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WRITING STYLES OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

by

Robert B. Kaplan
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Some twenty-five years ago, it occurred to me that non-native speakers of English, when they wrote in English, could compose texts that were to a significant degree grammatically correct but were nonetheless substantially different from the texts composed by native speakers of English. By looking at these texts intensively, I found that speakers of particular languages did more or less similar things and that the things they did were consistently different from the things native English speakers did. I hypothesized that these differences had to originate in the structure of those other languages.

Initially, it seemed that most of the difference could be described in terms of the surface differences between languages: that is, given that the surface verb structure of Chinese was significantly different from the surface verb structure of English, one would anticipate differences in the way verbs were used in the two languages, and one would anticipate that such differences would lead to apparent variations in the text realizations. But surface differences in the uses of articles and prepositions, in the uses of verbs, in the position of modifiers, and the like account for only a small part of the variance. Something else appeared to be happening.

Further analysis suggested that each language came fully equipped with a complex set of rhetorical rules. These rhetorical rules are much more flexible than the syntactic rules of any particular language, that is, there are many ways in any particular language for accomplishing a given discourse objective. Further it is clear that any discourse objective that can be accomplished in one language can be accomplished in any other language. The problem lies in the fact that readers of particular languages will not accept all of the available solutions. It isn't that various solutions are impossible; rather, it is that certain solutions are undesirable because they invoke sociolinguistic reactions that are anathema to the discourse objective.

At approximately the same time, historically, the U. S. was beginning to recognize that it was not a monolingually English speaking community but rather that it was a multilingual community and that some segments of its population were being (at least) deprived of equal opportunities for access to education because they were linguistically isolated from mainstream schooling. Teachers in those early, allegedly bilingual, programs were discovering that there were certain features of spoken language behavior that were also causing problems. Some teachers discovered, for example, that the varieties spoken by certain groups of Southwestern Native Americans lacked the slot for an initial politeness markers: for example, in the utterance

1. please give me a pencil

speakers of some languages weren't aware of the English discourse rule requiring the please and as a consequence sounded rude to native English-speaking teachers.

2. gimme a pencil.

But the spoken-language situation is confounded by the co-existence of a large number of other variables, and as a consequence a great deal of effort was invested, appropriately, in paralinguistic features like proxemics, gestural systems, and the like. Although some attention was also given to linguistic features, the attention tended to focus on phonological and syntactic elements and not on discourse elements.
Written discourse is different from spoken discourse in a number of important ways. First, it is, of necessity, stripped of all the feed-back loops available in spoken language: that is, the writer normally is not looking at his/her audience and is therefore unable to correct in the light of the audience's signals in terms of glance, body posture, gesture, and the like, and the writer is not able to respond immediately to direct questions from the reader. But in addition to this important difference, written language tends to serve a different set of discourse purposes: after all, we do not generally exchange notes when we are in sufficiently close proximity to talk together--except during committee meetings when our talking might be disturbing to the group, so we find ourselves obliged to pass notes. Even in that circumstance, what we write in those notes is different from what we might have said. It can be generalized that written language is more carefully planned than spoken language (e.g., everyone has observed the phenomenon of the writer, pencil in hand, staring into space and trying to articulate the appropriate message, or placing the pencil somewhere in the vicinity of the mouth, perhaps to draw inspiration from the vocal organ), and it can be observed and generalized that written language is, in some senses at least, more "formal" than spoken language. Research conducted by Biber (1984) over a massive corpus, and by Grabe (1985), (and more recently others) shows that there are important linguistic differences between spoken and written language, too complex for me to attempt to summarize here.

Still another important difference lies in the history of written language as compared with the history of spoken language. Although the evidence is incomplete, it is probably the case that spoken language as we know it came into existence something like 100,000 years ago; the archeological evidence supports that claim in terms of changes in the shape and size of the brain cavity and in terms of changes in the bucal cavity. It is likely, however, that humanoids had elaborate call systems for many millions of years before that; that assumption is based on the evidence that the species has engaged in group hunting over most of its existence, as far back as our Austrolopidethesene ancestors. Group hunting requires the ability among the hunters to inform each other of where they are in relation to the game, what direction they are moving in, how fast they are going, and what their intention is, all suggestive of the use of some sort of fairly sophisticated oral communication system. But writing, by contrast, is no more than 10,000 years old.

When writing came into use, its first functions were associated with various kinds of book-keeping; subsequently, it took on a number of magical and religious functions, initially serving merely to record blessings, oaths, or curses, but later becoming the repository for entire bodies of religious lore. It is not an accident that our oldest written records seem to include the Bible and other religious writing. Since literacy was very limited, writing served the needs of those who were literate, and that group tended to include largely the clergy. As recently as the 16th century, it was not uncommon for kings, and certainly queens, to be illiterate and to depend on the literate clergy to keep records; it is not an accident that Kings used royal seals--they did so because they could not sign their names. The relatively more recent advent of the Protestant faiths was significantly responsible for the more general spread of literacy because this group believed that one had to have personal access to the gospels in order to achieve salvation. It is for this reason that one of the earliest acts of the Protestant settlers in North America was to set up schools in the midst of what they perceived as a howling wilderness, and it explains why they have been described as perhaps the most literate community in history.

As writing has evolved, it has taken on more and more specialized functions, as well as a life of its own distinct from oral language. It is absolutely essential that teachers and students recognize that important fact. Richard Rodriguez, in his lyrical autobiography called Hunger of Memory, makes the important point that the child comes to school speaking a private language--the language of the home and of the heart--and has to learn, in a remarkable short time, to manage a public language--not
only the language of school, but the language of the impersonal world; it is this latter language that carries the important additional functions of written language, and so the child is gradually led to use of written text.

With respect to written language, one can differentiate several controlling phenomena: written language is organized in terms of whom it is addressed to, of what its mode is, and of what its channel is. It is necessary to define each of these parameters. First, with respect to audience, one can talk to oneself, to one known other, to one unknown or generalized other, to a small group of known others, to a small group of unknown others, and to a large group of unknown others. Second, with respect to mode one can engage in the act of writing either without composing or with composing, and when one is engaged in writing with composing it is possible to differentiate between the intent of giving information or the intent of somehow altering information—or, to put it in Scardamelia and Beriter's terms, between "knowledge telling" and "knowledge transforming." Third, with respect to channel, it is important to differentiate between form filling and list making on the one hand and the writing of letters, sermons, scholarly articles, novels and short stories, and poems on the other. Perhaps a few examples will help to make this taxonomy clearer.

Virtually every week, my wife makes up a shopping list. It does not require any composing because it is merely a list of brief noun phrases. It is addressed to herself: since her world knowledge is exactly coterminous with the world knowledge of her intended audience, there is no need for any sort of elaboration. And its channel is the typical English-language list mode—that is, the noun phrases are arranged on paper in a single long column. On the relatively rare occasion when she is for some reason unable to do the shopping, I become the audience for the shopping list. Our world knowledges do not exactly overlap, so she has to annotate the noun phrases in order for me to understand them. In these circumstances, the item milk becomes one half gallon of low-fat milk with the most remote shelf date I can find, and the item dog food becomes six medium-sized cans of whatever is on sale this week. In the normal act of creating a shopping list, then, she has addressed herself, writing without composing, and using the list mode.

While it not possible here to offer an exhaustive taxonomy, it is possible to exemplify it: thus, one may write a diary, which is an example of writing with composing to one's self as an audience, or one may write a letter to a personal friend, or a note to the teacher; the former being an example of writing to one known other with composing, the latter of writing to one generalized or unknown other without much composing (e.g., "John had a temperature yesterday"). One may write to the members of the alumni association to ask for money or one may compose a sermon; the former being an example of writing with composing to an unknown or generalized audience, the latter of writing with composing to a small known audience. One may compose a talk of the sort represented by this text or fill out one's income tax forms; the former being an example of writing with composing—yes, I did compose this text—to a larger unknown audience, the latter an example of writing without composing for a large unknown audience (the entire anonymous IRS, including the specific unknown person who will eventually audit you). Not to belabor the point, one may write an article for publication in the TESOL Quarterly, which is an example of writing with composing for "knowledge telling," or one may write a poem or a short story or a novel, which is an example of writing with composing for "knowledge transforming." It is possible to go on, but in the interests of time I will stop at this point in the taxonomy, hoping that these few examples help to establish the point and inviting you to develop the rest of the taxonomy for yourselves at your leisure.

There are two additional important points to make. The first point is that this taxonomy is not immediately transparent; that is, children and second-language learners will not immediately perceive the existence of the taxonomy, nor will they be able to work it all out for themselves without any help. It is not the case that the
knowledge underlying this taxonomy can be readily acquired; rather, it is probable
that the necessary knowledge has to be made explicit—that it has to be taught. The
second point is that, characteristically, the school system neither recognizes the
existence of this taxonomy nor pays any attention to it in terms of curriculum
construction. If you will consider for a moment the writing that you typically do, I
believe you will agree that a substantial portion of your writing experience through
the extent of your literate lives has involved writing without composing and that a
considerably smaller portion of your writing experience that involves writing with
composing has been focused on "knowledge telling."

Informal research over the past few years with a number of audiences of English
speakers—both native and non-native—suggests that typical English speakers write
virtually nothing that requires composing to any significant degree. Teachers, in
particular, do great quantities of form-filling in relation to students' performance and
grades, do a fair amount "memo" writing, but do virtually no extended "composing."
Both teachers and non-teachers do writing tasks involving filling out personnel forms,
income tax forms, and the like, write brief messages on Christmas cards, but rarely are
engaged in writing "articles" in any extended format, though some do write brief
pieces for school or church-related newsletters and other similar publications. Studies
among professional accountants, for example, show that their non-accounting writing is
almost entirely limited to memos. Even university professors in the majority of
academic disciplines, while they are expected to "publish or perish," do relatively little
"knowledge transforming" and tend to write in rather formularv ways as required by
the professional journals in which they publish. But the school curriculum regularly
stresses writing with composing for the purpose of "knowledge transforming"; indeed,
it pays virtually no attention whatsoever to writing without composing (but we are
amazed when high school graduates cannot fill out a job application), and without
having taught "knowledge telling," it assumes that learners will be able to undertake
"knowledge transforming."

Further, the school system is guilty of another important confusion. In school,
children are often encouraged to write some sort of fiction—whether the given topic is
"what I did last weekend," or "where I went for my last summer vacation," or "my
favorite character." Now it is likely that story telling is a universal human
phenomenon; as far as the evidence is available, it appears that all cultures tell stories.
One of the characteristics of stories with which we are familiar is that they tend to be
organized in some sort of chronological sequence; many human beings seem to
perceive time as a unidirectional flow. Broadly defined, a story is the interaction over
time of two or more characters, so the writer's task is to describe the characters and
then to describe their interaction over a chronologically sequenced set of encounters—
think of the story of the three little pigs and the big bad wolf. It is true, of course,
that great novels have some of the same characteristics, but their primary function is
not merely to narrate some sequence of events but rather to provide some "knowledge
transforming" such that the world is significantly changed because the novel exists—
though what I am describing need not be a "novel" in the technical sense; think of
Hamlet as an example. While children are taught to write simple narratives, they are
expected to learn from writing such simple narratives, how to write complex
"knowledge transforming" texts. There is clear evidence that, as grammatical
knowledge is not sufficient to composing, so narrative writing is not sufficient to
learning how to write complex analytic texts. Children are not taught a sufficient
variety of "knowledge telling" contexts, and they are rarely taught "knowledge
transforming" contexts at all.

Still another confusion arises from disputes among scholars. In recent years there has
been a great deal of debate about what is called the "product/process" dichotomy.
Product advocates are alleged to stress the finished composition and to be disinterested
in how it got composed; process advocates are described as being solely concerned with
the way in which texts get composed and to be disinterested in the output. It is, of
course, possible that such people exist, but the debate has been extravagantly 
exaggerated. Indeed, every product is the outcome of a process, and every process 
results in some sort of product. In fact, there probably is no "ultimate" product; every 
piece of work goes on being revised as long as the writer remains interested in the 
topic. Let me suggest to you that this text is only the latest version of the paper I 
first wrote in 1966; lest you find that hard to believe, I urge you to look at the 
variorum editions of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* which clearly show that he 
continued to tinker with every poem he had ever written right up to within days of 
his death. A product *looks* finished when it appears in some "printed format," whether 
that format is a typescript page or a formal printed page, but the fact is that even the 
finality of print may not be the end of the process. My point is that the 
process/product dichotomy has been exaggerated out of all proportion: every writing 
teacher needs to be concerned both with the stages the student goes through in trying 
to compose a text and with the outcome of that process in whatever form it may exist 
for the moment.

All of these matters frame research in writing. It is now pretty well recognized that 
literate speakers of other languages when they write in English create texts that are 
significantly different from the kinds of texts native English speakers produce. Some 
of the causes of those differences have been discovered. For example, John Hinds has 
proposed a typology of languages based on relative reader/writer responsibility. Hinds 
suggests that, in certain languages, the writer is fairly free to assume an extensive 
shared world-knowledge and consequently to leave it to readers to work out his 
meaning; in such circumstances, readers expect to be left with work to do and are 
annoyed and disappointed when they are told too much. On the other hand, certain 
languages require the writer to assume very little and to supply a great deal. Japanese 
is an example of a reader-responsible language, while English is an example of a 
writer-responsible language. It is easy to illustrate a writer-responsible language to 
English speakers. When my wife and I were living in Hong Kong, we did not bother 
to acquire a television set because there is very limited television access in Hong 
Kong; as a consequence, we were dependent on radio for our daily increment of news. 
The most readily available radio news was the BBC world news, and I would argue 
that it is a perfect example of writer-responsible text; for example, the news begins, 
after identification as BBC world news, with the following:

3a. And now, the news. First, the main points: 1....

and then continues as follows:

3b. Those were the main points; and now the details: 1....

ending with a summary:

3c. That is the news at this hour. And now a summary of the main points:

1.... Virtually nothing is left to the imagination; it is the writer's responsibility to 
supply as much as possible so that there can be no misunderstanding. (The example is 
a bit unfair, since news broadcasting requires minimal ambiguity, but it is a clear 
example of writer-responsible text.) There are many examples of Japanese text, even 
from newspapers, for example, which is very different, and in which the writer feels 
obliged to leave a great deal unsaid so that the reader can participate actively in the 
creation of the meaning of the text. Perhaps the most obvious example is the Japanese 
poetic form known as *Haiku*, but there are many less specialized examples as well.

If Japanese is an example of reader-responsible text and English is an example of 
writer-responsible text, some languages, like Chinese, seem to be in transition from 
reader-responsibility to writer-responsibility. Again, while I was living in Hong Kong, 
my students contributed to my education by requiring me to read prize-winning short-
stories from the PRC written immediately after the end of the cultural revolution; 
these stories are startling in their differences from more traditional Chinese stories 
because these new stories are extremely explicit, leaving little to the reader's 
imagination.
But relative reader/writer responsibility is only one example of the kinds of
differences which have been identified in text. Differences have been found in the
relative amount of tangential information that can be introduced into a text. For
example, English appears to tolerate relatively little tangential material—English
writers are expected to "stick to the point"; on the other hand, Spanish writers feel
free to bring in large quantities of less directly related information. It seems to be
the case that the Spanish writer feels obliged to qualify him/herself as an expert and
therefore needs to demonstrate the range of his/her erudition. Please understand that
no value judgment is involved here. It is not a question of whether writer-responsive
text is better than reader-responsive text or whether lean text is better than more
leisurely text. The point is merely that users of different languages expect different
things from their texts. Furthermore, it is not the case that lean texts cannot be
written in Spanish or that writer-responsive texts cannot be written in Japanese;
rather, it is the case that writing lean texts in Spanish would violate certain norms
and would cause readers to respond to the text in unexpected ways.

Another difference relates to the way topic is identified in text. Consider the
following example:

4. Once upon a time there was a lovely young princess who lived in a castle in a
far away kingdom. The castle was built by her Uncle Hernando who was an
architect in a nearby city. He was also a good family man and a fine swimmer
and competed many times against Johnny Weismuller during the 1920s.

The first sentence of this little text begins with the opener "Once upon a time," a text
structure that, in English, suggests that start of a fairy tale. The remainder of the
sentence, in which the "lovely young princess" is the real grammatical subject, is
entirely acceptable in the context of the fairy tale. One is led to expect that the rest
of the text will have something to do with the princess. But the second sentence is
about the castle. Now that the word castle in the first sentence is the object of a
preposition in a relative clause; that is not, under the best of circumstances, a focal
position, and it is entirely unexpected for the topic to be picked up out of such a
position. (The introduction of Uncle Hernando--not a name commonly invoked in
English fairy tales--and his identification as an architect--not a profession commonly
invoked in fairy tales--suggest that there may be some other problems with the text.)
The next sentence shifts topic yet again—now the topic is Uncle Hernando and his
achievements as a family man and as a swimmer. We can now be fairly certain that
the text is not a fairy tale (in part at least because a recent historical time frame is
introduced versus the timeless past implicit in the once upon a time opener of the
typical fairy tale); more importantly, we can see that the text does not follow the
normal rules of topic structure in English. The text has a certain coherence, but it is
a slightly maniacal coherence.

The point, however, is that there obviously are topicalization rules in English. If
there were not, the example I have just given you would not seem odd. In some other
languages—Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Tagalog, for example—topic is marked by the
introduction of a grammatical particle. It is easy to define the limits of a topic under
these circumstances—the topic runs from the introduction of one topic-marking particle
to the introduction of the next. Further, since it is apparent what the topic is, it
should not be necessary to refer to it constantly; as a matter of fact, Japanese is what
is called a "pro-drop" language—that is, it is possible to delete pronoun reference, and
indeed the kind of pronoun reference required in English would be redundant. (I'm
not suggesting that this explanation accounts for all pro-drop phenomena; Spanish is
also a pro-drop language, but it does not use a grammatical particle to identify topic.)
English does not use grammatical marking to identify topic either; on the contrary,
one kind of English topic marking rule is oddly exemplified in the text about the
princess, but another kind of topic identification also occurs—a type based on the
movement of elements. In the following example:

5a. On the platform, the two men were talking.
5b. The two men were talking on the platform.

It is likely that the text following sentence 5a would concern itself with *what is happening on the platform* while the text following sentence 5b would concern itself with *what the two men were talking about*. The only difference between the two texts is the difference in placement of the locative prepositional phrase. This exemplifies another type of difference that occurs between languages.

Still another kind of difference lied in the preference in a particular language for the types of relationships among proposition that can exist. Commonly, propositional relationships reflect coordination, subordination, or superordination. Some languages, like English, appear to prefer to relate ideas in a large number of cases through subordination; indeed, one finds in conventional grammar texts statements to the effect that extensive coordination is a mark of immature style and that mature writers subordinate some very large proportion of their statements. Arabic, on the other hand, seems to evince a clear preference for coordination and a dispreference for subordination. In part this phenomenon has to do with available syntactic alternatives; English has a large inventory of items to mark subordinate relationships and a rather small inventory of items to mark coordinate relationships, while Arabic extensively uses the conjunct *wa* which literally means *and*. It would be inappropriate to attribute a causal relationship to that simple observation; the point is merely that written Arabic seems to use a great deal more coordination while written English uses a great deal more subordination. Again, the point is not that one type is preferable to another in some universal sense, or that one type is impossible in some particular language; subordination is possible in Arabic, and elaborate coordination is possible in English and was indeed, at the end of the 16th century, in high vogue (cf., John Lyly [1554?-1604], *Euphues* or the Anatomy of Wit, and *Euphues* and his *England*, the titles giving rise to the lexical items *euphuism/euphuistic*.)

So far, the discussion has concerned what are normally identified as clearly different languages, and it is true that much of the research described grew out of a need to teach legally defined "foreign students" (those holding "F" or "J" visas) and much of that research was supported by the funds provided for teaching those students. It is, however, also true that there are populations residing in the U. S. who practice some of the writing patterns described and who turn up in bilingual programs in various parts of the country. In Los Angeles, where I practice, for example, there are high populations of speakers of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish and Tagalog, as well as substantial numbers of speakers of Arabic. Thus, what has been learned about writing from studies of differences between clearly identified "languages" is of use in the bilingual classroom. Studies have now been conducted in a relatively large number of "languages": for example, in Arabic, Farsi, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, Marathi, Russian, Spanish (Peninsular, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Argentinian), and Tagalog. In addition to the published work, I am aware of other studies in progress, for example, in Mandarin where there now appears to be a great deal of interest. I myself have been trying to look at the way counter-factual statements work in Chinese and English as constituents of text—not as isolated syntactic structures. (Counter-factual statements are of the type)

6. If Cleopatra's nose had been longer, the history of the world would have been different.

Such statements occur in English with reasonable frequency, in such genre as sports writing; they are relatively rarer in Chinese, though certainly various sorts of conditional structures exist: e.g.,

7. If there were no Communist Party, there would be no new China.)
Very preliminary conclusions seem to suggest that the ways in which these structures function in the two languages are vastly different both in terms of the rhetorical purposes served and in terms of the relative frequency and distribution of the structures in text.

There has in addition been an increasing interest in what happens in so-called non-standard varieties of English and in different varieties of other languages (e.g., are Puerto Rican Spanish and Mexican Spanish identical in discourse structure, and is each more or less similar to Peninsular Spanish?) As a result of this growing interest, there are now in existence a number of studies that may seem more directly relevant to the work of bilingual teachers and to the work of teachers of basic literacy. One of the earliest studies is the well known comparison between Puerto Rican Spanish and English undertaken by Ramon Santiago as a Columbia Teachers College dissertation in the late 1960s: that was followed in rapid success by another comparative study of Puerto Rican Spanish and English by Sister Olga Santana Seda in an NYU dissertation and by still a third study of the same language pair by G. J. Strei (1971) presented at the TESOL Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico in the early 1970s. At the TESOL Conference in San Antonio in 1989, William Eggington reported on the writing of Australian Aboriginal people in English, and Maria Montañó-Harmon reported on her seminal study of the writing of Mexican-American children (that study available in full as a USC dissertation). Ms. Montañó-Harmon studied four groups of students drawn from 9th grade classes in 8 schools in this country and 2 in Mexico; specifically, she collected a corpus of texts from Mexican students in Mexico (monolingual Spanish speakers), Mexican students studying English as a second language in the U.S. (speakers of Mexican Spanish learning English), Mexican-American/Chicano students (dominate English speakers but who possess some relative degree of bilingualism in Spanish), and Anglo students (Monolingual English-speakers). She also devised and administered a lengthy language-use questionnaire to the total population. Her findings were extremely interesting; while it is impossible to do them justice in this brief discussion, I want to call particular attention to this important study. The whole study needs to be read in all fairness to the importance of her work, but the following is a brief summary of her conclusions:

A. Mexican students wrote significantly longer texts than any of the other groups, but the Anglo texts contained the largest number of sentences, while the sentences written by the Mexican students contained the greatest number of words.

B. Mexican students wrote the greatest number of "run-on" sentences, while Anglo students wrote both the greatest number of simple sentences and the greatest number of complex sentences.

C. With respect to lexical cohesion, Mexican students used significantly more synonyms than any of the other groups, but the Mexican-American group used by far (more than twice as often as any other group) the largest number of conversational markers.

D. Mexican students use significantly more markers of syntactic cohesion indicating additive and causal relationships.

E. Mexican students use significantly more enumerative, additive, and explicative relationships logically than any of the other groups.

While the Mexican group was significantly different from all the others (to be expected, since it was the only monolingual Spanish-speaking group), all of the groups differed from each other in important ways. While the Mexican-American/Chicano group was unlike the English-speaking group, it was also unlike the Spanish-speaking group. Montano-Harmon makes the following observations:
The results of this study show four linguistic groups in terms of language use: (1) Mexican students function in Spanish; (2) ESL students using both languages, with a dependence on Spanish for informal social interaction and a shift to English for formal academic needs; (3) Mexican-American/Chicano students relying mostly on English for both formal and informal social interaction and formal academic use, and (4) Anglo students functioning in English (1988:192).

The compositions written by Mexican-American/Chicano students differ from those of the other three groups. Their texts differ significantly from those of ESL students who function in Spanish and who are in the process of learning English as their second language, as well as from the compositions written by Anglo students whose texts most approximate the discourse pattern of American English. The most striking characteristic of the texts written by the Mexican-American/Chicano group is their oral tone. The use of a large number of conversational markers, run-on sentences, fragments, and digressions contributes to the conversational tone of the texts. These compositions also exhibit many instances of rhetorical questions answered by the writer, slang expressions, and unmarked direct discourse embedded in the indirect discourse of the text. [Mexican-American/Chicano] compositions appear to be expressions in writing of the oral form of Chicano English used for social interaction, conversational in tone and casual in style (1988:193-194).

Montaño-Harmon offers the following text example as illustrative:

8. I did not think we should have to do all of those worksheets and so I asked the teacher why, she just said because I'm the teacher that's why. I don't think this is fair and so I go it's not fair and she says to me go to the office you have detention. Now I ask you, is this good teaching (1988:156)?

A similar orality, though rather differently structured, was reported by Eggington in his TESOL paper, noted above. Let me recall for you the discussion, somewhat earlier in these remarks, of Richard Rodriguez' notion of private language versus public language. It is possible to claim that what both Eggington and Montaño-Harmon found is extensive use of private language and little or no awareness of the need for, or the uses of, public language. Indeed, in some discussions of the uses of written English among Aboriginal people, written English is referred to as a "secret language" whose use English speakers guard against the intrusion of Aboriginal people.

I have now gone on at some length, and I have tried to cover a lot of ground. The points I have been trying to make are: (1) that there is a great deal of research on writing; (2) that a great deal of that research is pertinent to the bilingual and basic-literacy classroom, as well as to the ESL/EFL classroom, and (3) that a great deal of what is being done in the name of composition really has very little to do with teaching anybody now to manipulate extended text and remains much more embedded in the study of clause structures than in the study of discourse structures. I trust you have found these observations of some use. Thank you for your patience and interest. I can only hope that I have not too seriously violated your discourse expectations.
Bibliography


Towards Empowering Oral Cultures Through Literacy

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The underlying hypothesis of this paper is that individual mastery of print registers occurs best when the learner's oral culture develops a strong literate component. Thus the acquisition of higher literacy skills is more a group social issue than an individual pedagogical one. This hypothesis will be explored by reference to planned and unplanned social changes which have occurred in an Australian Aboriginal oral culture community in the Northern Territory of Australia as community members assume some aspects of literate culture—and in the process gain more control over their lives. It is hoped that the conclusions reached will be generalizable to other minority indigenous, immigrant and refugee communities.

INTRODUCTION

In broad terms this paper will investigate a recent, somewhat startling, phenomenon in Aboriginal education in the Northern Territory of Australia. This phenomenon has far reaching implications in that part of the world and, I believe, has some generalizability to other similar situations here in the United States. The phenomenon? Success in Aboriginal education. To understand why I have labeled this success a phenomenon, I will first review some background information concerning the Aboriginal people and Aboriginal education in the Northern Territory. Next I will trace the development of the above mentioned success. I will then analyze what I believe to be the theoretical principles underlying that success and will conclude with ways that these principles could be applied to similar situations.

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY

The pre-European history of Aboriginal people in Australia extends approximately 40,000 years into the past. Since Aboriginal people formed hunter-gatherer oral cultures, much of the history of this extensive period is intertwined with dreamtime mythology and traditions.

An estimated 300,000 indigenous or Aboriginal people inhabited the Australian continent at the time of initial European settlement in 1788. The history of Aboriginal people since then can fall into a number of stages; namely the domesticate or exterminate period from 1788 to the 1860's; the protectionist period from the 1860's to the 1940's; the assimilationist period from the 1940's to the 1960's; and the self-determination and management period which continues up to the present time (Baldauf and Eggington, 1989). Since 1983 this self-determination policy has been seen as creating a situation where:

Aboriginals have sufficient economic independence to enjoy the civil
and political rights provided in our system; and where they can control basic services such as health, education, housing, so that they come in a form and of a standard that meet Aboriginal needs as defined by the Aboriginal people themselves (House of Representatives Select Committee on Aboriginal Education, 1985).

In 1788 there were between 200 and 650 Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia, depending upon which definitions of the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are used (Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1984). The two hundred years since European settlement have seen a dramatic decline in these languages to the point where only eight languages survive today with more than 1,000 speakers (Baldauf and Eggington, 1989), five of these languages are in the Northern Territory of Australia. Black (1983) estimates that, in addition to these five languages, there are twenty-five languages surviving in the Northern Territory with one hundred or more speakers. Thus, of the 35,000 Aboriginal people living in the Northern Territory, there are 20,000 speakers of one or more Aboriginal language.

In the early days of European settlement in the Northern Territory an English based contact language developed which has followed the contact language, minimal pidgin, pidgin, extended pidgin, initial creole to extended creole continuum (Todd, 1974; Muhlhausler, 1986; Romaine, 1988). This creole or Kriol is becoming the lingua franca of the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory with an estimated 20,000 speakers (Sandefur and Harris, 1986).

However, the English language remains as the dominant language in almost all domains requiring interaction with the ever-present non-Aboriginal society. It is the language of communication with government, health, commerce and education programs. Unfortunately, significant communication barriers exist due to a number of factors including inadequate English language proficiency levels among the Aboriginal people, cultural insensitivity among the English speaking non-Aboriginal people and huge differences in communication strategies between the two groups (Shimpo, 1985). As may be guessed, the English spoken by the Aboriginal people, Aboriginal English, exists as a non-standard, low status variety of the language.

Formal western style education came to Aboriginal people when various Christian churches established mission schools in Aboriginal community settlements. These community mission schools were eventually taken over first by Federal and then Territory Education Departments. Enrollment figures for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in the Northern Territory are given in Table 1.
TABLE 1
Northern Territory Schools
Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Enrollments, July 1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aboriginal</th>
<th>Non-Aboriginal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school</td>
<td>1067</td>
<td>2091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>7282</td>
<td>14406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>5061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Secondary</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>2765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungraded</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>10492</strong></td>
<td><strong>24839</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Northern Territory Department of Education, 1987

Note the low number of Aboriginal students enrolled in secondary programs. To date, not a single Aboriginal youth from a traditional background has graduated from a Northern Territory High School. These figures do not point out the considerable absenteeism in Aboriginal schools, or the apparent lack of enthusiasm for western-style education. Literacy levels are very low with most youth leaving school with a third grade reading level.

In addition, Walton (1989) estimates that there are another 1417 Aboriginal students not enrolled in any school program. This is because many Aboriginal people have chosen to return to "Homeland Centres" in order to live a traditional lifestyle in tribal lands. However as Walton points out,

"a minimum of 12 school age children is set (as a guide) for the establishment of a homeland centre school, thereby precluding many outstation children from existing services. Non-Aboriginal families on cattle stations with one school age child do have access to School of the Air. The question seems to be put for non-Aboriginal Territorians along these lines, "How can a service be provided for all school age children?"; while for NT Aborigines it is more like, "If they request a service, what is the minimum we might provide?" (p. 3)."

In an effort to better meet the educational needs of the Northern Territory Aboriginal people, the Australian government introduced a Bilingual Education program in 1972. This program now consists of 16 bilingual schools and has had mixed results in achieving its stated objectives (Eggington and Baldauf, 1989).

The effectiveness of one such bilingual school program was reported in *TESOL Quarterly* in 1981 (Gale, McClay, Christie and Harris, 1981). This report provided statistical evidence verifying that this bilingual program was achieving a measurable degree of success. However, in 1986 I visited that same school and found a skeleton bilingual-in-name-only program. Most of
the bilingual material which had been developed during the golden years of
the program reported in the TESOL Quarterly article was lying in a dusty
storage area unused by the new staff at the school. The program had
fallen victim to reduced funding and frequent non-Aboriginal staff transfers
which replaced experienced and committed staff with staff much less
experienced in, and committed to, bilingual education. There was also very
little community interest in the program. In general, the program had
deprecated due to a subtle and usually unconscious form of institutionalized
cultural insensitivity.

