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THE FUNCTION OF DIRECTIVES IN COURT DISCOURSE

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It is hardly surprising that directives play an important role in court discourse. Particularly in those courts where the overall purpose is to impose an order of some sort, that is to get the defendent to do something, directives issues by magistrates become both a means of controlling the discourse in the immediate situation, and an attempt to control the behaviour of the defendant in the wider social situation. Directives are thus of crucial significance in this context and become the linguistic means through which social control is negotiated and exerted. In a very practical and unhypothetical way, directives matter to the participants in court: to the magistrate who is doing the ordering and is concerned to make certain that his order is carried out and to the defendant who is ordered. For this reason alone, it would be worth investigating the forms such directives take and the implications of the syntactic choices made by magistrates in a court context, where decisions are binding and have the force of law.

Equally important, however, the definition of directives and their functions pose a number of interesting analytical problems. First, and perhaps most significant, implicit in the previous mention of the magistrate's control of the linguistic behaviour of the defendant in the immediate situation and the wider notion of social control is that these two things are somehow related. Giddens (1973:15) criticises ethnomethodologists for assuming

> that the most vital aspects of social existence are those relating to the triviata of 'everyday life', whereby the individual shapes his phenomenal experience of social reality

and asserts that the inferences drawn from such a view 'easily rationalise a withdrawal from basic issues involved in the study of macro-structural social forces and social processes' and an abandonment of 'the problems which have always been the major stimulus to the sociological imagination'. While this may be a just criticism of certain aspects of ethnomethodology, more important is the fact that social structures and social institutions are themselves maintained through interaction. The linguistic negotiation of important areas of social conduct is not only determined in and by institutional settings but is, in turn, essential to the maintenance of those settings. As Brown and Levinson (1978:245) point out,

> larger-scale social facts (institutions, jural rules, rights and duties) are embodied in, and in part exist in, interactional detail.

While it may be possible to avoid confronting issues involving macro-structural social forms and processes, as Giddens suggests, in the study of the systematics of casual conversation, a courtroom presents a natural language situation where such a 'withdrawal' is not a possibility.

Clearly, few people would deny that the courts exercise power and authority in a social sense, and that, through their decisions, judges and magistrates exert considerable control over the many individuals who pass through the court system each day as defendants. What is less clear is the precise nature of the linguistic negotiation which comprises the decision-making process and the means of information transfer on which such decisions are based and through which they are implemented. The courts thus provide an institutional context which can be observed and recorded, and court discourse is a valuable source of 'real' evidence, of significant interactional detail, as to the working out of power, control and resistance to control through linguistic negotiation. The study of court discourse, and of directives in particular, presents one possibility of bridging the gap between the social structure and the individual's experience and shaping of social reality.

Secondly, a fairly large amount of literature within linguistics and related disciplines has been written which focusses on directives in a formal theoretical sense, and this literature originates from sources as diverse as speech act theory, discourse analysis, social anthropology and studies of cross-cultural language usage, and language acquisition. Much of this work has been concerned with the question of indirection, particularly within speech act theory, with how a hearer understands 'the indirect speech act when the sentence he hears and understands means something else' (Searle 1975:60). Several different kinds of answers have been posed to this problem (Sadock 1974, Green 1975, Grice 1975, Gordon & Lakoff 1975, Searle 1975, Downes 1977, Holmberg 1979, etc.), which raises the related questions as to how much of illocutionary force is semantic, and to what extent a theory of pragmatics is necessary. Because they are often indirect, directives pose a complex and interesting theoretical problem, since they frequently force the analyst to evaluate the relationship between syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

This concern with indirection often leads to a further concern with directives as an expression of politeness, tact or deference (Goody 1978, Leech 1977, Fraser & Nolen 1981) and with the role of status, power and social distance (Labov & Fanshel 1977, Brown & Levinson 1978, Ervin-Tripp 1976, Mitchell-Kernan & Kernan 1977) in the mitigation of directive intent. Indeed, the social situation or context is an important feature of any functional consideration of directives, and Ervin-Tripp (1976:59) concludes that

> the work of the hearer need not begin with the utterance but that the set or priming of the hearer can be so great that a nod is a directive. But if the form is inappropriate to the context, it may not be heard as a directive at all.

This suggests something of the difficulty of the attempt to generalise about the syntactic properties of directives and their resistance to being incorporated satisfactorily into a general theory of speech acts.

Questions concerning the formal classification and functions of directives have also been raised, if somewhat less widely, in conjunction with discourse analysis (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975,

Labov & Fanshel 1977, Berry 1981). Sinclair and Coulthard consider the directive as a discourse act and pose a very limited definition by which a directive requests an immediate and non-linguistic response. Berry expands this definition, still working within exchange structure, and introduces co-occurrence and sequencing criteria by which directives can be defined and form part of a multi-layered theory of discourse. Labov and Fanshel do not use the term 'directive' but subsume utterances which have a clear directive function under the general concept of the 'request' which forms the basis of their 'scale of mitigation and aggravation' for the classification of the social meaning of requests.

Part of the difficulty in reconciling these various approaches to directives is the diversity of acceptable criteria and theoretical assumptions. Sentence-based approaches, such as speech act theory, which employ only hypothetical examples and give considerable weight to the intentions of the speaker, do not map very well onto a corpus of utterances; nor are they easily reconciled with theories of discourse which are primarily concerned with sequencing and structure and which may or may not make use of 'real' language. What kind of sense can one make of such diversity, and which approaches are most helpful in analysing the functional significance of directives?

Directives in court discourse

My own interest in directives arose for two particular reasons: (1) that they occur very often in magistrates' courts and assume considerable importance there, especially in view of the magistrate's position of power with regard to the defendant; and (2) that the attempts to handle them, various as they are, are somehow inadequate to illuminate their function fully in a court context. A number of linguists have recently pointed out the importance of natural language situations in the gathering of socio-linguistic evidence (Labov 1975, Wolfson 1976), put succinctly by Levinson (1980:20):

> that the linguist's reliance on intuition for data and deductive methods of theory construction must give way in the area of language usage to studies based on recorded data and induction from collections of instances.

Since directives are both recurrent and predictable in magistrates' courts, this setting provides the possibility of repeated recording in a consistent context, with participant roles remaining constant even though most of the actual participants change. Moreover, not only do a variety of directives with different surface syntactic forms occur in my data but the situation is one in which issues of power and status are intrinsically involved and can be subjected to a fairly systematic examination. Thus court discourse has the advantage of providing a rich source of directive variance, which is paradoxically predictable, in a natural language situation which is both interesting in itself and has important consequences for certain of the participants.

Purpose and definition of directives

My primary purpose, then, in this paper is to investigate the function of directives in court discourse by: (1) examining the surface syntactic choices made by magistrates when issuing directives and; (2) relating the surface syntactic form of the

directives which occur to their propositional content. My interest was mainly in determining whether there were any observable rules governing a magistrate's choice of a particular form of directive or perceivable patterns governing the incidence of such choices. For example, one might expect that directives relating to payment, which is the area over which the magistrate's authority is greatest, would differ at least in the occurrence of certain surface forms from those directives relating to physical acts or court procedures.

Since my aim was to examine directives from a functional point of view and in a particular context, my initial definition had to be a broad one which was posed in functional terms, that is any utterance in which the Speaker requests the Hearer to perform some Act, either explicitly or implicitly. (An implicit directive is one in which the Act is not directly referred to in the proposition). Though this definition employs 'request' in its most general sense and does not take us very far, it does provide a convenient starting point.

The first step was to identify utterances with directive force in the data. Utterances were judged by their function in a court context, and consequently some utterances, for example, you've got to come to terms with yourself about your finances - haven't you, were considered as directives when spoken by a magistrate to a defendant. Clearly, this particular utterance, if it were spoken by, say, one colleague to another, would almost certainly not be regarded as having directive force by the hearer.

There is a nice example of the directive force of a particular utterance in the data, when one defendant is inquiring of the clerk as to where his fine can be paid:

1. D: does that have to be paid in Derby or Nottingham
2. C: it has to be paid here Mr. H
3. D: in Nottingham
4. C: to this court yes - the usher will give you a
5. letter with the address
6. D: it can't be paid in Derby
7. C: I just said it has to be paid here
8. D: I heard you the first time - I was just querying
9. if it was possible

What the defendant seems to be querying in this instance is the directive force of the utterance (2), which indeed if spoken in a different context might well be simply informative and therefore possibly open to negotiation. The clerk makes it clear that in this context, although the utterance does have an informative function, its primary force is directive and thus the defendant's query (6), is inappropriate. Consequently, the clerk responds forcefully and somewhat rudely in order to convey this force (7).

Description of the data base

The data base was a series of audio-recordings and transcriptions made over a period of time in the Arrears and Maintenance division of the Nottinghamshire County Magistrates' Court, the lowest court in the English system. The Bench is usually comprised of three

magistrates, one of whom acts as the chairman. Only the chairman is allowed to speak in court, though the remaining members of the Bench may and do confer sotto voce with the chairman magistrate. They do not, however, engage in courtroom interaction, though they do take part in any private conferences held with the clerk during the court recess and thus participate in the decision-making process. The recordings are composed of the sessions of five different magistrates, one woman and four men, each of whom is acting as chairman of the Bench. A total of twenty-six defendants were involved.

The Arrears and Maintenance Court was selected partly to reduce the number of speaking participants to three, the magistrate, the clerk and the defendant, and partly because it is a court in which magistrates and defendants interact directly and at length. Hence nearly all the discourse is essentially two-party talk, between the magistrate and the defendant or between the clerk and the defendant or, occasionally, between the magistrate and the clerk. Both the magistrate and the clerk participate in questioning the defendant, though the majority of directives are issued by the magistrate.

Magistrates are not usually professional lawyers but laymen, and their status is conferred by the court and by the community at large rather than by professional qualifications. Legal knowledge is generally the responsibility of the clerk, though the magistrate is ultimately responsible for any decisions made. Defendants in this court usually have low economic and social status and are most often present because they have failed to comply with a decision of a previous court; they have either failed altogether to pay their fines/maintenance or, more often, they have not been paying regularly and are in arrears. Consequently, the common goal-oriented task of all cases is the decision as to how much the defendant should pay each week or, exceptionally, the imposition of a prison sentence. Information on which decisions are based is obtained mainly in prolonged questioning sequences.

Coding procedure

The 404 directives identified in the data were coded according to two sets of criteria, one based on propositional content and one based on surface syntactic form in order to determine the relationship between them. The classification according to propositional content can be summarised as follows:

Propositional content

A. Directives relating to physical acts. Immediate.
These include such acts as standing up, sitting down, taking the oath, leaving the court, fetching the police, signing warrants, escorting the defendant, etc.

Examples:

M:	you may go	(to defendant)
M:	will you stand up Mr.B. please	(to defendant)
C:	stand up please	(to the court)

B. Directives concerned with either: Immediate.

1. Linguistic processes.

These include such acts as telling, explaining, confirming, making an offer, answering a question, etc.

Examples:

M: can I have an answer to my question please (to defendant)
M: I wait earnestly with my colleague for a proposal from you (to defendant)

Or:

2. Mental processes.

These include such acts as realising, understanding, remembering, etc.

Examples:

M: you must realise that this is serious (to defendant)
M: I want you to clearly understand that this must be paid (to defendant)

C. Directives relating directly to payment of fines or maintenance.

Examples:

M: this fine must be paid within twenty-eight days (to defendant)
M: five pounds a week (to defendant)

D. Directives relating to court procedures, procedure of payment and ancillary matters. Non-immediate.

Includes such acts as returning to court, seeing probation officers and solicitors, tax codes, means of payment, etc.

Examples:

M: don't send money through the post (to defendant)
M: we shall expect you back here on the 20th of October at 2.30 (to defendant)

Discussion

This classification distinguishes directives which involve explicitly linguistic acts from those which do not and directives which request immediate acts from those which request non-immediate ones in terms of types of propositional content. Indeed, acts of the can you open the window or please pass the salt type would all be classified as A., though these are a little more than one-quarter of the total if we count the swearing-in procedure and less than one-sixth if we do not. (See Table 3.) It seemed justifiable to consider directives relating to payment separately from physical acts, because they are non-immediate and require a linguistic response. Also, directives relating to payment are in a sense the central concern in all cases, and hence more consistently comparable, with fewer variables, than the other divisions of propositional content. Category D is the most heterogeneous and in that sense the least clearly defined.

Directives relating to linguistic and mental processes are justified as a separate classification by their sheer prevalence. The clause was used as the base for coding, which in the case of the linguistic

processes often involved two directives in a single utterance. For example,

M: have you any response to the suggestion that you send back your colour TV

One might argue here that the primary directive force is the one which requests an explicit linguistic response, while the secondary force concerns the 'suggestion' that the defendant return his TV set. However, I have not distinguished in the coding procedure between possible primary and secondary forces and have classified each clause as a separate directive.

Occasionally a single utterance can have a directive force which applies to another person as well as the addressee. For example,

C: if you'd like to go with the usher to the collecting office

Though the defendant is the addressee, this utterance also functions as a directive to the usher, who receives no separate instruction from the clerk. In this case, since the directive force is the same, it seemed sensible to classify the utterance as a single directive.

2. Syntactic form

Directives were also classified according to their surface syntactic form. A summary of this classification follows:

1. Imperatives. P (no S).

Examples:

U: take the testament in your right hand - and repeat the oath (to defendant)
M: don't send any money through the post (to defendant)

2. Interrogatives. PS or Aux SV. Act and agent explicit.

Examples:

C: would you like to explain to the Magistrates why you haven't been paying (to defendant)
M: will you fetch a policeman (to usher)

3. Declaratives. SP.
3a. Declaratives with 2nd person subject or passives. S(you)P. SP(passive). Act explicit.

Examples:

M: from now you pay ten pounds (to defendant)
M: you may leave the court (to defendant)
M: this has got to be paid, and it's got to be paid as quickly as possible (to defendant)

Very occasionally declaratives with 2nd person subjects are modified by postposed tags such as the following: SP + tag.

M: you'd better not argue with any foreman in future - had you (to defendant)

3b. Performatives or elaborations of performatives. SP(where P = performative verb)

Examples:

M: the court orders that you pay this eighty-four pounds by the 9th of August (to defendant)
M: this court has no option but to confirm the order that you shall pay four pounds to your wife and four pounds to your child totalling eight pounds per week (to defendant)

3c. Need or want statements. Subject is the speaker or the speaker as representative (the Bench, the Court, etc.). SP (+need, + want).

Examples:

M: the 7th of October at 2.30 - we shall want you back here then (to defendant)
M: in that case the court needs to have some details of your means (to defendant)

Need and want are extended to include such forms as hope, would like to see, feel, etc.

3d. Hints. SP.

Hints are distinguished from declaratives with 2nd person subjects and passives in that the act and agent are not explicit.

Examples:

M: that's all today (as a signal to the defendant to leave the courtroom)
M: we've all got to hear (speak louder)

4. Moodless items. No P.

Examples:

M: two pounds a week (you must pay two pounds a week)
M: Tom Jones please (Tom Jones come into the courtroom)

Discussion

Several points need clarifying with regard to this classification, which is partially modelled along the lines suggested by Ervin-Tripp (1976). However, while Ervin-Tripp attempts to devise her classification according to the degree of indirection involved, such a scale was not feasible in a court context. Also her division of whimperatives into imbedded imperatives and question directives was not a useful one for my purposes, and there were no permission directives in my data. Hence my classification is more explicitly based on surface syntactic form.

The declarative form presents the most problems, since the variance in both form and function would appear to be greatest. Modality is often used to vary the strength of the directive force, and is an aspect which merits further examination. Hints by their very nature require inference and shared knowledge, and consequently their identity was occasionally problematic. In addition, since it is the declarative form where the informative and directive functions are most closely related, many utterances classified as directives in this context were also conveying information. However, the constant use of reiteration by all magistrates seems to be a means of strengthening the directive function of declaratives and exercising control. Hence directives with declarative form tend to be repeated more often than interrogatives and imperatives, though usually with some variance of form.

All interrogatives are by definition whimperatives, and clearly I had to reject Searle's (1976) argument for considering all questions as directives by virtue of their requesting an answer. This notion has a certain appeal in a court context but would multiply the number of directives beyond any possibility of being able to deal with them. This may seem a nice distinction, particularly in view of the prevalence of interrogatives in conjunction with the linguistic processes. Consequently, the explicitness of the reference to a linguistic event was regarded as the crucial factor as well as the indirectness of the reference to the action requested. For example, would you like to explain to the magistrates why you've paid nothing since 1975 was regarded as an interrogative directive while why haven't you been paying was considered as an information question and not classified as a directive. Obviously, this distinction arises only when the act required to satisfy the proposition is a linguistic one, and whimperatives referring to physical actions, for example, would you return to the witness box Mr. B, presented no such problems. The importance and implications of explicit linguistic references will be examined presently.

Lastly, there is the problem of threats. Most linguists (Green 1975, Ervin-Tripp 1976, Labov & Fanshel 1977, etc.), apparently do not consider threats as directives, and Ervin-Tripp suggests that threats have a different social distribution. The court context is clearly within that social distribution, as threats are relatively frequent and employed by most magistrates. Intuitively, in such a context threats are a form of directive, in fact, the most intensified version of directive force. However, since threats varied considerably in their degree of explicitness, they were difficult to classify on any formal scale relating to their form.

Also, if the basic form of a conditional threat (and all threats in a court context are conditional ones) is an if-then proposition, this too is subject to considerable surface variation. In addition, all if-then propositions are not threats, since such speech acts as promises and warnings can also take this form. In conditional threats the directive as such is contained in the if element, the then element introducing the notion of punishment, which other directives presumably do not contain. Thus threats as such were excluded from my coding procedures.

Conclusions

Table 1

		No. of directive utterances	Percentage of total
A.	Physical acts	116	29
B.	Linguistic and mental processes	82	20
C.	Payment	128	32
D.	Procedural and other	78	19
	Total	404	

Table 2

				No. of directive utterances	Percentage of total
1.	Imperatives			81	20
2.	Interrogatives			64	16
3.	Declaratives			240	59
	3a.	2nd person subject & passive	149 37%		
	3b.	performatives	19 5%		
	3c.	wish or need statements	37 9%		
	3d.	hints	35 8%		
4.	Moodless			19	5
			Total	404	

Discussion

Several points need to be clarified and certain qualifications introduced before any firm conclusions can be drawn from the results of my coding procedures. Firstly, although the different magistrates have been numbered as a convenient means of reference, directives issued respectively by magistrates and clerks in the various sessions were not distinguished. There are several reasons for this. Both the magistrate and the clerk are in a position of power and authority over the defendant, and though directives which relate to payment are always issued by the magistrate, the issuance of other directives tends to depend on the inclination of the various magistrates involved. Hence, the relative number of utterances spoken by the magistrate in any session may depend on whether the magistrate insists on doing the questioning himself or is happy to leave it to the clerk. The effect on the defendant is much the same whether he is being directed by magistrate or clerk. In addition, there are a few directives given by the usher, though these, with one exception, are concerned with the swearing-in procedure, calling defendants into court, and getting the various participants to stand for the magistrates' entrance. There are also a small number of directives addressed to the usher. However, the vast majority of directives are addressed by either the magistrate or the clerk to the defendant, and their very preponderance is in itself a significant feature of court discourse.

Table 3

A. Physical acts

		immediate						
		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Imperative	1.	8(8)*	12(10)*	8(7)*	10(8)*	21(20)*	59(53)*	51%
Interrogative	2.	3	4	5	1	3	16	14%
Declarative 2nd person subject - passive	3a.	4	3	1	2	10	20	17%
Declarative - performative	3b.	1	0	0	0	0	1	1%
Declarative - need or wish	3c.	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Declarative - hints	3d.	0	3	4	0	4	11	9%
Moodless	4.	2	5	0	0	2	9	8%
		18(8)*	27(10)*	18(7)*	15(8)*	40(20)*	116(53)*	

* imperatives which are ritual type acts, e.g. the swearing-in procedure

** percentage of total number of directive utterances involving physical acts

Table 3

B. Linguistic or mental processes		immediate						
		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Imperative	1.	1	1	2	0	5	9	11%
Interrogative	2.	7	7	7	4	18	43	52%
Declarative second person subject - passive	3a.	2	2	6	0	3	13	16%
Declarative - performative	3b.	0	0	1	0	0	1	1%
Declarative - need or wish	3c.	1	3	1	0	3	8	10%
Declarative - hints	3d.	1	0	0	0	3	4	5%
Moodless	4.	0	4	0	0	0	4	5%
		12	17	17	4	32	82	

** percentage of total number of directive utterances including linguistic and mental processes

Table 3

C. Payment

non-immediate

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Imperative	1.	1	0	0	0	1	2	1.5%
Interrogative	2.	0	0	0	0	2	2	1.5%
Declarative second person subject - passive	3a.	16	15	22	5	23	81	63%
Declarative - performance	3b.	8	4	0	0	3	15	11%
Declarative - need or wish	3c.	2	0	1	4	4	11	8%
Declarative - hints	3d.	1	1	1	4	4	11	8%
Moodless	4.	1	2	3	0	0	6	7%
		29	23	26	13	37	128	

** percentage of total number of directive utterances involving payment

Table 3

D. Procedural and other

		non-immediate						
		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Imperative	1.	1	5	2	2	1	11	14%
Interrogative	2.	0	2	0	1	0	3	4%
Declarative second person subject - passive	3a.	8	11	1	3	12	35	45%
Declarative - performative	3b.	0	1	0	0	1	2	2%
Declarative - need or wish	3c.	5	3	3	3	4	18	23%
Declarative - hints	3d.	1	2	2	4	0	9	12%
Moodless	4.	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
		15	24	8	13	18	78	

** percentage of total number of directive utterances involving procedure and other matters

Table 4

1 Imperatives

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	8(')*	12(10)*	8(7)*	10(8)*	21(20)*	59(53)*	73%
Ling. or Mental	B.	1	1	2	0	5	9	11%
Payment	C.	1	0	0	0	1	2	2%
Procedure	D.	1	5	2	2	1	11	14%
		11	18	12	12	28	81(53)	

**percentage of total number of imperative utterances

*imperatives which are ritual type acts, e.g. the swearing-in procedure

2 Interrogatives

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	3	4	5	1	3	16	25%
Ling. or Mental	B.	7	7	7	4	18	43	67%
Payment	C.	0	0	0	0	2	2	3%
Procedure	D.	0	2	0	1	0	3	5%
		10	13	12	6	23	64	

**percentage of total number of interrogative utterances

3a Declaratives second person subject passive

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	4	3	1	2	10	20	13.5%
Ling. or Mental	B.	2	2	6	0	3	13	9%
Payment	C.	16	15	22	5	23	81	54%
Procedure	D.	8	11	1	3	12	35	23.5%
		30	31	30	10	48	149	

**percentage of total number of 3a type declarative utterances

Table 4 (continued)

3b Declaratives - Performatives

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	1	0	0	0	0	1	5%
Ling. or Mental	B.	0	0	1	0	0	1	5%
Payment	C.	8	4	0	0	3	15	80%
Procedure	D.	0	1	0	0	1	2	10%
		9	5	1	0	4	19	

**percentage of total number of declarative utterances

3c Declaratives - wish or need statements

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Ling. or Mental	B.	1	3	1	0	3	8	21.5%
Payment	C.	2	1	0	4	4	11	30%
Procedure	D.	5	3	3	3	4	18	48.5%
		8	7	4	7	11	37	

**percentage of total number of 3c type declarative utterances

3d Declarative - hints

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	0	3	4	0	4	11	31.5%
Ling. or Mental	B.	1	0	0	0	3	4	11%
Payment	C.	1	1	1	4	4	11	31.5%
Procedure	D.	1	2	2	4	0	9	26%
		3	6	7	8	11	35	

**percentage of total number of 3d type declarative utterances

Table 4 (continued)

4 Moodless

		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	Totals	**
Physical Acts	A.	2	5	0	0	2	9	47%
Ling. or Mental	B.	0	4	0	0	0	4	21%
Payment	C.	1	2	3	0	0	6	32%
Procedure	D.	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
		3	11	3	0	2	19	

**percentage of total number of moodless utterances

However, there are four directives issued by defendants, and because they are indeed so few, some discussion of those which do occur may be illuminating. Three of the four take the form of need or want statements (3c) and involve procedural requests. In other words, the defendant is requesting that the court accomplish some act within acceptable court procedure, such as adjourning his case to a different day or considering two offenses together. The fourth defendant directive is exceptional, and it is the only example of its kind. It occurs when the usher is requested to fetch a policeman so that this particular defendant can be taken to prison immediately. The defendant responds with

> D: you can't do it now (2) I'm still under psychiatric treatment (to magistrate)

This is a negative directive in the form of 3a. The magistrate counters with a clear statement that for the defendant to issue directives is not only inappropriate, but dangerous.

