjunctive with *men* ('one') is a possible sentence type for directives:

Men overweeg de volgende mogelijkheden.

One consider the following possibilities.

Consider the following possibilities.

However, it is excluded here because it is relatively rare and highly formal, whereas one of the main characteristics of the MPs studied here is their appearance in informal spoken language. The appearance of MPs in such subjunctive directives is, therefore, predictably rare.

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compulsory, but in a less formal context the presence of the informal pronoun (stressed *jij* or unstressed *je*) in the imperative is optional. Thus, (6) can be rephrased as follows:

7. Doe jij de radio even uit.
8. Doet u de radio even uit.

(7) and (8) display the word order normally expected of interrogatives.<sup>2</sup> It is important to emphasize, therefore, that their interpretation largely depends on intonation: a rise will be interpreted as interrogative, a fall as imperative.

##### 1.1.2. a characterization of MPs in directives

The MPs in directives discussed in this study have been selected because they have a number of distinctive characteristics in common which make them a homogeneous group. These are merely introduced here, but they will be illustrated and exemplified at length in what follows. Firstly, they are particularly frequent in informal spoken language, in which the intonation and stress patterns of an utterance can have a decisive influence on the interpretation of that utterance. For example, in the directive interpretation of (4) above either the word *radio* or the word *uit* can carry stress. Moreover, the tone can move up or down on either of these words or on both. All these modulations affect the interpretation of (4) in different ways. Secondly, MPs lack the meaning that is traditionally associated with their adverbial counterparts, as mentioned above. Thirdly, the positions in a sentence in which they can occur are more restricted than in the case of those adverbs. The first and last positions of a sentence in particular cannot be occupied by them. Finally, the MPs that can occur in a particular sentence type can appear together as a cluster. Moreover, the order of such a cluster is fixed. Not all the available MPs need appear in such a cluster, which usually contains only two. In fact a cluster of more than three is very rare, but acceptable. It is this clustering behaviour which has been the most important criterion for the selection of the MPs in this study and the exclusion of others (see 1.1.3 below).

The following is an alphabetical list of the MPs which can occur in direct directives, with English translations of the adverbs of which they are homophones: *dan* ('then'), *eens* ('once'), *even* ('briefly'), *maar* ('only'), *misschien* ('perhaps'), *nu* ('now'), *ook* ('also'), *soms* ('sometimes') and *toch* ('yet').

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<sup>2</sup> *Jij* in (7) is contrastive, but *u* in (8) not necessarily so.



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	DECL	INT	IMP
dan	-	-	+
eens	+	+	+
even	+	+	+
maar	+	-	+
misschien	-	+	-
nou	-	+	+
ook	+	+	-
soms	-	+	-
toch	-	-	+

---

table 1.1 distribution of MPs over directive sentence types:  
DECL(declarative), INT(interrogative) IMP(imperative)

The MPs are not evenly distributed over the traditional sentence types declarative (DECL; as in (1) and (4) above), interrogative (INT; (2) and (5)) and imperative (IMP; (3) and (6)). Of the nine MPs in question, only *eens*, *even* and *ook* can occur in all sentence types. *Dan* and *toch* only occur in imperatives. *Soms* and *misschien* only occur in interrogatives. *Maar* cannot occur in interrogatives, *nou* cannot occur in declaratives and *ook* cannot occur in interrogatives. The distribution of the nine MPs in this study over the three paradigms listed above is given in table 1.1.

The ordering patterns of clusters of MPs in the three paradigms are given in table 1.2. *Misschien* and *soms*, and *dan* and *nou* can change places in this fixed order.

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type	order of cluster
DECL	<i>ook, maar, eens, even</i>
INT	<i>nou, misschien/soms*, ook, eens, even</i>
IMP	<i>dan/nou*, toch, maar, eens, even</i>

\*interchangeable

---

table 1.2 order of MPs in clusters

### 1.1.3. exclusions

The four characteristics mentioned above (frequency in spoken language, lack of referential meaning, inability to occur in first and last positions in a clause, and clustering behaviour) apply to all of the nine MPs listed in section 1.1.2.

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It is with these nine MPs that this study is concerned. However, a number of other words could arguably be included in the list, notably *gerust* ('safely'), *gewoon* ('simply'), *lekker* ('nicely') and *wel* (an affirmative particle which is best rendered in English by an emphatic sentence with *do*; as such *wel* is the opposite of *niet* ('not')). In addition, the phrases *een beetje* ('a bit') and *een keer* ('one time', 'once'; semantically very close to the adverb *eens*) also need to be taken into consideration. All these will be excluded from this study for a number of reasons, but mainly their behaviour in clusters. Furthermore, the absence of *ook* from the imperative paradigm in table 1.1 needs to be explained.

A possible MP-interpretation of *een beetje* is illustrated in (9):

9. Schiet een beetje op!  
Hurry a bit/?MP up.  
Hurry up a bit!

With the main accent on *op*, a decisive interpretation of *een beetje* in (9) as either MP or adverbial phrase is impossible. The same would be true for *even* (cf. examples (4)-(6)). However, in many contexts in which *even* is acceptable but cannot easily be interpreted as an adverb of time, *een beetje* is unacceptable (as in (10)) or must be interpreted as an adverbial phrase indicating a small measure (as in (12) where the door is to be left ajar):<sup>3</sup>

6. Doe de rádio even uit.  
10. \*Doe de radio een beetje uit.
11. Doe de deur even dicht.  
Do the door MP closed.  
Just close the door, will you?
12. Doe de deur een beetje dicht.  
Do the door a bit closed.  
Shut the door a bit.

In (13) there is a cluster of *wel* and *eens*.

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<sup>3</sup> *Een beetje* can often be substituted by the adverb of degree *wat*, for which the same holds.

13. Wil je wel eens maken dat je wekomt?  
Will you ?MP ?MP make that you away come.  
Will you get the hell out of here!

There are three arguments against the inclusion of *wel* as an MP in directives here. First, it is only in combination with *eens* that *wel* occurs in this context. (13) without *eens* is at least odd and certainly does not have its aggressive connotation. Moreover, although (13) conforms to the interrogative paradigm cited above, sentences following its specific pattern do not tolerate *kunnen*.

14. Kun/Wil je die radio eens uit doen?  
Can/Will you that radio MP off do.  
Would you mind switching off that radio?
15. Wil je die radio wel eens uit doen?  
Will you that radio AFF ?MP off do.  
For god's sake, will you switch off that radio!
16. \*Kun je die radio wel eens uit doen?

Finally, it is impossible to form a cluster in which another MP (notably *misschien*) precedes *wel eens*:

17. \*Wil je die radio misschien wel eens uit doen?

As was said in section 1.1.2 above, the clustering behaviour of MPs has been the main criterion for their inclusion in this study. *Wel* has been excluded because it does not conform to this. Moreover, it is the unique combination of *willen* plus *wel eens* that creates the aggressive effect of sentences like (13) and (15). Whether *wel eens* is a combination of an affirmative particle plus MP or something else will have to be a matter of further inquiry.

*Gerust*, *gewoon* and *lekker* can be taken together. They typically occur in imperatives, although *gewoon* and *lekker* also occur in the declarative paradigm. As in the cases of *even* and *een beetje* it is often not possible to establish in an individual instance whether these adverbs have lost or retained their referential meaning. However, it is again their behaviour in clusters which has been the main reason for their exclusion from this study. The standard example of maximum clustering in imperatives is taken from Hoogvliet (1903: 98) (see also sections 3.2.1 and 6.2.3.1 below):

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18. Geef de boeken dan nu toch maar 'es even hier.<sup>4</sup>  
Give the books MP MP MP MP MP MP here.  
Just give me the books, will you?

With the exception of *dan* and *nu*, which are interchangeable, the order of MPs in this example is quite fixed. However, it is impossible to indicate where in this order *gerust*, *gewoon* and/or *lekker* would occur, if they are allowed at all. Moreover, a cluster in which any two of these three occur, is virtually impossible, as is a cluster of all three.

The exclusion of *ook* under IMP in table 1.1 may be problematic, because the word *ook* does occur in imperative sentences. However, it does not figure in the cluster in example (18), in which it should be allowed if it were an MP occurring in IMP. If *ook* were to be allowed in such a cluster, it should occur between *toch* and *maar*. However, the cluster *toch ook maar* itself is very unusual. The reason for this lies in the fact that *ook* can always be interpreted in IMP not so much as an MP, but as an adverb expressing a (logical) conclusion. As such, it is used as a shorthand for *dan ook*:

19. A: Het is koud hier.  
B: Ja, doe de deur (dan) ook dicht.  
  
A: It is cold here.  
B: Yes do the door then ?MP closed.  
  
A: It's cold in here.  
B: So shut the door then.

On the strength of this and its behaviour in clusters, *ook* in imperative sentences is not considered.

Finally, the phrase *een keer* ('one time', 'once') is semantically closely related to the adverb *eens*. *Eens* and *een keer* can occur together in a directive:

20. Schiet eens een keer op.

This can be interpreted as a more emphatic variant of the same directive with only *eens* or *een keer*. In that case a single occurrence of *een keer* in a directive can be seen as an alternative for *eens*. Indeed, this reading is given to the dialect forms *ne kier* and *een reis* in chapter 4. It must be noted, however,

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<sup>4</sup> For a note on Hoogvliet's orthography of *nou* and *eens*, see sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2.1 and 3.3.1.3 below.

that in standard Dutch *een keer* follows *even* at the end of a cluster of MPs. It will, therefore, not be considered individually here.

#### 1.1.4. questions

A number of central questions arise from this introduction which will be addressed in the course of this study:

- I. What is the function or what are the functions of MPs in directives?
- II. How can their distribution over the three sentence types declarative, interrogative and imperative be explained?
- III. How can their clustering behaviour be explained?
- IV. Given that they are a phenomenon that is particularly frequent in spoken Dutch, how do they interact with the prosodic contour (stress and intonation patterns) of a sentence?

#### 1.2. theoretical considerations

Several sub-disciplines of linguistics are traditionally distinguished, each studying a more or less discrete aspect of language. Broadly speaking, phonetics deals with the production of sounds. Semantics is the study of meaning. Ordering principles according to which the constituents of sentences of a language are put together are studied by syntax. And the study of linguistic expressions in their conversational context is carried out by pragmatics. These sub-disciplines are interdependent and contribute in various ways to related areas of linguistics, like sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, psycholinguistics and the study of universals.

Input from all sub-disciplines of linguistics is also needed to answer the questions posed at the end of section 1.1. The most important question, that concerning the function of MPs, requires a pragmatic approach, as does the question about the distribution of MPs over sentence types. To determine the relationship between MPs and their adverbial counterparts we turn to lexical semantics, which studies the meaning of individual words and the way they relate to other members of the lexicon. Questions about the position of MPs in the sentence and their clustering belong to syntax. And studying the interaction between MPs and prosody calls for a phonetic angle.

These many different angles from which the problem of MPs must be approached allow the researcher the freedom of an eclectic *modus operandi*, an interdisciplinary approach which relates the subdivisions of linguistics to

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each other. However, such eclecticism is prone to the criticism that it is too broad and does not go deep enough. I believe that a consistent functional approach is called for, one which allows both breadth and depth.

The functional approach envisaged here follows the lines set out by Simon Dik in the introductory chapter of *The Theory of Functional Grammar* (1989). To Dik, the communicative nature of language is pivotal. Grammar (the 'theory of linguistic expressions' (*ibid.* 4)) is embedded into 'a wider pragmatic theory of verbal interaction' (*ibid.*), which provides a model of the 'natural language user' (*ibid.* 2). It goes further than sketching the linguistic capacities of the natural language user, and also takes on board his/her cognitive capacities. Pragmatic information is one of the natural language user's most important assets. It is 'the full body of knowledge, beliefs, preconceptions, feelings, etc. which together constitute the content of mind of an individual at a given time' (*ibid.* 4-5). The function of communication is to bring about a change in the pragmatic information of one's communicative partners. In respect of the problem under discussion here, the division of labour between the 'wider pragmatic theory of verbal interaction' and the grammatical component embedded in this theory is such that the precise definition of directives belongs in the pragmatic theory of verbal interaction, whereas the role of the grammar is to explain the behaviour of MPs in detail.

Dik sets the following norm for the grammar itself. Linguistic explanations 'should not be content to display the rules and principles underlying the construction of linguistic expressions ... but ... explain these rules and principles in terms of their functionality with respect to the ways in which these expressions are used' (*ibid.* 4). A grammar that adheres to this principle can be called functional, and by adopting the name Functional Grammar (FG) for his theory, Dik claims a certain primacy amongst functionalists. For the problem of MPs in Dutch directives FG provides a consistent framework which allows the problem to be tackled from the various angles identified above.<sup>5</sup>

A good working definition of the term 'directive' is the first priority of this study. This term is taken from speech act theory as formulated by, *inter alios*, Searle (1969, 1976). The latter study provides a classification of speech acts into five types, one of which is directives. They are defined as 'attempts ... by the speaker to get the hearer to do something' (Searle 1976: 11). However, a problem arises with the demarcation line between direct and indirect directives which Searle cannot solve. Other treatments of speech acts are

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<sup>5</sup>. See section 5.1 for a more detailed discussion of the basic assumptions of Dik's Functional Grammar.

invoked here to define direct directives more precisely, including an FG-approach (Risselada 1991).

Together with Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle, speech act theory has had a profound influence on the study of linguistic politeness as it has developed over the past 15 years or so. Given the intuitive evaluation of the function of *even* in section 1.1 above, it is not surprising that various politeness theories have also been approached to explain the behaviour of Dutch MPs. The rightful place for a theory of politeness is Dik's wider pragmatic theory of verbal interaction. However, politeness theories pay scant attention to non-politeness, and it was also suggested in section 1.1 that certain MPs have an effect opposite to that of *even*. Therefore, a wider demarcation of the functions of MPs than that offered by studies in linguistic politeness has been taken from FG, in particular Hengeveld's (1989) proposal for illocutionary operators. Following his definitions the function of MPs can be formulated in terms of mitigation and reinforcement, whereby mitigation is the linguistic means of weakening an expression or an aspect of it, and reinforcement the linguistic means of strengthening it.

FG discerns various layers in the build-up of an utterance, and by locating the MPs in this layered structure it provides the tools to help explain their distribution over sentence types and their clustering. A subsidiary question for this study, therefore, concerns the precise status of MPs in FG and their place in the layered structure.

Accentuation and constituent ordering are indications for FG of the pragmatic functions of particular constituents. Such pragmatic functions are Topic and Focus, where Topic can be broadly defined as the constituent about which an utterance says something, and Focus the information provided by a speaker in relation to the Topic. By studying MPs in relation to these pragmatic functions, we can learn something about their functional role and explain the restrictions on the positions in which they can occur in a sentence.

Bolinger (1986) provides a powerful descriptive framework for intonation. He approaches it in a thoroughly functional spirit, even if it is not couched in quite the same terms as FG *à la* Dik (1989). Moreover, Bolinger's discussion also ties in closely with the distinction between reinforcement and mitigation.

Finally, the diachronic study of MPs in directives touches on grammaticalization, 'the processes whereby items become more grammatical through time' (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 2). The relationship between MPs and adverbs that have the same form but an additional semantic dimension suggests that the MPs are derived from the related adverbs by a process of grammaticalization. The emergence of certain MPs appears to have occurred much later than that of others. For a functional explanation of this I have

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turned to social history, in particular the history of manners as described by Elias (1968).

### 1.3. research methods

There is an ongoing debate between proponents of different ways of investigating linguistic phenomena. Some argue in favour of eliciting native speaker reactions by means of questionnaires. Others see introspection by the linguist him- or herself as the best way of achieving the correct insights, because they find the judgements of naive native speakers unreliable. I have tried to balance my methodological approach, because there is a time and a place for both of these research methods as well as others, such as the consultation of a corpus.<sup>6</sup> The actual choice depends on the researcher as well as the phenomenon to be investigated. Non-native speakers are rightly cautious when it comes to introspection, because they cannot rely on native speaker intuitions.<sup>7</sup> And some native linguists are simply better at formulating their intuitions than others. A well-designed questionnaire can be used to confirm one's introspections too. However, data on historical developments of a language cannot be gathered by questionnaires, nor is the researcher a native speaker of an earlier stage of the language. The only fruitful way of collecting diachronic material, then, is by building up a reliable corpus.

In this study I have relied on my native speaker intuitions to a large extent when defining the functions of MPs in terms of mitigation and reinforcement, and when making grammatical judgements about acceptability. This concerned for example occurrences of MPs in certain complements and their position in sentences. The chapter on intonation, too, is based on a mixture of introspection and insights gained from other linguists whose judgements were partly introspective and partly based on experimental findings. For the historical survey in chapter 4, however, I compiled a corpus from several (literary) texts written over a period of almost 700 years. Chapter 8 reports on two experiments in which native speakers were asked to judge. I found that these judgements were insightful and reliable (not only in a statistical

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<sup>6</sup> A similar war of words raged recently in *Neerlandica extra muros* (the journal of the *Internationale Vereniging voor Neerlandistiek* (International Association for Dutch Studies), the association of university teachers of Dutch as a foreign language). Kirsner (1991) argues in favour of the use of questionnaires, but is taken to task by Sturm (1992) who prefers introspection. Beheydt (1993) assumes a more eclectic position and argues in favour of the use of a corpus as well as other research methods. Foolen (1993: 12) takes a stance similar to Beheydt.

<sup>7</sup> Even native linguists living abroad must be careful with their intuitions. When carrying out the research for this study I profited from a prolonged stay in the Netherlands during which my intuitions grew progressively more confident and, hopefully, accurate.



sense) and they forced me to adjust my own ideas to some extent. As such they proved to be a useful check on my linguistic imagination.

#### **1.4. purpose**

Entirely personal considerations aside, there are three areas to which I hope this study will add. First, it should help explain both to native speakers and to teachers and learners of Dutch as a second and/or foreign language how a complicated and complex area of the Dutch language works. As a teacher of Dutch abroad I have an obvious professional interest here. Secondly, it should contribute towards a more thorough understanding of other aspects of the Dutch language, such as the nature of complements, accentuation and intonation patterns. And finally, it should make a critical contribution to the theory of Functional Grammar.

#### **1.5 structure of this study**

Chapter 2 defines the use of the term 'directive' after a brief review of the literature on speech acts and directives. In this it pays particular attention to the distinction between direct and indirect speech acts. It goes on to reject as too narrow a politeness view of MPs and suggests a broader functional description in terms of mitigation and reinforcement, which are further defined.

Chapter 3 defines the notion of MP. It reviews the (Dutch) particle literature of the past 15 years or so, sets out the formal and functional characteristics of MPs and contrasts them with other categories of words that have also been called 'particle'. It then goes on to discuss the nine particles concerned individually in terms of the opposition between mitigation and reinforcement.

Chapter 4 is a sketch of the history of MPs in directives. It traces the first occurrence of the individual MPs by looking at texts chosen at set intervals ranging from the Middle Ages to the late twentieth century. It also offers an explanation for the fact that mitigators made a much later appearance than reinforcers by considering changes in the norms of social behaviour.

Chapter 5 provides an outline of FG. It first discusses some basic assumptions made by the theory and goes on to consider the layered structure in some detail. It pays particular attention to the problem of locating specific phenomena in that structure and concludes with a section about the interplay between pragmatic functions, accentuation and special positions in Dutch.

Chapter 6 first considers the status of MPs in the FG framework and then locates them in the layered structure. In order to do this it sets up a taxonomy of Dutch complements, because the location of complements in the

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layered structure is relatively easy. On the basis of this taxonomy the behaviour of MPs in several complements is studied, which shows that different MPs are to be located in different layers. This goes some way towards explaining the distribution of MPs over the three sentence types, and accounts comprehensively for their clustering behaviour.

Chapter 7 sets out to describe the interaction between MPs and intonation. It takes Bolinger (1986) as a starting point and discerns four elementary intonation movements for Dutch. It then studies the way these movements interact with directives in the three sentence types without MPs, followed by a description of the interaction between intonation and directives with MPs. What clearly emerges from this chapter is the importance in terms of mitigation and reinforcement both of intonation movements and of the basic sentence types (declarative, interrogative, imperative) involved.

Chapter 8 discusses two experiments carried out in order to corroborate some of the findings of the earlier chapters. The first experiment concerns, and confirms, the relevance of the sentence type in terms of the opposition between mitigation and reinforcement. The second experiment tests the distinction between mitigating MPs and reinforcing MPs. In the light of its findings the dichotomy is adjusted and the distribution of the nine MPs over the three sentence types can finally be explained in more detail.

The speaker who chooses to solve a problem by imposing his or her will by verbal interaction can make a further choice from a range of 'techniques' which make the directive more or less forceful. This study concentrates on one such technique, but also shows that the force of a directive is normally determined by the application and interaction of several strategies.

# 2

## DIRECTIVES, MITIGATION AND REINFORCEMENT

### 2.0 introduction

In this chapter the sentence types in which the nine MPs concerned can occur will be defined. We have seen that these MPs can occur in three different paradigms, and section 2.1 will determine what these three paradigms have in common by looking at the speech act category of 'directive'. In order to do this, I first briefly discuss speech act theory and illocutionary force in general. Section 2.2 deals with the difference between direct and indirect directives and concludes that the paradigms we are interested in are direct speech acts. In section 2.3 the issue of politeness is raised, since it has been closely related both to the theoretical issue of illocutionary force and the practical use of MPs in Dutch. However, it will become clear in section 2.4 that the discussion needs to be widened to include the opposite(s) of politeness. At the same time, it is suggested that an analysis in more basic terms than the opposition between politeness and non-politeness may be descriptively more adequate. The opposition suggested here is phrased in terms of mitigation and reinforcement. This is based on grammatical distinctions, whereas politeness and its opposite are essentially a pragmatic matter. This chapter is not in any way intended to be exhaustive. Its purpose is to put later discussions in a wider perspective.

### 2.1. speech act theory, illocutionary force<sup>1</sup> and directives

Speech act theory is essentially a philosophical exercise in systematizing human verbal behaviour, which has been adopted by linguists. Levinson (1983: 227 ff.) provides a concise history of speech act theory, followed by a thorough critique. In adopting, for the present, some of the terminology of speech act theory, I do not imply complete acceptance of the theory itself.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms illocution, illocutionary force and illocutionary act, as used in this section, often have a wider interpretation than the term Illocution in FG as defined by Dik (1989). For the FG-interpretation of Illocution see section 2.2.4 below and chapter 5.

## 16 Directives, mitigation and reinforcement

The basis for most of the work on speech acts in the past twenty to twenty-five years has been the theory developed by Austin (1962). Central to Austin's theory is the illocutionary act, which is in fact one of three acts performed concurrently when making an utterance, the other two acts being the locutionary and the perlocutionary acts. All three acts are defined by Levinson (1983: 236) as follows:

- (i) **locutionary act:** the utterance of a sentence with determinate sense and reference
- (ii) **illocutionary act:** the making of a statement, offer, promise, etc. in uttering a sentence, by virtue of the conventional *force* associated with it
- (iii) **perlocutionary act:** the bringing about of effects on the audience by means of uttering the sentence, such effects being special to the circumstances of utterance

Despite their seemingly neat division of labour, the three acts interact and interrelate. However, later developments in speech act theory have tended to concentrate on the illocutionary act to such an extent that for many authors 'speech act' and 'illocutionary act' have become synonymous.<sup>2</sup>

Searle (1969) is one of the first attempts to elaborate on Austin's ideas on speech acts. His view of the utterance is somewhat different from Austin's, however, and he divides the speech act (Searle 1969: 23-24) into utterance act ('uttering words'), propositional act ('referring and predicating') and illocutionary act ('stating, questioning, commanding, promising, etc.'). Austin's locutionary act has thus been spread over Searle's utterance and propositional acts.<sup>3</sup> In Searle's scheme of things the perlocutionary act is no longer part of the utterance, although he acknowledges its perlocutionary effects: '...[c]orrelated with the notion of illocutionary acts is the notion of the consequences or *effects* such acts have on the actions, thoughts, or beliefs, of hearers' (*ibid.* 25). For the purposes of his formal system Searle then goes on to postulate two kinds of indicators, propositional indicators and illocutionary force indicators. These indicators are combined to make up the illocutionary act whose 'general form ... is  $F(p)$  where the variable "F" takes illocutionary force indicating devices [also known as IFIDs] as values and "p" takes expressions for propositions' (*ibid.* 31). Following this,  $f(p)$  is the formula for assertions,  $!(p)$  for requests,  $Pr(p)$  for promises,  $W(p)$  for warnings,  $?(p)$  for yes-no questions 'and so on'. An advantage of this formalization is that it

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<sup>2</sup> This is acknowledged by Levinson (1983: 236).

<sup>3</sup> It appears that a proposition act requires an illocutionary act, which in turn requires an utterance act, but not *vice versa*.

enables us to distinguish between illocutionary and propositional negation: -  
*F(p)* and *F(-p)* (*ibid.* 32).

The 'and so on' suggests the existence of a further typology of IFIDs and hence of illocutionary acts. In a later table Searle seems to suggest eight such acts, without claiming that the table is exhaustive. In much of the subsequent literature we can find other attempts to arrive at a typology of illocutionary acts, the most influential of which (despite Levinson's (1983: 240) disappointment<sup>4</sup>) has probably been Searle (1976). Here Searle postulates five categories of speech act: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. I do not intend to discuss all five types of speech acts, but will concentrate on directives, because they are central to the concerns of this study. Searle (1976: 11) defines directives as follows: 'The illocutionary point of these consists in the fact that they are attempts ... by the speaker to get the hearer to do something.' Prominent among directives are, of course, orders and requests, but for Searle also questions, 'since they are attempts by S[peaker] to get H[earer] to answer - i.e. to perform a speech act' (*ibid.* footnote 2). It must be noted, however, that not all authors on speech acts and directives agree with Searle's inclusion of questions under directives.

The three paradigms we are dealing with were represented formally in chapter 1 as follows:

DECLARATIVE: Subj *moeten* [X][MP][Vi].  
 INTERROGATIVE: *kunnen/willen* Subj [X][MP][Vi]?  
 IMPERATIVE: (Subj) [Vf<sub>imperative</sub>][X][MP][Vi]

where:

Subj = (second person) subject

Vi = non-finite verb

Vf = finite verb

X = objects, adverbs

All three fall into the category of directives. The third paradigm is an imperative, which is of course a prototypical form for an order. The interrogative with a second person subject and a modal verb of volition or ability constitutes a request. And the declarative with second person subject and the modal verb of obligation states the hearer's obligation to act. All three are clear 'attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something.'

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<sup>4</sup> 'The typology, though perhaps an improvement on Austin's, is a disappointment in that it lacks a principled basis; contrary to Searle's claims, it is not even built in any systematic way on felicity conditions.' Felicity conditions are conditions that must be met if a speech act is to be successful.

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However, this seemingly clear-cut case is made rather more problematic by the issue of so-called indirect speech acts.

### 2.2. direct and indirect directives

#### 2.2.1. *Levinson's Literal Force Hypothesis*

The notion of indirect speech acts is closely linked with what Levinson (1983: 263) calls the 'literal force hypothesis (or LFH for short).' According to this hypothesis, 'the three major sentence-types in English, namely imperative, interrogative and declarative, have the forces traditionally associated with them, namely ordering (or requesting), questioning and stating respectively.'<sup>5</sup> According to this hypothesis, then, only our third paradigm (IMPERATIVE) is a direct directive. Supporters to the hypothesis will have to develop a mechanism for converting one speech act (e.g. INTERROGATIVE: a question) into another (in this case a request). This is the view of, for example, Searle.<sup>6</sup> Consider the following examples:

1. Je moet je mond eens houden.  
You must your mouth MP hold.  
You ought to shut up.
2. Kun je je naam soms spellen?  
Can you your name MP spell?  
Could you spell your name for me please?
3. Ga maar zitten.  
Go MP sit.  
Do sit down.

Of these, only (3) is a direct directive for supporters of LFH. The 'literal force' of (1) is a statement expressing the hearer's obligation to shut up. That of (2) is an inquiry into the hearer's ability to write his/her name. The problem with this kind of analysis of (1) and (2) as only indirectly directive is that many

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<sup>5</sup> Why he restricts these three major sentence types to English is not clear. They are, of course, a well established cross-linguistic phenomenon, as Levinson (1983 :274) implicitly acknowledges. See e.g. Dik (1989: 256) who, however, has a four-way typology, also including EXCL(amative).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Levinson (1983: 264): 'Certainly Searle is overtly committed to LFH, and Austin's emphasis on the "conventional" nature of illocutionary force and its indicators would seem also to commit him to LFH.'

native speakers will, given an appropriate context, automatically interpret them as directive without first considering the literal force.

This leads Levinson to reject the LFH as untenable, thus removing the problem of indirect speech acts and resulting in a theory in which '[i]llocutionary force is ... entirely pragmatic and moreover has no direct and simple correlation with sentence-form or -meaning' (Levinson 1983: 274). Thus, there is no longer a problem with indirect speech acts, 'but merely a problem of mapping speech act force onto sentences in context' (*ibid.*). That formulation makes it sound easier than it is, of course, because contexts are not unambiguous either. In any case, according to Levinson both 'direct' and 'indirect' speech acts like those in examples (1)-(3) are direct, because in circumstances in which the use of a directive is appropriate, they will be taken as directive and not in any other way.

However, this does not remove the problem of indirectness completely. It is quite easy to think of examples of utterances which could be used with the same perlocutionary effect as direct directives but which do not conform to the three paradigms under consideration and, hence, do not occur with the MPs we are studying. Let us consider the following examples, whose perlocutionary effect can easily be understood to be the same as that of (1)-(3):

4. Wat praat jij veel!  
What speak you much.  
You do speak a lot, don't you?
5. Jij hebt een moeilijke naam.  
You have a difficult name.  
You do have a difficult name.
6. Je hoeft niet te blijven staan.  
You need not to remain stand.  
You don't need to remain standing.

In other words, (4) is an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to shut up, (5) an attempt to get the hearer to spell his or her name, and (6) an attempt to get the hearer to sit down. For Levinson, (4), (5) and (6) are directives if they can be used in precisely the same contexts as (1), (2) and (3) respectively, and they are no more indirect than (1), (2) and (3). Intuitively (4)-(6) are much less direct than (1)-(3), because even in a context appropriate for directives they can be taken with just their literal force, i.e. in a non-directive reading.

It seems, then, that contrary to Levinson's view, in which every speech act is direct, indirect speech acts do exist after all. The question is the precise

location of the boundary between direct and indirect directives. In finding an answer to this question, I will discuss three other approaches to the difference between direct and indirect speech acts. Leech (1983) also rejects LFH, but argues that all speech acts are essentially indirect (section 2.2.2). Springorum (1982) accepts LFH and defines levels of indirectness according to situational criteria (section 2.2.3). Section 2.2.4 discusses FG views on illocutionary force. Some proponents of FG support LFH (for example Dik (1989) and Hengeveld (1989, 1990)), whereas Risselada (1990) rejects it.

### 2.2.2. *Leech's means-end analysis*

At first sight, Leech (1983) takes a view which is not dissimilar to Levinson's in the sense that for him, too, there is little difference between direct and indirect speech acts. But whereas Levinson dismisses the problem of indirectness, Leech takes the view that every speech act is indirect in a sense, because it is a means to an end. If the speaker is cold, the goal will be to feel warm. And this goal is achieved indirectly by issuing a directive such as (Leech's (1983: 38) example):

7. Switch on the heater!

This leads Leech to conclude: 'Therefore "indirect illocutions" are simply illocutions which are more indirect than others; and indirectness is a matter of degree' (*ibid.* 38). Thus, (8) (again Leech's example) can be interpreted as either a request for a window (or door) to be shut or the heating to be turned on (or up),<sup>7</sup> or as a piece of quite innocuous conversation material concerning the temperature in a room.<sup>8</sup>

8. Cold in here, isn't it?

In cases such as this, the utterance only becomes a request by the speaker (*s*) for the heater to be switched on if the hearer (*h*) interprets it 'as having the implicature that *s* wants *h* to switch on the heater' (*ibid.* 39). The ambiguity may even be deliberate: 'it could be that *s* uttered *Cold in here, isn't it?* partly in order to maintain friendly social relations, and partly in the hope that *h* will do something to alleviate the cold' (*ibid.*).

Leech's analysis is quite apt, because exchanges like the following are not at all rare:

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<sup>7</sup> I.e. one of Searle's (1976) directives; Leech (1983: 105) refers to them as 'impositives'.

<sup>8</sup> One of Searle's (1976) representatives; Leech (1983: 104) refers to them as 'assertives'.



9. A: Cold in here, isn't it?  
B: Well, I'm quite comfortable, but I'll turn up the heat if you want.  
A: No, don't worry. I didn't mean that. I'll be all right.

A makes an utterance referring to the low temperature in the room. B interprets this as a directive, but A dismisses a possible directive interpretation of his/her own first utterance, either because such an interpretation was not intended in the first place, or because (s)he does not want to impose (after all, B is quite comfortable and might become uncomfortable with too much heat).

The directives that we are interested in here are those that, in Leech's analysis, do not leave *h* the choice 'to interpret the illocution as having an impositive or coercive force, but only if he so wishes' (*ibid*). There is no choice, for the directive force is immediately clear to *h*. Therefore, even in Leech's view of indirectness, there ought to be a cut-off point on the 'scale of indirectness' beyond which a speech act can no longer be seen as clearly belonging to one category or another. Whether speech acts on the one side of this cut-off point are called 'direct' or 'less indirect' and those on the other side 'indirect' or 'more indirect' is merely a matter of labelling.

### **2.2.3. *interaction code and interaction strategy***

Springorum (1982: 67-72) offers an elegant solution to the problem of indirect speech acts in an analysis that adheres to LFH. He sees 'the imperative mood as the categorial meaning indicator of the directive speech act' (*ibid*. 52), and discusses the formulation of directives in terms of (i) 'interaction code' (or 'politeness code'), and (ii) 'interaction strategy'. The precise level of indirectness depends on the nature of the interactional situation, and more specifically on whether the roles of speaker and hearer are predetermined or not.

Interaction code is typical of institutional (and institutionalized) interactions such as ordering food in a restaurant or a doctor giving instructions to a patient. In such interactions there is always a clear allocation of the speakers' roles and their interactional duties and privileges. In the case of interaction code, a directive is formulated as a request or a statement in order to remain polite and thereby adhere to a certain interactional code of behaviour. That this code is fairly transparent is illustrated by the fact that when a request is met by refusal, the directive may be repeated in its 'bare' form. Springorum's example (*ibid*. 69, example 112) is a police instruction to a driver to get out of his/her car:

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10. S: Would you mind getting out of your car?  
H: (refuses)  
S: Get out of the car!

In cases like this Springorum talks of 'meaning adjustment', i.e. adjustment of the 'literal' interrogative meaning in (10) (*ibid.* 67-70). However, the transparency highlighted by Springorum indicates that there is very little distance between the categorial directive speech act (the imperative) and the interaction code (the interrogative). The one can be paraphrased by the other.

In interactions in which the allocation of the speakers' roles and their interactional duties and privileges are less clear, the speaker will follow an interaction strategy. In such a strategy 'it is ... important to choose formulations such that under the given circumstances two interpretations of the formulation are possible: 1. an 'official' interpretation, according to which the utterance 'merely' makes a statement or asks a question; 2. a 'possible background' interpretation, according to which the statement or question is understood to be a directive' (*ibid.* 70). In this case Springorum talks of 'blurred meaning', i.e. blurring of the 'official' meaning of the directive (*ibid.* 70-72). Although he does not give any examples here, his later examples make clear that the kinds of utterances he has in mind are like (8). The following of his examples (*ibid.* 119, examples 166, 167 and 168) can be used in exchanges in which the hearer asks for further clarification of the speaker's intention. Thus, as a reaction to (11) and (12) the hearer could ask any of (13)-(17):

11. Nou heb ik toch helemaal geen geld bij me.  
Now have I MP completely no money with me.  
Oh dear, I haven't got any money on me at all.
12. Nou móet ik weg en de afwas staat er  
Now must I away and the washing up stands there  
nog.  
still.  
I simply háve to go and the washing up hasn't been done yet.
13. Wat wil je daarmee zeggen?  
What want you that with say?  
What do you mean by that?
14. Wat bedoel je daarmee?  
What mean you that with?  
What do you mean by that?

15. Hoe moet ik dat verstaan?  
How must I that understand?  
How do you want me to take that?
16. Is dat een mededeling of een verzoek?  
Is that a statement or a request?
17. Is dat misschien een hint?  
Is that perhaps a hint?

Springorum's analysis of these interaction strategies is reminiscent of Leech's analysis of more indirect speech acts, in that both refer to the double interpretation that can be given to them.

#### **2.2.4. FG views on indirectness**

It is interesting to see how Functional Grammar (FG) treats illocutionary force, since it is in the framework of FG that we want to find the answers to many of our questions. According to Dik (1989: 60) illocutionary operators 'specify the basic illocutionary force of the clause ... or modifications of these basic illocutions'. Basic illocutions are established on the basis of sentence type, such that the four most frequently occurring sentence types across languages are seen as the basic illocutions. These are: declarative (DECL), interrogative (INT), imperative (IMP) and exclamative (EXCL). The formal representation of, for example, an interrogative sentence would then be something like: INT(proposition). This is, of course, not unlike the representation F(p) proposed by Searle (1969) (see 2.1. above).

In Dik's (1989: 255-258) more detailed discussion of illocutionary operators these basic illocutions are presented as the illocutionary operators. Accepting that they do not cover all possible illocutions, Dik suggests an illocutionary conversion process to allow the conversion of one illocution into another.<sup>9</sup> This conversion can be pragmatic, lexical or grammatical. Although Dik (1989) does not give an explicit example of pragmatic conversion, Risselada (1990), in a wide-ranging critique of the treatment of illocution in FG, does. According to her, pragmatic conversion takes place in, for example, the case of 'indirect' directives discussed above, such that if the speaker (S) says:

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<sup>9</sup> Hengeveld (1989; 1990) also talks of illocutionary modification, which is 'the mechanism of modifying the force of the basic illocution of a linguistic expression so as to make it fit the speaker's communicative strategy' (Risselada 1990: 6). In this view modification is carried by operators on the basic illocution, which is different from Dik's conversion mechanism. See also section 6.2.1.

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18. It is cold here.

the addressee (A) will interpret this as a request to turn on/up the heating. According to Dik (1989: 257) 'this type of conversion will not be handled in the linguistic description, but in a wider, pragmatic theory of verbal interaction.' Lexical conversion occurs when the illocution is explicitly expressed lexically, as for example by means of performative<sup>10</sup> verbs (19):

19. I request that you turn on the heater.

Grammatical conversion occurs when a language has a grammatical means at its disposal to convert one illocution into another, such as the tag-question in English which may be used to convert a declarative into an interrogative.<sup>11</sup>

In Risselada's view sentence type should not be seen 'as the predominant factor in the expression of illocution, but rather as one factor that may cooperate, in various ways, with other (lexical, semantic and/or intonational) properties' (Risselada 1990: 4-5). With respect to conversion and modification, she concludes that there is no clear-cut distinction between the two. She dismisses modification, at least implicitly.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, her suggestion to see the expression of illocution as an interactive process between sentence type and semantic, lexical and other attributes of a linguistic expression would eliminate the need for lexical and grammatical illocutionary conversion. The only conversion that Risselada allows is pragmatic conversion, but, as stated above, this is properly treated in a theory of verbal interaction, not in a grammatical description. The fact that she accepts the possibility of this kind of conversion means that her position is closer to Leech's than to Levinson's.

In FG-terms, then, the three paradigms we are concerned with here can be used in directives<sup>13</sup> which do not undergo pragmatic illocutionary conversion. The theory of verbal interaction to which Dik and Risselada refer will have to decide whether pragmatic illocutionary conversion actually needs

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<sup>10</sup>. A performative verb is a verb that performs the act it expresses at the moment of utterance, like *request* in (19).

<sup>11</sup>. See section 6.2.1, footnote 11 for a different analysis of English tags.

<sup>12</sup>. Risselada's (1990: 8) comment that 'the distinction between conversion and modification is not as neat as Dik suggests' is puzzling. Dik (1989: 258) does not suggest any such distinction, but sees Hengeveld's modification as a particular form of grammatical illocutionary conversion.

<sup>13</sup>. Dik (1989: 96) does use the term directive (and indeed another term borrowed from Searle: commissive) when discussing a typology of States of Affairs. However, these terms do not seem to be used in any technical sense by him.

to be applied to an utterance. This is of course not only a matter of deliberate choice by the speaker, as Springorum suggests for his 'interaction strategy', but also of interpretation by the hearer.

Given the existence of a speech act class of directives, a division of directives into direct and indirect is clearly required. Indirect directives are those that are subject to pragmatic illocutionary conversion and that are used in interaction strategies. They allow a double interpretation of the speech act concerned: an 'official' literal interpretation and 'a 'possible background' interpretation, according to which the statement or question is understood to be a directive' (Springorum, 70). The three paradigms under investigation in this study are direct speech acts, because they are not subject to pragmatic illocutionary conversion. Set in the correct context, their directive force applies automatically and immediately.

In Butler's (1988) terminology, utterances following our first two paradigms (declarative and interrogative) can be called 'modalized directives'. Butler's article describes the system of English modal verbs used in directives in terms of politeness. He defines modalized directives as 'non-congruent'<sup>14</sup> realizations of directives which contain a modal verb' (*ibid.* 120). This would include the declarative and interrogative paradigms under investigation here. Butler sees the bare imperative as a non-modalized form. However, since we will no longer be concerned with indirect directives, the utterances discussed in this book will be referred to in short as 'directives'.

### **2.3. politeness and its opposites**

The relevance of politeness phenomena to directives has already been hinted at. The politeness literature regularly refers to the importance of particles in polite exchanges, and, conversely, in the particle literature we can find scattered references to politeness. This section reviews some of the recent politeness literature: Leech's Politeness Principle (2.3.1), Brown & Levinson's face-threatening acts (2.3.2) and Fraser's conversational contracts (2.3.3). Section 2.3.4 looks at opposites of politeness. In section 2.4 I suggest a wider context for politeness in which MPs in directives can be analysed comprehensively.

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<sup>14</sup> Butler has borrowed the term 'congruent' from Halliday: 'Halliday points out that ... there are certain "congruent" realization patterns which occur in the absence of any good reason to the contrary' (Butler 1988: 119). These congruent realizations are similar to Dik's (1989) basic illocutions. Thus, an interrogative with a modal verb is a non-congruent directive. The imperative is the 'congruent' (unmarked) realization of a directive.

**2.3.1.        *the Politeness Principle***

As was indicated above, an interesting angle on directives is provided by Leech (1983), who discusses speech acts in the context of a wide-ranging discussion of pragmatics. He draws on Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle (CP), which he supplements with several other Principles (of Leech's own making), thus formulating his own 'Interpersonal Rhetoric'. Leech's most important addition to Grice's theory is the postulation of a Politeness Principle (PP). A very brief explanation of what is meant by these Principles is necessary to appreciate this view of politeness. Put simply, Grice's CP tries to capture the unwritten laws of normal human conversation, which tell people to speak truthfully, economically, with relevance and with clarity.<sup>15</sup> Leech's PP adds to that the unwritten laws of *civilized* verbal behaviour, which tell people to be tactful, generous, approbatory, modest, accordant and sympathetic.

Leech argues that the PP is more basic than the CP, because before effective communication can take place (via the CP), a good rapport between interlocutors must be established (via the PP). Whether this is always so remains to be seen. There are situations in which the PP is not applied yet the CP operates optimally (cf. instructions in cookery books or operating manuals, regulations, some military communications, etc.). On the other hand, it may be argued that these are all examples of highly structured communication, and that the PP is more important in less structured discourse like everyday conversations (whether between strangers or people who know each other). There is a very clear and obvious interaction between the two principles, however, and both seem to contribute significantly to successful communication.

As we saw in section 2.1, Searle (1976: 11) defines directives as 'attempts ... by the speaker to get the hearer to do something.' Leech relates Searle's basic classification of speech acts to his own four types of 'illocutionary functions' (Leech 1983: 104 ff.). These functions are determined on the basis of their relation to the ever-present social goal, which is defined as 'establishing and maintaining comity'. Thus we have the **competitive** function where 'the illocutionary goal competes with the social goal'; the **convivial** function, where 'the illocutionary goal coincides with the social goal'; the **collaborative** function, where 'the illocutionary goal is indifferent to the social goal'; and the **conflictive** function, where the two goals are in conflict with one another. There is a clear link, acknowledged by Leech,

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Levinson (1983: 102): 'In short, these maxims [which make up the CP] specify what participants have to do in order to converse in a maximally efficient, rational, co-operative way: they should speak sincerely, relevantly and clearly, while providing sufficient information.'

between the competitive function and directives, which, as was pointed out in footnote 7, Leech prefers to call 'impositives'. If the illocutionary goal of a directive is to induce one's interlocutor to perform an action, often for the benefit of the speaker, there is an obvious conflict with politeness, and a concomitant need for politeness to be expressed.

### 2.3.2. *face-threatening acts*

Leech, through pragmatics and his own brand of speech act theory, provides a theoretical framework within which politeness can be studied. Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987<sup>16</sup>) describe a wide variety of the actual politeness strategies which people apply. This has become a classic study of politeness phenomena with a wealth of examples from English, Tamil (spoken in India and Sri Lanka) and Tzeltal (a Meso-American language). According to Brown & Levinson (1987: 61), every person has what is called 'face': 'the public self-image that every member [of a society] wants to claim for himself. Face has a positive and a negative aspect, such that negative face may be paraphrased as the desire for privacy: 'the want of every 'competent adult member' [of a society] that his actions are unimpeded by others' (*ibid.* 62), and positive face as the desire for recognition, affection or love: 'the want of every member that his wants are desirable to at least some others' (*ibid.*). Brown & Levinson make a strong claim for the universality of these face wants.

A person's face can be threatened by the actions of others. These are then called 'face-threatening acts' or 'FTAs' for short (*ibid.* 60). Since it is in everybody's interest that other people's face is maintained, we as speakers will want to minimize that threat. Therefore, a rather complicated process of choice is open to us. We can opt either to carry out the FTA or not to. If we choose to carry out the FTA, we can do it 'off record' or 'on record' (*ibid.* 68-69). One of Brown and Levinson's examples of an off-the-record FTA is (*ibid.* 69):

20. Damn, I'm out of cash, I forgot to go to the bank today.

This may be explained as a request for a loan, but it can also be conveniently ignored. Thus, off-the-record FTAs are indirect speech acts of the kind discussed in the previous section, to which pragmatic conversion is applied according to FG. By performing an FTA on record, the speaker commits himself or herself to it, but it can be done with or without 'redressive action'

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<sup>16</sup>. All references are to the 1987 edition of this paper, which is a reissue of the 1978 version with an extended new introduction.

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(*ibid.*). If it is done without redressive action, it is done 'baldly' (*ibid.*), e.g. by means of a straight imperative, following Grice's Co-operative Principle:

21. Lend me a fiver.

Redressive action, on the other hand, is a way of acknowledging the threat in the FTA and attempting to counteract it (and in the process flouting Grice's CP). This can be done by means of 'positive politeness' or 'negative politeness', attempts to satisfy the hearer's positive or negative face respectively (*ibid.*, 70). An example of positive politeness would be to use a term of endearment and/or offer reassurance, e.g.:

22. Can I borrow five pounds from you, dear? I'll pay you back tomorrow.

An example of negative politeness would be to question indirectly, e.g.:

23. Do you think you can lend me five pounds?

An important point of criticism concerns Brown & Levinson's claim for the universality of positive and negative face wants. Kasper (1990: 195) refers in this respect to Wierzbicka's (1985) 'objections against the ethnocentrically Anglo-Saxon perspective of much pragmatic theorizing.' Similarly, 'negative politeness, addressing interactants' territorial concerns for autonomy and privacy, derives directly from the high value placed on individualism in Western culture' (Kasper 1990: 195). This preoccupation with the individual is much less prominent in Far-Eastern cultures, where 'concerns about belongingness, empathy, dependency, proper place occupancy and reciprocity' are more central (Kasper, *ibid.*).<sup>17</sup> Brown & Levinson's response to this has been to take such comments seriously, but to consider them as language-specific manifestations: 'by and large, we believe that the evidence falls in line with our predictions, and that the exceptions are the kind allowed for by the specific socio-cultural variables we introduced' (1987: 27).

### 2.3.3. conversational contracts

Fraser (1990) is a comprehensive discussion of the four approaches to politeness he says can be distinguished. A general criticism of many accounts of politeness is the absence of explicit definitions of the concepts involved, an omission for which Fraser berates Leech (1983) and Brown & Levinson (1987)

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<sup>17</sup> Cf., for example, Ide (1989).



in particular. The first approach Fraser distinguishes, the 'normative view', is found in books on etiquette, but Fraser also finds traces of it in Quirk *et al.* (1985). This social-norm view is dismissed as having 'few adherents among current researchers' (Fraser 1990: 221).<sup>18</sup> The three other approaches distinguished by Fraser are the 'conversational-maxim view', the 'face-saving view' and the 'conversational-contract view'. The first is the view represented by Leech (1983) discussed above. Fraser (1990: 234) rejects it, because '[i]t is one thing to adopt Grice's intuitively appealing Cooperative Principle. It is quite another to posit a host of maxims involving tact, modesty, agreement, appropriation,<sup>19</sup> generosity, and the like, which are claimed to be guidelines for polite interaction, but without either definition and/or suggestions by which one could, on a given instance, determine the relative proportions of influence from these maxims.' This echoes Brown & Levinson's (1987: 5) criticism of the Politeness Principle when they argue that it is not as 'robust to apparent counter-evidence' as the Cooperative Principle.<sup>20</sup>

The face-saving view is represented by and based on Brown & Levinson's work. Fraser is less overtly critical of this approach than of Leech's, but 'inasmuch as the B[rown] & L[evinson] approach is the more fully articulated version, it seems clearly the one to be systematically challenged' (*ibid.* 235). He questions its claims for universality and also makes a few critical comments about the way the concept of 'face' is defined.

The conversational-contract view is that developed by Fraser & Nolen (1981). It is based on the 'recognition that upon entering into a given conversation, each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine ... what the participants can expect from the other(s)' (Fraser 1990: 232). This contract (or at least parts of it) can be renegotiated at any time, for example 'because of a change in the context' (*ibid.*). Some aspects of the contract are conventionally set for every conversation (e.g. the requirement of intelligibility) and hence non-negotiable. Others are determined by 'the social institutions applicable to the interaction' (*ibid.*) (e.g. routines in a court of law) and hence hardly negotiable. This is reminiscent of Springorum's (1982) interaction code discussed in section 2.2.3. What is negotiable are 'terms ... determined by previous encounters or the particulars of the situation' (*ibid.*). Factors like these have to do with, for

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<sup>18</sup> Despite its understandable unpopularity among academic students of politeness, (foreign) language learners do profit from a moderately normative approach.

<sup>19</sup> Fraser surely means 'approbation' here.

<sup>20</sup> To illustrate this point Brown & Levinson (1985: 5) construct a *reductio ad absurdum* whereby the expression 'Shut your mouth' is by inference interpreted as implying that the speaker is in a hurry. The utterance appears impolite, but 'given the Politeness Principle, we must assume that the speaker is in fact following the PP'. There must be another reason for the apparent impoliteness, for example the speaker being in a hurry.

example, the roles of the participants and the given setting. For example, you address your doctor differently in the surgery than on the golf course or in the pub. Politeness is then defined in terms of this contract (*ibid.* 233): 'In short we enter into a conversation and continue within a conversation with the (usually tacit) understanding of our conversational contract (CC) at every turn. Within this framework, being polite constitutes operating within the then-current terms and conditions of the CC. ... Sentences are not *ipso facto* polite, nor are languages more or less polite. It is only speakers who are polite, and then only if their utterances reflect an adherence to the obligations they carry in that particular conversation.' For the kinds of politeness phenomena signalled by Brown & Levinson, Fraser & Nolen (1981) and Fraser (1990) reserve the term 'deference'.

Despite obvious differences, Fraser (1990) sees a high degree of convergence between the CC-view and the face-saving view. In both, 'choice of linguistic form is determined, in part, by the speaker's appreciation of a responsibility towards the hearer in the interaction' (*ibid.* 235). The critical questions he raises in relation to Brown & Levinson are inspired by the fact that their 'approach is the more fully articulated' (*ibid.*), but many of these questions could equally well be asked of his own approach (e.g. for 'can what counts as 'face' be defined within a culture?' (*ibid.*) read 'can what counts as a 'contract' be defined within a culture?').

#### **2.3.4. opposites of politeness**

What is remarkable in most discussions of politeness is the absence of any systematic coverage of its opposite (impoliteness, non-politeness, rudeness). An attraction of the CC-view is that it defines politeness in terms of the contract, which also makes it possible to define impoliteness. Speakers are impolite when they deviate from the contract. Deference is then defined within the terms of politeness. Fraser & Nolen (1981: 97) quote Goffman's (1971: 56) definition: 'Deference ... is that component of activity which functions as a symbolic means by which appreciation is regularly conveyed.' They argue that if as a speaker you can express appreciation of your hearer, you can also express 'depreciation'. By choosing a particular form of words you can accord your hearer the correct status (deferent) or the wrong status (too high or too low; both not deferent). Thus, it seems, deference is one of the negotiable aspects of the conversational contract.

A different view of opposites of politeness is given by Kasper (1990). This is based on Lakoff's (1989) tripartite division of politeness into: '(1) polite behavior, which is manifest when interlocutors adhere to politeness rules, whether expected or not; (2) non-polite behavior, amounting to non-conforming with politeness rules where conformity is not expected; and (3)

rude behavior, where politeness is not conveyed even though it is expected' (Kasper 1990: 208). Kasper then divides rudeness into motivated and unmotivated rudeness. Unmotivated rudeness is the result of ignorance and can regularly be found in the utterances of, for example, (foreign) language learners. Motivated rudeness can be strategic, as documented in Lakoff's (1989) study of American court-room discourse. This kind of rudeness occurs when a prosecutor exerts extreme psychological pressure on a witness in order to elicit a particular reaction. Equally deliberate is ironic rudeness, as in:

24. DO help yourself.

'as a request to someone who is helping herself already' (Kasper 1990: 210, quoting an example from Leech 1983: 143). An example of ironic rudeness in Dutch occurs in situations when someone has got something to eat or drink for him-/herself but not for other people present. A commonly heard exchange in such situations is:

25. S: Heb je die film ook gezien?  
Have you that film also seen?  
H: Welke film?  
Which film?  
S: 'Ik eet/drink alleen.'  
'I eat/drink alone.'

Often only the first utterance is enough to make the culprit blush, apologize and offer to fetch food or drinks for others present.

A third 'cause' of rudeness can be 'lack of affect control' (Kasper 1990: 209). Just as 'unrestrained expression of joy or sorrow will be experienced by others as embarrassing, expression of aggressive emotions [are experienced] as rude' (*ibid.*). Although Kasper does not say so, this kind of rudeness is probably the most frequent. She does mention an interesting aspect: 'the prohibitive constraints on rudeness apply selectively ... Rudeness is subject to negative social sanction if it is "self-initiated" ... In response to someone else's rude behavior, however, "reactive" rudeness is seen as legitimate' (*ibid.*). It is acceptable, for example, to say (26) first thing in the morning to a neighbour whose dog has kept you awake all night, but not when you are the best of friends:<sup>21</sup>

26. I hope you won't sleep a wink tonight!

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<sup>21</sup>. See (31) below for another example of reactive rudeness.

It seems that most if not all of Kasper's rudeness can fit in with one of Fraser & Nolen's negotiable terms of the conversational contract, because it is always an expression of a lack of deference.

#### 2.4. Dutch MPs, mitigation and reinforcement

In the light of the discussion of politeness and rudeness in section 2.3, it should now be possible to arrive at a preliminary analysis of the function of Dutch MPs. We will start by looking at how that function would fit into Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. They chart forty politeness strategies, fifteen for positive politeness, ten for negative politeness, and fifteen for performing FTAs off the record. An explanation for the use of MPs in directives in Dutch can be found among the negative politeness strategies. A directive can be seen as a threat to the hearer's negative face, because it is an attempt on the part of the speaker to interfere with the hearer's freedom of action, an attempt to get the hearer to do something. Brown and Levinson's strategy 2 for negative politeness is formulated (in true Gricean fashion in the shape of imperatives) as: 'question, hedge' (*ibid.* 145). According to their definition a hedge is: 'a particle, word or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is *partial*, or true only in certain respects, or that it is *more* true and complete than perhaps might be expected' (*ibid.*). The English examples they give show that these are intensifiers or expressions that somehow restrict (*ibid.* examples (46)-(49), their italics):

27. John is a *true* friend.
28. I *rather* think it's hopeless.
29. I'm *pretty* sure I've read that book before.
30. You're *quite* right.

On '[h]edges encoded in particles' they say (*ibid.* 146): 'In some languages there are particles which encode such hedges in linguistic structure. They often constitute among the most commonly used words in a language, but are typically omitted from dictionaries and given little theoretical attention.'<sup>22</sup> And 'as Schubiger has illustrated (1972), hedging that is done in English by intonation is done in other languages - here specifically German - by particles' (*ibid.* 147).<sup>23</sup> The particles from Tzeltal and Tamil are divided into

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<sup>22</sup> It is interesting in this context that along with the growing interest in pragmatics and politeness since the late 1970s, linguists have also started to pay more attention to particles.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of Schubiger's work and the interaction between MPs and intonation in Dutch directives, see chapter 7.