Educational achievement levels in the Northern Territory for Aboriginal
people are well below national standards and significantly below Aboriginal
student standards in other Australian states (House of Representatives
Select Committee on Aboriginal Education, 1985). The reasons for this are
numerous and frequently discussed, a general consensus being that language
and cultural differences are major factors contributing to poor educational
achievement (Eades, 1985; Harris, 1980; Christie and Harris, 1985; Graham,
1986).

As Walton (1989) and Wearne (1986) have shown, and as I have alluded to
in the homeland centre and bilingual education examples given above, there
appears to be a structural inequality in many areas of Northern Territory
society suggesting covert institutional racism. Using the term "institutional
racism" may seem a little harsh, but I believe it can be found in many
Western societies. Chambers and Pettman (1986) define it as,

a pattern of distribution of social goods, including power, which
regularly and systematically advantages some ethnic and racial groups
and disadvantages others. It operates through key institutions...(for
example) the education system (p.7).

Cummins (1989) draws attention to "disabling structures" that are built into
social access and equity systems. He states that,

groups that tend to experience the most pronounced education failure
are those that have historically experienced a pattern of subjugation to
the dominant group, over generations...the relationship between the
majority and minority group is one which historically has led to an
ambivalent and insecure identity among native minorities (Cummins,
1989).

Using Ogbu's classification system (Ogbu, 1988), Aboriginal people in the
Northern Territory fall into the category of a "castelike" subordinate
minority. He suggests that this particular type of minority group has been
"either incorporated into a society more or less involuntarily and
permanently or are forced to seek incorporation and then relegated to
inferior status" (p. 232). He continues that social structures make it more
difficult for an individual from a subordinate minority to "advance on the
basis of individual training or ability" (p. 232).

Very few Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory are independent of
support from the dominant culture. Many are losing their traditional values
and cultures. Alcoholism, drug usage, petrol sniffing, malnutrition and poor
health are epidemic in many communities. Despite heavy government
involvement, most Aboriginal settlements are of a third world housing and health standard. And yet people care. There are numerous non-Aboriginal educators, health workers, missionaries, government officials and politicians in the Northern Territory and throughout Australia who have devoted a significant portion of their lives in assisting Aboriginal people towards finding solutions to these problems. But successes are too few and too limited in scope while newer problems continue to develop. Every few years a new approach is tried only to be replaced by another direction and new hope. Government funds for ongoing support programs such as bilingual education are beginning to be questioned with an attitude developing among government politicians that non-Aboriginal Australians are doing enough, the problems and the solutions lie in, and with, the Aboriginal people (Walton, 1989).

Out of all this there appears to one ray of hope, one significant and substantial success. This phenomenon is Yirrkala School.

YIRRKALA SCHOOL

As I describe the development and nature of this success at Yirrkala I am indebted to Greg Wearne and the Master's Thesis he wrote on the subject in 1986. Greg was the Assistant principal at Yirrkala from 1982. He is now deputy principal of Nhulunbuy High School which is located 23 kilometers from Yirrkala. Throughout the remainder of this paper I will often refer to the Yirrkala people as Yolngu. It is their term for their people. I will also refer to white Australians as Balallda. This is an interesting Aboriginal word. It is used to refer to whites across the "top-end" of Australia. We didn't know its history until we realized that it is a Malay-Indonesian borrowed word. For at least 500 years before Europeans came to the far north of Australia, Indonesian fishermen were coming to the area in search of trepang. They had a lot of contact with Aboriginal people and told them about strange white men who called themselves "Hollanders". The word went through the usual phonological assimilation procedures to end up being balallda.

Yirrkala is a traditional Aboriginal coastal community of about 1,000 Aboriginal and 100 non-Aboriginal people located 700 kilometers east of Darwin. Although there was some contact with non-Aboriginal Australians or Balanda, the Yolngu or Yirrkala Aborigines remained isolated from non-Aboriginal culture until 1971. At that time a large mining operation commenced at Nhulunbuy, 23 kilometers away. Nhulunbuy now has a population of 4000 non-Aboriginal Australians. Since 1971, the Yolngu have managed to keep themselves distant from Nhulunbuy Balanda culture.

A small mission school was eventually established at Yirrkala during the 1950's. This school was taken over by the government in 1968. When the Federal Government introduced Bilingual Education into the Northern Territory in 1972, Yirrkala was chosen as one of the Bilingual Schools. Of course, bilingual education required a core of Aboriginal assistant teachers, but, at that time, there were no Aboriginal teachers or assistant teachers. Thus, a group of young adults, mostly female, were trained through various Aboriginal teacher training programs.

Up until 1982, Yirrkala could be seen as a typical bilingual school where
part of the curriculum was taught in English and part by the Aboriginal Assistant teachers in their language. Throughout the 16 Northern Territory bilingual schools those committed to bilingual education were beginning to worry that the hoped for results of bilingual education were not being seen. Students were not achieving better, they were not attending better and, in general, community members were not becoming involved.

However, perhaps because of their proximity to a Balanda mining town, the Yolngu people of Yirrkala were particularly concerned that their culture not only be preserved, but developed. They began to extend the concept of bilingual education to what they termed "both ways" education. They wanted community children not only be taught in two languages, but to learn to function in both Yolngu and Balanda ways at school. This meant that the curriculum had to be adjusted and that significant aspects of Balanda ways and learning had to be replaced by Yolngu ways and learning as part of the school's core curriculum. The Yolngu at Yirrkala began to want to be heard. In his thesis Wearne includes a significant statement on this subject expressed by the Aboriginal Community Development Officers.

Yolngu want bilingual education. They also want high standards. This is not happening as children are leaving school knowing nothing. Children still don't understand how (or why it is important) to learn to a high standard. Yolngu can do this if student teachers learn hard to be good teachers (same for nurses, doctors, mechanics, plumbers, farmers, navy, airforce) so that in turn they can help children to learn.

We need Yolngu and Balanda co-operating in schools. But the Balanda teacher must be one who can step back and support Yolngu, not take over. Many Balanda teachers find this hard to do. Balanda teachers should want to learn from Yolngu. Both learn, one form another. At Yirrkala there is strong community support for their own Yolngu teachers. These are the people who will help the children in homelands to develop "both ways" (Wearne, 1989, from an interview with Community Development Officers conducted by John Henry, Deakin University, November 1983).

As Yirrkala assistant teachers and community leaders began to toy with the idea of adjusting the curriculum, it became evident that they were moving into a sensitive area, one where self-determination policies were not allowed. The Northern Territory Department of Education had declared that "Aboriginal students should receive the same core curriculum as other N.T. students, with importance placed on centralized and standardized curricula" (Northern Territory Department of Education, 1983:17). In other words, Aboriginal children could be educated only if they learnt what we determined what was best for them--surely a form of institutionalized racism. Battle lines were beginning to be drawn, a power struggle was inevitable. There is insufficient time to recount all that occurred over the next period. I will, however, list a number of key events.

In 1983 the Yirrkala Community School Council was established by the school principal primarily to receive federal funding and to have community input into the non-essential elements of the school operation. The council membership consisted of some Aboriginal leaders and teachers and senior non-Aboriginal teachers. However the composition and agenda of the
council was shaped by the principal. Nothing much happened.

In early 1984 the council met with a new chairman, an articulate and forceful senior clan member. He began to reflect the growing desire for the community to be involved in the school. He held a meeting with Aboriginal teachers where minutes were kept and a decision made to send a letter to the Principal with a request that it be sent to the Department. The letter said in part:

During school appraisal, we were often told that Yirrkala had a Community school, and that 'we would work together to make things better'. We agree that this is the way it should be, but as parents and community members we must say that we are worried at the way the school is being staffed. It is time for you to listen to our wishes, and to start 'working together to make things better'. We cannot agree to European teachers who are unsatisfactory or to senior teachers who do not understand our wishes (Wunungmurra, 1984 as quoted in Wearne, 1986:58).

Some time after, the Principal received written notification from the chairman of a school council meeting to be held the next week. He became very upset suggesting that no meeting be held without his approval or presence.

During 1984, Yolngu teachers and community leaders suggested the formation of a "School Action Group". Balanda teachers scheduled a discussion of the topic at a "cultural development meeting". In contrast to other staff meetings, all the Yolngu teaching staff were early. Throughout the meeting, Yolngu teachers told each other in their own language to demonstrate enthusiasm, to be involved and not to be "tired or lazy".

Towards the end of 1984, staffing selections and promotion recommendations were to be submitted to the Department. As usual, decisions were made by the Principal with little discussion with Yolngu staff or community members. The Yolngu staff Action Group discussed staffing and submitted their own recommendations to the Community Council in writing. The letter explained why the Action Group felt they could make the recommendations, was very well written and was made public by the Community Council. The Principal responded immediately, and emotionally, by suggesting that "there's white involvement here" and that the feelings contained in the letter represented youthful exuberance out of step with older Aboriginal leaders. He stated that

this has put self-management back four years. The Yolngu have egg all over their faces. I've been working for self-management for 10 years. Why didn't they come to me first (as quoted in Wearne, 1986:68).

The skirmishes continued with the Aboriginal teachers becoming more and more skilled in using non-Aboriginal power structures. Eventually, they won. The institutional barriers preventing both ways core curriculum adaptation were removed, Aboriginal community members gained the power to negotiate staff selection and an Aboriginal senior teacher was promoted to become a co-principal of the school.
Indications are that, by 1991, a large majority of the teachers in the school will be trained Aboriginal teachers. In addition, the focus of discussion has changed from issues of control to issues of curriculum, secondary education and bilingual bothways education. It appears that the community is beginning to adapt western educational values to fit their culture and, in turn, is adapting their Aboriginal culture. There is cultural movement bothways and there is a sense of ownership of the school.

The concept of Aboriginal people gaining control of government schools is beginning to spread throughout the Northern Territory, but still Yirrkala remains the only community school to achieve control. Obviously, we need to ask a number of questions including; why did this happen at Yirrkala and not else where? and what mechanisms can be put in place for this to happen else where?

There are of course many contributing factors which enabled the Yolngu of Yirrkala to gain control and become involved in the educational process. Geographical location and community values seem essential ingredients. However, I would like to highlight one major variable.

It seems to me that the Yirrkala Aboriginal community were able to use a powerful technology in their battle. That technology is literacy. I make that assertion based upon the following pieces of evidence.

1. All the main Aboriginal participants were skilled at literacy. They were people who had been sent off to college as part of the bilingual education training program. As teachers in a western school, they were involved in "literacy" education. In their Aboriginal community they were "empowered" through their literacy skills and through being literacy teachers.

2. Many of the "watershed" events in the battle were responses to letters or submissions written by the Aboriginal people. These letters, in turn, were based on written minutes of meetings made by the Aboriginal people. In addition, many of these letters were "published" which suggested that the Aboriginal people involved knew the power associated with publishing.

3. Of greater significance than these two pieces of evidence is the fact that the Aboriginal people involved in this assertion of their power exhibited behavior which suggests that they were part of a literate culture as well as part of their more traditional oral culture. This, I believe is the key factor that contributed to this rare success in Aboriginal education.

To better understand this last point, it is necessary to review what has been labeled as the oral to literate culture continuum.

**THE PRIMARY ORAL CULTURE TO LITERATE CULTURE CONTINUUM**

Havelock (1988) has observed that "human culture is a creation of human communication" (p. 127). That is, the nature of communication within a
society will affect the culture that develops as a major part of that society. When we begin to investigate the nature of communication, we are confronted with two major classifications. Much human communication is oral and much is written.

We have begun to understand that the invention of an easy writing system by the Greeks around 600 BC introduced a new technology into human society that has affected those societies who adopted the technology to the point where specific and important components of the society changed, and have continued to change since then. These social changes allow us to make comparisons between literate cultures and oral cultures (Goody and Watt, 1988; Ong, 1988).

This line of research has been extended to include examination of oral residual cultures, literate cultures, high literate cultures, and a recent recognition of the possibility for some technological societies to develop aspects of a post-literate culture. For the purposes of this paper, I will concentrate on discussing aspects of oral and literate cultures.

Ong (1988) contends that since, in an oral culture, you know only that which can be recalled, communal memory is protected. Social and mystical power rests with the ones who know, repeaters of the past, knowers of the ancient law and those who have the right to speak of the past. Couple these values with the values generated by a "hunter-gatherer" culture whose main preoccupation is to hunt and gather for today because survival is a daily struggle and you have a culture that focuses, to a large extent, on the past, somewhat on the present to meet immediate needs, but seldom, if at all, on the future. With this focus on the past, obviously oral cultures are conservative or, as Ong suggests, homeostatic, always returning to stable values.

Let me stress here that I am not suggesting that those from oral cultures or, to be more specific, Aboriginal cultures, have limitations on their intellectual abilities or that we have the "great divide" of the language determines thought paradigm. What I am suggesting is that literacy can be thought of as a major technology which has so shaped some aspects of social interaction that we have a distinction between some aspects of the communal behavior of those societies that have used this technology and societies that have not had access to it.

Goody and Watt (1988) have stated that the "world of knowledge" transcends political and temporal units with the development of literacy. They quote Spengler's proclamation that "writing is the grand symbol of the Far" (p. 19). Thus, in literate cultures almost all the world's past and present literate knowledge is within reach to any individual. Information, thought and philosophies are gathered from beyond the immediate society and recallable time, threatening a homeostatic centralized power outlook and destroying cultural bonds. Rather than past knowledge simply dropping off the edge of recallable memory, it is preserved and layered creating an incredibly complex society. Because it is impossible to absorb all this accumulated knowledge one must be selective. This selectivity eventually results in individual or small group cultures contributing to the sense of alienation so often discussed with reference to our present culture.
Literacy has become so central to Western culture that we have assigned a number of metaphors to the ability to use this technology. They are not universal truths, but could be seen as part of the metaphors that we live by. Scribner (1984) labels three of these as "literacy as adaptation", "literacy as a state of grace" and "literacy as power".

The literacy-as-power metaphor recognizes that the acquisition of literacy skills by a group has been used to either allow that group to dominate non-literate groups or free that group from oppression by another literate group. Literate communities, and even literate individuals have access to the power structures of most democratic societies. To become literate can assist non-literate groups or individuals to have more individual control over their lives, to reach full group or individual potential, or to become "empowered" members of society. Pedagogical, psychological and sociological aspects of this metaphor have been developed and field-tested most extensively by Freire (1970, 1978). The "literacy as power" metaphor in relation to the Yirrkala Yolngu will be developed throughout the remainder of the paper.

Among the contrasts that can be made concerning oral and literate cultures, I would like to concentrate on those differences which involve power in terms of decision making processes, negotiation and agreement and contract making. These differences can be summarized in Table 2.
### TABLE 2
Oral Culture and Literate Culture Power Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral culture</th>
<th>Literate culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You only know that which can be recalled.</td>
<td>You have access to all information once it has been recorded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power discourse is <em>spoken</em> only by those who have the right to speak.</td>
<td>Power discourse is <em>written</em> by those representing power institutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The spoken word in negotiations is considered carefully. It is the only message. It must have a high truth value.</td>
<td>The spoken word is not as carefully articulated as the written word. It is not the final message. It does not need to have a high truth value. The truth value of an utterance is only valid when it is in writing. Thus we say, &quot;Get it in writing!&quot; or &quot;Show it to me in writing.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues are resolved quickly through personal, face to face negotiation with practical limitations on the size of the negotiating network.</td>
<td>Issues are resolved slowly through depersonalized committee structures with no practical limitations on the size of the negotiating network.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once agreed upon, a spoken contract between those who have the right to speak is locked in memory.</td>
<td>Once agreed upon, a spoken contract is only validated through the re-negotiation of a written contract. That contract or demand becomes more powerful when it is &quot;published&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power discourse must be stored in memory. Thus it is structured to aid in memory retention. Thus simple additive relationships and much repetition are favored in discourse.</td>
<td>Power discourse is packed with complex subordinated and nominalized language where processes, qualities, logical relations and assessments are expressed as nouns or adjectives (Martin, 1990).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a general past or present orientation in discourse.</td>
<td>There is a major focus on the future in discourse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many Aboriginal people have become functionally literate. However, outback Aboriginal culture is largely oral. Thus an oral culture is attempting to survive in a literate culture environment. Naturally there will be conflict as the two cultures interact.

I could provide many evidences of this conflict, but one stands out as being indicative of cultural conflict not between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, but between Aboriginal people. Among the Aboriginal people there are those who have crossed over to a high literate culture. These are usually younger people who have been urbanized and "acculturated". They tend to live in the cities and try to assist Aboriginal people in coping with their significant personal and group problems. These people see things through literate culture eyes and are often seen as betraying traditional Aboriginal values. One such individual began making statements about Aboriginal land rights in The Bulletin, a current affairs weekly magazine of the Newsweek variety. Shortly after, a group of Aboriginal elders, obviously literate, but not from a literate culture, responded to his comments in a letter to the editor. They stated that:

We are four Kimberley elders touring Australia to launch our book Raparapa. We speak many Kimberly [sic] Aboriginal languages Walmajarri, Nyikina, Bunapa, Guniyan, Tjuwaling--and we understand many others. We speak at the meetings in the Kimberley to our people in our languages.

We read your magazine and saw the letter from Rodney Rivers (B. March 21) claiming to be a spokesman for the Kimberley Aboriginal people. Rivers is one individual and he does not speak for any Kimberley Aboriginal people. He has not had a traditional education and he speaks only English. He lives in Toowoomba in Queensland on the other side of Australia. He is not initiated and has nothing to do with our people and has nothing to do with our law. He is not a Law man. He does not and cannot speak for the Law men of the Kimberley.

We have been speaking for ourselves. Our ancestors governed this country according to our laws for many thousands of years and we are still running this country and abiding by our laws, traditions and keeping our languages.....

The Kimberley Land Council invited Rivers to attend the council meeting to meet the representatives of all the Aboriginal groups in the Kimberley. He refused to face up to us. He did not come to the meeting at our invitation. How can he then claim to represent, somewhere in Queensland, people who he refuses to meet? (The Bulletin, April 11 1989).

Notice the values attached to the message. Basically they are; only the elders can speak for the people, we are the Elders, we have the right to speak, Rivers, although Aboriginal, does not have the right to speak. Rivers did not attend a face to face meeting so his comments are invalid.

This minor conflict underscores a dilemma facing Aboriginal culture. Aboriginal people want the power to control their own destiny. They
recognize that one way to achieve that power is to become literate, write books etc. as in the example above. Or, as Martin (1990) reports, Aboriginal leaders want their children to gain access to a "secret" language which, when mastered, offers empowerment. His reference to the language being secret comes from a number of sources including Bain (1979) who quotes an Aboriginal leader's views of educational needs:

We want them to learn. Not the kind of English you teach them in class, but your secret English. We don't understand that English, but you do. To us you seem to say one thing and do another. That's the English we want our children to learn (Bain, 1979).

and von Sturmer (1984) who states that:

The specific complaint, then, is that balanda (non-Aboriginal Australians) withhold the secret of their power, and that much of this 'power' is tied up with the 'big English' to which Aboriginal people are denied access. According to one interpretation, schools are failures because they fail to teach this 'power' (von Sturmer, 1984:273)

So Aboriginal people want "power" through literacy, but that power is interwoven with literate culture values which are in direct conflict with traditional oral culture values. And traditional Aboriginal people naturally do not want to lose their culture.

However, as I have tried to show with the Yirrkala example, it is possible for traditional Aboriginal people to adopt literate culture values while still retaining most of their oral culture. Stepping through the power value chart once again and relating it to the Yirrkala experience, we can see that the Yolngu of Yirrkala recorded their meetings by taking minutes and referring to the minutes of previous meetings thus enabling them to build their information store and to make progress towards their objectives. The Yolngu traditional leaders were prepared to compromise their sole "right to speak" in at least this one domain even to the point of allowing women to speak. They were prepared to use power written discourse addressed not only to individuals but also to institutions. The Yolngu did not trust the spoken word of Balanda institutions. Their demands were in writing and they wanted responses in writing. The Yolngu were prepared to function in committees thus depersonalizing their demands. They formed their own institutions through Action Groups and other committees. They created a power network that formed a lobby which was impossible to overlook. Contracts and demands were written and "published". They began to use the written discourse style we attribute to power language to a level that, when one significant demand was read, the Principal thought it could not have been written by a Yolngu, when in fact it was. And there was an obvious concern for the future.

CONCLUSION

What we have seen then, is the inculcation of literate culture values into a predominantly oral culture. These new values helped an oppressed, unempowered culture fight institutional racism and gain control over their community's educational processes. Is there anything in this that can be applied to situations outside of the Aboriginal context?
It might be argued that there are few exact situations other than the isolated indigenous populations in the Americas. That is true. However, I believe that there are some principles that could be applied to immigrant and refugee minority groups as well as indigenous populations.

We need to realize that programs which attempt to raise literacy levels of individuals from predominantly oral societies will succeed to a certain extent. Individual functional literacy may be achieved. However, often functional literacy can be defined as attaining a level of literacy in society which would allow one to function in that society to the level that the society's power structures will permit. Functional literacy alone will not "empower" an individual. I suspect there are many oral or oral residue non-native English speaking minority groups who daily face examples of institutional racism and insensitivity. These people are unempowered, but they do not have the tools to combat the oppression they may feel. As I have tried to show here, the adoption of key literate culture values would enable these people to mount a campaign that may eventually lead to the minority group gaining more control over their lives.

As ESL teachers, or literacy teachers I believe we can do much more than teach basic survival or functional literacy skills. We can teach the "secret" language, the literacy of power. I have referred to a paper written by Dr. Jim Martin a number of times. Dr. Martin is a linguist based at the University of Sydney. He spends a lot of time looking at the nature of empowered and unempowered language. In 1987, he visited another Aboriginal community, Lajamanu, with the purpose of examining the type of language teaching programs there. He found that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers were teaching children to write narratives through process methods. He pointed out that narrative writing does little to empower unempowered people and recommended that Aboriginal teachers and students be taught to write the "packed" empowered language.

Just before I left Australia in 1988, I received a radio-telephone call from a group of Lajamanu female teachers asking for me to visit Lajamanu and teach them how to write government submissions. I did not have time to do it because I was leaving Australia. And to be quite honest, I didn't know how to do it successfully. However, the writing of this paper has shown me an approach. With my present knowledge, I would go to Lajamanu and tell them about Yirrkala. I would hope that they would find an issue, establish committees and networks, decentralize tribal power structures, hold meetings, keep minutes, write letters and present submissions. I would hope that at times I would be asked to assist in the teaching of how to structure a letter, how to write a submission, but I would never write for them. By accident of birth and circumstance, I am a white, anglo-saxon, English speaking, well educated, married-with-children male with a respectable hair-style--I'm empowered in just about every category valued by the predominantly white, anglo-saxon, English speaking, male-dominated, conservative dominant social group. It is they who need to struggle against my culture's institutional racism. I can only provide a technology to aid in that battle. The technology is literacy-as-power.
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LANGUAGE THEORY AND NATIONAL CHARACTER IN
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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In *Emile, or On Education*, Rousseau took a firm position against the teaching of languages to young people:
I agree that if the study of languages were only the study of words—that is to say, of figures or the sounds which express them—it could be suitable for children. But in changing the signs, languages also modify the ideas which these represent. Minds are formed by languages; in each language the mind has its particular form. (109)

Implicit in Rousseau's injunction is a set of assumptions and principles concerning language and its power to shape thought. In this paper, I would like to investigate these assumptions and principles in the eighteenth century as they relate to the formation and perpetuation of national character. Even though a significant body of scholarship exists on theories of national character and on the manifestation of national types in literature, little work exists, as far as I have been able to determine, on relationships between these and language theory in the century. Yet this was the century in which it first became possible to link them systematically.

As it may appear, my purpose will be largely descriptive, but along the way I hope to make it apparent that language thinkers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were working out the implications of their understanding of the nature and workings of language in three ways: 1) identifying the elements of language that reflected distinctive national traits, 2) defining the manner in which those elements reflected character, and 3) determining which arose first, a people's traits or its language choices which then helped create its traits. In relation to the first, we will see that in the period covered here, language elements reflecting national character were first identified primarily as words, then as words and syntactical structures, and finally as a nebulous force or spirit infusing both of these. In relation to the second, we will see that defining the mechanism by which language revealed character was generally problematic, but that thinkers availed themselves of the doctrine of association of ideas as a key link between language and group identity. In relation to the third, we will see that one figure who thought deliberately about the problem of causal priority, Wilhelm von Humboldt, recognized the effect language had in
shaping individual thought but found it much more difficult to specify how language created national character than to specify how national character determined language differences.

I would like to begin by running quickly through a series of viewpoints from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and then I will turn attention to more profound and sophisticated concepts linking national character and language in the writings of the Abbe Condillac and Wilhelm von Humboldt. That seventeenth-century thinkers perceived connections between language and nationality cannot be doubted, even though the basis for those connections was not articulated and the connections themselves smacked less of linguistic features than of economic and political prejudice. Certainly, for centuries, writers had taken note of the obvious—the French, the Germans, the Italians not only exhibited distinctive national traits, but they spoke languages which partook of those traits. Language was, if not the rough equivalent of nationality, at least part of the equation. A national language was treasured as part of the make-up of a people, something to be refined, protected. Indeed, as Thomas Sprat observed, the fate of a nation was intimately tied to the state of its language: "The purity of Speech, and greatness of Empire have in all countries, still met together" (41).

Language was therefore linked not only to national character, but to national destiny. It offered itself as both resource and weapon in the struggle for literary, philosophical, or scientific preeminence. A nation’s language offered a sort of scheme for understanding the nature of things and a more—or less—apt vehicle for the elegant expression of external nature and human experience. To Sprat, speaking for the newly founded Royal Society in 1667, it was no accident that experimental science had taken root and was beginning to branch in England. Character and language lent themselves to the task as a gloved hand. Morose as they might seem to the effete French and Italians, the English were ideally suited for advances in practical knowledge, a hardy people of straight-forward, unequivocal communication. And although he did not assert it in so many words, it is apparent that Sprat believed English offered the ideal vehicle for scientific discourse. Sprat’s critique of eloquence and its dangers to scientific advancement, can, in light of commonplace views of Continental languages, be read as much as a critique on them as on eloquence. The English, said Sprat, combined the "middle qualities, between the reserved subtle southern, and the rough unwhorn Northern people," but he might as well have been describing their language.

Addison devoted Spectator No. 135 to the relations between language and national character in a way that illustrates
once again the strength of the bonds perceived between the two, but the relative lack of systematic inquiry into the bonds. The links Addison perceives are mostly at the word and not structure level and show more the imprint of the people on their language than of language on people. "I have read somewhere," he wrote, "of an eminent Person who used in his private Offices of Devotion, to give Thanks to Heaven that he was Born a Frenchman: For my own part I look upon it as a peculiar Blessing that I was Born an Englishman. Among many other Reasons, I think myself very happy in my Country; as the Language of it is wonderfully adapted to a Man who is sparing of his Words, and an Enemy to Loquacity." English suits the English because its abundance of monosyllables "gives us an Opportunity of delivering out Thoughts in few sounds." In other instances, such as in the tendency to eliminate the vowel and therefore the syllable from the past tense (e.g. drown'd instead of drowned) and the practice of forming contractions, the English have left the imprint of their character upon their tongue. "This indeed takes off from the Elegance of our Tongue, but at the same time expresses our Ideas in the readiest manner."

Mandeville, who recognized how difficult it was to achieve impartiality in comparing the beauties of different languages (2:297), yet valued English in several ways that were intimately tied to the genius of the its speakers. First off, in avoiding excessive gestures and bawling intonations, the English paid each other the compliment of speaking to engage the reason more than the passions. "I can't help thinking," says Cleomenes in the Sixth Dialogue of the Fable of the Bees, "but that, next to the Laconick and manly Spirit, that runs through the Nation, we are very much beholden for the Strength and Beauty of our Language to this Tranquility of Discourse, which has been in England, more than anywhere else, a Custom . . " (2:292). He seems to have drawn this idea directly from Guy Miege's Present State of Great Britain (1707). Second, English distinguished itself as a vehicle for communicating substance. Echoing a common sentiment, Mandeville differentiated the traits of English from those of other languages. He charged that French was a very persuasive language, at least insofar as one's purpose was to coax or wheedle or talk of food and drink. In French, the most valued expressions were those that soothed or tickled; in English, those that pierced or struck (2:297). If his judgment was partial, Mandeville didn't know "how to be sorry for it." "I don't think it amiss, that Men should be inclined to love their own Language, from the same Principle, that they love their Country" (2:297).

Johann David Michaelis wrote his Dissertation upon the Influence of Opinions on Language, and of Language on Opinions in response to a prize essay topic of the Berlin
Part of the background for his work was the debate in the 1750s over the choice of language to be favored in the lectures and publications of the Academy, with Maupertuis and others favoring French. Michaelis' essay attempted to rise above nationalistic panegyrics and to assess, as the title describes, how language and thought shape each other. With the known differences even in European languages, it was impossible for Michaelis to avoid suggesting connections between these and the character of a people. In fact, this study was the first to imply in its central question such connections. Unfortunately, Michaelis did not avail himself of the work of Condillac which had been written over a decade earlier and which I will shortly discuss. His work marks the furthest point to which the investigation could be carried without recourse to Lockean principles of mind and some understanding of the syntactical principles of language.

Michaelis suggested two ways in which language and "opinion" influenced each other. Opinion influenced language in that a people named only things they perceived to be worthy of naming and only in that aspect from which people perceived them: "by this appearance it is, that the names we give [objects] . . . are ever regulated." And: "It is from the opinions of the people and the point of view, in which objects appear to them, that language receives its form" (2). As new words were coined to name new ideas, or old ideas in new light, these words joined the language by a kind of social process. "Thus it is that thousands of men become contributors to that immense heap of truths and errors, of which the languages of nations are the repositories" (3). In relation to abstract and metaphysical ideas, a language was useful only insofar as it had "gone through philosophic hands." Otherwise it would be full of the errors of ignorant people attempting to account for the world but merely reducing it to the proportions of their own blindness. Michaelis pointed out, for instance, that the Ethiopians, "having but one word for nature and person, could not distinguish those two things in the controversy concerning Christ's two natures" (5).

By a reciprocal process, language influenced opinion. A copious language, for example, stimulated perception. Where a language is rich it imports a tincture of knowledge even to the common man: things become known to him, which without the assistance of his language he would even have remained ignorant of; he observes the course of nature better, and finds himself capable of communicating experiments to the more learned, which otherwise would have been lost. (22)

But to enjoy to the benefits of one's language in this way required that one know the language well. Peasants lacking full knowledge of their own tongue live in more than economic poverty: "they walk about in the fields, amidst a
rich display of nature's various productions, but they are blind, and are so only for want of fit words to distinguish the productions" (24-25).

Michaelis waffled on an important question we would call cultural diversity. He recognized, as the above passages show, that languages contained very different senses of what existed in the world and how it was all related. Languages differed even more so in abstract terminology. At the same time, he expressed little tolerance for differences from what he perceived as a norm of truth. All languages, in his view, perpetuated both truth and error. But he showed little hesitation in pronouncing upon specific points of error and suggesting ways in which language could avoid them. Perhaps this confidence was related to his faith in learning. Learning liberated people from the errors of language: "The noxious influences of a language, but little affect the man of true learning. Generally speaking, they are such only to the ignorant, to persons of superficial knowledge, to the learned of a contracted genius" (74). In the final analysis, then, Michaelis undid the relations between language and the character of a people insofar as its learned members were concerned. Yet at other points he confessed that many errors contained in language escaped notice entirely (otherwise they would no longer be errors). It would require "some philosophical genius . . . equally a master of some remote language, as the Chinese, as of European tongues" to unravel the strands (71).