> M: you can't tell - you can't refuse to do something and tell us what we can do at the same time you know (to defendant)

And to demonstrate his point, a policeman is brought in and the defendant handcuffed and presumably taken off to prison. Thus it is probably not surprising that there are no other defendant directives of this kind.

In conjunction with the interpretation of Tables 1-4, it must be pointed out that there are a number of other variables which could not be controlled and may have an effect on the results. For instance, the number of cases per magistrate varied, and, consequently, also the length of sessions.

Table 5

	No. of Directives	No. of cases per Session
M1	74(8)	4.5
M2	91(10)	4.5
M3	69(7)	4
M4	43(8)	3
M5	127(20)	9
	404	25

Thus Magistrate 5 understandably issues a greater number of directives, and his session has a proportionately larger effect on the total numbers and their distribution. More difficult to allow for is the character of the individual cases. Those cases in which defendants resisted the magistrate's control not only tended to be longer but to call forth a higher number of directives, something which the Tables do not reveal.

Also significant is the possible overloading of particular categories with directives issued in conjunction with ritual court activities. With interrogatives and declarative hints (3d) this is a minor problem, the former being involved with the opening of each session and the latter with the closing. But as both involve quite considerable variance of surface form from case to case, the ritual element is minimal. However, when we come to a consideration of imperatives, some significant qualifications must be made. A very high proportion of imperatives are used in either the swearing-in procedure (place your right hand on the book and repeat the oath) or in getting the court to rise (stand up please) on the entry of the magistrates. These imperative forms are represented by the numbers in parentheses in Tables 3 and 4, and when we subtract them, we have only six imperatives employed in conjunction with immediate physical acts, and one of these represents a revealing shift of form,

> M: make sure that Mr. H. - um - usher perhaps you'll escort Mr. H. to the fines office to make sure that he pays his fifty pounds (to usher)

This utterance occurs at the conclusion of a lengthy case when the magistrate is angry, and the shift in form presumably marks his realisation that he is now addressing the usher and that to use the imperative would sound more abrupt and discourteous than he intends.

Implications

Perhaps the most obvious conclusion is the general predominance of declaratives as a form of directive in court discourse. (See Table 2). This is particularly evident in conjunction with payment directives, of which 118 out of 128 are in declarative form, and seems to apply equally to all magistrates. One can state with some certainty that the declarative is the favoured form with regard to acts of payment. Though declaratives also feature prominently in (A) and (D), nowhere else is their preponderance quite so marked or so total. In addition, in terms of payment, there is shown a marked preference by at least four out of five magistrates for the (3a) type declarative, and this too applies to a somewhat lesser extend to (A), (B) and (D). If we discount the ritual-type imperatives, the (3a) type declarative is the preferred form, though much more marginally, even in conjunction with immediate physical acts. Indeed, except for hints (3d), there is a reasonably clear preference in relationship to propositional content for each kind of declarative. Performatives (3b) are also employed predominantly in conjunction with payment (C) and want or need statements (3c) with regard to procedural matters (D).

One can speculate as to the reasons for this predominance of declaratives. As was previously mentioned, declaratives seem more widely variant in form in this situation than interrogatives, imperatives or moodless items, and are probably therefore more versatile. They can also encompass a wider range of both indirection and politeness, which is fully utilised in this context. Modality is often employed to intensify the directive force (e.g. This must be paid, The fine will be discharged), and this too seems particularly applicable to declaratives. Whimperatives without reference to the agent and act to be performed would appear not to occur in a court context, although of course such hints can and do occur as declaratives (3d). There would seem to be no courtroom equivalent to have you got a match or is that your coat on the floor type whimperatives.

Imperative forms, if we discount ritual items, occur fairly infrequently, with no marked predominance. This may be somewhat surprising, at least in view of Green's (1975) analysis of impositives. Of particular interest is the fact that more imperatives occur in conjunction with procedural matters (D) than either physical acts (A) or payment (C), as Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) findings in the classroom context and their definition of directives imperative in form would lead one to expect more imperatives in conjunction with immediate physical acts (A). With regard to (C), as the imperative is often regarded as the unmarked form of the directive (wrongly so, I think), one might reasonably expect such a form to occur preponderantly where the authority of the magistrate is greatest, i.e. payment. However, such is not the case, and, surprisingly, more imperatives occur in conjunction with both (B) and (D) than (A) and (C).

Interrogatives predominate with regard to linguistic and mental processes. There is a marked preference for the interrogative form in this area, with the possible exception of Magistrate 4. Again, this is contextually of particular interest. Indeed, the large number of explicit references to the linguistic and mental processes (by far the greatest number are linguistic) is in itself unusual. Since there are no established norms against which this number can be measured, obviously this is an intuitive judgement but one which is strongly felt and can, I think, be justified with reference to the courtroom situation.

There is little physical action in a magistrates' court, less than in most classrooms where pupils are often asked to do things, and the central act of payment is almost always non-immediate and must be negotiated through discourse. A statement of intention on the part of the defendant is the only immediate response possible to the magistrate's central directive. He has to 'make an offer' to the court, which is either accepted or rejected in conjunction with payment, and this is usually followed by an order for the amount to be paid and the time and means of payment. Hence the declaration of intention to pay assumes particular importance, and we have seen what can happen to a defendant who refuses to declare such an intention.

In addition, because each defendant is asked formally to give an account of his non-payment, there is a marked tendency to make explicit reference to the linguistic act to be accomplished by means of a directive, usually to tell or to explain. Thus because such linguistic events as explaining, confirming, offering are the only immediate and primary means by which the case can be judged and payment established and officially ordered, they too assume particular importance, which is made clear when a defendant fails to confirm or offer or explain. In a magistrates' court, silence or I don't know are not acceptable responses on the part of the defendant. To make usre references to the linguistic processes explicit is also to make them more formal and seem at least more official and binding upon the speaker.

A similar, if lesser, case can be made for references to mental processes. Because magistrates very often view the defendant's non-payment as a matter of his unwillingness rather than his inability to pay, they are perhaps unduly concerned with altering the defendant's mental state, with forcing him to 'realise' the

seriousness of his obligation and affecting his 'awareness' and 'understanding' of what may happen to him if he fails to pay. Again and again directives are explicitly 'made clear', and the single most often repeated question by all magistrates is Do you understand? Thus though one does not usually associate directives with mental states, situationally their occurrence becomes explicable and, like references to linguistic processes, even predictable.

This paper began with a general consideration of directives as a mode of control in court, and it is on this note that I wish to conclude. Directives are perhaps the most obvious means by which power and control are exerted. Indeed, the very definition of a directive involves an attempt on the part of the speaker to affect the behaviour of the addressee in some way, to get him to perform some act. Whatever their differences, all the writers previously mentioned seem to agree on this. Clearly, then, the sheer preponderance of directives in court (some four hundred addressed to 26 defendants by magistrates and clerks in my data) suggests a powerful means of control of the behaviour of defendants, whether the directives are immediate ones or relate to future acts.

But directives are also used by magistrates to exert and maintain control over the discourse, and their importance as a means of control is marked by their frequent repetition and the various framing and focussing devices which often accompany them. Whatever their surface form, directives are always initiating moves in the most general sense and hence increase the number of initiations which belong to magistrates and clerks. They place the defendant in the position of responding and are rarely challenged.

The majority of directives are in declarative form, particularly in connection with payment. They are often multi-functional and perform an informative as well as a directive function. In accepting the information, the defendant also accepts the directive. This is an interesting point and explains in part why the declarative is the form selected by magistrates most often in conjunction with payment. Payment directives nearly always serve an informative function as well, which is typically associated with declarative syntax.

What also seems necessary, if these results are to have wider significance, is the gradual establishment of norms with reference to other situations. Until we can state with some certainty (supported by recorded evidence) the distribution of directives in particular contexts, it is difficult to argue with conviction even that the incidence of directives in a magistrates' court is unusually high - though intuitively one strongly suspects this - much less the conclusive significance of their distribution in terms of surface form and propositional content. Though Ervin-Tripp (1976) puts forward an argument for deviance from an expected norm as a gauge of politeness, her evidence for those norms is as yet vague and unsystematic. With the lack of contrastive evidence, it is even more difficult to go beyond politeness and demonstrate in relationship to other situations how directives may be used to impose power and control.

Moreover, there is always the danger of over-interpreting even quite systematically gathered evidence. Despite a consistent context and the clear relationship between the propositional content and surface syntactic form of the directives in my data, the following example from this same data may serve as a warning:

> There are three magistrates sitting on the bench when the defendant is brought in and speaks in a very soft voice while being sworn in by the usher. As the defendant begins to speak, all three magistrates respond with simultaneous utterances, followed by the usher's reformulation of their three simultaneous directives.
>
> M1: wait a minute (imperative)
> M2: can you speak up (whimperative)
> M3: we've all got to hear (declarative)
> U: would you say it so the magistrates can hear (whimperative)

In response to the same utterance by the same speaker on the same occasion, three different syntactic forms are uttered simultaneously by the three magistrates.

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WANNA AND THE LEXICON

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Abstract

The constraints on the contraction of want to to wanna are best stated in terms of contiguity (pace Postal and Pullum) but with reference to contiguity in the lexical entry for want as well as in surface structure. This analysis has descriptive advantages over analyses which invoke 'traces' in surface structure, but it suggests that certain current assumptions about the form of lexical entries may be wrong. However, it seems that the changes indicated by these arguments are needed anyway for dealing with other phenomena[1].

1. Introduction

This paper offers answers to two questions, one of which has been discussed a lot in recent years, the other rather less frequently. The first question is about the contraction of certain sequences of verb plus to into a single phonological word (wanna, gonna, etc.), and the second is about the nature of lexical entries. The problem with wanna (etc.) is that the contraction may be prevented under certain conditions even when want and to occur next to each other in surface structure, so we need to find some suitably motivated device for blocking contraction in these cases. The connection with lexical entries is that an analysis is possible which refers to the lexical entry for want, going, etc. and prevents contraction just in case the verb and the to are separated from one another in the lexical entry, even if they are not separated in the surface structure. But if this analysis is a good one, we may need to make some rather trivial changes in the way we represent lexical entries, which may in turn lead to a somewhat different view of the relation between the lexicon and the rest of the grammar. Thus the rather odd facts about wanna, which have been used as evidence in favour of a number of theoretical claims, will be shown not in fact to support these claims at all, but rather to point to a quite different set of conclusions.

If the facts about wanna were all we had to support a new theory of lexical representation, the situation would be worrying, but there are other reasons why the new theory is needed. We shall review some of these reasons in section 7, where we shall see that lexical entries need to take the form of partial sentence-structures, the view that we shall assume for the analysis of wanna.

The conclusions to which I believe these arguments lead are all the more persuasive for the fact that the established views to which they are opposed have been accepted with virtually no supporting arguments.

2. The constraints on wanna

In this section, as in the rest of the paper, we shall concentrate on the contraction of want to to wanna, ignoring the handful of

other verbs which can contract with to (discussed in Postal and Pullum 1978 and Andrews 1978). It should be obvious how the analysis to be suggested for wanna can be extended to (be)gonna, use-ta, haf-ta, and so on. Nor shall I try to show how a lexical analysis such as the one I shall suggest for wanna may be given to other kinds of contraction such as sorta for sort of, nice'n for nice and, coulda for could have, and pleeceta meetcha for pleased to meet you (see Bolinger, forthcoming), though such items fit well into the general approach advocated in this paper.

One important difficulty in discussing the constraints on wanna is the difficulty of getting hold of reliable data, or of interpreting data which is easily available, such as informant judgements on sentences containing contracted forms. When presented with sentences such as (1) and (2), informants may give any one of three judgements: both are good, neither is good, or (1) is good and (2) is bad.

(1) Who do you wanna see?
(2) Who do you wanna come?

The one combination of judgements which no informants (in my experience) offer is rejection of (1) and acceptance of (2). The problem with these judgements is how seriously we should take them as reflections of the judges' own speech behaviour, or of anything else for that matter, as the constructions involved are very colloquial, at the most casual and least selfconscious end of the stylistic spectrum, where self-report so often turns out to be inaccurate. However, failing any evidence to the contrary it seems reasonable to assume that three different kinds of grammar need to be permitted for English. First, we have the strictest grammars, for which wanna simply does not exist, and which raise no problems of principle at all: whatever mechanism we propose for wanna is absent from these grammars. Then there are the 'restricted' grammars, on which the discussion in the literature has focussed; for these grammars wanna is possible in (1) but not in (2). Here the problem is how to prevent wanna from occurring in (2), given that the want and the to are next to each other in surface structure just as they are in (1). Finally, there are what Postal and Pullum call the 'liberal' grammars (1979), which allow both (1) and (2).

The problem with the liberal grammars is that they allow that contraction of want to to wanna is theoretically possible in sentences like (2), so they would seem to cast doubt on any treatment of the restricted grammars which explains that such sentences do not allow contraction because of some factor which makes it theoretically impossible for contraction to take place. Analyses which invoke phonologically null trace-elements seem to make such claims, since it is assumed that all speakers have a trace element between want and to in (2)[2], and the presence of this trace prevents the contraction rule from applying because of general principles (which is one of the reasons why the trace-theory treatment of wanna is claimed to be superior to its rivals). We shall discuss trace-theory treatments further in section 3. The analysis to be advocated in the present paper, on the contrary, is able to handle both types of grammar with only slight changes, as we shall see in section 6. To simplify the discussion, we shall concentrate on the 'restricted' grammars referred to above (those which allow wanna in (1) but not in (2)) in the discussion until section 6, so readers who themselves have liberal grammars should bear in mind that some of the judgements reported below may not apply to them.

What then are the constraints on the occurrence of wanna? It seems natural to assume firstly that want and to may be replaced jointly by wanna only if they are adjacent in surface structure - in other words, only if wanna could be replaced by want to with no intervening element. According to Postal and Pullum (1978) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1978), there is at least one speaker for whom this does not seem to be true. Professor Langendoen claims to be able to say sentences like (3), but not (4).

(3) I wanna very much go to the game this evening.
(4) I want to very much go to the game this evening.

This seems to me to be a case where we are short of reliable data. Without intending any disrespect to Professor Langendoen, it is often pointed out that any judgements produced by a professional linguist are potentially suspect, especially if the linguist concerned is as well informed on the theoretical issues hanging from the judgements as Professor Langendoen surely is. However, even if we accept these judgements at face value, they need not be directly relevant to our discussion since Professor Langendoen's grammar is clearly different from those of many other speakers, and it may well be that he has progressed further than the rest of us along the trail which Bolinger claims leads to treating wanna as a separate lexical item, comparable with, say, will.[3] It will become clear that the analysis to be offered here is at least in principle capable of being modified to cover a single-word treatment of wanna, though such a treatment would require a different grammar from the one we shall suggest for 'normal' restricted grammars. As far as such grammars are concerned, then, we can assume that contraction of want to occurs only when want and to are adjacent in surface structure.

There are two further restrictions on wanna, however. The first is the well-known one that rules out sentences like (2), on the grounds that there is something 'missing' between the want and the to, namely the NP which acts as subject of the infinitive. More specifically, it must be 'missing' by virtue of having been moved, as in a wh-question like (2), rather than suppressed under identity with the subject of want, as in (1). Like Postal and Pullum I believe it is important to treat these two types of 'missing' NP in quite different ways, and to exploit this difference in explaining the different effects on the contraction of want to (Postal and Pullum 1978), but unlike them I see the difference as lying in the fact that the NP concerned is allowed to be absent in (1) because of the contents of the lexicon (the lexical entry for want), whereas its absence from (2) has nothing to do with the lexicon, which, on the contrary, is responsible for its presence. In other words, the lexicon tells us that want can take an infinitive, and if it does the latter's subject may or may not be overt. If it is not overt, we get sentences like (1), and in such sentences contraction is possible. However, if it is overt, the lexicon does not tell us whether or not it will be displaced by some process such as wh-movement (clearly, such information does not belong in the lexicon), so its absence from its position between want and to in (2) has nothing to do with the lexicon. For the time being we can leave open the question precisely how the contents of the lexicon affects the presence or absence of the infinitive's subject NP, so that the comments above are compatible with Postal and Pullum's assumption that it is done by means of relation-changing transformations, but we shall see below that it is better to assume that the information is presented much more directly in the lexicon, by an entry which shows the NP concerned as present in one case and absent in the other.

The other restriction on contraction is that the infinitive must be a complement of want, and not a purpose clause. In order to construct a sentence in which want could be followed directly by the to of a purpose clause, and which is not already covered by the restriction given above, it is necessary to envisage an intransitive use of want, where want means 'have desires'.[4] The relevant type of sentence is illustrated in (5).

(5) (Life is all about suppressing desires. To live happily, you must try not to want. So remember:) You mustn't want to live.

In the intended interpretation of this sentence, want to cannot be replaced by wanna. The significance of examples like (5) is that they rule out any formulation of the constraint on wanna which simply refers to whether or not want and the infinitive have the same subject, as they do share a subject in (5), just like (1), but contraction is not permitted in (5). Nor can they be covered by a rule that prevents contraction across a site from which some NP has been moved, as there is no evidence that any NP has been moved from the object position of want. Even a deletion analysis of such generalised objects would be of no help, even if it could be motivated in other ways, as deletions must be ignored if wanna is to be allowed in sentences like (1).[5] It is worth pointing out that one could not refer to intonation boundaries either in order to prevent contraction in (5), as there need be no such boundary between want and to. Compare, as evidence for this claim, the sentence in (6), with the intransitive interpretation of want as in (5).

(6) (The effect of advertising is to give us all desires that we wouldn't otherwise have; in fact the relation between living and wanting has been reversed, so that if the ad-men had their way) we wouldn't want to live, but live so that we can want.

Another type of sentence which is worth mentioning here is exemplified by (7).

(7) How much money do you want to go on your conference?

In this sentence too the to introduces a purpose infinitive construction, and because of this wanna is not possible instead of want to. Like the sentences in (5) and (6), this shows that it is not sufficient to require that want and the infinitive should have the same subject. However, in this case another explanation is also possible for the impossibility of wanna, namely that an item is missing between want and to, where the object of want would have occurred had it not been a front-shifted wh-item (how much money). For those like Postal and Pullum who deny the relevance of 'missing items' between want and to, the only explanation for such cases must rest on the distinction between complement infinitives and purpose infinitives.

What all the examples in (5) to (7) show, then, is that want to will not contract to wanna unless the to is part of a complement infinitive, so if to belongs to a purpose construction it does not allow contraction since it is not part of a complement of want. The question now arises as to why this difference between complement infinitives and purpose clauses should arise. Is there any reason why we might expect the constraint to refer to this distinction, on general grounds? Would it have been in any sense unnatural

for the constraint to have forbidden contraction with a complement infinitive but allowed it with a purpose infinitive? Once again we can refer to the lexicon to explain the constraint on wanna. The difference between complements and non-complements is surely that the former are referred to in the lexical entries for particular verbs, but the latter are not? In other words, verbs must be strictly subcategorised with respect to their complements, to show which complements can occur with which verbs, but when we are dealing with elements like purpose clauses there are no differences between verbs which need to be reflected in their individual entries in the lexicon. Thus we can reformulate the constraint on wanna, to allow contraction of want to provided that to is (in some sense) referred to in the lexical entry for want. The to of a purpose clause cannot contract because it does not figure in any way in the lexical entry for want. We can now see clearly why the constraint could not be simply reversed, to allow contraction with purpose clauses but not with complements, since the contraction of want to is itself a lexically restricted process, an idiosyncratic fact about want which it does not share with all other syntactically parallel verbs (such as like). Being lexically restricted, this fact clearly figures in the lexical entry for want, so it is natural for it to be restricted to affecting other elements that are also mentioned in this entry, such as the to of complements. It is much easier to see how to state such a restriction (as we shall below) than it would be to state that want could contract with to only if the latter introduced a clause not referred to in the lexical entry for want.

In conclusion, we have seen that the constraints on contraction of want to to wanna are as follows:

(8) Wanna may occur instead of want to provided that all of I - III are satisfied:

I. want and to must be contiguous in surface structure;
II. the lexical entry for want does not require either an object of want or a subject of the infinitive in the syntax;
III. to is required by the lexical entry for want.