'*strengtheners* (those that mainly act as emphatic hedges, 'exactly' or 'precisely' or 'emphatically') and *weakeners* (those that soften or tentativize what they modify).' Among the former are many intensifiers and particles described in chapter 3 as 'focus particles'. The latter group seems to contain what I would refer to as MPs, but also focus particles.<sup>24</sup>

At first glance, this may offer a plausible explanation of the use of Dutch MPs in directives. However, although Brown & Levinson's politeness theory is undoubtedly of great importance, it is not immediately clear how an analysis of MPs as politeness markers can deal with the occurrence of so many particles (not to mention strings of MPs) if their sole purpose is to hedge potential FTAs. Moreover, it does not account for the behaviour of all Dutch MPs in directives. For example, my native speaker intuition tells me that some MPs, notably *nou* and *toch*, do not mark politeness (or deference) at all. Is this a matter of rudeness?

Consider the following situation, which was obtained by personal observation. A young child had been naughty and aggressive for a while. Its mother had reproached it a number of times and in exasperation she finally said:

31. Hou nou toch eens op!  
Hold MP MP MP up.  
Will you stop that!

The utterance was spoken at a relatively high pitch with a rise-fall on *op* (in the English translation the pitch would be similar and the rise-fall would be on *stop*). In Kasper's (1990) view this is a clear case of reactive rudeness which is condonable. In Fraser & Nolen's (1981) view the conversational contract between parent and child allows parents to reproach children and does not stipulate the compulsory expression of deference by parents towards children. On the contrary, in their analysis the contract is not violated and therefore the parent's behaviour is positively polite!

As we have seen, Brown & Levinson's politeness theory cannot deal with utterances like this, and in particular with the function of the MPs in them. Nor evidently can Kasper's rudeness approach or Fraser & Nolen's impoliteness/lack of deference approach. The imperative itself, without MPs, would in Dutch be enough as a reproach. The MPs make the utterance neither more nor less polite. All that the MPs do in this case is lend extra force to the directive already expressed by the imperative. They reinforce. This then seems to be their basic function in this particular utterance. A

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<sup>24</sup>. *Strengtheners* must not be confused with *reinforcers* which I discuss later. Nor do Brown & Levinson's *weakeners* fully coincide with *mitigators* (which are also discussed below).

logical next step is to describe those MPs that do not reinforce but appear to make utterances more polite or express more deference, in terms that contrast with 'reinforcement'. Such an opposition is made in FG.

Section 2.2.4 referred to the FG-treatment of illocution and illocution(ary) operators. Hengeveld (1989: 131) defines illocution operators as follows: 'ILLOCUTION OPERATORS capture the grammatical means through which the speaker modifies the force of the basic illocution of a linguistic expression so as to make it fit his communicative strategy.' One of those communicative strategies can be the 'Strengthening strategy' (*ibid.* 132) or 'reinforcement' (*ibid.* 140), which is linked to a grammatical category: the 'Reinforcing mode' (*ibid.* 132). The function of reinforcement is a general one, but it is possible to distinguish separate 'goals' of this function: 'The general function of reinforcement is to impose the speech act more strongly upon the addressee. The goals of reinforcement ... can be more specific: to convince the addressee, express impatience, show superiority, etc.' (*ibid.*). Opposite reinforcement Hengeveld places 'Mitigation' or the 'Weakening strategy',<sup>25</sup> also linked to a grammatical category: the 'Mitigating mode' (*ibid.*), whose function is again described in general terms with subsidiary 'goals': 'The general function of mitigation is to reduce the force of a speech act. The goals of mitigation can be more specific: to prevent loss of face, be polite, leave room for the addressee to refuse or disagree, make the addressee feel comfortable, etc.' (*ibid.*).

Apart from the addressee-oriented goals listed by Hengeveld, there are other functional aspects of reinforcement and mitigation. In the case of reinforcement, we can think of the expression of assertiveness, certainty, definiteness, positiveness, significance, specificity, and (following from the argumentation above) rudeness; and in the case of mitigation, of the expression of non-assertiveness, doubt, indefiniteness, negativity, insignificance, generality, and (as Hengeveld also indicates) politeness. Thus, politeness and rudeness are pragmatic aspects of much more elementary grammatical strategies. Reinforcement and mitigation can be expressed by MPs. These must then be divided into reinforcing and mitigating MPs, or reinforcers and mitigators. Because of their more general functional specification, reinforcement and mitigation capture the functions expressed by Dutch MPs better than politeness and rudeness/impoliteness, which are merely one subsidiary aspect of these functions.

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<sup>25</sup> Reinforcement and mitigation must not be confused with Brown & Levinson's *strengtheners* and *weakeners* (1987: 147) which are both employed in what Hengeveld would call mitigation. See also footnote 24.

## **2.5. conclusion and preview**

This chapter has provided the general context for this study. It began by defining directives, because directives are the types of utterances in which the MPs from this study occur. I use the term 'directive' to refer to direct speech acts following the three paradigms set out in section 2.1, by means of which the speaker tries to get the hearer to do something. I use directness to indicate that in the appropriate context the speech acts concerned are immediately recognisable as directives. They do not undergo what is called in FG pragmatic illocutionary conversion. In this they are distinct from what are called indirect speech acts, whose message is usually ambiguous.

This chapter has also dealt with politeness and its opposite(s) and concluded that they are subsidiary pragmatic functions of the two more basic grammatical strategies of mitigation and reinforcement. The basic functions of these strategies can be expressed by MPs. These must then be divided into mitigators and reinforcers. The next step is, of course, to determine which of the nine MPs in this study are reinforcers and which are mitigators. This is one of the main objectives of chapter 3.

# 3

## FORM AND FUNCTION OF MPS IN DIRECTIVES

### 3.0 introduction

The previous chapter has defined the term 'directive' as it is used here and introduced the notions of mitigation and reinforcement. The first two sections of this chapter will define the term 'modal particle' (MP) and give a brief semantic-pragmatic description of the MPs that are the topic of this study. Section 3.1 comprises a classification of particles and narrows down the group studied. Section 3.2 contains an overview of the literature on the characterization of MPs and their meaning. Like chapter 2, the purpose of sections 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter is largely to provide a context for the issues that are discussed later. These sections must, therefore, not be seen as exhaustive discussions of the relevant topics.

In section 3.3 the nine MPs studied here are analysed in terms of mitigation and reinforcement. What is proposed is a division into a group of five reinforcers and four mitigators based on shared semantic features of these two separate groups. Section 3.3 is formulated in hypothetical terms. The rest of this study works towards the evaluation of the hypothesis.

### 3.1. particles

#### 3.1.1. *particle research*

Much of sections 3.1. and 3.2. is based on Foolen (1993).<sup>1</sup> After all, his thesis about particles is, as its subtitle suggests, partly 'a documentation of the state of the research.' Foolen (1993) Part One provides a very insightful overview of the literature which is tested against the Dutch particle *maar* in Part Two. Like many particle authors Foolen refers to the fact that programmatic research into (Dutch) particles is a relatively recent phenomenon that owes much of its impetus to German linguists, in particular Harald Weydt.

Whereas Weydt's earliest work (Weydt 1969) remained 'rather isolated, ... the end of the seventies [saw] a veritable boom in particle research' (Foolen 1993: 9). Foolen (*ibid.* 8) illustrates this with reference to Weydt's

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<sup>1</sup> All translations from Dutch and German are my own, except for Elias (1978), originally written in German, where my quotations are taken from a published English translation.



organizational activities in Germany, culminating first in a collection of articles (Weydt (ed.) 1977), and later in four collections of papers from as many conferences (Weydt (ed.) 1979, 1981, 1983 and 1989), as well as a particle bibliography (Weydt & Ehlers 1987) and a course book for learners of German as a foreign language (Weydt *et al.* 1983). The 'particle fever' crossed to the Dutch language area with conferences in Antwerp (see Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (eds) 1984) and Groningen (see Abraham (ed.) 1986 and 1991, and the special issues of the journals *TTT* (6.2, 1986) and *Multilingua* (10.1/2, 1991), both also edited by Abraham).

Foolen's (1993: 9) explanation for the particle 'boom' is the emerging interest in pragmatics and speech act theory at the time (see the reference to this in section 2.4, footnote 22). They acted as 'catalysts' of a movement which brought 'grammatically oriented linguists' and pragmaticists (speech act theorists and in particular discourse analysts) under one roof. But his evaluation of this 'marriage' is not one of an unqualified success. He points to tensions on the one hand between the two camps, and on the other hand within the camp of the 'pure' linguists themselves. The latter division was one 'between concrete and abstract description' (*ibid.* 9-10). In this context the phrases 'minimalistic position' and 'maximalistic position' were coined.<sup>2</sup> A minimalist view as taken in Abraham (1991c: 208) berates maximalists for taking 'for granted that one has to distinguish, for example, as many *doch-* or *schon-*lexemes [i.e. in German; rv] as there are illocutive uses to be distinguished.' Franck (1980) is often quoted as the prototypical maximalist. This is not unfounded, for Franck herself (1980: 172) says of the MP *doch* that it has 'several homonyms', which are 'semantically and syntactically so clearly differentiated that one cannot speak of meaning variants, but must treat each as a lexical whole.' Nevertheless, some minimalist writings could be accused of sounding too partisan.<sup>3</sup> In its most extreme form, minimalism tries to reach a unified overarching description of the meaning not only of the various uses of particles, but of their homophonic counterparts in other word classes too.

Needless to say, real extremists are hard to find. Franck (1980) stops well short of treating each different application of the MP *doch* as a separate lexical unit, but regards them as variants of the lexical unit *doch*<sub>MP</sub>. And, as Foolen (1993: 92-94) points out, Abraham has toned down his minimalist position over the years. The core of the text of Abraham (1991c) dates back to the Groningen conference of December 1985. A first German version of this (Abraham 1986a; see footnote 3) reflects his initial 'critical minimalistic

<sup>2</sup> I take these from Abraham (ed.) (1991a: 208). Foolen (1993: 10) quotes Posner (1979) as the originator of the opposition ('Bedeutungsmaximalismus' vs. 'Bedeutungsminimalismus').

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Abraham (1986a: 44) divides particle linguists into those with an *unkritisch maximalistische Position* and those with a *kritisch minimalistische Position*.

position.' This has changed into a 'moderately minimalistic position' in Abraham (1986c: 99) and in Abraham (1991c: 209) the 'radical minimalistic position ... will not be defended.' Finally, in a paper on the grammaticalization of MPs (Abraham 1991d: 332) he writes that '[a] "modal particle" use of ... a single phonetic form is ... syntactically and semantically distinguished from its non-particle and non-modal use.' I will come back to the minimalist-maximalist opposition in section 3.2.2.

### **3.1.2. *classifying particles***

#### **3.1.2.1. *the traditional view***

A very broad and traditional view of particles, which goes back to classical antiquity, is the one that sees them as a super-class comprising all uninflected words, including not only adverbs, but also conjunctions, interjections and prepositions. Although this view may still be found at times, particles are now usually viewed as a subset of adverbs, because they are said to behave like adverbs in terms of, for example, their position in the clause. It is not surprising, therefore, that an issue that has particularly exercised particle researchers from the beginning is the position of particles within the system of parts of speech. And it still does to some extent. This concerns their position vis-à-vis other word classes as well as any internal subdivision of the class of particles itself.

Most traditional grammars do not usually discuss particles separately. At best they are given some coverage within the class of adverbs. Geerts *et al.* (1984; henceforth ANS) is a good example of this and has for that reason been criticized by many linguists with an interest in particles. Foolen (1993: 30-32) qualifies such criticism of ANS by particle researchers, because ANS 'is a summary of the tradition of Dutch descriptive linguistics,<sup>4</sup> in which idiosyncratic opinions must be avoided as much as possible and broadly-based opinions must be highlighted.' And Foolen concludes that 'in its treatment of particles ANS had little support from' this tradition. Indeed, most of the work done for ANS pre-dates recent developments in particle research. Moreover, it is the first attempt at a comprehensive and authoritative grammar of Dutch. New and more recent insights will undoubtedly be incorporated in subsequent, improved editions.

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<sup>4</sup> This is an awkward translation of *Neerlandistische traditie*. *Neerlandistiek* (a notoriously awkward term) is 'Dutch Studies' in a broad interpretation and usually includes the study of the literature and cultural history of the Low Countries too. What is meant here is rather narrower: the linguistic tradition, prevalent in the Dutch language area, of describing the Dutch language.

That is not to say that the Dutch tradition has not had any original thinkers on the nature of word classes and the position of particles in it. Rombouts (1983) discusses the views on adverbs of Hoogvliet (1903), De Groot (1966) and Roose (1964), and Foolen (1993: 31-32) adds some observations on Van der Lubbe (1968). What clearly emerges from Rombouts' study is that none of the linguists studied by him were happy with adverbs as a homogeneous group of parts of speech. All three divide and subdivide adverbs further and in particular Hoogvliet and De Groot recognize (modal) particles as an independent subdivision. Hoogvliet (1903: 97-99) speaks of so-called *invoegselwoorden* ('insertion words') and discusses their elusive meaning as well as the clustering of MPs in, for example, imperatives.<sup>5</sup> De Groot (1966: 150) recognizes a group of particles which he divides further according to sentence type (e.g. assertion, question, order).

Neither Rombouts nor Foolen mentions Overdiep (1949) in this context. Although his 'stylistic' grammar of Dutch remains well within the traditional definition of parts of speech, he refers to the use of particles as 'restrictive' or 'additive' adverbs in declaratives (*ibid.* 459-461), interrogatives (*ibid.* 492) and imperatives (*ibid.* 509-510). Nor has the clustering of particles escaped him (*ibid.* 460, with an example from each paradigm): 'Two "restrictive" adverbs determine the modality in : *Kóm maar even!* - *Je moet maar èven uitblazen!* - *Wil je misschien even wáchten?* - In these sentences a third one [i.e. restrictive adverb; rv], "eens", can be added.'<sup>6</sup>

This shows that there is a small measure of recognition of particles in the Dutch tradition, but they are not important enough to warrant more than a few pages and some sketchy comments.<sup>7</sup> Foolen (1993: 32) comments approvingly on De Schutter & Van Hauwermeiren (1983) as a recent grammar in which particles are given their proper place, and elsewhere (Foolen 1986) he comments critically on the treatment of particles in grammars and course books for students of Dutch as a foreign language.

<sup>5</sup> See example (18) in section 1.1.3 and example (17) in section 3.2.1.

<sup>6</sup> Glosses/translations for the examples are as follows: 1. Come MP MP; 2. You must MP MP catch your breath; 3. Will you MP MP wait? The accents are Overdiep's. The fact that *even* in the second example is accented may mean that he did not intend the MP here, but the adverb. His own gloss for the grave accent (Overdiep 1949: 85) is: 'weak ... stress'.

<sup>7</sup> It is not clear, for example, whether Hoogvliet appreciated the fact that his *invoegselwoorden* in imperatives were strictly ordered, or that Overdiep realized this; nor that De Groot recognized that at least some of his particles belong to more than one sentence type.

**3.1.2.2. syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics**

What then, according to particle scholars, are the distinguishing features of particles? Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (1984: 9-10) mention the following distinctive criteria:

- morphologically they are uninflected, which puts them on a par with adverbs (in Dutch at least), conjunctions, and pre- and post-positions;
- syntactically they do not have real constituent status, because they cannot occur on their own in clause-initial position; in this they are like pre- and post-positions, but not like adverbs since many adverbs can occur in clause-initial position; unlike modal words, e.g. 'perhaps', particles cannot be single word sentences (e.g. in reply to a question);
- semantically and pragmatically they are not a part of the description of the state of affairs, i.e. they have a low referential status; however, this results in a high implicational status: they indicate how a state of affairs fits into a larger whole, e.g. in relation to alternative states of affairs or to the speaker's or addressee's attitude.

This definition remains rather vague, especially without examples. It also needs some fine-tuning. Abraham (1986b: 83-84) provides some more background, as does Abraham (1991b: 4-5).<sup>8</sup> He claims that his definition is mostly 'syntactic': 'their syntactic distributional characteristics are different from those of adverbs' (1986b: 83). He lists five of these characteristics: (i) they do not occur in sentence-initial position, (ii) they lack stress, (iii) they are unable to 'occur as single-word utterances' (1991b: 5), (iv) they 'cannot be in the focus of questions' (*ibid.*),<sup>9</sup> and (v) their deletion 'does not change anything in the meaning of the sentence' (1986b: 83).<sup>10</sup> An additional, non-'syntactic', criterion is that MPs 'can be seen to derive from different

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<sup>8</sup> The characteristics listed in Abraham (1991b) are said to apply just to MPs, not to all particles. Yet most of them are very similar to those listed in Abraham (1986b), where they are said to apply to particles generally.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. whereas you can ask questions about most other components in a sentence, you cannot ask questions about a particle. E.g.:

Heb	je	de	kooi	van	het	parkietje	al	schoongemaakt?
Have	you	the	cage	of	the	budgie	PART	cleaned?
Have you cleaned the budgie's cage yet?								

Wh-questions eliciting the answers "you", "the cage", "the budgie's" and "cleaned" can be asked of this sentence, but a question eliciting the answer "al" is impossible.

<sup>10</sup> The last two characteristics are hardly 'syntactic', but rather semantic and/or pragmatic.

grammatical or fully lexical elements' (Abraham 1991b: 4).<sup>11</sup> A contrast between MPs and their non-MP counterparts is that sentences with MPs 'presuppose contexts that are not shared by the sentences without those MPs' (*ibid.*). Abraham calls this contextualizing function of MPs 'sentence transitional'.

Foolen's (1993) definition of particles is very broad, although it is not as all-inclusive as the traditional definition, which, as we saw, encompassed all uninflected words. Nor is his definition based on formal grounds (cf. Abraham's 'syntactic characteristics'), but first and foremost on semantic ones: 'In this study I want to use the term 'particle' very broadly for all those words that do not contribute to the propositional content of a sentence or utterance' (*ibid.* 13).<sup>12</sup> In order to decide what part of an utterance is part of the propositional content, he looks towards truth-conditional semantics. His conclusion in this respect is that a division into propositional and non-propositional meaning is by no means unproblematic. He subsequently turns to those elements that 'normally seem to qualify for non-propositional use' (*ibid.* 22). Clearly, the word 'normally' is important here: some 'normally' non-propositional elements may have propositional applications and vice versa.

Foolen's classification of non-propositional elements (i.e. particles according to his definition) does not claim to be exhaustive. He appears to distinguish three main groups of particles: interjections, (coordinating) conjunctions and (some) adverbs. He makes few comments about interjections, which he sees as discourse markers (see Pander Maat *et al.* (1986) for an interesting discussion of the Dutch interjection *nou*), and about conjunctions. Adverbs are more problematic, of course, if only because some are propositional, like intensifiers (Foolen 1993: 25). But others, like conjunctive adverbs (e.g. *moreover*, *after all*, *so*) come close to being discourse markers and conjunctions.<sup>13</sup>

Foolen (*ibid.* 27) argues in favour of a clear distinction between adverbs of modality (e.g. *perhaps*, *indeed*) and so-called *oordeelspartikels*, 'judgemental particles.' This is in contrast with ANS, which sees *oordeelspartikels* as a subdivision of adverbs of modality. *Oordeelspartikels* can be further subdivided into focus particles (FPs) and MPs. Foolen follows Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (1984: 9-13) in his definition of these particles. They contrast

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<sup>11</sup> In this context Abraham claims that the counterparts of particles are not exclusively adverbial. This may be true for German (where e.g. the particles *aber* and *ja* are 'derived from' a conjunction and an interjection), but not in the case of Dutch.

<sup>12</sup> Reference to 'proposition' and 'propositional content' in this chapter is intended in terms of truth conditions and not in its much narrower FG reading. See chapter 5 for the FG-interpretation of 'proposition'.

<sup>13</sup> Theissen (1984) is one of the very few studies of such connectors in Dutch and calls them 'connective adverbial particles (CAPs)'.

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with other word classes in terms of their lack of referential meaning and their consequent 'implicational wealth' (Foolen *ibid.* 30; Foolen again disregards any formal criteria, see my reference to Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe above).

The internal contrast between the two types of 'judgemental particles' is as follows (Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (*ibid.* 11-13), quoted by Foolen (1993: 30)). FPs (which Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe call 'propositional particles') 'have to do directly with the content of the sentence (proposition): they indicate how a state of affairs denoted by the proposition must be built into a universe of interpretation ... that also provides space for the alternatives to that [state of affairs].' Examples of FPs are words like *ook* ('too/also'), *zelfs* ('even'), *alleen* ('only'), *maar* ('just'), but also *nog* ('still' or 'yet'). A few examples must suffice to illustrate their nature here.

1. Ik heb zelfs Jan gezien.  
I have even John seen.  
I have even seen John.
2. Ik heb ook Jan gezien.  
I have also John seen.  
I have also seen John.
3. Ik heb alleen Jan gezien.  
I have only John seen.  
I have only seen John.

(1) and (2) indicate that an alternative state of affairs, in which I would have seen other people but not John, does not apply. In the alternative state of affairs that is implied in (3) I would have seen other people besides John. *Jan* is the focus of (1)-(3) and the FP allows us an evaluation of that focus within the 'universe of interpretation.' It is a characteristic of focused elements in Dutch that they can occur in clause-initial position and in cases like (1)-(3) the focus will take its FP with it. But an FP cannot take up that position on its own.

4. Zelfs Jan heb ik gezien.
5. Ook Jan heb ik gezien.
6. Alleen Jan heb ik gezien.

MPs (in Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe the term is *schakeringspartikels* ('grading particles')) are '... more difficult to capture.' They '... modify not so much the content of the sentence, but the illocutive (and/or modal) status of

the expression in which the sentence is embedded. ... They signal not so much how the content of the sentence must be evaluated in terms of possible alternatives [as FPs do; rv], but rather constitute a signal for the hearer as to the purport of the expression, its illocutive value, as well as an indication of how to fit the content of the sentence into a wider framework of speaker-hearer expectations and preferences.'

It is interesting in this respect that Foolen does not indicate the way in which Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe make a number of further subdivisions in the class of FPs. He does not need to do so, because one of his concerns is *maar* as an FP and he later devotes an entire chapter to the discussion of *maar* within the system of FPs. Since this study is concerned with MPs, I will not go into the nature of FPs in any further detail. The way in which FPs and MPs differ in terms of the positions they can occupy in the clause is discussed in section 3.2.1.

Foolen (1993: 32-38) discusses the *function* of particles in terms of deixis and context: 'Particles always assume a process of communication<sup>14</sup> in which there are present or can be assumed to be present: a speaker, a hearer, a propositional content, an attitude, intention, assumptions, expectations, preferences as to the propositional content, possible preceding or following utterances. Particles always relate the propositional content to an aspect of this communicative context in one way or another' (*ibid.* 33). He stresses the dynamic nature of the context: 'The proposition, but especially the particles too, make sure that particular aspects of the context are activated, made relevant. In a manner of speaking, the utterance brings about its own context' (*ibid.* 35). The distinction between FPs and MPs is explained in terms of the different aspects of an utterance to which they relate the propositional content: '... focus particles contrast the actual state of affairs with possible alternatives. ... However, modal particles only function at the epistemic or speech-act level.<sup>15</sup> Their contribution does not relate to the propositional content itself, but to the propositional content as a component of a mental or social act' (*ibid.* 172).

With this classification we have come close to the core of the present study. However, before we continue with a definition of MPs, a brief comment is needed on the terminology, which has by now become extremely confusing.

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<sup>14</sup> Particles are not alone in this, of course. Other elements of the communicative context make the same assumption, including speaker and hearer, hence the dynamism of the context referred to later.

<sup>15</sup> Foolen (1993: 171-172) refers to a 'simple layering-model' which allows him to ascribe different particles to different layers or levels. He has taken this model, which is not elaborately described, from Sweetser (1990), who distinguishes three levels of analysis: the propositional content, the epistemic status of a propositional content, and the speech act of which the propositional content is the object. This is obviously not the same as the layered model proposed in FG (see chapter 5), but there appear to be a number of similarities.

Foolen's use of the term *particle* is, as has been indicated, quite broad, whereas Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe use it in a much narrower definition. On the other hand, their 'propositional particles' not only include FPs but also Theissen's (1984) CAPs. The Dutch term *oordeelspartikel* was introduced by Van der Lubbe (1968) and adopted by ANS. Foolen (1993: 32) concludes that Van der Lubbe's group of particles seems to coincide with his FPs, but that ANS has extended it to include MPs. The Dutch term *schakeringspartikel* (for MP) is Rombouts' (1980) translation of Weydt's (1969) *Abtönungspartikel*, but Foolen (1993) does not find this a satisfactory term. Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (1984: 12) note that English sometimes uses the term 'downtoner' for MP. Meanwhile, the terms 'focus particle' and 'modal particle' have become the international consensus terms and are used here.

The appeal of Foolen's classification of particles as lacking propositional content is that it is not an unorganized mixture of formal and functional criteria. However, he could be criticized for not postulating any positive formal criteria for the distinction of particles at all, except in his discussion of *modal* particles (Foolen 1993: 168-171; see section 3.2.1 below). Moreover, the precise structure of a possible class of adverbs remains unclear. He continues to use the word 'adverb' as a subdivision of particles (i.e. **non-propositional** elements) which includes modal adverbs (whose non-propositional status is not decisively proved by Foolen), FPs and MPs. Yet at the same time elements with propositional content such as intensifiers (cf. *ibid.* 25) and adverbs of time and place seem to remain part of an overarching category of adverbs.

Meanwhile, the question remains as to the best (internal) classification of particles. The advantage of a combination of formal and functional criteria *à la* Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (1984) is that it filters out unclear cases like modal adverbs and also excludes conjunctions, another problematic category. But it includes interjections and Theissen's (1984) CAPs, whose propositional status is equally undecided in the light of Foolen's (*ibid.* 26) difficulty in arriving at a clear demarcation of propositional meaning. In FG these problems do not occur, partly because of its distinction between operators and satellites and because it reserves the term 'adverb' for certain kinds of predicates. '[T]he terms *operator* and *satellite* are used in FG for modifications and modulations of linguistic expressions effected by grammatical (operators) and lexical (satellites) means' (Siewierska, 1991: 20). Under this interpretation, modal adverbs are satellites, as are CAPs. It will be argued in section 6.1 that MPs (and FPs), on the other hand, being the product of grammaticalization processes, are operators. Conjunctions belong to the class of relators, which 'may mark a relation of dependency or coordination' (*ibid.* 207). Interjections are so-called Extra-Clauseal Constituents (Dik 1989: 264-265 and 380).



This is not to say that under an FG analysis all problems of classification are solved. Such an analysis throws up its own problems, as will become clear. However, it provides a new and different perspective and that is valuable in itself. I refer to chapter 5 for a further discussion of this issue. For an interesting discussion of criteria for distinguishing particles with an FG-background (including a distinction between formal and functional criteria) I refer to Van Baar (forthc.).

### 3.2. MPs

The present discussion of Dutch MPs in directives is based on both formal and functional criteria. Therefore, the following sections will discuss, first, some formal (3.2.1) and then (3.2.2) functional characteristics of MPs.

#### 3.2.1. *formal characteristics*

Earlier I referred to Abraham's (1991c) characterization of MPs. Foolen (1993: 168-171) mentions some formal characteristics which amplify Abraham's and are at the same time more precise. We can distil the following six points from his discussion:

1. like interjections, MPs are a phenomenon of the spoken language;
2. unlike interjections, they are 'syntactically integrated';
3. they appear only in the 'middle field',<sup>16</sup> which distinguishes them from FPs and other non-propositional elements;
4. they can cluster;
5. they never carry stress;
6. they always have a counterpart in another word class.

I will discuss these points briefly below, but will return to some of them in much more detail in later chapters.

Foolen refers to research by Hentschel (1986) into the frequency of German MPs in a corpus of various kinds of texts. This shows that the frequency of MPs increases 'as the conversation takes on an informal, personal, confidential and associative character' (Hentschel 1986: 243, quoted by Foolen 1993: 168). Although similar research does not exist for Dutch, it is reasonable to assume that the same is true for that language. This informal character is equally true of interjections, but, says Foolen (*ibid.* 169), interjections 'are also unusual syntactically: they are not integrated into the

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<sup>16</sup> For a definition of the term 'middle field', see below.

clause, occur pre-clausally or post-clausally<sup>17</sup> or parenthetically in the middle field. The modal particles, however, give the impression that they are integrated. They have been absorbed into the clause and fall under the intonation pattern that spans the proposition of the utterance concerned.<sup>18</sup> The syntactic isolation of interjections means that they can also occur as utterances in their own right, as one-word clauses. This is impossible for MPs, a fact that was referred to by Abraham (1991c), as discussed in section 3.1.2.2.

The position of Dutch MPs in the middle field is discussed by, amongst others, De Vriendt & Van de Craen (1986). The middle field is the area of the clause between the finite verb (in Dutch declarative sentences the second constituent) and any non-finite verbs (which in Dutch occur in penultimate<sup>19</sup> position). In subordinate clauses all verbal elements are in penultimate position and the middle field is delimited by that position and the subordinating conjunction. Penultimate position and finite verb/conjunction are often referred to as the two poles of a Dutch clause. Thus, the middle field is the area between the two poles. Initial and final position are reserved for constituents which play an important pragmatic role like focus.<sup>20</sup>

MPs never occur in clause-initial position (9). In this they differ from modal adverbs (*Wellicht* in 7) or CAPs (*Daarom* in 8), which can occur in that position in isolation:

7.    *Wellicht*    moet je    even helpen.  
       Perhaps    must you   MP   help.  
       Perhaps you should lend a hand.
8.    *Daarom*    moet je    even helpen.  
       Therefore   must you   MP   help.  
       So you'll just have to give a hand.

---

<sup>17.</sup> i.e. in FG terms as Extra-Clausal Constituents in pre-clausal position or post-clausal position, not to be confused with the Theme (or left-dislocated element) or Tail (right-dislocated element), which are referred to in FG as occupying positions P2 and P3 respectively (cf. Siewierska 1991: 150 ff.; see section 5.4). The term Extra-clausal Constituent is taken from Dik (1989: 264-265).

<sup>18.</sup> For a further discussion of the interaction between MPs and intonation, see chapter 7.

<sup>19.</sup> Final position in Dutch sentences is reserved for constituents playing a significant pragmatic role. For example, sentences (1)-(6) could be expanded with an adverbial phrase like *bij de voetbalwedstrijd* ('at the football match') following the past participle. However, it frequently remains empty, which may explain the illusion that the Dutch non-finite verb occurs in final position.

<sup>20.</sup> In FG initial position is referred to as P1, and final position has been referred to as P0. See section 5.4 for a detailed FG view of Dutch constituent order, including P0, P1, P2 and P3.

9. \*Maar moet je even helpen.  
MP must you MP help.

In this respect, the contrast between MPs and FPs is somewhat more refined than that between MPs on the one hand and CAPs and modal adverbs on the other. As we saw in section 3.1.2.2, FPs cannot occur in clause-initial position either (10). However, they always co-occur with another constituent which is the actual constituent in focus. And clause-initial position of focus constituent together with the FP, as in (11), is possible:

10. \*Zelfs moet je even helpen.  
FP must you MP help.
11. Zelfs in die omstandigheden moet je even helpen.  
FP in those circumstances must you MP help.  
Even in those circumstances you'll have to give a hand.

The rules for final position are similar in this respect: modal adverb (12) and CAP (13) as well as FP together with its focus constituent (16) may occur there, but isolated FPs (15b) and MPs (14) may not. Consider the following examples:

12. Je moet sparen wellicht.  
You must save perhaps.  
You ought to save perhaps.
13. Je moet sparen daarom.  
You must save therefore.
14. \*Je moet sparen maar.  
You must save MP.
- 15a. Je móet zelfs sparen.  
You must even save.
- 15b. ?\*Je móet sparen zelfs.  
You must save even.
- 15c. Ik vind dat je zelfs móet sparen.  
I find that you even must save.

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16a. Je moet zelfs spáren.  
You must even save.

16b. Je moet spáren zelfs.  
You must save even.

(15) and (16) indicate that focus constituent and FP may be separated and that their positions are interchangeable to some extent. In (16) the focus is on *spáren*, and *zelfs* is acceptable either immediately before (16a) or after its focus constituent (16b). In (15) the focus is on *móet*. The usual position for the FP is immediately following its focus constituent (15a), but for some native speakers and in certain contexts the alternative, with the FP in final position, may be acceptable (15b). (15c) illustrates that in a subordinate clause the entire verbal complex must be put together in second pole position, which only leaves one position for the FP: in front of its focus constituent *móet*.

The clustering of MPs will be covered extensively in chapter 6 (section 6.2.3.1). Several explanations have been suggested for this (e.g. Thurmair (1991) and De Vriendt *et al.* (1991)). The phenomenon is merely signalled here. Like Foolen (1993: 170) I will quote Hoogvliet's (1903: 98) prototypical example:

17. Geef de boeken dan nu toch maar 'es even hier.  
Give the books MP MP MP MP MP MP here.  
Just give me the books, will you?

As we saw in section 1.1.3, the order of this cluster is fixed. If only two MPs from the cluster occur, their order is still as indicated in (17). An exception is the order of *dan* and *nou*, which are interchangeable. Similar clusters appear in the other sentence types studied here (see table 3.1 below).

Foolen's last two points (MPs' lack of stress and their homophonic counterparts in other word classes) require little comment here too. The interaction between stress and MPs will also be discussed in chapter 6 (section 6.1.3). It will suffice here to signal that in a sentence like (17) either *boeken* or *hier* can be stressed, or both. Van Baar (forthc.) relates their lack of stress to another phonological feature of particles: the fact that they 'tend to be or become monosyllabic.' Unstressed, monosyllabic words are often reduced to schwa plus consonant. This is clearly illustrated by Dutch *eens*. Whereas the adverb contains a tense /ee/, followed by /ns/, the MP *eens* is in fact usually no more than a schwa followed by /s/. This is also indicated by Hoogvliet's orthography in example (17).

As for the relation between MPs and their non-MP counterparts, this is the subject of several studies on grammaticalization (e.g. Abraham (1991d), Van Baar (forthc.)). As Hopper & Traugott (1993: 1-2) point out, the term grammaticalization refers both to a linguistic phenomenon and the study of that phenomenon. The phenomenon in question can be defined as the 'processes whereby items become more grammatical through time' (*ibid.* 2). From a diachronic perspective grammaticalization studies 'linguistic changes through which a lexical item becomes a grammatical item, or a grammatical item becomes more grammatical.' However, it can also be looked at from a synchronic perspective as a 'discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use' (*ibid.*). Seen from this perspective, grammaticalizations that are normally explained as historical changes are shown to exist alongside the non-grammaticalized forms from which they originate.

The descent of a lexical item into grammaticality proceeds gradually along a so-called 'cline' (*ibid.* 7 ff.). Of particular interest is the 'cline of grammaticality', which Hopper & Traugott (*ibid.* 8) typify as:

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

Movement along the cline is always from left to right, which is captured in the 'hypothesis of unidirectionality' (*ibid.* ch. 5). However, 'there is nothing deterministic about grammaticalization and unidirectionality. Changes do not have to occur. They do not have to go to completion ...' (*ibid.* 95).

According to Foolen (1993: 92) some grammatical categories appear to be typical endpoints in grammaticalization processes. He points to the likelihood that MPs are 'good candidate[s] for such "endpoint" status.' In the context of unidirectionality set by Hopper & Traugott, this would be seen as deterministic: the chain of change does not have to stop at MPs. As Van Baar (forthc., footnote 18) points out, a 'particle in its turn may be reduced to an affix in due course'. However, his paper is primarily concerned with FPs. The discussion of MPs, their homophonic counterparts and grammaticalization will be taken up in section 3.2.2.2.

I conclude this section with the formal representation of the directives studied here that was originally given in section 1.1.1:

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DECLARATIVE: Subj *moeten* [X][MP][Vi].

INTERROGATIVE: *kunnen/willen* Subj [X][MP][Vi]?

IMPERATIVE: (Subj) [Vf<sub>imperative</sub>][X][MP][Vi]

where:

Subj = (second person) subject

Vi = non-finite verb

Vf = finite verb

X = objects, adverbs

The MPs that can occur in these paradigms are given in table 3.1 (also given in section 1.1.2), in which they are listed in the order in which they would appear in clusters.

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type	order of cluster
DECL	<i>ook, maar, eens, even</i>
INT	<i>nou, misschien/soms*</i> , <i>ook, eens, even</i>
IMP	<i>dan/nou*</i> , <i>toch, maar, eens, even</i>

\*interchangeable

---

table 3.1 order of MPs in clusters

### 3.2.2. *the meaning of MPs*

Section 3.1.1 referred to the debate between minimalists and maximalists among particle researchers. In its most extreme form, minimalism was said to try to reach one overarching description of the meaning of the various uses of a particle as well as its homophonic counterpart(s) in other word classes. Maximalists tend to distinguish a separate lexical item for each distinctive use of a word. Foolen (1993: chapter 4) discusses this issue in terms of the opposition between Locke and Leibniz, of homonymy versus monosemy. According to the maximalist point of departure, homonymy, '[a] form can have several functions or meanings independent of each other, just as conversely one meaning can be related to different forms (synonymy)' (*ibid.* 49). For the minimalist view, monosemy, '[a] form has one meaning' (*ibid.*). Other names for monosemy are isomorphism, Humboldt's principle, transparency and biuniqueness (cf. Dik 1986: 26).

In the Dutch particle literature there is to my knowledge no-one who has taken a strictly homonymic point of view. The only school that is said to be sympathetic to it in Foolen's discussion of homonymy (*ibid.* 54-55) is

generative grammar. But even generativists can hardly claim unanimity on the issue. However, there are some representatives of a fairly strict monosemic point of view in the Dutch particle literature who try to describe a cross-categorial unified meaning of particular particles. I shall discuss a number of these in section 3.2.2.1 before outlining the polysemic view, which can be seen as taking an intermediate position between homonymy and monosemy, and which is adopted by Foolen and also in this study, in section 3.2.2.2.

### 3.2.2.1. *monosemy*

Schermer-Vermeer (1984) tries to arrive at a unified description of *toch*: 'in "toch x", x is presented as incompatible with expectations with respect to x. ... The "depth" of the expectation concerned can be deduced from the meaning of the intonation' (*ibid.* 219). What is meant by 'intonation' here is in my view accentuation: accented (i.e. focused) *toch* indicates a 'deeper' expectation. 'The meaning of *toch* is such that its being in focus or not can result in interpretative differences which are so big that one starts to think of meaning differences' (*ibid.*). For Schermer-Vermeer, however, thinking in terms of differences of meaning is undesirable.

Daalder (1986: 136) also explains the meaning of *toch* in terms of unfulfilled expectations in a unified interpretation of *toch* and *doch* (in traditional grammar the latter is regarded as an adversative conjunction, like *maar*): 'Explaining the meaning of ... *toch/doch* boils down to an association ... with interpretation contexts in which we can speak of a poor connection, something that is not quite right, something unexpected, or a change of course.' An alternative unified analysis of *toch* is offered by Elffers (1992), who sees 'persistence' rather than 'thwarted expectation' as the meaning of *toch*.

A unified description of *maar* is given by Riem Vis (1986). It is interesting that like Daalder's and Schermer-Vermeer's analysis of *toch*, her interpretation of *maar* is also phrased in terms of 'contrast with expectation': '*Maar*, then, introduces a sentence, phrase or word that is contrary to expectation: this also holds for the particle *maar*' (*ibid.* 81). Thus, two different elements (*maar* and *toch*) are described by different people with the same words ('contrast with expectation'). This would of course be unacceptable for strict adherents of Humboldt's universal (the one-to-one correspondence of form and meaning). It is not clear whether proponents of the minimalist approach are strict adherents of this principle or not, but if they are not, they can accept synonymy of the kind highlighted. In this context Van As' (1992a and 1992b) view on the twin *nu/nou* is very interesting. She argues that *nu* and *nou* are stylistic variants of the same word. Such stylistic variation, it is argued, is a phenomenon which occurs more often than is acknowledged.

*Nu* is the more formal variant, *nou* the more informal one.<sup>21</sup> In this view, one form has indeed one meaning, but one meaning may be represented by several forms. Daalder's (1986) discussion of the pair *toch* / *doch* points in the same direction. As for the analysis of *toch* and *maar*, section 3.3.2.2 will indicate that in some respects they are far from synonymous.

Van As (1991) argues for a cross-categorial unified description of the meaning of *nou*, whose meaning 'quite often floats in between the temporal and the modal' (*ibid.* 104). In her view the difference between a temporal and a modal interpretation of *nou* can be 'explain[ed] adequately in terms of the accentuation structure' of sentences in which they occur (*ibid.* 105): in accented *nou* the temporal side of its meaning is more prominent than in unaccented *nou*. But this, she says, is a function of accent and not of the meaning of *nou*. In this way she echoes Schermer-Vermeer's (1984) analysis of *toch* (see above).

Van As (1991: 104-105) gives an explicit formulation of the opposition between her approach and one that sees a difference between MPs on the one hand and adverbs on the other. She calls the latter the parts-of-speech approach. 'The core of the problem becomes visible: the parts-of-speech approach sees it as a "characteristic" of modal particles that they never carry accents, and thereby turns accentuation into a part of the lexicon.' However, section 3.1.2.2 showed that there is more to it than accentuation, e.g. the position of MPs in the clause. In addition to that, what has been referred to as the 'bleaching' of meaning in the grammaticalization process is important. If we assume that MPs have evolved from words in other word classes, an important characteristic of that evolution is the loss of at least part of the meaning associated with the 'original'. Trying to unify the meaning of the 'original' and the 'derived' items tends to lead to vague and abstract definitions, as Van As' own description (*ibid.* 104; see above) of *nou* as 'floating between temporal and modal' shows. This emerges even more clearly from the 'debate' about *toch* between Daalder (1986) and Schermer-Vermeer (1984) on the one hand, and Elffers (1992) on the other. Elffers' definition of the meaning of *toch* as 'persistence' is simply one step further into the abstract from Daalder and Schermer-Vermeer's 'unfulfilled expectation': persistence occurs against the background of an (unfulfilled) expectation to give in. This debate is not very revealing then, because such attempts to sublimate the meaning definition of one word, which is used with many fine nuances, necessarily result in opacity.

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<sup>21</sup> In view of this I feel justified to continue using the form *nou* in the context in which it is described here. After all, we have already established that MPs are especially characteristic of informal spoken Dutch. Nevertheless, it may be possible to come across a directive with the MP *nu*. This, then, is a formal variant of the normally informal form.



### 3.2.2.2. polysemy

Foolen (1993) tries to find a position which is on the one hand not completely at odds with the monosemic point of view, but which on the other leaves particles as a word class and allows for a description with more nuances. First he argues strongly in favour of 'methodological minimalism', which he defines as to 'postulate no more meaning than seems necessary in order to "explain" all uses' (*ibid.* 64). His aim is to try and arrive at a monosemic description, and failing this he opts for polysemy, which he defines within a cognitive framework (*ibid.* 71): 'Existing meanings are metaphorically and metonymically applied to new "experiences" via cognitive processes. Thereby a new meaning appears alongside an existing meaning. This new meaning, however, is related to the original meaning via the underlying cognitive processes. In this way, different, mutually related meanings are linked to one form of word. The meanings concerned form a "family" and display family resemblances between them.' Thus, he rejects neither monosemy nor homonymy, but sees the two as 'borderline cases' (read: 'extremes'; *rv*) in a continuum 'between which all kinds of gradations of meaning relationships can be distinguished' (*ibid.* 86).

For Foolen different polysemic meaning relationships occupy different positions on this continuum between monosemy and homonymy. He borrows the idea of different models of polysemic meaning relationships from Dik (1988), who distinguishes two: the 'core-meaning model' in which 'several meaning definitions ... have one or more semantic components in common' (*ibid.* 94); and the 'chain-relation model' which consists of a set of meaning definitions which 'can be ordered in a series, such that all adjacent definitions have one or more semantic components in common' (*ibid.* 95).<sup>22</sup> Within the chain-relation model Foolen (1993: 77-78) distinguishes a linear chain, a radial chain and a network.<sup>23</sup> The core-meaning model is closest to the monosemic extreme on the continuum between monosemy and homonymy, whereas chains and networks are closer to homonymy.

Foolen (*ibid.* 88) finds evidence for his polysemic point of view in recent work on grammaticalization (see section 3.2.1 above), which he defines as a

<sup>22</sup> For Dik (1988: 94-95) these two models are simply two possible ways of defining polysemy, with the chain being more flexible than the core-meaning model. The idea of accepting both as different realizations of polysemy and allotting them different places on the continuum between monosemy and homonymy is Foolen's.

<sup>23</sup> An example of a polysemic network is the genitive as discussed by Durieux (1990) and Nikiforidou (1991). The latter distinguishes a number of central meanings of the genitive (all related to 'possession') and a number of peripheral ones, e.g. 'standard of comparison' which occurs in Classical Greek but is expressed periphrastically in many other languages. In historical developments such peripheral meanings tend to be 'acquired last and dropped off first' (*ibid.* 193). And, indeed, the comparative function of the genitive was lost relatively early on in the history of Greek.

'diachronic process' whereby 'all kinds of non-propositional elements ... originate from words and expressions with primarily propositional function.' Often this process is seen in terms of 'bleaching', which involves the loss of semantic characteristics. However, Foolen (*ibid.* 94-96) quotes the work of Rombouts (1981) and Traugott & König (1991) to indicate that we can also speak of a certain kind of 'enrichment'. In this view grammaticalization is a metonymic process whereby a conversational implicature becomes conventionalized. But these two processes can also be regarded as aspects of the same phenomenon, such that semantic bleaching (lexical impoverishment) and conventionalized enrichment (adding implicative colour) interact to lead to grammaticalization. In this context, the comment by Van der Auwera & Vandeweghe (1984: 10), that particles have a low referential status but a high implicational one, makes sense too.

Hopper & Traugott (1993: 87-93) also point to this in a section called 'pragmatic enrichment versus "bleaching"'. I have already referred to the fact that the grammaticalization process is a gradual one. Hopper & Traugott see 'pragmatic enrichment' as the beginning of the process. 'There is no doubt that over time, meanings tend to become weakened during the process of grammaticalization. Nevertheless, all the evidence for early stages is that initially there is a redistribution or shift, not a loss, of meaning' (*ibid.* 88). In this redistribution some lexical meanings are promoted, whilst others are demoted. 'Those that are promoted tend to be relatively abstract, and particularly relevant to expressions of temporality, role relationships, etc. (i.e., "grammatical meanings")' (*ibid.* 92).

### 3.2.2.3. *a polysemic analysis of maar*

Foolen's methodologically minimalist stance leads him to a monosemic analysis of the conjunction *maar* ('but') as 'adversative': '*Maar* indicates ... that a possible conclusion, arrived at by the hearer on the basis of what precedes, must not be maintained' (Foolen 1993: 116). The interjection and the discourse marker *maar* are excluded from this (*ibid.* 103-106). *Maar* occurs as an interjection for example in combination with *nee* ('no') as an exclamation expressing surprise:

18. Nee maar,            wat een kanjer!  
       no but,            what a whopper.  
       I say, what a whopper!

Foolen (*ibid.* 104) regards the use of *maar ja ...* and *maar goed ...* as discourse markers (he uses the German term *Gliederungssignal*) indicating a return to the main topic of conversation after a digression:

19. Het is vervelend. Maar ja, waar hadden we het  
 It is annoying. But yes, what had we it  
 over?  
 about?  
 It's annoying. But anyway, what were we talking about?

Dictionaries (and ANS) tend to subsume these uses of *maar* under the conjunction, but Foolen (*ibid.* 105) implies that they are polysemically related to it: 'By classifying the above-mentioned examples as interjection ... c.q. "Gliederungssignale" ..., I also indicate that I am of the opinion that a function definition of *maar* as conjunction does not have to encompass these uses. But I do think that we can analyse them as grammaticalizations from the conjunctive use ...'

Foolen analyses the FP *maar* as restrictive and scalar. As such it is opposed to non-scalar restrictive *alleen* and non-restrictive scalar *zelfs*. *Maar* and *alleen* are restrictive because their focus is limited to a particular value. In fact, we could go further and argue that *maar* and *alleen* are more than restrictive: they exclude all other values. 'Exclusive' would, therefore, be a more precise (and more negative) characterization.

*Zelfs* and *maar* are scalar in that the alternatives implied can be arranged on a scale of values. E.g. (examples from Foolen 1993: 149):

20. Jan is alleen officier.  
 John is only officer.  
 John is only an officer (and has no other functions).
21. Jan is maar officier.  
 John is only officer.  
 John is only an officer (and has no higher function).
22. Jan is zelfs officier.  
 John is even officer.  
 John is even an officer.

*Maar*  
*alleen*

In (20) the restriction concerns the number of John's functions, in (21) it concerns the prestige of his function. John's officerhood is not put on a scale in (20), whereas it is in (21), in such a way that being an officer is not very high on the prestige scale of evaluation. In (22), on the other hand, being an officer ranks high on that scale. In English the difference between (20) and (21) would have to be reflected by the use of stress and intonation, or by semantically more pregnant words like *solely* in (20) and *merely* in (21).

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The restrictive/scalar paradigm is completed by *ook*, which has a non-scalar, non-restrictive reading:

23. Jan is ook officier.  
 John is also officer.  
 John is also an officer.

In (23) John's being an officer is not ranked on a scale. In addition, (23) allows the inclusion of other functions for John besides his being an officer. In line with what was argued above for *maar* and *alleen*, we can characterize *ook* (and *zelfs*) more positively as 'inclusive' rather than non-restrictive.

FP *maar* is seen as having a number of polysemic relationships with combinations of *maar* with other particles, e.g. *alleen maar*<sup>24</sup>, *ook maar*, *wanneer maar*:

24. Onder Thatchers leiding hebben de  
 Under Thatcher's leadership have the  
 conservatieven alleen maar gewonnen.<sup>25</sup>  
 conservatives only FP won.  
 Under Thatcher's leadership the Conservatives did nothing but win.
25. Zonder ook maar een cent uit te geven, is  
 Without also FP a cent out to give, is  
 hij de vakantie doorgekomen.  
 he the holidays through come.  
 He has come through the holidays without spending as much as a cent.
26. Je bent welkom wanneer je maar wilt.  
 You are welcome when you FP want.  
 You are welcome whenever you want.

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<sup>24</sup>. Foolen (1993) proposes two analyses for the combination *alleen maar*: (i) a 'compositional analysis' in which '*alleen* excludes alternatives in a non-scalar way and ... *maar* subsequently orders the restricted result in a scalar way' (*ibid.* 155), e.g.

Ik doe alleen maar wat ik wil.  
 I do only only what I want.  
 I do no more than what I want.

(ii) a non-compositional analysis in which the whole combination brings about a 'reinforcing effect' rather than a 'restricting effect' (*ibid.* 156). In (24) the latter analysis is necessary.

<sup>25</sup>. This example is an adaptation of example (33) from Foolen (1993: 156). Examples (25) and (26) are from Foolen (*ibid.* 158).

There is also a polysemic relationship between FP and MP *maar*, in such a way that the scalar aspect has moved to the background but the restrictive aspect (the exclusion of alternatives) remains at the forefront: 'we consider the focus-particle use as a distinctive nuance, with the scalar meaning aspect as the most salient distinguishing point. The focus particle shares with the modal particle that alternatives are excluded.' Thus, the relationship is unidirectional: MP has developed from FP (Foolen 1993: 186). However, the relationship between the two polysemic networks (the 'conjunction' network and the FP/MP network) is less clear. This is apparently due to the fact that Foolen has 'not been able to find ... a diachronic priority between the focus particle and the conjunction *maar*' (*ibid.* 204).

Janssen (forthc.a) is a monosemic critique of Foolen (1993). He acknowledges that there is a strong tension between the (single) meaning of a word and its many interpretations in everyday use. Interpretive effects can be brought about by, for example, 'the presence of a word in one linguistic constellation' (*ibid.*), i.e. if it is used as one particular part of speech rather than another. But such interpretive effects 'can even be observed where one assumes only one single word class' (*ibid.*). So dispensing with parts of speech will not undo the tension. Janssen (*ibid.*) characterizes the meaning of *maar* as follows: 'By using Dutch *maar* the speaker signals a restriction on what, in the speaker's view, one could expect in the given or similar circumstances.' He then applies this characterization to all Foolen's categories and finally explains the different interpretations with the help of 'concepts': intermediaries between meaning and interpretation. They correspond 'with different types of context or situation [that] are involved in the use of a word [and] should be explanatorily related to its categorial meaning and ... considered also to be part of its fully-fledged semantic characterization' (*ibid.*).

To a large extent the difference between Janssen's monosemic view and polysemy is a difference in the placement of boundaries. For Janssen the 'fully-fledged semantic characterization' of a word includes both the 'categorial meaning' of an item and a typology of contexts in which it can be used. However, such contexts are only related to the categorial meaning, not part of it. There is a boundary between meaning and concept. From a polysemic point of view it is the 'fully-fledged semantic characterization' which is of interest in the meaning definition of an item. It takes on board the type of context ('concept') in which the item occurs and considers it to be part of that meaning. There is no boundary between meaning and concept, but they are considered together.

In the following discussion of the nine Dutch MPs under consideration a polysemic stance akin to Foolen's will be taken. This will allow enough flexibility to set their use as MPs off against other uses of the same form. At the same time it will show that the MPs have a polysemic relationship with

their homophonic partners as a result of grammaticalization. In the grammaticalization process certain (abstract) features of the original meaning of the 'source' have become salient to the detriment of others.

### 3.3. **reinforcers and mitigators**

We can now put some more substance on the conclusion that section 2.4 arrived at, namely that MPs must be divided into those that reinforce the force of a directive and those that mitigate the force of a directive. It was argued above that grammaticalization plays an important part in the development of MPs from other meanings in the polysemic networks of which they are members. If, in the transition from adverb or FP to MP, grammaticalization has highlighted certain abstract semantic features already present in the original words (and thereby diminished certain other, more concrete features), it should be possible in theory to divide the nine MPs into reinforcers and mitigators on the basis of the meanings of their homophonic partners. That is exactly what the remainder of this chapter aims to do. One of the main aims of the rest of this study will then be to substantiate the claims made in this section. That this is by no means clear-cut will become evident, especially in chapter 8. As a consequence, the following sections are presented as a set of interlocking hypotheses. However, before discussing the individual MPs, it will be necessary to develop the concepts mitigation and reinforcement a little bit further.

Sections 2.3 and 2.4 discussed politeness and its opposite, rudeness or impoliteness, and linked these two concepts directly to mitigation and reinforcement. Reinforcement and mitigation were taken as basic, and politeness and rudeness as derived. In other words, politeness is a subfunction of mitigation, and rudeness a subfunction of reinforcement. The general function of reinforcement is to strengthen the force of the speech act, that of mitigation to weaken the force of the speech act. By making an utterance, we commit ourselves to what is expressed in that utterance. Reinforcement strengthens that commitment, mitigation weakens it.

Section 2.4 further argued that reinforcement is an over-arching, inclusive feature of certain words expressing such things as assertiveness, certainty, definiteness, positiveness, significance or specificity. By analogy, mitigation is a similar feature of words expressing such things as non-assertiveness, doubt, indefiniteness, negativity, insignificance or generality. For example, if I say:

27. I would like you to do that now.

with stress on *now*, the temporal specificity of *now* reinforces my statement by insisting that you act immediately. Now consider:

28. I would like you to do that some time.

In (28) the temporal non-specificity of *some time* weakens my statement. Similar contrasts emerge with expressions of certainty and doubt. Compare:

29. Surely that's right.

30. Perhaps that's right.

The adverb *surely* in (29) reinforces the statement *that's right*, whereas *perhaps* in (30) weakens it. In (31) and (32) the positive obligation expressed by *must* contrasts with the negative obligation expressed by *have to*. The obligation in (31) is thus reinforced, whereas the obligation in (32) is weakened by the negative.

31. We must take this on board.

32. We don't have to take this on board (but it's nice if we can).

What (27)-(32) illustrate is that adverbs expressing a specific moment are inherently reinforcing, whereas adverbs expressing a non-specific moment are inherently mitigating. This is also true for other pairs of words, like those expressing certainty or doubt and positive or negative.

It was argued in section 3.2.2.2 that grammaticalization is a process in which one particular (usually abstract) feature of the meaning of a word acquires salience and other features gradually disappear. The grammaticalization mechanism that is at work here is called 'reanalysis'. Hopper & Traugott (1993: 40) quote Langacker (1977: 58) who defines reanalysis as 'change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation.' One of Hopper & Traugott's examples is the reanalysis of English *be going to* from the progressive of a directional verb to a tense marker. The existence of reanalysis does not preclude the 'original' analysis: 'we can posit ambiguity in some contexts (also called "opacity") that allow[s] for the structure to continue to be analyzed as before and for a new analysis to coexist with it' (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 41). This (synchronic rather than diachronic) view suggests that grammaticalizations may be triggered by the differences in context.

Let us now return to some of our earlier examples, temporal adverbs. By a slight change of context, for example a change of stress, an adverb referring to a specific moment may lose (part of) its temporal feature. This triggers a

reanalysis of the adverb as 'specific', highlighting its reinforcement. Subsequently, it can be applied in other contexts in which reinforcement is required but not temporal specificity through a process called 'analogy' (cf. *ibid.* 56ff.). In a similar way an adverb referring to an unspecified moment or series of moments may lose (part of) its temporal feature. Its mitigation, as expressed by its indefiniteness, becomes more salient and it can then be applied in other contexts in which mitigation is required but not temporal indefiniteness. This is the case in situations requiring linguistic politeness.