If Michaelis carried the inquiry into relations between nations and languages as far as it would go at the word level, the Abbe Condillac, writing a decade and a half earlier, laid the groundwork for these relations at the level of mental processes and linguistic structures. "Every language expresses the character of the people that speak it," he said in Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge (1746; English, 1756:285). As I have already mentioned, one finds this opinion nearly everywhere. Condillac drew on principles of psychology to explain how it was so. In the section of the Essay devoted to "The Character of Languages," Condillac treated language as a product of the character of its speakers; however, much material also suggests the reciprocal relationship, that national character is also partly the result of language. I will want to examine each side of this relationship because it defines the first clearly articulated rationale for the widely adopted position that language indeed helped create and perpetuate national character.

The theoretical foundations were set down by Locke. Condillac, in fact, subtitled his Essay "A Supplement to Mr. Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding." Locke had argued that individuals and peoples constructed language as a convenience in communicating their ideas to one another and
that languages differed in their terms because different groups had different needs. Each language therefore contained words that could not be translated directly into others. In fact, even individuals differed in the way they assigned words to name ideas, and therefore language was ultimately a private thing. Especially in arriving at general, complex, and what Locke called "mixed-mode" ideas, people were apt to differ from each other because they constructed these ideas from simpler ones, combining them in ways that did not exist in nature. General terms and abstractions are absolutely necessary. A people couldn't have a name for every single tree or "every Crow that flies overhead," for example, but nature itself did not dictate where the boundaries between species would be fixed. Much less did the external world offer a pattern for terms such as "justice," "adultery," "fratricide," "corporeity," and so forth. These names stand for bundles of ideas that seem worth differentiating to one people but not, perhaps, to another.

Implicit in this set of theories, we find a provocative basis for links between language and national character. Language recorded, especially in its abstract and general terms, the unique bundles of ideas and associations that a people saw as necessary to discourse about themselves individually, their society, and the external world they inhabited. Locke did not foresee, however, how his theories could be used to show that language in turn exerted an influence on the way a people thought about themselves and the external world.

Locke devoted most of his analysis at word level and did not suggest how the syntactical relations of language arose. However, his principle of association of ideas suggested to Condillac a way in which a people's character would be reflected in their language at both word and syntactical levels. Condillac confronted the question: what caused a person, and, by extension, a society, to associate ideas in a particular way? The answer, finally, was "interest"--that is, an implicit understanding of the way particular clusters of ideas will serve the individual who associates them in a characteristic manner. This principle may be used to explain not only why words differ, but how even word orders and grammatical relationships--assumed by the principles of universal grammar to reflect distinctions and operations of the mind--may preserve the interests of a language group.

In The Art of Writing, Condillac acknowledged the difficulty of defining literary qualities such as "elegance" and "the poetic style" because of the ways these differed not only from great writer to great writer and genre to genre, but from nation to nation. The explanation for the differences is the association of ideas. These differ "with the spirit of the nations who, having different usages, customs, and
characters, would not know how to agree to associate all their ideas in the same manner" (400).

The principle of association of ideas not only explained how syntactical relations might encode a people's way of thinking, it also could explain how language itself influenced national character. Condillac observed that signs were necessary to thought and therefore conditioned it. A people's language reflected its character, but it also produced that character generation after generation. By habit—that is, by growing accustomed to the constraints imposed by the terms and syntax of a language—speakers learned to associate ideas in a manner that appeared natural to them. "We are naturally accustomed to connect our ideas according to the genius of our mother tongue," he said in the Essay (271). With this thought, we are led to Rousseau's injunction against teaching other languages to children before their own thinking had taken the shape of their native tongue. Said Rousseau, "Minds are formed by languages; in each language the mind has its particular form. This is a difference which might very well be a part of the cause or of the effect of national characters; and what appears to confirm this conjecture is that in all the nations of the world language follows the vicissitudes of morals and is preserved or degenerates as they are" (109).

We shall now turn our attention to Wilhelm von Humboldt as the end point of this study—not because he represents the end of inquiry into national character and language, but for two other reasons. First, Humboldt recognized one of the problems inherent in the eighteenth-century handling of this issue and tried to address it, though without final resolution. This was the problem of priority of cause: did national character create the distinctive features of language, or did language choices taken by the earliest founders of nations prescribe the path of development of their characters? Which came first? Second, Humboldt represented a new phase in the intellectual struggle to locate the nature or character of languages themselves in that he posited the existence of this character at a level beneath, but manifested in, the outer (phonetic) and inner (grammatical and syntactical) forms of language.

Humboldt's writings on language and national character are scattered among papers, essays, and fragments, some of which he never completed or published. As Hans Aarsleff has noted, Humboldt was continually working on his immense language projects but often left them unfinished. He synthesized and integrated most of his views, however, before his death in 1835 in the work just mentioned, which he designed as the introduction to On the Kawi Language on the Island of Java. Aarsleff points to the centrality of the language-nation relationship in Humboldt's project: His papers "were read with interest and engagement in Paris and
in North America by scholars who shared Humboldt’s focus on non-European languages and the philosophical orientation that made it the primary aim of language study to relate languages to the mentalities of their speakers” (x-xi).

Humboldt acknowledged the elusive nature of the character of languages. To some degree the distinctive bent of each language "is only sensed and cannot be represented" (GS 4:421; Manchester 109). Elusive though it may be, however, it could be approached. We have already seen that the character of a language may be located at word or structure level. Humboldt held that even at word level, even with the same general referents for words from different languages, the individuality of each language emerges. The apparently translatable words actually mean slightly different things in context:

Thinking never treats an object isolated, and never uses it in the whole of its reality. It merely skims off relationships, conditions and viewpoints, and interconnects them . . . and it may therefore justifiably be said that even with respect to completely sensuous objects the words of various languages are not perfect synonyms, and that those who say hippus, equus, and Pferd do not say throughout and completely the same thing. (GS 3:170; Manchester 107)

If the character of a language manifests itself in the precise nature of what is named by its words, it also, of course, does so in the structure, for that dictates the manner in which named ideas relate one to another. To describe exactly how that character takes shape in structure eluded Humboldt, but he was certain that the force of character was in some sense prior to both the "outer form" (phonetic structure) and the "inner form" (syntactic and semantic structure). The opening passage of his chapter on the character of languages in The Diversity of Human Language-Structure declared:

The grammatical framework of language, as we have so far broadly surveyed it, and its external structure in general, by no means exhaust its nature, however, and its true character still depends upon something far more subtle, more deeply hidden and less accessible to analysis. (148)

Indeed, the most basic link that language provides between our ideas of things and sounds is a mysterious thing which yet contains the subtle strands of individual character. "We can split up concepts, dismember words, as far as we are able," he wrote,

and we still get no closer to the secret of how the thought actually couples with the word. In their most primal relation to the nature of individuality, therefore, language and the basis of all nationality have a direct resemblance to one another. (153)

Even languages of similar structure are known to have
differences of character.

Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin have a system of word-construction and word-ordering that is closely related and on many points the same. But everyone feels the difference of their individual character, which is not just a national characteristic becoming visible in the language, but, deeply rooted in the languages themselves, determines the specific make-up of each. (149)

As the above passage makes clear, language itself takes on a character beyond the mere imprint of national characteristics. It then becomes an independent force on the minds of its users, in some ways constraining and hampering what Humboldt called "the free and independent operation of the intelligence" (149). The character of a language is like a spirit which "takes up its abode in the language and animates the latter like a body it has produced" (153).

If language affects national character, as these passages imply, then one may fairly ask which occurred first, the imprint of a group's character on its language, or the effect of even their initial utterances on their traits as a group. And one may ask, in the developing nature of nations and language, which effect is stronger? Humboldt is unequivocal on one point--the effects are reciprocal. That is, each operates on the other. In addressing the question of priority of causation, we must accept a distinction Humboldt made between the early and later stages of language. In the earlier, a great abundance of alternative forms presented themselves in the minds of humans struggling to express their thoughts. The very play of opportunities and forms and the "stimulus of success, engenders and sustains their creative power" (148). The succeeding stage is one of crystallization, when certain forms dominate and the language becomes, "in effect, a finished product" (148).

The analysis of these two stages, and the remark that in the second stage language acquires character, have led Martin Manchester to conclude that "the character of a language is the result of influences operating upon it in its formative period" and that "the doctrine of a 'double character'" (the reciprocal effects of language and national traits) "is relevant not to the initial formation of languages, but only to the subsequent evolution of new languages out of old ones" (111). Manchester seems to have overlooked the caveat Humboldt offered in describing the two states: "It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that what I have here kept sharply separate for purposes of clear distinction, is equally distinct in Nature" (157). It is true that the mind operates more freely in the earliest stages of language formation and that therefore, in making choices, the mind leaves its imprint more freely on language than does
language leave its mark on the mind. But if it is true, as Humboldt asserts, that the "mode of thinking or sensing in a people . . . is already at work upon [language] from the very outset" (149), and that consciousness itself is integrally tied to language, then it is also true from what we have reviewed that the reciprocal effect is at work. The most thoughtful position would, therefore, be this one: that in the earliest stages the effects of group traits dominate over the effects of language on the group, but that in some sense language choices and traits are synonymous and inseparable.

At the later stage, the language may, in fact, become a kind of intellectual prison. If the nation submits to its language without spending creative energies on its development, the nation's collective intellect stagnates: "The language, as it were, outgrows the mind, and the latter, in its own languor, having ceased to be self-creative, plays an increasingly empty game with idioms and forms of language that originated from truly meaningful use" (150). One way a people may keep refreshing their language and minds is to remain alert to the "region that transcends language, and is actually constricted by language" yet for which "language in turn is the only means of exploring and fertilizing" (157). "If the feeling truly awakens in the soul," said Humboldt, "that language is not just a medium of exchange for mutual comprehension, but a true world which the mind must insert, by its own inner labour, between itself and objects, then it is on the right road towards continually finding more and depositing more in its language" (157).

I have reviewed some major contributors to the discussion of language and national character with focus on the elements of language that reflect that character, the mechanisms or means by which it does so, and the problem of mutual causality. I would like to conclude by pointing out that discourse on this topic was being conducted with broader and broader concepts. What began as common-sense linkages between national traits and language eventually took into account both rational and non-rational mental processes. With Humboldt, discourse on language and national character set its foundations in the three concepts of language, consciousness, and culture—concepts that gave universality and profundity to the discussion. At the same time, this very universality made specificity difficult. Discussion of language and national character acquired all the profundity of metaphysics but became detached from the study of language itself.
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THE RENOVATION OF ROMANCE REFLEXIVES

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Today I will talk about reflexive constructions in the Romance languages. What I propose to show is that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for languages to alternate cyclically between two formal reflexive marking patterns, and that the Romance languages may be in the midst of undergoing one phase of that cycle.

I. What are reflexives? According to Faltz (1985:3-4), a reflexive construction as a "simple clause that expresses a two-argument predication, the arguments being a human Agent or Experiencer on the one hand and a Patient on the other," where the Agent/Experiencer and the Patient are the same referent. Nearly every language has a grammatical device, which I'll call a Reflexive Marker (RM), that serves to equate the reference of Agent/Experiencer and Patient arguments. Romance RMs are clitic object pronouns. Some are borrowed from the ranks of normal oblique personal pronominal clitics (e.g., Sp., Ptg., Cat., Fr. me, Rum. ma, It. mi), although a unique RM—invariant for person and number (based on the Latin reflexive pronoun SE)—is found in the third person. The following sentences display how Romance RMs work in reflexive clauses.

(1)

a. María se golpeó en la frente. (Spanish)
   Mary RM hit on the forehead
   'Mary hit herself on the forehead.'

b. Je me vois dans la glace. (French)
   I RM see in the mirror
   'I see myself in the mirror.'

c. Maria si guarda al-lo specchio. (Italian)
   Mary RM looks in-the mirror
   'Mary looks at herself in the mirror.'

II. Polyfunctional Reflexive Markers: A Cross-Linguistic Typology. In many languages, RMs are called upon to perform a wide variety of non-reflexive functions. Even English—whose reflexive system is the least versatile of the 125-plus languages sampled by Geniušienė (1987)—allows RMs to do more than signal Agent-Patient equivalence. For instance, in (2) Behave yourself, little boy! the addressee is not being asked to perform an action on himself. Neither does the RM contrast with a direct object: (3) *Behave your little brother!
The impossibility of a literal reflexive reading is even more conspicuous when the subject is inanimate:
(4) The problem manifested itself when the pressure increased.

The very existence of an RM like itself, which refers to an inanimate entity, and is hence non-Agentive by definition, reveals that not all reflexive constructions describe actions that can be literally initiated by the subject. Of course the subject may be a personified object as in
(5) The alarm clock rang itself right off the nightstand.

The kinds of constructions that RMs enter into recur in many unrelated languages. These constructions can be divided into two groups, productive constructions (those in which the addition of an RM to the verbal nexus modifies the meaning in predictable ways), and unproductive constructions (idiomatic constructions in which the effect of the RM is unpredictable).

The productive constructions include reciprocals, reflexive benefactives/datives, decausatives, passives and impersonals, as exemplified below. (The following data are from Geniusiene 1987:317, 321, 337, 267.)

(6) Reciprocal
Pìma naa-pa?an"a-ya
they RM -helped -PL
'They helped each other.'

(7) Benefactive/Dative
No -no?ma ni-k -no -maka.
my -RM I -it-myself-give
'I give it to myself.'

(8) Decausative
Ovi ava -utu -Ø.
Door-NOM open -RM -PRES
'The door opens.'

(9) Passive
Leder -en skrive -s av redaktór-en.
editorial-ART writes-RM of editor -ART
'The editorial is (being) written by the editor.'

(10) Impersonal
Çamur-un icinden yürü -n -mez.
mud -GEN inside walk -RM -NEG
'One does not walk in mud.'

Of the non- or semi-productive reflexive constructions, the least productive is a class of verbs traditionally called reflexiva tantum ('exclusively reflexive'): these verbs must be accompanied by an RM even though their meanings have nothing to do with self-directed physical activity. Geniusiene (1987:299) reports the following from Serbo-Croatian: bojat se 'be afraid', smejati se 'laugh', diviti se 'be surprised' (cf. *bojat, *smejati, *divit). Other verbs--
including intransitives--do undergo a shift in meaning with the addition of a RM, but the direction of the derived meaning is idiosyncratic. For instance, adding the suffixal RM -en to Chuvash üs 'grow' (intransitive) produces üs-en 'turn out well' (Geniušienė 1987:339).

III. Polyfunctional RMs in Romance. Most of the known extra-reflexive uses of RMs attested in the world’s languages are found in Romance. Some of these uses--especially reciprocal reflexives and dative/benefactive reflexives--are commonly attested extensions of Indo-European RMs (e.g. Spanish David y Ana se vieron en el vestíbulo ‘David and Ana saw each other in the foyer;’ Rumanian Ion iși pune o întrebare ‘Ion asks himself a question.’). Romance RMs are also enlisted as markers of passive, decausative, and impersonal constructions, as shown in (11), (12) and (13).

(11) Passive
a. (Spanish)  
   El mitin se ve muy bien desde el balcón.  
   'The demonstration can be seen very well from the balcony.'

b. (French)  
   Les cuisses de grenouilles se mangent avec les doigts.  
   'Frog legs should be eaten with the fingers.'

c. (Italian)  
   Questi ragionamenti non possono capirsi.  
   'These arguments cannot be understood.'

(12) Decausative
a. (Spanish)  
   La provincia se extiende hasta el mar.  
   'The province extends to the sea.'

b. (French)  
   Le rideau se lève.  
   'The curtain rises.'

c. (Italian)  
   Il vetro si è rotto.  
   'The glass broke.'

(13) Impersonal
a. Se come bien allí.  
   (Spanish)

b. Si mangia bene là.  
   (Italian)

c. Se minca bine acolo.  
   (Rumanian)
   'One eats well there.'

Romance reflexive verbs of body motion, grooming or personal care, and emotional or mental state/experience are often reflexiva tantum. The following are a few representative examples from Spanish, Italian and French.
(14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>extasiarse</td>
<td>estasiarsi</td>
<td>s'estasier 'become ecstatic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrepentirse</td>
<td>pentirsi</td>
<td>se repentir 'repent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afiebrarse</td>
<td>affebrecitarsi</td>
<td>s'enflèvrer 'take fever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quejarse</td>
<td>lagnarsi</td>
<td>--- 'complain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mofarse</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>se moguer 'ridicule'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obstinarse</td>
<td>ostinarsi</td>
<td>s'obstiner 'persist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obstenerse</td>
<td>astenersi</td>
<td>s'abstenir 'abstain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrodillarse</td>
<td>inginocchiarsi</td>
<td>s'agenouiller 'kneel down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fugarse</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>s'envuir 'flee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ausentarse</td>
<td>assentarsi</td>
<td>s'absenter 'to become absent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under certain conditions, some Romance verbs of emotion, mental state and motion through space involve a contrast between a base and a reflexive form. For example, in most Romance languages 'be/become happy' is expressed by attaching an RM to a transitive root meaning 'gladden' (e.g., Sp. alegrarse, Cat. alegrar-se, It. rallegrarsi, Fr. se réjouir, Rum. a se bucura). Many reflexive verbs that indicate a change in body posture are formed in like manner: from a transitive stem meaning 'to seat' we get reflexive Sp. sentarse, Ptg. sentar-se, Cat. asseure'se, It. sedersi, Fr. s'asseoir 'sit down'. Reflexive verbs from these lexical classes may also be derived from an intransitive base. For instance, every Romance language has a reflexively-marked intransitive verb for expressing 'to go away': Sp. ir-se, Ptg. ir-se, Cat. anar-se'n, It. andarsene, Fr. s'en aller, Rum. a se duce. It is safe to say that, perhaps with the exception of the Baltic languages, no other language group squeezes so many uses out of its reflexive morphology.

IV. Two-Form Reflexive Languages. Most of the world's languages have a single RM or reflexive paradigm (e.g. English). Some languages, however, employ two formally distinct RMs. Faltz (1985) and Haiman (1983) noticed that in such languages one of the RMs has more phonological substance and/or is morphosyntactically more independent vis-à-vis the verb than the other. Haiman calls these RMs "light" and "heavy," and the languages that host them "two-form languages."

Light and heavy RMs are typically found in complementary distribution. Heavy RMs are limited to reflexive constructions, while light RMs appear in the range of non-reflexive functions performed by RMs illustrated above. Let's call the latter group of sentences "extended reflexive constructions." A surprising typological fact is that light marking also occurs with verbs describing actions of grooming and personal care such as washing, shaving and dressing, actions that one might think constitute the most typical kind of reflexive actions. Light RMs also encode actions that
involve change in body posture (bending, stretching, sitting, turning, etc.).

Clear illustrations of light vs. heavy RM distribution can be found in Russian, an Indo-European language, and Hungarian, a Finno-Ugric language. (The following data are from Faltz 1985, Haiman 1985, Geniušienė 1987, and Kemmer 1988.) Russian has a heavy pronominal RM, sebja, and an etymologically related light affixal RM, -sja.

(15) RM distribution in Russian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Light</th>
<th>b. Heavy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brit'-sja</td>
<td>On vidit sebja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>razodet'-sja</td>
<td>'shave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odet'-sja</td>
<td>'undress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadit-sja</td>
<td>'get dressed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hagibats-sja</td>
<td>'sit down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myt'-sja</td>
<td>'wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom</td>
<td>stroit-sja (Passive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house-NOM builds-light-RM</td>
<td>'The house is being/getting built.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Dver</td>
<td>otkryla -s' (Decausative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorr-NOM open-PERF-light-RM</td>
<td>'The door opened'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An apparent exception is found in (16/b), where the heavy form sebja occurs with a grooming verb. This is possible because the identity of the Patient is being emphasized (cf. the unmarked sentence in (16/a)).

(16) a. Ja kaźdyj den' moju-sja.  
'I wash every day. '

b. Ja myl sebja.  
'I washed myself [not someone else].'

Hungarian displays a parallel distribution of RMs, including a heavy RM in grooming expressions (cf. (18/a) and (18/b)). Hungarian illustrates the fact the RMs in two-form languages need not be historically related.

(17) RM distribution in Hungarian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Light</th>
<th>b. Heavy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fésül-köd</td>
<td>Látja magat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosa-köd</td>
<td>3sg. sees heavy-RM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vet-köz</td>
<td>'He sees himself.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emel-ked</td>
<td>'rise, get up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levág-ód</td>
<td>'throw oneself down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(18) a. Meg -mos -akod -t -am
   PERF-wash-light-RM-PAST-1sg.
   'I washed (up).'

   b. Meg -mos -t -am mag -am-at
   PERF-wash-PAST-1sg. heavy-RM-my-ACC
   'I washed myself.'

V. Diachronic Cycles of Reflexive Marking. Kemmer (1988) argues that Latin was also a two-form reflexive language. According to Kemmer, the paradigm of personal oblique pronouns (me, te, se, etc.) were heavy RMs while the affixal -r element in so-called "deponents" (passive verb forms with active meanings) was the light RM. The pronominal forms were limited to true reflexive constructions (from Hatcher 1942).

(19) a. Suspendant omnēs nunc iam se haruspicēs!
   hang-SUBJ-3pl. all-NOM-3pl. now now heavy-RM soothsayers-
   NOM-3pl
   'Let all the soothsayers hang themselves right now!' (Plautus)

   b. Sē ex nāvī proīcit.
   Heavy-RM from ship-DAT-3sg. throw-PERF-3sg.
   'He threw himself from the ship.' (Caeser)

The -r forms occur in the same lexical categories as light RMs in other languages:

(20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labor</td>
<td>'wash' (int., from lavō, tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>induor</td>
<td>'dress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revertor</td>
<td>'turn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genibus nitor</td>
<td>'kneel' (lit. 'support oneself by the knees')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lucror</td>
<td>'to gain, profit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proficīscor</td>
<td>'depart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irāscor</td>
<td>'be angry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gueror</td>
<td>'complain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fator</td>
<td>'confess'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meditor</td>
<td>'ponder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amor</td>
<td>'be loved'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evolutoin of Romance from Latin illustrates a common diachronic development that two-form languages follow. Kemmer (1988) hypothesizes that there is a diachronic cycle whereby two-form languages become one-form and vice-versa. This thesis is clearly born out by the historical trajectory of Latin: as deponent (-r) forms die out by the end of the Empire period they are replaced by the heavy form. The Romance languages are (at least by traditional standards) one-form languages. As a one-form language becomes a two-form language, a new heavy RM arises that ousts the old RM from its domain in true reflexive constructions; the old RM becomes a light RM. At this point the language resembles Russian,
'Maria washed her hands / put on her coat / scratched her ear / touched her nose.'
c. Maria se arrepintió (*a si mesma). 'Maria repented.'
d. Juan se (sentó / arrodilló / tiró, etc.) (*a si mismo). 'John sat down / kneeled / threw himself.'

(28) Catalan
a. Primer vesteixo a la nena, i després em vesteixo (*a mi mateix).
   'First I dress the little girl, and then I dress myself.'
b. Sempre em perdeixo (*a mi mateix). 'I always get lost.'

I will postpone mention of the treatment of reflexive grooming actions in French until the next section. Here it suffices that French, like all Romance languages, does not permit the emphatic with extended reflexives.

(29) Marie se imagine Paul (*a lui-même).
    'Marie thinks of Paul.'

The sentences in (24-28) show that the semantic boundary between true reflexives and extended reflexives has begun to take on formal correlates. It is too early to tell whether this tendency will lead to the replacement of clitic RMs by emphatics in true reflexives.

VI. Intermediate Stages. Italian and Brazilian Portuguese display a more advanced stage in the reflexive cycle. In these languages, the emphatic can occasionally perform the reflexive function by itself, although it still retains some vestigial emphatic force, perhaps more so in B. Portuguese than in Italian.

(30) Italian
a. Maria si guarda.
   'Mary looks at herself.'
b. Maria guarda se stessa.
   'Mary looks at herself.'

(31) B. Portuguese
a. Maria se olha no espelho.
   'Maria looks at herself in the mirror.'
b. Maria olha a si mesma no espelho.
   'Maria looks at herself in the mirror.'

What is more, in Italian the ipse-based emphatic is not pleonastic: the clitic RM and the emphatic may not co-occur.

(32) Maria si (guarda/lava le mane) (*se stessa).
    'Maria looks at herself / washes her hands.'
As we would expect, the clitic RM (as an emerging light form) is acceptable with grooming verbs, but not so the emphatic.

(33) Italian
a. Giovanni si rade. 'Giovanni shaves.'
b. ?Giovanni rade se stesso. 'Giovanni shaves himself.'
c. *Io metto la camicia a me stesso. 'I put on my shirt.'
d. ?Maria veste se stessa. 'Maria dresses herself.'

B. Portuguese is more difficult to analyze, because both the clitic RM and the emphatic are barred from some grooming constructions.

(34) B. Portuguese
a. Eu (*me) pentei o meu cabello.
b. Eu pentei o meu cabello (*a mi mesmo).
'I combed my hair.'
c. Eu me pentei.
'I combed myself.'

The same thing happens with some French verbs of grooming, although French—unlike B. Portuguese—does not allow the emphatic to function as an RM (cf. (26)).

(35) French
a. Marie (*se) met met ses chaussures (elle-même).
'Marie puts on her shoes (herself).

VII. Complete Reanalysis of the Emphatic as a Heavy Reflexive Marker. Finally, we come to a dialect in which a bona-fide two-form reflexive system has developed. The dialect is the Sursilvan variety of Rheto-Romanche, spoken along the upper Rhine valley (data from Stimm 1973). In Sursilvan Romanche the *ipse-emphatic has been completely bleached of its emphatic content and has now been reanalyzed as a heavy RM. The new heavy RMs are the post-verbal tonic pronouns memez 'myself', tetez 'yourself, sesez 'him-/her-self', etc. These are derived historically from a fusion of the clitic RM plus an autochthonous emphatic mez that arose during the Middle Ages (< me + ipsu): memez = mei + mez; sesez = sei + sez, etc.

Meanwhile, the series of clitic RMs have become affixes and the third person forms have replaced all others (a process known as "paradigm spread").

(36) Paradigm spread of the clitic RM in Sursilvan

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1Incidentally, paradigm spread of the clitic RM has occurred elsewhere in Romance as well. Complete levelling is attested in other Swiss Romanche dialects, Milanese, Bergamesque, the Venetian dialects of Istria (Fiume), possibly Vegliote and in some registers of Français Populaire (Wunderli 1989, Stimm 1973). Partial extension of the 3rd-person clitic into persons 3 and 4 of the reflexive paradigm is even more widespread; it has been reported for the dialects of Rome, all of Northern Italy and Italian Switzerland, Venetian, Campidanese Sardinian, Occitan and Catalan, including Valencian (e.g., Cat. anem-se'n! 'let's go!'; aneu-se a rentar! 'Go wash up [you all]!').
Hungarian and Latin: the new heavy RM is limited to true reflexives and the old RM is constrained to extended constructions.

I submit that the diachronic process I have just described--i.e. a shift from a one-form to a two-form language--is taking place in modern Romance, although this process is still in a nascent stage. If this is so, we might expect the following: (a) there should be a new heavy RM whose range is limited to true reflexive constructions; (b) this new RM should be off-limits in extended reflexive constructions; (c) the old RM should appear in extended constructions; (d) since the cross-linguistic tendency is for reflexive grooming to take light RMs, the new heavy RM should be precluded from such constructions.

The data I present here show that this renovating process has been completed in at least one Romance dialect, and that there is evidence that some stages of this process are underway in other dialects.

Cross-linguistically, it is frequently the case that emphatics become reanalyzed (or "grammaticalized") as new (heavy) RMs. In other words, emphatics lose their original emphatic force and assume a new (reflexive) function. I hypothesize that the new (or emerging) heavy Romance RM is an example of a grammaticalized emphatic. The emphatic in question is the syntactically pleonastic reflex of Late Latin *ipsi(si)mu(m) 'very self' (or of an intensified compound form *met-ipsi(si)mu(m)): Spanish *mismo, Portuguese *mesmo, Catalan *mateix, French *mème. (It. *stesso comes from *ipse-istum 'that very thing'). These can intensify any NP. In (21) the role of the emphatic pronouns is to contrast the referent of the subject with that of some other potential referent.

(21) **Subject emphasis**
   a. Spanish
      El general mandó que todos se mataran, pero él mismo no se mató.
      'The general ordered everyone to kill himself, but he [himself] did not.'

   b. Catalan
      Joan s'afeita ell mateix.
      'John himself shaved [i.e., it was not someone else who shaved.]

When the scope of the emphatic is an object that is coreferential with the subject, the emphatic teams up in a phrase with a stressed (disjunctive) RM. The pleonastic nature of emphatics with reflexives is illustrated in (22) with examples from Spanish, French and Catalan (respectively):
It makes sense for RMs to have their roots in emphatics since—as we have already seen in the Russian and Hungarian data—one function of RMs is to emphasize that the Patient is oneself and not another person. In (23) the reflexive emphatic emphasizes the Patient aspect of the Ego in a reflexive sentence.

(23) a. Spanish
   "Ella se mató a sí misma (pero no a él).
   'She killed herself, but not him.'

   b. Catalan
   "Joan s'afeita a ell mateix.
   'John shaved himself [and not someone else]."

VI. Nascent Stages of the Renovation Process. Spanish, Catalan and French represent the least developed stage in the renovation cycle. In these languages the "old" clitic RM (se, me, etc.) must still be used for true reflexives, and the emphatic force has not been bleached from the emphatic form. Furthermore, the emphatic is still syntactically pleonastic—it can not perform the reflexive function independently of the clitic RM.

(24) Spanish
   a. María se mira (a sí misma).
   'María looks at herself.'

   b. *María mira a sí misma.

(25) Catalan
   a. Maria g'esta mirant (aJ ella mateixa).
   'María is looking at herself.'

   b. *Maria esta mirant (aJ ella mateixa.

(26) French
   a. Marie g'attaque (a elle-même).
   'Marie attacks herself.'

   b. *Marie attaque a elle-même.

But significantly, In Spanish and Catalan the emphatic is infelicitous or marginally acceptable with verbs of grooming or body motion, and is categorically unacceptable with other extended reflexives.

(27) Spanish
   a. María se peinó (?a sí misma). 'Maria combed herself.'

   b. María se lavó las manos / puso el abrigo / rascó la oreja / tocó la nariz (?a sí misma).
Sursilvan Romanche is a perfect example of a two-form reflexive language: the new emphatic-derived (heavy) RM is confined to true reflexives while the affixal light marker can only appear in extended patterns. In (37/a), se- is ungrammatical with the true reflexive action 'see oneself', but just fine with grooming reflexives and other extended reflexives.

(37) Light marking in Sursilvan
   a. *Jeu sevesel el spieghel.
      'I see myself in the mirror.'
   b. Jeu selavel on cuschina.
      'I wash (myself) in the kitchen.'
   c. Setila en dabot e nue! 'Dress quickly and come!'
   d. Mo buca seludei! 'Don’t boast!'

And in (38) the heavy pronominal RM is acceptable (or not) in precisely the reverse situations.

(38) Heavy marking in Sursilvan
   a. *Jeu lavel memez on cuschina.
      'I wash (myself) in the kitchen'.
   b. Jeu vesel memez el spieghel.
      'I see myself in the mirror.'
   c. Admiras ti tetezza?
      'Do you admire yourself?'

VIII. Summary and Conclusion. It would be premature to predict whether Sursilvan signals the direction her sister Romance tongues will follow, but there are enough commonalities among Romance reflexive marking patterns to enable us to speak of a Romance-wide tendency towards reflexive renovation. In this talk I have only touched on the formal consequences of this process. More interesting are the following questions: (a) what motivates the renovation cycle? (b) what is it about the semantics of grooming verbs that warrant their separate formal treatment vis-à-vis true reflexives? (c) should reflexive grooming expressions be considered extended reflexives? (d) what is the semantic relationship between extended reflexives and true reflexives? Especially unclear at this stage of development in Romance is the status of grooming verbs. Grooming verbs apparently occupy a semantic frontier zone between true and extended reflexives. It is therefore natural to find inconsistencies and exceptions in the way these actions are formally mapped. For example, while Italian generally does not allow the
emphatic/heavy-RM form stesso in this context (cf. *Io metto la camicia a me stesso 'I put on my shirt'), witness

(39)
  a. Giovanni si pulisce.
  b. Giovanni pulisce se stesso.