As formulated here, constraint II is unsatisfactory because it involves a disjunction, and does not refer to the fact that each of the elements in the disjunction would normally occur in surface structure between the want and the to, which is undoubtedly a relevant fact. We shall see in section 4 how this constraint may be improved with the aid of a revised view of the nature of lexical entries.

3. Other analyses

In this section I shall briefly review the two types of analysis which have been offered elsewhere for the contraction of want to to wanna. On the one hand there are analyses which invoke phonologically null elements called traces, which are said to occur between want and to in those cases where contraction cannot occur. On the other there is an analysis which denies the relevance of contiguity of any kind, and which refers only to grammatical relations between want, the infinitive and their subjects.

We have already mentioned some of the problems that one or both of these types of analysis face, so this section will tend to merely recapitulate what has already been said.

Trace analyses are of two types. The best known are those offered by Chomsky and his colleagues in terms of the Extended Standard Theory. (See the review in Postal and Pullum, 1978, and also later discussion in Chomsky and Lasnik, 1978, and Postal and Pullum, 1979). The other type is the one put forward by Gazdar (1980) as part of a non-transformational theory of context-free Phrase-structure grammar. In both cases the essence of the analysis is to arrange for a trace element to occur in the surface structure in the position where a displaced element would otherwise have occurred. This element counts as an element in surface structure, in spite of being phonologically zero, and has the effect of separating want from to and therefore preventing their contraction.

The criticisms of the EST treatment of wanna by Postal and Pullum seem to me to be strong enough to need no further support, in spite of the defense by Chomsky and Lasnik, but we can now add one extra problem, the fact that intransitive want may be followed by the to of a purpose clause, as in (5) and (6) above, without any apparent justification for a trace element in between them, but contraction is still not possible. In order to allow for such cases, an extra constraint would presumably have to be added to the EST analysis requiring to to be in the complement of want, which would considerably weaken the claim of Chomsky and Lasnik (1978) that the apparatus of EST makes it unnecessary to add any special constraints on contraction of want to.

The same objection applies to the use of trace elements by Gazdar, but there is an added objection to his analysis, namely that the trace elements are explicitly stated not to be needed for any purpose other than to prevent contraction; liberal grammars would simply not contain any traces, so contraction would always be possible. Moreover, it seems that traces are only relevant to the contraction of want to, since Gazdar's theory would not insert traces in, for instance, places where a VP was missing, to prevent is from contracting to 's and so on. So Gazdar allows trace elements to be inserted in every 'hole' from which an element has been removed just so that he can explain why wanna cannot occur in sentences like (2).

As far as the Postal and Pullum analysis is concerned, the main problem is its arbitrariness. To summarise their analysis, they allow contraction of want to by a rule which applies only if want and the infinitive share their (final) subjects, and the infinitive is a complement of want. They also allow a restriction (for the majority dialect) to the effect that want and to must be adjacent in surface structure. Thus their analysis works, in the sense that it makes all the right grammaticality predictions, but it does so without explaining why the restrictions should be as they are, and not some completely different set. Putting the same point in a different way, their grammar would be a good deal simpler if there were none of these restrictions on the contraction of want to in other words, if all grammars were liberal (to the extent of even allowing contraction when to belongs to a purpose clause).

The question then arises as to why the restrictions exist. Of course, sometimes we simply have to accept that restrictions are arbitrary and give up looking for explanations, but in this case I believe explanations are possible. In comparison with Postal and Pullum's account, the one that I shall give below explains the restrictions in the sense that the grammar would be much more complex if the restrictions did not exist, since the restrictions are needed in order to make it possible to state all the facts about contraction within the lexical entry for want.

One other type of analysis of wanna is worth mentioning here, in order to make it clear that this is not the type being advocated in this paper. It has been suggested that wanna might be a 'unitary lexical item distinct from want and taking a subjectless VP complement' (Postal and Pullum, 1978, referring to a suggestion by Selkirk, 1978; of also the reference in Postal and Pullum, 1979, fn 9). Although I suggested an analysis of this kind above as a possible explanation for Langendoen's judgements, I do not want to advocate it for the grammar of most English speakers. The main objection to such an analysis is the one given by Postal and Pullum (1979), that this postulated verb would have a very odd distribution: it would be able to occur only in those environments where the uninflected form of want can occur. This would make it unique among verbs, even if we compare it with other single-form verbs such as the modals (which cannot be used as infinitives, unlike wanna) or beware (which cannot be used as a finite present). It is important for me to dissociate myself from the analysis of wanna as a separate lexical item because the analysis I shall advocate might easily be confused with such an analysis since it makes heavy use of the lexicon.

4. Lexical representations

Ever since Chomsky reintroduced the lexicon in 1965, it has been generally accepted by transformational linguists that syntactic features are the appropriate apparatus for giving information about valency - that is, about the syntactic contexts with which a particular lexical item is compatible, apart from those defined by its own part-of-speech classification. For example, Bresnan quotes (9) as the lexical entry for hit (1978).

(9) hit: V, [__NP], NP_1 HIT NP_2

The feature [__NP] shows that hit takes an object NP, which is valency information, but it is a feature assigned to the node which also bears the label 'V' (which could also be interpreted as a feature). An alternative which Chomsky considers and (rightly, in my view) rejects is to use a feature such as [transitive] to express the same information (1965:90), but the principle is still the same: valency information is given by means of features attached to the verb node itself.[6] One consequence of this treatment is that valency features can be put together with part-of-speech features and other features, including semantic features, rule features, and so on, in an unordered set, which is then taken to be the lexical entry for the verb concerned. For example, Chomsky's entry for eat (1965:94) was the following.

(10) eat, [+V, +__NP]

(This entry could presumably have been extended by the addition of semantic features).

We may compare the approach based on features with a rather different one, based on syntagmatic structures, which I myself favour. In the syntagmatic approach, the valency information about a verb is given as a direct representation of the structural frame into which it may fit, and not as a feature of the verb itself. More precisely, it is a partial sentence-structure centring on the verb in question, and including all the other bits of sentence-structure which are included in the verb's valency. For example, we might represent the relevant information about <u>eat</u> as follows:

(10) V NP
<u>eat</u>

(For simplicity I have omitted any reference to semantic structure from this representation, as this would have raised a number of issues which would have diverted us from the main theme of the present paper). A representation such as (10) may be taken as a well-formedness condition on sentence-strucutres, which says that a part of a sentence-structure which consists of a verb pronounced (or rather, written) <u>eat</u> with a following NP as sister is well formed. Thus if every word-node in a structure can be approved in this way by reference to some lexical entry, the structure may be regarded as lexically well-formed.

The most obvious difference between the features approach and the syntagmatic approach is that all the information relevant to a word is confined by the features approach to the node carrying that word, whereas the syntagmatic approach allows it to spill over onto neighbouring nodes. In other words, the features approach guarantees that every lexical entry will be just one word long, whereas the syntagmatic approach allows entries which have an internal syntactic structure. So far as I knew, the syntagmatic approach has never been considered as an alternative to the features one, so there has been no discussion of their relative merits. However, it seems to me that the only reason why the features approach has been accepted since 1965 is that Chomsky's first proposal for lexical insertion (1965:84-106) used context-sensitive phrase-structure rules to add valency features to lexical nodes before lexical insertion took place. Accordingly it was taken for granted that such features had to be attached to the verb node, so his second proposal (1965: 120-3) took over this assumption, and postulated valency features within the lexical entry itself, but not on the nodes to which the entries are added. In order to match the valency features of a verb against the surrounding syntactic context, the lexical insertion rule had to be made context-sensitive, but given such a rule I see no reason why valency information should not be given as syntagmatic structures in the lexicon, rather than as features. For example, to make use of the lexical entry for <u>eat</u> given in (10) all we need is a mechanism which will check the syntactic context of a verb node for an object NP before 'inserting' the form and meaning of <u>eat</u> at that verb node; or, putting the same thing in terms of well-formedness conditions, it must check the syntactic context as well as the various features attached to the verb node to make sure they are all compatible with one another. Thus, as I see it

a change from the features system to the syntagmatic system would raise no serious problem of principle even given the assumptions of standard transformational grammar.

It may seem that the two approaches just contrasted are simply notional variants of one another, but this is not so - indeed, we shall see that the syntagmatic approach allows an insightful analysis of wanna whilst the features approach does not, so they cannot be empirically equivalent notional variants. There are other reasons, however, for preferring the syntagmatic approach. One such reason is that valency features greatly increase the power of a transformational grammar by carrying through to the surface structure information which is only in fact needed in the deep structure (Hudson 1965:60). For example, the feature [__NP] will still be attached to eat in surface structure, since there is no mechanism for removing features once they have been added to a node. This implies that we might expect languages to contain transformations which are sensitive to valency rules, whereas this is (presumably) something we should want to prevent. In the syntagmatic approach, it will be seen that this problem does not arise, as there are no valency features to be attached, so the only features attached to the verb node will be those specifying its part-of-speech classification and its morphosyntactic properties (tense, etc.)[7]

We shall generalise the discussion of the format of lexical representations in section 7, where we shall see that there are other reasons for assuming that lexical entries may 'spill over' into nodes other than the one for the item they belong to. For the time being we shall simply assume this approach, and argue for a particular application of it to the entry for want.

5. Lexical entries for want

The valency of want includes two constructions relevant to the present discussion: want + infinitive and want + NP + infinitive (where the NP is taken as subject of the infinitive).[8] We shall start with the former construction. One question immediately arises before we can give any lexical representation: how should we refer to the infinitive? Should we show it as a VP (with Bresnan)? Or as an S (following the main TG tradition)? Or in some other way? The problem with any of the standard TG analyses is that they do not refer directly to the to, but leave it to be implied by the label on the VP node, or to be introduced transformationally. In the present context this is a serious shortcoming, precisely because to is one of the two words which the contraction statement needs to refer to. Moreover, it is at least debatable whether to is subordinate to the infinitive, as is generally assumed, given that to is obligatory whereas the infinitive may be omitted. In view of problems such as these, I believe there is room for radical alternative proposals, such as the one I am about to offer.

Suppose we reconsidered the widely held assumption that syntactic structure is based on constituency (part:whole) relations, and asked whether a dependency structure might not be at least as good. One of the consequences of such a change would be that the item referred to in the valency statement of want would not be the whole

of the infinitival construction including to, but rather just the word which is head of this construction. If we then said that the head word is to, which must be present, and which has the infinitive as its (optional) modifier, then we should be able to show to directly in the lexical entry for want, as we need to. Obviously an abandonment of constituency as the basis for syntactic structure is a major theoretical shift for which serious arguments are needed, but this is not the right place to offer such arguments (see however Hudson 1979). Suffice it to say that a dependency approach makes it much easier to state valency relations between verbs and the complementisers of verb-forms that they take, so that we may capture directly the traditional claim that enjoy takes an ing-form verb, that start takes to or an ing-form verb, that have takes a past participle, and so on.

How then should we represent to in the entry for want? First, there is the question of its syntactic label. What needs to be shown is, in fact, that it needs any syntactic label at all, and it is not obvious that it does, since it seems to have very little in common with other words, as far as syntax is concerned. In other words, it may be enough to identify it simply in terms of its phonology (and semantics, though this is a very simple structure, being just a copy of the predicate defined by the infinitive depending on it, or of one defined pragmatically). However, for the time being we can label it 'X', to leave open the possibility of some syntactic label being found for it.[9] The second question is how we refer to its form, in order to show that the word in question is to. It could be argued that the syntactic classification ought to be sufficiently precise to pick out just this word, so that a different lexical entry would show that the form of the only word which is syntactically classed as 'X' is to. Then all the entry for want would need to refer to would be the syntactic feature X. However, such an analysis would be perverse, given the great uncertainty we have just shown about the feature X - and indeed, the general claims about valency feature not being necessary or desirable. (The feature X looks suspiciously like a valency feature, defining the syntactic contexts in which to can occur). It therefore seems reasonable to put the burden of identification directly on the phonology (or graphology), which means that the entry for want will contain a reference to the form of to as well as to that of want.

We have now put ourselves in a position to give a lexical entry for want + infinitive:

(11)

V	X
want	to

In order to show that an infinitive was also possible after the to, the grammar would also contain an entry for to:

(12)

X	(V, infinitive)
to	

Entry (11) shows that there is at least one use of want in which it must occur with to, and that the normal order is want before to. On the other hand, (11) could also be interpreted as an entry for to,

saying that there is a use of to in which it must occur with want (normally) before it. (We shall see that provision may be made for deviations from 'normal' position, but such deviation is rather unlikely with infinitives,[10] so it need not concern us here). It seems, then, that it is not always clear which item a particular entry 'belongs' to: is (11) an entry for want or for to? Similar problems arise with idiomatic constructions such as have got: assuming that there is some entry in the lexicon which shows that have got has a unitary meaning, it will be hard to decide whether it is an entry for have or for got; and even harder problems will arise with idioms like kick the bucket. Consequently, we must avoid putting too much weight on the notion 'lexical entry' in our analysis of wanna. We may draw the same conclusion from the difficulty of deciding whether want + infinitive and want + NP + infinitive contain 'the same' lexical item want. I know of no satisfactory criteria for answering this question, so it seems plausible to suggest that the notion 'lexical item' should be removed from linguistic metatheory. All we need say about (11) is that it is the part of the grammar of English that deals with the want + infinitive construction.

Having given a lexical entry for the uncontracted want to, we can extend the grammar to allow wanna. Given the format that we are now using for lexical entries, this can easily be done by a slight expansion of (11):

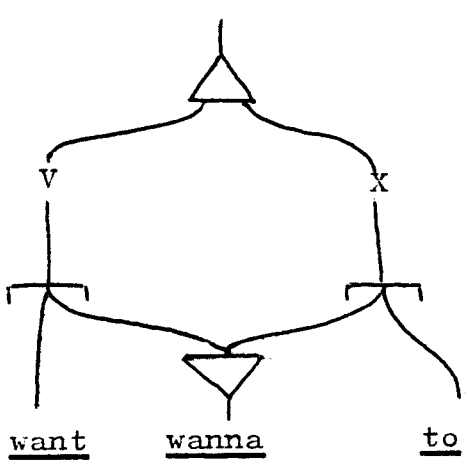
(13)
$$\begin{matrix} V & X \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{want} \\ \text{wanna} \end{matrix} \right. & \text{to} \end{matrix}$$

This entry tells us that wanna is an alternative to want followed by to, and exploits a simple convention for giving alternative forms by enclosing them in square brackets. Changing to a phonological representation, we might similarly allow alternative pronunciations of can by an entry like (14).

(14)
$$\begin{matrix} V & \text{(V, infinitive)} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} /kæn/ \\ /kn̩/ \end{matrix} \right. & \end{matrix}$$

The only difference is that in (13) the alternatives cover two words at a time, instead of just one.[11] It is perhaps worth pointing out that the notation of stratificational grammar would be particularly well suited to formulating lexical entries like these, and the entry for (13) would then look like this:[12]

(15)



We can now turn to the other construction, want + NP + infinitive. The question is how we should treat the NP, as far as its grammatical relations are concerned: as object of want, or as subject of the infinitive, or as both? It is generally accepted that in some respects it behaves like the object of want (it may be a reflexive pronoun, it may be moved across the infinitive by 'Heavy NP shift', and so on), while in others it behaves like the subject of the infinitive (in all semantic respects, including selection restrictions and possible idiomatic interpretations, and it may be an epenthetic it or there sanctioned by the infinitive). The treatment I shall suggest is in line with the principle argued for by Grimshaw (1979), that syntactic valency should be treated separately from semantic valency, so I shall show want as taking a syntactic object although this plays no part in the semantic structure of want. By a general convention (that every NP must be fitted into the semantic structure somewhere) this NP must be taken as the subject of the infinitive, since the rules for finding subjects of infinitives make this interpretation possible. However, there are clearly major issues at stake here which there is no space here to discuss properly, so we must leave the proposed treatment without proper justification, but simply as one of many possible treatments. (For further arguements and details, see Hudson 1980).

If the NP is to be treated as a (syntactic) object of want, how will this be done in the lexical entry? A number of possibilities present themselves, including the use of relational labels like 'Direct Object' but the one which seems best is to use a 'normalised' ordering of elements to show their grammatical relations. (I should emphasise that this treatement seems good for English, where position in sequence is relatively important as a signal of grammatical relations, in contrast with German, for example, where I imagine the relevant factor would be morphosyntactic case. I should also stress that the treatment of subject relations cannot be done in the same way as objects, since there is no simple way of identifying subjects in terms of position in sequence, even after normalisation; see Hudson 1980 for further discussion). That is, the object will be listed just after the verb in the latter's lexical entry, between the verb and the to, since this is the position where it would normally occur. This decision is, of course, exactly the same as the standard transformational treatment, and differs from the latter only in leading to a syntagmatic structure instead of a valency feature. In either treatment, apparatus must be provided for dealing with cases where an NP is not in its normal position, as a result of some process such as wh-movement or Heavy-NP shift, but we can take such apparatus for granted in this paper. Thus the lexical entry for want + NP + infinitive is the following.

(16)

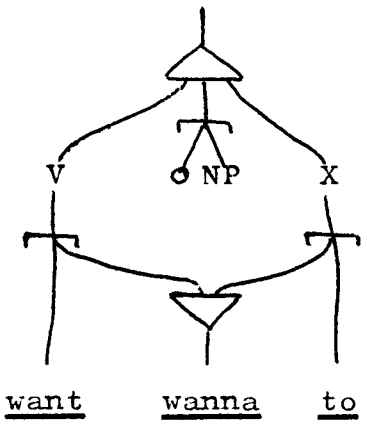
V	NP	X
want		to

It will be noticed that in this entry want and to are not adjacent, which explains why there is no alternative pronunciation with these two words collapsed into one, wanna. This in turn explains why wanna is not possible in sentence (2) (Why do you wanna come?) for those who have the kind of grammar we are describing, since this

sentence contains an instance of the want + NP + infinitive construction, represented in (16), and not the one in (13).

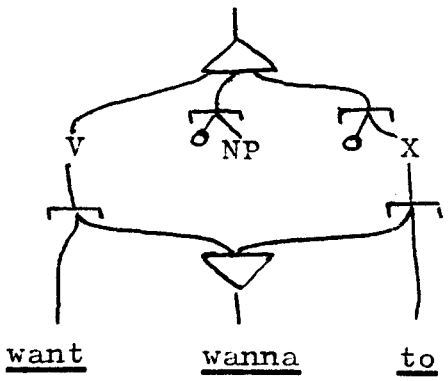
The two lexical entries for want, given in (13) and (16), can easily be collapsed into one with the help of stratificational notation[13], as in (17).

(17)



In order to complete the lexical information for want we need to allow for its occurrence without an infinitive, and even without an object NP (cf. (5) and (6) above). These uses raise problems for the relations between syntax and semantics, because the object of desire cannot be taken as a proposition if there is no to, and if there is a to, it must be so taken, but in this paper we are ignoring problems of semantic structure, so we may assume that whatever complexities arise can be handled. All we are concerned with here is the syntactic valency of want, which may thus be completed by making to as well as the NP optional. This is shown in (18).

(18)



6. A general constraint on contraction

The lexical entry in (18) explains the distribution of wanna discussed in section 2, and summarised in (8), provided we make two assumptions. First, we must assume that there is no other

provision, in the grammar we are describing, for the generation of wanna, and in particular that there is no way that wanna could arise from the juxtaposition of want with the to of a purpose clause. And second, we must assume that the presence of the NP between want and to in the lexical entry will prevent wanna from occurring. We shall discuss these two assumptions below, but let us first review the constraints in (8) in relation to the lexical entry for want. We repeat (8) below for convenience.

(8) Wanna may occur instead of want to provided that all of I - III are satisfied:

I. want and to must be contiguous in surface structure;
II. the lexical entry for want does not require either an object of want or a subject of the infinitive in the syntax;
III. to is required by the lexical entry for want.

Constraint I needs no further comment. Constraint II may now be improved by simply saying that want and to must be adjacent in the lexical entry, since this has the effect of excluding the intervening NP and thereby excluding an object of want or a subject of the infinitive. This forumlation also has the effect of making condition III unnecessary, since if want and to are adjacent to one another in the lexical entry, a fortiori they are in the same lexical entry. We can thus replace (8) by the much simpler condition, (19).

(19) Wanna may occur instead of want to only if they are adjacent both in surface structure and in the lexicon.

I take it as obvious that this formulation is preferable to the set of four conditions laid out in Postal and Pullum's (55) (1978).

Let us consider first the assumption that the presence of the NP in the lexical entry will be sufficient to keep want and to apart, and thus to prevent wanna from occurring, even in those cases where the NP is not between want and to in surface structure. The question is what kind of principle we are invoking here - is it a general principle, part of our metatheory, which states that adjacency in the lexicon is always required when adjacency in surface structure is required? If this were so, then we could reduce (19) still further, so that it referred just to 'adjacency', without specifying the type of adjacency. However, we now have to take account of the liberal dialects once again, which we discussed in section 2. The characteristic of liberal dialects is that they allow wanna when want and to are not adjacent in the lexicon, as in sentence (2) (Who do you wanna come?). The most natural treatment of such dialects is to assume that they require only adjacency in surface structure, and not in the lexicon. On the other hand, it seems likely that even the liberal dialects require the want and the to to be part of the same lexical entry, so we must maintain this part of the restriction. Thus the relevant prose statement for liberal dialects would seem to be the following.

(20) Wanna may occur instead of want to only if they are adjacent in surface structure and referred to in the same lexical entry.

It is not clear how the difference between the liberal and restricted dialects should be formalised. One possibility is that there is a general difference between the two dialects, such that liberal dialects always ignore adjacency in the lexicon, and restricted dialects never do. This would imply different processing strategies in the two dialects, which is easy to imagine, but in the complete absence of any relevant data it seems pointless to speculate about whether or not this is the correct interpretation of the difference in the treatment of wanna. For the time being, then, we shall assume that both dialects contain the same lexical entry for want, the one given in (18) above, and that the two grammars contain different contingency statements, in prose, on what to do when NP is between want and to in the lexicon but not in surface structure.

The other assumption is that this lexical entry is the only source of wanna in the grammar. Of course, we could justify this assumption simply by promising to write a grammar round this entry in which there would be no other way of arriving at wanna (except perhaps via fast-speech rules, which might conceivably produce wanna even when the to is part of a purpose construction). However, we can do better than this, by proposing a general, theoretical constraint which would make it impossible to contract want and to into wanna when the to belongs to a purpose clause. To the extent that this undertaking is successful, we can remove the second condition from (20) above, since it will be covered by the general theory. This general constraint is as follows.