The following analysis of the nine MPs in question assumes that each MP is derived by grammaticalization from a lexically more explicit word. Inherent in these lexical 'originals' is either of the two basic features reinforcement and mitigation. The grammaticalization process has enhanced the basic feature and weakened or even suppressed other semantic features. Thus, an MP's status as reinforcer or mitigator is related in that sense to its 'original' meaning.

The background for this section is provided by two dictionaries: *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (1882-, henceforth WNT) and *Van Dale Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*<sup>26</sup> (Van Dale, 1992). However, it is not intended to make the section primarily into an assessment of the particle-friendliness of either dictionary, which one might be tempted to do. Dictionaries are complicated to compile and it is simply not always fair to criticize them for omissions or errors of interpretation in view of the enormous task they have to face. Critical comments on WNT and Van Dale will, therefore, be kept to a minimum.

It is striking that the Dutch particle literature has paid a relatively large amount of attention to a relatively small group of particles. Of the nine MPs studied here only three have been written about regularly: *maar* (see e.g. Janssen (forthc.a), Foolen (1984, 1993), Riem Vis (1986) and De Vriendt & Van de Craen (1984)), *nou* (see e.g. Van As (1991, 1992a, 1992b) and Pander Maat *et al.* (1986)) and *toch* (see e.g. Daalder (1986), Elffers (1992), Pander Maat & Sauer (1986) and Schermer-Vermeer (1984)).<sup>26</sup> There is some literature on *misschien*, *soms* and *eens* (Van der Auwera 1983, 1984 and 1992 respectively), but *dan*, *ook* and *even* have been virtually neglected.

### 3.3.1. *reinforcers*

The general function of reinforcement was defined in section 3.3 as being 'to strengthen the force of the speech act.' This is inherent in the MPs *dan*, *eens*, *nou*, *ook* and *toch*. This will be clarified by looking at some semantic aspects of these five MPs and the counterparts with which they are polysemically

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also section 3.2.2.1 above.



related. Assertiveness, certainty, definiteness, positiveness, significance and specificity were seen as subfunctions of reinforcement. Section 2.4 argued that rudeness is another subfunction of reinforcement.

### 3.3.1.1. *dan*

As an adverb of time *dan* ('then') refers to a specific point in the future:

33. Ik ga morgen naar Amsterdam. Ben jij daar  
 I go tomorrow to Amsterdam. Are you there  
 dan óók?  
 then also?  
 I'm going to Amsterdam tomorrow. Will you also be there then?

or in general:

34. Wanneer ik drie pilsjes op heb dan ben ik  
 When I three beers up have then am I  
 gelukkig.  
 happy.  
 When I've had three beers I'm happy.

From that has developed a use in conditionals in the sense of 'in that case' and 'only in that case'.<sup>27</sup>

35. Als je aan alle voorwaarden hebt voldaan, dan  
 If you to all conditions have satisfied, then  
 mag je gaan.  
 may you go.  
 If you have met all conditions, then you may go.

A further development is that of modal *dan*, for example in ellipsis:

36. Ga je naar huis? En je werk dan?  
 Go you to home? And your work then?  
 Are you going home? And what about your work?

<sup>27</sup>. Note that the Dutch for the logical formulation 'x is true if and only if y is true' is *x is dan en slechts dan waar als y waar is*. This use of *dan* (and similarly English *then*) adheres to Dik's (1983, quoted in Dik 1986: 5-7) Relator Principle. It seems that this principle, according to which *dan* is a Relator 'linking the Subordinate to the Main predication' (Dik 1986: 5), also applies in Dutch in temporal cases like (28).

and in imperatives with directive force:

37. Doe je werk dan!  
Do your work MP.  
Go on, do your work!

The modal use of *dan* is explained by WNT (III<sub>2</sub>, 2272)<sup>28</sup> as follows: '*Dan* indicates that the content of a sentence is the result of or a conclusion drawn from a cause, reason or motive expressed in another sentence or implicit in the preceding.' Van Dale's (1992: 605) first modal reading is of *dan* in imperatives 'to express the impatience, the displeasure of the speaker.'<sup>29</sup>

We shall assume then that *dan* is a reinforcer, because the modal use of *dan* has developed from a temporal use with reference to a specific moment. Such (temporal) specificity is indicative of the reinforcing character of *dan*. In the grammaticalization process it has lost its temporal character, but retained its reinforcing nature, which is the defining character of the MP *dan*.

### 3.3.1.2. *eens*

Temporal specificity is also displayed by the adverb of time *eens*, which is always accented and means 'one time, once.' According to Van der Auwera (1992: 50) *eens* is here used in 'a purely quantificational sense of "on one occasion".'

38. Ik doe het ééns, maar nooit meer.  
I do it once, but never more.  
I'll do it once, but never again.

The step to 'some time', either in the past or the future, is then easily made. Here, the specificity is lost, but a temporal dimension remains. *Eens* refers to some moment in the past or the future. This is the use of *eens* found in the introduction to fairy-tales:

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<sup>28</sup>. References to WNT consist of volume number (in Roman numerals) plus column reference. WNT volume III consists of several separate parts, hence the subscripts.

<sup>29</sup>. This would mean that of its modal uses, the directive one is the earliest, because in the introduction the dictionary claims that '[t]he order of the definitions is purely chronological' (Van Dale 1992: xxiv). In WNT, on the other hand, directive modal *dan* is the sixth of nine modal readings. Four of the preceding readings are questions, including ellipsis. This just shows that it is very hard to indicate the exact chronology of such polysemic developments.

39. Er                was eens een ...  
 There            was once a ...  
 Once upon a time there was a ...

Van der Auwera (1992: 51) talks of this use of *eens* 'in the sense of "at an indefinite distant occasion".' In the 'some time' reading *eens* is unstressed when it is not in focus and therefore 'phonetic' spellings like *'ns*, *es* (e.g. in Van Dale 1992: 757), *is* or *'s* are likely to occur.

Van der Auwera (1992: 53) attaches to the modal use of *eens* the meaning 'at an indefinite occasion'. His example (21) counters that, however:

40. Kom eens hier.  
 Come MP here.  
 Come here, will you.

A speaker issuing this directive does not want the hearer to come 'at an indefinite occasion' but at a very definite instant: right now. So whereas with 'indefinite distant' *eens* the specificity was lost and the temporal dimension retained, modal *eens* has retained the specificity of *ééns*. This has led to a reinterpretation of the temporal dimension.

The linguistic or situational context may give rise to a directive that need not immediately be obeyed. This is the case with the verb *langskomen* ('drop by', 'pay a casual visit') instead of *komen*. Thus, the ambiguity of (41) (is *eens* an MP or does it mean 'some time'?) is increased by the casualness of the activity expressed by *langskomen*:

41. Kom eens            langs.  
 Come MP            along.  
 Drop by, will you?

or: Come some time along.  
 Drop by some time.

WNT's (III<sub>2</sub>, 3851) description of the use of *eens* in a directive context is ambiguous. On the one hand it says *eens* is used '[w]ith wishes and exhortations to give them a softening or conciliatory character' but later it gives a more specific instance of this which is far from softening or conciliatory: '[i]n threats that have the form of adhortations.' Van Dale's (1992: 757) entry is more along the lines proposed here: 'often only for reinforcement.' Yet the fact that WNT adds the characterization 'conciliatory' is problematic, because under that reading (40) may be seen as less forceful than the 'bare' directive, i.e. a directive without MP. In that case the MP *eens*

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would perhaps not be derived directly from the 'one time' but from the 'some time' reading. We will return to this issue in chapter 8, in which tests measuring native speaker evaluations of directives with and without *eens* are discussed.

However, it is assumed for the moment that MP *eens* is derived from the specific reading of the temporal adverb. In the grammaticalization process *eens* has changed its temporal character, but retained its specificity. This specificity defines the reinforcing character of *eens*.

##### 3.3.1.3. *nou*

There are some obvious parallels between the temporal adverbs *dan* and *nu* (or *nou*)<sup>30</sup> ('now'). It refers to a specific time: the present moment.

42. We gaan nú koffie drinken.  
We go now coffee drink.  
We are going to drink coffee now.

The MP *nou* has, like *dan*, lost most of its temporal dimension. This is perhaps not immediately clear when *nou* is used in directives referring to the present. (42) can still be interpreted as a directive to come at the moment of speaking.

43. Kóm nou.  
Come MP/now.

But with future reference (e.g. by means of the adverb *morgen* ('tomorrow')) this interpretation is no longer possible:

44. Kom nou mórgen bij me langs!  
Come MP tomorrow at me past.  
Do come and see me tomorrow!

Neither WNT nor Van Dale uses the epithet 'modal' with *nu*. WNT (IX, 2196) speaks of a 'very diverse use, in which the temporal notion has faded into the background or been lost altogether.' Under this heading the reinforcing use (in directives) is mentioned as the first possibility: 'To give more emphasis to an adhortation, an injunction or a wish.' Van Dale (1992: 1963) has made

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<sup>30</sup> For references to the formal/informal twin *nu/nou*, see footnote 21 and Van As (1992a and 1992b). Both WNT and Van Dale list the MP-use of the pair under *nu*. Under *nou* WNT merely refers to *nu*. Van Dale only lists some very specific uses under its entry *nou*. For a commentary on *nu/nou* in these two dictionaries, see Van As (1992b: 285).

itself vulnerable to criticism here. The following uses are listed under the **interjection** *nu*, not the (temporal) adverb (an entry for a modal adverb does not exist): '2 to express impatience, annoyance, irritation; ... 8 to express mockery, disbelief; ... 9 to express a request', all with directives containing *nou* as examples. The only conclusion can be that Van Dale uses a very loose definition of 'interjection', although a definition of the classification of parts of speech used is absent. It certainly does not conform to the definition of that term as given in section 3.2.1 above, which referred to the difference made by Foolen (1993: 169) between interjections and MPs: interjections 'are not integrated into the clause ... The modal particles, however, give the impression that they are integrated. They have been absorbed into the clause and fall under the intonation pattern that spans the proposition of the utterance concerned.'<sup>31</sup>

In the present context, however, this issue is peripheral. What is central is the temporal specificity of the adverb *nu*, which, as in the cases of *dan* and *eens*, can be seen as an indication of its reinforcing character. We shall assume, therefore, that the MP *nou* is also a reinforcer.

#### 3.3.1.4. *ook*

At the end of section 3.2.2.3 we saw that *ook* in its FP reading is non-restrictive and non-scalar. In this it is in contrast with *zelfs* (non-restrictive, scalar), *alleen* (restrictive, non-scalar) and *maar* (restrictive, scalar). The examples with *ook* and *maar* are repeated here, because this is where the contrast is strongest. *Ook* and *maar* are opposed in terms of both scalarity and restrictiveness:

21. Jan is maar officier.  
John is only officer.  
John is only an officer (and has no higher function).

23. Jan is ook officier.  
John is also officer.  
John is also an officer.

In section 3.2.2.3 it was argued that *maar* could be characterized as negative in the sense that it excludes other values, whereas *ook* is positive because it is inclusive. This positive nature points to reinforcement. Foolen's analysis

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<sup>31</sup> Van Dale (1992) does define interjection in the body of its text, of course. It does so twice under the entries *interjectie* (*ibid.* 1290) and *tussenwerpsel* (*ibid.* 3190), both of which mention the extra-sentential character of interjections (cf. *interjectie*: 'exclamation outside the grammatical context of a sentence').

of the relationship between FP and MP *maar*, discussed in section 3.2.2.3, is that the MP *maar* has lost its scalar dimension, but retained its restrictive or exclusive character. If *ook* is similar to *maar*, the MP *ook* will have lost its scalar dimension (it is neither scalar nor non-scalar), whilst its inclusive nature will be highlighted.

WNT (XI, 8) and Van Dale (1992: 2089) both equate *ook* in certain questions with *bij geval* ('by chance'), with the latter claiming that *misschien* ('perhaps', but see section 3.3.2.3 below) is here synonymous with *ook*. WNT does not have any modern examples, but Van Dale's example is:

45. Weet u misschien ook hoe laat het is?  
 Know you MP MP how late it is?  
 I wonder, would you know the time?

This is an fortunate example, because both 'synonyms' occur in it, which can be seen as evidence that they are in fact not 'synonymous'. When *misschien* and *ook* are used separately, the sentence with only *ook* is much more assertive than the one with only *misschien*. The speaker in (46) expects to be told the time in reply, but (47) anticipates something like: 'Sorry, I don't have a watch on.'<sup>32</sup>

46. Weet u ook hoe laat het is?  
 What's the time, please?
47. Weet u misschien hoe laat het is?  
 Do you know the time, please?

(46) is an illustration of the assertive nature of *ook*: the speaker expects confirmation of the question or compliance with the request that is implied.<sup>33</sup> In contrast with this analysis is Elffers' (1992: 73) assertion that a question with *ook* is 'more polite, less blunt than the *ook*-less variant.' Her illustration is:

48. Hebt u ook zoutloze kaas?  
 Have you MP unsalted cheese?  
 Do you have any unsalted cheese?

<sup>32</sup> The question why the cluster in (45) can contain these two seemingly contradictory MPs will be dealt with in section 6.2.3.1 on clustering.

<sup>33</sup> In a relevance-theoretic analysis of *ook* Van Nus (1993: 109) puts it as follows: 'Since modal 'ook' indicates that the utterance in which it appears is intended to be interpreted as either confirming an assumption or as requesting the confirmation of an assumption, it is always related to utterances which achieve relevance by strengthening.'

The interpretation of this sentence as 'polite' depends on its accentuation. With a heavy accent on *zoutloze*, it is an implied criticism of a shopkeeper for only stocking salty cheese. However, Elffers' observation is more accurate if the accent is on *kaas*, even if the *ook*-less variant is not particularly impolite. This may have to do with the fact that we are not dealing with a directive here, because (48) is a question for information, not a request for action. In chapters 6 and 8 we will come back to problems with *ook*. For the moment the position remains that *ook* is assumed to be a reinforcer.

### 3.3.1.5 *toch*

WNT's introduction to *toch* (XVII, 266) is most revealing. It indicates the dilemma of the lexicographer trying to describe the many fine nuances of certain words. Yet, the editor sets out clearly what is seen as the central meaning of *toch*. 'As a modal adverb, *toch* has first and foremost a restrictive adversative value. The meanings following that more or less agree with that, in the sense that the element of "adversativity" is clearly recognizable or with some difficulty. ... It is a word that is employed countless times to indicate all kinds of fine nuances.' The adversativity concerns something that may have been said or assumed by the hearer. *Toch* is used to counter any such assumptions emphatically. This foreshadows the analyses of *toch* by Schermer-Vermeer (1984) and Daalder (1986), who define its meaning as 'contrary to expectations'.<sup>34</sup>

The restrictiveness of *toch* perceived by WNT is not found in the discussions of this word by Schermer-Vermeer (1984) and Daalder (1986). When compared with the exclusive (restrictive) FP *maar*, we can see that *toch* does quite the opposite: it includes a value that was not expected and as such is much more positive than *maar*. *Toch*, then, can be interpreted as 'this and no less', whereas *maar* is restrictive in the sense of 'this and no more'. (49) is an adaptation of an example from WNT (XVII, 266)<sup>35</sup>:

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<sup>34</sup>. See section 3.2.2.1 above. Note that Elffers (1992) claims that 'persistence' is a more precise abstract characterization of *toch*, of which the adversative reading is merely a concrete reading. But see my comments at the end of section 3.2.2.1 for criticism of Elffers' position.

<sup>35</sup>. The example is a quote from the nineteenth century novelist Conscience who uses the FP *slechts* instead of *maar*. *Slechts* is a more formal equivalent of *maar*. Similarly, the French loan *coiffeur* is used instead of *kapper* to indicate formality. Conscience's spelling is different, too:

Al is hy slechts *coiffeur*, hy is toch geleerd.

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49. Al is hij maar kapper, hij is toch  
Although is he only barber, he is yet  
geleerd.  
learned.  
He may only be a barber, but he is a scholar all the same.

The definitions in both WNT and Van Dale are invariably couched in terms of emphasis and reinforcement: '4 to emphasize a conclusion ...; 5 ... - as reinforcement of a question; - to press home a command or a request; 6 in questions, to indicate that an affirmative or approving answer is expected' (Van Dale 1992: 3103). From the above and the discussion of the meaning of *toch* in section 3.2.2.1, the following definition emerges: '*toch* makes an assertion which is contrary to what has been under discussion so far.' Thus, the adverb *toch* is highly assertive.

50. Ik doe tóch wat ik wil.  
I do still what I want.  
I do what I like anyway.

This definition is wider than that proposed by Schermer-Vermeer (1984) and Daalder (1986), but 'contrary to what has been under discussion so far' includes any expectations which may have been raised by what has been said.

The MP *toch* has lost much of its adversative meaning aspect. It is hard to see what is contradicted in (51). However, it has retained its assertive nature.

51. Houd je mond toch!  
Hold your mouth MP.  
Oh, do shut up!

The conclusion must be, then, that *toch* is a reinforcer, and that the reinforcement it expresses is the result of its highly assertive character.

#### 3.3.2. mitigators

The general function of mitigation was defined in section 3.3 as 'the weakening of the force of the speech act.' This is seen as being inherent in the MPs *even*, *maar*, *misschien* and *soms*. This will be demonstrated by looking at some semantic aspects of these five MPs and the counterparts with which they are polysemically related. Non-assertiveness, doubt, indefiniteness, negativity, insignificance and generality were seen as functions



of mitigation. Section 2.4 argued that politeness is another subfunction of mitigation.

**3.3.2.1. even**

Some MPs have informal written forms reflecting the way they are pronounced in colloquial speech. For example, *nu* has the informal 'twin' *nou*, and *eens* can be written in a number of ways: *'ns*, *es*, *is*, or *'s*. The informal twin of *even* is *effe(n)*.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, it is the only MP in this group that (in both forms) has a diminutive form: *eventjes* / *effetjes*.<sup>37</sup> This form itself must be an indication of the mitigator status of *even*. One of the functions of the diminutive is to signal insignificance, another aspect of mitigation. In a similar context Haverkate (1988: 402-403) notes that 'in many languages diminutive suffixes do not only denote a reduction of the physical dimensions of the objects referred to, but often a particular affective or emotive attitude of the speaker towards those objects and, more importantly, through the objects towards the interlocutor. Diminutive selection, then, enables the speaker to develop a mitigating strategy which aims at reducing certain face-threatening aspects that may be involved in the illocutionary act performed or the state of affairs described.'<sup>38</sup>

*Even* as MP has a close polysemic relation with the adverb of time *even* ('just, briefly'), which indicates short duration. It may be stressed, of course, and is often intensified by means of *heel* ('very').

52. Ik heb héél even getwijfeld.  
 I have very just doubted.  
 I doubted for just a second.

From that it is a short step to mitigation. In directives it indicates that a required action will not need a lot of effort to be carried out. Through the bleaching process the temporal aspect has again been lost (as with *dan*, *eens* and *nou*) and what remains is that the state of affairs referred to is

<sup>36</sup> Note that the final *n* in *even* is usually not pronounced either. This is the case with most Dutch words ending in unaccented *-en*, e.g. plural noun and verb endings.

<sup>37</sup> This occurs quite frequently, of course, particularly with adverbs of manner: *gezelligjes*, *knusjes* (both 'cosily'), *netjes* ('neatly').

<sup>38</sup> Haverkate goes on to discuss briefly diminutive suffixes in Dutch and especially in Spanish, where '[t]hey are used to express a wide variety of affective and mitigating connotations.' In a footnote he also refers to the existence in Spanish of 'a large class of augmentative suffixes ... [which] are mainly used for expressing pejorative connotations.' Thus, the distinction between mitigation and reinforcement can also be made on a morphological level.

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insignificant. This is not always immediately clear, because the action required in the directive may be of short duration anyway:

53. Kun je me even helpen?  
Can you me MP/just help?  
Could you just lend me a hand?

But the absence of the temporal element does become obvious when *even* is used in a directive requiring an action of longer or indeterminate duration, or actually requires a relatively great deal of effort:

54. Kun je me even helpen met het installeren van  
Can you me MP help with the installation of  
mijn computer?  
my computer?  
Could you help me install my computer, please?

#### 3.3.2.2. *maar*

Section 3.2.2.3 discussed Foolen's (1993) definition of the FP *maar* (with which the MP was said to hold a polysemic relation) in terms of its being restrictive and scalar. These two aspects are evident in the English translation of (21), which is reproduced here:

21. Jan is maar officier.  
John is only officer.  
John is only an officer (and has no higher function).

The restrictive, exclusive FP *maar* is opposed to the inclusive FP *ook*, and we saw in section 3.3.1.4 that the same can be argued for the MPs *maar* and *ook*, which were said to have lost the (non-)scalar aspects of the meaning present in the FPs.

A similar analysis emerged when we contrasted *maar* with *toch* in section 3.3.1.5, where it was argued that *toch*, too, is inclusive, whereas *maar* excludes values. *Toch* was paraphrased as 'this and no less', whereas the FP *maar* was described as restrictive in the sense of 'this and no more'. It was also argued in section 3.3.1.5 that the MP *toch* has retained the assertive aspect of its adverbial counterpart, but that the adversative element has disappeared.

Janssen (forthc.a) argues that both aspects of the meaning of *maar*, scalarity and restrictiveness, are residually present in the MP, although for him the scalarity of *maar* is an interpretive effect of its restrictiveness. This

is contrary to Foolen's (1993: 186) comment that scalarity is the distinguishing mark of the FP but absent in the MP. This position was adopted for *ook* in section 3.3.1.4 above, and it also seems to be one of the conclusions of De Vriendt & Van de Craen (1984). Their characterization of MP *maar* as 'trivializing' fits into the mitigation frame as well, albeit as one particular aspect of mitigation. However, in the present context the question whether the MP *maar* retains scalarity or not is beside the point. What is important is that *maar* can be shown to be a mitigator.

The discussions of *maar* in sections 3.2.2.3, 3.3.1.4 and 3.3.1.5 have used the characterization 'negative' as opposed to the perceived 'positive' nature of *ook* and *toch*. This is also clearly demonstrated when we look at the FP *maar* in conjunction with the expression of obligation. Dutch has two modal verbs which are used to express obligation: *moeten* and *hoeven*. The latter, however, is restricted to the expression of the absence of obligation.

55. Je moet komen.  
You must come.

56. Je hoeft niet te komen.  
You have not to come.  
You don't have to come.

The construction with *hoeven* is used in sentences with the FP *maar*:

57. Om te slagen moet je een zes hebben.  
For to pass must you a six have.  
You need a six in order to pass.

58. Om te slagen hoef je maar een zes te hebben.  
For to pass have you only a six to have.  
You only need a six in order to pass.

The negative character of *maar* is clear in the FP: it denotes a low value on a scale and excludes higher values. It is from this overwhelming negative nature that the status of the MP *maar* as mitigator is derived.

### 3.3.2.3. *misschien*

Chapter 4 offers evidence for the late emergence of *misschien* as MP. The modal adverb *misschien* ('perhaps, maybe') shares its etymology with English

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*maybe* and French *peut-être*. In other words it signals nothing but the possibility of something and as such clearly mitigates the force of the utterance.

59. Misschien gaat het morgen sneeuwen.  
Perhaps goes it tomorrow snow.  
Perhaps it's going to snow tomorrow.

In the MP *misschien* much of the function of signalling possibility has been lost, witness the inappropriateness of a reaction like B's in (60).

60. A: Kunt u misschien de deur open doen?  
\*B: Nee, dat is onmogelijk.  
A: Can you MP the door open do?  
B: No, that is impossible.

Such a reaction would not be inappropriate in reaction to a statement like (59). The use of *misschien* in instances like (60) is labelled 'courtesy use' by Van der Auwera (1983: 393).

The mitigating function of *misschien* is also signalled by WNT (IX, 855) and Van Dale (1992: 1842) who both use the following qualification: 'to make an utterance or question less definite.'

### 3.3.2.4. *soms*

The temporal adverb *soms* ('sometimes') is in many ways the counterpart of *dan* and *nou*. Whereas these point to a definite moment, the reference of *soms* is indefinite, which signals its mitigating character.

61. Soms sneeuwt het in Engeland zelfs in mei.  
Sometimes snows it in England even in May.  
In England it sometimes snows even in May.

As with *dan* and *nou*, the temporal meaning aspect is bleached out in the MP *soms*. Again, this is best illustrated by the inappropriateness of reactions in which the temporal aspect is still included.

62. A: Kun je me soms helpen?  
\*B: Soms wel, maar vandaag niet.  
A: Kan you me MP help?  
B: Sometimes AFF, but today not.

Yet a reaction like (63) is possible in response to (62):

63. Soms wel, maar dit jaar niet.  
 Sometimes AFF, but this year not.  
 Sometimes it does, but not this year.

The parallels with *misschien* are obvious. Van der Auwera (1984: 95) also notes that 'modal "sometimes" ... shares [its] functions with "perhaps" words.' Similarly, WNT (XIV, 2516) offers as a second meaning of *soms* (after 'sometimes'): 'by chance, perhaps (= *misschien*)'. This is also offered by Van Dale (1992: 2816), but here with the qualification 'adv. of modality.' The mitigating character of *soms* is evident from this.

### 3.4. conclusion and preview

This chapter has argued that in Dutch MPs are a formally recognizable class of words. Semantically they have a polysemic relationship with homophonous counterparts in other word classes (adverbs, FPs). The nine particular MPs under consideration share one of two elementary characteristics: reinforcement or mitigation. The pragmatic function of reinforcement is to make the force of the speech act stronger, whilst that of mitigation is to make the force of the speech act weaker. This does not necessarily and automatically lead to reinforced directives being rude, or mitigated directives being polite.

In order to decide which MPs are reinforcers and which are mitigators, section 3.3 discussed the meaning relationships between the MPs and their counterparts. On the basis of this we have arrived at a preliminary division of the MPs into five reinforcers and four mitigators as shown in table 3.2.

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status	MP
reinf	dan
	eens
	nou
	ook
	toch
mitig	even
	maar
	misschien
	soms

---

table 3.2 status of MPs

The preliminary nature of table 3.2 must be emphasized. It is not based on precise native speaker evaluations, but on a number of assumptions about the nature of reinforcement and mitigation on the one hand, and the grammaticalization process on the other. Furthermore, questions remain about the distribution of MPs (why so many and why exactly nine?), their clustering behaviour (reinforcers and mitigators occurring side by side, or intermingled as in example (17)), and their interaction with intonation. The following chapters will try to address these questions and ultimately answer the question whether table 3.2 will need to be amended. The opposition between reinforcers and mitigators will be studied in some more depth from a historical perspective in chapter 4. Chapter 6 will shed light on clustering and the distribution of MPs with the help of Functional Grammar, which is introduced in chapter 5. The focus of attention in chapter 7 is the interaction between MPs and intonation. And chapter 8 contains the results of an experiment in which native speakers were asked to evaluate the force expressed by MPs. On the basis of the findings of these chapters we can finally assess the value of the division proposed in table 3.2.

# 4

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF MPs IN DIRECTIVES

### 4.0. introduction

This chapter presents a historical sketch of the emergence of Dutch MPs in directives. Section 4.1 discusses some methodological issues and problems encountered in the preparatory research. We will then look at data from Middle Dutch (4.2), the (early) seventeenth (4.3) and eighteenth (4.4) centuries, the turn of the last century (4.5), and more recent developments (4.6). The purpose of this sketch is to show that the division of Dutch MPs in directives into reinforcers and mitigators, as proposed in chapters 2 and 3, is a historical reality. It will become clear that the reinforcers were established well before the mitigators were. This chronology needs to be explained. Why is it that mitigators developed relatively recently, whereas (at least some) reinforcers are much older? Section 4.7 tries to answer this question.

Research into the history of MPs is quite rare, and the history of Dutch MPs has been virtually disregarded so far. Foolen (1993) devotes a chapter to the history of *maar*. However, this is more a survey of what has been written about *maar* so far (including its English, French and German cognates), than an analysis of its diachronic developments. It is historiography rather than history. Some work has been done on German particles (e.g. Hentschel 1986), and Wauchope (1991) is a synchronic study of three Old High German (OHG) MPs, which describes their function in OHG, but not their relationship with Modern German cognates. Attention has also recently been paid to a synchronic description of particles in Latin and ancient Greek (e.g. Kroon 1991 and Risselada 1991, and Sicking 1986, quoted by Foolen 1993).

The ultimate aim of this historical chapter is to provide further insights into the workings of modern Dutch MPs in directives. It is certainly not intended as their definitive history. For that its scope is too narrow. Nevertheless, I hope that it may serve as a stimulus for further research into historical aspects of Dutch particles.

#### 4.1. methodology

The historical data presented below were collected from a number of different sources. An obvious first source of information is WNT.<sup>1</sup> In most cases WNT definitions mention at least implicitly the MP interpretation in conjunction with directives, often with examples from as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century (for example authors like Coster and Bredero). An exception is *soms*, where neither the definition nor the examples offer conclusive evidence of MP status. Also doubtful in its evidence is *misschien*. In these cases reference to Van Dale<sup>12</sup> did not clarify the position any further.

The comprehensive Middle Dutch dictionary (Verwijs & Verdam's (1885) *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, henceforth Verwijs-Verdam) was also consulted to collect evidence of the status of the nine MPs in directives in Middle Dutch. Interesting here is that such a status appears to be almost completely absent, except for the very clear case of *toch* (see section 4.2.2 below). Verwijs-Verdam also presents some very tentative data with respect to *dan*, *nou* and *ook*. One problem with this dictionary is that it covers a period stretching from the twelfth century to the sixteenth century. Although its quotes are referenced and it is thus possible to trace its sources, it is unlikely to be exhaustive.

A corpus compiled from existing texts offers a more systematic and potentially more successful way of gathering data than dictionary searches. Indeed, existing published corpuses of Dutch from several historical periods could be used for this purpose. For medieval Dutch Gysseling (1977-1987) is the standard corpus; for seventeenth-century Dutch there are several concordances of the works of the dramatic poet J. van den Vondel (e.g. King 1982, Salemans & Schaars 1990), and for the present day there is, amongst others, a corpus of spoken Dutch (De Jong (1979)). However, for various reasons none of these was deemed suitable for the present study.

The precise nature of the texts that were to be used to compile a corpus for this study was dictated by the present-day usage of MPs. In modern Dutch, MPs are primarily a feature of the informal spoken language. For earlier stages of the language we have to look at written texts that are by their very nature representative of the spoken language, or at least approximations to spoken Dutch. Dramatic texts, and in particular plays with a down-to-earth subject matter such as comedies, farces and the like offer the best possibilities. Gysseling's corpus is a collection of texts dating from before 1300 and contains no dramatic texts, since the earliest such texts in Middle Dutch date from around 1400. It consists of non-literary texts of a highly formal

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. section 3.3, above.



nature (charters, deeds and other such documents) and literary texts which do not conform to the required textual profile either (e.g. hagiographies).

Similarly, Vondel's dramatic work is unsuitable, because his plays are tragedies. To illustrate the disparity between comedies and tragedies, I have included two seventeenth-century tragedies in my corpus. P.C. Hooft's *Granida* contains just three examples of MPs in directives compared with 16 instances in his comedy *Warenar*. Scrutiny of King's concordance of Vondel's *Maria Stuart* revealed seven MPs in directives.

De Jong's corpus of spoken present-day Dutch consists of fairly formal interviews with informants, followed by less formal conversations between informants. Neither of these kinds of exchanges contains the kinds of interactions in which directives occur very frequently. Moreover, since dramatic texts were chosen for the earlier periods, a consistent comparison with the present day required material of a similar textual nature.

It was decided, therefore, to compile a modest corpus by collecting and comparing examples of MPs from Dutch texts of a suitably informal nature from several periods at intervals of 100 years or more. In order to filter out any obvious personal (and sometimes regional) stylistic peculiarities, texts by at least two authors from each period were considered wherever possible. Finally, comedy drama from the 1980s was used by way of a present-day control.

The actual selection of the texts was not unproblematic. As a result of the criterion set out above (i.e. texts had to be 'representative of the spoken language'), problems with the availability and the suitability of texts arose during the selection. For that reason it was not always possible to select texts of a similar genre (drama), nor was it possible to set precise intervals in the sampling period.

It is noteworthy that hardly any such texts from the very earliest Middle Dutch period are available. One of the earliest dramatic manuscripts in Middle Dutch, if not the earliest, is the *Hulthemse Handschrift* ('Hulthem manuscript') which has been dated at around 1400. The satirical long poem *Van den Vos Reynaerde* has been dated around a century earlier, but it is not a dramatic text, even though it contains some powerful colloquial language.

A further problem with medieval texts (both dramatic and non-dramatic) and dramatic texts from the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries is that they are written in verse. It is not always easy to come to any firm conclusions about the spoken language of a period on the basis of texts which are constrained by rhyme and metre.<sup>2</sup> Having said that, the metre can also

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<sup>2</sup> Van der Wal (1986: 141-142) discusses various problems related to compiling a corpus from medieval texts. Poetry is often regarded as suspect material for a corpus because of its formal constraints. She dismisses objections to using poetic texts in corpuses as 'prejudice'. On metre, she claims that in medieval texts '[w]e are dealing with free verse ... which means that we do not have to be afraid of all kinds of unnatural ... linguistic phenomena caused

be a very useful tool in determining the stress patterns of sentences, and thereby help decide whether a particular candidate can be given MP-status or not. Thus, there is an ambiguous example in Verwijs-Verdam of *ook*:

1. Ghij moet oec eens singen  
You must ?MP ?MP sing  
You should sing for a change  
Verwijs-Verdam (V, 1603)<sup>3</sup>

This is taken from *Plaijerwater*<sup>4</sup> and a reference to the text shows us that the complete line reads as in (2). On close examination *oec* cannot but carry stress, because (i) *ghij* and *sing* are stressed, (ii) *moet* and *eens* are unstressed, and (iii) the clause requires another stress, the metre being trochaic:

2. Dat wachtic, maer ghij moet oec eens singen.  
That wait I for, but you must also MP sing.  
I was waiting for that, but you should sing too.  
Leendertz (1907: 176/279)<sup>5</sup>

The further contexts of the example makes clear that the reading opted for here (i.e. stressed FP *oec*) is correct. It constitutes an invitation to sing a song after the character issuing it has just sung one himself, so he is saying something like 'it is time for you to sing a song as well.'

Further on in the sampling period it is regrettable that no works from the early nineteenth century could be included. Yet this is almost inevitable if one considers the tastes and fashions of the time. The romantic age was a period in which a relatively large amount of reflective poetry was written, but the theatre was held in low esteem. The age of realism, on the other hand, spawned quite a lot of drama which, because of its realistic nature, is very usable. Hence the inclusion of Heijermans, despite the fact that on the whole his plays cannot always be characterized as comedy drama. Plays from just after the Second World War, which abound, are much less accessible because of a lack of realism which filters down into the linguistic expression. There is much less interaction of an everyday nature between characters in plays

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by forced adaptations to metrical form.' For Middle Dutch, then, the problems posed by rhyme and metre are relatively insignificant. They can also be solved by contextual clues, as is illustrated with examples (1) and (2).

<sup>3</sup> References to Verwijs-Verdam consist of volume number in Roman numerals, followed by page number.

<sup>4</sup> See Table 1 for details of texts used for the corpus.

<sup>5</sup> Where possible line numbers have been given following /.

date	author	name	no. of words
c. 1300		Van den Vos Reynaerde	20,500
c. 1400		Buskenblaser	1,300
		Lippijn	1,300
		Die Hexe	600
		Drie Daghe Here	2,700
		Truwanten	500
		Rubben	1,400
c. 1500		Plaijerwater	2,400
		Tafelspeelken I	500
		Tafelspeelken II	1,600
		Nu Noch	1,700
		<b>total Middle Dutch</b>	<b>34,500</b>
1612	Bredero	Klucht van de Koe	7,500
1618		Spaanse Brabander	23,500
1615	Hooft	Warenar	15,000
(1617		Granida	14,500)
(1642	Vondel	Maria Stuart	15,500)
		<b>total C17 Dutch excluding Granida &amp; Maria Stuart</b>	<b>46,000</b>
1708	Rotgans	Boerekermis	12,000
1714	Langendijk	Het Wederzyds Huwlyksbedrog	20,500
1720		Arlequin Actionist	3,300
		<b>total C18</b>	<b>35,800</b>
1899	Heijermans	Het Zevende Gebod	18,000
1903		Het Kamerschut	4,400
1902	Buysse	Het Gezin Van Paemel	11,500
		<b>total early C20</b>	<b>33,900</b>
1983	Vleugel &	Sterke Drank in Oud-Zuid	12,000
1985	Vorsten--	In de Dromocratie	14,000
1990	bosch	De midlifecrisis van Harde Harry	9,500
		<b>total late C20</b>	<b>35,500</b>

table 4.1 texts used for the analysis of the historical development of Dutch MPs in directives

by, for example, Hugo Claus, with the result that MPs (and directives) are rather thin on the ground.

One further problem encountered when scouring the selected texts for MPs was the possibility of double interpretations. Plays, however realistic they are intended to be, remain first of all a form of written language with all the

concomitant restrictions, and the way words are to be read or spoken is a matter of interpretation. Thus, *nou* and *even* in (3) may be read with or without stress, depending on one's interpretation, resulting in different translations. Of course, this is usually only a director's dilemma.

3. Hé, wacht nou even, Bolle.  
 Hey wait MP MP, Bolle.  
 Hey Bolle, just wait, will you!

or: Hey wait now briefly, Bolle.  
 Hey Bolle, wait a bit now.

Vleugel & Vorstenbosch (1990: 162)

With the above constraints in mind, the selection of texts as set out in table 4.1<sup>6</sup> was arrived at. For most of the medieval and sixteenth and seventeenth century texts two editions were consulted in order to filter out editorial or scribal anomalies. I refer to appendix 1 for details about this. The size of the corpus was partly determined by the desire to have roughly equal amounts of text for each period. This proved to be impossible for the early seventeenth century, mainly due to the length of Bredero's *Spaanse Brabander*. This is not really a problem, because the purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the historical development of modern Dutch MPs in directives, not to provide a quantitative comparison of their occurrence in various texts. That such a comparative study may be an interesting object of study is shown by the fact that the density of MPs in the medieval texts is very low: four of the shorter farces contain not a single MP (hence the absence from the corpus of material from *Lippijn*, *Die Hexe*, *Truwanten* and *Rubben*). The words-count for each item in the corpus in table 4.1 is an approximation.

The starting point for this chapter is the present-day situation. Only modern Dutch MPs are therefore taken into account. However, there is a likelihood that other MPs did occur in directives in earlier stages of Dutch. I only have evidence of one such case: the word *vrij* (Middle Dutch *vri*; as an adjective and adverb modern Dutch *vrij* means 'free'). WNT (XXIII, 649) paraphrases this use of *vrij* with '*maar, toch, dan*' and characterizes its use as 'optative, adhortative, imperative.' An example from WNT (dated 1688) is:

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<sup>6</sup> For details of the editions used, I refer to appendix 1 and the references.

4. Ga, knorpot, trek vry heen: wij lacchen met uw  
 Go grumbler draw MP away we laugh at your  
 dreygen.  
 threats.  
 Just buzz off, you moan: your threats are laughable.

Although *vrij* is not used in this way in present-day Dutch, the examples in WNT and its characterization suggest that in directives it must have been used as a reinforcer rather than as a mitigator, despite WNT's use of *maar* as a paraphrase. The use of the present-day adverb *vrij* as an intensifier (in the sense of 'rather') would support this.

5. Dat was vrij brutaal.  
 That was rather cheeky.

The most enlightening way to present these historical data is simply in chronological order, i.e. in the order in which particular MPs can be shown to occur for the first time as MP in directives. The discussion will start with a section on Middle Dutch. This is followed by sections on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by two sections on the twentieth century: one on the early twentieth century, and one on the latest developments.

## 4.2. Middle Dutch

### 4.2.1. What is Middle Dutch?

Before discussing the status of MPs in Middle Dutch, it is necessary to define our perception of the Middle Dutch period. It is evident that a text like *Plaijerwater* (c. 1500) is closer to early modern texts from the beginning of the seventeenth century like those by Bredero (c. 1600) than it is to *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (c. 1300). Yet, both *Plaijerwater* and *Van den Vos Reynaerde* are deemed to be medieval texts. This illustrates that from a purely linguistic point of view such periodizations are relative constructs, and that language develops in a continuum. For the moment it is less important whether a text is 'medieval' or 'modern', and more important to see that the phenomena we are concerned with were introduced gradually into the language over a number of centuries.

The fact that *Plaijerwater*, for example, is here labelled 'Middle Dutch' has more to do with the accepted perception of the Middle Ages than with the technical linguistic facts. This can be seen in its inclusion in a collection of Middle Dutch dramatic poetry by other scholars (e.g. Leendertz 1907) and the fact that it is referred to in Verwijs-Verdam. However, the term 'medieval'

refers to more than only linguistic forms. It also crucially refers to a way of life, a view of the world, a style of writing and using imagery, and a way of thinking shared by those writings that have traditionally been called 'medieval'. The importance of the link between these aspects of medievalism and medieval behaviour and the linguistic facts is clarified in section 4.7.

#### 4.2.2. *MPs in Middle Dutch*

The only MP that is explicitly recognized in Verwijs-Verdam (VIII, 378) as an MP in directives is *toch* (and its variant *doch*<sup>7</sup>). It is defined as '... to express gentle force.' Examples:

6. Herbercht ons toch  
Accommodate us MP  
Please put us up for the night

Verwijs-Verdam (VIII, 378); taken from *Plaijerwater* in Leendertz (1907: 174/236)

7. Merct die cracht van Rome doch  
Notice the power of Rome MP  
Heed Rome's power

Verwijs-Verdam (II, 222)

Moreover, in the corpus *doch* is one of two examples of an MP in *Van den Vos Reynaerde*:

8. Laet mi doch lesen twee paternoster  
Let me MP read two Our Fathers  
Let me read two Our Fathers

Lulofs (1983: 132/1739)

It occurs in *Buskenblaser* (Leendertz 1907: 70/1; and 75/134), *Tafelspeelken II* (*ibid.* 197/218) and *Nu Noch* (*ibid.* 203/82; and 206/135).

Examples of *ook*, *dan* and *nou* in Verwijs-Verdam are at best tentative, and no examples of *ook* occur in the corpus. The definition of *dan* (Verwijs-Verdam II, 51) would allow an MP interpretation, but there are no examples: 'A word that expresses the impatience of someone who does not allow any objections ...' In contrast to the findings of Verwijs-Verdam, *dan* is next to *toch/doch*

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<sup>7</sup> Section 3.2.2.1 referred to Daalder's (1986) attempt to arrive at a unified semantic description of modern Dutch *toch* and *doch*. In traditional grammar the former is an adverb, the latter a conjunction. However, in Middle Dutch both forms occur in either function.

the earliest MP in a directive in the corpus. It occurs in *Van den Vos Reynaerde* as the second example of an MP:

9. Die coninc sprak: 'Nu segghet dan.'  
 The king spoke: 'Now say it MP.'  
 The king said: 'Well, tell us.'

Lulofs (1983: 142/2061)

*Dan* also appears in *Tafelspeelken I* (Leendertz 1907: 182/34), *Nu Noch* (*ibid.* 199/28; and 205/118; see below, example (10)) and *Plaijerwater* (*ibid.* 166/115).

Verwijs-Verdam's fourth definition of *nou* (IV, 2568) is intriguing: 'As a particle of encouragement, especially before (nowadays usually following) an imperative or an adverb.' An example of what is meant can be seen in example (9), above. And similar examples can be found in many medieval texts, the following from *Nu Noch*:

10. Nu zecht mij dan  
 Now say it me MP  
 Well, tell me

Leendertz (1907: 199/28)

It is problematic to explain this use of medieval clause-initial *nou* as an MP. Such an analysis implies that at some stage a shift occurred from pre-verbal to post-verbal position for the MP. However, this cannot be observed for any of the other MPs, certainly not those that developed later than *nou*. There is no evidence, in either Verwijs-Verdam or the corpus, of *nou* as a post-verbal MP in Middle Dutch. Yet the clause-initial interjection *nou* still exists in modern Dutch, where it is best analysed as one of Dik's (1989: 264-65) extra-clausal constituents or ECCs, to which he ascribes pragmatic functions.<sup>8</sup> This *nou* has an initiating function and is always followed by a pause, in writing indicated by a comma (although it is untypical of written language, of course). Middle Dutch clause-initial *nou* can of course be interpreted as an initiator too, with the argument that the punctuation of medieval manuscripts is notoriously unreliable, if it occurs at all. Or *nou* can simply have been used here as a handy stopgap for missing elements in a line's rhythm, to complete the metre. *Maar* can sometimes be observed to have been used like that too, but there is no suggestion that it functions as a 'particle of encouragement'.<sup>9</sup>

Example (2) from *Plaijerwater* quoted in section 4.1 contains an unambiguous example of *eens* as MP, although the definition and examples

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the discussion of interjections in section 3.2.1 above.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the discussion of *maar* as interjection and discourse marker in section 3.2.2.3 above.

of *eens* in Verwijs-Verdam do not give any justification for the label 'MP in directive'. This must be an oversight in Verwijs-Verdam, because *Plaijerwater* contains at least two other examples of *eens* as an MP in a directive:

11. Wat, liefken, sincht ons eens  
 What, lovely, sing us MP  
 Well, love, sing us a song  
 Leendertz (1907: 176/270)

12. Vrient, ghij moet eens singen  
 Friend, you must MP sing  
 Friend, you ought to sing us a song  
 (*ibid.* 177/297)

The entries for *even*, *maar*, *misschien* and *soms* in Verwijs-Verdam do not contain any indication that in Middle Dutch these words were used in any way as MPs in directives. Moreover, they do not occur in the corpus at all.

The compilation of a corpus of texts for the purpose of working out when MPs arose indeed proved useful for the Middle Dutch period. Table 4.2 lists the Middle Dutch texts used and the occurrence of MPs in them.

status	MP	Reyn	Busk	Taf	NN	Pla	DDH
reinf	dan	+	-	+	+	+	+
	eens	-	-	-	-	+	-
	nou	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ook	-	-	-	-	-	-
	toch	+	+	+	+	+	-
mitig	even	-	-	-	-	-	-
	maar	-	-	-	-	-	-
	miischien	-	-	-	-	-	-
	soms	-	-	-	-	-	-

table 4.2 Occurrence of MPs in directives in the corpus of Middle Dutch texts

In conclusion to this section, we can say that there is clear evidence that early on in the Middle Dutch period the present-day reinforcers *toch/doch* and *dan* had made their appearance as MPs. They were followed by *eens* towards the end of the Middle Ages. Despite the descriptions in Verwijs-Verdam there is no evidence from the corpus of *nou* and *ook* having had MP-status in Middle Dutch, so their status is doubtful. Neither the corpus nor



Verwijs-Verdam offers any evidence for the existence of the present-day mitigators.

In this context, it is interesting to look at Wauchope's (1991) findings. She concludes that in OHG *thoh*, *ia* and *thanne* (the OHG cognates of modern Dutch *toch*, *ja* and *dan*) are MPs. Disregarding *ia*, since *ja* does not function as an MP in Dutch, what emerges from Wauchope's description is that the status of *thoh* and *thanne* is that of a reinforcer. About *thoh* in imperatives (as well as 'indirect commands') she says: '... *thoh* indicates an insistence on the part of the speakers that their command be carried out' (Wauchope 1991: 84). There appears to be some doubt as to whether *thanne* functions as an MP in imperatives (*ibid.* 162-165). However, '[q]uestions with *thanne* ... are frequently confrontational and can indicate challenge or unwillingness on the part of a speaker' (*ibid.* 166). Moreover, '[t]here is some indication ... that *nu* "now", *afur* "but, again", *wola* "well", and *ouh* "also" may have functioned in Old High German as modal particles' (*ibid.* 174). Of particular interest are *nu* and *ouh* as cognates of modern Dutch *nou* and *ook*. One final interesting detail is that '[t]he modal particle *thoh* can occur in imperatives in combination with the particle *nu*' (*ibid.* 83). If OHG *nu* was an MP, this means that OHG had MP clusters. In the example given by Wauchope, however, *nu* follows *thoh*.

We must not lose sight of the fact that OHG is not Middle Dutch or even Old Dutch. However, it is interesting that in a language closely related to but older than Middle Dutch cognate words functioned in similar ways to the MPs studied here, namely as reinforcers. Table 4.3 summarizes the picture we have for Middle Dutch:

---

status	Modern Dutch MPs	MP-status in Middle Dutch
reinf	<i>toch</i>	+
	<i>dan</i>	+
	<i>eens</i>	+
	<i>ook</i>	(+)
	<i>nou</i>	(+)
mitig	<i>even</i>	-
	<i>maar</i>	-
	<i>misschien</i>	-
	<i>soms</i>	-

---

table 4.3 status of equivalents of Modern Dutch MPs in directives in Middle Dutch in order of appearance as MP

### 4.3. MPs in early seventeenth-century Dutch

The picture for the early seventeenth century is quite clear. WNT's earliest example of *toch* (XVII, 269) is from the poet Van der Noot and dated 1558:

13. Gheselle en vreest toch niet  
 Mate NEG fear MP not  
 Don't fear, my friend

In the corpus, both Bredero and Hooft have a number of examples with *toch* / *doch*. *Doch* occurs in Hooft's *Warenar* three times, and in addition in a cluster with *eens* (see (15) below). Bredero's characters appear to be using either *toch* or *doch*, with one of them (Robbeknol in *Spaanse Brabander*) using both. Some examples:

14. Och, doet je toch wat te goed!  
 O, do yourself MP something well  
 Come on, treat yourself!  
 Keersemaeker (ed.)(1979: 83/107)

15. Nu eet doch, arme bloed.  
 Now eat MP, poor blood  
 Have something to eat now, poor thing.  
 (*ibid.* 121/904)

16. Wat kloppen is dat? ô klopt doch mit  
 What knock is that? O knock MP with  
 bescheit.  
 care  
 What kind of knocking is this? Can't you knock carefully?  
 Bergsma (ed.)(1967: 93/1329)

17. Ay zeg me doch iens, hoe verdiel je de  
 Hey tell me MP MP, how divide you the  
 paerten?  
 parts?  
 Do tell me, how do you divide the shares?  
 (*ibid.* 90/1270)

Apart from *toch* there are clear examples of *dan*, *nou*, *ook* and particularly *eens* as MPs in directives in the seventeenth-century corpus. *Maar* seems to be emerging as MP in directives too.

With respect to *dan*, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether it is an MP or an adverb of time. However, Bredero has a few unambiguous instances:

18. Houd daar dan, Constant, ...  
Hold there MP, Constant, ...  
Take that, Constant (a name)  
Keersemaecker (ed.)(1979: 101. vs 461)

19. ... ai lieve, leest dan nog iens  
Een evangelietje uit de Schrift, ...  
  
... oh dear, read MP again once  
a gospelDIM from the Scripture ...

My dear, why don't you read another  
lesson from the Scripture, ...  
(*ibid.* 142/1354/5)

And Hooft has one too:

20. Laet dan zien, wat heb je jou al  
Let MP see, what have you yourself already  
an laeten smeeren.  
allowed be fobbed off with.  
Just show me what you have allowed yourself to be fobbed off with.  
Bergsma (ed.)(1967: 88/1242)

The following passage from *Warenar* is illustrative for *nou*:

21. Loopt nou binnen, wil je kok, mit al jou  
Walk MP inside, will you cook, with all your  
gesnor,  
noise,  
Ik geef je oorlof en denk dat je blij toe  
I give you permission and think that you glad  
zint.  
are.

Kookt	en	smookt,	klad	en	knoeit	
Cook	and	smoke,	splodge	and	mess	
nou zoo	lang	tot je	moe bint			
MP as	long	until you	tired are			
Loopt in	kamer	en	kookken,	en	waer	je
Walk into	room	and	kitchen,	and	where	you

begeert.  
please.

Do walk in, cook, with all your noises; I give you permission to do so, and should think that you are glad of it. Boil and smoke and splodge and make a mess to your heart's content. You can walk into the rooms and the kitchen, or wherever else you want.

(*ibid.* 53 vs. 626-9)

Instances of *ook*, like those of *dan*, may be difficult to classify because of the possible anaphoric meaning of *ook* (i.e. in the sense of 'also'). Moreover, it is relatively rare, because the vast majority of textual occurrences are imperatives, and as we have seen in the previous chapters, *ook* only figures in interrogatives and declaratives with *moeten*. However, the context of the following example from Bredero shows that the addressee is the only person who should forget something. (22) is spoken by a thief to a peasant who thinks he recognizes his own cow. The thief convinces him that it is not and the peasant agrees that it cannot be because he only fed his cow the night before. The thief then reacts with (22). Hence an FP reading of *ook* (i.e. 'also') is impossible:

22.	Dat's	'um	recht,	huisman,	gij	moet 'et	ook
	That's	it	right,	sir,	you	must it	MP

vergeten.  
forget.

That's right, sir, you should forget about it.

Keersemaeker (ed.)(1979: 20/418)

	Warenar	Brabander
toch	3	4
dan	1	2
eens	9	16
nou	3	1
ook	0	0
maar	0	0
total	16	23

table 4.4 use of single MPs in directives in PC Hooft *Warenar* and GA Bredero *Spaanse Brabander*

*Eens* is far and away the most frequently used MP in the early seventeenth century. An alternative form is *iens*, and the variation *een reis* (which also means 'one time, once') also occurs regularly, along with its alternative forms *eris*, *ereis*, *eres*.<sup>10</sup> Table 4.4 shows that both Hooft and Bredero use it far more than any other MP. The difference in length between the two plays explains the difference in number, *Warenar* being 1486 verses long, and *Spaanse Brabander* 2235. What is striking in this respect is the fact that most of the instances of *eens* occur in such short textual interjections as 'look here', or 'listen carefully', e.g.:

23. Hoort eens hier, ...  
 Hear MP here  
 Look here, ...  
 (*ibid.* 95/353)

<sup>10</sup> See also section 1.1.3. A cluster of *eens* and *een reis* in seventeenth century Dutch can be found in the following from Dibbets (1969: 61/374):

Ruyck eens e reys joffrou ...  
 Smell MP MP Miss  
 Just smell this Miss ...

In this example it is difficult to interpret *e reys* as meaning 'some time', because the addressee is asked to smell a substance there and then. It reinforces the directive.

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24. Ei, ziet iens, wat een slord heb ik hier veur  
Hey, look MP, what a rag have I here before  
mijn buik  
my belly  
Just look what a rag I've got on for an apron.  
(*ibid.* 107/593)

Further examples:

25. Komt een reis voor de dag, ...  
Come MP for the day  
Come and show yourself, ...  
(*ibid.* 137/1266)

26. Hoort eens nae mijn woorden, ...  
Hear MP to my words  
Just listen to what I have to say  
Bergsma (ed.)(1967: 30/207)

Two relevant examples of *maar* from the seventeenth century are quoted by WNT (IX, 46):

27. Weest ghy maer te vreen (Coster)  
Be you MP content  
Just be happy
28. Vraacht hy u na de Maacht, secht maar het  
Asks he you after the girl, say MP it  
is myn suster  
is my sister  
If he should ask you about the girl, just tell him she's my sister  
(Bredero)

But it appears to be relatively rare, judging from the fact that it only occurs once in the material collected for the corpus, in Hooft's pastoral *Granida*:

29. Gef hem maer, gef hem maer, doot beter  
Give him MP, give him MP, dead better  
als ontvloên  
than escaped  
Just give it him, it's better to be dead than to have escaped  
Verdenius & Zijderveld (eds.) (1967: 84/1599)

In contrast with Middle Dutch, clusters of two MPs begin to occur in this period too: we have already seen *toch eens* in *Warenar* (see (15) above), and we can add *nou eens* from *Spaanse Brabander* and in *Klucht van de Koe*:

30. Leest nou een reis van dat heiligje, ...  
 read MP MP of that saint  
 Please read about that saint, ...  
 Keersemaecker (ed.)(1979: 142/1363)

31. Laat ons nou een reis: [follows the title of a song]  
 let us MP MP  
 Why don't we [sing]: ...<sup>11</sup>  
 (ibid. 26/540)

---

status	Modern Dutch MPs	MP-status in C17 Dutch
reinf	toch <sup>?</sup>	+
	dan	+
	eens	+
	ook	+
	nou	+
mitig	maar	+
	even	-
	misschien	-
	soms	-

---

table 4.5 status of equivalents of Modern Dutch MPs in directives in seventeenth century Dutch

There is no evidence of *even*, *misschien* and *soms* as MPs in the early seventeenth century, either from WNT or from the corpus.

In conclusion to this section, then, it has become clear that next to *toch*, *dan* and *eens*, which had emerged as MPs in directives by the beginning of the sixteenth century, *nou* and *ook* have clearly established themselves too. In other words, it is certain that by the early seventeenth century all present-day reinforcers are in place. Of the mitigators only *maar* is beginning to make an appearance. We can summarize the index of MPs in this earlier stage of modern Dutch as in table 4.5.

---

<sup>11</sup> This example is very odd, of course, because the infinitive is missing completely, what is intended being: *Laat ons nou een reis zingen: ....*, as indicated in the translation.