In Spanish, too, some grooming verbs allow reflexive emphasis.

(40) Juan se afeitó / vistió (a si mismo).
   'Juan shaved / dressed (himself).'

It appears that the nature of certain adverbials also influences the choice of reflexive marking, as the following sentences from Italian display.

(41) Italian
  a. ?Maria veste se stessa. 'Maria dresses herself.'
  b. Maria veste sempre se stessa di rosso / la domenica.
     'Maria always dresses herself in red / on Sundays.'

Finally, in B. Portuguese a contrastive context can elicit an emphatic RM where it would otherwise be prohibited.

(42) B. Portuguese
  a. Pentei o cabello della, e depois eu pentei o meu.
  b. Pentei o cabello della, e depois eu pentei a mi mesmo.
     'I combed her hair, and then I combed mine.'
  c. *Pentei o cabello della, e depois eu me pentei.
     'I combed her hair, and then I combed myself.'

By way of final summary, I have included the following chart displaying the relative status of RMs in the languages studied here.

(43) Functional distribution of Romance reflexive markers.
    (IPSU stands for any emphatic marker)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages Represented</th>
<th>Type A</th>
<th>Type B</th>
<th>Type C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>Spanish, French (?)</td>
<td>Italian, Catalan</td>
<td>Rheto-Romanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range of SE</td>
<td>necessary for all true reflexives and for some extended reflexives</td>
<td>alternates with emphatic in some true reflexives; necessary for some extended reflexives</td>
<td>necessary for some extended reflexives and for verbs of grooming and personal care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constraints on SE in reflexive constructions</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>may not appear with emphatic</td>
<td>may not appear with some true reflexives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of IPSU</td>
<td>pleonastic and emphatic</td>
<td>may mark some true reflexives independently of SE; vestiges of emphatic function remain independent marker of true reflexives; no emphatic force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic Range of IPSU</td>
<td>limited to true reflexives (but not necessary)</td>
<td>limited to true reflexives (but not necessary) necessary for true reflexives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constraints on IPSU</td>
<td>marginal with verbs of grooming &amp; personal care; unacceptable with extended reflexives</td>
<td>marginal with verbs of grooming &amp; personal care; unacceptable with extended reflexives unacceptable with verbs of grooming &amp; personal care AND extended reflexives</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Paradigm Spread?</td>
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References


Can Authors Alter Their Wordprints?
Faulkner's Narrators in As I Lay Dying

Tim Hiatt and John Hilton
Brigham Young University

William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying* is told in a unique way: fifteen narrators speak from their own points of view. The language of each narrator contributes greatly to each's uniqueness. Just how well-characterized are the narrators?

To answer the question, we measured some of the narrators in *As I Lay Dying* using current wordprinting techniques. Wordprinting or stylometry is the study of words which appear in patterns specific to authors. These patterns are thought to be somewhat like an identifying fingerprint—that they can help identify authors of anonymous texts. These wordprinting measurements will help us determine if Faulkner can alter his own literary "fingerprint."

A wordprint, as measured in current wordprinting methods, usually consists of studying the author's use of non-contextual words. To explain how we obtained our measurement of Faulkner's wordprint, we will first describe what non-contextual words are and how they are used to determine a "wordprint." We will then describe the wordprinting process we undertook for *As I Lay Dying*, as well as for *Pylon* and *Light in August*, two other works by Faulkner. Finally, we will show how Faulkner's manipulation of non-contextual words and other word use patterns helps characterize the narrators so well, and how he seems to have set himself apart from all other measured authors.

**Contextual and non-contextual words**

Authors try to simulate different voices for different characters when they write in the first person. They achieve a definite flavor in their characters by differing the topics their characters think or speak about, their attitudes about their surroundings, and the events they narrate. Authors can include dialects to help differentiate between characters; they can raise the social level of the spoken words; they can riddle the character's thoughts with clichés and sayings that other roles wouldn't use. These are all external methods of changing the authorial voice between characters and they are all commonly employed.

All these methods are contextual: they depend on the context the author is writing under. But wordprinting measures things that do not strongly depend on context: words such as *and, the, of, for, it,* and so forth. The idea behind wordprinting is that usage of these non-contextual words varies little with changing context, that the occurrence rates of these words among all works by one author will be approximately the same.

For example, in *Moby Dick*, the word "whale" appears many times. The same word appears less in *Billy Budd* (using a "use rate" or percentage measurement—which lets us compare works of differing length), even though both were written by Melville. It is of course incorrect to conclude that the two works were written by different authors on the basis of a contextual or context-related word or words.

If the subconscious usage patterns for non-contextual words are specific to each author (which idea is hypothesized in current wordprinting), then detection of these patterns will reveal the author's
subconscious hand in all his works. These statistical patterns can, however, be influenced somewhat by externally imposing forms didactic, expository, narrative, or other literary forms. Therefore, patterns measured between authors are best taken from free flow writing from texts of the same literary form. All else being equal, the statistical patterns are somewhat like an identifying fingerprint: it is found for most authors to be specific to the author when the author freely writes in similar genres.

**Wordprints used for determining authorship**

Documents that have no reputed author, or disputed authors, have been assigned authors by detecting the non-contextual word patterns and matching them with known patterns of candidate authors. Such studies are the main thrust of applied wordprinting analysis. One of the originators of literary stylometry or wordprinting, A. Q. Morton, briefly outlines the history of such analysis. Greek originally was the language of wordprinting, and English language studies started later with the Shakespeare/Bacon/Marlowe authorship controversy.

The late nineteenth century saw the use of several numerical methods in trying to solve the Shakespeare authorship question. One of the first numerical methods was measuring the average number of characters in each word—the word length. It was found that Shakespeare’s average word length was four, while Bacon’s was three and Marlowe’s was four (Morton 184). This result is interesting, but of course inconclusive. More specific tests were required—tests that would show overarching patterns peculiar to individual writers.

Later, tests using sentence length, punctuation style, and verb tense were tried, again with interesting but inconclusive results. It was Morton who eventually refined the idea of analyzing the parts of speech to include only the non-contextual word patterns.

A recent example of a more modern wordprinting method was done at BYU by Larsen, Rencher, and Layton, then of the BYU Statistics Department. They used very advanced statistical techniques to demonstrate numerical differences in word use rates among the purported writers in the Book of Mormon. They concluded that the texts they examined were written by several distinct authors and that none of the modern candidates tested for Book of Mormon authorship wrote any of that text (Larsen 234). However, D. James Croft, a statistician from the University of Utah, pointed out several areas in which he thought the Larsen group’s study needed improvement before definitive conclusions could be reached (see Croft 20-21).

The Larsen group’s study, as well as Croft’s suggestions, were taken into account by a group of scientists at Berkeley who were also investigating the wordprinting idea. Led by John L. Hilton and Kenneth D. Jenkins, the Berkeley group developed an independent computerized method employing the best research available at that point, along with Morton’s ideas on non-contextual word patterns and his series of word pattern tests.

It is important to note that wordprinting is an advancing science: the Larsen study illustrates that point and tells us to proceed with caution, especially when dialects and regionalisms are involved. To produce an accurate and believable result, meticulous measurements and attention to detail must underlie the best wordprinting procedures available.

John Hilton moved to Provo recently, and brought the Berkeley group’s advanced wordprinting methods with him. Thus began our wordprinting studies on William Faulkner.
Wordprinting Faulkner’s works

Our purpose in examining *As I Lay Dying* was not to determine authorship; Faulkner obviously wrote the story unassisted. Instead, we intended to use statistical methods to see if Faulkner was able to create distinct narrative voices—distinct to the point of challenging one hypothesis of current wordprinting.

Hilton and others have previously performed wordprinting measurements with many different authors, four of which are included in this study to provide typical perspective. Two of our examples, Samuel Clemens and Robert Heinlein, were trying, in their representative texts, to create different narrators. As we will point out later, unlike Faulkner, Clemens’s narrators are grammatically and statistically equal, and so are Heinlein’s.

In addition to *As I Lay Dying*, we wordprinted two other Faulkner works: *Pylon* and *Light in August*, to examine Faulkner’s inner consistency. Time restrictions kept us from evaluating Faulkner’s essays or personal writings. Before we discuss our findings, we will briefly outline the mechanics of wordprinting.

The process begins with the text of the story in computer-readable form. We divide the story by chapters and group the chapters by narrator. We eliminate all identifiable quotations from other characters from each group of chapters, so that what remains represents the thoughts and words of only that narrator. Each of these files are then converted by the computer to a series of codes reflecting the parts of speech each words represents: "n" for noun, "v" for verb, etc., leaving intact the non-contextual words for analysis in their original state. Computer programs process this coded file representing the grammatical patterns of each of the sentences in the story to find the raw word occurrence data for each non-contextual word. The results of this processing are combined with more passes through the coded file to identify the different word patterns that Morton outlined, and to gather more data for other tests. Once all this data is generated for each of the single author files, the test results for each are compared with results from the others (Hilton 3-18).

Results of computations

Of the fifteen narrators in *As I Lay Dying*, only three had enough text to yield statistically significant samples: Darl, Tull, and Vardaman. Also, for comparison, we include data from *Pylon* and *Light in August*. They are both third-person narratives, while *As I Lay Dying* is in the first-person: some of the differences found in the study will exist because we are comparing different literary styles.

We used three different measurements to examine the Faulkner texts. First, the occurrences of each non-contextual word were counted and totaled. We then calculated the ratios of Morton’s word patterns. Finally, we analyzed the rate at which unique words are introduced into the text. We will report the results beginning with the non-contextual word occurrences, then continue with the Morton word pattern ratios, then conclude with a discussion of the new word introduction rate and related vocabulary.

Non-contextual word usage

A chart showing the non-contextual words used (per 5000 words of text) appears in figure 1. Decimals appear because the larger texts were broken into several 5000 word segments with the average value recorded. Included in the chart are measurements from *Pylon* and *Light in August* for comparison.
<table>
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<td>17.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
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</table>

Fig. 1: Average number of occurrences of non-contextual words in 5000 word segments of texts.

Beginning with an obvious difference that stems from third and first-person narration, we see that there is an average of less than one "you" in the third-person narratives, while 28, 36, and 25 "you"s appear in the Darl, Tull, and Vardaman narratives. Coupled with this is use of "I": under 2 average in the third-person novels and 51, 69, and 149 for Darl, Tull, and Vardaman.

The difference between first and third-person narration also appears in the numbers of verbs and adjectives used. Tull and Vardaman use less verbs than Darl, Pylon, and Light in August; but the third-person novels use more adjectives.

Faulkner’s characterizations emerge in the use of "a" and "an." We see that the ratio of "an"s to "a"s for the novels and Darl is about one "an" for every ten "a"s (10%). But Tull (0%) and Vardaman (6%) have significantly less "an"s. Faulkner could be viewing the word "an" as a word to be used by only the educated or articulate. Darl uses "an" at a rate similar to Faulkner’s third-person narratives, which narratives use a more ornate or full style. Tull and Vardaman seem to use a more colloquial grammar, which explains the lack of "an." In fact, no "an"s appear in Tull’s narrative, and all the occurences of "an" in Vardaman’s text are in a single paragraph, which also includes the only use of "upon" for Tull or Vardaman.

In As I Lay Dying, just before the paragraph containing the "an"s, Vardaman drives away the doctor’s team and buggy, and Darl comes to see what happened. Vardaman then describes a
dismembered, disassociated Darl in animal terms. The three "an"s appear in his description—along with the atypical poetic-sounding language in Vardaman's perception. Part of the paragraph says:

> It is as though the dark were resolving him out of his integrity, into an unrelated scattering of components ... an illusion of a co-ordinated whole ... within which, detached and secret and familiar, an is different from my is. I see him dissolve . . . and float upon the dark in fading solution; all one yet neither; all either yet none. (1556)

For this paragraph only, the vocabulary widened and the imagery grew complex. The style sounds more like the imaginative Darl and his introspective observations than the young boy Vardaman. Faulkner's use of "an" here alerts us to the change in register: Vardaman's speech briefly becomes eloquent, as indicated in part by his exceptional use of "an."

If sentence length is a function of language complexity, then Vardaman is the simplest text at 10.2 words per sentence, and *Pylon* the most elaborate at 27.5 words. Sentence length is also influenced by literary form, so it is fair to say that the difference is in part caused by the difference between narrative points of view.

Due also to Faulkner's technique of writing Tull and Vardaman in a lower register than Darl or the two novels is the frequent use of "to be" verbs in Tull and Vardaman. Apparently Faulkner's experience told him that the less articulate will use forms of the verb "be" more often. For this reason, Tull and Vardaman use "to be" verbs almost twice as much as Darl, *Pylon*, and *Light in August*.

From the evidence we present, it appears Faulkner viewed many of these normally defined non-contextual words as contextual in the sense that they help contribute to the peculiar quality of his characterizations. Many words *(an, any, by, of, with, upon, without, and as)* appear to be restricted by Faulkner for use by complex narrators, while others *(it, not, and up)* are used more by the simple language narrators. Still other words *(all, but, in, that, the, to, and have)* seem to be uniform through all the texts—truly non-contextual, or at least not manipulated by Faulkner.

Morton's word patterns

The non-contextual word occurrence data we analyzed helps one understand how Faulkner manipulated language to meet his needs. However, more subtle methods of orchestration appear when one observes the patterns in which these non-contextual words occur.

A. Q. Morton's word patterns provide a more comprehensive measurement of what would normally be thought of as "subconscious" usage patterns. These word patterns measure where non-contextual words appear in the sentence in relation to the number of sentences. They also measure the placement of modifying or related words in relation to non-contextual words, and the rate at which new words are introduced adjacent to the non-contextual key words. Figure 2 displays the Morton word patterns, with a guide for interpretation.
Guide to Figure 2.

# the number of end of sentence markers
fws first word in sentence
lws last word in sentence
2nd lws second to last word in sentence
fb followed by
pb preceded by
x any word
x x any two words
r word to the right is unique within the current block of 1000 words
r+l the words to the right and left that are unique within the current block of 1000 words

Note: Each test here is numbered from 36 to 102. Tests 87 and 93 were omitted because they did not apply to these texts.

Fig. 2: List of Morton's word pattern ratios.
Each of these tests yields a ratio (or percentage). For instance, test 36 is $A(fws)/#$. This formula stands for the percentage of times that "a" is the first word in a sentence divided by the total number of sentences. Test 54 reads AND(fb THE)/AND which calculates the number of times "and" is followed by "the" as a percentage of the total number of "and"s. In other words, the construction "AND followed by THE" will occur this percent of all uses of "and" by this author.

To make the comparison between two texts using the 64 Morton word pattern ratios, each word pattern ratio measured from the first text are compared to the same patterns in the second text. When there is enough difference between the two ratios to be statistically significant, we identify it as a null-hypothesis rejection, or simply a "rejection."

Before looking at the number of rejections found in our texts (Darl, Tull, Vardaman, Pylon, and Light in August), let us give some examples of how works by other authors compare using the same system of Morton word pattern tests for null-hypothesis rejections.

For our study, a number of non-disputed control authors provided a standard from which to judge the results of the Faulkner comparisons. Among these works and their authors were "Everyone Loves a Lord" (essay), "Early Days" (autobiography), "Diary of Adam," and "Diary of Eve" (fictional narratives) by Samuel Clemens; The Number of the Beast (novel) by Robert Heinlein, "Rambler," "Idler," (essays) and "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland" (travelogue) by Samuel Johnson, and various essays by translator Harry Steinhauer.

We use the rigorous Mann-Whitney statistical calculation to measure the numbers of null-hypothesis rejections at 95% probability as we tested each pair of texts with all of Morton's 64 word pattern tests. We found that as each control authors' texts were paired with another text by the same author (called a within author test) an average of 2.9 rejections were measured from Morton's word patterns. In other words, 2.9 of Morton's 64 word pattern tests on average were very different when the same author writes in different texts.

In comparing the control authors' works where the tested pairs of texts were written by two different authors (called between author tests) we find between each an average of 7.4 of Morton's ratios were measured as significantly different. These results verify a basic assumption of current wordprint studies; they indicate that normally authors vary between each other in quantifiable amounts much more than they differ from themselves in their non-contextual patterns. It is interesting to note that the average number of rejections for each of the control authors do not vary much: the averaged within author comparisons are as low as 2 rejections (Heinlein) and as high as 3.5 (Johnson); between author averaged rejections range from 7 (Steinhauer) to 7.9 (Johnson).

The relative uniformity of the within author comparisons (2.9 average rejections with extremes of individual texts measuring from 0 to 6) is especially significant because in two cases, the authors tried to simulate different narrators. The Heinlein text was written so that each chapter was narrated by Hilda and Deety. Both characters showed non-contextual word patterns that vary little between the two parts (suggesting a unity of style on the part of the author despite the differing characters). The other example of a control author trying to simulate different narrative voices is Clemens in his diaries of Adam and Eve. They average only 2.8 rejections when the word pattern ratios are compared---almost the average of all within author works by all the control authors. Both Heinlein and Clemens are respected authors in their fields, but both are unable to create distinct characters on the subconscious non-contextual word level.

The number of rejections measured for Faulkner's works, however, were in clear contrast with the control authors' results. Figure 3 displays the results.
Looking at the first column, we see that Faulkner’s usage patterns for non-contextual words are very stable within the same character or text. Realizing that high numbers of rejections show larger differences in usage patterns, these averages indicate that Faulkner is surprisingly consistent inside each character or text he writes.

The second column shows the average number of between-author rejections for each when compared with the 12 control authors’ texts. Faulkner’s higher average rejections suggest that his texts are also surprisingly different from the control texts than the control texts are from each other.

The third column is where we find the most unexpected contrast. When each control text is compared with the other control texts by different authors, the average rejections total 7.4. But comparing each Faulkner text with other Faulkner characters and texts results in rejections ranging from 5.7 to 9.1. If Faulkner had measured according to previous observation, we would have expected an average rejection of around 2.9 for his within-author testing. It would seem that Faulkner is manipulating his "subconscious" word usage patterns in an atypical and consistent way.

Sifting through the computer printouts, we found certain tests consistently rejecting between one text or character and all or most of the others. Examining these particular tests closely should yield an understanding of how Faulkner was able to do what no other author that we know of could do.

Test 40 yields the percentage of sentences that begin with "it" (the test reads IT(fws)/#, see figure 1 above). For Tull, 11% of his sentences begin with "it," while for the three blocks of Darl and for Vardaman their percentages are 4, 9, 4.4, and 5.5% respectively. The increased use of "it" must correspond to the way Faulkner viewed the character. Faulkner wrote Tull as a fairly uneducated observer speaking in his own socio-economic dialect. Because Tull mostly narrates what he sees going on around him, and because he is not nearly as articulate as Darl, Tull usually employs "it" as a pronoun taking the place of the noun mentioned in the previous sentence. Where Darl would use a different, descriptive noun to refer to a previous noun, Faulkner wrote Tull to be less intelligentsounding by using just "it."

Test 88 is related to the previous discussion about the use of "a" and "an." The test gives the percentage of times when "an" is used of all occurrences of "an" or "a." The three sections of Darl use "an" 8.6, 12.5, and 15.6%, while Vardaman and Tull use "an" 4.6 and 0%. Again, Faulkner's
apparent conscious manipulation through interpreting an educational or social dialect explains the difference.

Test 75 shows the percentage that "in the" occurs of all uses of "the." Vardaman consistently uses "in the" more (16.3%) than the other characters (6, 7.5, 5.7, and 7.4%). Vardaman's phrasing is influenced by his character: being a young boy, he observes and comments on things using language familiar to a young boy. He comments on his mother "in the box" and people and horses "in the river," and "in the water." Vardaman uses the prepositional "in" instead of mentioning where the object is and letting the reader remember. Faulkner apparently believed that a youngster's mind would work that way.

Related to test 75 is test 69, which shows the percentage that "in the" occurs of all uses of "in." Briefly, Vardaman uses "in the" 61% of all his "in"s, while the others use "in the" for 35, 30, 34.7, and 34% of the "in"s.

These tests give an idea of how Faulkner was able to manipulate non-contextual word usage. He did so by using those words contextually (as a part of the subject matter) or by varying the use manually by conforming to a predetermined character description that Faulkner himself would have had in mind.

He was able to change his word usage patterns enough for his characters to seem, statistically, to be written by a different author. This finding seems to put the simple measurements for wordprinting into a questionable light. However, these tests let us see how it is that Faulkner changed his style. Obviously, more complicated measurements will be required to correctly wordprint Faulkner than the other authors. For wordprinting to always be valid, further testing and refinement of the current method of computing this data are necessary.

Tests 94 to 102 refer to the rates at which new words are introduced into the text adjacent to the key non-contextual words. That data is discussed in the next section in more detail.

New word introduction rate

The new word introduction rate provides a measurement of working vocabulary. This rate represents the number of unique words introduced per 100 words of text averaged over each 500 consecutive words of text.

To provide perspective on the new word introduction rate, figure 4 illustrates differing vocabularies at work.

The most noticeable feature of Figure 4 is that all purported Book of Mormon writers have almost identical low new word use rates. None stand out as being articulate among the three writers here, and these figures agree with what would be expected from Joseph Smith's early working vocabulary. He simply did not have, early in life, an extensive vocabulary. Had Joseph Smith been able to use a larger vocabulary, differences in articulateness might have appeared between the writers in his
translation. We notice also that Steinhauer has a very high rate of introducing unique words. That would mean he could, if he wished, restrict his vocabulary to simulate a less articulate writer.

Now we examine figure 5, a similar graph with only Faulkner's works plotted on it. Since these works were written by Faulkner, we can assume that his personal vocabulary (or at least his new word introduction rate) is quite high, because *Pylon* closely parallels the translator Steinhauer's rate seen in figure 4, and *Pylon* is not necessarily Faulkner at his most articulate.

The thoughtful, eloquent Darl is next, followed closely by *Light in August*. The level of vocabulary present in Darl is very comparable to the narrators of the two novels. This fact brings to mind an interesting speculation: did Faulkner write a first-person narrated short story from Darl's point of view, and then decide to embellish it with other points of view? The narrative sophistication is certainly there, stylistically, to carry the burden of narration.

In any case, Tull is less sophisticated, and Vardaman is the least prone to use unique words. The different plotted lines show, then, yet another way in which Faulkner was able to create realistic characters: he restricted the vocabulary to conform to the character he was creating.

**Conclusion**

Looking back on this study, there are a couple things we would like to do differently. First, it would be good to verify the computations made by the Berkeley group's computer programs. We have made several checks and not found anything wrong, but a full verification would be better.

Also, we have not yet studied some of Faulkner's essays. It would be interesting to see if his personal essays are stable within themselves and if his wordprint matches any of his narrators or characters. It would be especially interesting if we found a match with Darl, or another of his fictional characters.

But the results we do have are astounding. Faulkner's ability to vary "non-contextual" word usage patterns seems to contradict a simple thesis of wordprinting. Yet, as we can see through our analysis of the Morton word pattern tests that were rejected, Faulkner was able to change his patterns using authorial techniques. Faulkner seems to have taken into account each narrator's socio-economic position, age, and education, as well as other intangibles like attitude and experience when creating these characters, at least as far as the within author measurements are concerned.

Therefore, although Faulkner broke the mold in creating these different narrators, his methods were discernable using this wordprinting technique. For the thesis of wordprinting ("a writer can not change his subconscious writing habits") to be rigorously investigated, however, it will require improvements in the current measuring technique which may reveal the more subtle patterns of usage by an author as sophisticated as William Faulkner. If more revealing or complex tests are devised,
we may find that Faulkner is more uniform than he now appears. It is a matter for further research.

Also of further interest is rounding up more texts in computer readable format written by sophisticated authors for further control author testing. A good candidate is *Ulysses* by James Joyce.

Up to now, wordprinting studies have been conducted with authors and texts with the purpose of assigning authorship. As far as we know, wordprinting has not heretofore been used as a literary tool. Thus, more works from the literary canon should be analyzed to see if the word patterns vary as much with other skilled authors as they do with Faulkner.

Basing this study on "non-contextual" words does show that these words are relative: Faulkner was able to manipulate them—thus making them contextual. Such contextual use would indicate that our list of what are normally non-contextual words need not always be used as such. Reconsideration of the simpler measurements of wordprinting techniques seems to be in order if we wish to measure authors such as Faulkner who apparently can manipulate "non-contextual" words in a contextual way.

This study has been a circuitous journey to find that Faulkner is an unusually complex and very skilled writer. Further studies may, or may not, bring to light more authors of similar complexity, but as of this writing he stands unique in his ability to characterize.

**Works Cited**


PROGRESS REPORT
ON THE BOOK OF MORMON
CRITICAL TEXT PROJECT

Royal Skousen
Department of English
Brigham Young University

CURRENT STATUS OF THE 5-YEAR PROJECT (as of 14 April 1990; begun in May 1988):

Original Manuscript (O):
(only about 25% is extant: 1 Nephi 2 → 2 Nephi 1 and Alma 22 → Helaman 3, with gaps; plus other fragments)
permission of First Presidency of the LDS Church to make transcription of the original manuscript: photos on loan from the LDS historical department
fragment at University of Utah: photo purchased
work done (excluding a few difficult-to-read fragments):
   first transcription by Royal Skousen
   second transcription by Lyle Fletcher and Marcello Hunter
   line-by-line comparison of two transcriptions
   a single transcript from the two independent transcriptions
work to be done:
   identify the few remaining unidentified fragments
   check transcriptions against actual manuscript
   compare O against P and printed editions

Printer’s Manuscript (P):
(all extant except for 4 lines from 1 Nephi 1)
enlarged photographic reproduction on loan from RLDS Church Historian (Richard Howard)
work done:
   first transcription by Royal Skousen
   second transcription by Lawrence Skousen
   line-by-line comparison of two transcriptions through Mormon 4
work to be done:

finish line-by-line comparison of two transcriptions
compare against 0 and printed editions
distinguish between the three correctors of P

Scanning of Important Editions of the Book of Mormon
(+ finished, - partially finished)

dates: copy xerox scan format proof correct

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Publication Plans:

transcripts of 0 and P

critical edition:

original text as dictated by Joseph Smith
(to the extent that it can be determined)

ddictated format: limited punctuation,
but modern spelling and lexical capitalization

apparatus: all significant textual variants
(including all meaning differences
and some spelling and punctuation differences)

current LDS and RLDS versifications (in the margins)
cross-references to explicitly quoted biblical passages
computer collation of all variants (including spelling and punctuation)

commentary on the Book of Mormon text

Financial Support:

Brigham Young University

Department of English
College of Humanities
Religious Studies Center

Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies (FARMS)

Special Assistance:

Jack Welch (FARMS): photos of O and P, Book of Mormon editions

Richard Howard (RLDS Church Historian): 1892R, 1908R, photos of P

Glenn Rowe (LDS Historical Department): photos and provenance of O

Larry Draper (LDS Historical Department): 1837, 1840, 1849, 1852, 1858W, 1874R, 1879, 1905

Wilford Wood family: 1830

Wendell Ashton, David Tiplady (Cambridge University Press): 1841

John Williams, George Florence: 1953R

Bob Wilcock: 1981

Brigham Young University library: 1911, 1920

EVIDENCE FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

(1) The original manuscript (O) is a dictated manuscript.

mishearings

1 Nephi 13:29 and because of these things which are taken away out of the gospel of the lamb and exceeding [an exceeding] great many do stumble
17:48 and whoso shall lay their hands upon me shall wither even as a dried weed [reed]

20:9 nevertheless for my name sake [name’s sake] I will defer mine anger

Alma 41:14 therefore my sons see [son see] that ye are merciful unto your brethren

55:8 but he sayeth unto <him> them fear not

56:37 and as we suppose that [supposed that] it was their intent to slay us before Antipus should overtake them

corrected spellings of names [supports witnesses’ claims that Joseph Smith spelled out names]

<Zenock> Zenoch (Alma 33:15)

<Coriantummer> Coriantumr (Helaman 1:15)

Amalickiah (Alma 46:3) > Am(a)lickiah >>
Ameleckiah (Alma 46:11–52:8)
|| Amalickiah (Alma 54:16)

[Joseph Smith’s pronunciation:
stress on first syllable rather than second]

(2) Joseph Smith spells out the first occurrence of Book of Mormon names and apparently respells names later on if necessary.

(3) Joseph Smith dealt with 20-30 words at a time.

crossouts showing OC skipping ahead

20 words (Alma 56:41):

and it came to pass that again <we saw the Lamanites> when the light of the morning came we saw the Lamanites upon us

25 words (Alma 45:21)
[the only example of Joseph Smith editing the text?]

for behold because of their wars with the Lamanites <they had become exceeding [ ]in[ ]> and the many little dissensions and disturbances which had been among the people it became expedient
Joseph Smith acts as scribe?

28 words (Alma 45:22)

yea in every city throughout all the land which was possessed by the people of Nephi and it came to pass that they did appoint priests and teachers

[on three lines in Alma 45:22: and written out, c's without loops, p does not close; agrees with Joseph Smith's handwriting (as found in Dean Jesse's The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith); darker, carefully written; definitely not Oliver Cowdery's hand]

(4) There is little or no evidence of Joseph Smith changing his mind [providing we (correctly) interpret the or explanations as originally in the plates].

(5) The word "chapter" did not appear at section breaks, yet there was a clear indication of a break in the text.

chapter never appears within the text itself; Chap(ter) written whenever there is a break in the text; numbers added later (darker and more carefully written); wrong numbers sometimes inserted and then corrected; chapter incorrectly inserted at the beginning of 2 Nephi:

Second Chapter I
The Book of Nephi An account of the death of Lehi ... .

(6) The punctuation marks made by John Gilbert (the compositor of the 1830 edition) appear on the fragment from 3 Nephi 26-27. Thus 0 was used at least once as the "printer's" manuscript.

maximal potential use of 0 as the "printer's" manuscript (according to the missing punctuation marks on P):

Helaman 9 through Mormon

In addition, the 1840 edition may also serve as a potential source for recovering the text of O (since 0 was occasionally used to correct the text for that edition).

(7) In copying P from O, Oliver Cowdery made an average of a little more than 3 textual changes per manuscript page when copying someone else's hand, but only 2 changes per page when copying his own hand. Thus far 274 textual changes have been noted for the extant portion of O (about 25% of the original text). Most of these changes are natural transcriptional
errors and have not been known before. I would estimate that somewhat over a thousand textual changes were made in producing P from O. Nonetheless, these errors do not significantly change the Book of Mormon text.

two changes recently discovered from the fragments:

1 Nephi 15:36  the wicked are **separated** from the righteous > rejected

\[ O: (s)eoperated fro(m) [scribe 2] \]

Alma 27:27  and they were **numbered** among the people of Nephi and also numbered among the people which were of the church of God > ø

\[ O: ( )ered among \]

(8) There is little evidence of conscious editing in producing P from O. The text of P introduces many hard readings and is not expansionary, contrary to the normal assumptions of textual criticism. Later editing of the Book of Mormon text does show the normal development of text (namely, introduction of easier readings and an expansionary text). O is clearly superior to P.

(9) The 1974 Ruth Smith fragment (from 2 Nephi 4-5) is probably part of the material from the cornerstone of the Nauvoo house originally sent by Major Bidamon to Joseph Smith III. This fragment from O appears to be fully authentic, despite an extraordinary provenance.

(10) The 1984 University of Chicago acquisition (two sheets from Alma 3-5) is a forgery. There is no firm provenance; and the document itself contains many spellings that are highly unlikely for Oliver Cowdery to have produced. In addition, the handwriting is too large, there are no headings, and there are too many lines on each manuscript page.