(21) Lexically specified contraction of two words into one is possible only if the two words concerned are referred to in the same lexical entry.

(The expression 'lexically specified' is meant to pick out those cases of contraction where the conditions of contraction are lexical rather than phonological, morphological or syntactic, i.e. idiosyncratic cases; and it should be noticed that we are only referring here to cases where two words contract into one by a contraction, or at least an unpredictable change in both of the words concerned, so that for example, the contraction of is to 's in John's here is outside the scope of this restriction, since the contraction does not affect John).

The general constraint in (21) seems natural to the point of tautology. After all, if a contraction is lexically specified, it must be specified in the lexicon, which means that the two words involved in it must inevitably be referred to in the lexical entry. However, the constraint is of some interest, not in what it excludes but in what it appears to allow, since it follows from the contraint that if a language allows two words to contract there must either be some general rule allowing the contraction, or else a single lexical entry referring to the two words. This being so, we can use constraint (21) as a tool for discovering what kinds of words language allow to be referred to in the same lexical entry. The following is a brief selection of interesting cases that happen to have come to my attention.

The various forms of the present tense of be in English may be contracted individually, as we have already noticed in the case of is/'s. However, when the subject is a personal pronoun, the contraction may involve both words. Thus you're is often pronounced to rhyme with jaw (in non-rhotic accents such as R.P.), with no trace of the usual vowel of you, and of course no separate segment at all corresponding to 're. This pronunciation is possible for the sequence you + 're only if the former is the latter's subject, so, if the you is simply the last word in the subject, its pronunciation is as usual, and the 're is represented by a separate segment, schwa. This would be the pronunciation for the sentence

(22) Some pictures of you're on page 11.

This contrast follows automatically from constraint (21), since there is no way in which you and 're in (22) could be referred to in the same lexical entry, simply becuase there is no recognisable grammatical relation between them, whereas it is easy to imagine a verb and its subject being represented together. However, although it is easy to imagine this, it is not general practice to include an explicit reference to the subject in the lexical entry for a verb, on the grounds that the presence of a subject does not depend on the valency of the particular verb, but on more general considerations such as its morphosyntactic category (finite or non-finite, etc.). The possibility of contraction for you're (and similarly for we're, they're) suggests that there may nevertheless be cases where certain types of subjects may be recorded in a verb's lexical entry. Perhaps the relevant category is definite personal pronouns, in which case we could see a possible connection with the tendency of such pronouns to cliticise. Moreover, it seems reasonable to assume that certain types of verb entry need to refer to the identity of the subject, in order for example, to specify that it should be pronounced it or there. In other words, the consequences of accepting constraint (21) as a criterion for deciding what should be referred to in the lexical entry for a verb are acceptable, since they seem to converge with other principles, but they lead to somewhat different analyses from those currently adopted.

Another interesting case is the contraction of a sequence of preposition + definite article in many languages of Western Europe. For example, in French the sequence which we should expect to be pronounced /a lə/ (à le), 'to the', is in fact pronounced (obligatorily) /o/ (au):

(23)

Le fils	'the boy'	au /o/ fils	'to the boy'
la fille	'the girl'	à la fille	'to the girl'

Similarly, the expected de le 'of/from the' is replaced by du/dy/. The articles affected by this contraction are le (masculine singular) and les /le/ (plural, masculine or feminine), but not l' which occurs, for either gender, before a word beginning with a vowel. In contrast, if these same words occur as object pronouns prefixed to a verb, and are preceded by a or de, this contraction cannot take place:

(24) Je forcerai Jean à le (*au) voir. 'I shall force John to see him'

This contrast again follows from constraint (21), provided we can accept the conclusion that the contractible preposition+article sequence must figure in the same lexical entry. This conclusion is much harder to accept than the one about subjects being referred to in verb entries, since standard analyses recognise no direct grammatical relation at all between a preposition and the article of the object NP. On the other hand, the facts about contraction are sufficiently firm to make it worthwhile to look for some alternative analysis which would make a single lexical entry for the preposition and the definite article more plausible. The search for some such analysis is encouraged, moreover, by the fact that in French the sequence de + definite article has two functions: as preposition + definite article, as in the examples above (but with de 'of, from' instead of a 'to'), or as a partitive indefinite article (e.g. de la farine means either 'of the flour' or 'some flour'), and in either interpretation the same contraction rules apply. This seems to suggest that the connection between preposition and definite article may be as close as that between the parts of the complex partitive indefinite article.

One possible analysis which is worth exploring, in my opinion, is the one suggested by Sommerstein (1972). He argues that the 'so-called' definite article in English is in fact a definite pronoun, on which the rest of the NP depends as a kind of relative clause. For example, the may be seen as the third-person counterpart of we and you in we linguists, you linguists and the (*they) linguists. A similar analysis could presumably be argued for in French, where the analysis would be somewhat more obvious as the definite articles have the same form as clitic object pronouns. Given such an analysis, the sequence preposition + definite article would turn out to be preposition + personal pronoun instead, and it would then be much more likely for there to be a single lexical entry for the two words, by analogy with languages which have lexically idiosyncratic patterns for particular prepositions and personal pronouns cliticised to their prepositions (e.g. in Arabic /maʒa-ya/ 'with me' but /maʒa muhamed/ 'with Mohammed'. Welsh even has idiosyncratic forms for preposition + clitic pronoun sequences, though these may be longer than the corresponding free forms (e.g. am 'about' gives amdanaf 'about me', in contrast with staf 'to me', based on at, 'to'[14]. In face of all this evidence, it would not be at all surprising if languages like French had lexical entries for preposition + object pronoun sequences, which would explain why contraction is possible with a (so-called) definite article. Indeed, it could even be argued that in French the 'dative' pronouns are simply the contracted form of the preposition a with a pronoun which is not treated as an article (e.g. lui =*a + le), and that en 'from it/them' is the contracted form of de + le/les; so we would need entries for 'ordinary' preposition + pronoun sequences in any case. This analysis would have the added attraction of explaining why such contraction never applies to indefinite articles, since the latter cannot be analysed as pronouns.

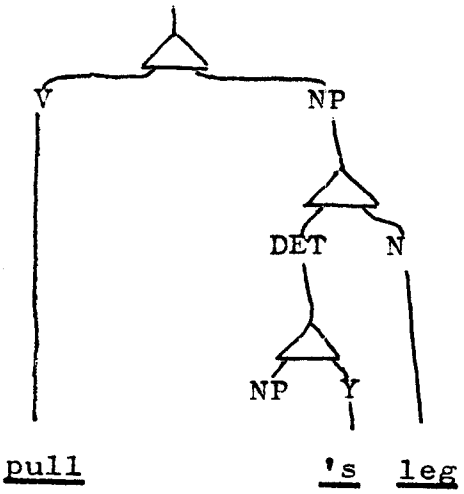
Needless to say, the above discussion is meant only to be suggestive rather than conclusive, as the reanalysis of definite articles as pronouns raises numerous problems which must be solved before we can claim to have justified the analysis. The facts of contraction do seem to me, however, to provide useful evidence for the syntactician if they are taken as evidence that the words contracted are referred to in the same lexical entry and are therefore (presumably) sisters in syntactic structure.

7. Other uses of syntactic structures in the lexicon

We have seen that the analysis of wanna can be improved by adopting a particular approach to lexical representation, in which valency information is given as a syntagmatic structure rather than as features. We have just considered a range of other 'contraction' phenomena, which presumably need a similar treatment. In this final section of the paper we can consider a number of other reasons for assuming that lexical entries take the form of syntagmatic structures in other words that lexical entries have the same formal properties as (parts of) sentence structures.

Perhaps the most obvious use of syntagmatic structures in the lexicon is for dealing with lexical items more than one word long. One example of such items is the idiom, which by definition is a series of words whose meaning cannot be deduced by general rules from the meanings of its parts. If we take as an example pull X's leg, meaning 'tease', it seems clear, first, that we need a separate entry for all the whole idiom, on the assumption that the lexicon is the repository of all idiosyncratic information, and second, that this entry must take the form of a syntagmatic structure like the one shown in (24) (from which I have omitted any reference to semantic structure, so the structure is just the same as that for the literal interpretation of pull NP's leg, although the latter would not, of course, be shown in a separate lexical entry).

(24)



It is hard to see how idioms could be treated without the use of syntagmatic representations, and this used to be considered sufficient reason for excluding idioms from the ordinary lexicon (cf. Weinreich 1969), but it should be clear that there is no great difference between idioms and one-word lexical items if the latter are allowed to be represented as the heart of a syntagmatic structure. Moreover, as we saw in connection with the entries for want to it is less easy than might be thought to decide whether these are 'really' entries for want or for to (see in particular the comments on (12)), which is a problem similar to that of deciding whether the entry in (24) above is really an entry for pull or for leg.

Idioms are not the only type of lexical entry which are more than one word long. Another type is what Lyons calls 'schemata' (1968: 177), and which I prefer to call 'non-canonical constructions':

(25) Direction Adverbial + with + NP: Off with his head! Down with Jones!
what about NP? What about going out? What about your Mother?
the more...the more... The more you work, the more you earn.

These are 'constructions', not just 'fixed phrases', in that they contain variable elements (e.g. NP) which are not fixed; and they are 'non-canonical' in that there seems no way in which the rules for 'canonical' sentence structures can be made to accommodate them. For example, what could be taken as the main verb in Off with his head? If the lexicon contains entries with internal structure like parts of sentences, there is no difficulty in principle in writing a separate lexical entry for each of these constructions, though clearly the lexicon is trespassing on territory traditionally reserved for rules of syntax in containing instructions for general constructions.

Another type of lexical relationship which spills over into other words is the traditional notion of collocation - that coffee, for example, may be strong but not powerful, sweet but not dry (unlike sherry), and white (unlike tea). What a collocation consists of is a particular lexical item which selects certain other specific lexical items in order to express certain specified meanings. Perhaps the clearest example of collocations is in the area of degree adverbs or adjectives - i.e. the choice of modifier to show that some quality exists to a high degree (Nagy 1978, Bolinger, 1973:103). The following collocations all seem to express the same semantic relation, and show that in many cases the word used to show a high degree simply has to be memorised.

(26)

high	probability
good	likelihood
stark	naked
blind	drunk
well	may
badly	need

As with want to, these examples show that a lexical entry for one word must be able to refer to the phonological form of another word; so for example, I envisage lexical entries for naked and drunk which refer to stark and blind respectively as the appropriate word for expressing high degree. Precisely how to formulate such entries can be left for further investigation and discussion; what is at stake here is the principle that the lexical entry for one word may specify the form not only of that word but also of another word which is associated with it.

Finally we might mention clichés, as lexical items more than one word long. It might not be accepted by all linguists that cliches (e.g. A good time was had by all; Who'd have thought she had it in her? should be included in the lexicon, but for those who see the lexicon as one's memory for particular facts about bits of

language, there is no reason for excluding clichés, as they are clearly memorised (by definition, in fact), and are obviously linguistic. If a cliché is stored in the lexicon, it is presumably stored as a sentence-structure, which means that some lexical items will consist not of a part of a sentence structure, but of a whole one. This is simply the opposite logically predictable possibility from the possibility of one-word (or one-morpheme) items, so we may say that the syntagmatic approach to the lexicon allows us to predict the existence of clichés, as well as the other types of lexical item more than one word long.

A different area of language in which the syntagmatic approach to the lexicon is necessary is inflectional morphology. I argued in Hudson (1977) that the lexical entry for the verb be has to be able to refer to the subject, in order to relate the latter's syntactic and semantic number and person to the form of the verb. The basis of the argument was the fact that be is the only verb in English which distinguishes between first-person singular subjects and second-person subjects or plural subjects, so there is no point in trying to distinguish between am and are by means of rule; consequently the natural place for locating these distinctions is in the lexical entry for be. However, if it is left to the lexical entry to show when to use am, and if the relevant information is not available in the form of features attached to the verb node, it follows that the lexical entry for be must be able to contain a reference to the subject's syntactic and semantic properties. This indicates a lexical entry of the kind advocated here, with contextual 'valency' information given in the form of syntagmatic structure outside the verb itself.

No doubt there are other areas of language for which a syntagmatic approach to lexical valency would be helpful. One thinks for instance of the treatment of passives in a lexical treatment such as that of Freidin (1979) and Bresnan (1978), where word-formulation rules or redundancy rules need to capture the generalisations previously captured by transformations. It seems likely that it would be easier to show that it is the first NP after the verb which becomes subject of the passive if the relation between the verb and its dependent NPs is shown by a syntagmatic structure than if it is shown by conventional strict-subcategorisation features. However, I hope to have shown that the syntagmatic approach is helpful not only in the analysis of wanna, but also of a wide range of other phenomena. One very general conclusion to which the arguments in this paper seem to lead is that the difference between a lexical entry and a rule of grammar is much less clear than most of us have tended to suppose, since they both define well-formedness conditions on syntagmatic structures, and some of the lexical entries may even define quite general structural patterns. If this is so, the question naturally arises whether there is really an essential difference at all between lexical entries and rules. I shall not try to answer this question here, but I hope to have shown that there are some respects in which the study of the lexicon is woefully undeveloped considering the sophistication achieved in syntax.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper is a revised version of a paper presented to the Linguistics Association of Great Britain in March 1980, which in turn was a revised version of a working paper produced in July 1979. I have benefited greatly from comments and suggestions by Dwight Bolinger, as well as from discussion following my paper to the LAGB.

2. One type of grammar which involves traces is that of Gazdar, which does not in fact make this assumption, since Gazdar explicitly allows for grammars which do not generate a trace in the positions concerned.

3. Chomsky and Lasnik (1978) hint at such an analysis in their footnote 4.

4. The existence of such uses of want, and their relevance to the analysis of wanna, was drawn to my attention by Dwight Bolinger.

5. One possibility that some linguists might consider worth exploring is that suppressed objects might be represented by some kind of phonologically null element such as the PRO of some versions of the Extended Standard Theory, but with the property of being able to prevent contraction of want to, unlike the subject of the infinitive, which would simply be absent in all respects from surface structure. I leave it to others to develop such an account, which seems to me to have little to be said for it.

6. Similar assumptions are characteristic of other schools, notably systemic grammar, with which I have myself been associated (Hudson, 1971, 1976), so any weaknesses of the transformational position in this respect must also be considered weaknesses in other theories that use syntactic features to show valency.

7. The objection to valency features stated in this paragraph is only relevant to grammars which include a distinction between deep structure (where lexical insertion takes place) and surface structure. A grammar with no such distinction (such as the kind I favour) or one in which lexical insertion takes place at surface structure has none of the problems described here.

8. Dwight Bolinger has pointed out to me that there may not be a clear dividing line between the 'complement' constructions and the 'purpose' ones, and that this may result in unclear judgments on the contractability of want to for the borderline cases. For example, I want you to have a good time is a clearer case of a complement construction than is I want you to help me (cf. *To have a good time I want you, To help me I want you). I shall continue to assume a clear distinction in principle, but the reader may expect some uncertainty in some of his judgements.

9. I believe in fact that a case could be made for classifying to as a verb, and specifically one which is obligatorily an infinitive. It would be an auxiliary, rather like the infinitive counterpart of do (which has a similarly simple semantic structure), and like other auxiliaries it would have the property of taking an optional non-finite verb as complement. One fact which seems to favour an analysis of

9. to as a verb is that it seems to allow gapping, which otherwise always occurs across a verb. (Ross 1969 uses gapping as evidence that auxiliaries are verbs). For example, the following sentence has a gap consisting just of to, at the point where the dash is: It would be best for John to sing and Mary —— dance

10. I owe this observation to Dwight Bolinger.

11. A representation of alternations like the one used here should not be taken to imply that such alternations are simple free variation, since there are clearly stylistic differences between the alternatives. In a properly developed grammar, there would be information about contextual and stylistic restrictions wherever such restrictions applied, and different information could be given about each of the alternating forms.

12. See Lockwood 1972. Briefly, the triangles show an 'and' relation, and the square brackets an 'or' relation. The left-right dimension corresponds to time.

13. The small circle given as an alternative to NP in this diagram is the symbol for zero, and not for an abstract element, which might or might not be referred to by some other rule. Showing a choice between nothing and some element is the normal method in stratificational grammar of showing that the element is optional. It should be noted, incidentally, that the symbol 'NP' is really a hangover from constituency-based syntax. In a dependency grammar of the kind I favour (see above) it would be replaced by 'N', which is understood by general convention to stand for 'a noun and any items that depend on it, directly or indirectly', which is equivalent to a noun-phrase.

14. It was Steve Johnson who pointed out to me the significance of the Welsh so-called 'inflected prepositions'.

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ON SCOTTISH NON-STANDARD ENGLISH[1]

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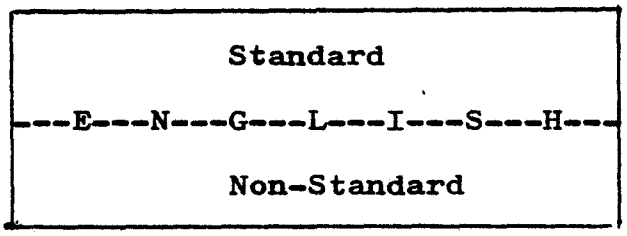
1. Introduction

This paper attempts to account for the structure and linguistic identity of Scottish Non-Standard English in functional terms. It also considers the identity of its relationship with Scots as well as that of its relationship with other non-standard British English dialects. Two textual passages, illustrating the functional and the non-regional characteristics of Scottish Non-Standard English, are discussed, and selected examples are assessed for their theoretical status as non-standard English. The paper offers a new perspective on a linguistic identity that is still considered by some as vernacular Scots.

2. Definition

The language of the great majority of Scots people - well over ninety per cent, Aitken (1980c) estimates - is English. English is the official and national language of Scotland. Leaving aside native speakers of Gaelic, which is spoken by under two per cent of the total population - 1.7 per cent Thomson (1980) estimates - and whose significance and status will not be discussed here, despite recent admonishments by Romaine and Dorian (1981), all other varieties of the vernacular in Scotland are considered to be varieties of English, the two main dialects being Scottish Standard English and Scottish Non-Standard English. Schematically, they may be presented thus:

(1)



Scottish Standard English may be conceived of, not as an absolute, but as the appropriate variety for communication, whether spoken or written, in activities of social prestige. Thus it is the variety of speech in Scotland that is appropriate to a particular intersection of social class, of topic (or field), of style (or tenor), of mood (or attitude), and of medium. All these criteria fall together in determining the appropriacy and acceptability of this dialect in any utterance. When, for instance, Scottish Standard English is not heard in the form of what David Abercrombie has called 'spoken prose' on Scottish radio programmes when listeners expect it, they will write to the newspapers, usually The Scotsman,

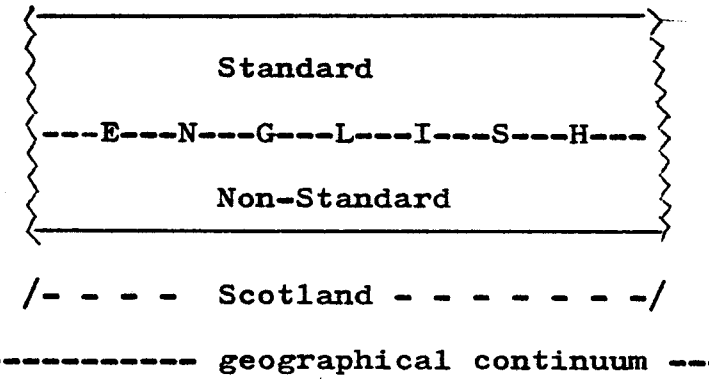
and complain. While it is appropriate for many colloquial registers, Scottish Standard English lends itself best to relatively formal styles and registers, including all the literature most people mostly read, as Aitken (1980b) puts it, for the media addressing large numbers of people and especially for utterances intended to have some permanence. Thus the official and national language of Scotland is, more precisely, Scottish Standard English. Scottish Non-Standard English covers all other forms of the language and all other communicative tasks which do not form part of the functional definition of Scottish Standard English. Thus, Scottish Non-Standard English better fits functions that are private and personal and expressed in informal registers through impermanent media. It, too, may thus be defined in terms of its social and communicative tasks.[2]

Epistemologically, then, Scottish Standard English and Scottish Non-Standard English form functional abstractions, embracing under one convenient heading a large number of interrelated subspecies or varieties of the spoken and written language. No single variety should be regarded as more strictly or fittingly described by the term than any other. Obviously, within their respective range of functions, both of these dialects will vary in their degrees of style, with colloquial utterances occurring in both, although formal utterances may tend to be less common in the non-standard. Moreover, Scottish Standard English cuts across regional differences in Scotland to provide a unified (or identifiably codified) means of communication, and thus an institutionalised and functional norm.

It is in this way, then, that Scottish Standard English may perform its characteristically public and permanent tasks. Scottish Non-Standard English does not conform to this norm. The distinction is based on linguistic use or function rather than on standards of internal linguistic form. Most standard speakers make ready use of non-standard forms, but the reverse is not necessarily true, as not everybody makes the kind of utterance for which the standard language is required. Thus, in functional terms, Scottish Standard English and Scottish Non-Standard English form, as one linguistic system, the mother tongue or two vernacular dialects in present-day Scotland, the latter having by far the greater number of speakers.

The formal and behavioural distinctions between Standard and Non-Standard English in Scotland are in principle no different from those anywhere else in the English-speaking world. Thus schema (1) may contain a horizontal geographical axis which may be interrupted at one point to represent Scotland:

(2)



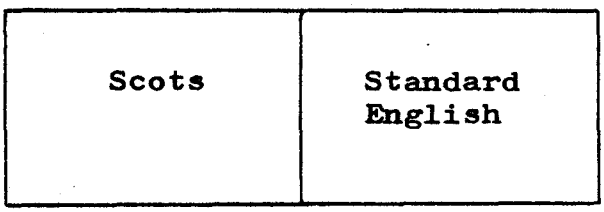
The schema is drawn vertically for the reason that the distinction between standard and non-standard is the result of paradigmatic, and so potentially replacable or substitutable, choice. These choices may exist at all levels of what, in one school of linguistic thought, is known as the rank scale.