#### 4.4. MPs in early eighteenth-century Dutch

The data from the corpus on the eighteenth century are not very extensive, because only one dramatic artist, Langendijk, has been included. The other data come from a satirical poem which, although it includes some very colloquial language, cannot be wholly representative of speech. The most remarkable thing that emerges from these data is the overwhelming use of *maar* in contrast with a century earlier. We noted in section 4.3 that in the early seventeenth century *eens* was the most frequently used MP in directives, but in Langendijk occurrences of *maar* outnumber those of *eens*. Table 4.6 compares the frequency of all MPs in directives in *Het Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog* with those in *Warenar* and *Spaanse Brabander*. It is clear that Langendijk's use of *maar* accounts for the fact that his play contains almost three times as many MPs as Bredero's, although the two plays are approximately of equal length. This may be partly explained by the individual author's style, but even in Rotgans' *Boerehermis* (included in the table for comparison) *maar* is relatively frequent in comparison with what we have seen in Bredero and Hooft. The absence of *nou* in Langendijk and Rotgans is notable too. However, Langendijk's other play in the corpus, *Harlequin Actionist*, contains the following example of *nou*, which the metre (Alexandrine) does not permit to be stressed:

32. Dat's goed, maar hou nu op meer in de kist te  
 that's good, but hold MP up more in the chest to  
 stoppen  
 put  
 That's good, but stop putting more in the chest.

Nieuwenhuys (1967: 13)

Moreover, table 4.6 only lists MPs in single use, and *nou* does occur in clusters with *maar* and *eens* in *Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog* (the only two clusters in the data for this period):

33. Komt, laat me nou maar gaan  
 come let me MP MP go  
 Come on, just let me go.

Ornée (ed.)(1971: 113/1915)



34. Maar juffrouw, zie my ook nu eens met aandacht  
 but miss see me also MP MP with attention  
 aan  
 to  
 But miss, can't you pay some attention to me too?  
 (*ibid.* 55/471)

---

	Warenar	Sp.Brab.	WedHuwBed	Boerek.
toch	3	4	2	0
dan	1	2	4	0
eens	9	16	16	8
nou	3	1	0	0
ook	0	0	0	0
maar	0	0	22	3
total	16	23	44	11

---

table 4.6 use of single MPs in directives in PC Hooft's *Warenar*, GA Bredero's *Spaanse Brabander*, P Langendijk's *Het Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog* and L Rotgans' *Boerekermis*

The incidence of *ook* in the corpus is very low, and it does not appear in the data from the eighteenth century. This is due to the fact that *ook* occurs only in declaratives and interrogatives, which are relatively rare as directives in contrast with imperatives.<sup>12</sup> In section 4.3 we saw that this was the case in early seventeenth-century texts as well. The corpus from *Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog* only contains two interrogatives and no declaratives with *moeten*.

To complete the picture of the early eighteenth century, here are some examples of the use of *toch*, *dan*, *eens* (and its variant *iens*<sup>13</sup>) and *maar* from the corpus:

---

<sup>12.</sup> The material from *Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog* also contains a rare example of a subjunctive:

Men spoel de zwaarigheid eens af met held'ren wyn.  
 One rinse the heaviness MP off with clear wine.  
 Let's wash away the troubles with clear wine.

See also section 1.1.1, footnote 1.

<sup>13.</sup> In *Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog* only one character, the footman Fop, uses *iens* instead of *eens*. Presumably, this is in order to differentiate between the upper middle class central characters and the working class footman.

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35. Myn heer, ik bid je, dat wy hier toch met  
my sir, I pray you, that we here MP with  
malkaar  
each other  
Geen questie maaken. ...  
no dispute make  
But sir, please let's not have an argument here.  
(*ibid.* 39/67-8)

36. Vertrek dan Hospes, en Lakkeijen.  
leave MP host and footmen  
Host and footmen, please leave (the room).  
(*ibid.* 77/1004)

37. Maar zeg eens, Jan, hoe staan wy nu met onze kas?  
but say MP, Jan, how stand we now with our funds  
But tell me, Jan, how is our cash flow?  
(*ibid.* 40/79)

38. Dat moet je haes iens komen zien.  
that must you soon MP come see  
You must come and see that soon.  
(*ibid.* 62/631)

39. Ze is hoog van adel. Maar, myn heer, laat  
She is high of nobility. But, my sir, let  
ik maar zwygen:  
I MP be silent:  
Ze is hier genoeg bekend. Vraag maar aan  
She is here enough known. Ask MP to  
iedereen.  
everyone.

She is highborn. But, sir, I'd better be quiet,  
because she is well known around here. Just ask anyone.  
(*ibid.* 44/194-95)

Clusters of MPs in directives are relatively rare in the data from the eighteenth century. In fact, there are just the two mentioned earlier (see examples (33) and (34) above).

Again, there is no evidence from either WNT or the corpus of *even*, *misschien* and *soms* occurring as MPs in directives in the early eighteenth century.

We can conclude this section, then, by saying that the situation of a century earlier has been consolidated. All the present-day reinforcers are in place. *Toch*, *dan*, *eens* and *nou* are clearly established, and the same must be assumed of *ook* on the basis of the evidence from the early seventeenth century. Of the present-day mitigators only *maar* exists, but in contrast with a century earlier, it is now firmly established too. Thus, the index of MPs in directives at this stage of modern Dutch is essentially the same as set out in table 4.5 at the end of the previous section.

#### 4.5. MPs in the early twentieth century

The most striking aspect of the data from the early twentieth century is the presence of *even* as an MP in directives. WNT (III, 4280) contains examples from the nineteenth century, which, interestingly, all appear in clusters (with the location in brackets):

40. Ik moet naar den hemel en kijk maar eens even  
 I must to the heaven and look MP MP MP  
 I want to go to heaven and just take a look  
 (Tollens)

41. Wacht eens even drie, vier weken  
 wait MP MP three four weeks  
 Just wait for three or four weeks  
 (De Cort)

Examples of *even* on its own are present in the corpus, where the various guises of *even* (such as *effen*, *eventjes* or *effetjes*) are used with great effect by Heijermans, for example:

42. Kan u me effen an één vijftwintig hellepe,  
 can you me MP to one twenty-five help,  
 meneer.  
 sir  
 Could you help me with one guilder twenty-five, sir?  
 Heijermans (1965: 321)

43. Pa, loop nou niet weg, asjeblief! Effetjes  
 dad, walk MP not away, please. MP  
 vasthouden.  
 hold on  
 Don't go off, dad! Just hold on.  
 (*ibid.* 633)

44. Help u even, ma?  
 help you MP, mum?  
 Lend me a hand, will you mum?  
 (*ibid.* 644)

Apart from *ook*, all the MPs that have been previously mentioned in this chapter are present in the corpus used on their own, i.e. not in a cluster. There is no evidence at all of *misschien* in either the corpus or WNT.

A few examples of each of *toch*, *dan*, *eens*, *nou* and *maar* should suffice here as illustrations of their use at the turn of the century. Of interest are the different ways in which the two dialects from which the data in the corpus are chosen realize some of the MPs.<sup>14</sup> *Eens* is often written *is* by Heijermans, presumably to reflect its unstressed character. In *Van Paemel* the expression *ne kier* is used, which is East Flemish for standard Dutch *een keer*: 'one time, once' i.e. *eens*. In section 4.3 we saw a similar expression in seventeenth century Dutch: *een reis* (and its variations *eris* and *ereis*).<sup>15</sup>

Examples of *toch* are:

45. Dolf, steek toch in 's hemelsnaam je lepel zàchies  
 Dolf, put MP in heaven's name your spoon quietly  
 in je soep  
 in your soup  
 Dolf, for heaven's sake, spoon your soup up quietly!  
 (*ibid.* 643)

<sup>14</sup>. Heijermans' plays are set in Amsterdam, Buysse's in East Flanders. Regional variation in Dutch MPs and other particles has not been widely studied. Some authors refer to uses in their own dialects (e.g. Foolen (1993), Van der Auwera (1992)). Devos & Vandeweghe (1985) is one of very few studies about the regional distribution of a particle.

<sup>15</sup>. See also section 1.1.3 and section 4.3, footnote 10, above.

46. Peis toch da g' hem woarschijnlijk nooit mier 'n  
think MP that you him probably never more not  
zilt zien.  
will see  
Bear in mind that you'll probably never see him again.  
Buysse (1979: 816)

Examples of *dan* are:

47. ... gá dan Dolf en breng nòg 'n bos asperges  
... go MP Dolf and bring yet a bunch asparaguses  
Go on, Dolf, and get another bunch of asparagus.  
Heijermans (1965: 632)

48. Breng jij jouw voet is naar je mond!  
bring you your foot MP to your mouth  
You try bringing your foot to your mouth!  
(*ibid.* 638)

Examples of *eens* and *ne kier* are:

49. Wilde gij ne kier ou smoel houên, ...  
will you MP your trap hold  
Will you keep your trap shut!  
Buysse (1979: 779)

Examples of *nou* are:

50. Toe! Toe! Zoen 'r nou niet!  
please, please, kiss her MP not  
Oh please, don't give her a kiss!  
Heijermans (1965: 629)
51. Och, ... loat ons nou liever vergeten 't giend  
Oh, ... let us MP rather forget what that  
de kinders ons misdoan hên  
the children us done wrong have  
Oh, why don't we forget how the children have wronged us.  
Buysse (1979: 815)

Examples of *maar* are:

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52. Zet maar in 't midden, Aaf. Dank je.  
 put MP in the middle, Aaf. Thank you  
 Just put it in the middle, Aaf. Thank you.

Heijermans (1965: 297)

53. Kom moar binnen en loat ouwen hoaze moar zien.  
 Come MP in and let your hare MP see  
 Do come in and show us your hare.

Buysse (1979: 771)

---

	7e gebod	Paemel
toch	7	12
dan	4	0
eens	22	22
nou	39	3
ook	0	0
maar	58	17
even	6	0
soms	1	0
total	137	54

---

table 4.7 frequency of MPs in directives in H Heijermans' *Het zevende gebod* and C Buysse's *Het gezin Van Paemel*

Besides the actual form of the MPs, the differences in their distribution in the two authors' works may be of interest too. Table 4.7 shows the differences in distribution between Heijermans' *Het zevende gebod* and Buysse's *Het gezin Van Paemel*. The two plays it compares are not of equal length (*Het zevende gebod* is 73 pages long, *Het gezin Van Paemel* 53 pages), and allowance should be made for this.

I must emphasize that it would be wrong to draw any firm conclusions from this comparison at all, because we are dealing with two individual authors with individual styles. However, this very tentative comparison illustrates the scarcity of data on the regional distribution of MPs and the need for such data. Possible questions that might be asked should relate to the overall frequency of MPs, the frequency of clusters, and the preferences for different MPs in different regions. One important question would have to relate to the general distribution of MPs (including clusters) in Flanders and in the Netherlands.

Clusters are certainly more frequent in the data from this period than the previous periods. For example:

54. Zeg mij nou maar wat 'r wezen moet.  
 say me MP MP what there be must  
 Just tell me what's required.

Heijermans (1965: 339)

55. Kijk jij nou 'ns in de lamp.  
 look you MP MP in the lamp  
 You have a look at the light.

(*ibid.* 333)

56. Maar doe dan toch de gangdeur dicht, Dolf.  
 but do MP MP the hall door closed, Dolf  
 But do shut the door, Dolf!

(*ibid.* 636)

Moreover, there is one cluster of three MPs, whereas the data from the earlier periods did not yield clusters of more than two:

57. Kijk nou toch is.  
 look MP MP MP  
 Just look at that!

(*ibid.* 637)

Table 4.8 lists all clusters in the corpus from this period:

	7e gebod	kamersch	Paemel
nou maar	5		
nou eens	4		2
dan toch		3	
dan maar	1		
toch eens			1
maar eens	1	1	1
eens even	1	1	
nou toch eens		1	

table 4.8 clusters of MPs in directives in early C20 data in corpus

We can conclude, then, that the index of MPs in directives at the turn of the century certainly includes *even*, and that *soms* appears to be making an appearance, as expressed in Table 4.9:

---

status	Modern Dutch MPs	MP-status in early C20
reinf	toch	+
	dan	+
	eens	+
	ook	+
	nou	+
mitig	maar	+
	even	+
	soms	-
	misschien	-

---

table 4.9 status of equivalents of Modern Dutch MPs in directives at the beginning of the twentieth century

#### 4.6. MPs in the late twentieth century

So far, this chapter has traced the development of the present-day nine Dutch MPs in directives up to the beginning of this century. The rest of this study is about MPs in directives in contemporary (i.e. late twentieth-century) Dutch, so little needs to be said about the present here. Obviously *misschien* and *soms* have developed into MPs in the course of the past hundred years or so. They indeed occur in the two plays from the 1980s together with the other MPs.

One comment needs to be made about the texts chosen for this purpose. The interactions between the characters in the three plays (*Sterke drank in Oud-Zuid*, *In de dromocratie* and *De midlifecrisis van Harde Harry*) are very direct. This means that again very few interrogatives or declaratives with *moeten* occur as directives, and the vast majority of directives are imperatives. *Misschien* and *soms* occur a few times as MPs, but not in directives.

Nevertheless, the MP status of *misschien* and *soms* is quite clear from their occurrences. I give an example of each in which they appear in suggestions. In terms of their perlocutionary effect, suggestions are close to directives, because their aim is also to effect the performance of an action which may be desirable to the speaker (and beneficial to the hearer).

58. Zeg, zal ik soms even gaan kijken, waar die  
 Say, shall I MP MP go look where he  
 blijft?  
 stays?

Well, should I perhaps go and have a look where he is?

Vleugel & Vorstenbosch (1990: 162)



59. Cynthia, zullen we misschien apart gaan zitten.  
Cynthia, shall we MP apart go sit.  
Cynthia, should we go and sit somewhere else?  
(*ibid.* 255)

Note the declarative punctuation in (59), which is syntactically an interrogative.

This is the place for two further comments on the MPs in these two plays. One is about a certain context in which they tend to be used very frequently. The second comment is about clusters. Foolen (1984) and Westheide (1986) have pointed to the conventionalized use of MPs. Foolen (1984: 73) talks of 'a certain conventionalization ... of typical speech act situations and typical formulations fitting those situations.' He sees 'such conventionalization or even idiomatization' in expressions like:

60. Reken maar!  
Count MP.  
You bet!

In a similar context Westheide (1986: 154-155) talks of 'conversational routines' and uses the example:

61. Laat maar zitten.  
Let MP sit.  
a. Just leave it.  
b. That's all right.

This expression can be used to appease someone (a) or to tell a waiter to keep the change (b). Many such conventionalized expressions occur in the corpus texts. For example, someone who is trying to remember something says:

62. Wacht 's, wat was 't ook weer?  
Wait MP, what was it also again?  
Just a minute, what was it again?

Vleugel & Vorstenbosch (1990: 196)

An objection is introduced with the phrase:

63. Ja hoor 's ...  
Yes hear MP  
Now look here ...

(*ibid.* 257)

Resignation is expressed as:

64. Je zoekt het maar uit hoor.  
You search it MP out AFF.  
Suit yourself!  
(*ibid.* 276)

These are very common phrases, which can be heard in exactly the same form in everyday situations to express very similar emotions.

As for clusters, we saw in section 3.2.1 (example (17)) that a cluster of six MPs was possible in an imperative. However, it seems that in reality clusters of such length are at the very least rare. In *Sterke drank in Oud-Zuid* there are 50 imperatives with MPs. Eleven contain clusters of two, and only two contain clusters of three. This is not surprising of course, because the more MPs an utterance contains, the more complex it becomes. And in spontaneous speech there is a strong tendency towards a lesser degree of complexity. It appears, then, that the saturation point for complexity lies around three MPs.

This chapter is a description of the history of MPs up to the present moment, but we cannot assume that we have come to the end of the road as far as MPs are concerned and future developments in the class of MPs are not unlikely. However, we can only speculate about such developments.

#### 4.7. the emergence of mitigators

From the historical survey presented in this chapter it has become clear that not all MPs that currently occur in Dutch directives took up that function at the same time. A number of distinct stages can be perceived: (i) the Middle Dutch period when only *toch* and *dan* were established as MPs; (ii) the late Middle Dutch period when the MP *eens* was added; (iii) the early seventeenth century when *ook* and *nou* were clearly established as MPs; (iv) the establishment of *maar* as an MP in the early eighteenth century; (v) the establishment of the MP *even* in the nineteenth century; and (vi) the emergence of *soms* and *misschien* as MPs in the course of the twentieth century. Table 4.10 offers an overview of these developments.

status	MP	C15	C16	C17	C18	C19	C20
reinf	toch	+	+	+	+	+	+
	dan	+	+	+	+	+	+
	eens	-	+	+	+	+	+
	ook	-	(+)	+	+	+	+
	nou	-	(+)	+	+	+	+
mitig	maar	-	-	+	+	+	+
	even	-	-	-	-	+	+
	soms	-	-	-	-	-	+
	misschien	-	-	-	-	-	+

table 4.10 overview of the development of Dutch MPs in directives

Chapter three put forward a hypothesis about the status of MPs as reinforcers and mitigators, as indicated in table 4.10. We can conclude from the findings in this chapter that for directives there is compelling evidence that the mitigating MPs did not appear until all the reinforcing ones were present, and that a system of mitigators in directives did not begin to develop until the early seventeenth century. In other words, on the evidence presented above, it would appear that Middle Dutch had a system of reinforcement but not of mitigation of directives through MPs. The question arises why this should be so. An answer to this can be found in the history of politeness.

In chapter 3 we argued that MPs acquired their status as reinforcers or mitigators through grammaticalization. This is a process whereby a particular, usually abstract feature of the meaning of a word becomes more salient at the expense of other (more concrete) features. Thus, it was argued that the temporal adverb *nou*, which refers to a specific moment, gradually lost its temporal feature while its reinforcing feature, expressed by its specificity, became more salient. At a later stage *nou* could be used in other contexts requiring reinforcement.

However, the fact that mitigators did not appear until all the reinforcers had emerged may mean that the grammaticalization of mitigators did not take the same route as that of reinforcers. If by the end of the Middle Ages the system of reinforcement by means of MPs was in place, then the existence of this system may have triggered off a system of mitigation along similar lines as soon as the need for such a system of mitigation arose. This looks like a pragmatic example of 'analogy' in grammaticalization, as discussed by Hopper & Traugott (1993: 56-62). In morphology analogy is responsible for the development of regular forms, for example plural morphemes and the past tense suffixes of weak verbs in Germanic languages. In a similar way it may

be responsible for regularizing the opposition between mitigation and reinforcement.

Chapter 2 concluded that one pragmatic function of the more elementary grammatical strategy of mitigation is politeness. If at some stage in the past a need arose to express oneself more politely in social interactions, means of being linguistically more polite would have been found amongst expressions with a generally mitigating meaning. Through (pragmatic) analogy the existing system of reinforcement (by means of MPs) would have been expanded to include the expression of its opposite: mitigation. Hence the emergence of mitigating MPs and the expansion of the category of MPs.

The fact that such a need did indeed arise has been amply documented in the history of manners. A pioneer in this field has been Elias (1978), who shows convincingly that the evolution of politeness is a process which is shared by all Western European societies. The first edition of his book appeared just before the Second World War.<sup>16</sup> More recent work in this field has been done by Spierenburg (1981) on the history of manners in the Netherlands, and by Muchembled (1991), who concentrates on the history of manners in France.

Most of the authors on the history of manners base their work on contemporary manner books, in the words of Ehlich (1992: 96), the '[p]ropagandists of politeness'. These discuss in detail such social behaviour as table manners, the control of bodily functions, nose-blowing, and behaviour in the bedroom. They show a gradual refinement of manners in the course of the centuries from the late Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century. Much less is written about linguistic behaviour, but there is every reason to assume that this refinement was mirrored in linguistic behaviour. Indeed, there is plenty of evidence of this (cf. for example Paardekooper 1987/88).

According to Elias (1978) and other authors the source of the civilizing process is the royal court, in particular the French court. We encounter this in words for politeness in European languages: English *courtesy* and French *courtoisie*; but also German *Höflichkeit* and Dutch *hoffelijkheid* (from German *Hof*, Dutch *hof*'court'). 'In the course of the sixteenth century the use of the [medieval] concept of *courtoisie* slowly recedes ..., while *civilité* grows more common' (Elias 1978: 70). And whereas medieval courtesy was socially static, *civilité* is socially mobile. Its mobility is downward, so that in the course of time the concept filters down from court society to the upper middle classes. The vehicle for this downward mobility is the book of manners, the most notable example of which is Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium*, first published in 1526. Two centuries later *civilité* is overtaken by a new,

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<sup>16</sup> Elias (1978) is the English translation of the 1968 edition of *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, which first appeared in 1939. See bibliography for details.

extended and essentially middle class, bourgeois concept: civilization. It combines the old civility, 'the idea of a standard of morals and manners' (*ibid.* 48), with 'the liberation from all that was still barbaric or irrational in existing conditions, whether it be the legal penalties or the class restrictions on the bourgeoisie or the barriers impeding a freer development of trade' (*ibid.*).

From a linguistic point of view, the earlier development (*civilité*), which is carried on by the later, more political movement, is important. This development is accompanied by another, complementary move towards more privacy, in the first instance at court and among the upper classes, but later also among the middle class and eventually throughout European society. Muchembled (1991: 183) illustrates the painful contrast between the common man and 'courtiers and other *honnêtes hommes*, who, by acquiring good manners, have less and less bodily contact or withdraw into the intimacy of rooms with specific functions.' Politeness is then the recognition of such privacy and invasions of privacy will require mitigation.

It is in the middle of the first wave of *civilité*, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, that we see the first mitigating MP, *maar*, emerge. And as the concept filters down, so more mitigators appear (notably *even* in the course of the nineteenth century).

The emergence of mitigators is mirrored by another development in linguistic politeness in Dutch: the emergence of a (new) pronominal system consisting of formal and familiar forms of second person pronouns.<sup>17</sup> Paardekooper (1987/88) traces the beginning of this pronominal system back to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, when a large influx of wealthy, upper middle class immigrants from the Southern Netherlands (mainly Antwerp) settled in the Northern Netherlands (mainly Amsterdam). These immigrants brought with them: (i) prestige, (ii) social behaviour patterns which were strongly influenced by French manners, and (iii) a different second person pronoun system from the one prevalent in the Northern Netherlands. Paardekooper sketches the slow but steady progress of the new system (which combines formal characteristics of the Amsterdam and Antwerp systems) into all strata of Dutch and Flemish society in the course of the centuries. In doing so, he provides evidence of influences on its development from France (where the *vous/tu* distinction already existed), but also from prescriptive grammarians. Janssen (forthc.b) illustrates how the lower classes in the second half of the nineteenth century were still struggling with the new system. And Van den Toorn (1977) and Paardekooper (1987/88) show how even in the course of this century the

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<sup>17</sup> I.e. formal *u* (personal pronoun, subject and object) and *uw* (possessive); familiar *ji* and *jou* (personal pronoun, subject and object respectively), *jouw* (possessive) and *je* (non-emphatic personal and possessive pronoun).

Dutch 'pronouns of power and solidarity'<sup>18</sup> have remained in flux. Thus, the development of the use of mitigating MPs in directives can be explained by historical developments in society and is shown to run parallel with other linguistic politeness phenomena.

#### **4.8. conclusion and preview**

This chapter has traced the history of Dutch MPs in directives and explained the gradual emergence of a system of reinforcement and mitigation in the course of the centuries by looking at concurrent social developments. I hope that this has demonstrated that an interdisciplinary approach to linguistic research can help achieve functional explanations to linguistic problems.

Meanwhile a number of questions about the history of MPs remain unanswered. For example, the exact first occurrence of each of them needs to be located, and the precise nature of linguistic and social influences on their development is as yet unclear. These are interesting points for future research. Nevertheless, I have highlighted certain trends in the history of Dutch MPs in directives which are useful in coming to a more complete understanding of these MPs.

The conclusion to chapter 3 (section 3.4) threw up a number of questions that the division of MPs into mitigators and reinforcers has not yet answered. These questions relate to their distribution and frequency: why are there so many MPs if their purpose is only a basic division into mitigation and reinforcement? And why do they appear in clusters in a particular order? We will look at Functional Grammar (FG, as proposed by e.g. Dik (1989)) for an answer to these questions. For that purpose a brief outline of FG is first given in chapter 5.

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Brown & Gillman (1960).

# 5

## FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

### 5.0. introduction

For an explanation of how MPs in directives work in Dutch this study looks at least partially towards FG. In order to be able to do so, this chapter will briefly outline some of the main characteristics of the theory and pay particular attention to those aspects which pertain to the phenomena described here.

By FG I mean the linguistic theory which has been developed over the past fifteen years or so, inspired by Simon Dik in Amsterdam. Dik (1978), in which the theory was first outlined in some detail, can be taken as its nominal starting point. Since then it has been amended and refined in numerous studies, many of which were incorporated in Dik (1989), a major update on the theory. Since Dik (1989) two areas of FG appear to have intrigued functionalists in particular. First, the layered structure of the clause, as first proposed by Hengeveld (1988, 1989), incorporated in Dik (1989) and updated in Hengeveld (1992), has led to a reassessment of the part played *inter alia* by operators and satellites. Secondly, attention has been focused on the role played by pragmatics in FG, especially the expression of topicality and focality. These two issues (layering and pragmatic functions) are also central to the discussion of Dutch MPs in the rest of this study. Therefore, they will be the topic of two separate sections in the present chapter.

It is impossible to cover all aspects of FG in one brief chapter and many areas will only be touched upon or alluded to in references. Section 5.1 discusses the philosophy of FG, its basic assumptions. Section 5.2 sketches the layered structure of the clause. In addition it defines operators and satellites, functions (semantic, syntactic and pragmatic functions), and expression rules, and discusses some of their salient features. Section 5.3 is a more detailed discussion of the layered structure. It outlines ways of determining the layer in which specific linguistic phenomena must be located by studying complementation. Finally, I return in section 5.4 to pragmatic functions and their expression in Dutch by way of special positions in the clause and prosody.

## 5.1 basic assumptions of FG

The first chapter of Dik (1989), which can be read as the philosophical manifesto of FG, contrasts what Dik sees as two research traditions in linguistics: the formal and the functional paradigm (*ibid* 2-4). Dik places FG firmly in the latter tradition. The formal paradigm regards language 'as an abstract formal object' and a grammar 'as an attempt at characterizing this formal object in terms of rules of formal syntax'. Thus, syntax is 'given methodological priority over semantics and pragmatics' in the formal paradigm. The functional paradigm, on the other hand, sees language 'in the first place ... as an instrument of social interaction ... used with the intention of establishing communicative relationships.' This particular kind of social interaction is a 'structured cooperative activity' in which the participants use linguistic expressions which are themselves structured. Structure is to be understood as being 'governed by rules, norms and conventions ... which determine [the] build-up' of both the verbal interactions themselves and the linguistic expressions used in those interactions. In this, the rules governing linguistic expressions ('semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological rules') are in a sense subordinate to the rules governing verbal interaction ('pragmatic rules'): 'linguistic expressions should be described and explained in terms of the general framework provided by the pragmatic system of verbal interaction.'

Successful functional explanations explain 'the rules and principles underlying the construction of linguistic expressions ... in terms of their functionality with respect to the ways in which these expressions are used.' Dik (1986) provides a much more detailed, 'non-simplistic' discussion of 'functional explanation'. He also gives two illustrations of such a functional explanation. In one (*ibid.* 2-5) he explains why the preferred position of clitics in the clause is the second position. The brief explanation is that clitics are the least complex elements in a clause, and 'all languages are sensitive to a general principle ... which says that constituents are preferably ordered according to increasing complexity' (Dik 1986: 3). The first position is reserved for special purposes, so the most obvious position for the least complex element to occur is second position. The other example (*ibid.* 5-7) explains why 'then' can only occur in the apodosis of a conditional construction when the protasis precedes it (so: 'if ..., then ...'; but not '\*then ..., if ...'). The brief explanation of this is that 'then' is a (new) relator and relators prefer to be placed between their relata and not at the periphery of the relation. If this is impossible because of the order of the clauses in a conditional construction, 'then' can be left out because the 'old' relator 'if' functions perfectly (cf. also Dik (1983)).



According to Dik (1989: 12-14) FG must conform to three set standards of descriptive adequacy. First, pragmatic adequacy is achieved when the grammar can be easily accommodated into the 'wider pragmatic theory of verbal interaction'. Secondly, psychological adequacy is achieved when the grammar 'relates as closely as possible to psychological models of linguistic competence and linguistic behaviour.' Such psychological models contain components for both production and comprehension. Lastly, typological adequacy is achieved when the grammar is 'capable of providing grammars for languages of any type, while at the same time accounting in a systematic way for the similarities and differences between these languages.' For Butler (1991), the standards of adequacy Dik (1989) sets himself have not been achieved. Butler is particularly critical as far as pragmatic and psychological adequacy are concerned. On the pragmatic front he cites the difficulties in Dik's attempt to integrate the dichotomies Given-New and Topic-Focus, highlighted by Mackenzie & Keizer (1990). Furthermore, referring to Keijsper (1990), Butler (1991: 508) opines that 'FG needs a clearer account of the semantic contributions made by prosody and word order.' I shall come back to these issues in section 5.4.

Psychological adequacy is not achieved by Dik (1989) (as he himself acknowledges, (*ibid.* 13)) because the comprehension component is still missing from the model. Moreover, the interface between the 'dynamic' theory of verbal interaction and the 'static' grammatical theory 'gives rise to a number of problems in the area of pragmatic functions' (Butler 1991: 210). These have to do with the way in which a hearer, faced with a large number of conflicting clues, can correctly interpret pragmatic functions as they are intended by the speaker. Work by Mackenzie & Keizer (1990) and by Hannay (1991) is contributing to the solution of these problems.

A further important theoretical point is Dik's exhortation to 'take languages seriously' (Dik 1989: 16-22). This is a basic appeal to take languages at face value without trying to go looking for hidden extras or obscure operations that turn deep structures into surface phenomena, but also to encompass all possible variation. In particular FG is not interested in transformations 'in the sense of structure-changing operations'. On the contrary, 'once a structure has been built up, [it] will be retained throughout the further derivation of the linguistic expression.' Filtering devices, which are built into some (formal) linguistic theories to filter out inappropriate expressions under specific conditions, are also avoided. Instead, 'FG will aim at defining rules which immediately generate only the set of well-formed target expressions without producing any "garbage" which will have to be discarded later on.' Similarly, abstract semantic predicates of the type:

1. kill(x)(y)=CAUSE(x)(BECOME(NOT(ALIVE(y))))

are undesirable, because 'lexemes of a language are contained in the lexicon in the form in which they can actually appear ...'

The mapping of the rules of linguistic expression (cf. Dik 1989: 51-63) is a very complicated matter. The representation of FG is 'bottom-up', starting from the smallest units and gradually working up to the most complex. This results in a 'quasi-productive' model, which does not mean, however, that the addressee's role can be disregarded (see the comments on psychological adequacy above). Nor does it necessarily imply that the actual processes of formulating and comprehending linguistic expressions take place linearly, as the model might suggest. Section 5.2 will outline the structure of this quasi-productive FG model.

## 5.2. the hierarchical structure of the clause

Hengeveld (1989: 128) analyses utterances at two levels: the interpersonal level and the representational level. The representational level is concerned with the presentation of a State of Affairs (SoA) ('the narrated event'), whereas the interpersonal level is concerned with the presentation of a speech act ('the speech event'). At each of these two levels different layers can be distinguished. The representational level consists of a Predication, built up from a Predicate and usually one or more Terms. A predicate expresses a relation between or a property of individuals or entities (Terms). Similarly, at the interpersonal level a Clause is built up from an abstract Illocutionary Predicate which 'specifies the relation between the speaker (S), the addressee (A) and the content of the utterance', i.e. the Proposition (Hengeveld 1989: 129). The designations of the layers at the representational and the interpersonal level are as in table 5.1:

level	layer	designation
interpersonal	Clause	speech act
	Illocutionary Predicate	illocution
	Proposition	propositional content/ possible fact
representational	Predication	state of affairs
	Predicate	property/relation
	Term	entity/individual

table 5.1 designation of layers (cf. Dik 1989: 46; Hengeveld forthc.)

In a recent revision of this structure, Hengeveld (1992: 35) represents utterances as in figure 5.1.

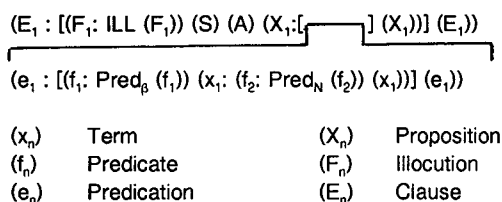


figure 5.1: the representation of utterances

A few comments on this representation are required. First, ILL stands for any illocution. In a concrete utterance this would be specified as DECL (for declarative), INT (for interrogative, IMP (for imperative) or EXCL (for exclamation). Secondly, Hengeveld (1992: 31) argues that 'predicate variables [of the type  $(f_i : \text{Pred}_p (f_i))$ ; rv] should be applied wherever a new predicate shows up' because 'every predicate predicates.' Thus  $\text{Pred}_N$  is a nominal predicate contained in a Term.

A 'top-down' analysis of the model is given by Hengeveld (forthc.): '[T]his structure represents the speech act  $(E_1)$  with illocutionary force  $(F_1)$ , in which a speaker  $(S)$  transmits a propositional content  $(X_1)$  to an addressee  $(A)$ . Within the propositional content reference is made to a state of affairs  $(e_1)$  in which one or more individuals  $(x_1)$  are engaged in a relation  $(f_1)$ .' However, as we saw in section 5.1, the generation of the clause proceeds in a 'bottom-up' fashion in FG. This can be clarified as follows: Predicate(s) and Term(s)<sup>1</sup> are combined to form a Predication, the basic 'narrated event'. The Predication is extended to form a Proposition which is built into an Illocutionary Predicate in which the Proposition 'interacts' with the speaker and addressee. The Illocution is built into a Clause, the eventual 'speech event'.

In order to comprehend this summary of the gradual composition of a clause from the smallest to the most complex unit, a number of components in the structure must be explained. Section 5.2.1 deals with operators and satellites, and section 5.2.2 with the various functions FG distinguishes. Expression rules, which turn the clause structure into an actual linguistic expression, are discussed in section 5.2.3.

<sup>1</sup> Note that Mackenzie (1992: 272) proposes a horizontal extension of this layer 'by recognizing a fundamental distinction between reference to entities and reference to places ... and possibly [to] other comparable ontological categories' like times and manners.

**5.2.1. operators and satellites**

'[T]he terms *operator* and *satellite* are used in FG for modifications and modulations of linguistic expressions effected by grammatical (operators) and lexical (satellites) means respectively' (Siewierska 1991: 20). Each of the layers of the clause structure in figure 5.1 has its own set of operators and satellites which can affect 'modifications and modulations' at that level. For example, modifications of Terms, like number or definiteness, are effected by Term operators, whereas aspects of the state of affairs, e.g. the position of the SoA in time, will be brought about by operators (or satellites) belonging to the Predication.

The difference between operators and satellites can also be explained with reference to the setting of the SoA in time. Past can be expressed grammatically by tense (a predication operator), but also lexically by certain adverbs of time (predication satellites). To set an SoA in the past, it would be necessary to use a past tense (i.e. apply the tense operator Past). The addition of an adverb of time, on the other hand, is entirely optional. Thus, there is a strong tendency for operators to be compulsorily present if a language makes the distinction expressed by that operator, but not for satellites. So if a language has a past tense, expressions referring to the past in that language will use that tense, but they do not necessarily have to contain an adverb referring to the past.

Operators can be distinguished in five of the six layers. Term operators are indicated with  $\Omega$ , but they will not concern us any further. All other operators are indicated with  $\pi$  plus a subscript indicating the layer they belong to. Satellites are indicated with  $\sigma$  and again a subscript indicating the relevant layer. The distribution of operators and satellites is given in figure 5.2 (adapted from Hengeveld 1990: 12 and 1992a: 35).

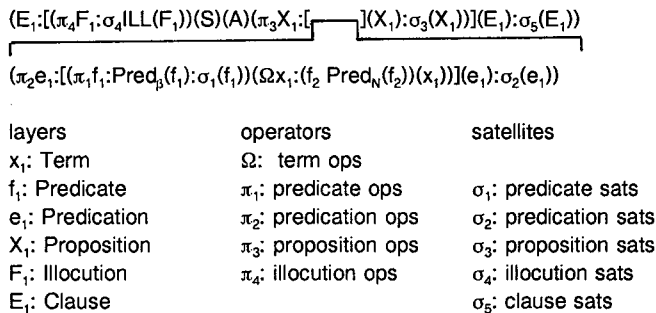


figure 5.2: layers, operators and satellites

Predicate operators and satellites specify 'additional properties of the SoA' (Hengeveld 1990: 10-12). Operators at this level express aspectual distinctions like perfectivity and durativity.<sup>2</sup> Following Dik *et al.* (1990: 30-32), we can elaborate on predicate satellites by saying that they can specify additional participants, manner and means, and spatial orientation.

Predication operators and satellites specify the 'setting of the SoA' (Hengeveld 1990: 10-12). We have already seen that predication operators include operators for tense. Others are polarity (positive and negative) and objective modality operators. Predication satellites (cf. Dik *et al.* 1990: 32-35) specify the spatial and temporal setting of the SoA, its cognitive setting (e.g. reason) and its setting relative to other SoAs (e.g. condition, cause).

Proposition operators and satellites specify the 'validity of the propositional content' (Hengeveld 1990: 10-12). More specifically, they may express the speaker's 'attitude towards the (truth of the) propositional content' (*ibid.* 10). This attitude may arise from a personal evaluation or from external evidence. Such external evidence may indicate the source of the speaker's information, a motivation for it or an inference. Dik *et al.* (1990: 37) give the following examples of Source, Evidence and Motivation satellites (original examples (51)-(53) and original highlighting):

2. **According to John** there's a bull in the field. (Source)
3. **Given his absence over the last few days**, he has probably gone to Rome after all. (Evidence)
4. John's at Sue's house, **because his car's outside**. (Motivation)

Dik *et al.* also list Condition as a possible proposition satellite function, but they give no examples.

Other proposition satellites are so-called style disjuncts, which in written English are usually separated from the rest of the clause by a comma and in spoken English by a pause. However, in Dutch they are an integral part of the clause:

5. Gelukkig heeft het vandaag niet geregend.  
Fortunately has it today not rained.  
Fortunately, it has not rained today.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Dik (1989: 184-192) for a detailed discussion of aspectuality in FG.

6. Blijkbaar heeft het gisteren in Spanje wel  
 Apparently has it yesterday in Spain AFF  
 geregend.  
 rained.  
 Apparently, it did rain in Spain yesterday.

To refer to expressions of the speaker's personal evaluation of the proposition the term 'subjective modality' is often used. This is not to be confused with 'objective modality', which was said to be expressed in the predication rather than the proposition (see above). The FG view of modality is briefly discussed in section 5.2.1.1 below.

Illocutionary operators and satellites specify the 'communicative strategy of the speaker' (Hengeveld 1990: 10-12). Section 2.4 has already made clear that reinforcement and mitigation are the illocutionary operators distinguished by Hengeveld (1989: 140-141). Illocutionary satellites can specify the manner in which the illocution is performed. As with certain proposition satellites, they appear as style disjuncts.

7. Eerlijk gezegd heb ik nu wel zin in  
 Frankly said have I now AFF liking for  
 lunch.  
 lunch.  
 Frankly, I do feel like having lunch now.

Finally, Clause satellites specify the 'setting of the utterance' (Hengeveld 1990: 13). Dik *et al.* (1990) seem to subsume clause satellites under illocutionary satellites. These satellites play an important part in the management of textual organization.<sup>3</sup>

8. Ten eerste ben ik het daar niet mee eens.  
 Firstly am I it that not with agreed.  
 First, I do not agree with that.
9. Kortom, je kunt maar beter ophouden.  
 In short, you can MP better stop.  
 I a word, you may as well give up.

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<sup>3</sup> No operators have (as yet) been identified at this level. Nevertheless, certain textual features do present themselves as potential clause operators. In speech they are usually of a prosodic nature, e.g. long pauses, an unusually high onset, paratones (see chapter 7, footnotes 5 and 9, below). In writing they are indicated by punctuation marks and paragraph structure. This is clearly an issue that deserves further investigation.

5.2.1.1. *modality*

Reference was made in section 5.2.1 to the possible confusion of objective modality (seen as a property of the predication) and subjective modality (seen as a property of the proposition). Inspired by Lyons (1977), Hengeveld (1987) recognizes three different kinds of modality: inherent, objective and epistemological modality (see also Dik (1989: 205-6) and Siewierska (1991: 124-26)), relating to the predicate, predication and proposition layers respectively. Inherent modality refers to 'all those linguistic means through which a speaker can **characterize** the relation between a participant in a state of affairs and the realization of that state of affairs' (Hengeveld 1987: 56; original emphasis), and we can distinguish modality types like 'ability, willingness, obligation, permissibility and volition' (Siewierska (1991: 124)). It is claimed that inherent modality is restricted to lexical modes of expression (*ibid.* and Hengeveld 1987: 59). In Dutch this includes the use of modal verbs as in (10):

10. Jantje       moet om   acht uur       naar bed.  
       Johnny     must at   eight o'clock   to    bed.  
       Johnny has to go to bed at eight.

Objective modality refers to 'all those linguistic means through which a speaker can **evaluate** a state of affairs in terms of his (*sic*) knowledge' (Hengeveld 1987: 56). A distinction is made between epistemic and deontic modality. The former operates on a scale ranging between certain and impossible (certain-probable-possible-improbable-impossible) where the evaluation of an SoA is based on the speaker's knowledge or perception of reality. Deontic modality operates on a similar scale ranging between obligatory and forbidden (obligatory-acceptable-permissible-unacceptable-forbidden) where the evaluation of an SoA is based on the speaker's knowledge of conventions (moral, legal or social).

Objective modality is typically expressed in Dutch by embedding predicates (e.g. modal adjectives and modal auxiliaries). In other languages, however, it may also be expressed by predication operators (see Hengeveld 1987: 63 for an example from Turkish). (11) and (12) are illustrations of deontic modality:

11. Het is       verplicht   autogordels te   dragen.  
       It is       obligatory seat belts to   wear.  
       It is obligatory to wear seat belts.

12. Men moet autogordels dragen.  
 One must seat belts wear.  
 You must wear seat belts.

Epistemological modality refers to 'all those linguistic means through which a speaker can **express his commitment** with regard to the truth of a proposition' (*ibid.* 56) and divides into evidentials (see examples (2)-(4) above) and subjective modality. Two sub-types of subjective modality are recognized: 'Subjective epistemic modality is seen to specify the degree of the speaker's commitment with regard to the truth of the presented proposition, while volitional modality is taken to convey the emotional commitment - the wishes, hopes and desires - of the speaker to the proposition' (Siewierska 1991: 125). Epistemological modality is again expressed in Dutch by embedding predicates and adverbials. But the same example from Turkish in Hengeveld (1987: 63) contains an evidential propositional operator.

A critical view of this treatment of modality is given by Nuyts (1992), who argues in favour of 'considering modality as one basic conceptual category' (*ibid.* 94). His objection is based on the fact that '[a]lthough there seem to be good reasons for' distinguishing between objective and subjective modality, 'the distinction is very hard to grasp in actual practice' (*ibid.* 73). This view can be demonstrated by considering examples (13)-(15). In (13) it not clear whether the speaker's evaluation of the probability of John's coming is based on his/her knowledge of reality (objective modality) or a commitment to the proposition itself (subjective epistemic modality).

13. Waarschijnlijk komt Jan.  
 Probably comes John.  
 John is probably coming.

Similarly, the interpretation of (14) depends on whether it is given an 'I-know-so' reading or an 'I-think-so' reading. Nuyts (*ibid.* 75) refers to these different interpretations as 'de re' and 'de facto' readings.

14. Het is waarschijnlijk dat Jan komt.  
 It is probable that John comes.  
 It is probable that John is coming.

(15) is even more difficult to analyse, because it can be interpreted as either objective or subjective and, what is more, as either epistemic objective (a) or deontic objective (b), and as either epistemic subjective (c) or volitional subjective (d):



15. Jan moet komen.  
John must come.

- (a) John is meant to come; I know it.
- (b) John has to come; he is obliged.
- (c) John is meant to come; at least I think so.
- (d) John must come; I want it.

Dutch makes use of a limited set of (exclusively lexical) means to express modality: embedding predicates (modal auxiliaries and adjectives) and modal adverbs. As far as these lexical realizations of modality are concerned, it seems impossible to make the three-way distinction between inherent, objective and subjective modality recognized by Hengeveld (1987), Dik (1989) and Siewierska (1991) in Dutch. In section 6.2.1, however, we will see that the distinctions are not irrelevant to the analysis of MPs.

### **5.2.2. functions**

Dik (1989: 23-25) defines functions by contrasting them to categories. Whereas categories are used to define the properties of their constituents, functions are used to 'specify the relations of constituents to the constructions in which they occur.' Thus, he recognizes three functional relations: semantic, syntactic and pragmatic. The relation defined by semantic functions is that between an SoA and 'the "roles" which the referents of the terms involved play within' that SoA. Such roles are that of Agent, Goal or Recipient. The relation defined by syntactic functions is that between an SoA and the "perspective" from which it is presented. There are two such syntactic functions: Subject and Object. Pragmatic functions define the relation between 'the "informational" status of a constituent' and 'the wider communicative setting in which it occurs.' The most important pragmatic functions distinguished by FG are Topic and Focus. I shall discuss each of these three types of functions briefly.

#### **5.2.2.1. semantic functions**

All predicates and terms of a language that can be used in the construction of predications are contained in what is known as 'the Fund' (cf. Dik 1989: 54). Predicates are represented as so-called frames which specify, *inter alia*, the number of arguments with which a predicate can occur. Argument positions are filled by terms and it is to these arguments that semantic functions are ascribed. A verbal predicate is at most a three-place predicate, i.e. it has three argument slots. For example, the verbal predicate *give* is a

three-place predicate. The semantic functions assigned to its arguments are Agent (Ag), Goal (Go) and Recipient (Rec). Thus, the (simplified) underlying representation of *I gave the book to John* is:

give<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>: I (x<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Ag</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>: book (x<sub>2</sub>))<sub>Go</sub> (x<sub>3</sub>: John (x<sub>3</sub>))<sub>Rec</sub>

From this it follows that semantic functions are assigned early on in the construction of the predication. The stage at which this is done is referred to as the nuclear predication.

#### 5.2.2.2. *syntactic function*

I shall also have little to say about syntactic functions. The assignment of the syntactic functions Subject and Object occurs at a later stage in the building up of the predication than the assignment of semantic functions: it takes place in what is referred to as the core predication. As we saw in section 5.2, Subject and Object are assigned on the basis of the perspective from which an SoA is presented. The Subject is seen as the primary perspective and the Object as the secondary perspective. Subject assignment is then closely tied in with the choice between active and passive, Object assignment with the so-called 'dative shift' (e.g. *I gave the book to John*, as opposed to *I gave John the book*; cf. Siewierska 1991: 77-79).

#### 5.2.2.3. *pragmatic functions*

Dik (1989: 264-265) and Siewierska (1991: 146) both note the difference between 'extra-clausal and intra-clausal pragmatic functions'. Extra-clausal pragmatic functions are associated with extra-clausal constituents (ECCs) which have had relatively little attention so far. Two functions that have been identified, however, are Theme and Tail, or left- and right-dislocated constituents (cf. Siewierska 1991: 150-153 and section 5.4 below).

The two intra-clausal pragmatic functions are Topic and Focus. Dik (1989: 265-266) sees as the primary aim of the speaker in producing an utterance the alteration of the addressee's pragmatic information. In order to do this, (s)he will start from some given information, or at least information which is assumed to be part of the addressee's pragmatic information. To this the speaker adds something new. There is a close relationship between given information and topicality on the one hand, and new information and focality on the other. 'Topicality characterizes those entities "about" which information is provided or requested in the discourse. Focality attaches to those pieces of information which are the most important or salient with respect to the modifications which S [the speaker] wishes to effect in P<sub>A</sub> [the addressee's

pragmatic information], and with respect to the further development of the discourse.' Pragmatic function assignment takes place in the illocution. Compared to the assignment of semantic and pragmatic functions this is relatively late in the build-up of the clause structure.

There are further subdivisions of both topicality and focality (cf Dik 1989: 267-285). A newly introduced Topic is a New Topic (NewTop), which becomes a Given Topic (GivTop) after its first introduction. An already introduced Topic may have a Sub-Topic (SubTop). Dik's example (*ibid.* 267) is the introduction of 'music' within the context of the Topic 'party'.

16. John gave a party last week, but the music was awful.

Finally, a GivTop may be dropped for a while and then be taken up again. Such a revived Topic is a Resumed Topic (ResTop). E.g. (*ibid.* 277):

17. John had a brother Peter and a sister Mary. Peter ... [considerable episode about Peter]. Now, **John's sister Mary, who I mentioned before ...**

Focality is divided into New (or Completive) Focus on the one hand and Contrastive Focus on the other. New Focus 'requests or presents information pertaining to an information gap on the part of S' (*ibid.* 282) and can be found in question and answer pairs. Contrast can result in Parallel Focus or Counter-presuppositional Focus. The former is found when two entities are compared. E.g. (*ibid.* 278):

18. John and Bill came to see me. JOHN was NICE, but BILL was rather BORing.

With Counter-presuppositional Focus 'the information presented is opposed to other, similar information which S presupposes to be entertained by A' (*ibid.* 282). Dik (*ibid.* 283-285) distinguishes Replacing (not X, but Y!), Expanding (also X!), Restricting (only X!) and Selecting (X!).

The status of NewTop as Topic is disputed and several authors regard it as more akin to Focus than to Topic. E.g. Hannay (1991: 138): 'the introduction of a new discourse entity is the *point* of the message, not the *starting point* of it.'

We have already seen in section 5.1 that there are some difficulties in the integration of given-new with Topic-Focus. Siewierska (1991: 149) refers explicitly to the interdependence in FG of pragmatic functions on the one hand, and special positions in the clause and accentuation on the other. This,

too, is not unproblematic. I shall return to this interdependence when discussing pragmatic functions in Dutch in section 5.4.

### 5.2.3. *expression rules*

Expression rules govern the way in which 'abstract underlying clause structures can be mapped onto actual linguistic expressions' (Dik 1989: 289). Three kinds of such rules can be distinguished: those affecting '(i) the segmental form of constituents ..., (ii) constituent ordering ..., and (iii) the prosodic properties of linguistic expressions' (*ibid.* 379). I shall have nothing to say about the form of constituents, but I will discuss some of the principles underlying the ordering of constituents in section 5.2.3.1, and prosody in 5.2.3.2.

#### 5.2.3.1. *constituent ordering*

This section merely presents some of the principles of constituent ordering formulated by Dik (1989) to help set the scene for the discussions in sections 5.3 and 5.4. Chapter 16 of Dik (1989) presents nine general principles (GPs) and 16 specific principles (SPs). Not all of them are equally relevant to the present study, and only those that are will be discussed.<sup>4</sup>

The first interesting general principle is GP3: *The Principle of Centripetal Orientation* (*ibid.* 342-343). 'Constituents conform to (GP3) when their ordering is determined by their relative distance from the head, which may lead to "mirror-image" ordering around the head.' If we have constituents x, y and z, and head H, likely patterns of ordering of x, y and z around H are: xyzH, Hxyz, or xyHz, yzHx, etc. This 'reflects the closeness of the bond between the dependents and the head, and the scope relations among the dependents.' SP9 (*ibid.* 354) is closely associated with GP3: ' $\pi$ -operators prefer centripetal orientation according to the schema:  $\pi_4\pi_3\pi_2\pi_1$  [stem] $\pi_1\pi_2\pi_3\pi_4$ .' This means that  $\pi$ -operators are likely to be ordered around the predicate according to the schema given, and that  $\pi_4$  operators have the widest scope, taking in all other  $\pi$ -operators, that  $\pi_3$  operators have scope over  $\pi_2$  and  $\pi_1$  operators, and so on.<sup>5</sup>

Another interesting GP from our point of view is GP7 *The Principle of Pragmatic Highlighting* (*ibid.* 343-344): 'Constituents with special pragmatic functionality (...) are preferably placed in "special positions", including, at

<sup>4</sup> In section 5.1 the relator principle was mentioned. This principle (SP3), according to which relators prefer to occur (i) between their relata and (ii) before or after the relatum with which they form one constituent (Dik 1989: 339-340 and 346-348), will not be further discussed here.

<sup>5</sup> This principle was first formulated by Hengeveld (1989).

least, the clause-initial position.' GP7 has SP4 as a corollary among the SPs (*ibid.* 348-349): 'There is a universally relevant clause-initial position P1, used for special purposes, including the placement of constituents with Topic or Focus function.' Note that languages may have P1-constituents which are 'designated categories of constituents which **must** be placed in P1.' Only if no such constituent occurs in P1 can it be occupied by Topic or Focus constituents. I will come back to this in section 5.4.

Finally, GP9 *The Principle of Increasing Complexity* is of interest (*ibid.* 345): 'There is a preference for ordering constituents in an order of increasing complexity.' SP7 (*ibid.* 351-352) then formulates the actual order of complexity in which constituents will generally be placed: clitic < pronoun < noun phrase < adpositional phrase < subordinate clause. These two principles explain the occurrence of constituents later on in an utterance than they would otherwise be expected according to other principles.<sup>6</sup>

#### 5.2.3.2. *prosody*

For non-tonal languages accent and intonation are the two central components of prosodic contours. As Dik (1989: 380) points out, accent and intonation (as well as tone in tonal languages) make use of the same 'primary medium of expression' to effect very different aspects of the clause structure: differences in pitch. This discussion of accent and intonation must remain simplistic out of necessity. However, the issue of accent will resurface in section 5.4, and intonation in chapter 7.

Accent can be defined as a change in pitch, whether it is a change from high to low pitch, or from higher to lower pitch, or indeed the other way around. The actual fact that a change in pitch occurs is the crucial element of accentuation, the direction of the change (up or down) being irrelevant. The change normally occurs within one syllable. It is usually accompanied by other features than just the pitch change such as loudness, tension and length. Intonation, on the other hand, normally occurs over more than just one syllable. Moreover, the actual directions of the pitch movements (falling, rising, or otherwise) are important. They are the defining feature of different intonation patterns.

The functions of accent differ from those of intonation. One important function of accent is the identification of pragmatic functions. It must be emphasized, however, that accentuation interacts with other features in this respect, notably constituent ordering. We have already seen that in the formulation of GP7 and SP4, concerning P1, in section 5.2.3.1 above. An

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<sup>6</sup> GP7 and GP8, in conjunction with SP4 and SP7 can be seen at work in the functional explanation for the occurrence of clitics in second position, as discussed in Section 5.1.

important function of intonation is to modify the force with which an utterance is made. Dik (*ibid.* 397) makes the obvious connection between this function of intonation and the  $\pi_4$  operators mitigation and reinforcement. I shall return to this in chapter 7.

### 5.3. locatability

The term locatability is taken from Bolkestein (1992: 388). She refers to the problem that 'the layered structure approach ... imposes a requirement for the linguist to determine to what particular layer in the structure a particular linguistic phenomenon belongs.' It will be clear that if Dutch MPs in directives are to be analysed following the FG-model, this problem must be faced. For Bolkestein (1992) it is a question of specific phenomena which are difficult to locate, but it is also a general problem of providing evidence for the reality of the layers. From the behaviour of independent clauses it is not easy to prove the existence of all the layers, because all layers are assumed to be present in a clause somehow. Since Hengeveld (1989), one of the many issues addressed by FG has been the structure of subordinate constructions, which 'can be classified according to the highest layer they contain' (*ibid.* 145). So studying subordinate constructions will enable us to identify the layers properly, 'since each of the layers present in the hierarchical clause model may be turned into a subordinate construction' (Hengeveld, forthcoming). And once a reliable classification of subordinate constructions has been arrived at, it is easier to locate specific phenomena in the layered structure by studying their behaviour in various subordinate constructions. In this section I will briefly discuss the classification of complement clauses as proposed by Hengeveld (*ibid.*).<sup>7</sup> The examples in this section are in Dutch, but as the English translations show, the issue is not language-specific.

A complement clause is the argument of a predicate. The verbal predicate *zeggen* ('say') in a direct quote as in (19) has a speech act as its complement (i.e. second argument):

19. Jan zegt: 'Het eten staat op tafel.'  
 John says the food stands on table.  
 John says: 'Dinner is ready.'

In indirect speech, on the other hand, the complement of *zeggen* is of a lower order, i.e. an illocution.

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<sup>7</sup> I restrict myself to complement clauses because of space. However, Hengeveld (1989, 1990 and forthcoming) also discusses a classification of adverbial clauses whose taxonomy is very similar to that of complement clauses.

20. Jan zegt dat het eten op tafel staat.  
 John says that the food on table stands.  
 John says that dinner is ready.

This can be demonstrated by the fact that clause satellites (cf. examples (8) and (9) in section 5.2.1 above) cannot be inserted in the complement of (20).

21. \*Jan zegt dat kortom het eten op tafel staat.  
 John says that in short the food on table stands.  
 \*John says that in a word the food is on the table.

Similarly, verbs of cognition take propositions as complements (they refer to possible facts), and verbs of perception take predications (referring to SoAs). The complement in (22) cannot contain an illocution satellite (23), the complement of (24) does not tolerate a proposition satellite (25).

22. Ik weet dat het eten op tafel staat.  
 I know that the food on table stands.  
 I know that dinner is ready.

23. \*Ik weet dat eerlijk gezegd het eten op tafel  
 I know that frankly said the food on table  
 staat.  
 stands.  
 \*I know that frankly said dinner is ready.

24. Ik zie Jan het eten op tafel zetten.  
 I see John the food on table put.  
 I can see John putting the food on the table.

25. \*Ik zie Jan het eten blijkbaar op tafel zetten.  
 I see John the food apparently on table put.  
 \*I can see John apparently putting the food on the table.

Hengeveld (*ibid.*) further claims that a predicate occurs as complement of another predicate with which it shares the same subject. A predicate which shares its subject with the predicate in its complement is *beginnen* ('begin').