A schematic comparison of the two Book of Mormon manuscripts (O and P) is reproduced on the following page.
(LDS except for Kesler [Usf U])

- 25% of text corrupt

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- Nephi
- 2 lines missing (2x)
- 2 Nephi
- Gilbert starts taking P home to punctuate
- Teche
- Mosiah
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- 3P 3P 3P 3P 3P 3P
- Alma
- 100
- 3N 200
- 3N 45 22
- 47
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- punctuation marks
- Heleman
- (1m 9)
- 3 Nephi
- 3m 19
- 2P
- Mormon
- Ether
- Mormon
Comparison and Contrast of Spanish and English Discourse Styles

Carolyn M. Spencer
Brigham Young University

The purpose of this study was to determine the preferred written religious discourse style of Spanish and English natives, and to investigate any contrasts of form that were found between the two languages. This study looks at written religious testimonies of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day-Saints, specifically those written by church members to include in giving gifts of the Book of Mormon. Though there were differences and contrasts of form in preferred discourse style by natives, some data supports the notion that native discourse style may be modified by association with another culture.

The impetus for this study began when a friend asked me to translate a religious testimony he had written in English to be included in a Spanish translation of the Book of Mormon he intended to give to a friend. I agreed. However, when I looked at the task carefully, it seemed impossible to translate his words literally because intuitively I sensed that a translation faithful to the original would be offensive to a Spanish native. I wondered just why I felt this way. I wondered if differences would be found more in the way it was written than in the actual words that were used. This proved to be a motivation to do this study. I thought that in comparing Spanish with English, preferences of written discourse style would be found to exist. Also, even though this religious expression appeared to be the same task, I wanted to find out how the literary style of a Spanish testimony might differ from an English testimony.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests that a man's view of the world is conditioned by his language and that thought is actually constrained by that language (Trudgell 1985). This has been a concern of the sociolinguists who ask about the structure of discourse, and how much variation in structure there may be between language groups. Styles of jokes, introductions, apologies, compliants, storytelling, arguments, etc. are all forms of expression that have been found to change across languages. It seems that different languages have preferred styles in the way ideas are presented.
It is true that the rhetorics of various languages are different and that those differences derive from the internal logics of the languages, logics that tend to arrange phenomological reality in quite different ways. (Kaplan, 1976: 1).

The English language is not restricted to one rhetorical form, but some of the constraints of form can be recognized when looking at specific types of discourse.

To take the most obvious case, narratives will contain a large number of conjoined sentences; "how-to" (procedural) text will be organized around a series of imperatives; cause-result text will include if/then's and modals; etc. (Hatch and Long 1980:9).

An example of non-English rhetorical form can be found in Navajo and Western Apache. The form is to repeat a phrase or a word for emotional emphasis. This redundancy is not perceived by them to be repetition, but to serve as a logical way to emphasize a particular idea (Bartelt 1983).

Not only rhetorical structures may be featured by a specific language, but also the choosing of a topic and the way that topic is developed. McKay (1986) said, according to a study by Scarcella, that daily conversation topics among Spanish speakers were more likely to include references to family, and references of a more personal nature to the speaker than among English speakers. Further comparisons McKay made with Australian students' and Chinese students' writing on a given topic showed that Australian students referred to the other party in the third person and used suggestions, whereas, Chinese students made direct remarks to the reader and used imperatives. She suggested that different language groups approach a given topic with a different set of cultural assumptions. (McKay 1986).

Different rhetoric styles, like fashion, may go in and out of popularity. This means that some styles become specifically linked to a particular period of time. For example, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was stylish to write long sentences, sometimes over sixty or seventy words. Today's English has shorter sentences. Long, complicated sentences are considered tedious and hard to decipher (Milward 1983). However rhetorical styles change, at any one time "...there is a culturally and historically determined preference shared by the majority of the members of a certain community in a given period." (Schogt, 1988: 83).
Today, the rhetorical style of English is a direct linear style (Kaplan 1976). That is, in developing discourse the writer will first introduce an idea in a topic sentence, and the sentences immediately following this will be in support of, or show proof of the validity of this idea by citing evidence, details, examples, illustrations or elaboration about the topic (Hodges and Whitten, 1986).

On the other hand, though Spanish rhetorical style has characteristics in common with English, it is more oblique. The reader will be eased into the subject gently, and while following sentences comment on the subject, some will be of a more distant nature from the topic and will have only indirect reference to the subject at hand. Language will be chosen carefully by Spanish speakers for its artistic effect (Kaplan 1972: 64).

Because Spanish and English originate from separate language families, and because research shows that there are currently differences in rhetorical styles, it is natural to assume that the literary style of each language group in writing religious testimonies would also be different. However, it was hypothesized that similarities would be found because the task of writing a religious testament or "testimony" for gift copies of the Book of Mormon was the same. Besides this, there would probably be similarities because religious expectations exist regarding the basic content of the message of a testimony. These expectations include telling about personal convictions of truth of the Book of Mormon, and religious experience with the Book of Mormon. But it was also predicted that notable differences would be found, and those differences would be reflected in the testimonies the native subjects preferred.

The first task of the study was to determine if natives had preferences for a discourse style. Samples of written testimonies were gathered. The English samples came from a church unit (ward) of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day-Saints. At the time there was a project being conducted by that church unit to encourage church members to write something about their religious convictions and insert it in the front of gift copies of the Book of Mormon. Fourteen written English testimonies were chosen at random from a group of approximately thirty-five.

The fourteen Spanish samples were selected from three different sources. The first source was from the same church unit. Some
members who had completed missions in Spanish-speaking countries submitted their testimonies in Spanish. Another source was from a list of "approved translations" distributed from the church headquarters, and given to church members conducting the project. This list showed Spanish testimonies on the left and English equivalent translations to the right. Church members who didn't speak Spanish, but who wanted to give their books to Spanish speakers, were encouraged to copy a testimony of their choice from that list. In addition, four natives were asked to submit their written testimonies to be used for gift copies of the Book of Mormon.

Each of the written testimonies were typed on a separate card and numbered. There were sixteen subjects used in this study: eight native Spanish-speakers, and eight native English-speakers. These native speakers were asked to read the cards in their native language and rank them in order of preference with their most preferred testimony first. The first five cards from each subject were then scored according to their ranking with the most preferred card receiving a 5, second preferred receiving a 4, third preferred receiving a 3, next preferred receiving a 2, and last preferred among the five receiving a 1. The results of this scoring can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. The * indicates the two testimonies with the highest scores. The + in the Spanish table indicates the testimonies written by Spanish natives.

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Table #2
Spanish Testimonies
*indicates testimonies preferred  +indicates native Spanish testimonies

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Four testimonies, the two from each language group with the highest scores, were used for analysis. These were testimony #5, and #12 in English, and testimony #4, and #12 in Spanish. The two most preferred English testimonies can be found in Table 3.

Table 3:
English Testimony #5
When in life, we find something that brings us joy and happiness we want to share with others that knowledge. By reading this book I have come closer to the Savior and His plan. I know the teachings of this book are true and they testify of Christ. When used with the Bible the picture of God's plan for us is complete. Please Read, Ponder and Pray.

English Testimony #12
Congratulations on receiving this Book of Mormon. Like the Bible, it is scripture. It is another witness to the world that Jesus is the Christ. That not only did he live, but after his death, he visited the peoples of the Americas as a resurrected being. He commanded them to keep this record so that everyone can know of the Saviors reality, of the purpose of our lives and or our need to seek the Savior and become like him.
The most preferred Spanish testimonies, #4. and #12, can be found in Table 4 with an English translation following each.

Table 4:

**Spanish Testimony #4**

Me siento muy agradecida con Nuestro Padre Celestial por esta oportunidad que tengo de compartir mi testimonio contigo. Yo se que vive mi Senor y este hermoso libro me ha hecho sentirlo desde la primera vez que lo lei, porque puede darme cuenta que este libro realmente viene de Dios y no del hombre, puedo sentir la fortaleza espiritual que los profetas tienen y a las grandes tentaciones a los que se enfrenta, puedo ver muy claramente la guia de Dios para con los que le buscan y lo son fieles hasta el fin. Estoy tan agradecida a Nuestro Padre Celestial por conocer la verdad de su evangelio y con esto puedo sentir su amor y el deseo que el tiene de que todos podamos regresar a su presencia nuevamente. Siempre que leo el Libro de Mormon aprendo cosas nuevas y mi Fe acrecenta aun mas. Se que si tu lees este libro deseando recibir una respuesta a tus preguntas y orando con todo tu corazon a Dios, El te hara sentir que estas cosas son verdaderas y comparto contigo mi testimonio en el nombre de Nuestro Senor Jesucristo. Amen.

**English translation of #4**

I feel very grateful to our Father in Heaven for this opportunity that I have to share my testimony with you. I know that God lives and this beautiful book has made me feel this since the first time that I read it because I took note that this book really came from God and not man. I could feel the spiritual strength the prophets had and the great temptations that they faced. I could very clearly see the guidance of God with those that seek Him and with those that are faithful to the end. I am very grateful to our Father in Heaven for knowing of the truth of His gospel and with this I can feel His love and the desire that He has that all of us return to his presence again. Always when I read the Book of Mormon I learn new things my faith grows even more. If you read this book desiring to receive and answer to your prayers and praying with your whole heart to God He will have you feel that these things are true, and I leave my testimony with you in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

**Spanish Testimony #12**

Muchas veces habia dudado si yo realmente tenia un testimonio de la Iglesia de Jesucristo y de que Dios vive y del Libro de Mormon pero hace poco mis dudas fueron aclaradas cuando, pensando acerca de esto, descubri que era lo que me hacia leer diariamente mis escrituras y orar y tratar de cumplir los mandamientos y ahora se que eso especial que me motiva a hacer esas cosas es mi testimonio, el cual quiero compartir contigo. Se que el Libro de Mormon es sagrado y verdadero, fue escrito por la mano de los hombres inspirados...
por Dios. Para mí es muy especial puesto que ha logrado un cambio en mi vida y en la de mi familia y nos ha hecho muy felices. Amo el Libro de Mormon y doy gracias a Dios por haber hecho posible que lo tengamos.

English translation of #12
Many times I have doubted if I really had a testimony of the Church of Jesus Christ and that God lives and of the Book of Mormon, but a short time ago my doubts were clarified. When, thinking about this, I discovered what it was that made me read the scriptures and pray and try to obey the commandments and now I know that special thing that motivates me to do these things is my testimony that which I want to share with you. I know that the Book of Mormon is sacred and true. It was written by the hand of man inspired by God. For me it is very special, particularly since it has made a change in my life and in the life of my family and it has made us all very happy. I love the Book of Mormon and I give thanks to God for having made it possible that we have it. In the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Taking these testimonies, I used ideas offered by Kaplan (1972)(1985), Richards (1985), Lautamatti (1987), and Eggington (1985)(1989), to analyze the text using the techniques of macro-analysis and micro-analysis. In order to do macro-analysis, each text is divided into parts of related discourse named Discourse Units (DU), as well as subdivisions of those units. These units can be counted and compared for style as well as length. In order to do micro-analysis, details of the discourse are identified and compared. The specific details identified in the micro-analysis of this study include topic, linking of topic to additional sentences, lexical chaining, greetings, imperatives, prayer format, emotional content words, and reference to writer or reader.

When looking at the macro-analysis (Tables 5 and 6), it is easy to see that the preferred English testimonies had fewer Discourse Units than the preferred Spanish testimonies. English Testimony #5 had two DU, #12 had just one, whereas, Spanish Testimony #4 had five DU, and Spanish Testimony #12 had four DU. This not only means that Spanish writing was longer, but also that it contained more separate ideas.

The two preferred testimonies in each language followed a predicted discourse style for that language. The English style used direct logic because each statement following the DU added weight to the sentence claim. There were imperatives. Sentences were short and
to the point with little embellishment. The writing is concise, short, and written with fewer details when compared with the Spanish testimonies.

On the other hand, although both the preferred Spanish testimonies used supporting sentences related to the topic, there were elaborating statements of ideas that were not necessarily connected to the topic. This demonstrates the oblique wandering off of the main topic as identified graphically by Kaplan (1972). It can be seen in Spanish testimony#4 Ic, and IIb, and Spanish testimony #12 IIB, 1), and III b, b), 1)

Both English testimonies used an imperative, or a greeting as a prominent feature in connecting the writer with the reader. Spanish testimonies did not use this type of connecting feature, but rather had many references to the writer and reader as if they were friends exchanging personal experiences. Thus, the use of the "tu" intimate form, which can't be translated into English equivalents, does not appear to be unnatural. The Spanish writer implores the reader to listen to his experiences, rather than commands him to take the words seriously in a more confronting English manner.

The style of Spanish sentences were much longer and more flowing than in English. More parallelism was found, and both Spanish testimonies ended with a prayer form at the end.

This evidence suggests that in spite of the fact that a written testimony is a specific religious document, the preferred testimonies as chosen by native speakers still followed the predominant discourse style of that language.

The macro-analysis of each testimony can be found in Table 5 and 6. The major DU units are identified, numbered, and set on the left of the page. Coordinate and subordinate ideas are physically set on the page in order to visually see their structural relationship to that discourse unit.

- Topic sentence or individual discourse unit= DU I, DU II, DU III
- Referents or supporting details to a DU= Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb
- Series= a), b), c)
- Parallel ideas= A, B
- Elaboration on sentence idea= 1)
Table # 5

English Testimony #5

DU I: When in life, a). we find something that brings us joy and
    happiness
    b). we want to share with others that knowledge.

    Ia: By reading this book I have come closer a). to the Savior and
        b). His plan

    Ib: I know a). the teachings of this book are true and
        b). they testify of Christ.

    Ic: When [this book is] used with the Bible
        the picture of God's plan for us is complete.

DU II: Please Read [this book], Ponder[about this book], and Pray.

English Testimony #12

DU I: Congratulations on receiving this Book of Mormon.

    Ia: Like the Bible, it is scripture.

    Ib: It is another witness to the world that Jesus is the Christ.

    1) A. That not only did He live,
        B. but after his death,
        he visited the peoples of the Americas as a resurrected
        being.

    2) He commanded them to keep this record
        so that everyone can know
        a) of the Savior's reality
        b) of the purpose of our lives
        c) and of our need to seek the Savior
        d) and become like Him.
Table 6
Spanish Testimony #4
(translation)

DU I: I feel very grateful to our Father in Heaven
for this opportunity that I have
 to share my testimony with you*.

Ia: [My testimony is] I know that God lives
Ib: and this beautiful book has made me feel this
since the first time that I read it
Ic: because I took note that this book really
  came from God and not man.
1)A. I could feel
   A. the spiritual strength the prophets
      had
   B. and the great temptations
      that they faced.
1)B. I could very clearly see
   A. the guidance of God with those
      that seek Him
   B. and with those
      that are faithful to the
      end.

DU II: I am very grateful to our Father in Heaven
for knowing of the truth of His gospel.

IIa: and with this I can feel His love
IIb: and the desire that He has
      1) that all of us return to
          his presence again.

DU III: Always when I read the Book of Mormon a. I learn new things
          b. my faith grows even more

DU IV: If you * read this book A. desiring to receive an answer to your prayers
        B. and praying with your whole heart to God
           1) He will have you feel
              that these things are true.

DU V: and I leave my testimony with you* in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

*indicates "tu"- familiar Spanish pronoun with no English equivalent
(Table #6 continued)

**Spanish Testimony #12**

(translating)

**DU I A:** Many times I have doubted if I really had
a). a testimony of the
b). and that God lives
c). and of the Book of Mormon

**B:** but a short time ago my doubts [about a testimony] were clarified.

**DU II A:** When, thinking about this, I discovered what it was that
a). made me read the scriptures
b). and pray
c). and try to obey the commandments

**B:** and now I know that special thing
that motivates me to do these things is my testimony
1) that which I want to share with you*.

**DU III:** [My testimony is] I know that the Book of Mormon is sacred and true.

**III a:** It was written by the hand of man inspired by God.

**III b:** For me it is very special
particularly since it has made
a) a change in my life
b) and in the life of my family and
1) [it] has made us all very happy.

**III c:** I love the Book of Mormon

**III d:** and I give thanks to God for having made it possible
that we have it.

**DU IV:** In the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

*indicates "tu"- a familiar Spanish pronoun with no English equivalent

The micro-analysis shows the details of the differences and similarities in discourse style even more prominently. For example, all of the testimonies have topic and topic references as indicated by underlining. However, the English testimonies have a topic reference in each of the main DU, as well as in each of the major DU sub-parts. The Spanish testimonies have topic references but not as consistently. Spanish testimony #4 introduces the topic as underlined in DU I and in its' sub-part Ia, but not in Ib. It occurs again in Du II, and the sub-part IIa, but then the topic is not mentioned again until DU V. Lexical chaining occurs in all of the testimonies.
Ellipsis occurred in three of the testimonies: English testimony #5 in DU Ic, and then again in the assumptions of the imperative statement in DU II, Spanish testimony #4 in DU Ia., and Spanish testimony #12 in DU III.

Other features uncovered include more instances of Spanish lexical chaining, but this may have as much to do with the longer length than with style. Both Spanish testimonies end "in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen." as if the writers were verbally saying a prayer. This is the accepted format to end any testimony when it is spoken aloud in church meetings, but it does not appear in the English written testimonies. Ending in this way may be an indication by the Spanish writers that they felt more connected with the reader as if they were speaking to him. Another interesting lexical feature was the use of more references to self, such as I, my, we, our, and us and you (familiar form) in the Spanish testimonies. While this, for the most part, was probably one of the ways the writer achieved a more personal voice, it also is an unavoidable result of translation into English since Spanish incorporates the subject in the verb endings. However, there are other acceptable Spanish grammatical devices, such as using reflexive and passive constructions, that would produce fewer direct references to self, but these forms were not used. An example of the reflexive form in Spanish might be:

\[
Cuando\ se\ recib\text{\textregistered}\ uno\ testimonio\ se\ siente\ que\ el\ \text{Libro\ de\ Mormon}\ es\ veridico. (English\ translation:\ When\ one\ receives\ a\ testimony\ one\ feels\ that\ the\ Book\ of\ Mormon\ is\ true.)
\]

An example of the passive form in Spanish might be:

\[
La\ verdad\ es\ conocido\ por\ el\ espiritu. (English\ translation:\ Truth\ is\ known\ by\ the\ spirit.)
\]

One of the biggest differences shown between English and Spanish in the micro-analysis was that Spanish had many more words with emotional content. Again, part of this was due to the longer length of the testimonies in Spanish. However, English #5 had four emotional content words, and English #12 had none. In contrast, Spanish #4 had thirteen emotional content words and Spanish #12 had eight.
The key to the macro-analysis for Tables #7 and #8 is as follows:

- Topic and topic reference = underline
- Lexical chaining = @
- Greeting/imperative /prayer format= { }
- Emotional content = +
- Reference to the person writing, or that person included in a group = #

### Table #7

**English Testimony #5**

**DU I:** When in life, a). we# find something that brings us joy +and happiness+ b). we# want to share+ with others that knowledge.

Ia: By reading this book I #have come closer+ a). to the Savior@ and b). His @ plan

Ib: I # know a). the teachings of this book are true and b). they testify of Christ.@

Ic: When [this book is] used with the Bible the picture of God's plan@ for us #is complete.

**DU II:** { Please Read [this book], Ponder[about this book], and Pray}

### English Testimony #12

**DU I:** { Congratulations on receiving this Book of Mormon.}

Ia: Like the Bible, it is scripture.

 Ib: It is another witness to the world that Jesus is the Christ.@

1) A. That not only did he@ live,

   B. but after his@ death,

   he @visited the peoples of the Americas as a resurrected being.@

2) He@ commanded them to keep this record so that everyone #can know

   a) of the Savior's@ reality

   b) of the purpose of our # lives

   c) and of our# need to seek the Savior@

   d) and become like Him.@
Spanish Testimony #4

(translation)

DU I: I feel very grateful to our Father in Heaven for this opportunity that I have to share my testimony with you.*

Ia: [My testimony is] I know that God lives

Ib: and this beautiful book has made me feel this

since the first time that I read it

Ic: because I took note that this book really came from God and not man.

1) A. I could feel

A. the spiritual strength the prophets had

B. and the great temptations

that they faced.

1) B. I could very clearly see

A. the guidance of God with those that seek Him

B. and with those

that are faithful to the end.

DU II: I am very grateful to our Father in Heaven for knowing of the truth of His gospel.

IIa: and with this I can feel His love

IIb: and the desire that He has

1) that all of us return to His presence again.

DU III: Always when I read the Book of Mormon a). I learn new things

b). my faith grows even more.

DU IV: If you* read this book A. desiring to receive an answer to your prayers

B. and praying with your whole heart to God

1) He will have you feel

that these things are true.

DU V: and I leave my testimony with you* [in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.]
Spanish Testimony #12

(translated)

DU I A: Many times I have doubted if I really had a) a testimony of the Church of Jesus Christ b) and that God lives c) and of the Book of Mormon

B: but a short time ago my doubts about a testimony were clarified.

DU II A: When, thinking about this, I discovered what it was that made me a) read the scriptures b) and pray c) and try to obey the commandments

B: and now I know that special thing that motivates me to do these things is my testimony 1) which I want to share with you.

DU III: [My testimony is] I know that the Book of Mormon is sacred and true.

III a: It was written by the hand of man inspired by God III b: For me it is very special particularly since it has a). made a change in my life b) and in the life of my family and 1) it has made us all very happy.

III c: I love the Book of Mormon

III d: and I give thanks to God for having made it possible that we have it.

DU IV: [In the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.]
The similarities of Spanish and English discourse style discovered in this study are that each language starts with a strong topic or idea, usually stated in the first sentence. In both languages the discourse is developed by using coordinates and subordinates and the discourse tends to develop or support the subject until it arrives at a logical conclusion. On the micro-analysis level, each language uses topic, topic reference and word level lexical chaining, pronouns, ellipsis, emotional content words and literary cohesive devices.

However, there are notable differences. English uses a direct logic approach. The topic sentence is supported by all of the immediately following sentences. While in Spanish many, but not all, of the following sentences are directly relate to the topic. The oblique development of an indirect idea with discourse about that idea occurs in each of the Spanish testimonies as expected in traditional Spanish discourse style. English testimonies have a direct statement-of-fact voice with at least one direct address or imperative to address the reader. The reader is expected to consider each idea as additional weight of evidence. This contrasts with Spanish showing the writer developing a much more personal voice with the reader by addressing the reader with the intimate "tu" form, using many more personal pronouns, as well as referring to such ideas as family, sharing, love, desires, doubts, and thankfulness. The logic is developed from the writers personal experiences and expressed feelings. Each of these Spanish testimonies begins the discourse with a softening phrase leading up to the main idea, and ends the discourse with a prayer form.

Several English testimonies in Table 1 had preferred scores close to the two most preferred. testimonies that were analyzed for this study In contrast, Table 2 scores of the testimonies in Spanish showed that two testimonies had predominant scores. These were two of the four native elicited testimonies. This indicates that the Spanish natives preferred the testimonies written by Spanish natives. It points to a recognition of, and preference to, Spanish discourse style.

There were two other testimonies written by natives, with one receiving hardly any score at all. Why didn't the native speakers more strongly prefer either of the two other native testimonies?

To try to answer this question, these other native Spanish testimonies were also analyzed. They were testimonies #8 and #14. and can be found in Table 9. Upon examination, it is apparent that they are quite
similar to an English direct linear discourse style. Neither testimony is as long as the preferred Spanish testimonies. The absence of the personal voice and intimate, prayer style is notable. One even ends on an imperative statement, as does one of the English counterparts. Both have in common the reference to a Book of Mormon scripture. which is not found in any of the other preferred testimonies. However, this scriptural reference is often used by missionaries when teaching about the Book of Mormon. Spanish testimony #8, which received a higher score by natives, has more references to feelings, (four) and addresses the reader but doesn't use the Spanish "tu" form. Spanish #8 also makes some attempt to ease the reader into the topic, but it very closely resembles English testimony #5 in most of the compared features.

Where did the subjects get this style that does not match the style of the other preferred Spanish testimonies in this study? Both subjects are natives of Mexico and have studied English in the United States for only five months, and as yet are not considered accomplished English speakers. It is unlikely they have learned English discourse style to the extent that it would affect their writing discourse style in Spanish. The fact that these these testimonies were both written by natives who had served a mission for a North American based church may be a clue. They both had two years of training and experience serving in Mexico as missionaries with North American counterparts in a church that was founded in the U.S.A. and which church translates much of its religious material directly from English to Spanish. Is it possible that their testimony discourse style has been modified to some expected norm arising from their experiences in in a church with an English based discourse style? Is it possible that English discourse style is so deeply embedded in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day-Saints that as the church goes world-wide from an English speaking country it is also going world-wide with an imposed English style of rhetorical thinking? These questions remain unanswered by this study. The facts are that these two native speakers had testimonies that were not as highly preferred by other native speakers, and that their discourse style was different compared to the typical preferred Spanish discourse style.
Table #9
Spanish Testimony #14

Es un registro de nuestros antiguos antepasados aproximadamente 600 años A.D. a 421 después de Cristo. Nos relata la visita de Jesucristo a las Americas. Testifico sin ninguna duda que este libro es el mas perfecto, que nos da sabiduria y conocimiento del plan de salvacion, les prometo que si lo leen logran un testimonio tambien, pongan a prueba su fe. (Moroni 10:3-5).

(English translation)

DU I: [The Book of Mormon] is an account of our ancestors about 600 B. C. to 421 A.D.

Ia: It describes the visit of Jesus Christ to the Americas.

Ib: I testify without any doubt a). that this book is the most perfect

b). that it gives us wisdom and

knowledge of the plan of salvation.

Ic: I promise you

that if you read it you will achieve a testimony @

also.

DU II: (Put your faith to the test (Moroni 10:3-5).)
Spanish Testimony #8

Al recibir usted este libro y leerlo podrá darse cuenta de las grandes bendiciones que Nuestro Padre Celestial que nos ha dado a todos nosotros como sus hijos. Este es un libro que habla acerca de nuestros antepasados que vivieron hace mucho tiempo en los Estados. El Libro de Mormón le ayudará a conocer las verdades acerca de Dios y cómo llevar una mejor vida. Comparto con usted mis sentimientos acerca del Libro de Mormón sea sin duda alguna que es verdadero y usted tendrá este mismo sentimiento si usted lee Moroni 10:4-5.

(English translation)

DU I: Upon your receiving this book and reading it, you will take note of the great blessings that Heavenly Father has given to all of us as his children.

Ia: This is a book that talks about our ancestors who lived many years ago in the Americas.

Ib: The Book of Mormon will help you a) to know the truth about God b) and how to have a better life.

Ic. I share with you my feelings about the Book of Mormon.

Id: I know without doubt a) that it is true b) and you will have the same feelings if you read Moroni 10:4-5.
There are similarities in Spanish and English discourse styles, but there are differences as well. It may be useful in further studies to examine the remaining eighteen testimonies to try to determine what differences or similarities exist in comparison to the testimonies analyzed, and how this relates to Spanish and English discourse style. This may further verify, or discount the tentative results of this study. It may be meaningful to look at the testimonies that received no points to see if it can be determined why they were not preferred at all.

It has been shown that native Spanish discourse patterns are preferred and thus recognized by native speakers of Spanish. Discourse style seems to be culture specific, even in a specific form such as a religious testimony. To be accepted and understood as a writer in another language may mean stepping out of one's own cultural rhetorical thinking and writing patterns, and begin to operate in the accepted patterns of the other culture.
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The 1980 translation of the standard works into German differs markedly from earlier translations. In this paper, I will examine a few of the more prominent distinguishing syntactic features and their stylistic component. An examination of the reasons for such radical changes and some general guidelines for future translations will be given at the end.

I will be relying primarily on data from a (Wordcruncher) text file containing the following: 1) the 1980 German translation of the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price, 2) the 1984 revision of the Luther translation of the bible (with apocrypha), 3) the 1981 Uniform Translation of the bible (with apocrypha) Einheitsübersetzung, and 4) the 1982 German "Good News" bible Die Bibel im heutigen Deutsch. I will also make occasional reference to the paraphases of the Old Testament by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig (1955-1968) and the revidierte Elberfelder translation (1985).

1. Fronting

Because of its inflectional endings, word order in German is considerably freer than in English. Elements may be placed at the front of the sentence for emphasis (Duden, Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache p. 719). Example: Gelogen hat er. This emphatic feature is more common in dialect, and spoken and modern journalistic style.

The first example is from 2 Nephi where we have the corresponding passages in Isaiah for comparison. I have underlined the word fronted in both the German and the English.

2 Nephi 13:14: denn abgeweidet habt ihr den Weingarten und das, was ihr den Armen geraubt habt, in euren Häusern.

'for ye have eaten up the vineyard and the spoil of the poor in your houses'

Now let us look at the corresponding passages in Isaiah 3:14 in some other bibles:

Luther 84: ihr habt den Weinberg abgeweidet
EÜ: ihr, ihr habt den Weinberg geplündert
Elb Rev: ihr, ihr habt den Weinberg abgeweidet
BihD: ihr habt meinen Weinberg geplündert
JPSA: It is you who have ravaged the vineyard
Buber: abgeweidet habt ihr den Weinberg

The only ones with fronting of the past participle for emphasis are the German Book of Mormon and Buber. Three translations (EÜ, Elb Rev and JPSA) have emphasized the actor (you, ihr and not the verb (eaten up, abgeweidet, geplündert). The German Book of Mormon leans more heavily on the Hebrewizing paraphrases of Buber/Rosenzweig than it does on the linear order of the English original. Stylistically we must say that it is emphatic and Hebrewizing. Note also the use of Weingarten 'vineyard' in the
Book of Mormon for Weinberg in the other translations, likely chosen for a closer etymological correspondence to English *vine* = *Wein*, *yard* = *garten*.

2 Nephi 13:5: *erdreisten* wird sich der Knabe gegen den Alten und der Geringe gegen den Vornehmen. ‘the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable’


In this example, EÜ, BihD, Luther 84 and Buber/Rosenzweig all have linear/left-to-right word order without fronting. Since this fronted word order appears neither in the English original, nor in other German bible translations, nor in earlier translations of the Book of Mormon, we are forced to conclude that it is a conscious decision on the part of the translator to employ this emphatic and Hebrewizing word order. (Note the choice of verb *erdreisten* is the same in the Book of Mormon and Buber.)

This emphatic fronting extends beyond the verb forms in the preceding examples (see also 2 Nephi 4:35, 8:3, 8:17, 13:10, 13:18, 18:17, 20:6; 23:17, 24:5 and many others, especially but be no means limited to the passages from Isaiah, which seem to imitate Buber/Rosenzweig). In the following example, the reciprocal pronoun is fronted:

Mos 26:31: Und *einander* sollt ihr euch eure Verfehlungen auch vergeben
‘And ye shall also forgive one another your trespasses’

Earlier: Und auch ihr sollt einander eure Übertretungen vergeben

The German translation of the Book of Mormon employs fronting where it is not in the English original, nor in traditional German translations, nor in earlier translations of the Book of Mormon. In some instances, it shares fronting with Buber/Rosenzweig, which I believe to be the inspiration for this practice. These idiosyncratic innovations give an increased emphatic, Hebrewizing flavor to the text that is not justified on the basis of the original.

2. Extraposition (Ausklammerung)

Typically, German employs one or more parts of the predicate to mark the end of a sentence or clause and any element beyond that is outside the verbal frame, called extraposition or *Ausklammerung*. In the following example the underlined prepositional phrase is in extraposition.

Alma 31:15: daß du ein Geist sein wirst *immerdar*
‘and that thou wilt be a spirit forever’

Except for the placement of the auxiliary verb *wirst* ‘wilt’ in the dependent clause, the order in German matches the English word for word. There are some 65 examples of *immerdar* ‘forever’ in the Book of Mormon, and 31 of them occur in extraposition. The word *immerdar* occurs 37 times in the Luther 84 translation but does not occur at all in either in the EÜ or the BihD. The frequent use of extraposited *immerdar* appears to be a stylistic preference used in imitation of the archaic, much freer “Luther” phrasing of the following type:

*daß ich König über Israel sein sollte immerdar*. (L1CHRONIK 28:4)
*so bleibst du wohnen immerdar*. (LPSALM 37:27)

It is indeed an elegant archaic flourish at the end of a phrase but it is without justification in the English original. Of course, EÜ and BihD have other, perfectly good, less archaic ways of expressing the meaning ‘forever.’ Both EÜ and BihD use *für immer* in Psalm 37.