3. Relationship with Scots

Apart from the Gaelic, however, the linguistic situation in Scotland is special, but not unique, for the reason that it has been heavily influenced by a former indigeneous vernacular tongue, usually referred to as Lowland Scots. As this one-time cognate dialect with Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon came to bear, during the independent Scottish kingdom, the badge of national identity, it became dignified with the belief that it was, or had been, a separate language in its own right. Its questionable identity as such has formed the topic of considerable and very variable comment. The fate of Scots has been determined as much by the sociolinguistic and stylistic continuum through which it intersects with English, as it was by the beliefs in its own separate existence. While these factors have in no small way determined the use and acceptability of Scots, they could not affect the ways in which the internal structure of Scots has developed, or remained unaltered, over the centuries.

Put schematically, as a result of the political union of Great Britain, Scots and English merged to form what McArthur (1979:59) calls Scots English:

(3)



Scots English

The influence which Standard English came to exert on Scots, in ways no doubt similar to those functions outlined in section 2 above, was such that, for those functions, Scots came to be increasingly replaced by Standard English. For a long time, items of all linguistic levels, to a greater or lesser extent, were substituted, and even today remain substitutable, with the result that any 'standard' utterance could consist of potentially more Scots, potentially more English, the relative degrees of each not being determined by their own qualities but, from occasion to occasion, by individual to individual, by any combination of these external factors that necessarily accompany the total context of any utterance. Thus some eighteenth and nineteenth-century Edinburgh lawyers, such as Lord Braxfield (1722-1799), on whom Stevenson was later to base his character Weir of Hermiston, were notoriously conservative in their use of Scots in a profession that, publicly and privately, had otherwise readily tried to keep up with the linguistic times by giving way to Standard English. In the company

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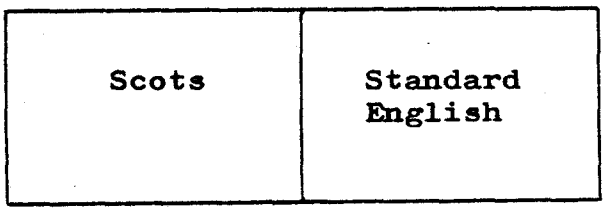

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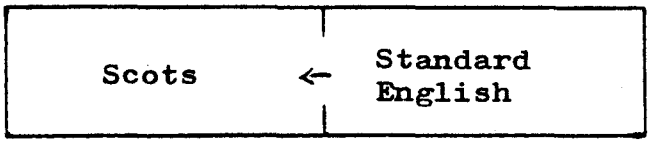
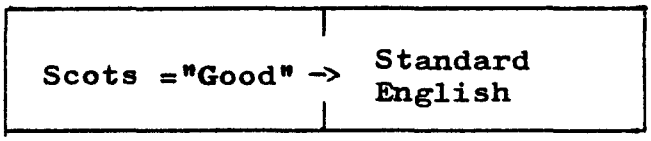
of Standard English, or by its own in the mouths of those who would otherwise speak Standard English, as still happens today, or indeed on the pages of our Scottish writers, Scots was able to survive because its use in these contexts contributed to meet with approval. These developments may be schematically represented:

(4.1)



(4.2)

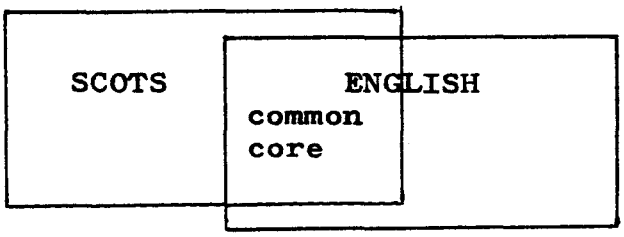


Standard English resists or is substituted approvingly by Scots

The merger of one-time separate Stuart King of Scotland's Scots with one-time separate Tudor King of England's English has not resulted, as elsewhere, in additive bilingualism or diglossia. That this result may or may not be surprising has recently been tackled by Romaine and Dorian (1981) and need not concern us here.

Rather, let us consider what resources were available in the two languages that enabled the merger to take place at all. Aitken (1979) has argued that the merger was made possible by the presence in the languages of a considerable body of material that they shared as a common linguistic core, with the result that the merger already contained a nucleus around which a dialect continuum was able to emerge, with the most divergent forms of Scots and Standard English as its extremes. Aitken's favoured model of this dialect continuum between Scots and English may be reproduced in the following, simplified, schematic way:

(5)



Aitken's model attempts to account for the integrated, monolithic, 'improper' (Macafee 1981b) and so potentially, if not actually, bilingual 'situation' (Aitken 1980b) of the vernacular linguistic system in Scotland that allows for considerable variability between utterances predominantly, but far from exclusively, in Scots, with a noticeably higher type and token frequency of lexical, and especially formal, Scotticisms, utterances predominantly in English,

with few occurrences of Scotticisms, and any permutation or intermediate variety between the two. As a model of variability, it allows not only for considerable switching among speech styles characteristically Scots, English, or any mixture of the two, but also for idiosyncratic, as well as inconsistent, performance. In a previous paper, Aitken (1976) claims that, by selecting differently from these stylistic choices between distinctively Scottish examples and their general English equivalents, Scottish people can, and do, arrive at an almost infinite number of different spoken styles. What is more, the model represents the ongoing historicity of these stylistic options. It could, perhaps, be exemplified with greater particularity than Aitken's published work has done hitherto.

For Aitken, then, Scots is to be regarded as no more than 'a distinctive component in the total body of Scottish language, which can fairly be called a highly distinctive national variety of English' (1980b). And that 'distinctive component', large, continuing and a long way from disappearing, may readily retain the label Scots, even although much of it is now optional rather than obligatory.

Despite its considerable and obvious merits, however, it would nevertheless appear to fall short of accounting for, as well as might be expected, what might be taken to be the paradigmatic nature of any choice between Scots and English. As Macafee (1980a) points out, Aitken's model conflates Scots and Standard English by placing them on an equal footing - obviously for historical reasons - whereas the relationship of Scots and English is very much more a subordinate and dependent one, or in Stewart's typological terms a heteronomous one (Stewart, 1968:535). In other words, Scots appears to behave as if its function were to optionally extend the stylistic range of choice in English. Thus, present-day Scots offers a repertoire of variants that are available to replace or extend the range of items available in English. One model, however schematic or quantifiable, can hardly be expected, perhaps, to account for the status of forms in two historical, what might be thought of as superstrate systems at the same time as accounting for the subordinate, unequal, what might be thought of as substrate relationship of Scots to English at a later period.[3]

While Aitken's model takes account of the linguistic behaviour of individuals, if taken collectively, individuals may also be considered in terms of their social class membership. By the nature of the functions it was able to perform for them, replacement of Scots by Standard English tended to be restricted to the 'educated' middle-classes, with the result that it is the 'less educated', 'unanglicised', working-classes that have, by and large, remained the greater bearers of the native Scots vernacular tradition, rural and urban community dwellers alike. The limited social class use of Scots makes for a linguistic stratification of society, which lends to the dialect further identity of its own deployment. Thus the use, or avoidance, of Scots may go some way towards reinforcing social identity. In practice, it happens that some Scots items entail quite a different social identity from others. This English versus Scots class-biased distinction has often been noted:

> 'We already have in Scotland at present a variety of middle-class Standard English and a general situation which is very specially and markedly Scots'. (Aitken, 1980:63)
>
> 'There is still a vast amount of Scots material current in everyday spoken usage, of both middle-class and working-class Scottish speakers, as well as in our literary and oral traditions generally'. (Aitken, 1979:116)
>
> 'Very roughly speaking, Scots is the normal language of the less educated and Beurla (what McClure argues should replace the notion of Standard English) the normal language of the educated classes'. (McClure, 1975:180)

Other approaches may describe linguistic behaviour differently, for instance, in terms of the total speech behaviour in the community, or, as here, in terms of the functional use to which variation in the language may be put.

A further inference drawable from Aitken's model would appear to be that, as the stylistic pole marked as 'English' is in fact 'Standard English', the opposite pole of 'Scots' may be inferred to represent 'Non-Standard English', schematically

(6)

Scots	←----------→	English
Non-Standard English	←----------→	Standard English

Unfortunately, this conflation of regionally, as well as functionally, marked criteria cannot be conceived of so unilaterally as this horizontal axis might suggest. For used appropriately, Scots may be either standard or non-standard, and, as Macafee (1980a) reminds us, the selection of only a small number of Scots variants is sufficient to mark an otherwise predominantly English text as non-standard. Thus, as the extent of the Scots component (Scottish Non-Standard English) is so distinctive and persistent, because it is not shared in such numerous, striking or institutionalised ways anywhere else in the English-speaking world, it may readily be taken as Non-Standard Scots, or Scots in brief. For Scots, not English, make up the most overt characteristics of its internal structure. This continuing use of Scots is thus not in terms of a separate linguistic identity, or system, but is rather attributable to a relatively higher use of the traditional Scots component within Scottish Non-Standard English, that is in speech that is all the time peculiar to its particular functional load, and thereby determined by a particular intersection of passive communicative constraints. By the nature of their defined status, then, Scots and Scottish Non-Standard English may occasionally merge, but they are not identical. Macafee (1980b) has recognised this, too, in her paper on Glasgow dialect in literature when she writes of that language:

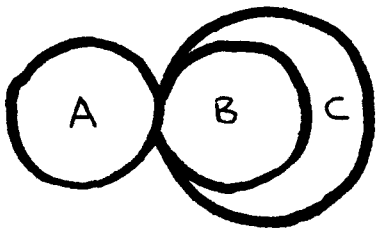
> 'Glasgow dialect, then, is somewhat removed from the rural dialects of Scots which are used in the mainstream of Scottish literature, and which form the basis of literary Scots, or Lallans. Scots is itself at some remove from Standard English,

> to which it is rather distantly related, though it has been converging onto Standard English since the 17th century by a process of gradual replacement of items. There is much in Glasgow dialect which is simply traditional Scots, and much in Scots which is shared with Standard English'.

No-one would deny that the most pervasive and obtrusive feature of any Scottish speech is its accent, which is derived from earlier Scottish speech, except where a very small number of features have been replaced by alien features from England, especially in so-called 'Kelvinside' or 'Morningside' accents. On the whole, however, a Scots accent is literally an accent from Scots, and as nobody can be without an accent, it is undoubtedly the most heavily derived, at times selfconscious, features of Scottish English from the native tradition. Aitken assigns the features of accent (the pronunciation system and its rules of realisation) to the central common core area of the system, for, clearly, the same accent may be said to speak in Scots as well as in English.

By contrast with Aitken, however, Macafee very plausibly suggests that as the common core material has been codified within English, it should be considered part of that, and not part of Scots. Her Schema would look like this:

(7)



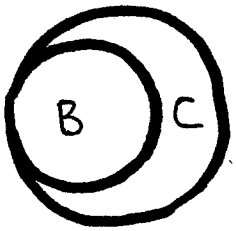
A = Scots

B = part of Scottish Standard English replacable by Scots

C = part of Scottish Standard English irreplacable by Scots

If Scots were ignored as a separate system, then her schema for Scottish English might be more briefly represented as:

(8)

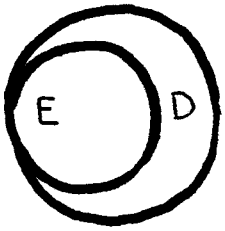


Macafee's schema reverses that of Aitken. Instead of considering as the enabling factor in the merger between Scots and Standard English those items or features they have in common, Macafee considers it to be those features that are potentially substitutable. Thus the motivation for this merger between Scots and Scottish English may be considered to have been turned inside out (or outside in).

That Scots was so readily abandoned as a separate system appears to be less explained by a shared codified pivot at the centre and more explained by the flexible resources for stylistic elaboration, of potentially infinite substitution. Her schema holds the processes together at a common point, with its core formed by the area of substitutability of English items by Scots.

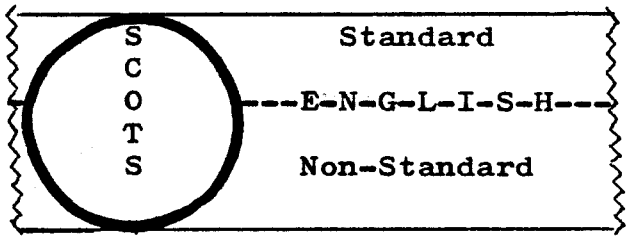
It may be worth adding, as an aside, that the success of any 'New Scots' that might be revived as a national language for planning purposes in an independent Scotland (Aitken, 1980, McClure, 1980) would form a core that meets precisely the opposite criteria. Its core (schematically E in (9) below) would be that material unavailable in Scots but potentially available either by formation or creation byt more likely by borrowing from Standard English, with the remainder (schematically D in (9) below) formed with available Scots material:

(9)



Macafee's schema can be reconciled with schema (2) above to show how Scots (Macafee's B) is available to both Scottish Standard English and Scottish Non-Standard English:

(10)



/ - - - - - - -Scotland - - - - - - -/
----------geographical continuum---------

The schema shows that there is not complete overlap between Scots and English in Scotland because the two are not equivalent. Scots is steadily recessive at the same time as Standard English is expansive, sharing recent innovations with all world varieties of Standard English. Besides, non-standard grammatical forms tend not to be regionally restricted, as Aitken has noted (1979:109), especially innovatory ones, as I shall show below. As it is not codified, Scots can only be functionally accommodated through its heteronomy with English, with which it is also sociolinguistically interdependent. For this reason the share of Scots in the schema cannot be larger than half - it has definite minority status. The extent below 50 per cent that may be allocated to Scots depends on functional factors in communication.

The selection of Scots is, above all, dependent on the attitudes, in the speech community, to the use of Scots, particularly opinions and beliefs about its functional appropriateness and its social

acceptability. It would be fair to point out that, in principle, the whole experience of historical Scots is potentially available, and that a very great deal of Scots still in currency, in standard as well as non-standard vernacular utterances alike, has indeed a highly traditional character, typical of Scots vernacular writing and speech since the Middle Ages, and comprising relics as readily of fourteenth-century innovation as of seventeenth (Aitken, 1979). So that, of its historical lineage and internal quality, the repertoire of on-going, centuries-old Scots available today is assured. However, the use of Scots is far from unselfconscious, although some of it, for some speakers, in some utterances, no doubt is. There is a common linguistic fact which reminds us that the merger between the two languages would not have been brought about had it not been for the willing participation of native speakers, whose right and privilege it was to be to develop, as it were, spontaneously, those behavioural preferences for Scots and English, and any respective combination.

Thus, through these preferences, there arose in time, probably as early as the middle of the nineteenth-century, (Aitken, 1979, 1980c), and has existed unabatingly ever since, a powerful set of attitudes about how much, or what, Scots was approvable, or disapprovable, within what English company. Holders of this mythology about the relative purity or impurity of Scots must have been as selfconscious of their own use of Scots as they doubtless were of anyone else's. The fate of Scots thus became subject to an arbitrary court of attitudes that as readily threw up positive value judgements, as it did chastisements, on items and formations in Scots that were otherwise quite equivalent in their own linguistic terms of internal formation and structure, but which might be for instance, subject to protection by middle-class accents, on the one hand, but subject to exposure from working-class accents, on the other. Many varieties of Scottish Non-Standard English are thus stigmatised, and prejudiced against, because they are taken to represent qualities of their speakers, such as their social background or educational history, which are considered socially undesirable and lacking in prestige. The speech of such speakers is denigrated as 'uncouth', 'slovenly' or 'sloppy', and the reason is none other than because some items in their speech are sociolectal and are taken to betray their origins among, and continuing allegiance to, the Scottish urban working-classes. A number of common stereo-types or shibboleths may be taken as examples of speech whose presence give rose to those attitudes. On the basis of a selection of these shibboleths, Aitken (1980c) has exploded these mythical beliefs - once, but for all? - for what they are: 'emotive terms, expressing an irrational, emotional reaction to a few well known typical features or shibboleths of each variety...no more than pejorative or disparaging epithets' (1980c:10). On the lips of the right or wrong speaker, Scots may be awarded indiscriminately, by the speech community, some arbitrary value as to its positive, but more likely negative, qualities as language. Aitken seriously believes that some people are deceived into imagining these beliefs to be genuine linguistic descriptions.

By contrast with 'Good Scots', which tends to accompany or replace Standard English in utterances or contexts befitting a standard language, 'Bad Scots' is one such label that readily reflects the

underlying attitude. In terms of its linguistic characteristics, however, Aitken (1980c) has shown beyond all doubt that 'Bad Scots' is really quite good Scots. It may contravene the established prescriptive norms for 'correct' (or standard) English, but, then, as it is not English, it should not be misconceived as that. So, at the same time as being misconstrued as Bad English, as well as Bad Scots, it also runs the risk of being 'excommunicated', to borrow Aitken's word, if it is. Technically, without social evaluation, these varieties may be identified as 'Demotic Scots' (Aitken 1980a) or 'Non-Standard Scots' (Aitken, 1980c) if the Scots component is to be highlighted, but schema (10) above, developed in (11) below, may fairly reflect the actual situation.

The apparent merger of Scots and English cannot be separated from the ways in which it became confused with all sorts of quite irrelevant issues of social prejudice, from which the fate and status of Scots has suffered ever since. Not all Scots that forms a component of Scottish Non-Standard English is clearly 'bad': it is as if the codification of non-standard English was allowed to absorb some type and token variables from Scots and not others. 'Bad Scots' may, of course, not be selfconsciously generated but rather only recognised upon utterance in the ears of a receiver or interlocuter, although Aitken has pointed out that some speakers of 'Bad Scots' are conscious of its, and so their own, low repute. It is this highly persistent, traditional mythology about its usage that accompanies Scots, Aitken tells us (1980b), that does make the linguistic situation in Scotland unique. This mythology has now been fully exposed for what it is (Aitken, 1980b, 1980c). A great deal of Scots, however, remains in unselfconscious usage and does not attract such attention to judgements about itself, nor, indeed, could it readily be identified by proponents of such judgements. Such items can only substitute others, and be substituted for themselves, with great difficulty, which amounts to circumlocation or periphrastic description. Examples include <u>hirple</u>, <u>wersh</u>, <u>redd</u>, <u>skelp</u>, <u>feart</u>, <u>pinkie</u> and <u>oose</u>, and so on. Scottish speakers tend generally not to be aware of the status of such items which may be siad by those who know to betray unselfconsciously the underlying influence of Scots behind those speakers' English. Besides being denotative, they are basic to Scottish English in the sense that they are unknown to speakers of any other variety of English. These items have been best described by Aitken (1979) and McClure (1975).

The relative attitudinal distinctions between Scottish Non- Standand English, for the boys, and their 'Bad Scots', for the teacher, is well illustrated from the following, somewhat stereo-typed, exchange in Alance Spence's <u>Its Colours They are Fine</u> (p.50):

> 'Ther wis a lot a dust 'n tap a the boax,
> miss,' he said.
> 'On TOP of the BOX,' she said. 'Not on tap
> of the boax! Some of these days I'll manage
> to teach you children some English!'

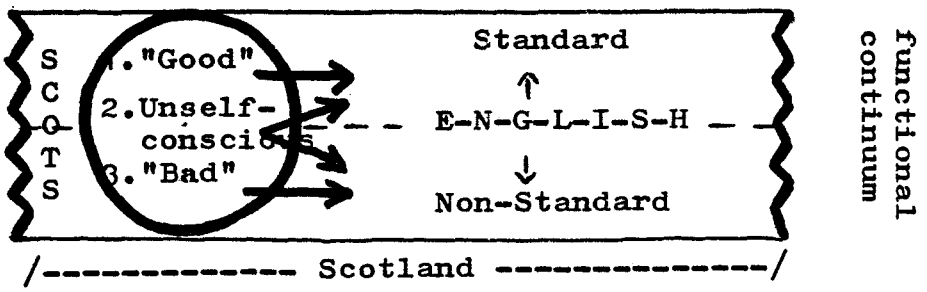
What Aitken and Macafee would appear to have dealt with in no more than the briefest fashion forms the subject of the rest of this paper, although its treatment is but a beginning. I wish to look

beyond the evidence that is exclusively and historically Scots and consider the rest of non-standard language, in particular that large body of common core material in English, in order to establish the regional extent of its functional status. By not identifying their occurrence elsewhere, especially elsewhere in the United Kingdom, forms which are ostensibly Scottish and often put down as recent or innovatory, might well turn out, upon that investigation not to be restricted to Scotland at all. What is more, we may be certain that, if the relationship between all the non-standard forms and the standard language were examined, a great deal more would be likely to be found out about the structure of non-standard English in general. In other words, can similar regularities of difference be ascertained between standard and non-standard English throughout the United Kingdom by reason of their communicative function? Would these regularities be more adquately ascribable to a functional load instead of to criteria that otherwise appear irreconcilable on a geographical dialect continuum? Does identity of function need to entail identity of form? Would similar forms be better related as tokens of the same function within an overall linguistic system, than as items on a linguistic map? So what, if a particular item occurs in the non-standard English of Scotland? Is it Scots or English regionally? Or Standard or Non-Standard functionally? It would seem worthwhile to investigate whether regional forms are nowadays less significant qua regional forms, and more significant as a token of an underlying linguistic type that carries a particular function. I am thinking particularly of non-standard syntax here, but similar arguments could be based, no doubt, on lexis and phonology.

The study of underlying syntactic types is interesting because it helps to diagnose the relationship between standard and non-standard language. Aitken and Macafee's examples form a catalogue of Scots tokens whose on-going history they continue to document. But what of the non-standard grammar without such a recorded past and which is demonstrably of recent origin? Part of the case must rest with the fact that there have been very few studies of non-standard grammar in British urban communities.