26. Jan begint het eten op tafel te zetten.  
 John begins the food on table to put.  
 John begins to put the food on the table.

The prediction would be that a predication satellite (e.g. a time adverbial) cannot occur within the complement of (26).

#### 5.4. pragmatic functions, special positions and accent in Dutch

I now return to the related issues of pragmatic functions (see section 5.2.2.3), special positions (like P1, see section 5.2.3.1) and accent (see section 5.2.3.2) which were seen to be related in a number of ways (cf. Siewierska 1991: 149). This section can be seen as a brief (and necessarily incomplete) case study of the way constituent ordering and accentuation interact to express pragmatic functions in Dutch.

First some fundamentals. Dik (1989: 264) defines topicality as 'characterizing "the things we talk about"' and focality as 'characterizing the most important or salient parts of what we say about the topical thing.' He also posits a 'universally relevant clause-initial position P1, used for special purposes, including the placement of constituents with Topic or Focus function' (*ibid.* 348). Finally, '[p]ragmatic functions ... typically have impact on the prosodic contour of the linguistic expression' (*ibid.* 390). Dik's subsequent discussion of the interaction between pragmatic functions and prosodic features is about the 'degree of accentual prominence' of Topic and Focus constituents. It is claimed, then, that Topic and Focus are typically, but not necessarily, expressed by positioning in P1 and accentuation.

Let us now consider Dutch constituent ordering. Dik's suggested ordering template for Dutch is as follows (*ibid.* 360):

27. P1 Vf[main] S O X Vf[sub] Vi Vf[sub]

where Vf is the position for finite verb forms (with different positions for main and subordinate clauses), Vi the position for non-finite verb forms, S = subject, O = object, and X 'stands for non-Subj, non-Obj constituents ("oblique" arguments, satellites) which will need further differentiation in a full description of Dutch constituent ordering. In a full account of Dutch constituent ordering, some further X-positions will be required' (*ibid.*). One additional X-position would be immediately before O, where it is not uncommon for satellites to occur. This schema is a formalization of Dutch sentence structure in FG terms on whose general tenet there is a widespread consensus.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> ANS (1984) presents an analysis of Dutch word order that contains elements very similar to Dik's analysis, but in a theoretically less specific way.



The rules for filling P1 in Dutch are formulated by Dik (*ibid.*) by way of a general illustration of how P1 can be exploited:

- (R0) P1 must contain one and only one constituent.
- (R1) Place P1-constituent in P1, where P1-constituent = question word, subordinator, or relative pronoun.
- (R2) else, place constituent with GivTop, SubTop or Foc function in P1.
- (R3) else, place X in P1, where X = some satellite or a dummy element.

De Schutter (1985) makes a very strong case for a further special position in Dutch, P0. As we saw in section 3.2.1 (footnotes 19 and 20) P0 is the final position of the clause. De Schutter sees a large measure of parallelism between P1 and P0, both in terms of the kind of constituent we are likely to find in them ('the filling of P0 runs to a great extent parallel to that of P1' (*ibid.* 145)) and in functional terms ('the nature of P1 and P0 is pragmatic' (*ibid.* 139)). Indeed, he calls P1 and P0 (and P2 and P3, see below) 'pragmatic positions', which suggests that they are somehow related to pragmatic functions, but it cannot be taken that there is a one-to-one correspondence between function and position. He sees the 'unmarked' division of labour between the two positions as expressing 'theme' and 'rheme' respectively (i.e. theme in P1, rheme in P0), but a role-reversal is by no means impossible.

P0 is set off from an extra-clausal constituent which may follow a clause, which is intonationally separated from it by a pause (in writing a comma). The latter kind of constituent has been referred to in FG as a Tail (e.g. in Dik 1989: 135). It has a pre-clausal counterpart, also not integrated in the clause, known as Theme. Theme and Tail are illustrated (in Dutch, but they occur in other languages too) in (28) and (29):

28. Hij heeft een houten poot, die man!  
He has a wooden leg, that man!

29. Die man, die heeft een houten poot!

De Schutter (1985: 137) prefers to use the neutral terms P2 (Theme) and P3 (Tail) for these positions.

P0 can be occupied by 'one (but in principle not more than one) constituent' (*ibid.* 143).<sup>9</sup> Excluded from P0 are 'especially all nominal arguments that

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<sup>9</sup> De Schutter refers in a footnote to the possibility of more constituents occurring after the verbal complex (both presumably in P0). This is also acknowledged in ANS (1016, 1032). Nevertheless, it is quite rare.

take up the syntactic functions of subject and object' (*ibid.* 144).<sup>10</sup> It is favoured by satellites with prepositions.

(30) is a revised version of Dik's template for Dutch in the light of the above comments.

30. P2, P1 Vf[main] S X O X Vf[sub] Vi Vf[sub] P0, P3

As a final preliminary, we consider accentuation. Keijsper (1990: 49-51) suggests a rigorous analysis of accent in FG terms. She distinguishes three patterns of accentuation: (i) the final most prominent pitch accent of a clause, (ii) any non-final accent, (iii) no accent. The interpretations of these are as follows:<sup>11</sup>

- (i) "the speaker signals that he opposes this referent to the absence of that same referent in the given "pragmatic information""
- (ii) "the speaker signals that he chooses this referent and not another referent that can be found in the "pragmatic information" given at this moment"
- (iii) "the speaker signals that this referent is not opposed to anything else: not to other referents within the pragmatic information given at this moment, nor its own absence (when the constituent comes under the scope of another accent)"

Keijsper relates these accentuation patterns to Dik's subdivisions of Topic and Focus. (i) relates to New Topic, New Focus, the last components of a clause with Parallel Focus, and Counter-presuppositional Focus; (ii) to Sub-Topic, Resumed Topic, and the first components of Parallel Focus; (iii) to Given Topic and Focus in cases where another word in the Focus constituent is accented.

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<sup>10</sup> This statement of De Schutter is too categorical. In the following example the object appears in P0:

Leg neer die bal!  
Lay down that ball  
Put that ball down!

*Leg* is in position Vf (P1 being empty). The separable verbal prefix *neer* is in Vi, and the object, *die bal*, must then be in P0. Cases like this are rare, however. See also section 7.4.3, footnote 28.

<sup>11</sup> Keijsper's formulations are somewhat circumlocutory. They must be read in conjunction with Dik's comment that the speaker's primary aim is to change the addressee's pragmatic information. The phrases 'given pragmatic information' and 'pragmatic information given at this moment' in Keijsper's definitions refer to the addressee's pragmatic information.

The last possibility (an unaccented constituent 'where another word in the Focus constituent is accented') seems somewhat paradoxical. The standard examples are (31) and (32) taken from Dik (1989: 395):<sup>12</sup>

31. A: What happened?  
B: JOHNson died.

32. A: Who died?  
B: JOHNson died.

In (31) B's entire clause is in Focus, whereas in (32) only the subject is, but the result is the same accentuation pattern. Dik refers to Gussenhoven's (1983a) Sentence Accent Assignment Rule (SAAR; see also section 7.0) for a precise discussion of how such cases come about.<sup>13</sup> In short, when both argument and predicate are in Focus, it is the argument that is accented. In this context Keijsper (1990: 59, footnote 11) mentions another possibility, where the final clause accent falls on the object and where, in her view, verb plus object are Focus.

33. A: Wat doet Jan?  
B: Ján leest een BOEK.

A: What does John?  
B: John reads a book.

A: What is John doing?  
B: John is reading a book?

Her comment here is that 'FG cannot justify this type, because *leest een boek* is not an FG constituent.' The latter half of her comment is true, but FG can explain the phenomenon. In (33) the predicate (*leest*) and its second argument (*een boek*) are in Focus. Gussenhoven's (1983a) SAAR predicts correctly that *boek* is accented.

A slightly different case is (34):

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<sup>12</sup> Final clause accents are indicated by putting the entire accented syllable in upper case, non-final accents by acute accents on the vowel of the accented syllable.

<sup>13</sup> See Gussenhoven (1983b) for a discussion of similar phenomena in Dutch.

34. A: Wat gebeurt er?  
 B: Jan leest een BOEK.

A: What happens there?  
 B: John reads a book.

A: What is happening?  
 B: John is reading a book?

As in (31), in (34) the whole predication is Focus. In such cases we are dealing with an 'all-new predication' (Dik *et al.* 1981, quoted by Hannay 1991: 146) in which all information is 'equally salient' and 'there is no element that needs to be singled out for special treatment' (*ibid.*). This is the case of course when such neutral questions as 'What happened?' are asked. As we have seen, Gussenhoven's (1983a, 1983b) SAAR predicts that in a combination in which predicate and argument are in Focus, the argument is accented. This rule can be extended to take on board all arguments of a predicate and all satellites. When an entire predication is Focus, it will be the last argument or satellite that is accented.

How can we combine these analyses of accentuation and constituent ordering into a coherent analysis of what happens to pragmatic functions in the expression rules of Dutch? First we reduce Keijsper's analysis to the following rules:

- (i) the final clause accent, by which is meant 'the final most prominent pitch accent of a clause' (Keijsper, 1990: 49), is reserved for Focus constituents including Dik's New Topic;<sup>14</sup>
- (ii) non-final accents are assigned to all Topics except Given Topic, as well as the first mention of constituents in Parallel Focus;
- (iii) Given Topics are not accented.

Let us now consider the positions in the template in (30), excluding P2 and P3 for the moment. Any Focus constituent can occur in P1, with the consequence that no other subsequent constituent is given final clause accent.

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<sup>14</sup> which, as we saw in section 5.2.2.3, is regarded by several authors as more akin to Focus than to Topic.

35. A: Je gaat zaterdag MOSSelen eten, hè?  
B: Nee, VRIJdag ga ik mosselen eten.
- A: You go Saturday mussels eat, isn't it?  
B: No, Friday go I mussels eat.
- A: You're going to eat mussels on Saturday, aren't you?  
B: No, I'm going to eat mussels on Friday.

This is probably quite rare in longer utterances, but in short expressions like single-constituent utterances it is the only possibility. Consider, for example, a one-word response to a question which is, by definition, in P1 and in Focus:

36. A: Waar ga je morgen naartoe?  
B: ANTwerpen.
- A: Where go you tomorrow to?  
B: Antwerp.
- A: Where are you going tomorrow?  
B: ANTwerp.

Any constituent can be put in P1 for Focus. If a Focus constituent is not assigned to P1, it may occur in any of the subsequent positions of the template in (30) (again excluding P2 and P3 for the moment). Wherever the Focus constituent occurs, it always carries the final clause accent. Any of the positions preceding the position with the Focus constituent may then be filled by a Topic, on the understanding that topicality only applies to entities and may therefore not be assigned to verbal predicates or other predicates that do not refer to entities. However, if the Focus constituent is in S (i.e. the subject position), any Topic constituent will occur in P1 and will be given a non-final accent. Consider A's response to B's message in (36):

37. Mórgen gaat mijn MOEder naar Antwerpen.  
Tomorrow goes my mother to Antwerp.  
Tomórrow my MUM's going to Antwerp.

The result of rule (ii) above is that any constituents subsequent to the Focus constituent cannot be interpreted as Topics, because Topics are identified by non-final accents. As De Schutter (1985: 144) indicates, P0 is not normally occupied by objects. Consequently, if the object is in Focus, any constituents in P0 will be unaccented or only lightly accented. Following rule (iii)

unaccented GivTops will then occur in P0. Bearing in mind the conversation in (36), consider (38) as the subsequent exchange:

38. A: Ga je dan het Rubenshuis bekijken?  
 B: Nee, we gaan MOSSelen eten in Antwerpen.

A: Go you then the Rubens house visit?  
 B: No we go mussel eat in Antwerp.

A: Are you going to see Rubens' house then?  
 B: No, we are going to eat MUSsels in Antwerp.

Finally, let us return to P2 and P3 and consider Focus and Topic in connection with these positions:<sup>15</sup>

- 39. MORgen, DAN ga ik in Antwerpen mosselen eten.
- 40. Mórgen, dan ga ik in Antwerpen MOSSelen eten.
- 41. Dáár gaan we MOSSelen eten, in Antwerpen.
- 42. DAAR gaan we mosselen eten, in ANTwerpen.

What emerges from these examples is that P2 can be used by constituents that corefer to either Focus (39) or Topic (40) constituents. P3 can also contain a constituent that corefers to the Focus constituent (42), but if P3 does not corefer to the Focus constituent, it is merely a clarification of a constituent in an earlier position (in (41) the Topic in P1). The names Theme and Tail are used imprecisely for these positions, as if to indicate pragmatic functions. With De Schutter (1985) I would argue against the use of 'Theme' and 'Tail' and in favour of 'P2' and 'P3', as an indication that they are special positions, not pragmatic functions. As (39)-(42) show, they may be filled by constituents with pragmatic functions, but also by other constituents.

From the few comments in this section it has become clear that the relation between Topic and Focus on the one hand, and constituent order and accentuation on the other is a complex one. Hannay (1991) calls the mechanism that is responsible for the actual decisions on accentuation and constituent ordering 'message management'. Several issues require further investigation, the most challenging being the question of message management in Dutch.

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<sup>15</sup>. As Dik (1989: 264-265) points out, P2 and P3 can be used for other functions too of course, but here I concentrate on their relationship with Topic and Focus.

## **5.5. conclusion and preview**

In this chapter on FG I have sketched the basic ideas of the theory and the way in which the clause is structured according to a number of hierarchical principles. In addition, in the last two sections I have addressed two issues that will be of importance in the analysis of the behaviour of MPs in the following chapter.

The theory of FG is very much in motion. There are a number of interesting issues that demand further attention, like modality, the classification of subordinate constructions and many aspects of the pragmatic side of the theory. In particular the development of a dynamic theory of verbal interaction, alongside a more static grammatical theory, is a great challenge.

Having set the FG context, chapter 6 will return to an analysis of MPs. It will not come as a surprise that matters of layering and pragmatics will be central to this analysis.

# 6

## FG AND THE ORDER OF MPs

### 6.0. introduction

After the theoretical excursion into FG in chapter 5 we return to the analysis of MPs in directives. Chapter 3 offered a first strand of evidence by differentiating between mitigating MPs and reinforcing ones. This was enhanced by historical data, but two questions were left open relating to the distribution and clustering of MPs. Why, if we can differentiate between no more than two functions, are there nine MPs in directives? And how can we account for their clustering behaviour? This chapter offers a second strand of evidence by addressing these questions with the help of FG. It explains the position and order of MPs in Dutch by studying their relation to pragmatic functions and by looking at their occurrence patterns in complements. These two strands of evidence (the differentiation between mitigation and reinforcement on the one hand, and the FG analysis of the position and order of MPs on the other) intertwine to make up a strong thread.

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status	MP	DECL	INT	IMP
reinf	dan	-	-	+
	eens	+	+	+
	nou	-	+	+
	ook	+	+	-
	toch	-	-	+
mitig	even	+	+	+
	maar	+	-	+
	misschien	-	+	-
	soms	-	+	-

---

table 6.1: distribution of MPs

The findings so far are presented in tables 6.1 and 6.2. Table 6.1 gives the distribution of MPs as mitigators and reinforcers over the three illocutionary frames, and table 6.2 lists the order in which MPs occur within each of these frames.



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ILL	order of cluster
DECL	ook, maar, eens, even
INT	nou, misschien/soms*, ook, eens, even
IMP	dan/nou*, toch, maar, eens, even

\*interchangeable

---

table 6.2: order of MPs in clusters

In addition to the questions of distribution and clustering, there are two questions concerning the nature of MPs in the FG analysis. First, are they to be analysed as adverbials and hence lexical items with the status of satellites, or as grammatical 'signposts' with the status of operators? And secondly, whether as satellites or operators, in which of the layers of FG do they function? In short, we also seek to determine the FG status and layer of MPs. Section 6.1 addresses the question of the FG status of MPs as satellites or operators by briefly considering their position in the clause and their lexical status. It also discusses the interplay between MPs, pragmatic functions and accentuation. Section 6.2 identifies their layer of operation by studying the kinds of complements in which the MPs can occur. In order to do this, a classification of Dutch complements is given. This, in conjunction with the analysis offered in chapter 3, will enable us to postulate a system according to which the MPs operate.

### 6.1. operators or satellites?

As we saw in chapter 5, satellites and operators can occur in all layers of the clause to provide a further specification of the relevant layer. Operators are grammatical means of expression. Satellites, on the other hand, are lexical means of expression. Past, for example, can be expressed grammatically by tense (a predication operator), but also lexically by certain adverbs of time (predication satellites).

In most cases the distinction between operators and satellites is very clear-cut. Lexical means of expression are lexical items, members of the Fund, whereas grammatical means of expression are usually morphological or syntactic in nature. However, it is impossible to be categorical about this, as this rather long quote from Siewierska (1991: 22-23) makes clear:

In FG all predicates fall into three types: verbal, adjectival or nominal.<sup>1</sup> Other word classes recognized in traditional grammar such as adpositions, conjunctions, subordinators, demonstratives, articles etc. are treated as the expression of operators ... more or less on a par with typical inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, mood, case, number, gender and so forth. Dik holds the view that the form of operators is determined by the expression rules and that therefore they need not be listed in the lexicon. The alternative solution would be to allow the expression rules to select the appropriate form of an operator from a special, separate part of the lexicon. Given the different morpho-syntactic status of the class of operators, some being words and some inflectional morphemes displaying various degrees of fusion with the stem and with each other, neither of these scenarios is entirely satisfactory. Dik's approach is more compatible with the claim that bound morphemes are not learnt independently of the lexemes with which they co-occur, but denies ready access to operators or combinations of operators which have the status of words. Conversely, the alternative view provides a natural solution to the problem of the accessibility of both free and bound forms but makes false claims in regard to matters of learnability.

This seems to confirm that there is a grey area between satellites and operators into which MPs could well fall. Siewierska's analysis provides a synchronic and ontogenetic view of the problem. Abraham's (1991d: 374) discussion of the grammaticalization of German MPs offers a diachronic view. He poses that 'the emergence of MPs in German could be seen as a process of grammaticization still in its prime.' If grammaticalization is a process in which an element gradually moves from a lexical state to a grammatical state, as was argued in section 3.2.1 above, there must be a transitional phase in which the element is neither one nor the other: a 'grammaticalization sluice' through which certain lexical items pass from the Fund in order to become grammatical items.

The above train of thought is not intended to formulate a handy class of 'sluice' items to which MPs would belong. It just seems an interesting theoretical point that may be worthy of further investigation. To come closer to a definition of the status of MPs in FG, we will look at a number of issues that are involved in the lexical-grammatical dichotomy: the position of MPs in the clause, delexicalization, and the relation between MPs and accented constituents of the clause.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that Hengeveld (1992) also distinguishes adverbs and interjections as 'parts of speech', and that Mackenzie (1992) proposes that a major subset of spatial prepositions in English should be analysed as a separate class of predicates.

### 6.1.1. *the position of MPs in the clause*

In section 5.4 we introduced the following template for Dutch constituent ordering with four special positions:

1. P2, P1 Vf[main] S X O X Vf[sub] Vi Vf[sub] P0, P3

The special positions are used mainly for pragmatic purposes, which is why De Schutter (1985) refers to them as 'pragmatic positions'. Other positions can be taken up by constituents with a pragmatic function assigned to them as well but those constituents can then also occur in a pragmatic position. The major pragmatic functions in FG are Topic and Focus (cf. sections 5.2.2.3 and 5.4). Topic can only be assigned to entities. MPs do not denote entities, so they cannot be assigned Topic function. We also saw in section 3.1.2.2 above that they cannot answer wh-questions. Since Focus is always assigned to the answers to such questions (see section 5.2.2.3 and Dik 1989: 279-281), MPs cannot be in Focus. Section 5.4 showed that satellites, by contrast, can be assigned either Topic or Focus function and that they can occur in P1 and P0:

2. 

	Morgen	gaan	we	mosselen	eten	in	Antwerpen.
	Tomorrow	go	we	mussels	eat	in	Antwerp.
	Tomorrow we're going to eat mussels in Antwerp.						

where *morgen* (in P1) and *in Antwerpen* (in P0) are satellites. It follows that MPs cannot occur in P1 or P0, which is exactly what we saw in section 3.2.1, witness examples (9) and (14) from that section:

3. 

	*Maar	moet	je	even	helpen.
	MP	must	you	MP	help.
4. 

	*Je	moet	sparen	maar.
	You	must	save	MP.

MPs thus cannot be satellites according to the rules for filling P1 and P0 in Dutch, and the rules for pragmatic function assignment. The only positions where MPs can occur in the template are the X-positions, or what is known as the 'middle field'. In a sense this is a negative argument in favour of the analysis of MPs as operators. MPs are clearly not satellites, but are they then automatically operators? The non-lexical nature of MPs is a strong argument in favour of an analysis of MPs as operators in FG. This is discussed in section 6.1.2.

### 6.1.2. *delexicalization*

We begin this discussion by focusing on the lexical nature of satellites. According to Dik (1989: 50) they 'capture those modifications and modulations which ... can be brought about by lexical means.' Furthermore, '[a]ll lexical items of a language are analyzed as predicates' (*ibid.* 54) and all predicates of that language are contained in the Fund. So in order for an MP to be a satellite, it must be a member of the Fund, an expression which either refers ('referring means pinpointing some entity about which something is to be predicated' (Dik 1989: 111)) or predicates ('predicating means assigning properties or relations to such entities' (*ibid.*)).

A number of issues discussed in chapter 3 make it clear that MPs do not fit into Dik's definition of a lexical item. In section 3.1.2.2 we saw that Foolen (1993: 13) defines particles as lacking propositional content and 'propositional content' as denoting 'the representational, descriptive, referential function.' This non-propositional status is arrived at through grammaticalization, a 'diachronic process' whereby 'all kinds of non-propositional elements ... originate from words and expressions with primarily propositional function' (see section 3.2.2.2). Evidence of their non-propositional nature came from, for example, the fact that they 'cannot be in the focus of questions' (Abraham 1991b: 5; see also section 6.1.1). In addition, it must be noted that they cannot be referred to anaphorically. For example, B in (5) refers anaphorically to *snel* by means of *op die manier*, but in (6) such reference is ungrammatical.

5. A: Sta            snel op.  
 B: Als ik op die manier opsta, word  
     ik duizelig.
- A: Stand        quick up.  
 B: If I on that manner up stand, become  
     I dizzy.
- A: Get up quickly.  
 B: If I get up like that, I get dizzy.
6. A: Sta maar op.  
 B: \*Als ik op die manier opsta, word ik duizelig.

In sections 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.4, which discuss *misschien* and *soms*, we saw that this lack of lexical meaning and the absence of the potential for anaphoric reference leads to inappropriate reactions if an addressee interprets an MP as its lexical counterpart:

7. A: Kunt u misschien de deur open doen?  
 \*B: Nee, dat is onmogelijk.
- A: Can you MP the door open do?  
 B: No, that is impossible.
8. A: Kun je me soms helpen?  
 \*B: Soms wel, maar vandaag niet.
- A: Can you me MP help?  
 B: Sometimes AFF, but today not.

Such inappropriate reactions often occur in puns or in word-play. A pun is based on the purely lexical ambiguity of a word. What occurs in (9) is not a lexical, but a grammatical reinterpretation:

9. A: Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?  
 B: Soms wel, maar nu niet.
- A: Can you the door MP closed do?<sup>2</sup>  
 B: Sometimes AFF, but now not.

where B (re)interprets *soms* deliberately as an adverb of time (in FG terms a predicational satellite) with its full lexical force rather than an MP. In these instances the lexical meaning of the adverbial is clearly inappropriate and the utterance becomes infelicitous. Similar exchanges are theoretically possible with all the MPs in question, but they can be observed particularly frequently with *even*:

10. A: Mag ik je even storen?  
 B: Nou vooruit, even maar.
- A: May I you MP disturb?  
 B: Well okay, briefly FP.

The absence of lexical reference, which MPs would need if they are to be interpreted as satellites, is a strong argument in favour of according them

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<sup>2</sup> I have left out a 'free' English translation of these examples, because they would be very far from the original. Word-play is possible in directives in English too, of course. For example when someone asks: *Can you give me a hand?* in a plea for help and the addressee offers to shake hands. However, this is lexical, not grammatical as in example (9).

operator status. A second powerful argument is the interaction between the position of MPs and accentuation, discussed in section 6.1.3.

### 6.1.3. *accent and the position of MPs in the clause*

Section 5.2.3.2 set out what is meant by accent here: a change in pitch with as one of its functions the identification of pragmatic functions. There may be several accents in a clause. The final clause accent, which is the last most prominent accent of a clause, is reserved for Focus constituents. Topic constituents, except GivTops which are not accented, are indicated by non-final accents.

MPs are not accented, but they relate to accented constituents in a significant way. Let us now consider a few examples.<sup>3</sup>

11. Ga maar met JAN fietsen.  
Go MP with John cycle.  
Go cycling with John.

12. Ga met Ján maar FIETsen.

In (11) the MP precedes the Focus (or NewTop<sup>4</sup>) constituent, the satellite *met Jan*. In (12) it also precedes the Focus constituent and follows the Topic constituent. In this last example *Jan* has already been introduced into the discourse as a partner for a particular activity. However, this activity is rejected and replaced by another activity, indicated by the *Vi fietsen*. This constituent is therefore given Contrastive (Replacing) Focus. The examples would need different contexts. If we think of (11) and (12) as replies by a parent to an utterance from a child, the context for (11) could be something like (13). For (12) I suggest the context given in (14):

13. Mam, ga je met me fietsen?  
Mum, go you with me cycle?  
Mum, will you go cycling with me?

14. Mam, ik ga met Jan vissen.  
Mum, I go with John fish.  
Mum, I'm going fishing with John.

<sup>3</sup> As in chapter 5, the accented syllable of a Focus constituent is indicated by upper case, Topic accents by acute accents on the vowel of the accented syllable.

<sup>4</sup> As explained in sections 5.2.2.3 and 5.4 I follow the line that NewTop is more akin to Focus than to Topic.

We find a similar distribution (MP preceding the Focus constituent and following the Topic) in (15) and (16).

15. Lees eens een SPROOKje voor.  
 Read MP a fairy-tale out.  
 Do read us a fairy-tale.

16. Lees dat spróókje eens VOOR.

In (15) the object is accented and has New Topic or Focus function. In contrast, the accent in (16) falls on *voor* (which is in the Vi-position<sup>5</sup>) again for Contrastive Focus: the addressee is advised to read a fairy-tale out loud rather than silently. This is in accordance with Verhagen's (1986: 163) observation about the placement of certain adverbials which he characterizes as 'comment modifiers': 'Generalizing, we may say that the use of a comment modifier in a sentence has the effect that an idea evoked by material to the left is presented as *perceivable independently* of ideas evoked by material to the right' (original emphasis). In (16) it is the reading out loud (of the fairy-tale) that is presented as a separate 'idea' from the fairy-tale itself.

In contrast, in an 'all-new predication',<sup>6</sup> in which the whole predication is in Focus, MPs do not precede the Focus constituent. We saw in section 5.4 that, following Gussenhoven's (1983a, 1983b) Sentence Accent Assignment Rule (SAAR), the last argument or satellite in such a predication is accented. In such cases MPs tend to come immediately following the accented constituent.

17. Lees 'RoodKAPje' eens voor.  
 Read 'Red Riding Hood' MP out.  
 Read 'Red Riding Hood' to us.

Verhagen's observation on the use of 'comment modifiers' also explains a peculiar use of Contrastive Focus. An all-new predication in which a child is asked to draw its mother would be something like:

18. Teken MAma eens.  
 Draw Mummy MP.  
 Make a drawing of MUMMy.

<sup>5</sup> *Voor* is the (separable) prefix of a so-called separable verb. In main clauses in which the finite verb is in Vf-position, the prefix occupies Vi.

<sup>6</sup> See the reference to Hannay (1991:146) in section 5.4.

But the following example was observed when a mother was describing how she tried to find out whether her child was capable of drawing objects yet. The child was scratching with a crayon and the mother said:

19. Téken eens MAMA.

In this instance 'drawing' and 'mummy' are independent ideas separated by the MP, with the MP preceding the Focus constituent which contrasts with the child's original drawing. A similar situation can be observed when a Dutch doctor or dentist instructs a patient to open his or her mouth:

20. Zeg eens A.  
Say MP A.  
Open wide.

Indeed, (20) with MP following 'A' is almost inconceivable.

The exchange in (21) appears to contradict the observation that MPs precede Focus constituents in a clause that is not an all-new predication.

21. A: Welk sprookje willen jullie horen?  
B: Lees 'RoodKAPje' maar voor.

A: Which fairy-tale want you hear?  
B: Read 'Red Riding Hood' MP out.

A: Which fairy-tale do you want to hear?  
B: Do read 'Red Riding Hood' to us.

*Roodkapje* might appear to require analysis as a SubTop rather than as a Focus constituent. This is suggested by the fact that *Roodkapje* is definite, whereas *een sprookje* in (19) is indefinite. *Een sprookje* in (19) introduces something new to the conversation, whereas *Roodkapje* in (21) is seen in a context in which (the reading of) a fairy-tale has already been established. Following the conventions used here, the accented syllable in *Roodkapje* in (21) would then have to be read with an acute accent rather than in upper case: *Roodkápje*.

The difficulty with an analysis of *Roodkapje* in (21) as SubTop is the consequent absence of a Focus constituent from the utterance. Given the context provided by (21) it could be argued that *Roodkapje* in (21) is a Focus constituent, but that we have to differentiate between 'new' and 'less new', or 'inferrable', Focus. *Roodkapje* in (21) would then be such a less new Focus constituent. The position of MPs in relation to such less new Focus



constituents is then the same as their position in relation to Topic constituents, which are also typically less than new.

One further situation in which the MP follows the Focus constituent is when the Focus constituent is in P1. This is the case with a single verbal predicate.

22. KOM eens!<sup>7</sup>  
Come MP.

Here the verb is in P1. However, the MP cannot be interpreted as being in P0. This can be shown by using a separable verb where the prefix occupies the Vi-position:

23. Leg eens UIT.  
Lay MP out.  
Explain, please.

Slightly different is the situation when an IMP is not realized as the stem of the verb, but as an infinitive. Such IMPs must be considered as occupying P1 and are regarded as very direct:

24. DOORrijden!  
Through drive.  
Drive on!

If they occur on their own, the MP follows, as in (25):

25. DOORrijden maar!

But if they occur with another constituent, this constituent is in P1 and an MP will invariably occur between P1 and Vi, independent of which constituent is in Focus.

26. DIE deur maar even dichtdoen!  
That door MP MP closed do.  
That door had better be shut.

27. Die déur maar even DICHTdoen.

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<sup>7</sup> Non-verbal predicates are impossible in this context, except for a small number of cases like the interjection *toe* (used in ways similar to the English adhortative: *Come on!*), or adverbs like *rustig* ('quiet'), *stil* ('silent') or *kalm* ('calm').

Observe that (22), (24), (25) and (26) are all all-new predications, so the occurrence of the MP following the accented constituent accords with what was said about such predications earlier. (23) is also an all-new predication, but illustrates that it is impossible for MPs to occur in P0. However, (27) shows once again that in an utterance with both Topic and Focus MPs precede the Focus constituent.

This position of the MP between Topic and Focus constituents is reminiscent of the explanation for the position of MPs given by De Vriendt & Van de Craen (1986: 115). They conclude that this position is determined partly by grammatical criteria (subject and object), partly by categorial criteria (e.g. noun vs. pronoun), and partly by communicative criteria. By communicative criteria they mean whether constituents are 'theme' or 'rheme'. These terms are not used by FG of course, but there are certain correspondences between theme and Topic (and 'less new' Focus) on the one hand, and rheme and Focus on the other. De Vriendt & Van de Craen quote similar findings by Krivonossov (1977: 202), who talks of MPs as 'a kind of "watershed" between given and new (the theme and the rheme)'. The phrase "'watershed" between thematic and rhematic information' returns in De Vriendt *et al.* (1991: 43). Their study is more concerned with the clustering of MPs. This is the focus of section 6.2.3.1, in which De Vriendt *et al.* (1991) will be discussed in more detail.

What we have seen is that MPs 'attach' themselves to the Focus constituent of a clause. In all-new predications they will follow the Focus constituent (or more precisely the constituent carrying Focus accent), whereas in utterances containing Topic and Focus they will precede the Focus constituent. This is most clearly demonstrated in instances of Contrastive Focus. This is clear evidence of the clitic status of MPs and an indication of a certain degree of 'fusion' of a stem with an operator, some kind of proto-affixation, as indicated by Siewierska (1991: 22-23; quoted in section 6.1 above).

The case for analysing MPs as operators is clear. It is based on their obvious lack of lexical meaning, on their inability to appear in prime satellite positions in the clause, P1 and P0, and on their quasi-morphological behaviour in relation to Focus and Topic constituents.

## 6.2. which layer?

Having agreed that MPs are operators, we now address the question of the layer in which they operate. That this is not an easy task is illustrated, as we saw in section 5.3, by Bolkestein (1992), who reports *inter alia* on the problem of the 'locatability' of some entities. The present highly-organized layered structure of FG requires that every entity be located in one of the various layers. But it is difficult for certain entities to be pinned down to a

particular layer. Bolkestein illustrates this with a Dutch particle cluster, which, she argues, seems to be locatable in the proposition layer as well as in the illocution layer (Bolkestein's example 22):

28. Hij is toch (zeker) niet weggegaan?  
 He is PART not away gone?  
 He hasn't left, has he?

'As far as their (*sic*) function is concerned, this particular cluster is perhaps more connected with the propositional content of the utterance than with its felicity or with the management of the interaction. [But describing them as ILL converting operators would still be possible' too (Bolkestein 1992: 402). However, there are other particles (here Bolkestein's examples are from Latin) that fail the tests for ILL conversion operator, as well as those for propositional or illocutionary satellites. 'In other words, we are at a loss as to where to situate the source of such particles in the layered structure as it now stands, and even with respect to the distinction between operator ... and satellite' (*ibid.* 403).

Despite the difficulty rightly signalled by Bolkestein, we have already been successful in determining the operator status of the MPs we are concerned with here. In the following sections we will locate them in the layered structure. In section 6.2.1 I briefly review the various possibilities. After that a precise location will be found by looking at MPs in complements.

### 6.2.1. review of the possibilities

It is clearly impossible to interpret MPs as term operators because they do not further specify entities. This can be clearly seen in examples (22)-(25) in section 6.1.3 above, in which no terms are involved.

As well as the 'lowest' layer, the term, we can rule out the 'highest', the clause. Recall that FG distinguishes six layers (see chapter 5, figure 5.2): clause (E), illocution (F), proposition (X), predication (e), predicate (f) and term (x). There are operators for the bottom five layers (from x up to F), and satellites for the top five (f up to E). Since MPs are operators, the clause must be ruled out as a possible level of their operation, because no operators for that layer can be distinguished.<sup>8</sup>

Another layer that can be ruled out is that of the predicate, because MPs do not specify 'additional internal properties of the SoA' (Siewierska 1991:

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<sup>8</sup> But see section 5.2.1, footnote 3 (and chapter 7, footnotes 5 and 9), where I suggest that certain prosodic phenomena (and questions of lay-out in writing) involved in the management of textual organization may be accounted for by clause operators. However, MPs are not involved in this kind of text management.

38). These are usually expressed by means of aspectual distinctions. Moreover, 'mitigation' and 'reinforcement' (which were the notions according to which the function of MPs was defined in chapter 3) have nothing to do with the internal organization of the SoA.

So where can MPs be located? The illocution seems the most promising layer. We saw in section 2.2.4 that Dik (1989: 258) postulates basic illocutions of the type DECL(declarative), INT(errogative) and IMP(erative) as illocutionary operators. He then introduces illocutionary modifiers as grammatical means to convert one basic illocution into another, indirect illocution. Two of those grammatical conversion mechanisms are mitigation and reinforcement. Hengeveld (1990: 10), on the other hand, sees basic illocutions as abstract predicates and defines illocution operators as 'captur[ing] the grammatical means through which the speaker modifies the force of the basic illocution ...' Two such operators are, again, mitigation and reinforcement. On the face of it MPs seem to fit into the notion of illocutionary modifiers as defined by Dik or illocution operators as defined by Hengeveld.<sup>9</sup>

With regard to the debate as to whether reinforcement and mitigation are Dik's illocutionary modifiers or Hengeveld's illocution operators, I feel that Dik's treatment lacks precise definitions. Whereas the status of operators in the layered structure is well-defined, the precise nature of illocutionary conversion and illocutionary modifiers remains vague.<sup>10</sup> Having argued in favour of the analysis of MPs as operators in section 6.1, we will here follow Hengeveld's analysis.

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<sup>9</sup> On the differences between Dik's and Hengeveld's analyses, see Risselada (1990: 5-9; cf. section 2.2.4), Siewierska (1991: 39 and 132) and Bolkestein (1992: 391-394).

<sup>10</sup> As we saw in section 2.2.4, another grammatical conversion mechanism discussed by Dik (1989: 257) is the English tag-question. However, his analysis of English tags is unsatisfactory. A statement, for example, is not converted into a question by a tag, as in:

- i. John's going home, isn't he?

The tag alters the nature of the declarative, makes it less assertive in order to express the speaker's uncertainty as to the truth of the proposition contained in it. But the proposition is not being questioned, as in:

- ii. Is John going home?

(i) can be paraphrased as 'I think he's going home, but I'm not 100% certain; can you confirm this.' The paraphrase for (ii) would be 'I do not know whether he's going home or not; can you tell me which.' Moreover, turning (i) and (ii) into direct quotes, (iii) is ungrammatical, but (iv) is fine. Conversely, (v) is correct, but (vi) seems at least questionable.

- iii. \*He asked: "John is going home, isn't he?"  
 iv. He said: "John is going home, isn't he?"  
 v. He asked: "Is John going home?"  
 vi. ?? He said: "Is John going home?"

However, MPs are not necessarily illocutionary operators. Let us accept for the sake of argument the distinction between objective and subjective modality, as set out in section 5.2.1.1. MPs could then be operators of either. In the case of objective modality, they could be seen as expressing deonticity, where an SoA is evaluated on the basis of a speaker's knowledge of a (moral, legal or social) code. In that case MPs would be predication operators. As operators of subjective modality, they would be expressions of attitude, whereby a speaker commits himself or herself to a proposition. In that case they would be proposition operators.

An analysis of MPs as illocutionary operators expressing mitigation and reinforcement does not bring us any closer to an explanation for the distribution of MPs (i.e.: why does Dutch require nine MPs to signal only two operators?). Even if we argued that each of the three basic illocutions involved (DECL, INT and IMP) needed separate reinforcers and mitigators (which is partially true bearing in mind their distribution over the illocutionary frames in table 6.1), we would not need as many as nine MPs. One explanation for their number, put forward by me in the past, is that they distinguish different degrees of reinforcement and mitigation (e.g. Vismans 1991 and 1993, and also Makepeace *et al.* 1993).<sup>11</sup> The difficulty with this approach is the exact mapping of MPs onto a scale of reinforcement and mitigation. Moreover, there is an obvious imbalance on the scale with four mitigators and five reinforcers.

An analysis as predication or proposition operators leaves similar questions unanswered. Moreover, the question arises of determining what precisely MPs would express. In the case of deontic modality (predication operator) MPs are obviously not an expression of the obligatory-forbidden scale, because the directives under investigation are all expressions at the necessity end of this scale (i.e. obligation). In the case of attitudinal modality (proposition operator) MPs do not seem to have much to do with the speaker's emotional commitment to the proposition, but rather with the force with which this commitment is expressed. And with the words 'urgency' and 'force' we have returned full circle to the illocution, which had its own problems.

So far, we have not come much closer to a conclusion about the location of MPs in the layered structure. However, we seem to have narrowed down the possibilities to three: predication, proposition and illocution. A precise way of locating MPs in the layered structure is by looking at their behaviour in complements, as was argued in section 5.3. I will first present a taxonomy of Dutch complements. Section 6.2.3 will then discuss MPs in complements.

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<sup>11</sup> For an analysis more in line with the present approach, see Vismans (1992a, 1992b and 1993).

### 6.2.2. a classification of Dutch complements

In section 5.3 I argued that in order to locate a particular phenomenon in the layered structure, it is best to study its occurrence in complements or other subordinate constructions, since they 'can be classified according to the highest layer they contain' (Hengeveld 1989: 145). This means that we must first find out to which layer each type of complement in Dutch belongs, before we can study the occurrence of MPs in them. The best way to do this is to see what kind of satellites can occur in those complements, following an amended version of the classification of adverbial satellites proposed in Dik *et al.* (1990), as discussed in section 5.2.1.

Before I turn to complements in the layered model, two related issues need to be mentioned briefly. They are not really germane to the phenomena described here, but it is useful to bear them in mind in the following discussion. The first relates to the argument status (or otherwise) of the complement, the second to the question of the implied subject in infinitival complements.

I stated in section 5.3 that a complement is the argument of a predicate. A predicate can have at most three arguments (cf. section 5.2.2.1). Thus, the verb *give* has the arguments Agent, Goal and Recipient in (29):

29. Ik heb het boek aan Jan gegeven.  
 I have the book to John given.  
 I have given the book to John.

A complement can be the argument of a verbal or adjectival predicate. In addition, it can also be a satellite of a nominal predicate. I shall give examples of each by way of illustration, but I will not discuss the argument nature of complements any further.

- first and second argument respectively to an adjectival predicate:

30. Het is gevaarlijk om garnalen te eten.  
 It is dangerous for prawns to eat.  
 It is dangerous to eat prawns.
31. Jan is er niet bang voor om dat te doen.  
 John is it not afraid of for that to do.  
 John is not afraid to do that.

In (31) the first argument is *Jan*.

- first, second and third argument respectively to a verbal predicate:

32. Het is me gelukt om een verklaring voor dit  
It has me succeeded for an explanation for this  
verschijnsel te geven.  
phenomenon to give.

I have succeeded in finding an explanation for this phenomenon.

33. Ik heb besloten om er een boek over te  
I have decided for it a book about to  
schrijven.  
write.

I have decided to write a book about it.

34. Ik heb een vriend ertoe overgehaald het uit te  
I have a friend it to persuaded it out to  
geven.  
give.

I have persuaded a friend to publish it.

In (32) *me* is the second argument, and in (33) the first argument is *ik*. In (34) *ik* is again the first argument and *een vriend* the second.

- satellite to a nominal predicate:<sup>12</sup>

35. Mijn besluit om een boek te schrijven staat  
My decision for a book to write stands  
vast.  
fixed.

My decision to write a book is unshakeable.

Certain complements, like the ones in (30)-(35), are not fully specified clauses, but consist of an infinitive (i.e. verbal predicate). They may or may not contain arguments and satellites, depending on the semantics of the predicate and the layer in which they are situated. However, such complements do not contain a first argument, although it can be implied from the matrix clause. This phenomenon is called 'control'. A first FG approach

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<sup>12</sup> A more controversial analysis of this would be to see the possessive pronoun *mijn* as the first argument, and the complement as the second argument to the nominal predicate. However, the complement is optional here, unlike complements to the verbal and adjectival predicates in examples (30)-(34), which strongly argues in favour of the present analysis.

to this is given by Hengeveld (1992a: 32) who suggests that a (simplified) representation of, for example, (33) would be (36):

36.  $(f_i:\text{besluiten}_v(f_i))(f_j:\text{schrijven}_v(f_j))(x_i:\text{ik}_n(x_i))_{Ag}(x_j:\text{boek}_n(x_j))_{Go}$

in which *schrijven* 'is represented as an argument of [*besluiten*], creating a situation in which the arguments of [*schrijven*] are shared by [*besluiten*]. The complex area of control needs further consideration in FG. A recent study of the phenomenon in Dutch from a GB-point of view is Van Haaften (1991).<sup>13</sup> In this context it is interesting to note that Van Haaften (*ibid.* 207) bases his classification partly on the different 'denotations' of complements: propositions, properties and predicates. Two of these are taken from Cremers (1983: 170), who claims that 'some verbs in Dutch select as an argument infinitival complements of the category *S* denoting propositions, other verbs select infinitival complements of the category *VP* denoting properties.' Van Haaften's 'propositions' and 'predicates' overlap to some extent with the proposition and predicate complements proposed below. His 'properties' show similarities with our predication complements. However, I will not discuss the issue of control any further here.

In view of what has been said in section 6.2.1, we are particularly interested in complements at the illocutionary, propositional and predicational levels. I shall present my taxonomy from the top down, starting with clause complements.

#### 6.2.2.1. *clause complements*

By its nature, reported speech must contain the full range of layers, because it simply reproduces what has been said. Therefore, complements of predicates denoting direct quotations are full-blown clauses. Clause satellites (like *kortom* ('in short, in a word'), *ten eerste* ('firstly') and so on) were seen in section 5.2.1 as helping with the management of the textual organization. This also includes Extra-Clausal Constituents (ECCs) such as pre-clausal *hé* ('hey') and *kijk* ('look here'), and post-clausal *hè* (often equivalent to the English tag question) and *hoor* (an affirmative interjection). Predicates complemented by reported speech are typically verbs (but also nouns) denoting speech acts, like *zeggen* and *vragen*.

<sup>13</sup> Although control does not enter my argumentation, I am indebted to Van Haaften's study for the wealth of material and examples it contains. See also Janssen (1992) for a critical discussion of Van Haaften (1991) and other control issues.



37. Hij zei: 'Kortom, je kunt maar beter ophouden.'  
 He said in short you can MP better stop.  
 He said: 'In a word, you may as well give up.'
38. Ten slotte vroeg hij: 'Kortom, wil je met me  
 Finally asked he in short want you with me  
 trouwen?'  
 marry.  
 Finally he asked: 'In a word, will you marry me?'
39. Vader zei: 'Nu gaan slapen, hoor!'  
 Father said now go sleep AFF.  
 Father said: 'Go to sleep now.'
40. Mijn vriend vroeg: 'Je komt, hè?'  
 My friend asked you come don't you.  
 My friend asked: 'You will come, won't you?'

To illustrate the representation of clause complements, a simplified version of (37) is given in (41):

41.  $(f_i:zeggen_v(f_i))(x_i:hij(x_i))_{AgSubj}(E_i:Clause(E_i))_{GoObj}$

### 6.2.2.2. *illocution complements*

Illocution satellites specify the manner in which the illocution is performed. Examples are: *eerlijk gezegd* ('frankly'), *om de waarheid te zeggen* ('to tell the truth'), and so on. We find such satellites in indirect speech, including indirect questions. It is interesting in this respect that the change of perspective must also be indicated. Thus, in reported speech, the satellite *om de waarheid te zeggen* is likely to contain the second person pronoun *je* ('you'), whereas in indirect speech this will change to a first or third person pronoun, depending on the context:

42. Hij zei: "Om je de waarheid te zeggen kon  
 He said for you the truth to say, could  
 ik het daar beslist niet mee eens zijn".  
 I it there definitely not with agree.  
 He said: "To tell you the truth, I could not agree with that at all."
43. Hij zei dat hij het daar, om ons de waarheid te zeggen, beslist niet mee  
 eens kon zijn.

44. Hij vroeg of ik het daar eerlijk  
 He asked if I it there frankly  
 gezegd wel mee eens was.  
 said AFF with agreed.  
 He asked if, frankly, I could really agree with that.

Illocution complements cannot contain such textual adverbials as *kortom* and ECCs.<sup>14</sup>

45. \*Mijn vriend vroeg of ik kwam hè.  
 46. \*Hij vroeg of ik het daar kortom wel mee eens was.

To illustrate the representation of illocution complements, a simplified version of (43) is given in (47):

47.  $(f_i; \text{zeggen}_v(f_i))(x_i; \text{hij}(x_i))_{\text{AgSubj}}(F_i; \text{Illocution}(F_i))_{\text{GoObj}}$

### 6.2.2.3. *proposition complements*

Proposition complements are typical of predicates expressing cognition, like *weten* ('know'), *denken* ('think') and *zich afvragen* ('wonder').<sup>15</sup> Such complements can contain propositional satellites, one of which is Source (cf. Dik *et al.* 1990: 38 and Hengeveld *forthc.*).

48. Je weet dat je volgens de regels het  
 You know that you according to the rules the  
 hele rijexamen over moet doen.  
 whole drive exam again must do.  
 You know that according to the rules you will have to take the entire  
 driving test again.
49. Ik vraag me af of dat volgens de  
 I wonder me if that according to the  
 regels wel mag.  
 rules AFF may.  
 I wonder if that is allowed according to the rules.

<sup>14</sup> The ECC can belong to the matrix of course. Thus, in the indirect variant of (37) *hoor* is part of the entire speech act, not the complement:

Vader zei dat je nu moet gaan slapen, hoor.

<sup>15</sup> *Zich afvragen* is a reflexive verb, literally 'ask oneself'.

In addition, there are also certain infinitival complements, notably of predicates denoting speech (but also cognitive predicates like *denken*), that are propositions. Formally these complements consist of the infinitive preceded by the particle *te*:

50. Jan zegt volgens de dokter ziek te zijn.  
 John says according to the doctor ill to be.  
 John says he's ill according to the doctor.

These proposition complements cannot contain an illocutionary satellite:

51. \*Je weet dat je het hele rijexamen om je de waarheid te zeggen over moet doen.  
 52. \*Ik vraag me af of dat om je de waarheid te zeggen wel mag.  
 53. \*Jan zegt om me de waarheid te zeggen ziek te zijn.

To illustrate the representation of proposition complements, a simplified version of (48) is given in (54):

54.  $(f_i; \text{weten}_v(f_i))(x_i; \text{je}(x_i))_{\text{AgSubj}}(X_i; \text{Proposition}(X_i))_{\text{GoObj}}$

#### 6.2.2.4. *predication complements*

In section 5.3 we saw that perception verbs are complemented by a predication in the shape of a bare infinitive. Such complements can contain such predication satellites as those expressing spatial and temporal setting (cf. Dik *et al.* 1990: 33):

55. Ik hoorde in de verte even een hond blaffen.  
 I heard in the distance briefly a dog bark.  
 I could hear a dog barking briefly in the distance.

A formally different predication complement consists of *te* + infinitive, which may be introduced by *om*. Thus *om* in (33) is optional:<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> It is interesting that when complementing an adjectival predicate as first argument, this construction lacks *om* when the complement precedes the adjectival predicate (Cf. Dik 1985: 35 ff.; the example is his):

- i. Het is gevaarlijk (om) in zee te zwemmen.  
 It is dangerous for in sea to swim.  
 It is dangerous to swim in the sea.

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33. Ik heb besloten om er een boek over te  
 I have decided for it a book about to  
 schrijven.  
 write.  
 I have decided to write a book about it.

56. Ik heb besloten er een boek over te schrijven.

Such a complement can also contain a temporal or spatial satellite:

57. Ik heb besloten (om) er op vakantie een boek  
 I have decided for it on holiday a book  
 over te schrijven.  
 about to write.  
 I have decided to write a book about it on holiday.

*Vragen* can also be complemented in this way:

58. Mij is gevraagd (om) vandaag thuis te blijven.  
 Me is asked for today home to stay.  
 I have been asked to stay at home today.

These complements cannot contain a (propositional) source satellite:<sup>17</sup>

59. \*Ik hoor een hond volgens Piet blaffen.  
 60. \*Ik heb besloten er volgens Piet een boek over te schrijven.  
 61. \*Mij is gevraagd (om) volgens Piet thuis te blijven.

To illustrate the representation of predication complements, a simplified version of (55) is given in (62):

62.  $(f_i; \text{horen}_v(f_i))(x_i; \text{ik}(x_i))_{\text{AgSubj}}(e_i; \text{Predication}(e_i))_{\text{GoObj}}$

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ii. In zee (te) zwemmen is gevaarlijk.

Dik explains this compulsory absence of *om* by referring to the Relator Principle (discussed in sections 5.1 and 5.2.3.1, footnote 4).

<sup>17</sup> There is the possibility of some ambiguity here, because *volgens Piet* in (59)-(61) can also be read as belonging to the entire clause rather than just the complement. This can be disambiguated by a paraphrase. E.g for (61):

i. \*Mij is gevraagd of ik volgens Piet thuis wil blijven.  
 ii. Volgens Piet is mij gevraagd of ik thuis wil blijven.

6.2.2.5. *predicate complements*

Section 5.3 identified complements of aspectual verbs like *beginnen* as predicate complements. Such complements contain *te* + infinitive.

63. Ik begin moe te worden.  
 I begin tired to become.  
 I'm beginning to get tired.

They can also contain predicate satellites such as manner adverbs or instrument:

64. Ik begin snel moe te worden.  
 I begin fast tired to become.  
 I'm beginning to get tired fast.

However, there are also two other formally different constructions that can be analysed as predicate complements. One consists of *om* + *te* + infinitive, where *om* is compulsory and the complemented predicate is adjectival:<sup>18</sup>

65. Garnalen zijn gevaarlijk om te eten.  
 Prawns are dangerous for to eat.  
 Prawns are dangerous to eat.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>. This construction is not to be confused with satellites using the same format *om* + *te* + infinitive. These are commonly predication (purpose) satellites, e.g.:

- i. Om niet nat te worden fiets ik hard.  
 For not wet to become cycle I fast.  
 I cycle fast in order not to get wet.

The purpose construction can also be used in illocution satellites, e.g. *om je de waarheid te zeggen* ... ('to tell you the truth') in the examples in section 6.2.2.2. It can even be used in clause satellites, e.g.:

- ii. Om een lang verhaal kort te maken, ...  
 For a long story short to make  
 To cut a long story short ...

<sup>19</sup>. This example is taken from Dik (1985: 43). Another point raised by Dik (1985) is the difference between the following:

- i. Deze som is moeilijk op te lossen.  
 This sum is difficult to solve.  
 This problem is hard to solve.
- ii. Het is moeilijk (om) deze som op te lossen.  
 It is difficult to solve this problem.

These can be qualified by predicate satellites like manner or quality:

66. Garnalen zijn soms te klein om met je  
 Prawns are sometimes too small for with your  
 handen te eten.  
 hands to eat.  
 Prawns are sometimes too small to eat with your hands.

Finally, the construction of a modal verb plus bare infinitive can be seen as complementation by means of a predicate complement. The complement can again be qualified by a manner satellite:

67. Garnalen kun je soms niet met mes en vork  
 Prawns can you sometimes not with knife and fork  
 eten.  
 eat.  
 Sometimes you cannot eat prawns with a knife and fork.

None of these predicate complements can be qualified by predication satellites like temporal setting:

68. \*Ik begin moe nu te worden.  
 I begin tired now to become.
69. \*Garnalen zijn gevaarlijk om nu rauw te eten.  
 70. \*Garnalen kun je niet nu rauw eten.

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In (i) *om* is not present. (ii) consists of an adjectival predicate with a predicational first argument, following our analysis in 6.2.2.4. In (i) the adjective can be left out, but when it is present it qualifies the infinitive as if it were an adverb.

- iii. Deze som is op te lossen.  
 This sum is to solve.  
 This sum is solvable.

The construction expresses the potential for the activity expressed by the verb to be carried out: 'the problem is solvable but it will be hard.' A similar example is (iv) as opposed to (v):

- iv. Dat is (goed) te zien.  
 That is good to see.  
 That's (clearly) visible.
- v. Het is goed (om) dat te zien.

It seems that we are not dealing with a complement here, but with a predication containing a verbal predicate with a modality operator.

To illustrate the representation of predicate complements, that of (65) is given in (71):

71.  $(f_i; \text{gevaarlijk}_{\text{Adj}}(f_i))(x_i; \text{garnalen}(x_i))_{\text{GoSubj}}(f_j; \text{eten}_v(f_j))$

The findings of the above subsections are summarized in table 6.3.<sup>20</sup>

layer	predicate type	complement type
E	speech act	reported speech
F	DECL speech act INT speech act	<i>dat</i> + subordinate clause <i>of</i> + subordinate clause
X	cognition  DECL speech act	subordinate clause <i>te</i> + infinitive <i>te</i> + infinitive
e	INT speech act non-speech act/non-cognition perception	<i>(om)</i> + <i>te</i> + infinitive <i>(om)</i> + <i>te</i> + infinitive infinitive
f	aspectual adjectival modal	<i>te</i> + infinitive <i>om</i> + <i>te</i> + infinitive infinitive

table 6.3: classification of Dutch complements

### 6.2.3. *MPs in complements*

The aim of this chapter was to explain the distribution and clustering of MPs with the help of FG. In order to do that we needed to decide (i) whether MPs are operators or satellites, and (ii) in which layer of the FG model MPs can

<sup>20</sup>. Inspired by Vendler (1967), Walraven (1975) proposes four different structures for infinitival constructions:

- i. Sentence[...Fact[...Event[...][...]]]
- ii. Sentence[...Event[...][...]]
- iii. Fact[...Event[...][...]]
- iv. Event[...]

and concludes that infinitives with optional *om* (i.e. predication complements, Hengeveld's (1989: 128) 'narrated event') can only occur in structure iv. The similarity is not surprising: Hengeveld, who first proposed the layered structure for FG, also acknowledges Vendler's influence.

be located. The conclusion at the end of section 6.1.3 was that MPs are clearly operators. So far, section 6.2 has determined the location of complements in the layered model in order to be able to consider complements with MPs and determine the level at which the latter operate. Section 6.2.1 concluded that three levels suggested themselves (predication, proposition and illocution), and at the end of the previous section we arrived at a classification of complements.

Of the three levels suggested in section 6.2.1, the illocution is perhaps the most promising. However, a close investigation of complements with MPs brings an interesting discrepancy to light in their distribution, one which would call any analysis of MPs simply as illocutionary operators into question. Consider the following three examples in which directives are embedded in a matrix clause and the final infinitive (*schrijven*) has Focus:

72. Ik heb je gevraagd om me MP te SCHRIJven.  
I have you asked for me MP to write.  
I've asked you to write to me.

73. Ik heb je gezegd me MP te SCHRIJven.<sup>21</sup>  
I have you said me MP to write.  
I've told you to write to me.

74. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me MP wilt  
I have you asked if you me MP want  
SCHRIJven.  
write.  
I've asked you if you will write to me.