Historically, the occurrence of extraposition in biblical German has decreased from the time of Luther to the present (see “Die Stellung des Verbs in der deutschen Bibelsprache von Luther bis heute,” Zeitschrift für Linguistik 2 (1985):144-154). Consequently, extraposition in sacred texts conveys an archaic flavor.
It is very common in the German Book of Mormon, perhaps in part because of a desire to emulate English word order.

"the gates of hell"

The phrase "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them" in 3 Nephi 11:39 (and 8 additional times in the D&C) is rendered und die Pforten der Hölle werden nicht obsiegen gegen ihn (= den Felsen). It follows the English word exactly, even to the point of placing the prepositional phrase after the verb in extraposition. By examining this verse in Matthew 16:18, we can compare vocabulary and word order in current German bible translations.

Luther: und die Pforten der Hölle sollen sie nicht überwältigen
EU: und die Mächte der Unterwelt werden sie nicht überwältigen
BihD: Kein Feind wird sie vernichten können, nicht einmal der Tod

None of these translations uses the obsolescent obsiegen for 'prevail against' and all of them have the verb in last position without any extrapoosed elements. We might say that this formulation follows English much too slavishly. However, the average German reader will likely not know anything about the English original, but merely feel that it is archaic in both vocabulary and word order. The better course would have been to follow the verse in its traditional German form coming through the Greek New Testament instead of through a circuitous English filter of retranslation back into German. Earlier translations of the BM have the word order and vocabulary of Luther 84 with the exception that they have ihn in place of sie. If the current Book of Mormon had followed either the previously or the currently approved translation of the bible, it would not have used obsiegen nor extraposed the prepositional phrase. We must conclude that the choices were motivated from the English but for some other reason, perhaps to conform to the English or to introduce an archaic element.

"prosper in the land"

The new translation regularly (14 times) has wohl ergehen im Land with the extraposed phrase im Land. Earlier editions often have im Land wohlergehen. Whether or not it should be written together or apart seems to be unclear. The Einheitsübersetzung has them together in 3 Joh 1:2 (wohlergeht) but apart in 1 Makk 8:23 (wohl ergehen). The matter of word order is of greater concern here. The current translation chooses the phrase with extraposition, perhaps for its closeness to English as well as for its archaic word order. It is more understandable and less archaic in modern German without extraposition.

3. Encapsulation

Subordinate clauses (in square brackets in the example below) in German may either be incorporated within the main clause (A) or follow the main clause in extraposition (B):

A: Sie hat das Brot, [das sie in der Schublade gefunden hatte,] gegessen
B: Sie hat das Brot gegessen, [das sie in der Schublade gefunden hatte.]

The longer the subordinate element is, the more desirable it is to bring the elements of the main clause closer together and to move the long, subordinate element into extraposition (Duden, Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache p. 720). This avoids what is called nachklappen, which means something like 'come trailing along after' or 'be included almost as an afterthought.'

Historically, encapsulated subordinate clauses in biblical German have been steadily declining (see "Die Stellung des Verbs in der deutschen Bibelsprache von Luther bis heute," Zeitschrift für Linguistik 2 (1985):144-154). Their use is a hallmark of arcaic, humanistic, bureaucratic, administrative style. English frequently places subordinate clauses within the main clause: He said / that if he had time / he'd do it or He said / he'd do it / if he had time.
Mos 8:11: es gibt niemanden im Land, der imstande ist, die Sprache oder die Gravierungen, [die auf den Platten sind.] zu übersetzen
'and there is no one in the land that is able to interpret the language or the engravings [that are on the plates]'  

The order of the clauses in German does not follow the English ('that are on the plates' is last in English). There is nothing in German grammar that requires this word order. It could have been placed in linear order as in the 1924 translation (und es ist niemand im Lande, der in der Lage wäre, die Sprache oder die Gravierungen zu übersetzen, die auf den Platten stehen). We must conclude that this order was consciously chosen, that is the encapsulation is as a matter of stylistic choice, one which is archaic, administrative, yet somehow seems to have its supporters (see Reiners, *Stilkunst*, p. 109). This is a very prevalent feature of the 1980 translation as opposed to earlier ones.

Two of the most noticeable examples appear in the sacramental prayers:

Moroni 4:3: und seine Gebote[, die er ihnen gegeben hat,] zu halten []

Moroni 5:2: damit sie dir[, o Gott, ewiger Vater,] bezeugen []

Based on some personal stylistic preference, it was felt necessary to introduce these encapsulations, even though they do not follow the order of English and are not at all necessary in German, and even though their introduction into such well known settings represents a sharp break with the traditional formulations.

Alma 16:3: hatten sie die Menschen, [die in der Stadt Ammoniha waren,] vernichtet


Alma 33:19: damit jeder, [der zu ihm aufblickte,] lebe.

The verbal elements vernichtet and befreien pull the verbal elements of the main clause too far apart. According to Reiners (*Stilkunst*, p. 96) a small word like lebe is too weak (zu schwach) to occupy this position at the end of the sentence. They need to be brought forward for the sake of better comprehension (Reiners, *Stilfbibel*, p. 34), where they can be "seen with the naked eye" (Mark Twain).


Sometimes this tendency toward encapsulation results in a pile up of verb forms at the end.

Alma 59: 4

… damit er auch die übrigen Besitzungen und Städte, die ihnen von den Lamaniten weggenommen worden waren, zurückgewinnen könne.

There are several possible reasons for choosing this incorporating (tiefgeschichtet) style. It may be that there was some effort to avoid the straightforward (flachgeschichtet) style of Luther. This doesn't seem a satisfactory explanation when we see that some other elements of Luther's style occur frequently (extraposition, archaic verb forms, phrases, vocabulary). Perhaps a straightforward style was felt to be too prosaic and that is might appropriately be somewhat more elevated. It is indeed more esoteric, belonging to humanistic literary style and also to administrative officialese. It is out of place in the Book of Mormon.
Alma 38:14: ja, anerkenne deine Unwürdigkeit vor Gott zu allen Zeiten.
acknowledge your unworthiness before God at all times

Given the tendency described above to use verbal elements for encapsulation, it is surprising to find an example of anerkennen without separation of the prefix. The handbooks accept this as correct but less common and used primarily in terse style (in prägnanter Ausdrucksweise, Duden, p. 425). Earlier translations use the verb bekennen which does not have to face this problem.

4. Early placement of the negative

The 1980 version of 1 Nephi 19:20 has denn ist nicht der Herr so barmherzig gewesen ... ? (‘for had not the Lord been merciful’). The revision of 1985 recognized that this was not a rhetorical question but a condition and recast the sentence, but retained nicht before der Herr: wäre nicht der Herr so barmherzig gewesen. Again it is possible to construe this word order as a slavish following of the English (had not = ist nicht, wäre nicht). A better alternative also used in earlier translations would be to place the negative in the more normal postion before the predicate adjective or generally closer to the verb (Duden, Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwarts-sprache p. 642): wäre mir der Herr nicht gnädig gewesen. The current translation chose archaic word order either to imitate the order of the English original and/or because it was felt that the previous translation did not accurately reflect the English. The result is an increase in the archaic component of the language.

damit nicht

Mos 2:27: damit ich schuldlos befunden werde und damit nicht euer Blut über mich komme, ‘that I might be found blameless, and that your blood should not come upon me’

The earlier translation has the same construction except that the negative is placed later: damit ... euer Blut nicht über mich komme. This feature is more common in Luther than in either EU or Bıld and this fact indicates to me that it is archaic. German can use the archaic conjunction and the subjunctive to give the flavor of the English without burdening the reader with an archaic word order. The placement of the negative before euer Blut seems to imply a special negation which is not there in the English nor in earlier translations.

auf daB

Mos 1:2: Und er ließ sie in der gesamten Sprache seiner Väter unterweisen, auf daB sie dadurch Männer von Verständnis würden und damit sie von den durch ihre Väter ausgesprochenen Prophezeiungen würßen, die ihnen durch die Hand des Herrn überliefert worden waren.

‘And he caused that they should be taught in all the language of his fathers, that thereby they might become men of understanding; and that they might know concerning the prophecies which were spoken by they mouths of their fathers, which were delivered them by the hand of the Lord’

There are no examples of the conjunction auf daB with the subjunctive in the EÜ, the translation approved by the church, nor in Bıld. It occurs frequently in Luther 84 (68 times) and in the triple combination (33 times, 20 of them in the BM). It is archaic. Note also the variation in the rendering of that: once with auf daB and once with damit.

5. Unusual placement of the reflexive pronoun

Mos 15:27: denn er kann nicht sich selbst leugnen ‘for he cannot deny himself’

It is not clear to me why it could not have been rendered er kann sich selbst nicht leugnen. An earlier translation has weil er sich nicht selbst verleugnen kann.
2 Nephi 8:3: Darin finden Freude sich und Frohsinn 'Joy and gladness shall be found therein'

None of the three current translations of the bible use this unusual word order Isa 51:3. In the German Book of Mormon, there is a tendency to draw the reflexive pronoun toward the verbal element at the end of the clause instead of placing it in the position immediately following the finite verb, where is more appropriately belongs (Reiners, Stilfibel, p. 120).

6. Late placement of the personal pronoun

Typically, pronouns precede nouns in German (see Duden, Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwarts-sprache p. 721).

Omni 1:7: Darum suchte der Herr sie mit großem Strafgericht heim 'Wherefore the Lord did visit them in great judgement'

The German appears to follow the order of the original very closely. Earlier translations have a more typical German word order, placing the smaller, unstressed personal pronoun before the larger, more important noun: Daher strafte sie der Herr mit großen Gerichten.

Alma 5:5: abermals befreite der Herr sie aus der Knechtschaft durch die Macht seines Wortes 'and again the Lord did deliver them out of bondage by the power of his word'

Earlier translations: abermals befreite sie der Herr durch die Macht seines Wortes aus der Knechtschaft

The present translation prefers the less usual, more archaic order.

7. Unnecessarily complex verbal phrases

1 Nephi 1:18: Nachdem mein Vater Lehi vom Herrn so viel Wunderbares gezeigt bekommen hatte 'after the Lord had shown so many marvelous things unto my father Lehi'

Earlier translation: daß mein Vater Lehi, nachdem ihm der Herr so viele wunderbare Dinge gezeigt hatte, ... unter das Volk ging

This phrase could have been translated with active as in English or the regular werden-passive (note earlier translation) which accurately reflect the relationships between the elements in English and avoids the awkward and still colloquial bekommen-passive. See below for a discussion of the avoidance of Dinge.

Alma 42:19

Wäre aber kein Gesetz gegeben gewesen, 'Now, if there was not law given'

Earlier: Wenn nun kein Gesetz wäre

These two past participles in this configuration constitute for me a virtually unforgivable sin of translation.

1 Nephi 19:4: wenn ich einmal nicht mehr sein würde 'after I was gone'
The German translation could be interpreted to mean that 'I would no longer exist' rather than 'I will no longer be upon the earth, be dead.' Earlier translations with nach meinem Tod for 'after I was gone' come closer to the original than the confusing and ambiguous 'when I will no longer be.' In addition, it has the awkward and inelegant phrase sein würde.

1 Nephi 10:3: Nach dem sie zerschlagen worden sein würden
'after they should be destroyed'

This monstrosity is completely unnecessary, it could simply have been rendered zerschlagen (worden) waren.

1 Nephi 11:7: Wenn du den Baum gesehen haben wirst 'after thou hast beheld the tree'
The use of the future perfect is not motivated from the English, nor is it otherwise necessary. Earlier translations have the present perfect (gesehen hast, betrachtet hat). The use of the future perfect is archaic and unnecessary in most cases, as can be seen from the following:

3 Nephi 28:2: nachdem ich zum Vater gegangen sein werde? 'after that I am gone ...'
3 Nephi 28:4: wenn ich zum Vater gegangen sein werde? 'when I am gone ...'

'that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these'

This verse from Matth 6:29 has counterparts in EÜ: war nicht gekleidet, BihD: war ... gekleidet. The traditional formulation in Luther is: gekleidet gewesen ist. Here again the 1980 translation follows a traditional archaic formulation, instead of that in the approved translation (EÜ).

1 Nephi 15:20: Und ich trug ihnen die Worte Jesajas vor, der von der Wiederherstellung der Juden, nämlich des Hauses Israel, geredet hatte und davon, daß sie nach ihrer Wiederherstellung nicht mehr zuschanden werden würden; auch zerstreut würden sie nicht mehr werden.

'And I did rehearse unto them the words of Isaiah, who spake concerning the restoration of the Jews, or of the house of Israel; and after they were restored they should no more be confounded, neither should they be scattered again.'

This verse has the unusual construction of two phonetically very similar forms of werden, the infinitive and the subjunctive form. In the file of three current bibles, there was only one such combination (Luther 1 Könige 16:18). There are some 16 examples in the German Book of Mormon (and an additional 5 in the D&C and 2 in the PGP). These unusual phrases are not necessary. The phrase is the rendition of English should be + past participle which is the subjunctive of the passive. Since in German the auxiliary for the passive and the conditional are the same (werden), there is seldom any need to concatenate both forms, since the one morpheme is capable of filling both functions. Earlier translations eliminated one of the forms (zuschanden würde) or used a different auxiliary (sollten ... zu Schanden werden).

Alma 30:3: bis es erfüllt sein würde 'until it should be fulfilled'
Earlier translation: bis es erfüllt sei
RLDS translation: bis es erfüllt würde

In this example from Alma (but repeated many times throughout the Book of Mormon), the German follows the English phrase slavishly, even to the point of using the auxiliary sein for the passive when it is unclear whether sein or werden should be used. Both earlier translations avoid the more complex phrase, one by using sein and the other by using werden.
In some instances, it seems that this has been recognized, for example in Alma 58:9, where werden is used only once where there is no English model to imitate: so daß wir zerschlagen und völlig vernichtet würden ‘to our overthrow and utter destruction’

The same problem exists in the indicative where the auxiliary for the future and the auxiliary for the passive are the same in German (werden). If one follows the English closely, then one feels the need for both auxiliaries. The Book of Mormon has 25 examples in dependent word order with the two verb forms at the end: (zerstört) werden wird. There are also 63 others where the two auxiliaries are separated: wird ... (zerstört) werden. German can get along quite well with a single auxiliary performing both functions (zerstört werd ‘shall/will be destroyed’) without compromising the meaning.

8. extended adjective constructions

In German, a verbal adjective and its modifiers may be placed in front of the noun they modify (called as extended adjective construction) as well as after (either a relative clause or a participial construction): die in diesem Haus wohnende Familie literally ‘the living in this house family’ or die Familie, die in diesem Haus wohnt ‘the family that lives in this house/the family living in this house’. Such constructions are most common in written, scientific, administrative German and are not considered part of elegant style. Most grammarians and stylists prefer the use of the relative clause. Reiners (Stilfibel, p. 36) recommends not using these Klemmkonstruktionen.

Alma 56:7: das von ihnen getane Gelübde zu brechen
‘to break the covenant which they had made’

Earlier translations have a relative clause which corresponds to the English and which allows the reader to proceed from left to right without any “left-branching”: den Bund zu brechen, den sie gemacht hatten. This is the only example in the Book of Mormon, but for some unknown reason there are six others with gegeben and gewesen in the D&C.

D&C 8:11 A: aus allen diesen alten, verborgen gewesenen Aufzeichnungen empfangen mögest, die heilig sind
‘from all those ancient records which have been hid up, which are sacred’

B: aus allen jenen alten heiligen Berichten erlangen zu können, die verborgen wurden (18th ed)

C: von allen jenen alten alten Urkunden, die verborgen wurden und die heilig sind, erlangen mögest (8th ed)

Example A preposed the more complex of the two following relative clauses, example B preposed the simple one and example C placed both clauses after the noun as in English. BM80 is the least like the original and the most complicated stylistically.

9. ‘thing(s)’

Und vieles mehr schrieb König Mosiah ihnen, (MOSIA 29:33)
‘and many more things did King Mosiah write unto them’

This verse follows the fronting of the English original and also delays the pronoun, possibly to follow English word order more closely.

Let us look at the frequencies of the ubiquitous word thing(s) in some of the scriptural texts:
In both the King James version of the Bible and the Book of Mormon, these words are very common. German Bible translations have somewhere between 8% and 14% as many examples. Particularly noteworthy is the use of the plural in the "Good News" translation (160 times). This can be interpreted as evidence that the word Dinge(n) is part of modern biblical German. Even more striking is the almost complete absence of Dinge(n) in the German translation of the Book of Mormon. It has only slightly more than 1% of the plural forms in the original English text of the Book of Mormon. The singular from does not appear at all in German (English has 545 examples).

In order to give an idea of the avoidance strategy, let us examine the examples from the first chapter of 1 Nephi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>BM80</th>
<th>earlier BM</th>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>the things which</td>
<td>von dem, was</td>
<td>den Dingen</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>many things</td>
<td>vieles</td>
<td>viele Dinge</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>many great and marvelous things</td>
<td>viel GroBes und</td>
<td>viele große und</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wunderbares</td>
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<td>so viel Wunderbares so viele wunderbare Dinge</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>the things which</td>
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<td>wegen der Dinge</td>
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If we argue that the expressions without the word Dinge(n) are more "German" without the word Dinge, we seem to be ignoring the fact that it occurs rather frequently in modern biblical German (160 examples in BihD!). Neither can it be argued that the absence of Dinge follows the English original (hundreds of examples). Earlier editions of the Book of Mormon did not concordantly translate every instance (the three examples in verses 16 and 18 show alternatives for Dingen). It appears to be an idiosyncratic stylistic preference of the translator to systematically eliminate Dinge from the German text. However, the practice of avoiding Dinge(n) flies in the face of the stated principle of following the style of the original English: "I have neither the right nor the license to change the style of the translator (Jospeh Smith)" (in the announcement at the publication of the new translation). This stylistic preference becomes all the more unusual when we see how frequent it is in current biblical German. Its avoidance cannot really be ascribed to "better German" since it is without foundation either in the original or in modern German biblical tradition.
10. Compounds with Herzens-

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
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<th>EÜ</th>
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Totals 14/62 3/10 6/8 6/10

Grand Total

* unique to German Book of Mormon

# in Duden, Universalwörterbuch

& only in the revised Elberfelder translation of the New Testament

The German Book of Mormon has as many different compounds with Herzens- as the three other bibles together and twice as many occurrences altogether. The only one of all the 29 compounds used in the Book of Mormon that is found in any of the three bibles is the word Herzenswunsch which occurs once in EÜ and once in BihD. The Duden, Universalwörterbuch has the following 10 compounds not shown in the table: -angelegenheit, -bedürfnis (geh.), -brecher, -bruder (veraltet), -ergießung (geh., veraltetend), -freund (veraltet), -kind, -sache, -trost (geh.), -wärme (geh.). Duden, Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache has an additional 10 compounds with Herzens- which have since been deleted from the revised one volume edition of the Universalwörterbuch: -band (geh.), -dieb (veraltetend, scherzh.), -erquß (geh. veraltetend), -freundin, -junge (Kosewort), -kind (Kosewort), -neigung (geh.), -not (geh.), -qual (geh.), -verhärtung (geh.).
From the data, one would have to assume that the greater the use of compounds with Herzens-, the more archaic the language or the inverse, the more archaic the language the more such compounds will be used or the closer the compound will be to the Hebrewizing formulation. The German Book of Mormon has a penchant for compounds with Herzens- that occur nowhere else. This is just another pervasive innovative practice that gives an archaic flavor.

If we look at some translations of Psalm 112:7 we get an idea of the diversity in the translations for this type of word.

1. Phrase using the same elements and order as the Hebrew

   Neue-Welt in Geradheit des Herzens
   Elb in Aufrichtigkeit des Herzens
   Buber (Ex 35:35) mit Weisheit des Herzens
   KJ with uprightness of heart

2. Compound of the two nominal elements

   Buber in Herzensgroßsucht
   Book of Mormon in Herzensaufrichtigkeit
   Riessler-Storr vom Herzensgrunde

3. Adverbial genitive composed of an adjective and a noun

   Menge aufrichtigen Herzens

4. Prepositional phrase with adjective and noun

   Elb Rev (8 others) mit/aus aufrichtigem/lauterem/reinem Herzen
   NIV with an upright heart
   JPSA with a sincere heart

5. Simple adjective

   Bruns (3 others) aufrichtig/hartherzig

The list is in descending order: the more literal, more archaic constructions are at the beginning. The more modern ones are toward the end. The more archaic and obsolete the translation, the more the tendency is to use Types 1 and 2. The more modern the translation, the more Types 4 and 5 are used. The Elberfelder translation changed the phrase in this psalm from Type 1 in the older edition (in Aufrichtigkeit des Herzens) to Type 4 in the recent revision (mit aufrichtigem Herzen). Interestingly enough, the Hebrewizing paraphrases of Buber have a ratio of phrases (Type 1) to compounds (Type 2) of about 1:1. The translator of the BM seems to have made a conscious decision to use compounds and has created words that are neither in the German biblical tradition nor in general use in German. If English had been used as the model, Type 1 would have been the model.

The phrase 'the pure in heart' is usually rendered with the prepositional phrase die im Herzen rein sind in all biblical translations known to me. In two verses of the D&C (122:3 and 123:11) the phrase is fused into the compound adjectival noun die Herzensreinen. The tendency to compound was apparently so strong that it has overridden the necessity to use biblical phraseology for established concepts. One is forced to ask why. There are at least the following possibilities: 1) the traditional formulation was forgotten, 2) these two constructions had some additional semantic component that was better expressed in a slightly different way but not noted in previous translations, 3) since they were "remote," that is not is well known verses, they provided an opportunity to launch as a trial balloon.
11. Other compound nouns

In addition to the compounds with Herzens-, there are other compounds that occur (unless otherwise noted) exclusively in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, that is they do not appear in any of the three current German bibles.

Christusgegner 'antichrist'
Christusliebe 'love of Christ' Moroni 7:47
Evangeliumsausschüttung 'dispensation of the Gospel'
Evangeliumsgrundsätze 'principles of the Gospel'
Fruchtgefild 'fruitful field'
Glücklichsein 'happiness'
Gottesanbetung 'worship'
Gottesglaube 'faith of God'
Gottesreich 'kingdom of God'
Gottesstrafen 'punishments of God'
Händeauflagen 'laying on of hands'
Hoher Priester 'High Priest' unique spelling, standard German Hoherpriester
Höllenpein 'pains of hell'
Nächstenliebe 'charity'
Pludermantel 'stomacher' 2 Ne 13:24 = Buber Isaiah 3:24
Richterspruch 'judgement'
Ruhmesliebe 'love of glory' Alma 60:32  RLDS Ruhmbegierde
Sackleinenummurtung 'girding of sackcloth' 2 Ne 13:23 = Buber Isaiah 3:24
Schmerzensdüsternis 'dimness of anguish' 2 Ne 18:22 = Buber Isaiah 8:22
Schuldnerspruch 'condemnation' 10x (2x G)
Sündenvergebung 'forgiveness/remission of sins' 19x in triple
Übeltun 'iniquity'
Wahrworte 'oracles' (D&C only)

An examination of Fruchtgefild 'fruitful field' will pinpoint the problem of whether to give precedence to the English text in the Book of Mormon based on the King James version or to German biblical tradition as evidenced by the parallel passages in Isaiah. BM80 makes a compound by using the noun Frucht for 'fruitful' plus a poetic word Gefild related to 'field'. None of the three bibles uses the alliterative, innovative compound Fruchtgefild in Isaiah 11, 29). Luther 84 has fruchterbares Land, EÜ has Garten and Bihd has Obstgarten. Buber has Garten as well.

In addition to a preference for compound words over prepositional phrases, there is also a distinct preference for words ending in -nis, which as noted do not occur in the three current bibles.

Beschwernis 4x, Besorgnis 9x, Bitternis 5x, Düsternis 2x, Verderbnis 1x, Vorkommnis 1x.

On the surface, the choice of nouns ending in -nis appears to be an imitation of the type of compound common in Buber/Rosenzweig, who consciously chose words that were not tainted with a sacred aura of the Luther tradition.

12. Present Participles - imitation of the English construction

2 Nephi 2:18 sondern werdet wie Gott sein, Gut und Böse erkennend.
'knowing good and evil'
Buber Gen 3:5: erkennend Gut und Böse

This construction condemned by Reiners (Stilkunst, p. 131, "keine losgelöste Mittelwortfügungen") seems
to be borrowed from Buber. Additional examples: wägend (2 Nephi 24:16), wissend (Alma 11:43), verlassend (Moroni 6:4).

13. Word order after und

3 Ne 3:6: ... denn sonst werden sie euch mit dem Schwert heimsuchen und wird Vernichtung über euch kommen.

This single example of "faulty inversion" is archaic and belongs primarily to Amtssprache and Kaufmannssprache. This word order is non-standard or is used in imitation of archaic word order, neither of which is appropriate in the Book of Mormon. It should be und Vernichtung wird.

14. Regional word order

JS-GESCHICHTE 1:28: ich war ja noch so jung und wurde von denjenigen verfolgt, die eigentlich meine Freunde sein und mich wohlwollend behandeln hätten sollen

The order in the German translation occurs most frequently in the South. Standard word order has the "double" infinitive last: wohlwollend hätten behandeln sollen.

15. "And it came to pass that" = Und es begab sich: C-

Early German translations of the Book of Mormon rendered this very frequent formula very literally with a subordinating conjunction and a dependent clause: Und es geschah, daß ... Because the verb in a dependent clause comes at the end, it produced dozens and dozens of subordinate clauses and an involved, convoluted, dependent style. A later solution found in many translations was to leave out this troublesome formula and replace it with some symbol, usually brackets [] to show that it had been left out. This practice not only substantially reduced the involved, dependent style of the German translation but also saved space and money, in the German as well as many other foreign language translations. The current translation of the the Book of Mormon has introduced an elegant solution to the syntactical problem. It simply uses a colon at the end of the formula and then begins anew thereafter. Und es begab sich: Als er las, ...

16. nämlich = "(spake unto me,) saying"

Up to the current translation, this very common formula (English has 233 examples of saying) was rendered in the "Luthern" manner, with a finite verb form (und sprach): Und [] er redete mit mir und sprach: The current solution is not as literal but solves the awkward problem of what to do with saying: Und es begab sich: Er sprach zu mir, nämlich. Though it eliminates the involved, dependent style of previous translations, it presents us with dozens of examples of the bookish, stilted nämlich (Reiners, Stilkunst, p. 133).

17. Misplaced modifier

Mosiah 2:17: that ye may learn that when ye are in the service of your fellow beings ye are only in the service of your God.

1980 BM: Wenn ihr euren Mitmenschen dient, allein dann dient ihr eurem Gott.

Earlier: daß ihr nur im Dienste eures Gottes seid, wenn ihr im Dienste eurer Mitmenschen steht.

The faulty interpretation of English only has lead to a distortion of a very important theological difference: it now says that the only way to serve God is by serving your fellow men. Good theology but poor translation.
The following summary indicates the stylistic flavor of the items discussed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic Feature</th>
<th>Stylistic Component</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. frequent fronting</td>
<td>dialect, spoken, journalistic, Hebrewizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. frequent extraposition</td>
<td>archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. frequent encapsulation</td>
<td>archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. early placement of nicht</td>
<td>archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam it nicht, auf daβ</td>
<td>archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. placement of reflexive</td>
<td>unusual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. late placement of pronouns</td>
<td>unusual, archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. many complex verbal phrases</td>
<td>involved, convoluted style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. extended adj. constructions</td>
<td>scientific, administrative style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 'things' (replaced)</td>
<td>more &quot;German&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. compounds with Herzens-</td>
<td>archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. compounds (Sündenvergebung)</td>
<td>modern, bureaucratic style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compounds in -nis</td>
<td>unusual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. present participles</td>
<td>archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. inversion after und</td>
<td>archaic, non-standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. regional word order</td>
<td>non-standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Und es begab sich: (colon)</td>
<td>straightforward, less subordinate style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 'saying' nämlich</td>
<td>stilted, more administrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. subj. forms (erhöbe, etc)</td>
<td>archaic, stilted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. misplaced modifier</td>
<td>incorrect translation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This discussion has shown that, compared to previous translations, the 1980 German translation of the standard works shows an increase in archaic, elevated, administrative, bureaucratic and unnecessarily involved structures. An examination of the vocabulary has also shown many innovations not found in earlier translations, nor in modern bible translations, for instance: die Andern 'gentiles', ungeachtet 'notwithstanding', mitsammen 'together', greuelreich 'abominable', Abkömmling 'descendant'. The spelling of proper names also has some non-traditional, non-biblical spellings (Sseezrom, Ischmael, all names in -ihach, Zemnarihach, etc). These innovations in the areas of syntax, vocabulary and spelling of proper names have strange, elevated, regional and archaic overtones. Was there an attempt to create a new biblical language that would be a model for years to come?

We are then left with the following important questions, that should be addressed by the translation committee: 1) What should the level of language be in translations of the standard works? 2) How closely should a translation follow the English original? 3) Should it match in style and vocabulary the language of the bible translation approved for a given language? 3) Should it look beyond the English original and the approved translation for models? 4) Should a completely new term be created in a language that has a long, successful biblical tradition?

In my opinion, the 1980 translation of the standard works into German followed the English too closely, not taking into consideration the fact that it too goes back to Greek and Hebrew originals which have a longstanding and distinct tradition in German (or many other modern languages). The result is that spellings, words and constructions were used that are strange in German because they are modeled after the English instead of the German biblical tradition. In a similar fashion, the English original was followed instead of the formulation in the translation approved for German (Einheitsübersetzung). The 1980 translation also looked to the Hebrewizing paraphrases (Buber/ Rosenzweig) for models of fronting and vocabulary selection. In one matter of vocabulary, the 1980 translation introduced an interpretative rendition of the English, not found in any dictionary or German bible translation known to me (die Andern 'gentiles'). The guidelines for translators should include not only some broad outlines but also some specific prohibitions, especially with regard to the spelling of proper names, the use of innovative vocabulary and the use of a more archaic level of language than either the English or the approved translation.
The Spanish verb haber, like the English to have, functions as a personal verb when followed by a past participle to form the perfect tenses. It is also inflected for person and number when followed by the preposition de in a construction that expresses obligation. However, haber serves as an impersonal verb in the third person singular to denote existence. This impersonal use is similar to the English existential construction there is. In this existential use of haber, the verb has traditionally been treated as a transitive verb, with the entity whose existence is pointed out functioning grammatically as the direct object of the haber phrase. However, Spanish speakers have reanalyzed this verb in its existential use as an intransitive verb and at times mark the verb for number and even person (in the first person plural) to agree with the grammatical direct object, which in turn has become the logical subject of the phrase.

The Royal Spanish Academy has described the grammatical personalization of haber, indicating that it may convey existence or presence in much the same way as ser and estar 'to be' and that in some dialects of eastern Spain and in many Spanish-American dialects haber is interpreted as a personal verb. The Academy provides two examples which demonstrate this personalization: hubieron fiestas and habían muchos soldados 'There were parties,' and 'There were many soldiers' (384). In the two examples the verb haber is conjugated in the third person plural to agree with its grammatical direct object. Traditionally this grammatical personalization of the existential haber when it is used with plural objects has been considered incorrect. The third person singular constructions hubo fiestas and había muchos soldados are the preferred structures. The plural nouns fiestas and soldados are considered the grammatical direct objects, and Spanish morphosyntax requires verbs to agree in number and person with subjects, rather than with direct objects.