Secondly, not all utterances in Scottish Non-Standard English, whether predominantly comprising Scots options, or less so, are stigmatised. Probably most, in fact, are able to eschew the disparaging judgment held of 'Bad Scots', which unselfconscious paradigmatic choice that suitably realises the intersecting variable factors that generally condition communication has been able to forestall. Schema (10) may thus be redrafted:

(11)



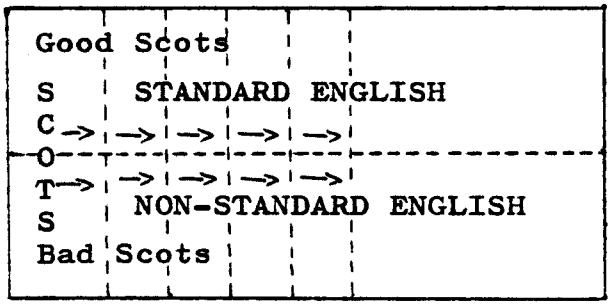
Key — — — geographical continuum — — —

↑ boundary between clearly definable functions

↓ → ↘ source and direction of items potentially substitutable described in terms of attitudes commonly associated with that usage

Any two-dimensional schema is necessarily limited in what it can account for. This schema is no more than a schema. It lacks, for instance, the comparable detail of internal structure that is contained within Aitken's variable (or itemised) bi-polar columned model. Nor would this schema be of much assistance in formally contrasting the linguistic chatacteristics of different kinds of writing in Scots (see Kirk, 1982a). The one exception it does form applies to the data I shall discuss below. Along with Aitken's own model, but, of course, quite differently, the above schema (11) does attempt to characterise the Scottish speech system in terms of the relationship between Scots and English in that system, which is taken to be basically English. If McArthur's schema (3) were to be revised along the lines he put forward, but now in the light of the foregoing, then it might look something like the following, with the division between 'Good Scots' and 'Standard English', and 'Demotic Scots' and 'Non-Standard English' flexible, the system being basically English, but Scots of either kind potentially replacing it more and more:

(12)



4. Excursus

It might be worth adding at this point that, in the previous version of this paper, which was entitled 'Vernacular Restructuring in Twentieth-century Scottish Speech', and copies of which were circulated privately, I extended the notion of syntactic restructuring to that of vernacular restructuring. By that I intended to convey that these essentially non-standard communicative tasks previously carried out by Scots were now being carried out by English. In terms of two separate systems becoming one, it was the means, the linguistic resource of the mother-tongue, for communicating those tasks that had ostensibly been restructured. While the idea to extend a microcosmic idea (from syntax) to a macrocosmic environment (of language systems) in what seemed like very comparable circumstances, it was, upon reflection, ill-founded, in that a linguistically internal notion was being made to apply itself to a linguistically external situation. Neither the systems themselves, nor Scots, could reasonably be said to have become restructured. The type of change I have been arguing for in the fortunes of Scots may now be more simply attributed to functional reclassification, that is change from an independent system available for potentially all functions, to that of a set or range of stylistic options

available to, and exclusively through, English. Thus Scots extends or particularises the respective function by the criteria already available for English. This process has been referred to, somewhat unhappily perhaps, as anglicisation. Scots has come to be stylistically foregrounded, or promoted, by English, and in that distinction for English Scots may be thought to have its special identity and present status.

5. Scottish Non-Standard English and Scots: an example

Consider the Scots line from Burns's very compulsive love song Mary Morison: Ye are na Mary Morison, and compare it with the Standard English forms: You are not Mary Morison, You aren't Mary Morison, and the modified Northern form You're not Mary Morison, and with the Scottish Non-Standard English forms: Yurnae Mary Morison and Yur no Mary Morison. The differences in forms are, in themselves, not very great.

Scots and Scottish Non-Standard English differ in the form of the negative whether as an isolate or as a clitic, whereas Scots agrees with Standard English on the form of the copula. Na is unlikely to occur as an isolate form of the negative particle today in either Standard or Non-Standard Scottish English. But if it did, its realisation would carry overtones of its status as a historical as well as a possibly regionally restricted form of Scots, and it would have direct implications for the piece of communication in question. Likewise, historical Standard Scots in poetry does not undergo syntactic processes of deletion, reduction, cliticisation or monosyllabism that are characteristic of informal styles of speech today and which tend to produce an innovative range of non-standard forms. So the definite pause between Ye and are is unlikely to occur in informal spoken spontaneous dialogue today, and as the example was originally sung, the adjacent crotchets compel us to sing it or recite it in no other way. With or without a pause, then, each realisation is the marker of something stylistic that has been deliberately intended by the speaker, as I might do myself when I might utter a line or two from a Scots poem or ballad in response to a given situation.

6. Scottish Non-Standard English: a corpus-based survey

Consider two textual examples. They come from Alan Spence's novel of Glasgow Its Colours They Are Fine (1977) and John Byrne's play The Slab Boys (ms), both of which have been included in the specially assembled corpus of textual informants that I have put together for the purposes of a University of Sheffield Ph.D. Thesis, currently in preparation, under the working title of Linguistic Aspects of Twentieth-Century Written Scots. Based on recent data, which Aitken (1979) has described as 'fictitional but plausibly realistic Scots dialogue', this thesis, as it is conceived at present (October, 1981), should describe in detail, against a variety of analytical dimensions, some of the morphological and syntactic features peculiar to Scottish Non-Standard English and should show them to be functional variants of grammatically relatable forms, constructions or processes in both Scottish Standard English and British Non-Standard English elsewhere. These dimensions will probably include internal structure, geographical variation, historical change, and social and stylistic variation. The work continues. An initial random sample, including Spence, was analysed impressionistically in order to assess the nature of the

data and to establish criteria for inclusion as an informant.

A minimum corpus of originally three, now extended to five, scripts was argued for in Kirk (1980) and is now contained in a hand-sorted file at Sheffield. These scripts, largely drama scripts, have been split up into shorter texts of only about twelve lines on average and reproduced usually in a type-written form, on A6-sized paperslips. Copious supplies of each paperslip have been produced so that every possible item of interest might be filed separately according to its own grammatical classification, or indeed, its own accumulative number of grammatical classifications. Following the lead provided at the Survey of English Usage by Professor Quirk, the classification comprises two sets: open categories and closed categories. The latter consist of an exhaustive list of all the grammatical forms that the corpus contains (e.g. you, are, not, eh?, etc., and their variants) and is finite; open categories, by contrast are potentially infinite, subsuming syntactic functions and processes of every kind (e.g. negative assertions, positive tags, subjects, relative clauses, etc.). The hand-sorted paperslip survey is expected, among other things, to inform a future set of editorial features that I intend to devise for subsequent computational storage of the data. Such a computerised corpus would likely be infinitely expandable with each new suitable text that came along. The absence of other computerised corpora of written non-standard English encourages me to proceed cautiously with a hand-sorted paperslip survey first. The compilation of the paperslip and computational storage systems is considered as a separate research project from my thesis and may be referred to as A Computerised Survey of Present-day Scottish Non-Standard English Usage. While the data of the Survey will inform the thesis, it is unlikely to be exhausted by one thesis. For the data should be available for all sorts of comparative purposes, especially methodological ones, with other corpus-based studies, hand-sorted paperslip surveys (such as The Survey of English Usage) and with other computerised surveys (such as the survey of Spoken English in Edinburgh recently conducted as an SSRC project by Keith Brown, Martin Millar and Jim Miller) as well as with work on grammar and variation of all kinds. The texts themsleves should also benefit from such a full grammatical characterisation.

Examples from the texts follow:

Text 1

'Mark 4: 28 and 29 - For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come'.

'Quite a long wan this week, intit', said David.

'Aye, so it is' said Aleck. 'An ah canny get ma tongue roon that "putteth in the sickle".'

'Aye it's hard enough. Whit is a sickle anywey?'

'It's wan a they things fur cuttin grass. Lik a big knife wi a blade lik that...' and Aleck drew an arc in the air with his forefinger.

He went on, 'D'ye remember they kerds ye goat wi FLAGS bubble-gum?'

'Aye'.

ext 1

'Well, d'ye remember the Russian wan ah hid, the wan ah widnae swap?'

'Aye, it wis a red flag'.

'Well, thoan wee things in the coarner wis a hammer an sickle, croassed lik that'. He crossed his forefingers in front of him.

'Aw aye, ah remember. Huv ye ever seena real wan?'

'A red flag?'

'Naw, a sickle'.

'Naw. Huv you?'

'Naw. Bet it wid be some chib, eh?'

From Alan Spence, Its Colours They Are Fine

ext 2

SPANKY: How we gonnae find him?
PHIL: Easy. Wull jist follow the trail a blood.
SPANKY: Whit? Ye didnae beat him up as well)
PHIL: Naw...jist gie'd his ear a nick wi' the shears... when Ah wis cuttin' his hair.
SPANKY: Yur a bloody sadist, Phil.
PHIL: Ah wis only tryin' tae get the guy a date wi' Lucille. That's aw the thanks Ah get.
SPANKY: Aye, he's goat some chance ae that noo. Who'd want tae go tae the Staffie wi' a wan eared baldy-heidit midget in a blood-stained simmit? Wid you?
PHIL: He husnae asked me? (THEY START LAUGHING)
SPANKY: Naw, come on, Phil...it's no' ferr. Wull huv tae dae somethin'.
PHIL: Wull dae whit we wur gonnae dae in the furst place. (COLLECTS BUNDLE OF CLOTHES) Wull get his claes restyled.
SPANKY: It'll never work.
PHIL: Sadie's a champion dressmaker...course it'll work. Ah've gie'd hur the drawin'...she knows whit tae dae. Right? Ye know how much this means tae Heck...gettin' aff wi' Lucille. Ah mean, tae you an' me she's jist a bit a stuff...
SPANKY: Some bit a stuff but...
PHIL: Aye, but nevertheless...tae Hector she is IT. The Real Thing...know whit Ah mean? It's Love wi' him. He really loves hur. Whit ye laughin' at, ya dog? You don't think somebody like Hector's capable ae bein' in love, dae ye? Aye, right enough...it is pretty funny when ye think aboot it.

From John Byrne The Slab Boys (original version)

7. British Non-Standard English: some examples

One of the grammatical topics on which Millar and Brown (1979) have already written most usefully is tag questions, in particular the tag eh?. Neither survey is yet in a position to give a full account of the behaviour of the invariable particle eh?. So it is not surprising

that there are more types of tag in Scottish Non-Standard English than Millar and Brown discuss. Consider the following example from Text 1: Quite a long wan this week, intit? (line 5). It would be revealing, perhaps, to ask of the Scottish reader why this example might strike him as peculiarly Scottish. After all, a tag occurring after a deleted main verb and subject is common to all informal styles, both standard and non-standard. The morphophonemic form of the tag itself is generally British; Cheshire (1979), for instance, found it in Reading Non-Standard English. And in a subsequent article (Cheshire, 1980), she kindly acknowledged that her findings and my own about syllabically reduced tag forms happily confirm each other. The only really Scottish non-lexical form is wan. If the sentence were spoken, its Scottishness would be confirmed by all the many peculiar features of a Scottish accent, especially the striking compensations made for deleted items in Scottish patterns of intonation. Text 1 might serve as a useful illustration of a switch in stylistic levels, or function, and how, in particular, the Standard Biblical English of the Authorised Version is uncharacteristic of the boys' non-standard vernacular dialogue. And while they are familiar with variant styles of this kind, they would be unlikely to reproduce such a style except as an example of it, in the way many Scottish speakers display their knowledge, even affection, for Scots merely in terms of examples and not directly as a speech act. Both lexemes (e.g. sickle) as well as morphophonemic locutions (e.g. putteth in the sickle) are found difficult. Most of the boys' dialogue is in Scottish Non-Standard English, although the narrative, by contrast, is in the standard dialect. Their speech is most susceptible to the inclusion of Scots items of all kinds, including, here, one of the many class-tagged Scotticisms stigmatised as a vulgarism (Aitken:1979:109): chib.

At the levels of grammar and lexis, however, the frequency of Scottish forms that make the utterance peculiarly Scottish is far less than one might imagine. In fact, in real terms, it would be interesting to know how many grammatical features Scottish Non-Standard English shares with other varieties of non-standard English and how many it has peculiarly of its own. For, because of the uses to which non-standard speech is put, communicative transactions are, for the most part, made up of common core vocabulary items that are very clearly not restricted to a currency in Scotland. Scots words are few in evidence: in Text 1 there is only the word chib, and in Text 2: simmit (as a Scots loan word). There are no others. An inventory of the most common items used in non-standard speech would look rather similar for most areas of Britain at least, and would be bound to reflect the type of impermanent private utterance that they, for the most part, convey. As these items are fundamental markers for linguistic variation, it is hard to explain why large-scale linguistic (and especially word-geography) surveys have paid so little attention to them. Their distribution (or lack of one) may be said to be functional, or stylistic. The texts contain many English forms for which traditional Scots forms exist but have been eschewed: right enough (for richt eneuch), grass (for gress), red (for reid), and this list might be extended by such other examples as: modal verbs like gar, daur or maun, or Scots modal forms like sal, sud or suld, grammatical forms like ilk or whilk, aiblin, anent, huv, gang (for go), and so on. Grammatical (and also lexical) cognates when written, are also bound up with the non-standard orthography, which is often inconsistent and unpredictable. In Text 1 we find anywey, kerds, goat, croassed (contrastive with crossed in the narrative), coarner, and so on.

What is more, Scottish Non-Standard English appears to be innovative in a variety of ways which it does not share either with Scottish Standard English or with historical Scots. Their existence may provide further motivation for a functional analysis of the non-standard. Such innovations, which amount to a use of English rather than Scots forms, include a number of tags whose function of modifying the illocutionary force of the utterance, either by reducing the force of its assertion, for instance, or by offering some confirmation of it. Right enough is one such tag, as in Text 1, line 5: Aye, it's hard right enough; or from other texts: Ye dae get yer fanatics, right enough; or through a tag which picks up parenthetically the form of the main verb operator: Your paperin gets on ma wick, so it does, Yur a rotten big bastart, so ye ur, and Yirra mucky pup, so yer, which are all confirmatory. Assertive softeners include the forms like, but and jist, as the following examples make clear: A'll tell ye this but; I'll come but; We will huv tae gie wursels better names but; I'll see you but; That's right but (which might actually be assertive - in the sense of Ah tellt ye!) And examples of like are more varied and more interesting: He's hopeless like, which is assertive, but like can occur in questions: Eh, by the way, whit are they teachin ye like? (which also contains the frontening of the eh? tag). One of the features of eh? that Millar and Brown (1979) were not able to discuss, is that it can also occur with wh-interrogatives. In his most insightful study of the behaviour of relative clauses, Brown (1971) has also not recorded that this tag like could occupy the underlying function of a so-called relative clause: Apart fae whit A send hame tae Maw like (which could be interpreted with an assertive meaning such as "and which I do"). Jist seems to be even more complicated in its range of functions.

Such examples provide further motivation for a functional analysis of English in Scotland in that non-standard forms found there are also found elsewhere in the English-speaking world. While non-standard dialects in America have received a lot of attention, they have only recently begun to be documented in the United Kingdom. Among the most notable contributions are Petyt's (1977) thesis on dialect and accent in the industrial West Riding, parts of which have now been made more widely available in his recent book (Petyt, 1980), and Cheshire's (1979) thesis on grammatical variation in the English spoken in Reading, which has been more recently reported upon (Cheshire, 1980). Other works, including University of Leeds and University of London thesis, and covering the English of Ireland and Wales, could also be mentioned.

Thus, the example about Mary Morison may be rendered in other non-standard dialects of English as: (Yorkshire) Thant Mary Morison or That Mary Morison; (Reading) You aint Mary Morison; (Lancashire) Yore not Mary Morison or Theawt not Mary Morison; (Anglo-Irish) Yeer nat Mary Morison. Petyt (1977, 1978) has analysed the incidence of these forms in Yorkshire in terms of phonological shape whereby the underlying standard shape undergoes a process of reduction which he calls secondary contraction. The process affects contracted forms of the negated copula, auxiliaries and

modals, and results in the loss of either the final consonant of the operator, or, in cases where there is none, the nasal onset of the negative. These rules of secondary contraction may be written formally as: XVCnt -> XVnt; XVnt -> XV̄t. Thus: aren't -> an't, an't -> a't, isn't -> in't. This process is to be found among Socttish informants as well, for instance, in the tag intit? (Cp. Text 1, line 5: Quite a long wan this week, intit?). If the rule of secondary contraction is applied to widnae (Text 1, line 5: the wan ah widnaw swap) the result is winnae (for Standard wouldn't) or, with the alternative negative form, wint, which is the form Cheshire and I have found in tags. The morphophonological shape of items such as the verbal operator and the polarity particle can be discretely varied, and the incidence can usually be described very accurately in terms of processes operating on underlying forms at the time of their generation. Scottish forms of the cliticised negative -nae and of the negative isolate no do not, therefore, surprise as forms, and similar modifications occur on a considerable number of non-standard grammatical features throughout Britain. Never, for instance, as the negative isolate in Non-Standard Reading English, and elsewhere, as Orton et al (1978) have shown in The Linguistic Atlas of England and Hughes and Trudgill (1979) have confirmed. Never is further discussed in Kirk (1982b).

The distribution of these innovatory forms in Scottish Non-Standard English would seem to have a double significance that has not fully been recognised. Firstly, it would seem not to have been noticed that many of these non-standard variants are innovative forms. For instance, eh? and intit? of Scots by writers such as Sir James Murray (1873), Sir James Wilson (1915, 1926), or Messrs. Grant and Dixon (1921), or in The Scottish National Dictionary.

What is more, Petyt (1977) does not find any trace of such forms either in the dialect accounts of his Yorkshire area, which includes the works of that pioneer scholar of English Dialectology: Joseph Wright. Thus they contain a double significance, not merely in their innovation, but also in their clearly non-regional and inferrably British geographical distribution.

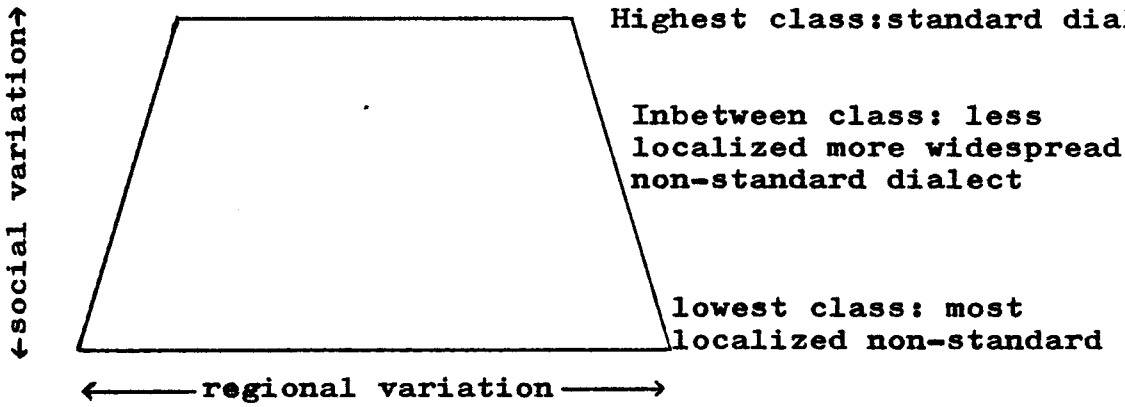
In her study of Non-Standard Reading English, Cheshire (1979) found that it differs from Standard English at a number of points in its grammatical structure. She found that the verb system differs in its distribution of the present tense verb forms (see also Cheshire 1978), in the forms of past tense verbs, and in the tense that is used in conditional sentences. She found that the system for negation differs in that the form ain't is used widely for be + not as well as the auxiliary have + not. Multiple negation occurs, and never is used as a negative isolate especially accompanying preterite verb forms. She found that syntactic patterns differ too, in that the forms of the relative pronoun are distributed differently in Reading English, and certain aspects of nominal constructions are also different: in particular, demonstrative adjectives, reflexive pronouns and nouns of measurement all have different forms, prepositions are used differently, and us is colloquially used as a first person singular pronoun. Furthermore, the comparison of adverbs takes a different form, and adverbs and adjectives are not always differentiated. All these items and processes, then, are the kind of difference Cheshire found between Standard and Non-Standard English in her part of Britain, and from

my other work my impression is that it would not be difficult to exemplify similar kinds of differences, as well as instances of those very ones she cites, between the standard and non-standard dialects in Scotland. For the underlying process of discrete variation would seem to be remarkably similar throughout Britain, and this linguistic variation correlates, no doubt, with an accompanying social identity as well.

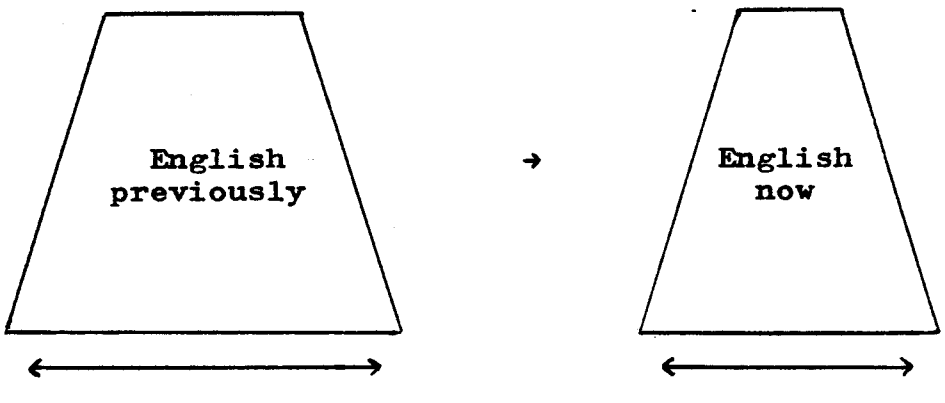
Within the system of English, then, the regular differences between the standard and non-standard are structural ones. Following Cheshire (1979), they may be thought of as differing from Standard English in at least three overall ways. Firstly, many of the differences mean that Scottish Non-Standard English has formal methods of giving stylistic emphasis that are lacking in Scottish Standard English - for instance, the various tag forms (including but and like) that I have discussed. Secondly, some of the non-standard features illustrate a tendency towards simpler, more regular systems than exist in Scottish Standard English - for instance, the operator tag form int or eh? Other nonstandard features represent a move towards the elimination of redundant elements (such as the deletion of auxiliary verbs after wh-interrogatives, e.g. Text 2, line 1: How we gonnae find him? or line 26: Whit ye laughin' at, ya dog?), or the regularities of irregular features (such as the conflation of past participle and past tense forms, e.g. Text 2, line 4: jist gie'd his ear a nick wi' the shears, or line 19: Ah've gie'd hur the drawin's). Thirdly, non-standard features represent a different choice of marking, and here especially some of the items would seem to occur in many parts of England and Wales as well as in Scotland (cp. Hughes & Trudgill, 1979). One characteristic of such marking devices is the use of the standard form as the most marked or strongest form (such as the occurrence of pronouns as isolate rather than as cliticised forms, e.g. Text 2, line 26: Whit ye laughin' at, ya dog? You don't think somebody like Hector's capable ae bein' in love, dae ye?). Another very contrastive example would be the employment of multiple negation, of which there are no examples, unfortunately, in Texts 1 and 2 above. Nevertheless, Cheshire's claim that none of the non-standard features she found in Reading were peculiar to that place alone, and that some were common to most British Non-Standard English dialects, may, with these examples, be wholly endorsed.