These sentences are intended as a reproach, and could be supplemented as follows:

75. ..., maar je doet het niet.  
..., but you do it not.  
..., but you won't.

From our analysis in the previous sections as shown in table 6.3 it is clear that the complements in (72), (73) and (74) are a predication, a proposition and an illocution respectively. These complements contain directives of the kind we are studying, so we should be able to insert MPs in the slots marked MP. If the MPs are locatable in the illocutionary layer, we should only be able

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<sup>21</sup>. Note that *zeggen* has the interpretation of 'order' here, like English *tell*.



to insert MPs into the slot in (74) but not into (73) and (72). If they are locatable in the propositional layer, we should only be able to insert MPs into (74) and (73) but not into (72). And if they are locatable in the predicational layer, we should be able to insert all MPs into all three examples.

However, when we now try to insert MPs into these examples, we see first of all that in (72) it is only possible for *eens* and *even* to occur in a directive reading, but none of the other MPs under consideration here (*om* has been left out, as it is optional):

- 72a. Ik heb je gevraagd me eens te SCHRIJven.
- 72b. Ik heb je gevraagd me even te SCHRIJven.
- 72c. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*dan te SCHRIJven.
- 72d. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*nou te SCHRIJven.
- 72e. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*ook te SCHRIJven.
- 72f. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*toch te SCHRIJven.
- 72g. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*maar te SCHRIJven.
- 72h. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*misschien te SCHRIJven.
- 72i. Ik heb je gevraagd me \*soms te SCHRIJven.

We have seen that the complement in (72) is a predication. This must be interpreted as a strong indication that the domain of *eens* and *even*, but not of the other MPs, is the predication.

The inability of some of the other MPs to occur in the complement of (72) can be explained if we assume that the event reported in (72) is to be taken literally, i.e. that an interrogative was used in the original directive. MPs that do not occur in INTs (i.e. *dan*, *toch* and *maar*) would then be ruled out. However, it is remarkable that other MPs whose domain is exclusively INT, notably *misschien* and *soms*, cannot appear in a directive reading in (72) either. The same is true of *nou*, which can appear as an MP in both IMP and INT, and *ook*, which appears in INT and DECL. So whichever way we regard the complement in (72), the exclusion from it of all the MPs except *eens* and *even* cannot be explained by the illocutionary nature of the complement. However, it can be explained if the domain of these MPs is shown to be a different, higher layer than the predication.

A difficulty with the above analysis is that with certain predicates a cluster with *nou*, *toch*, and *eens* and/or *even* appears to be possible:

- 76. Ik heb je gevraagd nou toch eens op te letten.  
 I have you asked ?MP ?MP MP to pay attention.  
 I have asked you to pay attention.

However, there are some strong limitations on the occurrence of *nou* and *toch* in both (72) and (76), which do not apply to *eens* and *even*. First, it is remarkable that this cluster is less felicitous with example (72), where *nou* at least is more easily identified as an adverb of time. Secondly, a cluster of only *toch* and *eens* is not acceptable in (76). Moreover, if (76) is uttered very emphatically, *nou* and *toch* seem out of place. This may mean that *nou* and *toch* are not MPs here but adverbs. Alternatively, their appearance in such clusters may be explained by analogy with similar phenomena, for example the frequent occurrence of the cluster *nou toch eens/even* in straight imperatives. Whatever the explanation for this cluster in such circumstances, it appears to be limited to this single cluster and is restricted in its application. Nor does it detract from the observation made in relation to (72), namely that only *eens* and *even* occur consistently as MPs in predicational complements.

Turning to (73), a similar observation can be made. It appears that *maar*, *ook* and *toch* can occur in the MP-positions besides *eens* and *even*, but not *dan*, *nou*, *misschien* and *soms*.

- 73a. Ik heb je gezegd me eens te SCHRIJven.
- 73b. Ik heb je gezegd me even te SCHRIJven.
- 73c. Ik heb je gezegd me toch te SCHRIJven.
- 73d. Ik heb je gezegd me ook te SCHRIJven.
- 73e. Ik heb je gezegd me maar te SCHRIJven.
- 73f. Ik heb je gezegd me \*dan te SCHRIJven.
- 73g. Ik heb je gezegd me \*nou te SCHRIJven.
- 73h. Ik heb je gezegd me \*misschien te SCHRIJven.
- 73i. Ik heb je gezegd me \*soms te SCHRIJven.

The fact that (73h) and (73i) are unacceptable could be explained by the fact that they occur in a reported declarative. However this does not explain the unacceptability of *dan* and *nou*, because (73) can also be used to report an imperative. In view of the fact that the complement in (73) is a proposition, we may conclude that *ook*, *toch* and *maar* operate in the propositional layer. Since propositions have scope over predications, *eens* and *even* can occur in propositions too.

If we now look at which MPs can occur in the MP-slot in (74), we see that all are acceptable, except *dan*, *toch* and *maar*.

- 74a. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me eens wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74b. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me even wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74c. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me ook wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74d. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me nou wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74e. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me misschien wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74f. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me soms wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74g. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me \*dan wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74h. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me \*toch wilt SCHRIJven.
- 74i. Ik heb je gevraagd of je me \*maar wilt SCHRIJven.

*Dan, toch* and *maar* are unacceptable here because they have been placed in an indirect interrogative and we know that they do not occur in INT. However, because *dan* and *nou* are interchangeable in imperatives, we can assume that an analysis of *nou* will take along *dan* in imperatives. The complement of (74) has been analysed as an illocution. We can conclude from this, then, that the layer in which *dan, nou, misschien* and *soms* operate is the illocutionary layer. And since illocutions have scope over propositions and predications, the other MPs can occur in illocutions (and indeed in the layer above the illocution: the clause) too.

layer	designation	status	MP	DECL	INT	IMP
e	predication	reinf	eens	+	+	+
		mitig	even	+	+	+
X	proposition	reinf	ook	+	+	-
			toch	-	-	+
		mitig	maar	+	-	+
F	illocution	reinf	dan	-	-	+
			nou	-	+	+
		mitig	misschien	-	+	-
			soms	-	+	-

table 6.4: revised distribution of MPs

These data counter any analysis that sees these MPs as operators in just one layer. It indicates that the system is much more refined than that, and that *eens* and *even* operate in the predication layer, whilst *maar, ook* and *toch* operate in the proposition, and *dan, nou, misschien* and *soms* in the illocution. The findings so far are set out in table 6.4.

The distribution of MPs over the illocutionary frames has become a great deal clearer. In the predication layer there is one reinforcer and one mitigator.

Both can occur in all three frames. In the proposition layer there is one mitigator which occurs in DECL and in IMP, but not in INT. There are two reinforcers, but they are distributed over the three frames in such a way that they do not overlap. Only in the illocution is there a fairly high degree of overlap. We find two mitigators whose distribution is the same (only in INT) and two partially overlapping reinforcers. Moreover, in IMP and INT all three layers can be affected by MPs, but in DECL only the lower two layers. The discussion of intonation in chapter 7 will shed some further light on the distribution, as will the data from an experimental study presented in chapter 8. Therefore, I will come back to these obvious imbalances in the distribution at the end of chapter 8.

The distribution raises a problem with respect to imperatives. Hengeveld (1990: 7) formulates the imperative illocutionary frame as follows:

IMP (S) (A) (e<sub>1</sub>: [+control](e<sub>1</sub>))

and explains the absence of a proposition by saying: 'An imperative frame specifies a relation between a speaker S, an addressee A and the controlled SoA e<sub>1</sub> to be realized by A. The truth value of the third argument is irrelevant in the case of imperatives and this is reflected in the absence of a propositional level ...' Similarly, Bolkestein (1990: 75) claims that '[t]he restrictions on tense and on the occurrence of various proposition level disjuncts can be accounted for if we assume that IMP sentences and clauses do not contain a propositional layer at all, but only a predicational one.' Moutaouakil (1993: 17) goes even further when he claims that propositions are 'specific to declarative assertive sentences which occur in kinds of discourses involving the expression of subjective attitudes (i.e. conversations, non-narrative parts of a text such as an author's interjection, etc.)'. Therefore, he rules out the presence of the propositional layer not only in imperatives, but also in interrogatives and purely narrative declarative clauses (i.e. declarative clauses which do not express subjective attitudes).

In spite of this, the data for MPs presented here suggest that a proposition layer is present in IMP clauses after all. This can be further substantiated if we compare Hengeveld's (1990: 7) representation of imperatives cited above with his later explanation of the working of the layered model (Hengeveld, forthcoming; see also section 5.2 above): the 'structure represents the speech act (E<sub>1</sub>) with illocutionary force (F<sub>1</sub>), in which a speaker (S) transmits a propositional content (X<sub>1</sub>) to an addressee.' Crucial to this is the relation between Speaker, Addressee and the message transmitted by the Speaker to the Addressee. In Hengeveld's (1990) representation it is a state of affairs that is transmitted, but it is doubtful whether a speaker can transmit an SoA to an addressee. Dik (1989: 48) says about propositions that they 'designate

a "propositional content" or a "possible fact".' An important characteristic of possible facts is that they can be believed, 'known or thought about; they can be reason for surprise or doubt; they can be mentioned, denied, rejected, and remembered; and they can be said to be true or false.' When a speaker uses a DECL, he or she transmits his or her belief about an SoA, or some other attitude to it. This may well be a belief that a particular SoA must be achieved, as in (77):

77. I think that you should do that.

The speaker can use an IMP or an INT to express that same belief:

78. Do that.

79. Shouldn't you do that?

I would suggest that such attitudes can only be expressed at the level of the proposition and that the illocutionary frame used in its expression is irrelevant in this. Its relevance is to the force with which the attitude is expressed.

### 6.2.3.1. *clustering*

For convenience I reproduce table 6.2 here, which set out the clustering of MPs in directives.

---

ILL	order of cluster
DECL	ook, maar, eens, even
INT	nou, misschien/soms*, ook, eens, even
IMP	dan/nou*, toch, maar, eens, even

\*interchangeable

---

table 6.2: order of MPs in clusters

The clustering behaviour of MPs was first highlighted by Hoogvliet (1903), as we saw in section 3.2.1 (example 17). More recently Hulshof (1980 and 1987) has drawn attention to Hoogvliet's discussion of MPs, as has Rombouts (1983). However, Hulshof and Rombouts have not tried to find an explanation for their clustering behaviour. De Vriendt *et al.* (1991) do have an explanation for the clusters of MPs. They think that 'it is unjustified to indiscriminately label the modal particles as "watershed" elements between thematic and

rhematic information' (*ibid.* 58). In section 6.1.3 we saw that this phrase has been used by particle researchers to typify the function of MPs. Instead, De Vriendt *et al.* point to different functions of the various MPs in clusters. They claim that *dan*, *nou* and *toch* have a deictic/anaphoric function. This makes them ideal for early occurrence in combination with the 'theme' of an utterance. At the other end of the cluster we have *eens* and *even*, whose function is 'existentially quantifying'. This makes them 'in an obvious way "new" or "rhematic"' (*ibid.*). In between the deictic and the existentially quantifying MPs we find 'purely modal' ones (i.e. *maar* and *wel*; the latter does not occur in directives) which 'are to be interpreted against a presuppositional background' (*ibid.*). The pure modality (or modal purity?) of these MPs remains undefined. De Vriendt *et al.* clearly see some MPs as more 'thematic' and others as more 'rhematic'.

The lack of referentiality of MPs, which was discussed in sections 3.1.2.2 and 6.1.2, means, however, that MPs themselves are neither thematic nor rhematic. In 3.1.2.2 we saw that an important aspect of Foolen's (1993: 13) definition of particles is the fact that they 'do not contribute to the propositional content of a sentence or utterance.' Abraham (1991c: 5) refers to the fact that MPs 'cannot be in the focus of questions', and we noted in 6.1.2 that they cannot be referred to anaphorically. We deduced in that section that the absence of lexical reference of MPs is a strong argument in favour of analysing them as operators in the FG framework. However, although MPs themselves are not 'thematic' or 'rhematic', it is their relation to the 'thematic' and 'rhematic' elements in an utterance that defines them, as section 6.1.3 showed.

Nevertheless, the homophonic counterparts of MPs can cluster in remarkably similar ways. For example, time satellites (*nou* and *dan*) tend to precede modal satellites (*maar*, *misschien*), frequency satellites (*soms*, *eens*) and duration satellites (*even*). But Contrastive Focus allows this order to be broken:

80. Kunnen we nu misschien eten?  
 Can we now perhaps eat?  
 Can we eat now perhaps?

81. Misschien kunnen we NU eten!  
 Perhaps we can eat NOW.

82. Ik doe dat maar SOMS.  
 I do that only sometimes.  
 I only do that sometimes.

83. SOMS doe ik dat maar.

A close look at tables 6.2 and 6.4 shows that the clusters of MPs are ordered according to Dik's (1989: 342-343 and 354; see section 5.2.3.1) Principle of Centripetal Orientation. This principle predicts that operators will occur centripetally vis-à-vis their head, i.e. ordered from the highest level to the lowest, following the schema  $\pi_4\pi_3\pi_2\pi_1$ [stem] $\pi_1\pi_2\pi_3\pi_4$ . This is exactly what MPs do vis-à-vis the Focus constituent of the clause, as illustrated in (84), where the reinforcers *nou* ( $\pi_4$ ), *toch* ( $\pi_3$ ) and *eens* ( $\pi_2$ ) precede *DICHT* in that order:

84. Doe de deur nou toch eens DICHT!  
 Do the door  $MP_{\pi_4}$   $MP_{\pi_3}$   $MP_{\pi_2}$  closed.  
 For Heaven's sake, close the door!

Moreover, within each layer, the MPs are ordered reinf-mitig. This is a reflection not only of the historical order in which they emerged (see chapter 4), but also of the fact that within any layer it may be possible to reinforce a mitigator, but not *vice versa*.

85. Kom eens even.  
 Come MP MP.  
 Do come.

86. \*Kom even eens.

The effect of an utterance containing such a reinforced mitigator is clearly different from that containing a single reinforcer or a single mitigator. *Eens* on its own would turn (85) into an urgent request to come, whereas *even* on its own would make it a noncommittal invitation. (85), by contrast, expresses encouragement. This effect is absent from an utterance in which the reinforcer of a higher layer precedes a mitigator from a lower layer. Thus, the effect of the two MPs in (87) is impatience rather than encouragement:

87. Kom nou maar.  
 Will you come!

We return to Hoogvliet's (1903: 98) prototypical example, cited as example (17) in section 3.2.1:

88. Geef de boeken dan nu toch maar 'es even hier.  
 Give the books  $MP_{\pi_4}$   $MP_{\pi_4}$   $MP_{\pi_3}$   $MP_{\pi_3}$   $MP_{\pi_2}$   $MP_{\pi_2}$  here.  
 Just give me the books, will you?

This is the largest cluster possible in the imperative illocutionary frame. The effect of the cluster is not as strong as that in (87) because of the presence of the two mitigators *maar* and *even*, and because *toch* and *eens* reinforce these mitigators rather than the proposition and the predication themselves.

Apparently the weakening effect of a mitigator can be reinforced, whereas the strengthening character of a reinforcer cannot easily be mitigated. In addition,  $\pi_4$  MPs take  $\pi_3$  and  $\pi_2$  MPs in their scope, and  $\pi_3$  MPs take  $\pi_2$  MPs in their scope. Thus, a mitigator of a higher layer has not only the mitigators but also the reinforcers of a lower layer in its scope.

### 6.3. conclusion and preview

In this chapter I have developed the theme of the distribution of MPs and their clustering in an FG framework. It is clear that we can locate them in three layers of the underlying clause structure with at least one reinforcer and one mitigator in each layer. The distribution is not quite even, however, and we will return to it later. FG fully explains the clustering behaviour of MPs: they are ordered according to the layers they belong to from the highest layer on the outside to the lowest layer on the inside with the Focus constituent of the clause as its centre.

The findings of this chapter have a number of repercussions for FG. First, Hengeveld (1989: 142) hypothesizes that diachronic developments will have an upward movement through the layered model (i.e. from a lower level to a higher one). At the same time, grammaticalization means that satellites turn to operators. If we look at the provenance of the MPs it will be clear that in the case of MPs from the predication layer the movement has been from temporal satellites to operators in the same layer. However, this is not true in the case of propositional and illocutionary MPs. We can demonstrate this by trying to fit the adverbs concerned into certain complements. Compare:

89. We spraken af om dat boek eens te lezen en  
 We agreed for that book once to read and  
 daarna nooit meer.  
 thereafter never again.  
 We agreed to read that book once and after that never again.



90. We spraken af om dat boek even te lezen, maar  
We agreed for that book briefly to read, but  
er niet teveel tijd aan te besteden.  
it not too much time on to spend.  
We agreed to read that book briefly, but not to spend too much time  
on it.
91. We spraken af om dat boek maar te lezen om  
We agreed for that book only to read in order  
er van af te zijn.  
it of off to be.  
We agreed to read that book only to have had it.
92. We spraken af om dat boek ook te lezen naast  
We agreed for that book also to read besides  
de andere op de lijst.  
the others on the list.  
We agreed to read that book as well as the others on the syllabus.
93. We spraken af om dat boek ondanks de lengte  
We agreed for that book despite the length  
toch te lezen.  
yet to read.  
We agreed to read that book after all despite its length.
94. We spraken af om dat boek pas dan te lezen  
We agreed for that book only then to read  
als we alle andere uit hadden.  
when we all others out had.  
We agreed to read that book only when we had finished all others.
95. We spraken af om dat boek toen te lezen.  
We agreed for that book then to read.  
We agreed to read that book at that moment.
96. We spraken af om soms in dat boek te  
We agreed for sometimes in that book to  
lezen, maar niet elke dag.  
read, but not every day.  
We agreed to read from that book sometimes, but not every day.

97. \*We spraken af om dat boek misschien te lezen.  
 We agreed for that book perhaps to read.  
 \*We agreed to read that book perhaps.
98. Ik denk dat boek misschien te kunnen lezen,  
 I think that book perhaps to can read,  
 maar ik weet het niet zeker.  
 but I know it not certain.  
 I think I may be able to read that book, but I am not sure.

From this we can conclude that of the adverbial counterparts of the MPs only *misschien* is a propositional adverb (expressing (subjective?) modality), but that all the others are predicational satellites. The proposition MPs have moved 'sideways' from satellite to operator and up from the predication to the proposition layer. The illocution MPs have also moved 'sideways' as well as up. In the case of *misschien* the move has been from the proposition layer to the illocution layer. But the other three seem to have skipped a layer in their diachronic development. In the case of *dan* and *nou* it may be argued that this cannot be said with certainty because of their long and sometimes obscure history. However, in the case of *soms*, whose emergence as an MP is much more recent, as was shown in chapter 4, the skipping of a layer in the move from adverb to MP is clear. Moreover, the counterparts of all these MPs still function as satellites at the levels indicated, witness examples (89)-(98). Thus, the upward movement identified by Hengeveld may involve skipping layers.

A second repercussion for FG from this study is a representational one: namely that the propositional layer is present in IMP, contrary to what some authors have assumed. However, more important is the fact that reinforcement and mitigation have been shown not to be a phenomenon exclusively of the illocution, but to be present in at least three levels. There are no reasons to assume that mitigation and reinforcement phenomena are not present in other layers too. Haverkate (1988: 397-405) indicates that this is so. He identifies politeness strategies in 'the phonetic act' (particularly in intonation patterns), the illocutionary act, 'the predicating act' (in particular diminutive suffixes in many languages) and 'the referring act' (e.g. polite pronouns). As for reinforcement, we can think for example of the opposite of diminutive suffixes in Spanish, which Haverkate (*ibid.* 407) calls 'augmentative suffixes'. As for Haverkate's 'phonetic act', Dik (1989: 397) also points to the possibility that certain prosodic features may have mitigating or reinforcing functions. This idea seems worth pursuing. The next chapter is about intonation and its interaction with MPs.

# 7

## INTONATION AND MPs IN DIRECTIVES

### 7.0. introduction

The link between intonation and politeness is attested throughout Brown & Levinson (1987) who time and again assert that particular politeness strategies may be enhanced, amended and even be completely reversed by intonational strategies. An apt illustration from Brown & Levinson (1987: 135; their example (17)) is where they label as 'rude' an assertion like:

1. You can pass the salt.

Of the five possible politeness markers for assertions listed (assertions can be made more polite with the help of (i) negation, (ii) the subjunctive, (iii) a possibility operator, (iv) a tag, or (v) a word like *please*) it contains just one: the possibility operator. Yet Brown & Levinson append the following note (*ibid.* 190, note 37): 'The intonation, high pitch and kinesics of questioning serve perhaps as well as the actual syntactic marking of questions, in some cases at any rate, so that (17) may not be rude if it is thus intonationally and kinesically marked.' In other words: if you say (1) at a relatively high pitch with an exaggerated rise on 'salt' (leading to 'falsetto', see section 7.1 below), and tilt your head to one side as one may do when requesting, (1) can be quite a polite request for salt. Brown & Levinson's quote can even be said to underestimate the importance of intonation, for it is the intonation used by the speaker that will make the hearer decide whether (1) is a rude assertion or a polite request. Such hearer evaluations are central, and therefore intonation must be taken into account when studying phenomena that are central to spoken discourse, as we will be doing here with Dutch MPs.

It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that references to the interaction of MPs with intonation are scarce in the MP literature. There is an occasional acknowledgement of that interaction, and the importance of studying it, but on the whole such comments are mere asides. The index to Abraham (ed.)(1991), for example, does not contain any reference to intonation. Nor does Foolen (1993) suggest the interaction between MPs and intonation as a valuable area for further research in his conclusion.

However, some insight into that interaction can be gained from Schubiger's (1972 and 1980) comparative studies of English intonation and German MPs.

And Bublitz' (1978) comparative study of German MPs and tags and their English equivalents also refers to intonation. Schubiger (1972) takes as her starting point the German MP *doch* as used in German 'in the sense of "By the way you talk one would think you didn't know"' (*ibid.* 175), and describes the English intonation patterns corresponding to that use. Her later study takes the opposite route: its starting point is a particular English intonation pattern (the 'rise-fall'<sup>1</sup>) and its uses, onto which various German MPs are mapped. Implied in both articles (but not made very explicit) is that whereas German is richer MP-wise, English is the intonationally richer language. This is echoed by Bolinger (1989: 42) in his discussion of German (which leans heavily on Schubiger's work): '... it is to be expected that in any particular case where one language exploits the possibilities of intonation, another may use a change in syntax, a particle of some kind, or whatever.' A problem with these studies is that such comments do not shed much light on the way MPs and intonation work together. Schubiger (1980: 281) does mention German intonation, if only in passing, but at least she acknowledges that there is also a 'German emotional intonation pattern likely to underline, or, in some cases, even determine the function of the particle.'

Bolinger's claim for German is repeated in his discussion of Dutch intonation (1989: 43): 'The intonation of Dutch is extremely close to that of English, down to much fine detail. But there are some apparent differences. Like German, Dutch has modal particles, and what Schubiger noted of German and English is also true of Dutch and English - intonation may do for one what a particle does for the other.' Bolinger bases this close relationship between Dutch and English intonation on work by De Pijper (1983) and Gussenhoven (1983a). De Pijper (1983) works in the same framework as Collier & 't Hart (1981) and 't Hart *et al.* (1990) (see section 7.2 below). His study contains a comparison of Dutch and British English intonation, based on an experiment in which Dutch pitch contours were artificially superimposed by resynthesis on English sentences and judged by native speakers of British English (BE) 'to be more successful as approximations of BE contours than one might have expected' (*ibid.* 84). The differences that De Pijper's study showed up seem to confirm Bolinger's claim that English may be the richer language intonationally. However, the similarities are also striking (*ibid.* 92): they have the same 'standard

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<sup>1</sup> Bolinger (1989: 42) describes Schubiger's rise-fall as 'simply the A profile with a marked upglide.' But compare his description of profile CA with Schubiger's description of her rise-fall: 'It has been identified ... as a variant of profile A, because of similarities in function' (Bolinger 1986: 155); 'It is an emotional variant of the fall' (Schubiger 1980: 179). Clearly, Schubiger's rise-fall (a variant of the fall) corresponds to Bolinger's (1986) profile CA (a variant of profile A). For a more precise definition of Bolinger's profiles, see section 7.3.1.

declination slope,<sup>2</sup> their 'pitch movements take up similar positions with respect to the syllable' and 'the pitch contours can be described in terms of the same set of parameters.' But English moves over three levels as opposed to two in Dutch; there are differences in pitch movements 'with respect to slope, duration and range'; and English has more pitch movements than Dutch and a much larger pitch range. Gussenhoven (1983a) formulates a 'Sentence Accent Assignment Rule' (SAAR).<sup>3</sup> His article takes examples mainly from English and Dutch and concludes, *inter alia*, that '[o]n the level of the sentence, ... accent is seen as the major realization of the universal concepts of focus and mode<sup>4</sup> in languages like Dutch and English' (*ibid.* 415), but that English and Dutch differ in their application of polarity focus.

It is safe to say, therefore, that intonationally and in terms of accent placement Dutch and English have been shown (experimentally) to be quite similar. However, there are some differences as well, which point to English having a more varied intonation. Whether this is due only to MPs in Dutch having some of the functions that intonation has in English seems to me to be a matter for debate. Nevertheless, we can agree with Schubiger that some of the functions carried by intonation in English are at least partially carried by MPs in German and Dutch.

As yet nothing has been said about the way in which MPs and intonation interact even though there is no doubt that such interaction exists. We need to determine its nature in relation to (i) the basic illocutionary frames in which MPs occur (DECL, INT and IMP), (ii) the distinction between mitigators and reinforcers made in chapter 3, and (iii) the three layers in which MPs were seen to operate in chapter 6 (Predication (e), Proposition (X) and Illocution (F)). The present chapter first discusses some theoretical aspects of intonation in general. This is followed by an introduction to two models for Dutch intonation. Next, it describes the model according to which intonation is discussed here, which is based on Bolinger (1986). It then looks at the intonation of 'bare' directives in Dutch (i.e. without MPs), and finally at the intonation patterns of directives with MPs.

## 7.1. intonation

In section 5.2.3.2 I made clear that intonation is closely related to accent, but that there are a number of important differences. Both accent and intonation

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<sup>2</sup> Declination 'is the tendency of pitch to float down over the course of an utterance' (De Pijper 1983: 14).

<sup>3</sup> See also the reference to Gussenhoven (1983a and 1983b) in section 5.4.7

<sup>4</sup> Mode is a 'variable specifying whether the sentence is counterassertive or otherwise' (Gussenhoven 1983a: 409).

make use of changes in pitch. What is relevant for accent is the fact that there is a pitch movement on or near the accented syllable, but not its direction (up or down). For an intonation pattern the direction of the pitch movement is the defining feature. Functionally, accentuation is used primarily to signal constituents which have been assigned the pragmatic functions Topic and Focus. They play an important role in organising the informational structure of an utterance, what Hannay (1991) calls 'message management' (cf. section 5.4 above). Intonation, too, plays a role in message management, but whereas accents deal with information, intonation has more to do with another aspect of the message: emotion.

Various models for the analysis of intonation exist. Cruttenden (1986) is a comprehensive study in which the 'nuclear tone' is at the centre of the analysis. This treatment of intonation is based on the notion of the intonation-group, which may be anything 'up to at least a sentence' (*ibid.* 1986: 9).<sup>5</sup> It defines intonation as 'the occurrence of recurring pitch patterns, each of which is used with a set of relatively consistent meanings' (*ibid.*). Pitch is the perceptual counterpart of the acoustic phenomenon of fundamental frequency. It is used to describe 'listeners' judgements as to whether a sound is "high" or "low", whether one sound is "higher" or "lower" than another and by how much, and whether the voice is going "up" or "down" (*ibid.* 4). Each intonation-group can consist of accented and unaccented syllables. An accented syllable is characterized by a noticeable change in pitch. The most salient pitch accent in an intonation-group is the nucleus, which is said to carry primary stress. Other pitch accents in the intonation group carry secondary stress. Tertiary stress is reserved for syllables without pitch accent but whose prominence is the result of more loudness and/or length (*ibid.* 52).<sup>6</sup>

The FG treatment of prosody is still in its infancy. The main bone of contention of one of FG's earlier critics in this respect was that 'there has been no attempt at all to develop a phonetic component' for FG (Van Buuren

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<sup>5</sup> According to Cruttenden (1986: 9, 127 and 129) there is also some evidence that larger chunks of text can be seen as having their own intonation pattern, which has led to the term 'paratone', in analogy with the term 'paragraph' in writing. See also footnote 9 below, and section 5.2.1, footnote 3. Cruttenden does not elaborate on this.

<sup>6</sup> Cruttenden's treatment in this respect is confined to English. The discussion of Dutch intonation by Collier & 't Hart (1981: 20-22) indicates that for Dutch the distinctions between primary, secondary and tertiary stress can be made too: 'Here we deviate from the custom of speaking of just one sentence accent ...; this custom does not seem to take into account the remaining accents, which in experiments with the perception of accent are heard as such at least as well' (*ibid.* 20). Cruttenden (1986: 152-54) is critical of Collier & 't Hart, but the two approaches set out to obtain different objectives. In contrast with Cruttenden's model, the one proposed by Collier & 't Hart is not primarily concerned with meaning. Note also the similarities between Cruttenden's three stress distinctions and Keijsper's (1990: 49-51) analysis discussed in section 5.4.

1985: 41). Dik (1989) contains the beginning of such a component (but cf. Keijsper 1990 for criticism of this). He distinguishes four types of Rises and Falls which make up the prosodic contour of an utterance: Lexical (L), Accent-creating (A), Intonational (I) and Bridging (B) (Dik 1989: 385). L-movements are dominant in tone languages, whereas A-movements are dominant in accent languages like Dutch and English. B-movements 'are auxiliary movements which serve to clear the way for a new Rise or Fall' (*ibid.* 386). Among the A-movements Dik (*ibid.* 385) distinguishes A-Rise ('a rise in pitch "towards" the accent-bearing syllabic nucleus'), A-Fall ('a fall in pitch "from" the accent-bearing nucleus') and an A-Rise/Fall ('a combination of A-Rise and A-Fall on the accent-bearing nucleus'). I-movements 'do not create accents. Their main inflection does not cover the nucleus of the syllable. Inside the clause they act as boundary markers, at the end they serve to express illocutionary and other communicative distinctions' (*ibid.*). There are I-Falls and I-Rises, although Dik also allows the possibility of a 'non-rising, non-falling level tone, which would be a third type of boundary marker' (*ibid.* 386). In view of my comments on the distinction between accent and intonation at the beginning of this section, Dik's strict separation of A-movements and I-movements seems somewhat artificial. The functions Dik associates exclusively with I-movements may also be associated with A-movements, as long as the direction of the movement is accounted for.

Like Cruttenden's approach, Bolinger's (1986) is meaning-based. He distinguishes between 'profiles' and 'contours'. Profiles are 'shapes determined by how the pitch jump [i.e. the change in pitch, *rv*] cuing the accent is realized' (*ibid.* 139). These jumps may be up or down. The scope of a profile 'is the limit of intonational movement that can occur on a one-syllable word' (*ibid.* 141). The reasoning behind this is that a single monosyllabic word can only contain one accent and 'this allows us to demonstrate how much intonational ornamentation, so to speak, can surround one accent' (*ibid.*). As a consequence there is a limited number of basic profiles. Bolinger recognizes six. He creates a grammatical metaphor to illustrate the relationship between profiles ('the minimum MORPHOLOGICAL units of intonation') and contours ('the SYNTACTIC units') (*ibid.* 140). 'A contour is the shape of a *complete* intonation. Contours are to profiles more or less what sentences are to words' (*ibid.* 254). Contours are made up of profiles and their meanings can be defined in terms of the meanings of the profiles they contain, because 'the profiles have functional roles ... which permit the grouping of variants around prototypical shapes: an A profile, for example, has a meaning that remains constant despite variations that contribute secondary meanings' (*ibid.* 140). Bolinger estimates that the average number of profiles per contour is two, and that the frequency of one-word (i.e. one-profile) utterances is very high (*ibid.* 254). His discussion of the individual profiles and their possible

combinations into contours is extremely rich and elaborate, not only in descriptive but also in functional terms. Because of this, it is this descriptive framework that will be used here to discuss the interaction between MPs and intonation in Dutch.<sup>7</sup>

Bolinger (1986) tried to take on board all possible aspects of intonation and published a further volume on the subject three years later (Bolinger (1989)). The present analysis (which could not even begin to do justice to the breadth and depth of Bolinger's work) will be limited largely to the basic profiles. The reason for this limitation is a practical one: many directives of the kind we are looking at are simply one-profile utterances. Moreover, other aspects of intonation can only be given the merest mention. Bolinger notes that 'the speaker has the greatest freedom to ad-lib. It is always open season for relative heights, for widths of drops, for direction of tilts, for substitution of monotones, and for ranging into creak or falsetto, not to mention such nonintentional factors as drawling, breathy voice, and tremolo' (*ibid.* 257). Monotones will be discussed later (see sections 7.3.2.6 and 7.4.4 on 'stylization' below), but some of the other points mentioned require a brief illustration.

A pitch jump can span a wide or a narrow gap. Speakers can show, or affect to show, certain emotions by speaking at the lowest or the highest points of their range (creaky voice or falsetto), or modulate the quality of their voice in other ways (e.g. by speaking slowly or whispering). For other effects, the voice can graduate up or down at the end of a profile without jumping. This is referred to as 'tilt' and it is the direction of the tilt that creates the effect.

'Relative height' refers to the possibility for a speaker to start high or low in her or his range. This is related to Cruttenden's (1986) 'key' and 'register'. Conceive of pitch range as a band with a top line and a bottom line, both of which may be varied. Variations in key occur when the top line is raised, whereas variations in register involve the raising of the bottom line.<sup>8</sup> Key is primarily used as a discourse organising device in longer stretches of spoken language, although there is some use for it in shorter stretches of speech as well.<sup>9</sup> A high register can be observed when people are using

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7. This choice does not imply a rejection *per se* of Cruttenden's nuclear tone model, but Bolinger's model is richer in illustrative power. For a discussion of the relative merits of Bolinger's vis-a-vis the 'British-style analysis' see Bolinger (1986: 361 ff.), and the references there.

8. Lowering of these lines does not usually occur, because 'speakers normally use only the bottom third of their potential pitch range in speech ... Hence the "normal" register used by speakers is low, and high registers are generally marked in some way' (Cruttenden 1986: 129). The exception is the use of a creaky voice.

9. 'The most consistently remarked use of key is to indicate the beginning and end of a topic: high key indicates the beginning of a new topic and low key indicates the end of a topic' (Cruttenden 1986: 129). The reference in footnote 5 above to 'paratones' (see also section 5.2.1, footnote 3), the oral equivalent of paragraphs in writing, must be seen in this context.



directives while trying to be very friendly at the same time.<sup>10</sup> Thus, in Dutch someone would invite a friend in with:

2. Kom maar binnen.  
Come MP inside.  
Do come in.

in a normal register, but to a child it would be said with an exaggeratedly high onset<sup>11</sup> and hence in a high register. Especially in short directives of one or two words the pitch in the onset can vary considerably.<sup>12</sup>

These aspects of intonation are briefly mentioned here only to illustrate its multi-faceted nature. In addition, Bolinger (1986) contains an extremely revealing chapter about the interplay between intonation and gesture (the 'kinesics' referred to by Brown & Levinson 1987: 190, note 37; see section 7.0 above), which shows that high and rising intonation patterns coincide with upward movements of the head, eyes and hands, and falling and low intonation patterns with downward movements.

The remainder of this chapter will be restricted to the description of Bolinger's profiles and the way they interact with directives with and without MPs. However, first we will look at two other models of Dutch intonation proposed by Dutch linguists. The Institute for Perception Research (IPO) in Eindhoven has developed a productive model based on perceptual studies (Collier & 't Hart 1981; 't Hart *et al.* 1990). The IPO model is not concerned with semantic aspects of intonation. However, Keijsper (1984) proposes an interpretative analysis of the meaning of Dutch intonation which is based on the IPO model. The IPO model provides a powerful formal framework that can be linked consistently with the functional aspects of intonation discussed here. For that reason it is described in some detail.

## 7.2. models of Dutch intonation

The model of 't Hart *et al.* (1990) (which has also been applied to other languages, notably (British) English, German and Russian) is made up of several components. For Dutch they start with ten 'pitch movements' which are defined according to a feature analysis based on five features. These

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Low key is used to indicate parenthesis.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the discussion of Brown & Levinson's (1987: 135) example in section 7.0 above.

<sup>11</sup> 'Onset' is a term used by Cruttenden for the first high accent (*ibid.* 129).

<sup>12</sup> Brown & Levinson (1987: 268) point to the use of a high-pitched voice to show deference in certain societies, and Cruttenden (1986: 130) links this with the conventionalized use of high register in a similar way in English and elsewhere. This is the case in Dutch too.

movements have been arrived at by simplification and stylization processes which filter out 'irrelevant detail' (*ibid.* 40). They combine into 'configurations' which in turn are combined into 'contours' according to a 'grammar of intonation' consisting of eight rules (*ibid.* 157-160). Finally, intonation contours, accentuation and constituent order<sup>13</sup> are mapped onto each other in a process called 'Tune and Text association'. There are two accentuation rules (*ibid.* 161-162) and two 'syntactic bracketing' rules (*ibid.* 162-163).

The ten pitch movements are defined according to the features [rise], [early], [late], [spread] and [full] (*ibid.* 153). The interpretation of the first feature is obvious: [+rise] indicates a rising movement, [-rise] a falling movement. The feature [spread] indicates whether a movement occurs in one syllable, [-spread], or over more than one, [+spread]. The feature [full] indicates whether a movement occurs over a speaker's full range (or rather in IPO terms: whether it 'covers the full distance between the lower and upper declination lines'). [+full] is referred to as the 'standard size', and [-full] 'indicates that the movement is smaller than the standard size.' The timing of the movements can be 'near the beginning of the voiced part of the syllable', [+early], or near the end, [+late]. But it can also occur near the middle, in which case it is both [-early] and [-late]. There are five rising movements, labelled /1/-/5/, and five falling movements: /A/-/E/. Their feature definitions are given in table 7.1.

	/1/	/2/	/3/	/4/	/5/	/A/	/B/	/C/	/D/	/E/
rise	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
early	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
late	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
spread	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
full	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-

table 7.1 pitch movements and their feature composition ('t Hart *et al.* 1990: 153)

Note that the [-full] feature of /5/ and /E/ are not each other's mirror images. The [-full] rise of /5/ always appears at the end of another rise (/1/ or /4/) and is immediately followed by a fall /A/ in the same syllable: /15&A/ or /45&A/.<sup>14</sup> It is a small excursion above the upper declination line. /E/, on

<sup>13</sup> 't Hart *et al.* (1990: 160-163) actually talk of 'syntax' rather than constituent order: 'we make use of phrase markers with labelled brackets that indicate the nature of the syntactic constituents (phrase, clause, sentence) and their boundaries'. I have substituted the FG terminology.

<sup>14</sup> & indicates that the two movements it combines occur in the same syllable.

the other hand, is always a movement down from the upper declination line of about half the standard size.

In Tune and Text association, accentuation is regulated by a rule which assigns the feature [+prominence lending] ([+PL]) to the movements /1/, /3/, /A/ and /E/. Two further rules deal with marking boundaries, whereby /B/ can receive the feature [+PB] (phrase boundary), and /2/ and /3C/ can receive the feature [+CB] (clause boundary).

The intonational context in which a particular movement may occur is strictly limited: '[a] particular rise or fall can only be found just before or after one of a limited set of other rises and falls' (*ibid.* 78). Such 'close-knit units' (*ibid.* 154) are called 'configurations'. Some configurations consist of a single movement. Three kinds of configurations are distinguished: Prefixes, Roots and Suffixes. The analogy with morphology is limited to the formal criterion that roots are independent movements occurring obligatorily, whereas prefixes and suffixes are optionally attached to a root. The morphological analogy does not have a semantic correlate. In addition, prefixes (but not suffixes) may be recursive, i.e. they may be preceded or followed by other prefixes. A contour consists of one of six root configurations with or without prefixes and suffixes.

The six root configurations are /1A/, /4A/, /3C/, /1E/, /1/ and /2/. /1B/ is the basic prefix configuration. /2/ is the only suffix configuration. According to certain rules in the 'intonation grammar' configurations can be expanded, reduced or changed. Thus, /5/ can be inserted into /1A/ and /4A/ following rule 7. According to rule 6, /1/ in /1A/ or /1E/ may be deleted. This allows a contour to start with a high onset pitch followed by a fall, rather than starting with a rise, which is normally the 'basic form' of all contours. By means of rule 2, /A/ in /1A/ and /4A/ can become [+spread], i.e. change to /D/. The same rule allows /B/ in the prefix configuration to change to /D/ too. And rule 8 changes /1B/, which is the basic prefix configuration, to /3B/ or /4B/.

However, the six root configurations are more basic than such derived contours and therefore the term 'intonation pattern' is reserved for these roots. Derived contours (including contours with prefixes and/or suffixes) are shown in experiments to 'derive their "pattern identity" from the properties of their Root configuration' (*ibid.* 88). 't Hart *et al.* (*ibid.*) see in this confirmation of the value of configurations as 'descriptive unit[s]'

Keijsper (1984: 123) abstracts eight meaningful intonation contours for Dutch which are based on the IPO model. Not all the IPO movements play a meaningful part. Notable absences are the gradual movements (4 and D), which seem to correspond to Bolinger's notion of 'tilt' (see section 7.1 above).

Keijsper's shapes can be classified as follows (with their IPO correspondences):<sup>15</sup>

- I the basic accent for assertions; IPO: /1A/.
- II an open-ended accent because something else is yet to follow; IPO: /1/ and/or /3/ (in the latter case it must be followed by /C/ according to IPO's intonation grammar, which is shape VIII below).
- III an assertion in which the referent is not new; IPO: /A/.
- IV an assertion in which the referent's non-existence is excluded; IPO: /5A/.
- V an assertion in which the statement made is superfluous; IPO: /1E/.
- VI a (non-accentuating?)<sup>16</sup> fall marking a boundary which indicates that what precedes and what follows 'belong to different information units'; IPO: /B/.
- VII a non-accentuating rise which implies a boundary; IPO: /2/.
- VIII a non-accentuating fall, implying a boundary and opposed to VII; IPO: /C/ (see shape II).

Keijsper expresses considerable doubt about some of her shapes. She is not certain whether IV must be considered to be an independent shape or a variant of I. The insertion rule for /5/ into /1A/ and /4A/ of 't Hart *et al.* (1990: 159) (which was discussed above) makes clear that IV is indeed a mere variant. The meanings to be ascribed to the boundary markers VI, VII and VIII are very tentative too. Another problem with Keijsper's meaning definitions is the vagueness of some of them. II and III in particular (and IV, if it is accepted as an independent shape) need elaborations and illustrations to clarify them. The merit of this analysis is that it makes use of the insights gained by the experimental-phonetic IPO approach and attempts to translate the descriptive IPO model into a significant semantic and pragmatic analysis.

We will come back to the correspondences between the configurations of 't Hart *et al.* and Bolinger's profiles in section 7.3.1, and to the correspondences between Keijsper's shapes and the ways in which Bolinger's profiles are used in section 7.3.2.

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<sup>15</sup> Keijsper's (1984: 123) formulations for these meaning correspondences are very abstract and have been paraphrased here.

<sup>16</sup> Keijsper does not say whether this is an accentuating movement or not. However, the other boundary markers (VII and VIII) are also non-accentuating. Moreover, VI corresponds to IPO /2/, which cannot be given prominence.

### 7.3. Bolinger's profiles

Since one of the aims of this section is to show that on the whole Bolinger's profiles also reflect the Dutch intonational situation, the profiles described in this section will be illustrated with Dutch examples as much as possible. Only where there is doubt as to the existence of a profile in Dutch will English examples be given.

#### 7.3.1. description of the profiles

Three of Bolinger's six profiles (A, B and C) are 'primary' in that they consist of one pitch movement. The other three (AC, CA and CAC) are more complex. In addition, there is a fourth non-primary profile (CB), which is treated as a form of profile C. Following Bolinger, they will be illustrated first of all with a monosyllabic name (in the examples (3)-(8) below in the phrase *met Kees*, literally: 'with Kees', which is how a person called Kees announces himself on the telephone).<sup>17</sup>

Profile A is '[t]he commonest shape' (Bolinger 1986: 141), and is defined as "[a]ccent at a relatively high pitch followed by a jump down" (*ibid.* 142). It is the movement down from the accent that is its defining character.

Ké

3. Met  
es.

It corresponds primarily to IPO configuration /1A/, the so-called 'pointed hat'.<sup>18</sup> However, it seems that IPO's /4A/ and /3C/ can both also be subsumed

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<sup>17</sup> The transcription conventions used are kept as simple as possible. Since we are mostly dealing with profiles (i.e. single accent utterances), references to Topic and Focus will be kept to a minimum. Accented syllables are indicated by an acute accent on the vowel in that syllable. The direction of each intonation pattern (up or down) will be indicated by using the lines above and below the example, like this:

Kées.	Met	Ké
i. Met	ii.	iii. Met
		es.

where (i) is a jump upwards, (ii) a jump downwards, and (iii) indicates a movement up to the accented syllable immediately followed by a jump down within that syllable. The line which has the example number in front of it is the baseline. At the end of an utterance the intonation may drift slightly below the baseline, as in, for example, (8).

<sup>18</sup> There is also a 'flat hat' which in Bolinger's analysis is a profile B followed by a profile A. See section 7.3.2.2. The two 'hats' are very different in Bolinger's analysis, but the IPO model puts them together.

under Bolinger's profile A. And considering the discussion of /5/ above, so are the contours /15&A/ and /45&A/.

'In profile B the accent is jumped up *to*' (*ibid.* 152) and then sustained more or less at the higher level:

4. Met                   Kées.

In fact, the representation given in (4) does not quite do justice to profile B. It seems to suggest that the syllable is kept level once it has been stepped up to. However, after the accent the syllable normally has an upward 'tail':

5. Met                   Ké  
                                  es.

Thus, profile B corresponds to IPO's /1/, or more precisely, root /1/ followed by suffix /2/: /1&2/ as in example (5), or /12/.

As we will see later, this profile is most closely associated with questions. Its translation would have to reflect that. Example (3) (profile A) would be translated as: *It's Kees (speaking)*, but the intention of example (5) (profile B) is better reflected in: *Is that Kees (speaking)?*

Whereas with profile A the jump was down from the accent, profile C is characterized by a jump down to the accent:

6. Met                   Kées.

Like profile B, Profile C is not held level at the end, but is normally accompanied by a 'tail'. This tail may be upward or downward:

7. Met                   es.  
                                  Ké

8. Met                   Ké  
                                  es.

The movement in (7) corresponds most closely to IPO's /A&2/. However, the downward tail in (8) can be explained in two ways. Either it is due to the natural downward tilt of the declination, or it is accompanied by a non-accented (and unaccentable) downward movement. The only likely candidate

in IPO's inventory for that movement is /C/. But since /C/ does not occur independently of /3/ in the IPO model, we will have to accept the former explanation and say that it corresponds with IPO's /A/.

With profile AC there is a jump down as with A, but it is followed by a rise:

		Ké	
9.	Met		s.
		e	

It corresponds to IPO's /1A2/. In (9) it occurs on one syllable: /1&A&2/.

Profile CA makes the reverse movement from AC. It starts with a jump down (as for C) followed by quick rise and fall. However, it is doubtful whether Bolinger's profile CA can be distinguished independently for Dutch (see section 7.3.2.5). It suggests the sequence /A/-/3/-/C/ of the IPO model, but that is not a legitimate contour in Dutch. For that reason Bolinger's English example is given here:

		h	
10.	It's		n.
		Jó	

CAC is a combination of CA and AC. It is the rarest of the six profiles 'and is the limit of what one normally encounters on a single syllable' (*ibid.* 141):

		o	
11.	It's		hn.
		Jó	o

Bolinger describes CAC as 'an intensification' (*ibid.* 181) of AC. Moreover, Collier & 't Hart (1981: 35) claim that 'in Dutch a maximum of three pitch movements can occur in any one syllable.' The example they give looks like one of their /1A2/ contours, which corresponds to Bolinger's AC. This would mean that AC is the limit to which a Dutch syllable can stretch, and confirm De Pijper's (1983: 92; see section 7.1 above) comments about the quantitative difference between Dutch and English pitch movements. Therefore, no IPO correspondence for profile CAC is given and it will not be considered further.

**7.3.2. the uses of the profiles**

**7.3.2.1. Profile A**

Profile A 'figures as the ASSERTIVE profile par excellence' (Bolinger 1986: 164). Assertion is typically associated with the declarative illocutionary frame. In this context profile A marks the 'rheme' (*ibid.* 46 ff.), which in FG terms is referred to as New or Completive Focus. In (12) it is put on the past participle at the end of the clause, to indicate that what 'I' have not yet done is 'eaten':

12. Ik heb nog niet ge <sup>gé</sup> ten.  
 I have yet not eaten.  
 I haven't eaten yet.

By their nature, imperatives are of course equally assertive (they lay down the law, assert authority). Indeed, Bolinger's 'accents of power' (*ibid.* chapter 6) tend to be profile A accents. But even interrogatives can be assertive, especially directive interrogatives. (13) is a rebuke for not eating, rather than an inquiry whether someone is hungry:

13. Moet je niet <sup>é</sup> ten?  
 Must you not eat?  
 Should you not have something to eat?

Bolinger associates two profiles A occurring in the same clause to highlight each accented item separately with "separateness" (*ibid.* 165). This links profile A to his 'accents of interest' (*ibid.* chapter 7). Thus, (14) is a translation of his example, given in reply to the question 'What's wrong?' (*ibid.* 165):

14. Haar <sup>écht</sup> genoot is <sup>ón</sup> ver gelukt.  
 Her husband has been in an accident.  
 Her husband has been in an accident.

It can be paraphrased as: "Her husband is what's wrong - he was in an accident" (*ibid.* 166). In contrast, (15) does not make that separation, for example if it were the reply to the question 'What's wrong with her husband?':



15. Haar echtgenoot is ver ón gelukt.

A similar separation can be seen in enumerations in which every item is equally important. Consider (16) in reply to the question 'What has been stolen?':

16. De tee e, de cee espeler, de  
The tv, the cd-player, the
- vé dé
- gé
- ví
- deo en ld.  
video and money.

Bolinger's profile A corresponds to Keijsper's (1984) shape I, which was defined in section 7.2 as 'the basic accent for assertions'.

### 7.3.2.2. Profile B

Profile B contrasts with profile A in that it connects rather than separates. In this sense B is often the thematic accent as opposed to A's rhematic nature. In this way it often interacts with profile A in the so-called 'hat pattern' (*ibid.* 46 ff.).<sup>19</sup> In response to a question like 'Where is your bike?' (17) is a possibility:

17. Mijn fiets is ge stó len.  
My bike has been stolen.

The step up of B to *fiets* introduces the event and connects it to the second half and the step down of A from *-sto-* which finishes it. The same hat pattern can be observed in sentences with two clauses, where the first clause has a

<sup>19</sup>. See also Collier & 't Hart 1981: *passim*, 't Hart *et al.* 1990: *passim*, section 7.3.1 above and footnote 18.

B profile which sets the theme, and the second clause has a rhematic A profile.<sup>20</sup> This is particularly clear in the case of conditional clauses:

18. Als je wilt slágen, moet je hard wér ken.  
 If you want succeed, must you hard work.  
 If you want to succeed, you must work hard.

19. Doe de déur dicht, dan tócht het niet.  
 Do the door closed, then draughts it not.  
 If you close the door, there won't be a draught.

A similar connectedness can be seen when qualifiers are used to enhance rather than to inform. Bolinger (1986: 169 ff.) has as an example (20):

20. You're a róttén lí ar.

in which *rotten* is used as an epithet to *liar*. In contrast, with an A profile on *rotten* the speaker expresses a low opinion of his hearer's qualities as a liar, as in (21):<sup>21</sup>

21. You're a rót ten lí ar.

If B profiles are used in a list, the effect is much less urgent than in the case of A profiles. Consider (22) in reply to the question 'What has been stolen?' in contrast with (16):

<sup>20</sup>. In FG terms the profile A accents in (18) and (19) are carried by Focus constituents. However, only in (19) is there a Topic (*deur*) because Topic is associated with entities and not with predicates. *Slagen* in (18) is a predicate.

<sup>21</sup>. Mackenzie (1990: 137) explains the difference between (20) and (21) in FG terms. *Liar* in (20) and (21) is the output of a process known as First-Argument (FA) Nominalization. He distinguishes between partial and full FA nominalization. The output of partial FA nominalization is a verbal noun (VN), whereas the output of full FA nominalization is a full noun (N). VNs are less 'nouny' than Ns. *Liar* in (20) is an N, whereas it is a VN in (21).

22. De tee vée, de cee déespeler, de en vidéo gé ld.

where the intonation suggests something like 'Well, the usual things that get stolen, you know.'

At the end of a clause, profile B is of course the almost prototypical question profile that requires an answer to complete it. Thus, B is incomplete and A the completer, which in a question and answer pair again results in a hat pattern:<sup>22</sup>

23. A: Wat ga je do en? B: Zwém men.  
 A: What go you do? B: Swim.  
 A: What are you going to do? B: Swim.

But in imperatives too, profile B can be used with effect:

24. Leg bal!  
 néer die  
 Lay down that ball!  
 Put that ball down!

The incompleteness creates great tension and suggests a completion by means of the expression of a sanction (with profile A) which, however, often remains unspoken:

<sup>22</sup> The hat pattern is not necessarily always so readily recognizable in visual representations. The response of B in (23) may be a full clause rather than just the infinitive *zwemmen*. In that case the intervening words may occur at or near the baseline followed by an A profile on *zwemmen*:

A: Wat ga je do en? B: Ik ga zwém men.  
 A: What go you do? B: I go swim.  
 A: What are you going to do? B: I'm going swimming.

This is still a profile B followed by a profile A.

- bal
25.                    néer die                    of    je    krijgt een    rode   ká                    art.  
 Leg  
 Lay down that ball or you get a red card.  
 Put that ball down or you'll be shown a red card.

'One way or another, the B profile leaves things in suspense' (*ibid.* 178) seems a very apt summary of the effect of profile B. Bolinger's profile B corresponds to Keijsper's (1984) shape II, which was defined in section 7.2 above as 'an open-ended accent because something else is yet to follow'.

### 7.3.2.3. Profile C

On a number of occasions Bolinger describes profile C as the mirror image of profile A. Physically, it was noted in section 7.3.1 above that whereas profile A, as in (26), jumps down from the accent, profile C in (27) jumps down to it:

- krán
26. Verkoopt    u                    ten?  
 Sell            you   papers?  
 Do you sell newspapers?
- Verkoopt    u    geen                    ten?
27.                    krán  
 Sell            you   no   papers?  
 Don't you sell any newspapers?

In a similar way, profile A introduces something new, whereas profile C is used when speaker and listener already know what they are talking about. 'Where A tends to play up, to emphasize, to suggest contrast or newness, C plays down, deemphasizes, and often implies foreknowledge' (*ibid.* 178). In (26) the speaker's request for newspapers is almost context-free, whereas (27) would be uttered in a shop that may well be expected to sell newspapers and expresses the speaker's surprise at not seeing any.<sup>23</sup> It is commonly used 'for reassurance' (*ibid.*) or familiarity, and it often sounds restrained or subdued. Compare the enthusiastic way in which praise is given with profile A in (28), and the restrained manner in which it is done in (29) by means of profile C:

<sup>23</sup>. In terms of Topic and Focus *kranten* is a Focus constituent in (26), but a Topic in (27).

28. G óe d zo!  
 Good so.  
 Very good!

29. zo.  
 Góed

The nature of profile C makes it suitable for any type of clause, whether declarative, imperative or question: 'any of them may at times need to be played down or softened in some way' (*ibid.* 179). We saw this with an interrogative in (27). An example of a played-down declarative is (30), and of an imperative (31) in which somebody soothes a child:

30. Het smaakt lék ker.  
 It tastes nice.

31. Droog je tráantjes maar.  
 Dry your tearsDIM MP.  
 Just dry your tears.

Bolinger's profile C corresponds to Keijsper's (1984) shape III, which was defined in section 7.2 above as 'an assertion in which the referent is not new'.

#### 7.3.2.4. Profile AC

Bolinger clubs AC and CAC together, because they 'share a terminal rise that adds "incompletion" to the overall effect of A' (*ibid.* 181). This incompleteness is reflected in their uses, which include greetings and farewells (*ibid.*):

32. Hé, ló o!  
 hal o  
 Hey, hello!

- dá  
ag!
33. Nou, a  
Well, bye!

and admonitions (*ibid.* 183):

- dóe  
n!
34. Niet oe  
Not do.  
Don't do that!

In Dutch AC seems particularly appropriate for tag questions which seek confirmation:

- lá
35. Wat hebben we ge hen?  
                  chen,  
What have we laughed, eh?  
We had quite a laugh, didn't we?

Bolinger's profile AC does not correspond to any of Keijsper's (1984) shapes discussed in section 7.2 above.