Rafael Lapesa, in his comprehensive Historia de la lengua española (1980), notes this tendency to personalize the existential haber, claiming that the practice of using the plural forms of this verb with plural direct objects is found extensively in Spanish America. He contends that the direct object is converted into the subject of the sentence causing the verb to agree with the logical subject in number (587).
Lapesa also comments on other forms of personalization of *haber*. In the present indicative tense the form of *haber* for existential use differs from the form used to create the perfect tenses. When *haber* is used to denote existence in the present indicative the Old Spanish adverb *y* 'there' accompanies the third person singular *ha* forming *hay*, which expresses *there is/are*. The form *ha* is reserved for functions other than the existential use. The presence of the *y* in the present indicative form generally prevents the addition of the morpheme *n*, which marks the verb form for the plural. However, Lapesa claims that personalization occurs at times in the present indicative despite the presence of the *y*, allowing Spanish speakers to use *hayn* in phrases that contain plural direct objects (587).

Another form of *haber* personalization that Lapesa describes is the use of the form *habemos*, the first person plural, to denote existence and include the speaker. Lapesa cites as an example *en la clase habemos cuarenta estudiantes* 'There are forty of us students in the class' (587). In this case as well as in the case of *hay*, the form of the verb in its existential use differs from its form in other functions. The modern first person plural of the present indicative of *haber* is *hemos*, the abbreviated form used in the formation of perfect tenses.

Alonso Zamora Vicente, in his chapter on American Spanish in *Dialectologia Española* (1967), contends that the personalization of *haber* has been recorded in "todas las comarcas" [all regions] (435). He also describes the existence of the same practice in the Canary Islands (347).

Bourciez's *Éléments de Linguistique romane* (1956) gives information on the history of this construction. Bourciez points out that an impersonal use of *habere* began at the end of the Latin era and that the verb in this existential use was accompanied by a noun in the accusative. He cites the example *in arca Noe habuit homines* 'there were men in Noah's ark' (252).

Kany, in *American-Spanish Syntax* (1951), provides examples of this use of *haber* from Old Spanish. He argues that there has always been a difference between the psychological concept, "the noun as subject", and the grammatical expression "the noun as object." He further explains, "It is not surprising, therefore, that speakers should often allow the psychological concept to dominate, making the impersonal verb agree with its grammatical object as if it were a grammatical subject" (212).

According to Kany, plural conjugations of *haber* occur with plural direct objects in both spoken and written language in all regions of Spanish America: "In Spanish America . . . [the personalization of the existential *haber*] is extremely common everywhere, in speech and in writing, and the lashing
of grammarians seems to have done little to eradicate it" (212). He writes that it can be heard in the speech of both educated and uneducated speakers: "It can be found side by side with the correct form among cultured folk and in some of the foremost writers" (213). Although he believes that its frequency "naturally differs from country to country" (212), he maintains that it "seems to be particularly widespread in Argentina, Chile, and Central America" (213).

He also points out that this personalization may occur when haber is accompanied by auxiliary verbs such as poder, deber, and soler (212). For example, in the phrase deben haber tres sillas 'there should be three chairs', the auxiliary verb deber is marked for the plural to agree with the grammatical direct object sillas.

Although these linguists have described the occurrence of the agreement between haber and its grammatical direct object in the speech of Spain and Spanish America, apparently no attempt has been made to measure the extent of this practice in native speech. Recent publications of authentic samples of native speech facilitate the analysis of spoken Spanish and provide a basis for the current study of the personalization of the existential haber.

Every use of haber in two complete novels written by Mexican authors and in two volumes of recorded speech of educated and uneducated Mexicans was analyzed. Carlos Fuentes's La muerte de Artemio Cruz (316 pages) and Gustavo Sainz's Gazapo (187 pages) formed the corpus for the study of the written language, and El habla de la ciudad de Mexico (463 pages) and El habla popular de la ciudad de Mexico (446 pages), collections of interviews conducted by members of the Centro de Lingüística Hispánica de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, respectively, served as the bases for the study of the speech of educated and uneducated Mexicans. The volumes examined are part of a corpus assembled at Brigham Young University by Dr. J. Halvor Clegg, under whose direction this project was carried out.

Spanish varies from region to region. Thus the results of the current study, which is based on a corpus of Mexican Spanish, may not be fully representative of the many varieties of the language spoken today. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that Mexican Spanish greatly varies from the Spanish of other areas in its use of haber.

Because personalization of the existential haber has not been observed in certain forms of the verb, conjugations which belong only to the first and second person singular, such as he, has, habré, and habrás, were not included in the study. Forms of the third person singular and plural and special cases of the first person plural were studied in all tenses as were the infinitive and present participle forms.
A total of 3,669 occurrences of *haber* were analyzed. The two novels provided 760 of the verb forms counted; the remaining 2,909 occurrences of *haber* came from the volumes of speech samples. In slightly over half (1,888) of the occurrences, the verb is used with the past participle to form perfect tenses. *Haber* occurs one hundred times in the construction *haber* + *de* + infinitive, a form roughly the equivalent to the English *to be* + infinitive. For example, *yo he de llegar mañana* could be translated into English as 'I am to arrive tomorrow.'

Another common use of this verb, *haber* + *que* + infinitive, is much like the English *one must* + verb. This use of *haber*, which is syntactically related to the existential use, was found 158 times. In this impersonal use the verb occurs only in the third person singular and in the special form *hay* in the present indicative.

The remaining 1,523 occurrences of *haber* in the two novels and in the two volumes of recorded speech are instances of the existential use of *haber*. Of these, 870 are accompanied by singular direct objects, and 653 by plural direct objects. When used with singular direct objects the singular form was consistently employed because, whether the speaker conceives of the object as the subject or the direct object of the verb, the singular is the only appropriate form to use.

The 653 cases of *haber* with a plural direct object are the occurrences of primary interest in the study of the personalization of the existential *haber*. In the texts studied, examples of *haber* with a plural direct object were found in all seven simple tenses. Additionally, the infinitive itself was found with plural objects, both alone and preceded by auxiliary verbs such as *poder*, *deber*, *ir a*, *llegar a*, and *tener que*. Other uses of the existential *haber* in the sample included the present participle *habiendo* by itself or accompanied by *seguir*, and the past participle *habido* used in the present perfect indicative, pluperfect indicative, and pluperfect subjunctive tenses.

By far the most common form of *haber* used with a plural direct object is the special present indicative *hay*. This form occurs with a plural direct object 453 times in the novels and speech samples, accounting for almost seventy percent of the 653 cases examined.

Although Lapesa has written that this present indicative form can be heard with the *n* plural morpheme attached to form *hayn* in the speech of some native Spanish speakers, this word does not occur in the corpus studied. This absence suggests that this personalized existential form is rarely used.

Other conjugations of *haber* do not attach the *y* for existential use; personalization of the existential *haber* is
more likely in those verb forms that do not have the final y. Other than the present indicative hay and the present participle and infinitive without auxiliaries (which cannot be marked for number and occur five times in the sample), haber was found 195 times with plural objects. In seventeen instances (8.7%) the verb is personalized to agree with the grammatical direct object.

The plural forms habian, hubieron, hubieran, habemos, and habiamos are the only conjugations which are personalized in the existential uses. Of these five forms the imperfect indicative habian, which was found six times, is the most common with plural direct objects. First person plural forms of the present indicative and imperfect indicative, habemos and habiamos, which are unique in that they differ not only in number but also in person from the standard existential third person singular and include the speaker in addition to noting existence, were found five and four times respectively. The preterit hubieron and the imperfect subjunctive hubieran occur once each.

Personalization of the impersonal haber was not found in either of the novels. In La muerte de Artemio Cruz the present indicative hay occurs sixteen times with plural objects. Other forms occur a total of fifteen times with plural objects. In Gazapo, hay was found eleven times, habiendo one time, and other forms six times with plural objects. In each case, the singular form of haber is used to note existence of the plural object. Although some authors may employ the personalized existential haber in an attempt to accurately reflect speech, this construction does not appear in the two novels under consideration.

The speech sample of uneducated Mexicans provides ten examples of the personalization phenomenon. Habian occurs three times with plural objects; first person plural forms occur seven times. Examples of the first person plural use include: Habemos dos Irmas 'There are two of us Irmas' (49) and Habemos dos que sabemos trabajar 'There are two of us who know how to work' (89).

Perhaps the most unusual personalization occurs in the speech sample of uneducated Mexicans. A speaker who states, Habiamos como cinco casitas aqui (438), has apparently expanded the semantic bounds of the haber construction beyond the accepted notions of existence (there were) and inclusion of the speaker (of us). The literal translation 'There were some five of us little houses here' does not seem not logical. The speaker seems to be including the idea of possession, with a meaning closely related to the semantic possibilities of the verb's Latin or Old Spanish ancestors.

Personalization occurs in the speech sample of educated Mexicans as well. Habian was found three times with plural
objects; *hubieron* and *hubieran* occur once each. The first person plural *habiamos* is used twice in the speech sample of educated Mexicans: "*Habiamos muchas muchachas,*" and "*Habiamos muchos grupos*" (231).

Disregarding those forms which cannot be personalized (the infinitive and present participle without auxiliaries) and *hay*, personalization of *haber* occurs in ten of sixty-three cases (16%) of plural direct objects in the speech sample of uneducated Mexicans and in seven of 101 cases (7%) in the speech sample of educated Mexicans. Although the personalized existential *haber* is more common in the speech of the uneducated, as Kany asserts it also surfaces in the speech of "cultured folk" (213).

The corpus also provides evidence that this verb is still syntactically classified by speakers as transitive. In several cases speakers supplied a direct object pronoun to accompany *haber*. The occurrence of an object pronoun with the existential *haber* appeared in both volumes of speech samples. For example, in the speech of the educated *Te digo que las hay* 'I am telling you that there are' (29), and in the speech of the uneducated *Tiempo lo hay* 'There is time' (420), the informants have complemented the existential *haber* with the direct object pronouns *las* and *lo*.

The use of accusative pronouns with *haber* demonstrates the syntactic ambivalence of the verb in its existential use. In phrases such as *habian muchos soldados* the speaker treats the logical subject *soldados* as the grammatical subject and thus uses the plural form of the verb. But in sentences such as *tiempo lo hay* the speaker treats the logical subject *tiempo* as the grammatical object and employs an accusative pronoun to complement *haber*. Even when replacing human direct objects with pronouns in this construction, speakers never use subject pronouns to represent the logical subject. Phrases such as *ellas hay* do not appear in the corpus.

Other constructions with *haber* observed in the corpus deserve further study. The use of the partitive with *haber* as in *Hay de cosas* 'There are of (some) things' (Habla 45), and the use of singular nouns to refer to more than one countable item when English speakers would expect a plural noun as in *Habia mucho conejo* 'There was a lot of rabbit' (Habla popular 186), are not thoroughly treated in most grammars.

A diachronic study of the personalization of the existential *haber* would also be useful in determining in what direction this phenomenon is moving. The former semantics of the verb *haber* 'to have', showing possession, seem to be almost completely lost in this existential use, but at present the verb appears to be true to its syntactic roots as an impersonal transitive verb, with writers employing the third person singular of *haber* with plural direct objects, and both
educated and uneducated speakers rarely personalizing the verb in its existential use.

In the corpus examined the grammatical personalization of the existential haber is rare. This finding is at odds with descriptions such as Kany's that "this faulty agreement" is "extremely common everywhere" in Spanish America (212). There are three possible explanations for the difference between the statements of the linguists cited and the findings of this study. First, the speech samples may not be transcribed accurately. The transcribers may not have recorded all the word-final n's that would have demonstrated personalization. However, the speech samples were transcribed by linguists who must have been aware of this construction. The samples are filled with transcriptions of substandard grammar and pronunciation. Furthermore, examples of the existential haber personalization occur in the samples. There is no reason to believe that the transcribers recorded the final n in some cases and not in others. Second, speakers from Mexico City may not be representative of Spanish America in their use of this particular construction. However, as stated above, there is no known reason for believing that Mexican use of haber is unusual. Third, the linguists cited may have exaggerated the extent of this personalization. While others have observed and commented on this phenomenon, this project is the first attempt to quantify the extent of existential haber personalization. It may serve as a basis for comparison with speech and writing of other regions and help determine whether speakers in Mexico differ from those of other regions in this regard or whether personalization is equally rare in all of the Spanish-speaking world.
WORKS CITED


THE PHONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF THE SPANISH ACCENT

Michael P. Fuller
J. Halvor Clegg

I. INTRODUCTION

We are all aware of the phenomenon of word stress, or accent. Accent gives rhythm to a language. Poets achieve this in their verse by carefully choosing the right combination of words. As Anne Cutler explained, we use accent for the mere identification of words. Accent patterns for each word are stored in our brain and are retrieved to aid in identifying a word when spoken (1984, 89). Indeed, Bond found that in elliptic speech, stressed vowels are altered, rendering the language unintelligible (1981, 89). Accent is necessary simply to communicate.

Accent may be studied under the four areas of linguistics: morphology, semantics, syntax and phonology. In morphology, one studies how word forms affect accent placement. Semantics studies how the meaning of a word changes with regards to accent. Where accents occur according to word order falls under syntax, and the actual production and perception of the accentual sound is studied in phonology.

This paper will analyze the phonological components of the Spanish accent and their relative importance. First a discussion of the Visi-Pitch will be given (a machine that measures the acoustical components of the sound wave). Next, the Spanish accent will be defined phonologically by the acoustical components of the sound wave. This will be followed by a review of the role that these components play in other languages. An analysis of the three studies done on the Spanish accent will ensue, followed by a discussion of this experiment. A conclusion section will close the paper.

II. THE ANALYSIS OF THE SOUND WAVE

The Visi-Pitch

Sound travels in complex waves made up of a fundamental frequency and harmonics. The three main features of the sound wave are its duration, intensity and tone. The development of acoustic measurement devices has greatly enhanced experimental phonology. Linguists can now make
exact measurements of these components. The Visi-pitch makes a graph of these three features on a chart recording. From these graphs, accurate readings can be taken. Figure 1 contains a picture of a chart recording of the utterance Habito en una pequeña casa en Provo.

Figure 1. A chart recording of the utterance Habito en una pequeña casa en Provo.

Analyzing the Elements of Sound with the Visi-pitch

Tone. Tone, or pitch, is determined by the frequency of the sound wave. This is usually measured in cycles per second (Hz). Since sound is a compound wave, it is the sum of multiple single waves. When single waves overlap they form zones of resonance or formants. The formant of most importance in the determination of tone is the first one, which is referred to as the fundamental frequency or $F_0$.

The Visi-pitch plots the fundamental frequency. The $F_0$ for the vowels can be found from the peaks on the graph. The chart for /o/ is shown and the frequency given in Figure 2 on the following page.

Duration. Duration is determined by the length of the sound wave. On the chart recording, duration is measured on the horizontal axis by the length of the frequency band. The machine also makes a separately-clocked mark every second allowing duration to be calculated in milliseconds. In Figure 3, 2.2 seconds were recorded on 220 mm of paper. Therefore, each millimeter represents .01 second, or 10 milliseconds (msec). The duration is calculated for the /o/ and is found in Figure 3 on the following page.
Figure 2. Chart recording showing the frequency of the vowel /o/ = 270 Hz. in the utterance Habito en una pequeña casa en Provo.

Figure 3. Chart recording showing the duration of the vowel /o/ = .12 sec. in the utterance Habito en una pequeña casa en Provo.

Intensity. The Visi-pitch can also produce an intensity line on the lower scale of the chart recording as seen in Figure 4. Intensity can be calculated in decibels from this in the same way by measuring the amplitude of the peak on the chart. In Figure 4 on the following page, intensity for the vowel /o/ is measured by the amplitude of the graph.
III. A PHONOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF THE SPANISH ACCENT

Acoustically, the Spanish accent is simply the intensification of the acoustical components of the sound wave. Intensity, duration and tone all play a role in its production and perception. The role of duration and intensity have been understood since the 1950’s with the studies of Tomás Navarro, who is considered to be the father of Spanish phonetics. Although tone is known to be important in the production and perception of accent, the manner in which it functions is still unclear.

The Role of Intensity

In 1957 Tomás Navarro published Manual de pronunciación española. He discusses accent in the chapter entitled "intensity." According to Navarro, intensity is the primary indicator of accent. In his book he wrote that the Spanish ear is evidently more susceptible to the modifications of the accent of intensity than any other phonetic element (183). Navarro is also quoted saying that by defining accent, we should characterize it by greater intensity, and if by pronouncing it with greater intensity a prolongation or elevation of tone is noticed, these are accidental circumstances that in no way modify the nature of the expiratory accent (Bolinger 1961, 31). The results of subsequent studies (Bolinger 1961; Contreras 1963; Quilis 1970), however, show intensity to be the least important element.
The Role of Duration

Navarro notes that accented vowels are longer than unaccented vowels (1957, 206). Later, studies done by Clegg and Fails confirm Navarro’s observations. Clegg and Fails recorded six informants and analyzed their speech with a Sona-graph. They found accented syllables to be 50% longer than unaccented syllables in non-final positions, and in final positions, accented syllables were 35% longer (1987, 74-75). Their results are shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1. Averages of Syllable Length in Non-final Phonological Positions. Pretonic is before the accented syllable. Tonic is the accented syllable. Post-tonic is after the accented syllable. Ms. are milliseconds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Pretonic</th>
<th>Tonic</th>
<th>Post-tonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>140 ms</td>
<td>130 ms</td>
<td>219 ms</td>
<td>146 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>125 ms</td>
<td>114 ms</td>
<td>164 ms</td>
<td>130 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>123 ms</td>
<td>113 ms</td>
<td>208 ms</td>
<td>122 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>123 ms</td>
<td>116 ms</td>
<td>181 ms</td>
<td>131 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>122 ms</td>
<td>106 ms</td>
<td>160 ms</td>
<td>127 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>127 ms</td>
<td>116 ms</td>
<td>187 ms</td>
<td>131 ms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Clegg and Fails 1987, 73)

Table 2. Averages of Syllable Length in Final Phonological Positions. Open syllables end in a vowel. Closed syllables end in a consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Stressed Open</th>
<th>Stressed Closed</th>
<th>Unstressed Open</th>
<th>Unstressed Closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>359 ms</td>
<td>359 ms</td>
<td>249 ms</td>
<td>323 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>389 ms</td>
<td>394 ms</td>
<td>260 ms</td>
<td>291 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>357 ms</td>
<td>441 ms</td>
<td>260 ms</td>
<td>318 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>363 ms</td>
<td>415 ms</td>
<td>268 ms</td>
<td>281 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>336 ms</td>
<td>420 ms</td>
<td>275 ms</td>
<td>317 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>361 ms</td>
<td>406 ms</td>
<td>262 ms</td>
<td>306 ms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Clegg and Fails 1987, 73)

The Role of Tone

Although Navarro states that ascendent intonational movement often coincides with accented syllables and that descendent movement coincides with unaccented ones (1957, 213), he maintains that tone is purely an intonational feature and is divorced from the accentual pattern of the word (1957, 216). Later studies, however, conclude that tone is a feature of both
intonation and accent, and that it is the primary indicator of word stress. The first to propose this idea was Bolinger, in 1961. He hypothesized that tone carries out the principle role of accent, and that what is important is not necessarily an elevation of tone from the average, but rather a departure from it, whether it be an ascendent or a descendent movement (35). Subsequent studies (Contreras 1963; Quilis 1970; Casas 1980) all agree that tone plays the primary role in accent production and perception. A detailed analysis of these studies will be given in a later section.

Although all of the above studies have similar results, they do not adequately challenge the assumption that tone is solely an intonational feature. Bolinger dismisses it simply by saying that one of the lessons of modern acoustics is that any aspect of the sound wave can function in more than one sphere (1961, 41). As an example, he shows that even though two sentences may have the same intonational pattern, one may have two accents and another may have four. See figure 5 below. His argument is good, but he does not consider specific examples (such as sentence final syllables) where tone and intensity vary considerably.

![Figure 5. Identical Intonational Patterns for Two Sentences.](Adapted from Bolinger 1961, 41)

A thesis paper done in 1979 by Relva Whetten has findings that can be applied to the present argument. She was studying the intonational patterns of speakers of Spanish in the state of Jalisco, Mexico. She found that although two different people use the same intonational ending in a given sentence, the F0 on the last accented vowel varied. One informant might raise the F0 while another would lower it. This finding indicates that F0 is not solely an intonational feature, but functions in the production of the accent as well. Because of the incompleteness of the previous studies and the superior accuracy of the Visi-pitch, further work in this area is needed.
IV. THE ROLE OF THE ELEMENTS OF ACCENT IN OTHER LANGUAGES

The Importance of the Study of Other Languages

Although the many languages in the world differ in various ways, all of their accentual systems feature at least one of the acoustical components of the sound wave. Depending on the language, there are many parallels between one accentual system and another. In fact, Lea reports that listeners to a foreign language can successfully identify most stressed syllables in that foreign language. He presumes that they cannot use the wording, syntax or semantics to guess at stress, but instead they successfully use the acoustic data to determine the placement of accent (1977, 69). An understanding of how intensity, duration, and tone function in other languages can shed additional light on how they function in Spanish.

The Role of Intensity

Although intensity is seen to be a cue for stress in the Mohawk and Oneida languages (Chafe 1977) and for English (Fry 1958) and Italian (Bertinetto 1985), overall, it is not recognized as a prominent universal indicator of stress. In 1958, Fry found that in English, intensity is less important than both duration and tone (151). Bertinetto notes that in Italian, a falling intonation occurs in the utterance of isolated words, greatly hindering the use of intensity as a prominent cue for stress (1985, 394). Lea also makes an important observation. He points out, "Stressed vowels have higher intensities. However, each vowel category has its own 'intrinsic intensity' so that a stressed /i/ may be less intense than an unstressed /a/" (1977, 97). This statement is significant because the majority of the studies done comparing intensity to either duration or tone have only taken into account the absolute intensity of the vowels and not the difference between the measured intensity and the intrinsic intensity.

The Role of Duration

Duration has varying roles in different languages. As mentioned above, it is an important cue for stress in English (Fry 1958, 126; Fox 1987, 1). It is also important in the Yuman (Langdon 1977, 246) and Serbo-Croatian languages (Inkelas 1977, 227). (Yuman is an American Indian language and Serbo-Croatian is a Slavic language.) Studies by Bertinetto show that duration is the most important indicator of stress in Italian (1985, 394), and Quilis likewise notes that Delattre finds it to be of equal importance in French (1970, 56).
The Role of Tone

Tone comes close to being a universal cue for stress. Early experiments in Polish (Jassem 1965) and in English (Fry 1958) found it to be the most important element in the perception of stress. A high tone is important in accent perception in Swedish (Bailey 1988, 104), Yuman (Langdon 1977, 250), Mohawk and Oneida (Chafe 1977, 180), Kitandu (a Kikongo African group language)(Goldsmith 1987, 98), and English, where it is an all or none principle (Fry 1958, 151).

The rise and fall of tone is the most common indicator of stress. For English, Lea points out that not only do listeners perceive stress to be associated with vowels having a rising $F_0$ contour, but they also perceive those vowels to be longer than they really are (1977, 83,95). For certain word endings in Mohawk and Oneida, a falling pitch has developed (Chafe 1977, 180), and in Creek (a Muskogean language of the American Indians that lived in Alabama), successive accents in a multiply accented word are characterized by a downward shift in tone (Haas 1977, 196). Similarly in Hindi, stressed syllables generally have a rising pitch, and the next syllable will have a falling pitch. At times stressed syllables in this language will not have a rising pitch, but the next syllable will still have a falling pitch (Ohala 1977, 332). In Dutch, the primary stress is indicated by a rising tone and secondary stress by a falling tone (Van Heuven 1987, 1). Also in Serbo-Croatian there are four classes of accent, two of which are distinguished by falling and rising tones (Inkelas 1988, 227). Lastly, in Japanese, word accent is signaled by a pitch that is always downward (Kawakami 1977, 41).

There are only a few languages in which tone does not play an important role in accentual perception. One is in Welsh. Williams remarks that pitch prominence alone is no clue to stress but functions only in terms of recognizing intonational patterns (1985, 381). Likewise in Italian, the $F_0$ is observed to function in the same way.

These exceptions question whether tone is only an intonational feature and not directly related to accentual perception and production. In his study of Hindi, Jones says, "pitch change is related to the sentence intonation of the utterance, since an isolated word is a very short sentence with its own intonation pattern" (1971, 74). Kawakami observes the same in Japanese. He asserts that a pitch rise is not characteristic of the word as such, but of the phrase as an intonational feature (1977, 41). In most cases, the
intonational pattern is superimposed onto the accentual pattern of the word. This reinforces the perception of the accent. In the case of Italian, though, Bertinetto found in his experiment that when changes occurred in the F₀, the listeners interpreted them as a manifestation of intonation, not stress (1985, 394-395). It appears that in positions where intonational and accentual patterns do not coincide, tone is a function of intonation only.

V. ANALYSIS OF STUDIES DONE IN SPANISH

Since Bolinger’s study in 1961, only a few studies have been made on the Spanish accent. In this section the experiments of Bolinger, Contreras and Quilis will be discussed.

Bolinger’s Study

As was previously mentioned, Bolinger asserts that a departure from the average tonal line of a phrase indicates word stress. He also proposes to show that tone is a stronger accentual cue than intensity. To test his theories he performs three experiments.

Experiment 1. His first experiment is to show that a downward shift in tone indicates accent. He recorded the sentence "¿sabes el número?" and analyzed it on a Sona-graph. Its intonational curve is given below in Figure 6.

The accent in "número" is on the /ú/. Bolinger maintains that the sharp drop in tone is the cue to the accent. In the word "sabes" the accent falls on the /a/. There is a sharp rise and fall of tone, however, over the /e/. According to his hypothesis, this is where the accent should have been located. Also, he used just one sentence and only one recording of it to justify his claims. Recordings of several different people would have given more weight to his results.
Experiment 2. This experiment was designed to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of intensity as a stress indicator. Bolinger analyzed four sentences and compared the intensity values of similar vowels. For example, in the sentence "¿puede mandarme una taza de café?" (accented vowels are underlined), he finds that the /é/ in "café" is less intense than the /e/ in "de." Except for the fact that he only used one recording and used the sentence final syllables, which diminish in intensity universally, these results are much more justifiable than those of the previous experiment.

Experiment 3. Lastly, Bolinger set up an experiment to compare the strengths of tone and intensity as stress indicators. He used the sentence "Pepe fue al teatro ayer" (Peter went to the theater yesterday) and three other sentences. He placed additional tone and intensity on one of the words of the sentence and made several recordings, using different combinations. Using the English equivalent, this is shown for two possible combinations in Figure 7. Subjects were asked to indicate which of the following sentences best described the implication of the original sentence.

1. It was Peter who went, not another.
2. Peter went to the theater, not the park.
3. Peter went yesterday, not the day before.

This assumes that someone who marks the first sentence perceives the predominant stress as being on the word "Peter." The results showed that most of the listeners perceived the word with the increased tone as the one that was stressed. This experiment assumes that sentence stress behaves the same as word stress. This may be true, but Bolinger has not demonstrated that assumption. Each of the three words tested has an accent. Unless Bolinger can show equivalence between word stress and sentence stress, the experiment is inappropriate for his purposes.
Summary. Bolinger's conclusions are in accordance with experiments done in other languages such as English (Fry 1958), but because care was not taken in setting up his experiments, the only possible conclusion that can be drawn is that tone is a more important cue for stress than intensity.

Contreras' Study

The next study done on the Spanish accent was by Heles Contreras. This study was a continuation of Bolinger's earlier study. Contreras proposed to verify Bolinger's work and determine the relative importance of duration and intensity as secondary stress indicators. He performed three experiments to obtain his results.

Experiment 1. In the first test, Contreras recorded three items: /papa/, /paro/ and /pego/. Each can represent one of two words depending on the placement of the accent. In each, different combinations of tone, intensity, and duration were used. These combinations were made by ear. He comments that it would have been better to use a speech synthesizer to vary the elements mechanically, but he did not have such equipment (1963, 223). These recordings were then played to three listeners who indicated where they perceived the accent to fall. Each item was recorded four times, so, in total, 12 responses to each combination were obtained.

Four recordings were made where the tone was held constant and the duration and intensity favored the first syllable. This should have been the control set, and all of the listeners should have perceived the accent to fall on the first syllable. However, of these four, two were favored by 67% and another by only 58%. One of the reasons why he was not able to achieve good results is because the items were recorded in isolation. Later in his paper, Contreras quotes Bolinger saying that accent belongs to the sentence, not the word (1963, 232). If this is the case, he should have placed each item within a sentence. Furthermore, he also concludes that a sequence with a strong fall in tone from the first syllable to the second is ambiguous, and that the accented syllable will be the one favored by the other two factors (duration and intensity)(229). He later contradicts this statement by saying that accent is primarily perceived through ascendent and descendent tones. Lastly, Contreras also concludes that duration is a more important stress indicator than intensity.

Experiment 2. In the second experiment, Contreras recorded naturally spoken sentences and isolated words that could change meaning by shifting the accent from one syllable to another. These words were then analyzed
and played to three listeners. In several cases, the listeners did not perceive the accent to fall on the syllable on which initially intended to be. Contreras dismisses these results saying that the words were isolated out of context. This is true for all words, not just those that were the exceptions. If the exceptions should be dismissed on those grounds, then all of the words should be. On top of this, he reports that the recordings were not very clear, making it even harder for the listeners to make correct perceptions.

Experiment 3. Because of the confusing results obtained from experiment two, Contreras performed yet another experiment. In this one, he used the same kinds of words as before, but now he placed them in a sentence. Each sentence was recorded three times. Once, the accent was placed on the first syllable of the given word, and another time it was placed on the second. Lastly, both syllables were accented. He also used 35 listeners instead of just three.

The results from this test are much more conclusive. Tone is determined to be of greatest importance, then duration, followed by intensity. However, there was never a case where duration and intensity opposed each other without the influence of tone, so the relative importance of duration and intensity is still to be determined.

Quilis' Study

Methods. In many ways, the experiment performed by Quilis was similar to the third one performed by Contreras. Quilis was much more careful, however, in setting his up. He used items that could be interpreted in three different ways. For example:

/ábito/- custom or habit  
/abitó/- I inhabit  
/abitó/- he inhabited

He used these words in three different ways: isolated, in the middle of a sentence, and at the end of a sentence. He recorded five different speakers. Each recording was analyzed to determine the fundamental tone in Hz, the duration of the vowels expressed in tenths of a second, the maximum value of intensity expressed in db, and the area of intensity expressed in mm². The results of five speakers were averaged for each item.

Results. In the 105 cases that were examined, the fundamental tone was at a maximum on the accented vowel in 85 of them. It was also seen to be the sole
indicator of stress in 5 cases. Of the 24 cases where $F_0$ was not at a maximum, it was of equal value to another vowel in 16 cases. Of the remaining eight cases, all of them departed from their tonal configuration in accordance to Bolinger’s hypothesis (1961, 35).

Duration was at a maximum on the accented vowel in 69 cases and was a sole indicator in three of those. Quilis also concludes that the most important stress indicator is the fundamental frequency. The stress can be indicated from a maximum value of tone, from its departure from the tonal configuration of the word, or from a combination of both. Finally, he concludes that duration is the second most important component and that the maximum value of intensity and the area of intensity had little effect on the production of accent.

Comments. Because of the careful design of the experiment, Quilis’ results are much more conclusive than those from the other two studies. However, the experiment did not study how listeners perceive the intended accents. Such data would have reinforced his results by making sure that the intended accent is also the perceived one. He also averaged the results of the recorded words in isolation, in the middle of a sentence, and at the end of a sentence. It would have been useful to see how intonational factors would have effected the various $F_0$ values.

Our Study

Methods. Since Quilis’ study in 1970, little research has been done on the Spanish accent. This study examines the relationship between tone as an accentual feature and tone as an intonational feature. The effect that this relationship has on duration and intensity was also monitored.

To examine this relationship a list of sentences was designed using many of the same words that Quilis used in his study, such as *habito/habité* (See Appendix I). The recorded sentences all had falling final intonational groups. The words were placed in different positions within the sentences to test for possible contrasts in the frequency of the stressed vowel. Sentences were also created including words with unaccented as well as accented vowels, which were categorized according to their relationship within the stressed syllable (See Appendix II).