Like the differences found between Black English Vernacular and Standard English in America (Labov 1972:238) the grammatical differences discussed here are not what might be described as the fundamental predicators of the logical system. Rather, what these grammatical differences represent amounts to optional ways yet again of contrasting, foregrounding, emphasising and deleting elements of what might be thought of as the underlying sentence. The great majority of differences (of which I have been able to discuss only a few here) would seem to represent extensions or restrictions of certain formal rules and different choices of realisation and redundant elements. This would be particularly true of negative sentences, of questions and other clause-level grammatical features. In other words, there are no differences of a major abstract kind.

The unity of one linguistic system is thus confirmed. If I appear to lean heavily in this discussion on Cheshire, it is because I have tried to select bits of my as yet unfinished survey which would correspond and bear out the conclusions she has been able to draw from her complete analysis. The relationship between standard and non-standard dialects has been described by Trudgill (1974) as forming a relationship with one another that is very much like a pyramid. The height of the pyramid is formed by the social scale, at its top speakers of the 'highest' social class who only employ the non-localisable standard dialect; and at its bottom all the very much more numerous speakers of regional forms of the non-standard language. Given the amount of traditional dialect erosion that has persisted throughout this century and continues, in Scotland as well as in England, and given the expansion of non-standard forms to wider geographical areas, the inference may be drawn that the amount of regional variation is decreasing, and that the base of Trudgill's pyramid may be drawn shorter to reflect these tendencies:



After further discussion of his schema elsewhere (Trudgill 1979) concludes much of the regional variation in language currently to be found in the country is being lost. On the other hand, he goes on, it is probably also the case that urban dialects are still undergoing developments of a divergent type. The Scottish data offered above may readily be classified as the urban dialect of Glasgow. With the comparability of urban results from Berkshire, West Yorkshire and Strathclyde, it is tempting to infer from them that the divergent urban developments in Britain might not merely be reducing the extent of their regional variation but, rather more significantly, consolidating such a reduction by establishing innovatory and apparently widespread forms. These forms in turn may be taken to represent an attempt almost to 'standardise' the non-standard. Thus, the base of Trudgill's pyramid, then, could conceivably reflect these changes:



This conclusion may be further supported from evidence from a comparison of the findings of The Survey of English Dialects and those for the Atlas Linguarum Europae. For the item 'left-handed', SED recorded eighty-four different forms in England. For the same item twenty years later ALE recorded seventeen. Of these seventeen, cack-handed was by far the most widespread across the whole country, whereas in SED it was considerably restricted to the Home Counties and South-east (Orton & Wright 1974:185). Thus, although there has been extensive erosion of most local forms, they have not been replaced by standard forms but, rather, with non-standard forms which have gained ground in their geographical distribution. Thus, the status of cack-handed has arguably been functionally reclassified as well, from a traditionally regional marker, to one of function in the non-standard which cuts across identifiably regional considerations.

7. Scottish Non-Standard English: conclusion

Scottish Non-Standard English is distinct in three principal ways. It may be identified in functional terms as all Scottish utterances in English that do not match up to the norms of behaviour and structure expected of the standard language. Secondly, as this paper has shown, it shares features in common with other non-standard dialects in Britain. This functional identity may correlate, no doubt, with all kinds of extraneous communicative variables such as social class membership, amount of education, personal attitudes, and so on. Thirdly, it may be substituted, or extended, by forms from historical Scots to which it has direct access. The optional availability of as much Scots as a speaker may wish to avail his speech of, is probably the most distinctive characteristic of Scottish Non-Standard English. This would be true for the reason that some parts of Scots have been obligatorily taken over, from Scots, not least of all the features of accent, which make all Scottish utterances sound so terribly Scottish. It would also be true for the reason that, from individual to individual, utterance after utterance, the amount of Scots that may be integrated varies enormously in the degree of selfconsciousness with which it is used. A great deal of Scots words or locutions are used unknowingly and unselfconsciously and may often be referred to as covert Scotticisms. Other amounts may be used approvingly, with positive national overtones: overt Scotticisms. Others, again, however, may suffer from considerable disapproval and disparagement: vulgarisms, and the language Bad Scots. These criteria are summarised schematically above in (11). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this distinctive and resourceful speech has found itself imitated in an ever-increasing body of fictional, often dramatic writing, at times with considerable linguistic virtuosity. It is on such material that the corpus of my survey will be based. Its characteristics as dialect literature have already received most valuable treatment by Macafee (1980b).

FOOTNOTES

1. A previous version of this paper was originally presented at the First International Conference on Minority Languages, held in Glasgow, in September 1980, under the auspices of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies. A slightly revised version of that paper was circulated in mimeograph form. I am grateful to Jack Aitken, David Clement, Manfred Gorlach, Caroline Macafee, Derrick McClure, Michael Stubbs and John Widdowson for their comments, from which this present version has considerably benefited. For the faults that remain, I am entirely responsible.

2. Further, recent discussion on the status of standard and non-standard dialects in descriptively functional terms may be found in Traugott and Pratt (1980), on which this account is based.

3. I am grateful to Peter van Soesbergen for reminding me that the Scots-English merger might be considered in those 'classical' terms.

4. John Widdowson, personal communication.

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CREOLE AND NON-CREOLE INFLUENCES ON THE ENGLISH OF THE BRITISH-BORN CHILDREN OF CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS [1]

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In the late fifties and early sixties, fairly large numbers of creole-speaking immigrants came to settle in England from the Caribbean, and, once established, started new families here. Immigration from the Caribbean to Britain more or less dried up about ten years ago, and now most of the children of West Indian origin in British schools are second generation, that is, born and brought up in this country. Despite this, however, there is a lot of evidence indicating that the English used by these children is not completely Standard English, nor a recognisably British nonstandard variety; and it has been claimed that the creole of the Caribbean continues to influence the sort of language such children produce and understand. Almost all researchers in this field have found that some evidence of creole interference exists in the language of at least a proportion of these children.

Investigations have focussed both on the comprehension and the production of English by the children. On the former level, the work of Viv Edwards at Reading University is perhaps the most important. She found (Edwards 1976) that on the Neale test of reading comprehension ability (of Standard English texts) West Indians performed at a significantly lower level than indigenous children, and also (Edwards 1978) that there were significant differences between West Indian and indigenous children on a specially designed test of creole interference. In both these studies, it made little difference whether the West Indian child was born overseas or in this country. Gordon Baker (1976) of Nottingham University also investigated comprehension as part of his research into British born children of West Indian origin, using a variety of testing procedures. His results indicate firstly that these children attach different meanings to certain words used in British English, secondly that they are more likely to find creole forms acceptable English, and thirdly that they have more difficulty discriminating certain phonemes and understanding the meaning of some British intonational patterns (interrogative, imperative, etc.) than their indigenous white peers.

On the level of production, Dave Sutcliffe (1977) of Leicester University has examined phonological features in the speech of black children living in Bedford. Sutcliffe's investigations were based on the idea of the 'post-creole continuum' (De Camp 1971) in which three broad areas may be identified: (i) the basilect, the 'pure' creole language of the locality; (ii) the acrolect, the standard language on which the creole is based; and (iii) the mesolect, a 'transition stage' on the way from the basilect to the acrolect and vice versa. While there is generally reckoned to be only one basilect and one acrolect, it is usually considered that there may be a large number of different

mesolects, each displaying different proportions of the basilect and acrolect, and speakers may be located on the continuum according to how 'basilectal' or 'acrolectal' their speech is.

Sutcliffe located his informants on the continuum according to phonological criteria; each phonological variable was thus given a score according to how 'creole' it was. For example, if British English /eɪ/ were actually realised as /eɪ/ in the data, then it was given a score of 0, since this was the 'British' pronunciation; but if it was realised as /ɪə/ or /ɛə/, then it was given a score of 100, since this was considered the 'creole' pronunciation. However, if the variable was realised as /e:/, then this was considered to be transitional or mesolectal, and given a score of 50. All the chosen phonological variables (all vowels and one or two consonants) were scored in this way, and after looking at what each informant had produced, Sutcliffe was able to construct an Index of Creole Phonology, which expressed as a percentage how 'creole' the informant's speech was. Interestingly, Sutcliffe found very little overall difference between those informants born in the Caribbean and those born in Britain on this measure, and concluded that a form of Black British English displaying forms similar to Jamaican (as opposed to any other island) creole had emerged among the second generation black community in Bedford. Gordon Baker also investigated the English produced by his informants in Nottingham on the morpho-syntactic level, and found that, while no 'gross' creole was exhibited, they appeared to have difficulty with plural <u>-s</u>, possessive <u>-s</u>, and subject-verb concord.

These studies concentrate on the spoken, rather than the written medium of language. This reflects the general trend in linguistics, which is largely to avoid considering the written medium at all. This does have its disadvantages, however, especially when the role of language in the educational context is considered. In view of this, for my own study (Lander 1979, 1981) I looked at morpho-syntactic features in the <u>written</u> English of 11- and 12- year old schoolchildren in London and Sheffield, to see if the same sorts of creole interference could be discerned there as other studies had found in the <u>speech</u> of such children.

This was done by collecting scripts retelling the story of a film or TV programme in the child's own words from a total of six schools, three in Sheffield and three in London. Those scripts written by children from ethnic minority groups other than West Indian were removed before the analysis began; those written by indigenous white children were, however, retained so that some comparison could be made between their performance and that of the West Indian children. The West Indians were all born in this country.

The analysis took the form of working through each script noting any morpho-syntactic features which deviated from Standard British English; these nonstandard features were called <u>variants</u> for the purpose of this research. Variants were then categorised according to their word class or function in the clause, categories being set up by working through the variants such that if there did not seem to be a suitable category to account for the nature of any particular variant, then a new category was created. The number of occurrences of each category that each child had produced was fed into a computer along with the child's ethnic origin and the city (London or Sheffield) which the child was living in; and comparisons between the ethnic groups and West Indians living in London and Sheffield were made using a t-test.

The results of this showed first that the West Indian group produced significantly more variants as a whole than did the indigenous group; that is, their language is a good deal further removed from Standard English than that of British white children of comparable background. Within individual categories of variant, six significant differences emerged, with the West Indian group producing the higher average in each case. These were, in order of frequency of occurrence:

(i) lack of past tense marker
But he phone me 20 minutes ago

(ii) lack of plural marker
Simon saw smoke coming out of one of the boat

(iii) lack of copula
It nice being on television

(iv) preposition omitted
and drop a net him

(v) direct object omitted
He came down the stairs and hit and ran off

(vi) unnecessary presence of preposition
Until he reached to Bond's Jaguar XJ6

There was no significant difference overall between West Indians living in London and those living in Sheffield in terms of the number of variants; that is, the English of the two city groups was about equal in how far it was from Standard English. However, within individual categories two significant differences were found: Sheffield West Indians omitted the third person singular present tense marker (he take, etc.) significantly more than London West Indians did; and London West Indians used adjective forms adverbially (he dresses smart, etc.) on significantly more occasions than did Sheffield West Indians.

These results at first seem to provide quite strong support for the view that creole has a heavy influence on the English of second generation West Indians. The first three categories where significant differences were found are all well-attested features of creole, and two of the other categories, those dealing with prepositions, might also be explained in terms of creole interference. Cassidy (1961:68) reports that not only do Jamaicans often attach prepositions functioning as adverbial particles to the verb phrase (such as up or off) which are not required in the Standard, but also that such adverbial particles which Standard English does require are frequently omitted in the creole verb phrase. The stumbling block to an explanation couched solely in terms of creole interference, however, is the fifth category mentioned above, since no researcher seems to have reported that omission of the direct object is a feature of Caribbean English.

The finding of differences between West Indians in London and those in Sheffield also presents grave problems for an explanation which attributes the nonstandard English of West Indians solely to the effect of creole, since if creole were the only influential factor here then one would expect to find no significant differences between

the two cities in their use of English, especially as the differences which were found cannot be attributed to differences between the two local indigenous dialects. It seems that a complete explanation of the nature of the nonstandard English used by West Indians born in Britain must go beyond the notion of mere 'creole interference' to a broader conception of the different linguistic influences upon these people.

It is probable that such a broader conception will have to consider carefully the question of the cognitive processes involved in the learning of a language, especially a second or foreign language. The major attempt at this has been that of Interlanguage, outlined in Selinker (1972). When a speaker learns a foreign language (the Target Language or TL),his attempt to do so produces a language which is in some respects different from that of a native speaker of the TL: this language is known as the foreign learner's interlanguage. At those places where the interlanguage deviates from the TL, it is said that the learner has produced an 'error' - thus, a German saying in English Can I become a cup of coffee, when he really means, Can I have a cup of coffee, produces an error in his use of the word become because a native speaker of English would not use this word in such a way.

This particular 'error' is a clear example of interference from the learner's first language bekommen meaning 'to have, to obtain' is phonologically very similar to the English become, it is easy for the German to conclude that it is semantically very similar. 'Errors' arising from interference are very common: indeed it has been argued that interference is the only cause of errors, the sole reason why they exist (Lee 1968). The studies described at the beginning are based upon this argument, for they suggest that creole interference is the sole reason for those nonstandard features peculiar to the second generation West Indian ethnic group in Britain.

Research into foreign language learning soon found, however, that, while interference was the cause of a large number of errors, it could by no means account for all of them. Selinker, in fact, proposes that there are at least five central psycholinguistic processes involved in the learning of a foreign language, any one of which can give rise to an error: these processes include overgeneralisation of TL rules, and strategies of second language learning, where the learner simplifies the TL in some way to make it easier to learn.

What makes the notion of interlanguage particularly relevant to this question is its conception in terms of a language in its own right, rather than a restricted version of another language. Corder (1971) classes interlanguages together with poetic language, aphasic language, and the language of infants, and calls them collectively idiosyncratic dialects. Despite their instability and constant changes, idiosyncratic dialects are similar to other languages in that they express meanings more or less adequately, and adapt themselves to meet changing or different circumstances; furthermore, idiosyncratic dialects are seen as operating according to rules just as any other language, even though these rules may be ephemeral and applicable only to one idiosyncratic dialect. The interlanguage, then, albeit dependent on the BL and the TL for its existence, nevertheless develops somewhat independently of both of them; that is, despite its status as a sort of halfway house between the BL

and the TL, its nature is not necessarily dependent on the BL or the TL, and it may display features not arising from the nature of either.

So the English produced by second generation West Indians in Britain could well be viewed as a kind of interlanguage located between the creole presumably spoken by their parents, who were born and raised in the Caribbean, and British Standard and non-standard varieties. As such, it displays a lot of nonstandard features which are attributable to creole interference: so many, in fact, that it might at first appear that creole is the only cause of nonstandard features peculiar to the second generation West Indian group. This, as has been seen, is the explanation put forward by most other researchers in this field. As an interlanguage, however, it could display some features which are neither 'creole' nor 'British' English, but of its own making; presumably, omission of the direct object and the differences between London and Sheffield West Indians noted earlier are examples of these.

It is not difficult to see why the earlier studies of West Indian English relied so much on ideas of creole interference in their conclusions, since they really had no way of discovering features not arising from the nature of creole. The aims of the work on comprehension of British English, for example, would have been satisfied if any significant evidence of creole interference were found, and the question simply was not asked whether any differences not attributable to creole were present. Similarly, Sutcliffe's work on the production of English by people of West Indian origin was based upon the idea of the basilect-mesolect-acrolect continuum structure, into which all sounds which occurred in the data were fitted. So there was not in these studies any proper mechanism which might detect any nonstandard features peculiar to the West Indians, but yet not attributable to creole interference.

This same criticism can be made of the simple dialect continuum model itself, which has creole at one end and standard at the other separated by intermediate varieties which are just mixtures of both ends, differences in variaties being due solely to the proportions of the polar varieties each contains. For this idea can also be seen to be a simple interference model: speakers are located on it, for instance, by assessing how much creole interferes with their attempt to produce the standard (Le Page 1968). Problems with approach have been pointed out before: Le Page, for example, has noted that the concept of a continuum cannot adequately account for language use in St Lucia, since speakers there often have several options in the expression of habitual action, for example: I takes, I take, I does take, I takin', etc., and not all of these can be ordered in terms of how basilectal they are. It seems that something more is required than just a crude interference model to account for a good deal of mesolectal usage.

This seems to be implicit in the suggestion of C.J.Bailey (reported in Day 1974) that the familiar term 'decreolisation' should be replaced by 'recreolisation' emphasising that the phenomenon is an active process by speakers, not a passive withering away of the basilect in favour of the acrolect; that, on the contrary, mesolects often contain features which are purely their own (Bailey 1974). It might seem best, therefore, to regard mesolects too as a kind of interlanguage between the basilect and the acrolect,

relying on both for their existence, but nevertheless developing somewhat independently of each and perhaps displaying features which do not arise from the natrue of either.

In conclusion, a number of studies have found that the English of second generation West Indians in Britain displays some nonstandard features peculiar to itself. Most of these studies have explained these features solely in terms of interference from the Caribbean creole of their informants' parents. However, there is reason to believe that some of these features are not a result of creole interference; these can be accounted for by regarding the language of second generation West Indians as a kind of interlanguage which, while heavily influenced by creole, nevertheless develops independently to a certain extent. Simple interference explanations, including the familiar dialect continuum or decreolisation model, do not therefore seem to be adequate to account for some usages in a properly comprehensive way.

FOOTNOTES

1. A version of this paper was accepted for the Third Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, held in Aruba from 17-20 September 1980.

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LANGUAGE STUDY IN THE SIXTH FORM

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During the last few years the feasibility of introducing linguistics, or language study, into the school curriculum has been explored with increasing interest in both educational and linguistic circles.

In July 1978 the British Association for Applied Linguistics and the Linguistics Association of Great Britain held a joint seminar at Bromsgrove on Linguistics and the Teaching of Language in Schools. The interest shown in the topic by the participants led the two associations to set up a joint Committee for Linguistics in Education. This Committee organised two further seminars in April 1980 on Linguistics as a School Subject and Linguistics and the Teaching of English as the Mother Tongue.

The University of London School Examinations Department offered for the first time in June 1981 an optional paper in language study, entitled Varieties of English, as an alternative to the paper in critical appreciation in their English Advanced Level examination. The Northern Joint Working Party of the Schools Council English 16-19 Project has also developed proposals for an Advanced Level English Language examination, which include the investigation of Language as an Invention or System.

Teachers at all levels from the sixth form to the upper primary school have been pursuing their own initiatives to introduce language study into schools. The outlines of two such initiatives at the early secondary school level can be found in Cross (1978) and Aplin (1981). LEA advisory staffs in Norfolk and West Sussex have taken steps to coordinate and develop this teacher interest, with schemes for the upper primary and lower secondary school level. Materials for teachers to use in these initiatives are beginning to appear on the market. Two examples are Jenkins (1980) and Aplin et al (1981).

In 1980 CILT (Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research) decided that it should draw together this growing activity in language study teaching in schools and try to gauge its strength and significance. The result was a conference on Language Awareness in Schools held in January 1981, It was attended by representatives of a wide range of educational opinion who showed active interest in the possibilities, the difficulties and the practical implications of studying language at all age levels of the school curriculum.

General educational arguments for introducing language study courses into schools have been explored elsewhere, for example, in Hawkins (1979) and Tinkel (1980), and will not be repeated here. It will, in any case, be seen from the brief survey of developments in the preceding paragraphs that the emphasis in the discussion is moving away from wondering whether language study should have a place in the curriculum, towards asking how it should be taught. This

article presents details of one attempt to find answers to the latter question at the sixth form level.

This language study course at The Oratory School is being taught for the first time in the acdemic year 1981-2. It takes the form of a sixth form minority time course of four forty-minute sessions per week. The students are in their first year of sixth form study and their A-level subjects cover the whole range of the curriculum. The course is intended for students studying any A-level and is not aimed at English or Modern Language specialists in particular. All that the students require is a native or near-native speaker knowledge of English.

All the members of the group have gained at least a grade C in O-level English Language before the course begins and its aims are seen as complementary to those of a course leading to a traditional O-level English Language examination. Whereas the latter is concerned with defining the nature of the human language faculty and with examining how one linguistic system in particular, English, functions. By increasing the students' awareness of the nature and functioning of language, the course aims to make them more sensitive to their own and other people's use of it.

In the study of language, system and use of system cannot in the end be held apart; you can only examine the linguistic system through examples of its use, and at the same time the elements of that system are defined and moulded by the use to which they are put. Pedagogically an over-emphasis on analysis of the system and a neglect of how it is used would lessen interest. On the other hand, if language study is to appear systematic and coherent to the student, it must include analysis of the system. If the course merely talked about language without considering its use, this would seem unreal to the students and they would switch off their interest. If the course concentrated solely on use, it would be in danger of appearing fragmentary and aimless, as well as incomplete. These two aspects must, therefore, be balanced in a language study course at this level. Talk about language must be immediately related to the students' own experience of language. Examination of language use must be set in a framework of analysis.

The need to balance these two aspects has important consequences for the aims and methodology of a language study course. It makes it feasible for such a course to claim to be guiding its students to two separate goals simultaneously: to be giving them a systematic introduction to the basic principles of language study and to be expanding their control of language. It means also that the way the ideas are presented is as important as the aims themselves, and must be a reflection of these aims.

In order that the manner of presentation is in harmony with the nature of the subject, each new point in the syllabus should be presented to the students in such a way as to encourage and enable them to start searching for their own examples, to start forming their own views. There should be as little preamble as possible when introducing a new point before it is converted into examples.

A careful choice of examples will help to guide the students in the direction desired by the teacher. These examples, including, where applicable, starred examples, should provoke discussion, objection and counter-example and thereby help to establish the nature of the point in question in the minds of the students. After the clarification of any problems arising, the students should then be set to explore the concept on their own. If this is effective, they will then be in a position to handle it with their own examples and insights.

This methodological sequence would take something like the following form in the case of morphology. 'There are units of meaning smaller than a word' is all that is necessary to introduce the topic before examples are presented to the students. These examples would begin with obvious combinations of free morphemes such as background or armchair, before moving on to clear-cut combinations of bound and free morphemes such as delouse and refold. The students will soon be offering their own examples and through discussion of these examples the teacher can guide the students to initial awareness of, for instance, different kinds of derivational morpheme, or of problems of analysis, such as those involved when the removal of an affix leaves a non-existent form (deflect) or one with a completely unassociated sense (deride), or of problems of classification, as with irregular plural and past tense forms. The teacher must have a clear idea of how he wants this stage in the teaching sequence to develop, so that he can organise and channel the students' examples. A disorganised flood of words that can be broken down into smaller units of meaning will confuse the students. A carefully controlled presentation, working from the obvious to the less obvious, from the clear-cut to the problematic, will lead students towards a proper grasp of the principle.