### 7.3.2.5. Profile CA

Profile CA is seen by Bolinger as an emphatic version of A. He claims (*ibid.* 159) that it was a favourite intonation pattern of Winston Churchill's, but quotes Schubiger's (1979) assertion that German prefers to use MPs instead. This can also be said for Dutch, where the independent occurrence of profile CA is doubtful (see section 7.3.1 above). For example, in English one could express one's approval of someone by saying:

- i  
ce!
36. He's ní

This would be rendered in Dutch not with a CA, but with a C profile followed by a rising tilt:

37. Hij is dig.  
áár

or an exaggerated A:

38. Hij is dig!  
áár

It is interesting that Bolinger (1986) does not give examples with questions in his discussion of profile CA. In view of the doubts expressed about this profile in Dutch and its general obscurity<sup>24</sup> (even in English), it will not be considered in the rest of this chapter.

Bolinger also discusses a profile CB, although it does not figure in his first list (*ibid.* 141) and he later proposes to treat it as a subtype of profile C (*ibid.* 161). It will not be discussed here either.

#### 7.3.2.6. stylization

By 'stylization' Bolinger (1986: 226-34) means the use of monotones as against naturally flowing rises and falls. Monotone is defined (*ibid.* 223) as having 'pitch [held] steady at a given height, with marked effect if it lasts long enough. A monotone may of course be combined with movement, to or from or both.' Utterances spoken entirely in monotone are rare. In Bolinger's (*ibid.* 226) example:<sup>25</sup>

39. Daddy forgot his brief:  
cáse:

'the implication is that daddy is habitually absentminded ... The action is "one that can be expected from daddy" - something routine, commonplace, everyday ... we take it as a reminder of something already known' (*ibid.* 226-7). This meaning of routineness means that stylization is more likely with falls than with rises. Bolinger would not want to go so far as to say that a monotone expresses boredom, but he suggests that it means "nothing to get excited about" (*ibid.* 231).

In Dutch, this stylization seems to be confined to profile C (and indeed most of Bolinger's examples end with a C profile as well) and the jump down is not

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<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to note that Bolinger (1989) contains an index of profiles and contours discussed there, in which CA, CB and CAC clearly play a very minor role too.

<sup>25</sup> Underscoring is used in stylized examples for monotone and a colon for lengthening of syllables.

very far, giving the impression that only half the usual jump has been made. One interesting characteristic is that because of the lengthening that also takes place, a stylized C on a single syllable has the effect of creating a second one, cf. (40) and (41) where it falls on the name *Jan* and the verb *staan*, which are both monosyllabic, respectively:

40. Ja:  
       hán!
41. Je      moet blijven      sta:  
       You must remain      stand.  
       You must stand still!       háán!

Bolinger's stylized C corresponds to Keijsper's (1984) shape V, which was defined in section 7.2 above as 'an assertion in which the statement made is superfluous', and to IPO configuration /1E/.

### 7.3.2.7. *intonation, mitigation and reinforcement*

To sum up, Bolinger proposes four prominent profiles: A, B, C and AC and two (or three) much less prominent ones (CA, CAC and CB). Moreover he posits a stylized form of at least some profiles, whose meaning is an expression of routine. A, B, C and AC occur in Dutch as well, but CA, CAC and CB, which are quite rare in English anyway, appear to be even less prominent in Dutch if not totally absent. Stylization occurs in Dutch in profile C. Therefore, we will limit ourselves to the four main profiles and stylization in the following discussion about the interaction between intonation and directives. A summary of Bolinger's main profiles and their correspondences with Keijsper (1984) and the IPO model is given in table 7.2.

The introduction to this chapter alluded to the connection between intonation and politeness with reference to Brown & Levinson (1987). In chapters 2 and 3 I argued that politeness was an aspect of the much wider phenomenon of mitigation, which has as its opposite reinforcement. By extension it can be argued that there is a close link between intonation on the one hand and mitigation and reinforcement on the other, as indeed Dik (1989: 397) does (see section 6.3 above).



Bolinger	Keijsper	IPO	meaning
A	I	1A 4A 3C	assertion
	IV	15A 45A	
B	II	1 12	openendedness
C	III	A A2	foreknowledge
AC	--	1A2	incompleteness
stylization	V	1E	routine

table 7.2 Bolinger's (1986) profiles in comparison with Keijsper (1984) and 't Hart *et al.* (1990)

An obvious interpretation of this connection would be to assume that certain profiles are used as mitigators, whereas others are used as reinforcers. Bolinger's (1978) survey of intonation patterns across languages shows some remarkable cross-linguistic tendencies in the use of falling and rising tones in relation to sentence type. Cruttenden (1986: 168-169) expands on this and comes up with the following list:

<b>Falling</b>	<b>Rising</b>
Neutral statement	tentative statement
	Yes/no question
Sentence final	Sentence non-final
Neutral question word	Sympathetic question word
Command	Request
(reinforcing adverb)	(limiting adverb)

The last two are in brackets because Cruttenden has no corroborating evidence from languages other than English. He then goes on to make a few statements about these two lists. He suggests the labels 'closed' and 'open', because he discerns a 'generally assertive and non-continuative' (*ibid.* 168) meaning in falling intonations, and the opposite in rising intonations. Furthermore, 'the distinction between fall and rise is sometimes replaced by the distinction between low and high.' In other words, for open meanings we

should be looking at rising intonation patterns and/or high tones, for closed meanings at falling intonation patterns and/or low tones.

Cruttenden's lists and his characterization of the labels 'open' and 'closed' suggest that mitigation and reinforcement fit into this dichotomy. Section 3.3 stated that reinforcement strengthens the speaker's commitment to an utterance and mitigation weakens it. Reinforcement was described as 'an over-arching, inclusive feature of certain words expressing such things as assertiveness, certainty, definiteness, positiveness, significance or specificity.' This mirrors the assertiveness of Cruttenden's 'closed' meaning, which is expressed by falling intonations, commands as opposed to requests, neutral statements and question words, and reinforcing adverbs. Mitigation was said in section 3.3. to express 'such things as non-assertiveness, doubt, indefiniteness, negativity, insignificance or generality.' This corresponds closely to the non-assertiveness of Cruttenden's 'open' meaning, which is expressed by rising intonations, requests as opposed to commands, tentative statements, sympathetic question words and limiting adverbs.

It should be possible, then, to class generally falling profiles as reinforcers, and generally rising profiles as mitigators. So far, B has been the only rising profile, and the evidence has been conflicting. On the one hand we saw something approaching mitigation in example (22), certainly when compared with the use of profile A in (16): whereas (16) can be read as an assertion, (22) is non-assertive. But (24), on the other hand, is hard to interpret as being mitigated by profile B. A clearer picture will emerge from the following discussion of the intonation of directives.

#### **7.4. the intonation of 'bare' directives**

We saw in section 7.3.2 that profiles are not strictly linked to specific sentence types, or illocutionary frames as we have called them. Profile B, for example, may be the profile traditionally associated with questions, particularly yes-no questions, but that does not mean that other profiles do not occur in questions, nor that other illocutionary frames spurn profile B. '[N]o intonation is an infallible clue to any sentence type: any intonation that can occur with a statement, a command, or an exclamation can also occur with a question' (Bolinger 1989: 98). Care must be taken not to talk, for example, of 'a typical question intonation', because in different contexts different intonation patterns will be typical. And although this is true of any illocutionary frame, it is particularly important when discussing interrogatives, because they are so often associated with a 'typical' intonation pattern. The following sub-sections review the intonational possibilities of directives in the three illocutionary frames we are concerned with in terms of the four profiles identified in the previous sections: A, B, C and AC. We

begin with interrogatives, followed by the declarative illocutionary frame. The imperative illocutionary frame is discussed last.<sup>26</sup>

#### 7.4.1. *the interrogative illocutionary frame*

Formally, the interrogatives used as directives are yes-no questions. We shall not be concerned with other kinds of questions here, although different rules apply to, for example, wh-questions. 'Wh questions have their own partial restrictions, not identical to those of yes-no questions. The B + AC contour, for example, though not highly frequent, is found more often [with wh-questions] than with yes-no questions because of the generally more demanding nature of wh questions' (*ibid.* 106).

As stated above, profile B is the quintessential profile for yes-no questions. However, it is questionable whether an interrogative with profile B has any directive force. Questions like (42) and (43) with profile B are more questions about inherent modality, i.e. they ask after the addressee's willingness to sit down or ability to telephone. (42) is then at best an invitation, and (43) has no directive force at all.

ten?  
zít

42. Wil je gaan  
Want you go sit?  
Do you want to/Will you sit down?

len?  
bel  
óp

43. Kun je me  
Can you me up ring?  
Can you ring me up?

In more complex utterances, however, profile B can be used with directive force when the interrogative is followed by a declarative with profile A. They then form the well-known hat pattern:

---

<sup>26</sup> Ideally, the research on which the following observations are based should have been carried out on authentic material like that collected by the IPO. Unfortunately, the IPO did not have any data on directives with MPs at its disposal (confirmed by fax from Jacques Terken, dated 24/30 January 1992). Consequently, the following discussion is based on introspection.

44. Kun je gaan zitten, dan be <sup>gín</sup> nen we.  
 Can you go sit, then begin we.  
 Can you sit down, so we can begin.

In (44) this creates a type of conditional clause not unlike the ones we saw in examples (18) and (19) in section 7.3.2.2. This accords with what was said in that section about the hat pattern and B's sense of 'connectedness'.

In contrast, profile A, with its assertive nature, does put a great deal of directive force on an interrogative. (45) is an order or a request, but certainly not a question about inherent modality:

45. Wil je daarmee <sup>óp</sup> houden?  
 Will you that with stop?  
 Will you stop that?!

A similar interrogative with profile AC is less assertive, but still maintains a great deal of directiveness. If AC generally expresses "incompletion" (Bolinger 1986: 181), in a directive interrogative like (46) the incompleteness manifests itself as impatience. The speaker intimates that he or she has made the request of the addressee a number of times before and is losing his or her patience waiting for action:

46. Kun je <sup>stíl</sup> n?  
<sup>zij</sup>  
 Can you quiet be?  
 Can you be quiet?!

'The C profile is common with yes-no questions ... and carries its usual downplaying nuances, for "courtesy," "restraint," "reassurance," etc.' (Bolinger 1989: 103). A more negative downplaying nuance would be 'dismissal, condescension' as in (47), where the C has a downward tail at the end.

47.           Kun je       het  
                                  licht niet  
  aan  
  doen?  
Can you the light not on do?  
Can't you switch on the light?

With an A profile (either on *licht* or on *aan*) and without the negative polarity operator *niet*, (47) would be a clear order, and with AC (with a rise on *licht* followed by a fall on *aan* and a slight rise on *doen*) the result would again be slight impatience.

If the C profile has an upward tail, the condescension is absent and the restraint and courtesy come through. The difference between A and C in this context is that in (48) it is already obvious from the context or the situation that the speaker needs help, whereas this would not be the case with profile A. C with an upward tail thus becomes an appeal.<sup>27</sup>

48.           Kun je       me           pen?  
                                  hél  
Can you me help?  
Can you help me?

The interrogative illocutionary frame can thus occur with all four profiles. With profile B the directive force is absent, except when it is followed by a fall later on in the utterance, resulting in a hat pattern. Just a B on an interrogative results in a question about the expressed inherent modality. With profile A interrogatives virtually become orders. Profile AC results in an expression of impatience, and with profile C there is restraint. With a rising tail the restraint is polite and appeals to the addressee, but without a terminal rise the result is an expression of condescension.

#### 7.4.2.       *the declarative illocutionary frame*

Much of what has been said about the interrogative goes for the declarative as well. Profile B does not occur on its own on a statement with *moeten*. Indeed, the English translation of (49) would be equally ungrammatical with a B profile.

---

<sup>27</sup> I shall refer to C + downward tail as 'low C' or 'C-', and to C + upward tail as 'C+rise' or 'C+'.

- men.  
kó  
49. \*Je moet  
You must come.

However, a B+A contour (creating a 'hat') is perfectly acceptable. Again, as with examples (18), (19) and (44), this creates a theme-rheme order, with *boek* in (50) being the Topic and *slagen* the Focus constituent.

- bóek lezen, als je wilt slá  
50. Je moet dit gen.  
You must this book read, if you want succeed.  
You will have to read this book if you want to succeed.

A profile A creates an assertive command:

- óp  
51. Je moet staan.  
You must up stand.  
You must get up.

The AC profile carries with it impatience:

- dóor  
52. U moet pen.  
lo  
You must through walk.  
You must walk on.

The differentiation we saw in the interrogative illocutionary frame between a profile C with and without a terminal rise also applies to declaratives. When there is a downward tail, as in (53), the tone is sullen: the speaker is condescending to ask the addressee for help. A terminal rise results in a tone of near exasperation. This pattern is characterized by a high onset and a tilt down, followed by the C+rise, as in (54).

- Je moet me  
53. hél  
pen.  
You must me help.  
You must help me.

54. Je moet me helpen!

The speaker in (53) is asking for the addressee's support without really wanting to, whereas the speaker in (54) really does not know what to do next and is appealing for the addressee's help.

A rising tail is also possible on a C profile if it is followed by another fall, forming another type of 'hat':

55. Je moet me helpen dit probleem op te lossen.  
 You must help me solve this problem.  
 You must help me solve this problem.

The declarative illocutionary frame, then, behaves much as the interrogative does. Profile B is only possible with a directive reading when it occurs in a declarative in a larger 'hat' pattern. With profile A declarative directives result in commands, and with AC in expressions of impatience. When a profile C is kept low, the downplaying effect leads to condescension and with a terminal rise to a very strong appeal.

**7.4.3. *the imperative illocutionary frame***

After the interrogative and declarative frames, the imperative illocutionary frame holds few surprises. A B profile is possible in a 'hat':

56. Doe die deur dicht want het draught.  
 Do that door shut for it is draught.  
 Shut that door, because there's a draught.

However, the imperative illocutionary frame is the only one in which profile B can also occur on its own with a directive reading. This combination of

imperative and profile B results in a threat. The connectedness implied in the B profile then lies in the sanction that may follow but is often left out.<sup>28</sup>

- bal!
- néer die
57. Leg  
Lay down that ball.  
Put that ball down!

The assertiveness of profile A makes this profile the most likely one to occur with imperatives that make explicit commands, as in (58) and (59).

- ó
58. Doe je gen open.  
Do your eyes open.  
Open your eyes.

- slá
59. Ga pen!  
Go sleep.  
Go to sleep!

Profile AC has the same impatient effect in imperatives as it has with the other two illocutionary frames:

---

<sup>28</sup> There is an interesting word-order aspect to this as well. The object in (57) has been extraposed to final position (P0). The more usual word order, with the object preceding the separable prefix *neer*, is much less acceptable with profile B, unless the sanction is made explicit (in a 'hat'):

- neer!
- i.       ? \*Leg       die       bál
- dóe
- ii.       Leg       die       bál       neer       of       ik       doe  
Lay       that       ball       down       or       I       do       je       wat.  
Put that ball down or I'll get you.

See also section 5.4 about the position of the object in Dutch clauses.



60.                   béd  
Maak je                                   p!  
   o  
      Make your bed up.  
      Make your bed!

With imperatives profile C can again have a downward tail or a terminal rise. A low C results in a condescending instruction within an already known context. For example, in the context of an instruction to sit down, profile A, as in (61), would be a positive invitation. In contrast, (62) with its low C is more matter-of-fact, as if the speaker wanted the hearer to sit down quickly and get on with the matter in hand. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the same utterance with the C+rise becomes a reproach. In (63), for example, the speaker expresses annoyance with the addressee for still standing up. It is not dissimilar to the imperative with a B profile. This is quite a different interpretation from the 'appeal' that C+rise has in interrogative and declarative directives.

61.                   stó  
Pak een                                   el.  
      Grab a chair.
62.                   Pak een  
   stó  
   el.
63.                   Pak een                                   el.  
   stó

The imperative illocutionary frame can occur with all four profiles. 'The long and short of it is that imperatives, like interrogatives, are open to all intonations because they are open to all effects of mood' (Bolinger 1989: 152). With profile A we probably get the quintessential assertive command. Profile AC results in impatience. Profile C without a terminal rise results in a fairly restrained instruction. Profile C with a terminal rise has the effect of a reproach. This effect is even stronger with profile B, which becomes a threat. The suspense is kept up and the expression of a sanction is expected. Sometimes the sanction is actually expressed explicitly (with an A profile), the two creating a hat pattern, and the suspense is dissolved.

**7.4.4. stylization**

Stylized C profiles can occur in all three illocutionary frames with the same effect of routine, boredom and a sense of 'I told you so.' It is not unlike profile AC with its impatience. When stylization takes place on an infinitive, it often has the effect that the last syllable, which is normally unaccented, receives more heavy stress than usual. This results in a lengthening of the vowel, which in turn results in a change of vowel quality. Normally, the final vowel in Dutch infinitives is an unaccented schwa, but with stylization the vowel is more fronted and has definite lip rounding.<sup>29</sup> The syllable immediately before the accented one is often stepped up (as in (64) and (65)).

64. Je moet gaan zit tén!  
 You must go sit.  
 You must sit down!

65. Kun je me hel pén?  
 Can you me help?  
 Can you help me?

Af  
wass  
 66. én!  
 Up wash.  
 Wash up!

**7.4.5. longer contours**

Most of the examples in the previous sections have been rather short. By their nature, directives tend to be kept brief, but the patterns that have been revealed hold for longer utterances with more profiles too. Take a directive like (67):

67. Het gras in de achtertuin maaien  
 The grass in the back garden mow  
 Mow the grass in the back garden

<sup>29</sup> In informal spelling this is often reflected by the letter *u*, or indeed a series of *u*'s since the letter *u* corresponds to a short fronted, rounded vowel in Dutch. This was visible during the 1992 European Football Championships, when Dutch supporters carried banners saying: *aanvalluuuh!* i.e. *aanvallen* ('attack').

We can see the condescension in the interrogative with a low C profile:

68. Kun je het gras in de áchtertuin maaien?

and the same effect when a declarative occurs with a low C profile:

69. Je moet het gras in de áchtertuin maaien.

In the imperative a B profile implies a threat:

70. Het gras in de áchtertuin maai ien!

And it can be stylized if the speaker wants to say: 'You know that, don't you? We always do it.'

71. Je moet het gras in de áchtertuin maai én!

---

profile	DECL	INT	IMP	interpretation
A	+	+	+	assertive directive
B	-	-	+	threat
C+rise	+	+	-	appeal
	-	-	+	reproach
low C	+	+	+	condescension
AC	+	+	+	impatience
stylization	+	+	+	routine

---

table 7.3 profiles and bare directives

What has become clear in this section is that directives in all three relevant illocutionary frames can occur with all profiles, with one exception: profile B cannot have a directive reading with declaratives and interrogatives, unless it is part of a larger contour which ends in a profile A. In addition, it has proved worthwhile to differentiate between a C profile ending in a rise (C+rise or C+) and one whose tail is kept low (low C or C-). Different profiles give different flavours to the directives, but they do so in a consistent way (e.g. AC always gives vent to impatience). The possible combinations of profiles and illocutionary frames with a directive reading, plus their interpretations, are given in table 7.3.

From table 7.3 it would seem that profile C+rise is used with mitigating effect. Section 7.3.2.7 discussed the possibility of a similar mitigating status for the other profile with a rise, profile B. There was conflicting evidence then and we can still not be conclusive about it. On the one hand the mitigating nature of profile B is confirmed in its open-ended use in hat patterns, but the threat implied in an imperative with profile B seems to belie this. Moreover, a similar trend can be observed with profile C+rise: it changes from an appeal in interrogatives and declaratives into a reproach in imperatives. This could be a reversal from mitigation to reinforcement which happens uniquely with rising intonation profiles in the imperative illocutionary frame. Before coming to a firm conclusion on this, we will first see whether similar restrictions and interpretations apply to directives with MPs.

### 7.5. the intonation of directives with MPs

On the basis of the above discussion of the interaction between intonation and directives, and its results set out in table 7.3, we start with the assumption that the same combinations of profiles and illocutions are possible when the directives contain an MP. Appendix 2 contains representations of all possible combinations of the three variables (illocutionary frames, profiles and (single) MPs) based on the directive *langskomen* ('come round, visit'). The acceptability of all these combinations is given in table 7.4. This shows that profiles A, C+, C- and AC follow the assumption. A stylized C can occur in conjunction with all combinations of MPs and profiles that are acceptable in table 7.4. Stylization was defined in 7.4.4 as expressing routine, boredom, a sense of 'I told you so.' Clearly, a speaker can get bored with having to issue any directive, of whatever force.

However, profile B shows discrepancies on two fronts. First, in the interrogative illocutionary frame profile B occurs with a directive interpretation in conjunction with mitigators, whereas a directive reading was not possible in the bare interrogative. Section 7.4.1 showed that a bare interrogative could only be interpreted as questioning the inherent modality

expressed. With mitigators it becomes a very polite request. Thus, (72) questions the addressee's ability to visit, whereas (73), (74) and (75) are directives.

72. Kun je lángs kom en?
73. Kun je even lángs kom en?
74. Kun je misschien lángs kom en?
75. Kun je soms lángs kom en?

By contrast, profile B on the interrogative illocutionary frame with a reinforcer is not acceptable. Moreover, clusters are also limited to clusters of mitigators (76), or clusters in which a mitigator from a higher layer precedes a reinforcer of a lower layer (77). (78), in which the reinforcer from the predicational layer precedes the mitigator from the same layer, is not acceptable:

76. Kun je misschien even lángs kom en?
77. Kun je misschien eens lángs kom en?

en?  
kom  
lángs

78. \*Kun je eens even

These restrictions on the co-occurrence of profile B with the interrogative and with MPs may point to the possibility that the interrogative is inherently more mitigating than the other two illocutionary frames. They also indicate that mitigators have the power to turn (objective) questions into (subjective) requests. But most importantly, they show that profile B can act as mitigator with the interrogative illocutionary frame.

The second discrepancy shown by profile B is that in the imperative illocutionary frame all MPs are unacceptable when profile B is used to express a threat. The explanation for this must be that a speaker cannot weaken a threat, because it would no longer be one. Nor can a threat be reinforced verbally. The next step would be for the speaker to carry out the sanction implied in the threat. This explains the absence of both mitigators and reinforcers from imperatives with profile B.

ILL	profile	meaning	bare	mitig			reinf		
				F	X	e	F	X	e
INT	B	request	-	+		+	-	-	-
	A	assertion	+	+		+	+	+	+
	AC	impatience	+	+		+	+	+	+
	C-	condescension	+	+		+	+	+	+
	C+	appeal	+	+		+	+	+	+
DECL	B		-		-	-		-	-
	A	assertion	+		+	+		+	+
	AC	impatience	+		+	+		+	+
	C-	condescension	+		+	+		+	+
	C+	appeal	+		+	+		+	+
IMP	B	threat	+		-	-		-	-
	A	assertion	+		+	+		+	+
	AC	impatience	+		+	+		+	+
	C-	condescension	+		+	+		+	+
	C+	reproach	+		+	+		+	+

table 7.4 possible combinations of profiles and illocutionary frames, with mitigators and reinforcers of the three layers in which they can occur

### **7.5.1. intonation, mitigation and reinforcement**

In section 7.3.2.7 it was argued that profiles with a falling intonation could be seen as expressions of reinforcement, and profiles with a rising intonation as expressions of mitigation. There is little evidence against regarding profiles A, AC and low C as 'closed' profiles expressing reinforcement. But we saw in sections 7.3.2.7 and 7.4.5 that the evidence in favour of an analysis of B and C+rise as mitigating was inconclusive. C+rise only has a non-mitigating reading with imperatives, so it can be argued that C+rise is a normally mitigating profile whose force is reversed only when it occurs in conjunction with this (reinforcing) illocutionary frame.

Profile B on the (mitigating) interrogative creates a mitigated directive when occurring in conjunction with mitigating MPs. This is an argument in favour of a mitigating interpretation of profile B. Moreover, such directives cannot easily be reinforced by reinforcing MPs. The absence of profile B with the declarative directive may also have something to do with the incompatibility of a basically forceful illocutionary frame and a basically mitigatory profile. If we follow this argumentation, profiles B and C+rise are basically mitigating in nature. It is the unique combination of (otherwise mitigating) rising profiles with the (reinforcing) imperative illocutionary frame that causes a reversal and produces a reinforced utterance.

## **7.6. conclusion and preview**

This chapter set out to discover the way in which intonation interacts with MPs in directives, bearing in mind (i) the three illocutionary frames in which MPs in directives can occur, (ii) the distinction between reinforcers and mitigators, and (iii) the three layers of operation we have been able to distinguish for MPs. In order to do that, intonation was eventually defined in terms of profiles. Four basic profiles and their meanings were determined for Dutch, with one (profile C) having two variants with clearly separate meanings. Thus the importance of four potential factors needs to be taken into account when assessing the force with which a directive is uttered: its intonation profile, its illocutionary frame, the force of any MPs it contains, and the layers of operation present in the utterance.

The importance of the several factors can be measured by the influence they exert on the final outcome: the force of the utterance. Clearly, the influence of the layer of operation on the force of the utterance is minimal. The intonation profiles are the most influential factors. The force of utterances with profiles A, AC and low C remain constant in all illocutionary frames. Profile C+rise is constant in two out of three frames. Only profile B seems to be affected by the frame in which it occurs. The nature of the illocutionary

frame is then the second most important factor: imperatives have a reinforcing effect on otherwise mitigating profiles. That the nature of the MPs concerned is important is shown when profile B co-occurs with the interrogative to produce a request.

The occurrence of profile B in directives is restricted. Its normally mitigating nature is reversed when it co-occurs with the (bare) imperative. The only other occasion when it occurs is in conjunction with mitigating MPs in the interrogative to produce a highly mitigated directive. This is evidence at the same time for the mitigating effect of the interrogative illocutionary frame.

The above analysis of how the force of a directive is expressed comes close to answering Risselada's (1990: 4-5; see section 2.2.4 above) plea to regard illocutionary force as a composite of several aspects of a speech act: sentence type as well as 'lexical, semantic and/or intonational ... properties'. It also shows that some properties are more influential in that composition than others, intonation being more salient than any other factor. The next most influential component is sentence type, followed by other mitigating and/or reinforcing strategies. If, as was shown in section 6.2.3.1, the MPs of the several layers are ordered centripetally according to their layer, MPs from the highest occurring layer will take MPs from lower layers in their scope. Thus (79) is more forceful than (80), because *nou* (a reinforcer) has *maar* (a mitigator) in its scope:

79. Hou nou maar óp.  
 Hold MP MP up.  
 Just stop, will you!

80. Hou maar óp.  
 Stop please!

This also means that generally speaking intonation profiles take the rest of the utterance in their scope: after all they are the most influential component in the composite that decides the force of the speech act. Therefore, I would argue that profiles can be represented as mitigation and reinforcement operators at the highest level of analysis distinguished by FG: the clause.

The importance of the illocutionary frame as a determinant of the force of a speech act has also been indicated. Further evidence for this is presented in chapter 8 with the evaluation of an experiment in which native speakers of Dutch were asked to rate the forcefulness of bare directives. In that chapter I will also present the results of an experiment testing native speakers' reactions to directives with MPs, in order to assess their force in such speech acts.



# 8

## TESTING INTERACTION

### 8.0. introduction

This study has covered a number of issues related to Dutch MPs in directives. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 dealt with the reinforcer-mitigator dichotomy from a semantic-pragmatic point of view as well as from a historical angle. By locating different MPs in three different FG-layers chapter 6 shed some light on their distribution over sentence types (basic illocutions or illocutionary frames) and accounted for their clustering behaviour. And chapter 7 discussed the relationship between MPs and intonation. To complete the picture this chapter reports on the results of two experiments testing the intuitions of native speakers of Dutch. These will provide evidence for the claim that the basic illocution can have a decisive influence on the force of directives, and tell us to what extent the labels 'reinforcer' and 'mitigator' are justified. We will then be able to explain the distribution of the nine MPs over the three basic illocutions.

The first experiment concerned the evaluation of the illocutionary force in 'bare' directives, i.e. directives without MPs. Its results will give us a good idea of a possible scale of forcefulness of the three basic illocutions involved. The second experiment tested native speakers' reactions to 'bare' directives and directives with single MPs. The reaction to a particular MP (e.g. the reinforcer *eens*) can then be contrasted with the reaction to the same directive with its 'opposite' MP from the same layer (i.e. *even*), and with the reaction to the same directive without MPs. This allows a three-way comparison in each layer: (i) mitigated directive with reinforced directive, (ii) 'bare' directive with mitigated directive, and (iii) 'bare' directive with reinforced directive. Assuming that bare directives are neutral as to reinforcement and mitigation, we can then judge whether what have been called reinforcers and mitigators are actually evaluated as such by native speakers.

The experiment testing the force of basic illocutions is reported on in section 8.1, followed by the comparison of native speaker reactions to directives with and without MPs in section 8.2. Each section will first introduce the test design and then present and discuss the results. On the basis of these results and other insights gained in the course of this study the distribution of MPs over the three basic illocutions is then explained in section 8.3.

## 8.1. the force of basic illocutions

Chapters 6 and 7 showed that the force of the basic illocution is one of the factors determining the force of a speech act. Other factors are the intonation profile and the use of MPs. In order to decide precisely what effect basic illocutions have on the overall force of a directive speech act we can measure native speakers' reactions to the three basic illocutions. The hypothesis here is that the order of the three illocutions on a scale of forcefulness can be specified.

### 8.1.1. *test design and set up*

This hypothesis was tested in a simple experiment, in which 24 subjects were asked to rate the politeness of 14 utterances on a six-point scale. The utterances were all mutations of the directive:

1. de deur dicht doen.  
the door closed do.  
close the door.

Three of the utterances were imperatives: the 'normal' imperative consisting of the stem of the verb (2), the infinitive used as an imperative (3), and a shorter version without the verb but including the adjective *dicht* (4):

2. Doe de deur dicht.
3. De deur dichtdoen.
4. Deur dicht.

Two of the utterances were declaratives with *moeten* ('must'), one being conditional (6):

5. Je moet de deur dichtdoen.
6. Je zou de deur dicht moeten doen.  
You would the door closed must do.  
You should close the door.

One utterance was a conditional clause with subordinate word order, which sounds as if the speaker has not finished a complex sentence but which is not uncommon as a directive:

7. Als je de deur eens dicht deed ...<sup>1</sup>  
If you the door MP closed did.

Four utterances were second person interrogatives with *kunnen* ('can') and *willen* ('want'):

8. Kun je de deur dichtdoen?  
9. Zou je de deur dicht kunnen doen?  
10. Wil je de deur dichtdoen?  
11. Zou je de deur dicht willen doen?

And four utterances were first person interrogatives with *kunnen* and *mogen* ('may'):

12. Kan ik de deur dichtdoen?  
13. Zou ik de deur dicht kunnen doen?  
14. Mag ik de deur dichtdoen?  
15. Zou ik de deur dicht mogen doen?

The last four utterances are requests for permission and not directives, of course. Nevertheless, it was felt that their inclusion in the experiment might be of interest. However, they are not relevant to the point being made here and have therefore been excluded from the statistics in this section, as has the MP-containing sentence (7).

The subjects were 24 first-year history students at the Free University, Amsterdam, at the end of their second semester. Their ages ranged from 18 to 62 with a median age of 21.7. The ratio male:female was exactly 50:50. All subjects were native speakers of Dutch. The geographic spread was considerable with 14 subjects coming from various areas of the Randstad (the western metropolitan region of the Netherlands), four from the south of the country, and the remaining six from the north and east. University students in the Netherlands have gone through at least twelve years' education in standard Dutch. Their academic discipline was also relevant, in as much as they are studying a linguistically active and sophisticated discipline (which history is), but not training or trained as linguists.

The subjects were given a questionnaire with written instructions to indicate their age and sex and where they were from. It told them (in Dutch) that they were going to hear and see a number of Dutch sentences whose

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<sup>1</sup>. This sentence contains an MP because according to my own native speaker judgement it is unacceptable without one.

politeness they had to rate on a six-point scale with the following interpretations:

- 1 = too polite
- 2 = very polite
- 3 = polite
- 4 = neither polite nor impolite
- 5 = impolite
- 6 = very impolite

An evaluation in terms of politeness was chosen rather than 'force', because the latter might be misinterpreted. For naive native speakers, politeness is readily understandable, concrete and easily evaluated. The reasoning behind the inclusion of (1) was that some directives may be phrased so politely that they become almost impolite.<sup>2</sup> The evaluation is in a sense ambiguous, because the politeness of phrasing is recognized, but at the same time seen as unsuitable for the situation.<sup>3</sup>

The context for the utterances was defined as being an informal setting with strangers (i.e. being in a room with people of about the same age with whom one has no intimate relationship), with the subjects as addressee.

The sentences were presented in a random order with one utterance per page. Each page also contained the instruction to assess the politeness of the utterance by ticking the appropriate box, plus six numbered boxes with the criteria for each box spelled out. The subjects had ten seconds for each sentence, after which they heard a bleep and had to turn to the next utterance. At the beginning of each ten-second period the utterance was also heard spoken. Care was taken to produce spoken utterances with consistent accentuation and intonation patterns: in each the word *deur* carried the final clause accent (i.e. was marked for Focus) with an A profile. Imperatives and declaratives ended with a fall, interrogatives with a rise. E.g.:

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brown & Levinson (1987: 74): 'If an actor uses a strategy appropriate to a high risk for an FTA of less risk, others will assume the FTA was greater than in fact it was, while it is S's intention to *minimize* rather than overestimate the threat to H's face. Hence in general no actor will use a strategy for an FTA that affords more opportunity for face-risk minimization than is actually required to retain H's cooperation.' Leech's (1983: 82) Irony Principle is also of interest in this context: "If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way that doesn't overtly conflict with the P[oliteness]P[inciple], but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of implicature." The Irony Principle is secondary to the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle in Leech's Interpersonal Rhetoric and has a counterpart in the Banter Principle (*ibid.* 144): "In order to show solidarity with *h*, say something which is (i) obviously untrue, and (ii) obviously impolite to *h*." See also section 2.3.1.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that the subjects actually made use of (1) very rarely means that its effect on the overall result is marginal at best.

16. Je moet de deur dichtdoen.

17. Doe de deur dicht.

18. Kun je de deur dicht doen?

The voice speaking the utterances on the tape was female. The questionnaire has been reproduced in appendix 3a.

### 8.1.2. *results and discussion*<sup>4</sup>

The median scores for the relevant utterances (sentences (2)-(6) and (8)-(11) above) are given in table 8.1. (See appendix 3b for a full account of all scores.)

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INT	Zou je de deur dicht willen doen?	3.03
	Zou je de deur dicht kunnen doen?	3.05
	Kun je de deur dichtdoen?	3.17
	Wil je de deur dichtdoen?	3.35
DECL	Je zou de deur dicht moeten doen.	4.09
	Je moet de deur dichtdoen.	4.75
IMP	De deur dichtdoen.	5.00
	Doe de deur dicht.	5.03
	Deur dicht.	5.86

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table 8.1 politeness ratings for basic illocutions

The data in table 8.1 show a very strong tendency and clearly confirm that the basic illocutions can be arranged on a scale of politeness and forcefulness with IMP as the most forceful and INT as the least forceful. DECL is closer in forcefulness to IMP than to INT, especially if only the non-conditional variants of the directive are considered. It is obvious that the conditional (*zou*) adds an extra mitigating dimension to basic illocutions. The non-conditional variants also show that the declarative and imperative directives are grouped

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<sup>4</sup>. For the statistical analyses in this chapter and questions of statistical significance I have made use of Butler (1985).

around the fifth point on the scale, whereas the interrogative directive is closer to the third point. This means that the force of IMP and DECL is felt to be quite similar.

These findings are more or less in line with divisions of directives into more and less direct (as proposed for Dutch by, for example, Springorum 1982; see section 2.2.3 above). Similar results were obtained for English in a more detailed study by Butler (1988). A limiting factor is the fact that this test was only carried out with one directive. Future studies into the force of basic illocutions should take on board a selection of predications, bearing in mind semantic factors like the type of SoA involved and the imposition implied in the directive. Closing a door is less of an imposition than, for example, lending a car, but a greater imposition than going over to someone in the same room to have a chat. Another factor involved in this is whether any criticism is implied in the directive. Being told to close a door can imply a criticism of the hearer for leaving the door open in the first place. In such instances Leech's Irony Principle (see footnote 2 above) can be applied with great effect and this may also affect the outcome of an experiment.

Nevertheless, the results of this experiment illustrate that the force of the illocutionary frame needs to be taken into account whenever the force of a directive is assessed. We saw in chapter 7 that the force of particular intonation profiles could have an overriding effect on the force of an illocution. Profile C+rise, for example, makes an imperative or a declarative into an appeal. It is more than likely that the force of the basic illocution interacts in a similar way with MPs that can occur in directives, and that in turn they may affect the force of these MPs. This is something that must be borne in mind when we discuss the next experiment.

## 8.2. the force of MPs in directives

The hypothesis tested in this experiment is more complicated than the one discussed in the previous sections. It seeks to confirm the status of MPs as reinforcers and mitigators and assumes that bare directives are neutral as to reinforcement and mitigation. This means that the MPs within each layer can be set off against each other, but also against a zero-variant. In other words, the hypothesis is divided into three parts: (i) an illocution with a reinforcer is more forceful than one with a mitigator, (ii) an illocution without an MP is more forceful than one with a mitigator, and (iii) an illocution with a reinforcer is more forceful than one without an MP.

**8.2.1. test design and set up**

The experiment involved the participation of a large group of second-year law students from the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. The reactions were analysed of 111 subjects, who fulfilled certain criteria (native speakers of Dutch having lived in the Netherlands all their lives). As with the subjects taking part in the first experiment, the group had to be homogeneous as regards educational background. They were asked to provide information relating to their age, sex and geographic provenance. The subjects' ages ranged between 20 and 47, with a median age of 22. The ratio male:female was 49:62, and the geographic spread of those taking part was considerable. The test sentences for this experiment were again imperative (19), declarative (20) and interrogative (21) mutations of the same directive (1):

1. de deur dichtdoen
19. Doe de deur [MP] dicht.
20. Je moet de deur [MP] dichtdoen.
21. Kun je de deur [MP] dichtdoen?

In each of the three basic illocutions the only variable was the modal particle used (including zero), resulting in 19 original sentences: seven imperatives, seven interrogatives and five declaratives. Within each illocution all possible pairings of sentences were used, which led to 52 pairs: ten pairs of declaratives, and 21 pairs each of imperatives and interrogatives. The tables below only give the comparisons within the relevant layers, reducing the number of pairs to 23.<sup>5</sup>

The subjects were asked to indicate which of the two sentences in each pair was the more forceful. Prior to the experiment proper the subjects were presented with three test sentences followed by a pause which was used to check whether the instructions had been understood and the subjects knew what was required of them. After that the pairs were presented without any further interruptions.

The presentation took place in a random order, visually on slides and at the same time spoken on audio cassette with the same intonation pattern as for the experiment described in section 8.1.1. As in the first experiment, the speaker on the tape was a woman. Each sentence pair was shown for ten seconds with a spoken presentation at the beginning and at the end of the

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<sup>5</sup>. Section 6.2.1 mentioned the possibility that different MPs distinguish different degrees of reinforcement and mitigation. A hypothesis along these lines can be tested by using all 52 pairs of sentences in this experiment. However, whereas this has proved workable for the smallest set of pairs in the DECL illocutionary frame (reported in Vismans (1993) and Makepeace *et al.* (1993)), similar tests with IMP and INT give much less clear-cut results. The scores for all 52 pairs are given in appendix 4b.

ten seconds, and each new pair was introduced by a short bleep. The subjects were given a sheet of paper with 52 pairs of boxes marked A and B, and were instructed to record their choice for each pair as A or B by putting a cross in the appropriate box. In all, the experiment took no longer than 20 minutes and was conducted just once in a large lecture theatre. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in appendix 4a.

### 8.2.2. *results and discussion*

The results of the pairwise comparisons are given in tables 8.2 (reinforcers-mitigators), 8.3 (mitigators-zero) and 8.4 (reinforcers-zero). We can see that not all slots are filled. In all three tables the illocutionary layer in DECL is absent because there are no MPs for that layer in the declarative illocutionary frame. In tables 8.2 and 8.3 the propositional slot under INT is empty, because there is no mitigator in that layer in the interrogative illocutionary frame. The same applies to the illocutionary slot under IMP in tables 8.2 and 8.3: there is no mitigator in that layer in the imperative illocutionary frame. In a very small number of cases (where N only adds up to 110) one subject was unable to make up his or her mind. This is the case in the predication layer under DECL in table 8.3, and in the predication and proposition layers under IMP in table 8.4. Except for the illocutionary layer under IMP in table 8.4 (where *nou* and *dan* are compared with zero) the figures are statistically significant ( $p \leq 0.05$ ).

Tables 8.2 and 8.3 require little comment. They confirm parts (i) and (ii) of the hypothesis formulated in section 8.2: an illocution with a reinforcer is more forceful than one with a mitigator, and an illocution without an MP is more forceful than one with a mitigator. Table 8.4, on the other hand, requires more comment, because at first sight part (iii) of the hypothesis is not confirmed. Under IMP we can see that in the predication *eens* is deemed less forceful than zero. The same holds for the proposition, where *toch* is felt to be less forceful than zero. In the illocution *nou* and *dan* are deemed marginally more forceful than zero (the only slot for which the figures are statistically not significant). For IMP, then, part (iii) of the hypothesis must be rejected: an IMP with a reinforcer is not more forceful than one without an MP. We have to come to the same conclusion in relation to DECL, where *eens* in the predication and *ook* in the proposition are seen as less forceful than zero. The situation in INT is more complicated. The hypothesis is upheld in the case of *eens* in the predication and in the case of *nou* in the illocution, but must be rejected in the case of *ook* in the proposition.



IMP		DECL		INT		layer
eens 102		eens 85		eens 93		e
even 9		even 26		even 18		
toch 108		toch 103		ook		X
maar 3		maar 8		---		
dan	nou	---		nou 100	102	F
---		---		soms 11	misschien 9	

table 8.2 pairwise comparison reinforcers-mitigators. N = 111

IMP		DECL		INT		layer
even 13		even 14		even 29		e
0 98		0 96		0 82		
maar 4		maar 4		---		X
0 107		0 107		---		
---		---		soms 41	misschien 21	F
---		---		0 70	0 90	

table 8.3 pairwise comparison mitigators-zero. N = 111

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IMP		DECL		INT		layer
eens		eens		eens		e
24		45		71		
0		0		0		
86		66		40		
toch		ook		ook		X
34		42		35		
0		0		0		
76		69		76		
dan	nou	---		nou		F
56	57			91		
0	0	---		0		
55	54			20		

table 8.4 pairwise comparison reinforcers-zero. N = 111

In the most forceful illocution, IMP, the force of the reinforcing MP is negligible in the illocutionary layer (*nou*), and even has the opposite (mitigating) effect in the predicational layer (*eens*). The same is true of *eens* in DECL, which was seen in section 8.1.2 to be close in force to IMP. However, the least forceful illocutionary frame, INT, confirms the reinforcing status of *eens* and *nou*. For the evaluation of the MPs in the predicational and illocutionary layers this illustrates that the force of the basic illocution plays an important role.

Let us now turn to the judgements about the MPs in the proposition. On the strength of the evidence in table 8.4 the conclusion must be that a proposition cannot really be further reinforced. This layer seems to have a mitigator (*maar*), but no reinforcer. A directive with *toch* or *ook* must then be analysed as less mitigating than one with *maar* or as less forceful than one without MP. Nevertheless, *toch* and *ook* clearly have a different status from zero and from *maar*. The tables (especially table 8.2) make this clear and so does the ordering pattern of the MPs in this layer, because in clusters *toch* and *ook*, the putative reinforcers, always precede *maar*, the mitigator. This is consistent with the analysis in section 6.2.3.1 according to which in clusters the reinforcers of a particular layer come before the mitigators of that layer.

One thing that emerges clearly from this section is the importance of the force of the basic illocution in relation to reinforcers of the predicational and

illocutionary layers. In the more forceful illocutions their effect is at best insignificant, but their reinforcing status comes to the fore in the least forceful illocution, the interrogative.

The less clear-cut status of what I have called reinforcers for the propositional layer is more difficult to clarify. On the one hand it is tempting to point to obvious differences between them and their mitigating 'partner' (not only in the evaluation of their forcefulness, but also in their ordering) and conclude that they are kinds of reinforcers after all. On the other hand it may be more realistic to admit that there is a difference between *toch* and *ook* and other reinforcing MPs, and to try and explain this difference in terms of the different layers in which they occur. Section 5.2 showed that a predication designates a state of affairs (SoA), a proposition designates propositional content, and an illocution designates a relation between a propositional content, a speaker and an addressee. For a speaker to reinforce or mitigate a predication is to impose in varying degrees upon the hearer the relative importance of an SoA. In the case of a directive this SoA has not (yet) been achieved. For a speaker to reinforce or mitigate an illocution is to strengthen or weaken the force with which the relation between speaker, hearer and propositional content is made. By contrast, with a proposition a speaker expresses his or her own belief in the SoA, or in the case of a directive her or his belief in the need for it to come about. For a speaker to mitigate a proposition means to express a relatively weak belief in the need for the SoA to come about. However, once a speaker has committed him- or herself to such a belief by making an utterance containing a proposition, the belief itself cannot be further reinforced. The absence of truly reinforcing MPs from this layer indicates that propositions can be mitigated in varying degrees, but not reinforced. This points to a fundamental difference between the proposition on the one hand, and the predication and illocution on the other. This difference may well be related to the fact that whereas predication and illocution designate events (narrated event and speech event respectively), a proposition designates speaker attitudes.

We can only conclude from the above that the term 'reinforcer' must be applied to the MPs in question judiciously. The data provided in table 8.4 would justify a different analysis of MPs according to which all MPs are mitigators. The MPs that have here been termed 'reinforcers' are then simply less mitigating than the others. However, the reinforcing effect of *eens* and *nou* in the interrogative illocutionary frame would be unexpected and require an explanation. The explanation would be the force of the basic illocution. Thus, the conclusion of this analysis would be similar to the one we have already arrived at: it is the force of a basic illocution that provides a reinforcer/half-mitigator' with a context in which to achieve its reinforcing potential. This still points to the crucial role played by the basic illocution.

In an analysis according to which all MPs in directives are mitigators the behaviour of MPs in the propositional layer would be quite regular. However, it would not explain the difference between that layer on the one hand and the illocutionary and predicational layers on the other. This would still have to be explained in terms of the special nature of the layer. It could then be argued that it is this special nature of the proposition that prevents reinforcers from achieving their reinforcing potential in that layer.

Further experimental research is obviously needed to provide an answer to the questions raised. As with the experiment described in section 8.1 future research would have to take other factors into account like the type of SoA involved, the imposition implied in the directive, and the relationship between speaker and addressee. This last factor is clearly important when speaker and addressee are in an unequal relationship which requires more deference from one of the participants in an exchange. Further research would also have to be designed in such a way that it could answer the question about the status of reinforcing MPs more decisively. This could be done by asking subjects to rate the force of directives on a scale similar to the one used in experiment 1.

We can now briefly return to table 3.2 in which the division of the nine MPs studied here into reinforcers and mitigators was first proposed. A number of uncertainties surrounding the MPs which we have called reinforcers remains. However, table 3.2 is by no means without value. It has proved a useful starting point for our discussions and it has become clear that the actual division of MPs into the two groups is valid on historical grounds and on the basis of one of the ordering principles of clusters of MPs. What is in doubt, however, is whether the label 'reinforcers' is a precise enough reflection of the nature of that group of MPs. Nevertheless, I shall continue to use it in the remainder of this study.

### **8.3. explaining the distribution of MPs**

Table 6.4 in section 6.2.3 above laid out the distribution of MPs over layers and illocutionary frames. It is reproduced here as table 8.5.

Starting with IMP, we see that the one real gap is that there are no mitigators for the illocutionary layer. The previous sections have made clear that the force of the basic illocution can play an important role. It does so here, for the choice of a forceful basic illocution is incompatible with a mitigation of that choice.

The least forceful basic illocution (INT) clearly does allow both reinforcement and mitigation of that basic illocution. It is interesting, however, that what is absent here is the mitigator in the propositional layer. Again, this can be explained by the force of the basic illocution. When the

speaker has chosen to deploy INT, the weakest basic illocution, his or her belief in the propositional content cannot be further mitigated.

layer	designation	status	MP	DECL	INT	IMP
e	predication	reinf	eens	+	+	+
		mitig	even	+	+	+
X	proposition	reinf	ook	+	+	-
			toch	-	-	+
		mitig	maar	+	-	+
F	illocution	reinf	dan	-	-	+
			nou	-	-	-
		mitig	soms	-	+	-
			misschien	-	+	-

table 8.5 distribution of MPs

That a predication can be reinforced or mitigated is shown by the presence of *eens* and *even* in all three illocutionary frames. However, we saw earlier in this chapter that the force of the basic illocution does affect the direction of the reinforcement.

The absence of illocutionary mitigators from DECL can be explained in the same way as their absence from IMP: the relatively forceful basic illocution does not allow mitigation of the illocution itself. The absence of reinforcers from this illocutionary frame is less easy to explain. However, just as basic illocution and intonation profile can play a part in expressing the force of an illocution, so can the meaning of a lexical item. In this case the force of *moeten* is so absolute that further reinforcement of the illocution is no longer required or even permitted.

This leaves the question of 'double' MPs: *toch* and *ook* as 'reinforcers' for the propositional layer, *misschien* and *soms* as mitigators for the illocutionary layer, and *nou* and *dan* as reinforcers for that layer. There is no overlap between *toch* and *ook*. It may be, therefore, that because *ook* can be used with different functions in IMP, *toch* has stepped in to prevent ambiguity. First, in (22), where *ook* may be combined with *dan*, it is a discourse particle (DP) with the effect of expressing an almost logical conclusion:

22. A: Het tocht hier.  
 B: Ja, doe de deur (dan) ook dicht.
- A: It draughts here.  
 B: Yes do the door then DP closed.
- A: It's draughty here.  
 B: Yes, so why don't you close the door?

Furthermore, *ook* occurs in IMP in curses which clearly cannot be interpreted as directives:

23. Val ook dood.  
 Fall MP dead.  
 Drop dead!

The interchangeability in clusters of *dan* with *nou* and *misschien* with *soms* (see section 6.2.3.1) is a strong argument in favour of grouping them together as reinforcers and mitigators respectively. However, it is interesting to see how native speakers evaluate their relative force in the second experiment described above. This evaluation is given in table 8.6.

This shows that reinforcement and mitigation in this layer are to some extent gradable. The fact that *dan* and *nou* only cooccur in IMP and *soms* and *misschien* only occur in INT means that this gradability is very limited.

---

reinf	mitig
dan	misschien
33	25
nou	soms
78	86

---

table 8.6 pairwise comparison of illocutionary reinforcers *dan* and *nou* and illocutionary mitigators *soms* and *misschien*. N = 111

#### 8.4. conclusion

This chapter has tackled the outstanding question about the distribution of MPs over the three illocutionary frames IMP, DECL and INT. This distribution is obviously not clear-cut and is affected by several factors. An

experiment testing native speaker reactions to the force of bare directives showed that basic illocutions can be graded according to their forcefulness. A second experiment measuring native speaker reactions to directives without and with (single) MPs showed conclusively that the force of basic illocutions at times plays a crucial role in determining the force and the acceptability of MPs. Another factor is the force of lexical items involved, especially in the case of *moeten* in DECL. There is a need for further and more detailed experimental research to clarify other factors, such as the type of SoA, the level of imposition on the addressee implied in the directive, and the nature of the relationship between speaker and addressee. Nevertheless, the data presented in this chapter show, albeit with some important qualifications, that reinforcement and mitigation as expressed in MPs are a linguistic reality in Dutch.

## EPILOGUE

Section 1.4 of the Introduction set out what this study aimed to achieve : (i) to make clear how a complicated and complex area of the Dutch language, the use of modal particles in directives, works; (ii) to contribute to a more thorough understanding of a number of other aspects of the Dutch language; and (iii) to make a critical contribution to the theory of Functional Grammar.

This study has made clear that the distinction between reinforcement and mitigation is realistic and functionally accurate. This distinction operates in the several layers that build up to make an utterance, as recognized by FG. In the highest layer (the clause) this is done by means of intonation profiles, but in lower layers (the illocution, proposition and predication) Dutch uses MPs to mitigate and reinforce. In addition, the morphology of Dutch can also be shown to play at least a partial role in the predicate layer in the distinction between reinforcement and mitigation through the application of diminutive suffixes (cf. Haverkate (1988) quoted in section 6.3, who also discusses the opposition in Spanish between mitigating diminutive suffixes and reinforcing 'augmentative' ones). At least two other factors further affect the force of an utterance: its basic illocution and the nature of the state of affairs. All these factors, intonation, illocution, morphology, lexical meaning and MPs, interact to give the eventual speech act its particular force. This interaction can lead to seemingly conflicting interpretations, as was shown in chapter 8, where reinforcers in combination with a forceful illocution were evaluated as having relatively little force.

A problematic issue is the status of what have been called reinforcers in the proposition layer. Utterances containing these are fairly consistently evaluated as less forceful than those without. Yet other evidence suggests that they are indeed reinforcers in that layer: they were amongst the earliest MPs to appear in directives historically, in clusters they occur before the other (mitigating) MP from the proposition layer, *maar*, and in chapter 3 lexical grounds contributed to their original interpretation as reinforcers. Clearly, further research is needed to confirm the status of *toch* and *ook* as reinforcers, mitigators or otherwise, for example by repeating the experiment concerned, both with and without further lexical and possibly interactional variables.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the force of an utterance is a resultant of the interplay of several factors, of which the force expressed by an MP in a



particular layer is one. Further contributing factors, like the semantics of the lexical items concerned, intonation and sentence type are at least equally important.

As necessary ingredients of this study several other aspects of Dutch have been discussed besides MPs. The discussion of pragmatic functions in Dutch in chapter 5 gave rise to an examination of the interaction between accentuation and special positions in the clause. In chapter 6 a broad-based classification of Dutch complements was presented which shed light on the nature of Dutch subordinate constructions. And chapter 7 contained an analysis of Dutch intonation patterns. The discussion of these issues has hopefully added to the understanding of the relevant aspects of Dutch.

As for FG, the most important conclusion of this study is that reinforcement and mitigation are not merely a matter of the illocution, as has been suggested up till now, but can occur in any layer. A possible FG representation of the structure of a clause incorporating this finding is given in (1).

1.  $(\pi_6 \text{rein/mitig } E_1: [(\pi_4 \text{rein/mitig } F_1: \text{ILL } (F_1)) \text{ (S) (A) } (\pi_3 \text{rein/mitig } X_1: [ \quad ] (X_1))](E_1))$   
 $\underbrace{\hspace{15em}}_{(\pi_2 \text{rein/mitig } e_1: [(f_1: \text{Pred}_p(f_1)) (x_1; (\pi_1 \text{rein/mitig } f_2: \text{Pred}_N(f_2)) (x_2))] (e_1))}$

Since the FG literature on illocutionary operators has so far assumed that it was the exclusive prerogative of these operators to signal mitigation and reinforcement, it will be necessary to determine whether any additional functions for the operators in this layer can be specified.

Two further observations about FG were added in chapter 6. One is an adjustment of how it views the historical processes underlying developments among operators. They have a kind of 'upward mobility' whereby they move from lower to higher layers. Chapter 6 argued that in this movement layers can be skipped. The other observation concerns the nature of imperative illocutions. In much of the FG literature so far it has been assumed that the proposition layer is absent from IMP, the imperative illocution. However, chapter 6 showed that MPs from the proposition layer are present in imperatives. The assumption that propositions are not present in imperatives must therefore be reconsidered. One further substantial contribution to the theory has been made by the discussion of intonation in chapter 7.

At the end of a study like this an author has the privilege of suggesting areas for future research. This privilege is perhaps a doubtful one, because it follows a long period in which the author has tried to get to the bottom of a particular problem. If there is need for further research, the bottom appears not to have been reached. Nevertheless, it provides an opportunity to influence the research agenda.

Further detailed investigations into MPs are certainly necessary. The impact of MPs on other speech act types besides directives needs to be studied more systematically. From the evidence presented here we can perhaps hypothesize that a similar division of labour exists for speech acts that are close to directives, like promising:

2. Ik ga wel even.  
I go MP MP.  
I'll go.

requesting and granting permission:

3. Mag ik nou eens?  
May I MP MP.  
Can I have a go?

4. Vooruit dan maar.  
Forward MP MP.  
Okay then!

or inviting:

5. Wil jij eens?  
Want you MP.  
Do you want to have a go?

However, we cannot be so categorical about very different speech acts, for example those that would fall under Searle's (1976) speech act types of declarations:

6. Hierbij verklaar ik de vergadering maar voor geopend.  
Hereby declare I the meeting MP opened.  
I hereby open the meeting.

or representatives:

7. Ik vind dat maar raar.  
I find that MP strange.  
Very strange!

A detailed history of MPs is also required in order to determine more precisely than has been possible here the moment at which each individual MP emerged.

There is a need for further experimental research into the effects of all the factors that contribute to the force of an utterance, directive or otherwise. The problematic case of the propositional 'reinforcers' *ook* and *toch* has already been mentioned. Semantic factors to be considered are the nature of the state of affairs involved and the type of illocution used. Pragmatic factors like the setting and the nature of the relationship between speaker and addressee need to be taken on board as well.

As explained in section 1.3, the chapter on intonation was largely based on introspection. The absence of suitable information about the intonation of directives from the IPO material highlights the need for further experimental research in this area. In addition, the introspections presented in chapter 7 would eventually need to be tested against the intuitions of a reliable sample of Dutch native speakers along lines similar to the tests presented in chapter 8.