If the student is able to understand the concept of, for example, anaphoric reference or hyponymy through the guided examination of his own use of it, there is no reason why he cannot be given the term to label it. If he does possess terminology for the concept, the next stage of the teaching sequence is made easier. This stage involves getting the students to consider examples on the topic for themselves. The tasks involved should not be regarded as exercises, with the implied aim of making the student practise what has just been taught, but rather as explorations. The tasks should get the students to explore their own grasp of the underlying concept and to extend that grasp. If a final discussion shows that the aim of such explorations has been achieved, the students are ready for the final stage in the sequence: to look at language for themselves in the light of this newly acquired concept and to develop their own insights about it. One means of helping the students to do this is to encourage them to keep a commonplace book and enter in it any examples of language use they consider noteworthy. These entries would form the basis of later discussion.

The methodological sequence outlined above is an ideal one and would, of course, have to be adjusted to particular requirements. Whatever the adjustment, however, two cardinal principles remain. The teacher must work from and through the students' native speaker

knowledge; the teacher must concentrate on the facts of language rather than on theories that try to explain those facts.

The question of terminology has been mentioned already. If the student is to learn to think about language systematically and accurately, he must learn to use basic terminology. On the other hand there is no advantage in the student acquiring terminology that is not essential. The teacher must strike a careful balance in his use and teaching of language terminology between unnecessary avoidance and unnecessary dominance. As has been implied above in the outline of the method of presentation, centred on the students' own experience of language, the term for a linguistic concept should be introduced after the student has examined examples of language that illustrate the concept rather than before. Introduction of a new term ahead of the examples of its use means that it must be given a definition. There is then the danger that the student will concentrate on understanding what the term means and testing the accuracy of its definition, rather than on exploring the concept it refers to in action. This is the case with terms that could be taken as completely unfamiliar to the student, such as morpheme or stative verb. However, many terms of linguistics are in everyday non-specialist use, such as verb, sentence, synonym. The teacher's task in such cases is to lead the students to think more precisely about their meaning and this in turn can be achieved more easily by concentrating first on examples in use.

The syllabus for this sixth form language study course is divided into three stages. The objective of the first stage is the definition of language and human communication. This involves the examination of natural and conventional signs; voluntary and involuntary communication outside language by means of sound, gesture, facial expression, etc; first language acquisition; animal communcation; writing systems and other means of conveying language apart from speech. These topics are not presented primarily for their intrinsic interest, but in order to highlight differences between language, other ways in which humans communicate and systems of animal communication. The consideration and comparison of different linguistic substances is designed in addition to make the students distinguish between language substance and language form.

The second stage of the syllabus is concerned with examining the system of one particular language, English. This examination is in two sections. The first section analyses speech sound and the second analyses structure. The stage begins with the sounds of standard British English. When they are established, transcription practice is introduced, using the symbols of Gimson (1970). The speech mechanism and the functions of the various speech organs are then surveyed systematically. Intonation and stress patterns in English are examined and the section ends with a comparison of some dialect sounds, based on Gimson (1970), O'Connor (1973) and Hughes and Trudgill (1979).

The examination of speech sounds at this point in the syllabus forms the culmination of the comparison of different linguistic substances begun at the end of the previous stage. Through an introduction to the sounds of English and to basic phonetic theory the students' awareness of the difference between language in the spoken form and language in the written form is heightened, and a new perspective on the relationship between speech, writing and language achieved.

The second section of the analysis of English considers the constraints that govern the language. The phoneme system and syllable structure of the language, its syntactic elements and syntactic structure are covered under this heading. It is probable that other languages apart from English are familiar to members of a sixth form group. If this is so, comparisons between English and those languages can be made to underline the points being made in these sections.

Both sections of the second stage of the syllabus seek to give the students ordered thought about the structure of their language, just as the first stage aimed to give clear thought about language in general. Apart from the intrinsic value of showing the students how language in general and one language in particular function, the content of the syllabus up to this point is a preparation for the third and final stage in which the students consider how language is used. The first two stages provide the students with the equipment to think more clearly about different ways in which they convey meaning through language, to scrutinise their notions of acceptability in language, to appreciate in what way deviation from the structural constraints or the semantic usage of English can lead to particular stylistic effects, to be more alive to change in language and variety in contemporary use.

It is expected that about half of the course time will be devoted to the contents of the third stage of the syllabus. This stage will begin with consideration of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign and its consequence in synonymy, homonymy and so on, moving on to examining the relationship between meaning and structure and its implications in semantic and syntactic paraphrase and syntactic anomaly. The contribution of context towards the meaning of an utterance is then considered. The students consider different kinds of context and the aspects of meaning that are involved with each one: context of external circumstances involving presupposition, entailment and the validity of an utterance; context of discourse involving anaphora and other syntactic devices for linking sentences; context of utterance involving deixis; the wider context of situation.

Context of situation is then treated as a topic on its own because it involves such a variety of disparate elements, their common link being that their meaning obviously derives from the way the language is used at one particular moment. They do not figure when the meaning of language elements is taken in isolation. The topic includes various kinds of associative meaning: connotative, expressive, reflected and collocative, the more permanent features of individual usage (individual, social and regional dialect, the temporary features) degrees of formality and register, meaning derived from functions of language other than that of conveying information.

A language study course at the sixth form level has the greatest chance of success, if it is student-centred and data-orientated. It must be a systematic covering of all the principal aspects of language, otherwise the course gives the students the impression of being fragmentary and aimless. Conversely, if a course is systematic in its aims and organisation, it gives its students a feeling of stability and security in their exploration. In addition, certain concepts need to be established before others.

The distinction between the spoken and written forms must be made before the analysis of written examples, for example, and this means that phonetic theory and intonation patterns should be introduced early on, to help drive that distinction home.

Materials have, for the most part, been devised especially for the course. Source books that have proved useful in devising those materials include, apart from Gimson (1970), O'Connor (1973) and Hughes and Trudgill (1979) mentioned earlier, Doughty, Pearce and Thornton (1971), Pyles and Algeo (1973), Fromkin and Rodman (1974), Close (1974).

This syllabus has been approved by the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board for examination at AO-level on a Mode 3 basis. The Board's approval is for a three year trial period. Grades will be awarded on an extended essay of about 2500 words to be prepared by the candidates before the examination period and on a written paper. The topic of the extended essay will be chosen by the candidates and approved by the Board. It will enable the members of the course to examine in greater depth a particular aspect of the course that has interested them. The written paper will have two sections. The first section will cover stage one and two of the syllabus and the second section will cover stage three. The questions will be devised with the emphasis on asking the candidates to analyse problems or perform tasks to do with language, rather than on getting them to write essays about language.

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A NOTE ON CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES IN USING GALD

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I have been using the model of grammar proposed in GALD (Crystal et al, 1976) in conjunction with the one in Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) (Q & Gr) with would-be speech therapists at Newcastle University since 1979. Although providing a useful model fulfilling an obvious need in speech therapy, GALD and its follow-up book, WWLARSP, (Crystal et al, 1979), do not deal satisfactorily with the following areas, which continue to cause difficulty among students, especially in the limited time available for teaching. I hope that my proposals for improvement may be found useful to people using the GALD model, and perhaps also to the authors of GALD and WWLARSP.

1. Levels of Analysis[1]

(a) Sentence vs. clause. With only three grammatical ranks in GALD, viz., S(entence), P(hrase) and W(ord), there is sometimes trouble distinguishing 'sentence' from 'clause'. In WWLARSP:335, a clause level is now marked as well as a sentence level when there are two or more clauses in a sentence. Although this is an improvement, in WWLARSP there are still only three ranks when the authors deal with one-clause sentences. This may be justifiable as a space-saving device, but many students find the sentence/clause distinction difficult to understand whenever it is not clearly spelt out.

(b) Sentence connecters and clause connecters. Provision is made in GALD and WWLARSP to distinguish between sentence connecters and connecters at other levels. Sentence connecters are repeated in italics on the sentence analysis line, while other connecters are marked as c (coordinator) or s (subordinator). However, the distinction between sentence and clause connecters is not consistently made. For example, GALD:208, 210 analyses the sentence connecter but (see Q & Gr, 10.19, 10.22) as a clause coordinator, identifying it with the clause coordinator but on page 209.

(c) Clause vs. phrase. The treatment of the direct object when it is a clause is unsatisfactory (GALD:208 and WWLARSP:95) and departs from Q & Gr without sufficient justification. The two examples on those pages should be analysed as follows:

	We	were trying	to find	some new curtains
S:			Clause	
C:	S	V	Od	
			(V)	(Od)
P:	Pron	Aux v	v non-f	D Adj N
W:		-ed -ing		-pl

	I	wanted	the old man	to help	me
S:			Clause		
C:	S	V	Od		
			(S)	(V)	(Od)
P:	Pron	v	D Adj N	v non-f	Pron
W:		-ed			

I differ from GALD in including the embedded (bracketed) clause elements in the direct objects of those one-clause sentences. There is thus a clear separation of the embedded clause level from the phrase level. In GALD it is not always clear what element belongs to the embedded clause level and what element to the phrase level.

2. Phrase Analysis

(a) Adjectival, adjective and noun distinction. The use of the label Adj for both adjectival (a distribution class comprising modifying nouns, adjectives, etc.) and adjective (a word class) cuases some confusion about the grammatical status of Adj and N, especially when the same structures are given different analyses in GALD. Thus Mummy bag is N N (GALD:69) but the police station is D Adj N, the second of which does not seem to be intended by GALD:53. This problem is resolved in the solution proposed on page 66 of WWLARSP. I suggest we use the word class label Adj for 'adjective' and introduce Adjl for the distribution class 'adjectival', so as to avoid confusing modifying nouns with adjectivals and to avoid confusing adjectivals with adjectives.

(b) Adverb, intensifier, adverbial, Q-word. In Q & Gr, there is provision for both the phrase-level term 'adverb' and the clause-level term 'adverbial'. The GALD model, however, does not allow us to mark adverbs at phrase level since the only provision is for marking an A (adverbial) at clause level. I suggest including an Adv (adverb) at phrase level to balance the A (adverbial) at clause level.

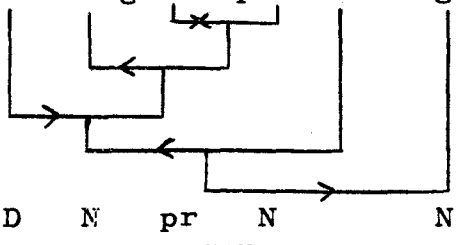
GALD's approach is different from Q & Gr's in its treatment of intensifiers. While Q & Gr (8.12ff) classify as intensifiers adverbs which modify verbs and adjectives, GALD classifies as intensifiers words which modify non-verbs, leaving the term 'adverbial' for words which classify verbs. We found this a bit difficult with texts like: it may merely become an empty gesture. Some students marked merely as Int (after Q & Gr) at phrase level while others left it unmarked at phrase level but marked it as an A (adverbial) (after GALD) at clause level. The inclusion of the category 'adverb' at phrase level seems especially justified here.

GALD sometimes confuses Q-words with intensifiers. On page 53 it gives what a storm! in which what is an intensifier. By the same token, what and how on page 56 are also intensifiers, but are given as Q-words.

(c) Endocentric/exocentric distinction. Perhaps because of the borderline cases involved in making this distinction as well as the unsatisfactory nature of the negative definition of exocentricity, neither GALD nor Q & Gr brings in this distinction, which I nevertheless have found a useful one to teach my students to be aware of even if they do not wish to incorporate it into their final marked-up text analyses. The main reason for teaching it was that students were getting to the point of mechanically marking up the phrase-level elements without seeing the very different structures involved in premodification and post-modification in NPs and those involved in prepositional phrases. This topic adds between one to two hours of teaching time, plus a certain amount of extra reading, but once the principle is grasped, the students feel they are analysing more meaningfully and more in the spirit of GALD and Q & Gr.

In particular, phrases with the group genitive (Q & Gr 4.74) are difficult to explain and mark up using the GALD model alone because rank-shifting is not explicitly dealt with in GALD, although it is illustrated in Appendix D in some of the examples involving relative clauses. Such phrases are easier to understand when endocentric/exocentric relations are taken into account. Hockett's system of arrows (which point towards heads) and crosses (which mark exocentricity) can be built into the GALD model without looking too messy, as shown below:

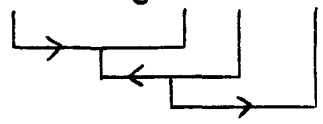
the king of Spain's daughter



daughter of the king of Spain

This has opened the way to discussion of structural ambiguity in different kinds of modifier-head relationships, as in Lyons' beautiful girl's dress (Lyons, 1968:6.1.3):

beautiful girl's dress

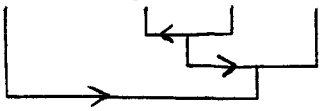


Adj N N
gen

'dress of a beautiful girl

or

beautiful girl's dress



Adj N N
gen

'girl's dress which is beautiful

The few extra hours of teaching and reading are worth the new dimension which is thus brought into the analysis.

3. Word Analysis

(a) Vagueness of the word 'word' in GALD. Because of practical difficulties, I had to take time off text analysis to talk about the word as a linguistic unit. GALD does not deal explicitly with this problem beyond mentioning Stage 1 elements in children's speech (p.63f). Furthermore, GALD's instructions on transcription of data presuppose general understanding and agreement about the word 'word', which is certainly not the case. Some students found Lyons very helpful on this point, but others did not. Problems of word identification arose, for example, in the following cases: (i) In the text you may find the last example most difficult, the GALD model only allows most to be marked as an Int and ignores the more likely analysis that it could be the superlative morpheme {est}. Here we have two orthographic words which together form one lexical word (with the impossible form *difficultest). (ii) We were uncertain how to fit the variants a quarter to and quarter to into the GALD model. It seemed sensible not to analyse a as D and to as Pr but to treat both these 'phrases' (made up of a few orthographic words) as phonological variants of one lexical and one grammatical word.

(b) Third person singular concord in the verb. Some of us think that only marking this in the verb tends to hide the other person forms of be and have. It also creates problems in analysing texts with non-standard English examples in them.

4. Non-Standard English dialect usage vs. errors

Most of our students come from other parts of England, so when they analyse texts taken from local patients they tend to put down as 'errors' for therapy fairly normal Geordie constructions. Both GALD and WWLARSP warn against this, but their examples of non-standard usage (non-errors) tend to have an invariably Southern bias. For instance, in WWLARSP 314, ain't in I ain't going (number 10 in Soln.11) is explained as 'a normal non-standard dialect form', but in number 3, him as subject is marked as a pronoun error without even a question mark. Users of GALD need to be made more aware of dialect differences all over the country

and of the possibility of the use of standard and non-standard forms by the same speaker as a feature of dialects being in contact. The wrong identification of possible non-standard dialect forms can sometimes hide real errors in a text. For instance, I was working with a speech therapist (herself a Geordie who spoke standard English with a near RP accent) and we came across the utterance him lazy all the time. What struck me was the absence of the copula, which ran through the whole text, but the speech therapist labelled him as an error and did not notice the absence of the copula. However, when I raised the possibility of non-standard dialect interference (since the patient also had he as subject elsewhere in the text), the speech therapist began to think that she had heard other normal Geordie speakers use him as subject, but that it was probably 'wrong'. We could not decide whether him as subject on its own was Geordie although I have heard him and her used as a subject (during a tutorial in a Newcastle College of Education). And in Scots, according to a Scots colleague, John and him are coming is possible.

A related problem is that we sometimes do not know in examples of deviant speech taken from aphasics when to label something as a feature of performance and when to label it as an error for therapy, especially if the sample is a short text for use in the classroom.

FOOTNOTE

1. I have found it a useful teaching device to adopt a different colour code for each grammatical level. In printing, a more extensive use of different typographical conventions for different levels (as in tagmemics) might achieve the same effect.

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REVIEW OF

R.R.K. Hartman, ed., Dictionaries and their Users, Exeter Linguistic Studies, Vol.4, University of Exeter, 1979.

This book is a collection of most of the papers presented to a BAAL seminar in 1978. In many ways the book is fascinating: about twenty short papers which give glimpses into the life of a lexicographer. The authors are practicing lexicographers working with publishers, as well as EFL teachers and other academics. It told me quite a few things about the everyday practice of how dictionaries are prepared, and gave many examples of lexical phenomena that I was only dimly aware of. However, many of the articles remain at the level of glimpses into the frustrations of being a lexicographer. Others make one or two interesting points, which are not seriously developed into substantial theoretical contributions. I just have room here to illustrate these points on some of the articles.

One type of contribution is represented by Raphael's article on source material for natural history terms in the OED: travel books and the like. It is all fairly obvious, but nevertheless an interesting description of the drudgery relieved by serendipity, which characterizes dictionary making. However, it is all anecdotal, and very much at the level of Sir James Murray's biography (Murray, 1979): all very much about 'being caught in the web of words', but with no real theoretical contribution to make. Another article on specialist terms is by Burnett, who discusses the problems of defining linguistic terms in the OED Supplement. She takes the term phoneme and provides a neat little essay on its changing senses from the 1890s to the 1980s. (Good reading for a history of linguistics course, by the way). However, this is a particular example, and she does not tackle the question of principle, which is how much general dictionaries should cater for such specialist terms. For example, the recent Collins English Dictionary (Hanks, ed., 1979) contains many excellent definitions of specialist linguistic terms, including tagmemics, transformational rule, morphophoneme and the like. And I recommend it to linguistic students as an excellent general dictionary, with this added bonus for them. But other specialist areas are underrepresented (e.g. mountaineering) and/or have rather misleading definitions (e.g. crampons, etrier are slightly misleading; deadman, jumar, kernmantel, mantelshelf are not given).

Or consider Hanks' paper. This begins with a very useful question: do dictionary entries define or explain? This distinction is illustrated, but not made explicit. Just what speech act is performed? How do definitions and explanations differ? Hanks even says (p.37) that he has been arguing that 'theory proves unhelpful to lexicography'. But he has made a theoretical point: he just fails to see its significance and leaves it undeveloped. Similarly, Sherman discusses computer retrieval of data. He mentions computer-driven composition systems, as used for example in publishing newspapers, which allow printed material to go straight into the lexicographer's computer files. However, there is no discussion of the concept of text which this suggests. Normally 'a text' is considered as a finite, closed unit of language, whether

a short notice or a whole novel. But here we have text without end. Are today's and yesterday's news reports about a strike part of the same text? Are successive whole issues of The Sun parts of the same text, which is distinct from successive issues of The Times? The boundaries of certain individual texts is clear, but texture can be tight or loose, as Halliday and Hasan (1976) discuss. Having started hopefully, the only example Sherman gives of computer-sorted materials is a perfectly standard concordance, giving key words in context.

Other articles do not really give enough information for them to be evaluated. Rowe describes a Chinese dictionary designed for users with no knowledge of the language: for example, librarians and others who require to decipher short texts. However, the items which such users are to look up in this dictionary are words, such as zhuxi (= chairman). But words, such as this one, may contain two or more morphemes and therefore two or more characters. How are users to identify the words, since written Chinese does not mark word-boundaries? He also claims (p.110), without discussion, that actually finding the characters in the dictionary is no problem: this is not obvious.

Other articles make generalisations which are false or misleading if a wider range of languages and writing systems is considered. For example, Mallinson claims (p.11) that the ideal writing system is phonological, and that dictionaries are normally organized alphabetically. And Wolfart claims (p.143) that few dictionaries are organised semantically: well, due to the nature of the writing system, most Chinese dictionaries are. Chinese characters are analysable into two parts; and one part, the 'radical', gives at least in principle an indication of the meaning of the character. The usual way of organising dictionaries is under radicals: 214 radicals for traditional characters, and 189 in the simplified system introduced in the People's Republic. In fact, the morpheme bu means both 'radical' and 'section of a dictionary'. For example, A New Chinese-English Dictionary (Hong Kong, 1979) gives the following words under the 'insect' radical. The Chinese morphemes have nothing in common phonologically.

> louse; cleg; rainbow; mosquito; large ant; aphis; earthworm; clam; flea...etc.

Note that the word rainbow has slipped in there somehow. Due to diachronic change, etc, etc, the system of radicals does not always work in practice, but it is the basis of the whole organization of the dictionary. (Characters may also be found in dictionaries by alternative methods, including a count of the number of strokes in each character.) Arabic dictionaries might have been worth a mention here too. A word such as muqatil (= 'fighter') is analysable as mu-, plus a tri-consonantal root q-t-l which identifies the basic area of meaning, plus a vowel pattern. It will be found in the dictionary under q, not m. (Beeston, 1970, pp.31-2). As in much of recent linguistics, there is a neglect in the book under review of non-European languages, and of non-Roman and non-alphabetic writing systems. In particular, lexicographic theory could surely benefit from looking at languages with a long tradition of written literature and therefore of dictionary making.

My major general criticism of the book is that, despite its explicit title and an introduction by the editor entitled 'Who needs dictionaries?', there is actually little discussion in the articles of the needs of users. There are standard points made about the needs of learners, dictionaries for ESP, EST and the like. But the discussion gets no further than this. There are no serious suggestions for surveys of who uses dictionaries, or how and why they use them (cf. Quirk, 1974, chapters 10, 11, for several suggestions here: there is no reference in the bibliography to any of Quirk's useful articles on lexicography). And there is no serious discussion of the relation between the user's conception of a dictionary (or of language in general) and the linguist's model of language.

Finally, the book contains some odd comments, for example: p.115, French and English 'belong to two very different language families'; p.127, 'Language equals culture'; p.105, Chinese has 'a grammar which has never been codified'; and a fair number of typographical errors.

I have no room here for further details on individual articles. These include, at a similar level of analysis, discussion of collocations, idioms, technical dictionaries (e.g. for 'nautical English'), technical terms in Arabic, obsolete words, new words, and how to indicate pronunciation in EFL dictionaries.

In sum, the book contains a lot of interesting information, most of it correct, and would be useful as fairly easy reading on undergraduate courses. However, it misses several opportunities for advancing lexicographic theory.

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