Three areas suggest themselves as candidates for urgent future research within FG. One is a classification of Extra-Clausal Constituents. They are mentioned too often to be ignored, are confused with the special positions P2 and P3, and at the same time seem to have the status of a wastepaper basket for unidentifiable elements. More ambitious is the second area of research: intonation. It really is time for FG to focus on this issue seriously and systematically. This would need to be done in conjunction with research into the third area. Chapters 5 and 7 discussed the contributions made to 'message management' by constituent order and accentuation on the one hand, and by intonation on the other. Message management is an important aspect of a dynamic, pragmatic theory of verbal interaction. The further development of that theory and the integration into this of the more static grammatical theory is probably the most exciting challenge facing FG at the moment.

## APPENDIX

### appendix 1: historical data

The following are all the sentences containing MPs from the works quoted in chapter 4. References are to page numbers, and to line numbers where possible following the slash (/). This has not been possible for the plays by Heijermans, Buysse, Vleugel & Vorstenbosch (nos. XV-XIX), and for *Arlequin Actionist* by Langendijk (no. XIV).

I. *Van den Vos Reynaerde* is not a dramatic text, but a satirical poem. Editions used: quotes from Lulofs (1983), control text Hellinga (1952).

132/1739        Laet mi doch lesen twee paternoster  
143/2061        Die coninc sprac: 'Nu segghet dan.'

II. *Lippijn, Buskenblaser, Die Hexe, Drie Daghe Here, Truwanten en Rubben* are from the *Hulthemse Handschrift*. This manuscript consists of four plays with a moral (so-called *Abele Spelen*), each followed by a short farce. *Lippijn* follows *Esmoreit*, *Buskenblaser* follows *Gloriant*, *Die Hexe* follows *Lanseloet van Denemarken*, and *Rubben* follows *Vanden Winter ende vanden Somer*. In addition, *Truwanten* is a short farce following the longer farce *Drie Daghe Here*. Only *Buskenblaser* and *Drie Daghe Here* contain directives with MPs. No material from the other farces has been included in this appendix. Editions used: quotes from Leendertz (1907), control text Moltzer (1975).

A. *Buskenblaser*

70/1            Siet doch, en benic niet hier?  
75/134-5        Latet mi doch sien in enen spiegel claer,  
                  Dat ic mi selven mach anesien.

B. *Drie Daghe Here*

124/194        Nu doet dan al uwen wille

III. *Een Cluijtte van Plaijjerwater*: Editions used: quotes from Leendertz (1907), control text Moltzer (1975).

163/54        Lieve Werenbracht, wilt u toch sussen!  
163/55        Och, mijn troest, ic moet u eens cussen;  
163/57        Lieve Werenbracht, beghint toch te gane;  
163/59        Gaet toch. ...  
166/115        Ja, willet mij dan vertrecken,  
167/131        ... , sijt toch onbesoercht.  
168/145-6     Nu nempt toch in u hertte verstant,  
                  Dat ghi niet en doerft gaen in oest lant;  
169/174        Slaet toch gaije mij proper tijmpelken:  
174/236        Herbercht on toch. ...  
176/270        Wat, liefken, sincht ons eens. ...  
177/297        Vrient, ghij moet eens singen.  
180/338        Sij toch te vreden, ghij hebbes genoch vonden;

IV. *Tafelspeelken I and II*, and *Nu Noch* are shorthand for the following three farces: *Een Tafelspeelken van Twee Personagen om up der Drij Conijnghen Avond te Spelen*, *Een Tafelspeelken van twee Personagien, eenen Man ende een Wijf, Ghecleet up zij Boerssche* and *Een Ghenoughelicke Clute van Nu Noch, van iij Personagien te Weten, den Man, den Ghebuer, Dwijf ende die Pape*. They come from the same manuscript. Editions used: quotes from Leendertz (1907), control text Moltzer (1975).

A. Een Tafelspeelken van Twee Personagen om up der Drij Conijnghen Avond te Spelen. Ed. Leendertz (1907)

182/34-5 ... Ja, wilt dan ghewaghen  
Wat weij brijnghen up dit saeijsen.

B. Een Tafelspeelken van twee Personagien, eenen Man ende een Wijf, Ghecleet up zij Boerssche. Ed. Leendertz (1907)

197/218-9 Nemet doch danckelic, dat jonste ghevrocht heeft,  
En blijft bevolen Godts moghende gratie.

C. Een Ghenoughelicke Clute van Nu Noch, van iij Personagien te Weten, den Man, den Ghebuer, Dwijf ende die Pape. Ed. Leendertz (1907)

199/28 Nu zecht mij dan.  
206/134-5 Lieve heere, comt tot mijnen man,  
En ziet doch, wat hem deert.

V. G.A. Bredero *Klucht van de Koe*: Editions used: quotes from Keersmaeker (ed.)(1979), control text Daan (ed.)(1971).

5/85 Ai, tapt me 'n reis!  
5/91 Ai, schep nog een reis, want tappen is te veel werk.  
15/286 De meiden badden him en zeiden: Ai, Mooi Lammert, komt toch bij.  
20/418 Dat 's 'um recht, huisman, gij moet 'et ook vergeten.  
23/481 Ai stil een reis, Joosje, mij dunkt daar wordt geklopt.  
24/516 Ai lieve, laat Lubbert eens gaan in de wei.  
25/524 Nou drink een reis om, ziet hoe dat biertje gijlt.  
26/540-1 Laat ons nou een reis: *Wie wil horen zingen van vreugden een nieuw lied,*  
*Van een zo loze boerman.* Wel hei, en ken gij dat niet?  
28/595 Maar zegt mij een reis, heb gij ook in Vrankrijk verkierd?

VI. G.A. Bredero *Spaanse Brabander*: Editions used: quotes from Keersmaeker (ed.)(1979), control text Prudon (ed.)(1968).

83/107 Och, doet je toch wat te goed! ...  
84/143 Verwondert je dan niet, ...  
87/199 Slechthooien als gij zijt, mookt eensens een akte notariaal.  
95/352 Ai lieve, ziet Jan Knol eens druiloren, hij staat of hij zot is.  
95/353 Hoort eens hier, Jan Knol, ...  
95/355 Hoort hier eens, koopman van aalshuiden, ...  
97/393 Daar is 'et: deinkt een reis, ...  
101/461 Houd daar dan, Contant, ...

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103/490	Kom hier en zieg-et eens, ...
107/574	Maar Annetjen, zegt me iens, wat is er opelopen?
107/588	Ai lieve, gaat eens mee hier in de verruwerij
107/593	Ei, ziet eens, wat een slord heb ik hier veur mijn buik.
110/662	Eilieve, laat eens zien of wij er wijs op vinden.
111/688	Ik bid's u, laat mij eens, is 't meuglaik, laat 'et zijn.
119/871	Nou moet je eens jouw kunst en jouw vermogen tonen.
121/904	... Nu eet doch, arme bloed.
128/1066	Verklaart hier eens, Harmen, voor deze goede mannen, Waarom dat je bent te Ditmars uitgebannen?
137/1266	Komt een reis voor de dag, hondsklink! komt eens uit de koken!
142/1354	Hou daar, mijn vaar! ai lieve, leest dan nog iens Een evangelietje uit de Schrift, ...
142/1363	Leest nou een reis van dat heiligje, mooitjes van voren an.
143/1386	Jawel, kijkt eens, en wordij niet zot? ...
146/1461	... Komt, helpt mij doch, mijn jonker!
172/1939	Ai, komt toch strik straks weer.

### VII. P. C. Hooft *Warenar*: Editions used: quotes from Bergsma (ed.)(1967), control text Hellinga & Tuynman (eds)(1972).

30/207	Hoort eens nae mijn woorden, ...
30/213	Let 'er iens te deegh op, ...
39/371	Flux rept me jou handen nou en wacht 'er niet meê,
48/534	... Laat me de bruits wijn eens proeven.
51/575	Zegt me doch, vrome burgers, wat zijn ze op eslagen?
53/626-9	Loopt nou binnen, wil je kok, mit al jou gesnor, Ik geef je oorlof en denk dat je blijft toe zint, Kookt en smookt, klad en knoeit nou zoo lang tot je moe bint: Loop in kamer en kookken, en waer je begeert.
63/814	Waer schuil ik de Pot nou best? laet iens zien; in 't kniels vat.
73/1003	..., deinkt iens watten boel Dat zy te verwachten heeft, ...
74/1017	Maer zeght iens wat raet, ...
76/1050	Zegh jy 't mijn iens goeluy, keuj'et beter begrijpen?
76/1063	Ay betast mekaêr daer iens, ...
84/1187	Hebt doch paciency tot dat ik zijn reden ontbloot.
88/1242	Laet dan zien, wat heb je jou al an laeten smeeren.
90/1270	Ay zeg me doch iens, hoe verdiel je de paerten?
91/1283	... deinkt iens wat het lijkt, ...
93/1329	Wat kloppen is dat? ô klopt doch met bescheit.

### VIII. P.C. Hooft *Granida*: Editions used: quotes from Verdenius & Zijderveld (eds)(1967), control text Hellinga & Tuynman (eds)(1972).

13/268-9	Soo bid jck, wijst mij doch waer dat jk hier omtrent Wt coele beeck, of bron, mijn drooge dorst mach lesschen.
52/1062	... Daer gaet Daifilo, treedt eens wt, om hem te roepen ras, ...
84/1599	Gef hem maer, gef hem maer, doot beter als ontvloôn.

IX. J. van den Vondel *Maria Stuart of Gemartelde Majesteit*: Edition used: Sterck *et al.* (1931).

169/4 Heer Melvin, zegh my toch, ...  
 171/72 Zy let op ons gebaer: bedenck eens waer ghy zijt.  
 193/616 Beveel dan dat men ...  
 224/1403 Otzegt toch nu de nicht van Henderick den Zevenden,  
 224/1412 Mevrouw, verkies dan zelf hier zes of zeven uit.  
 230/1612 ... O Jesus, wil u mijner toch ontfarmen:  
 237/1826 Ghy Heeren, matight toch en toomt wat uwen toren:

X. Lucas Rotgans *Boerenkermis* is not a dramatic text, but a satirical poem. It has been included because of a lack of suitable dramatic texts from Langendijk's age. Edition used: Strengholt (ed.)(1968).

31/267 Steek maar een beuzem in zyn poort.  
 31/289 Zie Weintje Floris maar.  
 37/423 Zie Pleuntje Roemers eens.  
 38/448 Dat kind is altyd net! ei, zie die kap eens staan!  
 39/498 Ei zie die langneus eens!  
 41/517 Nu eens een hooger toon gespannen op myn snaaren.  
 48/688 Ik moet den vogel eens aantasten in den strydt;  
 53/814 Bezoek eens, of die quant uw horens af kan zaagen.  
 59/967 Maar hoor eens hoe hy kyft.  
 67/1144 Besmeer zyn harnas maar: de kerel raakt vol vuur.  
 68/1187 Kyk eens ter degen toe.

XI. Pieter Langendijk *Het Wederzyds Huwelyksbedrog*: Edition used: Ornée (ed.)(1971).

37/10-11 Zoek jy de Malibaan? ... Zoek dan niet meer.  
 39/67-8 Myn heer, ik bid je, dat wy hier toch met malkaar  
 Geen questie maaken;  
 40/79 Maar zeg eens, Jan, hoe staan wy nu met onze kas?  
 40/97 Maar 'k bid je, zeg me toch, myn heer, wat is de reden.  
 44/187 Nu, neem maar aan.  
 44/194-5 ... Maar, myn heer, laat ik maar zwygen:  
 Ze is hier genoeg bekend. Vraag maar aan iedereen.  
 45/202 Maar laat ik myn mond maar houwen.  
 45/224 Nu neem maar aan.  
 46/230 Och! och! Myn paerelsnoer! och buuren, kom eens buiten!  
 48/288 Zyt maar gerust juffrouw: ...  
 49/318 ... Laat het opschrift my eens leezen.  
 49/323 Laat my den brief eens zien.  
 50/330 ... Kind, wilt gy ze hem maar tellen?  
 54/439 Heer Graaf, kom jy maar flus.  
 55/471 Maar Juffrouw, zie my ook nu eens met aandacht aan;  
 57/516 Wees maar gerust, Juffrouw.  
 59/558 ..., ras Klaartje, doe eens open.  
 62/631 ... Dat moet je haest iens komen zien:  
 65/723 Mag ik 't juweel eens zien?  
 68/786 ... Zwyg maar, 't zyn malle vlaagen.  
 71/866 ... Wilt maar vry de zaak beginnen.  
 73/915 Verbrod ons werk maar niet door die uitsporigheden.

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75/956	..., wilt de and're helft maar sparen tot morgen ...
75/968	... ik zoek je maar te leeren Dat schijn geen waarheid is. ...
75-76/969	... Wel, leer dan ook van my, Dat gy by Juffers van verstand geen zotterny Beginnen moet.
77/1004	Vertrek dan Hospes, en Lakkeijen.
78/1040	Neem dan niet vreemd dat ik my moet bereiden, ...
83/1167	Neen, neem maar aan ...
84/1186	Nu Klaartje, zeg maar ja; ...
86/1219	Maar zeg my eens, ...
86/1245	Goed, hou maar rekening, zo kom je niet te kort.
86/1247	Heb maar geen zorg.
87/1270	Heel goed, wees dan te vreên, al wordt je niet gekust.
94/1434	... Hoor Klaartje! hang eens voort Teewater op, ...
95/1462	Ja, Heer Baron, 'k ben tot je dienst, gebied my maar.
102/1627	Let eens op myn aanschyn, ...
103/1659	... hoor eens toe: ...
105/1717	Hoor, Hans! kom hier eens Hans! kom hier eens by me staan!
107/1760	Hofmeester, doe eens op: ik hoor daar iemand schellen.
110/1842	... Klaar, lei dien heer eens uit.
113/1915	Kom laat me nou maar gaan: ...
118/2056	Zyt maar gerust: ...
122/2140	... Gy kunt de rest maar zwygen.
122/2145	Kom Hansje, laaten wy maar trouwen: ...
122/2153	Men spoel de zwaarigheid eens af met held'ren wyn.

### XII. Pieter Langendijk *Arlequin Actionist*: Edition used: Nieuwenhuys (ed.)(1967).

11	... Breng hier 't goed eens met de mand.
12	... Hoor, gooi je geld maar in Die grote, wijde bek, ...
13	Dat 's goed, maar hou nu op meer in de kist te stoppen.
15	Ik zal 't wel kruien, wil me maar een wagen lenen.
19	Zacht, mijn vriend, wees maar tevreen.
26	Ik bid dat gij eens om Marinette zendt,
28	Wacht maar een weinig, ik moet u eerst iets fraais verkopen.
31	Ei, bied maar, want 't is nog geld waard ...

XIII. Herman Heijermans *Het Zevende Gebod* and *Het Kamerschut*: Heijermans' plays are not particularly comical (*Het Kamerschut* is an exception), but his plays describe 'everyday' people and because of their realism certainly contain very representative language. Edition used: Heijermans (1965).

#### A. Het zevende gebod

293	Brom nou maar!
294	Denk toch niet an die ... Neem maar de dáágse. Nee, neem nou de dáágse. ... Klop maar niet!



- 295 ... - lach 'r maar om - ...  
 296 Praat nou is uit.  
 Praat is uit ...  
 Biecht nu eens op ...  
 297 Antwoord nou!  
 Zet maar in't midden, Aaf. Dank je.  
 298 Denk nu maar dat 'k biécht, Jozef ...  
 299 Geef me nou je hand, m'n kind.  
 300 Val maar niet, val maar niet!  
 301 Zeg 'r maar bij acht jaar.  
 302 Peter - laat me nu niet alleen aan 't woord - ...  
 303 Nemen jullie nou niet zo'n notitie van me - Wat is dat vervelend.  
 Stuif toch niet zo op, malle jongen.  
 304 Zet maar neer. Nee, dring 't nou niet op.  
 Nee jongen, blijf maar zitten.  
 306 Toe maar.  
 308 Zo. Daar moet je dan maar aan wennen.  
 309 Nou moeder, doe maar op.  
 Kom Peter. Trek je maar niks an van z'n gebrom.  
 ... Geef jij je goeie ouwe maar 'n pakkerd.  
 311 Klopt u maar is.  
 ... -hou maar op.  
 312 Hoor is.  
 Hoor is, meneer.  
 Nou, wees maar zoet.  
 Acht keren, leg nou niet te sanike!  
 313 Dan óók maar wegsturen. Alles maar wegsturen.  
 314 La maar - 'k zie ze al, zulle.  
 317 Je mot mijn 't verschil is vertelle ...  
 318 Seg is liefeling, je siet 'r pipsies uit.  
 Anders zegt ge 't maar, zulle.  
 319 Kom, sta nou op.  
 Nou liefeling, kind, kom ons nou is gauw opsoeke.  
 Meneer mot sich ook maar niet freemd houwe.  
 Hou je maar goed ...  
 321 Kan u me effen an één vijftwintig hellepe, meneer.  
 322 Leg se dan sellef beter!  
 Geef me is even 'n pop.  
 Hou maar je gemak hoor! Ik mot me cente! Dan mot je maar geen eiere ete.  
 Zeg nou an dat ventje beneden. Wacht, laat ik het maar zeggen ...  
 Klauter jij de trap is op! Hier heb je 'n dubbie voor de moeite,  
 en kom nou de volgende week 'ns terug - hoor je?  
 324 Draai toch niet om de waarheid heen, Gaaike.  
 326 Stoor u toch niet aan die malle jongen.  
 En kun je nou meegaan, Peter?  
 Drink dan eerst koffie.  
 327 Pas maar op dat je je cente krijgt, hoor!  
 Wilt u mij eens schrijven?  
 Dan dikteert u 't maar, wat?  
 329 Zoek maar niet.  
 Wacht 'r is.  
 Hé! Da's - da's - ruik is ...  
 331 Néém je toch niet altijd gelijk.

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- 332 Begin nou geen flauwiteiten - vooruit!  
Geef 't water is an.  
Bart - laat me maar gaan - ...
- 333 Kijk jij nou 'ns in de lamp - ...  
Kom! Uit nou!  
Nummer maar niet.  
Ga toch is 'n voordracht houen in 'n dameskrans, op 'n nutsavondje.
- 336 Nee, wees maar stil.  
Tóé, lach nou weer is!
- 337 Nou - wor nou niet schuin.
- 338 Kom jij maar bij de vrouw, engeltje.  
Loop jij maar, krèng.
- 339 Zou u 'm effen willen dichtdraaien?  
Als u pas is ziek geweest, zou ik met die kou nou maar thuisblijven.  
Mens, geneer je maar niet.  
Zeg mij nou maar wat 'r wezen moet.  
Nou, laat 'k maar niet liegen.
- 340 Laat maar. ... Wacht effen.
- 341 Wil u even gaan zitten?
- 343 ... - o, geloof u me toch - ...
- 345 Zie nu eens, Peter, ...
- 346 We moeten maar gauw ergens 'n villa kopen ...  
Wil jij me even naar de slaapkamer brengen?  
Maak je maar niet ongerust.
- 348 Seg - denk nou dat 'r 'n lijk leit.
- 349 Schrijf 't maar op je buik.  
Ga jij maar gerust naar huis.
- 350 Kom spreek nou 'n woordje ...  
Laat dat nou maar.  
Ga dan wat liggen.
- 351 Je mot is gaan kijken.
- 352 Zanik toch niet.  
Sla nou asjebliëft niet zo door.  
Redeneer nou met wie je wil, maar niet met mij.
- 353 Lees me so'n briefie is.  
Seit u maar smeerlapperij!  
Geef u mijn is an! ... Ja - geef u maar an.
- 355 Leg nou niet te klesse ...  
Trek jij je d'r maar niks van an.  
Nou liefeling, sit nou niet so te teutere. Je mot  
maar denke: 't is Gos welbehagen.  
Seur nou niet. ... Toe nou meid, spreek 's 'n woord!
- 356 Sit daar nou niet as verdomde Loewies. Je mot maar  
denke: voor hem 'n ander.
- 357 Komt u nou bij mijn 'n kommetje koffie drinke.  
Komt u nou gáúw mee.
- 358 Kom nou! Vooruit nou!  
Nou, 'k sei 't maar - as u - ... - soms iets gebruike wil ...
- 361 Toe nou. Toe nou.  
Hou je mond maar.
- 362 Dan máák je maar zin.  
Dan zen je 'r maar hier!
- 363 Gaat u maar binne.

- 364 Dan zet je 'm maar bij jou neer.  
Ja, bewaar 'm maar so lang.
- 366 Laat me maar zitten.
- B. Het kamerschut
- 628 Stel je nou niet zo an.  
Wees is stil, 'k geloof dat ze wakker wordt.
- 629 Schei nou uit met je kidekidekideki!  
Toe! Toe! Zoen 'r nou niet!
- 630 Stop de handjes 'r is onder.
- 632 ... gá dan Dolf en breng nòg 'n bos aspergers.
- 633 Pa help u is vlug!  
Hè, toe - vraag u nou niet.  
Pa, loop nou niet weg asjeblijf! Effetjes vasthouden.  
Hè, nee, pa. Laat u 'r nou!
- 636 Maar doe dan toch de gangdeur dicht, Dolf.  
Stil toch! Anders blijft ze wakker.
- 637 Hou toch je mond!  
Kij nou toch is.
- 638 Breng jij jouw voet is naar je mond!
- 639 Stil nou, papa!  
Stil nou maar.
- 641 Dan maar teruggeven!  
... - hou 'ns even vast - ...
- 642 Jaap, hou eens op - hè, wees nou niet zo "ongezellig" om in je ééntje te eten!  
Draai ze is naar de lamp, Jaap - ...  
- Jaap, pas dan toch op!
- 643 Dolf, steek toch in 's hemelsnaam je lepel zàchies in je soep.  
Kijk maar is tegen het licht van de lamp.  
Gauw dan toch, mama!  
Och, och, nee maar je moet is éven komen.
- 644 Help u even, ma?
- XIV. Cyriel Buysse *Het Gezin Van Paemel*: The same that has been said of Heijermans can be said of Buysse. In addition, Buysse wrote what was intended to look/sound like East Flemish, whereas Heijermans' plays are set in Amsterdam. They make an interesting comparison from the point of view of regional usage. Edition used: Buysse (1979).
- 770 Ha moar zwijgt, Edewoord, 'n loat ons nou ne kier gien ruize moaken.  
Kijk ne kier! Wa es dát hier!
- 771 Ha moar Kerdule, 'n geeft ou toch de moeite niet  
van mee die stomme kwezel doarover te spreken.  
Ala toe, kom moar heulegans binnen.  
Kijk ne kier hier.  
Kom moar binnen en loat ouwen hoaze moar zien.  
Masco, pas toch op, newoar.
- 773 Kom moar binnen.  
Loat z'r, nondezu, moar ne kier goed in schieten in den boel;
- 774 Ala toe, jongen, zwijg moar.
- 775 G'n moet 't moar goan biechten an menier de paster os ge zonde ziet gebeuren.  
Ha moar schiedt er nou ne kier uit mee kijven en mee lachen.

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- 778 Ha moar, Voader, 'n vloekt toch azue niet!  
Spiegel ou ne kier aan Desiré ...
- 779 Och Hier! 'n kijft toch niet!  
O nien, Edewoard, jongen, o nien, nien, 'n goa toch niet wig!  
Wilde gij ne kier ou smoel houên, joa g!  
... 'n goa toch nie wig!  
Loat hem moar goan, ...
- 785 Ala toe, Desiré, doe hem ne kier zwijgen;  
786 Kijk ne kier noar Boer Landuijts hof, ...  
788 Doe hem toch ophou, Van Paemel, ...  
792 Ala, Desireé, voer moar vuert oale, jongen;  
En loat de hoane moar kroaien uek, ...
- 793 O! huer ne kier hoe da ze noar Masco schieten.  
800 Peis toch ne kier hoe schrikkelijk dat da es: ...  
802 Ha moar, Vader, 'n vloekt toch azue niet in de  
presencie van Menier de Paster.  
803 Kijk, lees da ne kier, ...  
804 Lees moar luie, Menier de Paster, da 'k het uek nog ne kier huere.  
Loat ne kier zien dan.
- 805 Peis ne kier, vader, dat nonkel Justien een rijpaard heeft ...  
Wacht ne kier, woar woaren we dan?  
Maar ik verdien hier nu al zestien dollars in de  
week; peis toch dat is meer dan tachtig franken ...
- 806 Enfin, ... loat ons ne kier vuert lezen.  
807 ... en zegt hen dat zij maar spoedig naar Amerika moeten komen ...  
808 ...; kom moar binnen; ...  
809 Allo, 't es goed, leg ze doar moar, ...  
... en zet ou moar wat-e.
- 810 Moar zeg ne kier, Masco, ...  
814 En peis ne kier dat hij ons geld hee willen zenden om ...  
Kijk ne kier wa da 'k hier hê veur ulder.  
815 O, kijk ne kier hoe schuene, hoe schuene!  
O Voader, kijk ne kier hoe schuene!  
En kijk ne kier, doar hangt 'n briefken an.  
Och ... loat ons nou liever vergeten 't gien da  
de kinders ons misdoan hên, ...
- 816 Och, os 't u blijft, 'n zijt er toch niet kwoad tegen;  
... Peis toch da g'hem waarschiijnlijk nooit mier 'n zilt zien.  
819 En loat het ulder moar zien aan de smeirlappen!

XV. Guus Vleugel & Ton Vorstenbosch *Sterke drank in Oud-Zuid, In de dromodratie and De midlifecrisis van Harde Harry* are the present-day control texts. Edition used: Vleugel & Vorstenbosch (1990).

A. Sterke Drank in Oud-Zuid

- 157 Sta nou op, joh.  
158 Wacht 's. ...  
162 Zeg, zal ik soms even gaan kijken, waar die blijft?  
Hé, wacht nou even, Bolle.  
163 Ja, kom maar verder, hoor  
164 O god, Frans. Wel even vertalen hoor.  
Weet je wat, geef me ook maar even een borrel.

- 165 Hier, neem jij 'm maar.  
 166 Kom, Claar, ga maar met mij mee.  
 167 Ja, René, ga jij nou ook maar weg.  
 Gut, o, nou ja, zeg dat dan meteen...  
 Kom 's hier.  
 Hè, nee, ga nou niet naar huis. Blijf nou bij me.  
 168 Nee, zeg nou niet dat je d'r niet tegen kan.  
 170 Wacht even, ga nog even zitten.  
 171 Laten we dan maar naar bed gaan.  
 Doe 't dan ook.  
 173 Geef mij ook maar een cognac.  
 175 Kijk 's wat ik bij me heb.  
 176 Probeer maar 's een glaasje.  
 Vertel 's van je roman, Leander?  
 Schat, gebruik nou toch je verstand.  
 177 Nu moet je 's luisteren, ...  
 178 Hè, Leander, hou nou op.  
 Leander, hou nou op joh.  
 179 Ga 's van die bank af, Bolle.  
 Geef me 's een zoen.  
 Help me dan toch.  
 181 Ja maar, Ate, luister nou 's...  
 182 Ja, maar nou moet je 's luisteren...  
 Maar begrijp 't nou toch.  
 183 Mevrouw Schilperoort, Geesje, wees nou even redelijk.  
 Ga even zitten.  
 184 Zet dat nou maar uit je hoofd.  
 187 Wacht even?  
 189 Kom d'r nou gewoon gezellig bij.  
 191 Sorry, leg 't 's uit.  
 192 Kom, Jan Willem, blijf nou.  
 193 Hè, René, hou nou 's even je mond.  
 Dan moet je toch 's even nadenken.  
 195 Kij 's wie hier is?  
 196 Je moet 't maar zeggen, hoor, ...  
 O jezus ja, nou ga maar niet mee, Clara.  
 Kijk nou maar even hoe je je over een half uurtje voelt.  
 Zeg toch Clara.  
 Wacht 's, wat was 't ook weer?  
 198 Hé, ouwe, ga 's even zitten.  
 En laat de sleutel maar liggen, ...  
 199 Ate, begrijp 't nou, ...  
 201 En dan moet je toch maar zien dat je op de  
 Jellinek terecht kan of zoiets.  
 206 's Kijken, wat neem ik?  
 207 Wacht nog even, Bolle.  
 209 O ja? Wacht 's. ...  
 210 René, laat je handen 's wapperen, kom 's hier met  
 de catering. Ja, kwak maar op tafel.  
 211 Wacht 's, we hadden het toch laatst over je verbouwing.  
 212 O, Clara! Hoor 's.  
 214 Ja knul, schreeuw jij je hart maar uit je longen.

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### B. In de dromocratie

- 225 Hoor 's, 't staat niet in d'r contract.  
Wacht nog effe, tot ik m'n koffie opeb.
- 226 Mam, ga nou nog niet naar boven.
- 227 Zeg 't maar, wat voor idee is dat dan?
- 231 Ga je soms mee zover?
- 233 Hou je daar toch in vredesnaam buiten, ...
- 234 Cynthia, wacht even.  
Geef me 's een zoen.
- 235 Help me dan toch!  
Hallo, blijf maar lekker daar zitten.
- 237 Nou nee, vechten jullie 't samen maar uit.
- 238 Ga maar met hem.  
Nee, wacht even.
- 239 Doe dat nou maar niet.
- 243 Ja, trek ze maar gauw terug, ...
- 245 Zou u niet 's willen proberen...
- 246 Maar ga maar, laat me maar stikken.  
Ja hou nou maar op.
- 247 Nee, laat mij maar vragen.
- 248 Hè, help nou even, help nou eerst even zoeken.  
Nee, laat Cynthia maar betalen.
- 250 Ga maar op je eentje, hè, da's beter.
- 251 Komen jullie even zitten, laten we gezellig gaan zitten.
- 252 Jongens, luister nou 's, ...
- 253 ... en denk maar niet dat ze op je zitten te wachten, hoor.
- 255 O, kijk 's.  
Cynthia, zullen we misschien apart gaan zitten.
- 257 Ja hoor 's...
- 260 Ach, laat die man toch zijn werk doen.  
Hoor 's, waarom gaan jullie nou niet weg?  
O ja, tik maar, hoor.
- 261 Schrijf dat boek dan niet.
- 262 Je moet straks wel even bij Hakko komen.  
Laat 'm maar hier komen.  
Mevrouw Veneman, geef dat lege kopje maar mee.
- 263 Dan moeten jullie 't zelf maar weten.
- 264 Ga 's zitten, Cynthia.
- 269 Ga dan in de bejaardenzorg, kind.
- 274 Hé, tijd niet gezien. Ja, kom maar verder hoor.  
Kijk 's wie we daar hebben.
- 275 Laat 'r even d'r gang gaan.
- 276 Je zoekt 't maar uit hoor.  
Laat 'r even d'r gang gaan, zeg ik je.

### C. De midlifecrisis van Harde Harry

- 281 Hoor 's ...
- 282 Moet je 's luisteren
- 283 Kijk 's Harry, ...  
Zeg 's eerlijk, ...
- 284 Lies heeft een heel mooie galerie in de Huidenstraat. Moet je 'ns langs gaan,...

287 Zeg nou niet dat je d'r op spuugt, Harry.  
289 Laat maar aan mij over.  
Ga maar vooruit.  
294 Lies, ga even zitten.  
Ga nou even zitten.  
297 Kom 's hier.  
301 Kijk even wie d'r is?  
Doe jij 't maar.  
302 Geef 's hier.  
Nee, geef nou even.  
Neem jij dan alvast de tafel af.  
Ach Diederik, til even je benen op.  
303 Laat mij 't nou maar even doen.  
304 Nou moet je 's luisteren, Harry, ...  
305 Kijk liever 'ns naar jezelf, zeg.  
306 Ga maar naar de bank!  
..., neem eerst even een douche.  
Ga maar vast.  
307 ... anders zou ik zeggen: kom even, ...  
308 Zeg 't maar.  
309 Wees nou redelijk Erno, ...  
Kom, huil maar niet.  
... maak jij d'r maar wat van.  
311 Diederik, kom even!  
314 Laat 's kijken.  
315 Kom, ga je nu maar omkleje.  
317 Grace, doe nou niet!  
Zet maar neer.  
Ga even zitten.  
318 Wacht 's...!  
319 Erno, kom even.  
320 Ga maar naar boven.

**appendix 2:**  
**intonation profiles, illocutionary frames and MPs**

## I. the interrogative illocutionary frame

i. *eens*

(A)	Kun	je	eens	lángs	komen?
(AC)	Kun	je	eens	lángs	men?
				ko	
					men?
				ko	
(B)	*Kun	je	eens	lángs	
(C-)	Kun	je	eens	lángs	kom
					en?
(C+)	Kun	je	eens	lángs	komen?

ii. *ook*

(A)	Kun	je	ook	lángs	komen?
(AC)	Kun	je	ook	lángs	men?
				ko	
					men?
				ko	
(B)	*Kun	je	ook	lángs	
(C-)	Kun	je	ook	lángs	ko
					men?
(C+)	Kun	je	ook	lángs	komen?



iii. *nou*

- (A) Kun je nou lángs kómen?
- (AC) Kun je nou lángs kómen?  
ko
- (B) \*Kun je nou lángs kómen?  
Kun je nou lángs kómen?
- (C-) Kun je nou lángs kómen?  
ko
- (C+) Kun je nou lángs kómen?

iv. *even*

- (A) Kun je even lángs kómen?
- (AC) Kun je even lángs kómen?  
ko
- (B) \*Kun je even lángs kómen?  
Kun je even lángs kómen?
- (C-) Kun je even lángs kómen?  
kom
- (C+) Kun je even lángs kómen?

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v. *soms*

- (A) Kun je soms lángs kómen?
- (AC) Kun je soms lángs kómen?  
ko men?
- (B) \*Kun je soms lángs kómen?  
ko men?
- (C-) Kun je soms lángs kómen?  
kom en?
- (C+) Kun je soms lángs kómen?

vi. *misschien*

- (A) Kun je misschien lángs kómen?
- (AC) Kun je misschien lángs kómen?  
ko men?
- (B) \*Kun je misschien lángs kómen?  
ko men?
- (C-) Kun je misschien lángs kómen?  
kom en?
- (C+) Kun je misschien lángs kómen?

II. the declarative illocutionary frame

i. eens

- (A) Je moet eens lángs komen.
- (AC) Je moet eens lángs ko men.  
ko men.
- (B) \*Je moet eens lángs
- (C-) Je moet eens lángs ko men.
- (C+) Je moet eens lángs komen.

ii. ook

- (A) Je moet ook lángs komen.
- (AC) Je moet ook lángs ko men.  
ko men.
- (B) \*Je moet ook lángs
- (C-) Je moet ook lángs ko men.
- (C+) Je moet ook lángs komen.

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iii. *even*

- (A) Je moet even lángs komen.
- (AC) Je moet even lángs men.  
ko men.  
ko
- (B) \*Je moet even lángs
- (C-) Je moet even lángs ko men.
- (C+) Je moet even lángs komen.

iv. *maar*

- (A) Je moet maar lángs komen.
- (AC) Je moet maar lángs men.  
ko men.  
ko
- (B) \*Je moet maar lángs
- (C-) Je moet maar lángs ko men.
- (C+) Je moet maar lángs komen.

III. the imperative illocutionary frame

i. *eens*

- |      |      |      |    |      |      |
|------|------|------|----|------|------|
| (A)  | Kom  | eens | lá | ngs. |      |
| (AC) | Kom  | eens | lá | ng   | s.   |
|      |      |      |    |      | ngs. |
| (B)  | *Kom | eens | lá |      |      |
| (C-) | Kom  | eens | lá | ngs. |      |
| (C+) | Kom  | eens | lá | ngs. |      |

ii. *toch*

- |      |      |      |    |      |      |
|------|------|------|----|------|------|
| (A)  | Kom  | toch | lá | ngs. |      |
| (AC) | Kom  | toch | lá | ng   | s.   |
|      |      |      |    |      | ngs. |
| (B)  | *Kom | toch | lá |      |      |
| (C-) | Kom  | toch | lá | ngs. |      |
| (C+) | Kom  | toch | lá | ngs. |      |

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iii. *nou*

(A) Kom nou lá ngs.

(AC) Kom nou lá s.  
ng ngs.

(B) \*Kom nou lá

(C-) Kom nou lá ngs.

(C+) Kom nou lá ngs.

iv. *dan*

(A) Kom dan lá ngs.

(AC) Kom dan lá s.  
ng ngs.

(B) \*Kom dan lá

(C-) Kom dan lá ngs.

(C+) Kom dan lá ngs.

*v. even*

- (A) Kom even lá ngs.
- (AC) Kom even lá s.  
ng ngs.
- (B) \*Kom even lá
- (C-) Kom even lá ngs.
- (C+) Kom even lá ngs.

*v. maar*

- (A) Kom maar lá ngs.
- (AC) Kom maar lá s.  
ng ngs.
- (B) \*Kom maar lá
- (C-) Kom maar lá ngs.
- (C+) Kom maar lá ngs.

U gaat een aantal Nederlandse zinnen horen en zien. Geef a.u.b. op dit formulier de beleefdheidsgraad van elk van deze zinnen aan door bij het horen en zien van iedere zin één van de zes hokjes aan te kruisen volgens de volgende normering:

- 1 = te beleefd
- 2 = zeer beleefd
- 3 = beleefd
- 4 = noch beleefd noch onbeleefd
- 5 = onbeleefd
- 6 = zeer onbeleefd

Stel u bij het horen van de zinnen een niet al te formele situatie met onbekenden voor: u bent in een ruimte (bijvoorbeeld een collegezaal vóór het begin van een college) met een aantal leeftijdsgenoten met wie u géén intieme, vriendschappelijke of familie-gebonden relaties hebt. U bent de toesprokene.

Aan het begin van het experiment slaat u deze bladzijde om. U ziet dan een zin en hoort deze tegelijkertijd ook. U hebt tien seconden de tijd om een hokje aan te kruisen. Daarna hoort u een pieptoon waarop u omslaat naar de volgende bladzijde en het proces zich herhaalt.

Vul, voor het experiment begint, de volgende gegevens in:

leeftijd:

geslacht:

plaats van herkomst:

This is a sample page from the questionnaire. All 14 pages were identical except for the actual sentence tested. The full list of sentences is given in appendix 3b.

Geef a.u.b. de beleefdheidsgraad van deze zin aan door één van de zes hokjes aan te kruisen volgens de volgende normering:

Deur dicht.

1  te beleefd

2  zeer beleefd

3  beleefd

4  noch beleefd noch onbeleefd

5  onbeleefd

6  zeer onbeleefd



**appendix 3b: experiment 1: data**

- 1 Zou ik de deur dicht kunnen doen?
- 2 Doe de deur dicht.
- 3 Zou je de deur dicht willen doen?
- 4 De deur dicht doen.
- 5 Kun je de deur dicht doen?
- 6 Zou ik de deur dicht mogen doen?
- 7 Deur dicht.
- 8 Kan ik de deur dicht doen?
- 9 Zou je de deur dicht kunnen doen?
- 10 Mag ik de deur dicht doen?
- 11 Je moet de deur dicht doen.
- 12 Als je de deur eens dicht deed ...
- 13 Wil je de deur dicht doen?
- 14 Je zou de deur dicht moeten doen.

*experiment 1: politeness of directives without MPs*

sub no.	utterance number													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	2	5	3	4	2	2	5	3	2	3	5	3	3	4
2	3	6	3	6	3	3	6	3	4	3	6	5	4	5
3	2	5	3	4	3	2	5	2	3	3	4	4	3	4
4	3	5	2	5	3	2	6	3	2	1	4	2	3	4
5	3	5	3	6	4	2	6	3	3	2	3	5	3	3
6	3	5	3	4	3	2	5	2	3	3	5	3	4	4
7	3	5	3	4	3	2	5	3	4	3	5	6	3	4
8	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
9	3	4	3	5	3	3	4	3	4	4	5	5	4	4
10	3	5	3	6	2	2	6	2	3	2	6	4	2	6
11	4	5	3	4	2	2	5	3	4	3	4	4	3	4
12	1	5	3	6	3	1	6	2	3	4	6	6	4	4
13	4	5	3	5	4	1	6	3	3	3	5	4	3	5
14	1	5	3	5	3	3	5	4	3	2	4	4	3	4
15	4	6	4	6	4	3	6	4	4	4	5	6	4	6
16	1	5	3	6	3	1	6	1	3	3	5	5	3	4
17	4	5	3	5	4	3	6	4	2	4	5	4	4	4
18	5	6	4	6	4	4	6	4	4	3	3	4	4	4
19	4	5	3	4	4	2	6	4	4	4	4	4	3	4
20	4	5	2	4	4	2	4	2	2	3	5	5	3	4
21	3	5	3	5	3	2	6	3	3	2	4	5	3	4
22	4	5	3	6	4	3	6	4	3	2	5	4	4	3
23	2	5	3	6	2	1	6	2	2	2	5	4	4	1
24	3	5	4	4	3	3	5	3	2	3	5	5	3	4

### **appendix 4a: experiment 2: questionnaire**

The following 55 pairs of sentences were presented to the informants. The first three pairs were intended as preliminary exercise, the subsequent 52 pairs constituted the test itself.

1.    A     Doe de gordijnen maar open.  
      B     Doe de gordijnen eens open.
2.    A     Kun je even een pilsje inschenken?  
      B     Kun je misschien een pilsje inschenken?
3.    A     Je moet je mond houden.  
      B     Je moet je mond ook houden.
4.    A     Doe de deur dicht.  
      B     Doe de deur even dicht.
5.    A     Kun je de deur dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur nou dicht doen?
6.    A     Kun je de deur eens dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur misschien dicht doen?
7.    A     Kun je de deur dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur even dicht doen?
8.    A     Kun je de deur ook dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?
9.    A     Doe de deur dicht.  
      B     Doe de deur nou dicht.
10.   A     Kun je deur even dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je deur misschien dicht doen?
11.   A     Kun je de deur dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?
12.   A     Doe de deur even dicht.  
      B     Doe de deur maar dicht.
13.   A     Kun je de deur even dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?
14.   A     Doe de deur dan dicht.  
      B     Doe de deur maar dicht.
15.   A     Je moet de deur maar dicht doen.  
      B     Je moet de deur ook dicht doen.
16.   A     Kun je de deur even dicht doen?  
      B     Kun je de deur nou dicht doen?

17. A Doe de deur dan dicht.  
B Doe de deur eens dicht.
18. A Je moet de deur even dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur maar dicht doen.
19. A Je moet de deur dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur eens dicht doen.
20. A Doe de deur maar dicht.  
B Doe de deur toch dicht.
21. A Kun je de deur dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur eens dicht doen?
22. A Doe de deur eens dicht.  
B Doe de deur even dicht.
23. A Kun je de deur nou dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur ook dicht doen?
24. A Doe de deur eens dicht.  
B Doe de deur nou dicht.
25. A Doe de deur even dicht.  
B Doe de deur toch dicht.
26. A Je moet de deur eens dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur ook dicht doen.
27. A Kun je de deur nou dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?
28. A Doe de deur dicht.  
B Doe de deur maar dicht.
29. A Kun je de deur eens dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur nou dicht doen?
30. A Kun je de deur misschien dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur ook dicht doen?
31. A Kun je de deur eens dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?
32. A Doe de deur dicht.  
B Doe de deur dan dicht.
33. A Doe de deur maar dicht.  
B Doe de deur nou dicht.
34. A Je moet de deur dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur ook dicht doen.

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35. A Doe de deur dan dicht.  
B Doe de deur nou dicht.
36. A Kun je de deur dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur misschien dicht doen?
37. A Doe de deur dan dicht.  
B Doe de deur even dicht.
38. A Kun je de deur dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur ook dicht doen?
39. A Je moet de deur even dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur ook dicht doen.
40. A Doe de deur nou dicht.  
B Doe de deur toch dicht.
41. A Doe de deur eens dicht.  
B Doe de deur maar dicht.
42. A Kun je de deur even dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur ook dicht doen?
43. A Je moet de deur eens dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur even dicht doen.
44. A Doe de deur dan dicht.  
B Doe de deur toch dicht.
45. A Doe de deur eens dicht.  
B Doe de deur toch dicht.
46. A Je moet de deur dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur even dicht doen.
47. A Kun je de deur eens dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur ook dicht doen?
48. A Doe de deur dicht.  
B Doe de deur toch dicht.
49. A Kun je de deur eens dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur even dicht doen?
50. A Kun je de deur misschien dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur soms dicht doen?
51. A Je moet de deur eens dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur maar dicht doen.
52. A Doe de deur dicht.  
B Doe de deur eens dicht.

53. A Kun je de deur misschien dicht doen?  
B Kun je de deur nou dicht doen?
54. A Doe de deur even dicht.  
B Doe de deur nou dicht.
55. A Je moet de deur dicht doen.  
B Je moet de deur maar dicht doen.

PERSOONLIJKE GEGEVENS

geslacht:

geboortedatum:

geboorteplaats:

geef hieronder aan in welke plaatsen u hebt gewoond met data:

woonplaats van tot

instructie

Op de keerzijde van deze bladzijde staan 55 nummers met ieder een hokje 'A' en een hokje 'B'. Deze nummers corresponderen aan 55 zinsparen die op een band worden afgespeeld en tegelijkertijd op het dia scherm worden geprojecteerd. Van ieder zinspaar is de eerste zin zin 'A' en de tweede zin 'B'. U hoort ieder zinspaar twee maal met een tussenpauze van tien seconden. Hierna hoort u een pieptoon, gevolgd door het volgende zinspaar dat tegelijkertijd geprojecteerd wordt, enzovoort. Geef van ieder van de zinsparen aan, door een kruisje in het juiste hokje te zetten, uit welke van de twee zinnen volgens u de meeste dwang spreekt. De eerste drie zinsparen zijn bedoeld als oefening vooraf. Daarna krijgt u de gelegenheid om eventuele vragen te stellen, waarna het experiment werkelijk begint en de band niet meer wordt stilgezet.

1  A  
 B

2  A  
 B

3  A  
 B

4  A  
 B

5  A  
 B

6  A  
 B

7  A  
 B

8  A  
 B

9  A  
 B

10  A  
 B

11  A  
 B

12  A  
 B

13  A  
 B

14  A  
 B

15  A  
 B

16  A  
 B

17  A  
 B

18  A  
 B

19  A  
 B

20  A  
 B

21  A  
 B

22  A  
 B

23  A  
 B

24  A  
 B

25  A  
 B

26  A  
 B

27  A  
 B

28  A  
 B

29  A  
 B

30  A  
 B

31  A  
 B

32  A  
 B

33  A  
 B

34  A  
 B

35  A  
 B

36  A  
 B

37  A  
 B

38  A  
 B

39  A  
 B

40  A  
 B

41  A  
 B

42  A  
 B

43  A  
 B

44  A  
 B

45  A  
 B

46  A  
 B

47  A  
 B

48  A  
 B

49  A  
 B

50  A  
 B

51  A  
 B

52  A  
 B

53  A  
 B

54  A  
 B

55  A  
 B

**appendix 4b: experiment 2: data**

force of directives with and without MPs. N = 111

DECL

maar	8	even	93	O	66
ook	103	maar	18	eens	45
eens	65	O	69	even	33
ook	46	ook	42	ook	78
eens	85	O	96	eens	98
even	26	even	14	maar	13
O	107				
maar	4				

IMP

O	98	O	54	even	98
even	13	nou	57	maar	13
dan	107	dan	87	maar	3
maar	4	eens	24	toch	108
eens	102	eens	26	even	17
even	9	nou	85	toch	94
O	107	O	55	maar	3
maar	4	dan	56	nou	108
dan	33	dan	90	nou	72
nou	78	even	20	toch	39
eens	104	dan	45	eens	50
maar	7	toch	66	toch	60
O	76	O	86	even	20
toch	34	eens	24	nou	91

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INT

O	20	eens	97	O	82
nou	91	misschien	14	even	29
ook	77	even	88	O	70
soms	33	misschien	22	soms	41
even	67	even	5	O	40
soms	44	nou	106	eens	71
nou	93	nou	100	eens	28
ook	18	soms	11	nou	83
misschien	21	eens	95	O	90
ook	89	soms	15	misschien	21
O	76	even	40	eens	67
ook	35	ook	71	ook	44
eens	93	misschien	25	misschien	9
even	18	soms	86	nou	102



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## SAMENVATTING

### Modale partikels in directieven in het Nederlands: een studie in Functionele Grammatica.

Dit proefschrift geeft een analyse van het gebruik van modale partikels (MPs) in directieve zinnen in het kader van de Functionele Grammatica (FG). Met directieven worden zinnen bedoeld als (1)-(3):

1. Je moet de radio uitdoen.
2. Kun je de radio uitdoen?
3. Doe de radio uit.

Een formele karakterisering van deze zinnen ziet er als volgt uit:

DECLARATIEF: Subj *moeten* [X][MP][Vi].

INTERROGATIEF: *kunnen/willen* Subj [X][MP][Vi]?

IMPERATIEF: (Subj) [Vf<sub>imperatief</sub>][X][MP][Vi]

waarin:

Subj = subject (in de tweede persoon)

Vi = niet-finiet werkwoord

Vf = finiet werkwoord

X = objecten, adverbia

Directieven zijn taalhandelingen die het doel hebben de hoorder tot een bepaalde actie aan te zetten, in (1)-(3) het uitdoen van een radio. Zoals duidelijk zal zijn uit de formele karakterisering en de voorbeeldzinnen, zijn directieven niet beperkt tot een bepaald zinstype, maar kunnen zowel imperatieve als vragende en bewerende zinnen als directief optreden.

In dit soort zinnen kan bijvoorbeeld het woord *even* als MP voorkomen, zoals in (4)-(6):

4. Je moet de radio *even* uitdoen.
5. Kun je de radio *even* uitdoen?
6. Doe de radio *even* uit.

Als temporeel bijwoord betekent *even* 'een korte tijd'. In (4)-(6) is deze betekenis aanwezig indien *even* beklemtoond is. Is het woord *radio* of het prefix *uit* echter beklemtoond, dan hebben we te maken met het MP *even* en is de temporele betekenisassociatie afwezig. Toch heeft *even* in (4)-(6) een

functie: het maakt het bevel of verzoek minder dringend, beleefder. Andere MPs hebben het tegenovergestelde effect en maken een verzoek dringender, minder beleefd.

In alfabetische volgorde zijn de MPs waar deze studie over gaat *dan, eens, even, maar, misschien, nou, ook, soms* en *toch*. Zij komen niet alleen in directieven voor, maar ook in andere taalhandelingen. Deze studie beperkt zich tot directieven omdat dat een diepgaande studie van MPs in één bepaalde context toestaat. Anderzijds zijn directieven veel voorkomende taalhandelingen die communicatief zeer belangrijk zijn vanwege de dwang die de spreker ermee kan uitoefenen.

Behalve de afwezigheid van de traditionele betekenis van het bijwoord waarmee een MP verwant is, hebben MPs nog een aantal andere kenmerken. Zij komen veel voor in het informele, mondelinge verkeer waarin beklemtoning en intonatie een belangrijke rol spelen. Het aantal zinsplaatsen waar zij kunnen staan is beperkter dan dat van de verwante bijwoorden. Dit betreft met name de eerste en laatste zinsplaats. Bovendien zijn ze ongelijk verdeeld over de traditionele zinstypen. Hun distributie over deze zinstypen staat in tabel S.1.

	DECL	INT	IMP
dan	-	-	+
eens	+	+	+
even	+	+	+
maar	+	-	+
misschien	-	+	-
nou	-	+	+
ook	+	+	-
soms	-	+	-
toch	-	-	+

tabel S. 1                      distributie van MPs over zinstypen;  
DECL = declaratief, INT = interrogatief, IMP = imperatief

Tenslotte kunnen alle MPs die in een bepaald zinstype voorkomen samen in een cluster verschijnen. Een imperatief kan bijvoorbeeld een cluster van maximaal zes MPs bevatten:

7.     Doe de radio dan nou toch maar eens even uit.

Een cluster van drie of meer is uitzonderlijk maar acceptabel. De volgorde van zo'n cluster ligt bovendien vast, zoals is aangegeven in tabel S.2.

type	volgorde van cluster
DECL	<i>ook, maar, eens, even</i>
INT	<i>nou, misschien/soms*, ook, eens, even</i>
IMP	<i>dan/nou*, toch, maar, eens, even</i>

\* omwisselbaar  
 tabel S.2 de volgorde van MPs in clusters

Gezien de bovenstaande typering van MPs gaat het er in deze studie om een beschrijving van de functie van MPs te geven, hun distributie over de diverse zinstypen en hun gedrag in clusters te verklaren, en de wisselwerking tussen MPs en prosodie (beklemtoneering en intonatie) te beschrijven.

Hoofdstuk 1 beschrijft de probleemstelling en de theoretische en methodologische achtergronden. Diverse subdisciplines van de linguïstiek zijn nodig om de hoofdvragen van deze studie te kunnen beantwoorden. Dit zou kunnen leiden tot een oppervlakkige, eclecticische aanpak. Er is derhalve voor een functionele benadering gekozen, omdat hiermee het probleem met de nodige diepgang breed uitgemeten kan worden. Methodologisch is er bewust gekozen voor een balans tussen introspectie, de analyse van intersubjectieve gegevens verzameld met behulp van enquêtes, en corpusonderzoek.

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt, na een kort overzicht van de belangrijkste taalhandelingsliteratuur, de term 'directief' verder gedefinieerd. Hierbij wordt speciale aandacht besteed aan het verschil tussen directe en indirecte taalhandelingen. Voorts verwerpt het hoofdstuk als zijnde te beperkt een analyse van MPs als beleefdheidsverschijnselen. In plaats daarvan wordt er een bredere functionele beschrijving voorgesteld aan de hand van de termen *mitigation* ('verzwakking') en *reinforcement* ('versterking'). Deze termen worden verder uitgewerkt.

Hoofdstuk 3 bevat een nadere definiëring van MPs. Het geeft eerst een overzicht van de partikelliteratuur en beschrijft vervolgens de formele en functionele kenmerken van MPs in vergelijking met andere woordklassen die ook wel met de naam 'partikel' aangeduid worden. Daarna worden de negen betrokken MPs individueel besproken uitgaande van de tegenstelling tussen *mitigation* en *reinforcement*.

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt de geschiedenis van MPs in directieven geschetst. Van elk MP wordt de eerste vindplaats nagetrokken met behulp van een tekstcorpus dat een periode bestrijkt van de middeleeuwen tot en met de jaren tachtig van de twintigste eeuw. Voorts tracht het hoofdstuk een verklaring te geven voor het feit dat de *mitigators* veel later verschenen dan de *reinforcers*. Dit gebeurt aan de hand van studies over wijzigingen in de normen voor sociaal gedrag.



In hoofdstuk 5 wordt een overzicht van de FG gegeven. De FG onderscheidt diverse lagen bij het opbouwen van een uiting. Door de plaats van een taalverschijnsel in deze lagenstructuur te bepalen kan dat verschijnsel nader beschreven worden. Een secundaire vraag voor deze studie betreft dan ook de status van MPs in de FG alsmede hun plaats in de lagenstructuur. Eerst bespreekt hoofdstuk 5 de grondbeginselen van de FG. Vervolgens wordt de lagenstructuur in detail besproken en in het bijzonder de vraag naar de plaatsing van bepaalde taalverschijnselen in die structuur. Het hoofdstuk sluit af met een paragraaf over de wisselwerking tussen pragmatische functies, beklemtoning en speciale zinsplaatsen in het Nederlands.

De status van MPs in de FG alsmede hun plaats in de lagenstructuur wordt in hoofdstuk 6 besproken. Hiertoe wordt een taxonomie van complementen in het Nederlands opgebouwd, omdat het relatief gemakkelijk is complementen in de lagenstructuur te plaatsen. Op grond hiervan wordt het gebruik van MPs in diverse complementen beschreven, waaruit blijkt dat verschillende MPs tot verschillende lagen behoren. Hiermee kan tot op zekere hoogte hun distributie over de drie zinstypen worden uitgelegd. Het geeft bovendien een sluitende verklaring voor het gedrag van MPs in clusters.

De wisselwerking tussen MPs en intonatie wordt beschreven in hoofdstuk 7. Uitgangspunt hiervoor zijn de profielen van Bolinger (1986). Dit zijn elementaire intonatiepatronen met elk een grondbetekenis. Voor het Nederlands worden vier van zulke profielen onderscheiden die parallel lopen met de puur formele (d.w.z. perceptueel te onderscheiden maar in principe betekenisloze) intonatiepatronen van 't Hart *et al.* (1990). Vervolgens beschrijft hoofdstuk 7 de wisselwerking tussen de vier voor het Nederlands onderscheiden profielen en directieven zonder MPs zowel als met MPs. Hieruit wordt duidelijk dat voor *mitigation* en *reinforcement* zowel intonatiepatroon als zinstype van groot belang zijn.

Tenslotte beschrijft hoofdstuk 8 twee experimenten die werden uitgevoerd om de conclusies van eerdere hoofdstukken te beproeven. Het eerste experiment betreft de relevantie van het zinstype voor het verschil tussen *mitigation* en *reinforcement*. Dat het zinstype inderdaad relevant is wordt bevestigd. In het tweede experiment wordt het onderscheid tussen verzwakkende en versterkende MPs getoetst. Dit leidt tot een bijstelling van dat onderscheid waardoor de distributie van de negen MPs over de verschillende zinstypen tenslotte geheel verklaard kan worden.

De *epilogue* zet de conclusies van het proefschrift nogmaals op een rijtje en doet suggesties voor verder onderzoek, zowel op het gebied van MPs als voor de FG.

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