The sentences were read by three sociolinguistically equivalent Spanish speakers from Chihuahua, Mexico. The informants were recorded in the College of Humanities anechoic studio at Brigham Young University. The recordings were evaluated on the Visi-Pitch screen and calibrator, as well as
permanently recorded on a chart recorder. These evaluations provided quantified results for the $F_p$ in hertz, intensity in decibels, and duration in milliseconds.

**Results.** The results are given in chart form, by acoustic phenomenon. Frequency is given in hertz, intensity in decibels, and duration in milliseconds. Each chart is divided into sections according to stress (tonic/atonic) and position. Positions are final and non-final. The non-final is an average of all positions except final.

Our results show that placement of the word in the sentence does not affect the frequency, intensity nor duration of the segment unless it occurs in final position. In final, unstressed position, the segment’s frequency and intensity are much lower than the average value in non-final positions, but its duration remained the same.

**Frequency in Hertz**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Atonic Non-Final</th>
<th>Tonic Non-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Intensity in Decibels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Atonic Non-Final</th>
<th>Tonic Non-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In final stressed position, frequency is observed to be slightly higher, intensity somewhat lower, and duration much longer than their average values in non-final positions. This raise in frequency is significant because those syllables occurred at the end of a falling intonational pattern. If the intonational and accentual patterns of a word were divorced, as suggested by Navarro, the frequency of final stressed vowels should fall. Our studies suggest that tone functions both in intonation and in accent.

In most languages, intensity falls in final position. In our results, the intensity in stressed final position is 116% greater than in unstressed final position. While the fall in unstressed final position may be considered normal, the relative lack of fall in stressed position indicates that intensity plays a much greater role in this position. The observed duration for stressed and unstressed vowels generally corroborates earlier findings by Clegg and Fails. The most significant observations were made in stressed final positions. On average, such vowels were 37% longer than stressed vowels in non-final position and 98% longer than unstressed vowels in the same position. These findings suggest that duration plays a greater role in accent in final position than non-final.

It is seen then, that except in final position, intonational and accentual patterns tend to coincide and reinforce each other. When these two patterns conflict, as in the final position, both intensity and duration have an enhanced role in the production of accent. Another important observation is that the absolute value of frequency was not seen to be a strong indicator of accent. No strong correlation between high frequency values and stressed syllables was observed. This finding contradicts the earlier studies. Additional experimentation is necessary to verify those results.
VI. CONCLUSIONS

Accent is a part of our basic communication. Phonologically it is composed of the acoustic elements of the sound wave: tone, intensity and duration. These elements can be analyzed by the Visi-pitch. A study of other languages reveals that tone is the predominant factor in the perception of stress. However, the results from studies on Italian and Welsh stress suggest that tone is only a feature of intonation and not accent. Like most languages, the intonational and accentual patterns in Spanish coincide. Because of this, it is difficult to determine whether tone functions solely in intonation or if it also functions in word stress. The results obtained by Whetten suggest that tone can function independently as an accentual cue.

Because of poor experimentation, the only valid result that can be obtained from the Bolinger and Contreras studies is that tone is more important than intensity and duration in Spanish word stress. Of greatest value is Bolinger’s hypothesis on the function of tone, because it provides a foundation for further experimentation. Quilis’ conclusions indicate that this hypothesis is valid. His conclusions also suggest that duration is a more important accentual factor than intensity.

Our study sheds additional light on the relationship between accentual and intonational patterns. In most cases, these two patterns coincide, but in final stressed positions in a sentence with a falling intonational pattern, they do not. In such positions, the frequency of stressed vowels maintained the same value as those in non-final positions. The frequency of nonstressed vowels in final position, however, fell. Therefore, frequency is seen to function in both accent and intonation.

The relationships shown in this study point out that in final stressed position within a falling intonational pattern, duration is of most importance, secondly intensity, and lastly frequency.
WORKS CITED


Contreras, Heles. (1963) "Sobre el acento en español." Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Santiago Chile. 15: 223-237.


Appendix I

A list of the sentences used in the experiment:

1. Habito en una pequeña casa en Provo.
2. Fijaron la fecha del ataque.
3. --¡Dáselo, le dije al niño, gritándole.
4. Habitó en una pequeña casa en Provo.
5. Su compañero nuevo partió diciendo, --cuídense del nuevo tatú.
6. El hábito no le permitía hacerlo.
7. "Oda a una tortuga" fue el título del poema que presenté.
8. Sé que el hábito le sirvió.
9. No sé en qué década se hará.
10. No le permitía hacerlo el hábito.
11. Sé que habito en una pequeña casa.
12. Se capturó al jefe de la tribu.
13. Sé que habitó en una pequeña casa por un año.
14. Ocuparon el pueblo durante aquella época y me rendí
15. Tú eres un abogado distinguidísimo.
16. Lo raro es que no sé dónde habitó.
17. Íbamos a ver a los otros en un taxi.
18. Lo raro es que no sé dónde habitó.
Appendix II

A list of the syllables studied in the experiment. Each syllable is indicated in bold in the words below which were read in the sentences in Appendix I.

### ATONIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Pretonic</th>
<th>Posttonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i habitó</td>
<td>i hábito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e pequeña</td>
<td>e cuidese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a habitó</td>
<td>a década</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o abogado</td>
<td>o época</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u capturó</td>
<td>u título</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i taxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ataque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a casa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o hábito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u tribu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TONIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i Íbamos</td>
<td>i habito</td>
<td>i rendí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Sé</td>
<td>e sé</td>
<td>e presenté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Dáselo</td>
<td>a abogado</td>
<td>a hará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Oda</td>
<td>o otros</td>
<td>o hábitó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u Tú</td>
<td>u tortuga</td>
<td>u tatú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Terms of Address Among Latter-day Saints

BRIAN J. FOSS

Growing up as a Mormon in California, I was different from my friends. They knew that I went to church three times each Sunday, that I didn't drink coffee, and that I didn't swim on the Sabbath. But they didn't know about my Latter-day Saint address system. At a very early age I learned to substitute Brother or Sister for Mr. or Mrs when addressing people at church. Although I wasn't sure about the rationale behind my religious address system, I was fairly adept at code shifting when I moved from secular settings to religious settings and back again.

However, sometimes my code shifting faltered. For example, at eight years of age I worried about what I should call my little league baseball coach, a man who happened also to be a Mormon. Brother Thorup? Mr. Thorup? Neither seemed right. I finally found the best answer: Coach. Despite such happy solutions, occasionally my religious training slipped out. One day in fourth grade I raised my hand and said, "Sister Bondietti, I—" My mistake made me flush. Ms. Bondietti (this was early '70s; Ms. was in vogue) simply smiled and asked me to continue my question.

The LDS linguistic experience in Utah, where over 50% of the population is LDS, is different—and perhaps more complex—from that for a California Mormon. The Utah Mormons who form a congregation live very close to each other, sometimes within a few blocks. And like people in any society, Utah Mormons go to school with each other, work for each other, and compete against each other. Despite the secularization of what the Mormon pioneers hoped would be a religious utopia, today's Latter-day Saints, in and out of Utah, have maintained their address system, calling other members of the church by special titles like Brother Smith and Sister Young. This is one reason that the LDS speech community makes for an interesting study in terms of address.
The other reason terms of address are worthy of study in Utah Mormons is that Utah Mormons speak English, a language which requires that terms of address carry an added burden. More than simple attention-getters, terms of address in English indicate the relationship between the dyad—the two people talking—as well as marking the nature of the situation. In many other languages, the intrinsic grammatical features, such as pronouns or verb tenses, perform these functions. In Spanish one might say, "Como esta Usted?" or "Como estas?" depending on the relationship the speakers have, either formal or familiar. French, Japanese, and other languages have similar linguistic markers of power and deference, solidarity and intimacy. In such languages, very little communication happens without defining the speaker-listener relationship. Avoiding address forms in pronominal systems like French or Russian is impossible (Ervin-Tripp "Language" 320). Brown and Gilman write: "In face-to-face address [in French] we can usually avoid the use of any name or title but not so easily the use of a pronoun. Even if the pronoun can be avoided, it will be implicit in the inflection of the verb" (270). Brown and Ford add: "In French, for example, a speaker must choose between two second person singular pronouns; his addressees may be addressed as tu or as vous. In German the comparable forms are du and Sie; in Italian tu and Lei" (380).

Although thou and ye allowed some sort of distinction from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, modern English usage has no equivalent forms. Today's Americans can speak to each other without having to specifically define the dyad relationship. In theory an American could go on this way for years, using no address form and choosing innocuous markers of relative power and solidarity (like tone of voice and diction)—that is, until one member of the dyad lands in a situation that requires a term of address. Then the person must make a decision that has social and often political implications.
It is these two factors—the traditional use of *brother* and *sister* in LDS circles and the lack of intrinsic status markers in modern English—that have led me to my research question: Among Latter-day Saints, who uses what address form to whom, and in what circumstances?
Three studies have pioneered the scholarship in terms of address. The first, a study by Brown and Gilman in 1960, shows how European languages have used terms of T and V, familiar and formal, in the second-person verbs and pronouns. When analyzing pronoun uses of T or V, Brown and Gilman define two pivotal terms: *power* and *solidarity*. These terms have become standard in the literature.

According to the Brown and Gilman study, power is evidenced by age, status, and other attributes: "There are many bases of power—physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within the family" (255). On the other hand, solidarity is a function of familiarity, like-mindedness, and intimacy. Solidarity is usually determined "by such things as political membership, family, religion, profession, sex, and birthplace" ("Eye color does not ordinarily matter nor does shoe size") (258).

Brown and Gilman show that historically the choice of a pronominal form, either T or V, has been based on the power variable; however, more recently the solidarity factor has become increasingly important.

Following up on the Brown and Gilman study, Brown and Ford show in 1961 that factors of intimacy and status define the forms used. Brown and Ford write: "The principal factors predisposing to intimacy seem to be shared values (which may derive from kinship, from identity of occupation, sex, nationality, etc., or from some common fate) and frequent contact" (377).

In the Brown and Ford study, address forms were confined to title + last name (TLN) and first name (FN). They note that "the principal option of address in American English is the choice between use of the first name . . . and use of a title with the last name" (375). The choice of term is controlled by the relationship of the
dyad, which is the combination of the speaker and addressee. Brown and Ford also note that

Mutual TLN [title + last name] is most commonly found between newly introduced adults. The distinction between the two patterns is primarily one of degree of acquaintance with the degree required for the Mutual FN [first name] being less for younger people than for older people and less where the members of the dyad are of the same sex than where they are of different sex. (376-7)

Brown and Ford also articulate what seems to be a well-accepted rule today: "The mutual TLN goes with distance of formality and the mutual FN with a slightly greater degree of intimacy. In nonreciprocal address the TLN is used to the person of higher status and the FN to the person of lower status. One form expresses both distance and deference; the other form expresses both intimacy and condescension" (380).

The third landmark study is by Ervin-Tripp, who develops a flowchart to describe the rules that seem to govern terms of address in American English. Ervin-Tripp identifies what factors control choices in address forms and explains how these rules operate in society and among kin. (This chart appears as Diagram A on page 21 of this thesis.) Ervin-Tripp then contrasts the American rules of address to those of other societies.

Since these three important studies, others have looked at the social and psychological implications of address forms in other settings: in countries like Italy (Bates and Benigni 1975), Sweden (Paulston 1976), Germany (Geiger 1979), French Canada (Lambert 1967), Hungary (Hollos 1975), Japan (Loveday 1981, 1984), Nepal (McLean 1973), and Russia (Friedrich 1972); in languages like Slovene and Serbo-Croatian (Kess and Juricic 1978) and Turkish (Casson and Ozertug 1976); and in other settings like the Quaker speech community (Shipley and
Shipley 1969), academia (McIntire 1972), the U.S. Marine Corps (Jonz 1975), among children (Emihovich 1981; Wooton 1981), and in relationship to sexes (Kramer 1975; Wolfson and Manes 1980).

Very few of the above studies are based on statistical data. In fact, the most important ones this far in the literature are analytical rather than empirical.
Methodology

After conducting a pilot study, I decided to collect terms of address in the Latter-day Saint speech community in the Wasatch front, the heart of Mormonism in Utah. I limited my data collection to Sunday church meetings held on church property. To get a representative mix of socio-economic factors, I recorded address forms from six congregations scattered from Springville to North Orem. I tried to get a wide sample of not only of socio-economic levels but also of other seemingly important factors, such as average age and congregational stability. In each case I brought along another researcher who could both help confirm what I had heard and record address forms used in the women's meetings.

Procedure and Variables

My pilot study showed which variables would be significant and feasible to record in participant-observer research. As observers, my research assistants and I attended Latter-day Saint Sunday services and marked on a preprepared sheet the address forms we heard. We noted the following variables when used by Latter-day Saints over eighteen years of age:

Forms used

The address forms recorded are as follows:

- FN  (first name)
- BLN  (brother + last name)
- SLN  (sister + last name)
- FLN  (first name + last name)
- none or Ø  (address avoidance)
The last form above, address avoidance, was sometimes difficult to identify. We counted a teacher's pointing or saying "yes" to call on a class member as an act of address avoidance. The "hey, you" type of address was also counted as address avoidance.

In addition to terms of address, which are second-person terms, this study also includes terms of reference, which are third-person terms, when used in the presence of the antecedent. For example, if Peter, Paul, and Mary are talking in the foyer and Mary says to Peter, "Take Paul to the library," this study would include that speech act in the data, because Paul was within earshot. However, if Mary said to Peter, "Go find Martha," my study would not include that term of reference; Martha was not within earshot. Though some may find fault, my research operates under this assumption: terms of reference used in the presence of the antecedent are used in the same way as terms of address; therefore, both are included in the data. I justify this assumption not through empirical data but by logical analysis. Terms of reference used in the presence of the antecedent are much different from those used when the antecedent is not within earshot. For example, many of us have used terms to refer to someone, say a professor, that we would never use if the professor were listening. However, when the professor is within earshot, our term of reference would then change as if it were a term of address.

In this research we also recorded introduction terms (or terms of self-reference) but have not included them in this report, because the data were insufficient to warrant any defensible conclusions.

The preprepared sheet also had a space to mark other types of address terms. And we did find some (such as Elder + last name) but not enough to be of note.

Formality levels

The situation variable had three components:
• Formal: A meeting large enough to require that the speaker use a microphone, such as in sacrament meeting.
• Semiformal: A meeting small enough that the speaker needs no amplification system, such as in Sunday school or auxiliary classes.
• Informal: All situations outside of structured meetings, such as in the foyer, before class, or in the parking lot.

Status levels

Although many complex factors contribute to status, in this study we could judge only one factor quickly and accurately: age. In justifying the difference in status based on age, I follow the Brown and Ford definition, which seems to have become standard in the literature: "among adults an elder by approximately 15-or-more years receives TLN and gives FN to his junior" (377). I adhere to this convention in my study.

The three status variables, as determined by age, are as follows:

• Person of higher status speaking to one of lower
• People of equal status speaking
• Person of lower status speaking to one of higher

Sex variables

The four sex variables are as follows:

• Male speaking to male
• Male speaking to female
• Female speaking to male
• Female speaking to female
Usually, judging sex was simple. However, when a person addressed an audience that included both males and females, recording this variable was not completely accurate. For example, in the sentence "Brother Jones will now offer the closing prayer," the speaker is technically addressing the audience by referring to Brother Jones, and, of course, the audience is neither male nor female. In such cases we recorded the data in terms of the speech act's illocutionary force: an address from the speaker to Brother Jones himself.

Sample Size

We recorded 452 examples of address forms used by adult Latter-day Saints during Sunday services. I did not include ten or so speech acts in the data because of recording errors or because the use of the form was so rare. These forms include titles alone (Bishop, President, Sister), kinship terms of address (Mom, Uncle Jed), and other forms (dear, Sister Mary, partner).

Preliminary Nature of the Study

This study of terms of address among Latter-day Saints is a preliminary and exploratory study of limited scope. I may have made some erroneous generalizations in collecting and interpreting the data, most of which I will point out.
Results and Discussion

A statistical package, StatView, showed that the variables in my data do not have a close enough correlation with address forms to show statistical significance. However, a stepwise regression analysis showed the relative strength of each variable as a predictor of address forms. The strongest predictor of address forms is the situation variable, followed by the status variable, and finally the sex variable.

Situation Variable

The situation variable proved to be strongest predictor of address forms among the Latter-day Saints sampled in this study. Table 1 shows the raw data, where we recorded 283 speech acts, more than half the total, in semiformal situations. Also, the data show what my research assistants and I quickly found out: collecting data in informal situations through our participant-observer technique was the most difficult, yielding only seventy-two speech acts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation Variable</th>
<th>Observed Frequency Table</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>semiformal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFLN</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Changing the raw data into percentages of the total in each situational category allows a comparison of the three formality levels. Table 2 shows how the percentages compare.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Percents of Column Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>semiformal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>54.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>21.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFLN</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows three significant trends. First, the FN (first name) address form increases in LDS circles as the situation becomes less formal. In formal
situations 27% of address forms were first names, compared to 54.06% in semiformal situations and 77.78% in informal situations.

The next trend seems to be simply an inverse of the first one. The more formal the situation, the more likely a speaker is to use either FLN (first + last name) or TLN (title + last name). TLN includes both BLN (Brother + last name) and SLN (Sister + last name). In formal situations 37% of the address forms are TLN, compared to 21.55% in semiformal situations and 11.11% in informal situations. (Note that the 18% of FLN in formal situations is probably a result of official announcements, when the names of members are being presented to the congregation or when members are formally asked to participate in the service.) These two trends seem to indicate that Latter-day Saints mark the formality of situations and change their address forms accordingly.

A third trend from the data is the tendency to avoid address forms in semiformal situations at the rate of 18.73%. The address avoidance phenomenon seems to have at least two explanations: (1) perhaps these LDS speakers are unsure of what form would be most appropriate in semiformal situations, so they opt for no address at all; or (2) in semiformal situations Latter-day Saints must often interact with people whose names they do not know. I'll discuss address avoidance more in the section on status.

Status Variable

The status variable proved to be the second strongest predictor of address forms. As I've explained above, status in this study is defined by age. The raw data in Table 3 show that we recorded speech acts from people of equal status five times more often than from people of unequal status.
TABLE 3
Status Variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Frequency Table</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h to l</td>
<td>l to h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFLN</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 62 326 67 455

h to l = higher status talking to lower
= equal status
l to h = lower status talking to higher

*Status is defined by age. More than fifteen years older in age is a status increase.

FN = first name (Kim, Mike)
TLN = title + last name (Brother Johnson, Sister Graham)
FLN = first and last name (Stephanie Scott)
None = address avoidance (pointing, making eye contact)
TFLN = title + first and last name (Brother John Armstrong, Sister Linda Phillips)

When the raw data are converted into percentages of the total in each status variable, as shown in Table 4, the numbers indicate three important trends. First, when LDS speakers in our study address those of lower or equal status, they most often use a FN address: higher to lower status with 58.06% and equal status with 57.67%. When a speaker addresses a person of higher status, the FN address is used only 17.91% of the time.

The fact that Latter-day Saints seem to feel comfortable calling those of lower or equal rank by first name compares very closely to another study of American address forms. Ervin-Tripp asserts that "familiarity is not a factor within dyads of
the same age and rank, and there are no options. For an American assistant professor to call a new colleague of the same rank and age 'Professor Watkins' or 'Mr. Watkins' would be considered strange, at least on the West Coast" (19). The same principle seems to hold true in this study.

**TABLE 4**

Status Variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status Variable</th>
<th>Percent of Column</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h to l</td>
<td>l to h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
<td>58.06%</td>
<td>57.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>14.52%</td>
<td>19.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>16.13%</td>
<td>3.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>6.45%</td>
<td>12.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFLN</td>
<td>4.84%</td>
<td>6.44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 100% 100% 100%

- h to l = higher status* talking to lower
- = equal status
- l to h = lower status talking to higher

*Status is defined by age. More than fifteen years older in age is a status increase.

Past research also coincides with the second important trends shown in Table 4: Speakers addressing those of higher status more often opt for a respect form of address, in this case TLN 52.24% of the time. The TLN address form is used less
frequently when the speakers are of equal status (19.02%), or when the speaker is of higher status (14.52%).

Table 4 also shows an interesting trend in address avoidance. As the status of a speaker decreases, that person increasingly tends to avoid address forms. Starting from the low mark of 6.45% of address avoidance when higher status addresses lower, the data then show an increase to 12.88% when equals converse, and a high of 20.9% when a person of lower status speaks to one of higher. The address avoidance in this case may show some degree of uneasiness among those of lower status, or perhaps among the younger generation, in choosing between FN and TLN address forms.

The address avoidance phenomenon has been recorded in other studies. Paulston shows that after the rise of egalitarianism in Sweden in 1932, the people of that country have been encouraged to use the familiar pronoun *du* and shun the formal pronoun *ni*. This has caused that society to develop other means of indicating social stratification, such as address terms in combination with pronouns. When the relationship is unclear, or when a Swede is speaking with one of obviously higher status, then that speaker will carefully avoid terms of address (375).

Paulston's study may also help explain what is happening among the Latter-day Saints in this data. The ideal of American egalitarianism may make using a respect form of address unpleasant for those with lower status.

For those Latter-day Saints who are of equal status (within fifteen years of age, according to my study) but still avoid address forms, other factors may be at play. These speakers may simply be unsure about their relationship with their listeners. Brown and Ford conclude: "When someone is in this region of uncertainty, we find that he avoids the use of any sort of personal name and makes do with the uncommitted omnibus *you*" (384).
The reticence of Americans—which of course also applies to Latter-day Saint Americans—to address those of higher status by their first name without sufficient dispensation was articulated almost seventy years ago by Emily Post: "It is also effrontery for a younger person to call an older by her or his first name, without being asked to do so. Only a very underbred, thickskinned person would attempt it" (54).

Apparently, the right to cross the threshold from TLN to FN belongs to the person of higher status in a nonreciprocal dyad. Brown and Ford write that "the gate to linguistic intimacy is kept by the person of higher status" (381). In other words, the person of higher status must give some sort of dispensation before the person of lower status can begin to use a first name address.

However, since 1961 many social structures have become less important, and the person with lower status may not wait for a signal from the higher before using FN. Eleven years and a liberated American generation after the Brown and Ford study, McIntire comments on academic settings, "It is by no means true that the dyad member with superior status will always initiate a move which signals greater intimacy" (290). The American military, however, seems to be not so easily changed. In writing about address forms in the U. S. Marine Corps, Jonz supports the initial Brown and Ford assertion: "superior rank" decides when a dispensation is given to use a form other than TLN (72).

**Sex Variable**

Of the three variables in this study, the sex variable proved the least important in determining address form. Table 5 shows the raw data collected.
TABLE 5
Sex Variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Frequency Table</th>
<th>m to m</th>
<th>m to f</th>
<th>f to m</th>
<th>f to f</th>
<th>Totals:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFLN</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- m to f = male talking to female
- f to m = female talking to male
- FN = first name (Kim, Mike)
- TLN = title + last name (Brother Johnson, Sister Graham)
- FLN = first and last name (Stephanie Scott)
- None = address avoidance (pointing, making eye contact)
- TFLN = title + first and last name (Brother John Armstrong, Sister Linda Phillips)

The raw data in Table 5 show that males use over 50% more address forms than females: males used 275 address forms, while females used 180. This difference probably reflects the fact that males have more opportunity to conduct and direct LDS church meetings; therefore, they do more talking and more addressing. The raw data also show the surprising difference in the total number of address forms of males addressing males compared to females addressing males, 240 compared to 35. The low figures in some of the columns may make the trends in this section less reliable than those for the other two variables.

Table 6 shows the raw data converted into percentages of the total in each sex variable.
### TABLE 6
**Sex Variable**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m to m</th>
<th>m to f</th>
<th>f to m</th>
<th>f to f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FN</strong></td>
<td>53.33%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31.43%</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TLN</strong></td>
<td>23.75%</td>
<td>26.47%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>15.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FLN</strong></td>
<td>6.25%</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
<td>8.57%</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>None</strong></td>
<td>9.58%</td>
<td>30.88%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>8.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TFLN</strong></td>
<td>7.08%</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 100% 100% 100% 100%

- m to f = male talking to female
- f to m = female talking to male
- FN = first name (Kim, Mike)
- TLN = title + last name (Brother Johnson, Sister Graham)
- FLN = first and last name (Stephanie Scott)
- None = address avoidance (pointing, making eye contact)
- TFLN = title + first and last name (Brother John Armstrong, Sister Linda Phillips)

Table 6 shows trends that result from changes in the sex variable. First, when talking to one of the same sex, Latter-day Saint are more likely to use FN address than when talking to one of different sex. First name address is used 53.33% when males talk to males and 71.43% when females talk to females.

However, when the dyad is made up of the two sexes, the use of FN drops sharply. When males address females, only 25% use FN, and when females address males, 31.43% use FN. This drop in FN frequency when addressing another of different sex may show the need for Latter-day Saints to maintain the proper distance from or respect toward those of different sex.

The 71.43% incidence of females addressing females by FN may indicate a high degree of intimacy and camaraderie among Latter-day Saint women.
Table 6 shows only a slight increase in TLN when males address females compared to when males address males; however, the change for women using TLN is much greater: females use TLN 15.18% when talking to other females, but when addressing males they use TLN 40%, a marked increase.

Table 6 also shows that males receive a higher percentage of respect address forms than do females. Adding the percent of TLN address forms males receive from both males and females, we get 63.75%. Yet adding the percent of TLN address forms females receive, we get a much lower figure, 41.65%.

This trend of women being deferential to men is similar to what other studies have shown. For example, Ervin-Tripp says: "Men and women do not use terms of address in quite the same way, and young women, at least, use more deferential request forms than young men. In fact, it is commonly the case in many languages that women employ more deferential speech, but one can expect that such differences are related to other indicators of relative rank" (74). The data from the Latter-day Saints do indeed show that women use more deferential speech, at least when addressing males.

Finally, address avoidance is most likely to occur when Latter-day Saints talk to a person of different sex, according to Table 6. Males avoid using an address form about 20% more when talking to females than when talking to males. Females avoid using address forms about 12% more often when talking to males than when talking to females.
Conclusions

Though the conclusions from the data cannot be supported with statistical significance, the results of this study suggest that terms of address forms among Latter-day Saints are controlled by the same kinds of forces that operate in other speech communities. In brief, the conclusions from this study are as follows:

1. Formal situations lead to formal address forms and vice versa.
2. Factors that mark similarities (same age, same sex) lead to FN address forms.
3. Factors that mark differences (generation span, different sex) lead to more distant or respectful address forms.

Diagram A, a flowchart created by Ervin-Tripp, summarizes the factors that control address forms in American English.

**DIAGRAM A**

**An American Address System**
(Ervin-Tripp 18)
Diagram B makes an attempt—although largely inadequate—to summarize the critical points in the subconscious and complex process an adult Latter-day Saint goes through when choosing an address form.

**DIAGRAM B**

An Address System for Adult Latter-day Saints

- **TLN** = formal title + last name (Bishop Johnson, President Graham)
- **T** = formal title alone (Elder, Bishop, President)
- **TFLN** = title + first and last name (Brother John Armstrong, Sister Linda Phillips)
- **FLN** = first and last name (Stephanie Scott)
- **BLN** = Brother + last name (Brother Jones)
- **SLN** = Sister + last name (Sister Jones)
- **FN** = first name (Kim, Mike)
- **Ø** = address avoidance (pointing, making eye contact, "hey, you")
One deficiency in both diagrams is in accounting for address avoidance. Neither is able to map adequately the areas of uncertainty that lead a speaker to avoid address forms. This is where choosing a term of address gets complex and unpredictable.

A comparison of Ervin-Tripp's diagram with mine shows many similarities. One important parallel is that the BLN and SLN address forms function in much the same way in LDS circles as the Mr. and Mrs. forms function in American address; in other words, the variables that cause Utah Latter-day Saints to use Mr. or Mrs. outside the church sphere are they same that cause them to use BLN or SLN inside the religious realm. In our research, we never heard Mr. + last name or Mrs. + last name, only Brother + last name and Sister + last name. This striking parallel may indicate that the BLN and SLN address forms among Latter-day Saints are not terms that convey spiritual kinship; they simply act as religious counterparts to Mr. and Mrs., all the while conveying similar attitudes of respect and distance.

Most Latter-day Saints seem to sense a time in LDS church history when the TFN (title + first name) address form was common. My research shows that this form is virtually nonexistent in the Wasatch Front areas we studied. In collecting nearly five hundred address forms, we recorded the TFN form only twice. Although most Latter-day Saints would agree that this address form once indicated the highest degree of spiritual intimacy among members of the LDS church, today such intimacy is shown by a simple FN address, a form that is no different from the familiar address used outside the LDS circle. In other words, barring the use of the TFN address, which is largely archaic, Latter-day Saints today have no distinct address form that marks a high degree of spiritual intimacy or communal solidarity. If Latter-day Saints did indeed have a prominent TFN address form, then the conclusions of this study would be different. However, the data seem to suggest
that the similarities between Latter-day Saint and American address forms—and the forces that control those forms—are more remarkable than the differences.
Questions for Further Study

My examination of address forms among Latter-day Saints has been simply a preliminary study. It has answered only a few questions, and such answers are certainly tentative. Perhaps what this research has done best is to open up address forms among Latter-day Saints as a field of study. Further studies might be directed along the following lines:

- What effect does socio-economic level have on address forms among Latter-day Saints?
- How do address forms in the Wasatch front compare to those used outside of Utah and in foreign countries?
- How are Utah LDS address forms used outside of the church sphere, such as while shopping or in a business office?
- Is the younger LDS generation moving away from traditional LDS address forms?
- How and why have address forms changed over the course of Church history? Whatever happened to Brother Brigham and Sister Emma?
- What official statements have the Church authorities made on terms of address?
- Can address forms be used as a indicator of congregational unity?
Works Cited


Analysis of hymns as speech events reveals certain patterns involving the ADDRESSER/ADDRESSEE relationship. These patterns are consistent with and part of the MESSAGES of the hymns.

Consider a hymn as an act of verbal communication, a speech event. As a speech event a hymn has all the factors involved in any act of verbal communication:

The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to ("referent" in another ... nomenclature) ...; a CODE ... common to the addresser and addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and decoder of the message); and ... a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee....

CONTEXT

MESSAGE

ADDRESSER

ADDRESSEE

CONTACT

CODE

Jakobson 1981:21-22.1

In the "universe of discourse" of LDS hymns, the CODE from which a particular hymn is encoded or written includes the religion, beliefs, practices, traditions, literatures, history, cultures, and language of its author. The MESSAGE is the text (and music) of the hymn.2

1Van Schooneveld 1988:413 prefers "receiver" to "addressee" because a person not targeted by the addresser can hear or read the message and decode it.

2The music of a hymn bears a communicative message which relates to and adds to the message of the text. Singing a text with different music emphasizes the connectedness, independence, and mutual transitivity of music and text. Unfortunately, the music of hymns is beyond the scope of this presentation.
The CONTEXT is what a hymn refers to. The context can include things distant in time and space from the singing of the hymn, such as historical events or prognostications in narrative hymns like "Adam-ondi-Ahman" (Hymns 1985:49). Or the context of a hymn may be much closer to its performance when referring, for example, to the meeting in which the hymn is sung, such as "Thy Spirit Lord Has Stirred Our Souls" (Hymns 1985:157), or to the actual singing of the hymn itself, as in "Sing We Now at Parting" (Hymns 1985:156).

The CONTACT involves the singing or reading of the text of the hymn, and its contours vary depending on who the addressers and addressees are.

There are several levels on which the relationship of ADDRESSER-ADDRESSEE operates in a hymn. First, the author of a hymn is the ADDRESSER sending the message that is the hymn to the reader or singer of the hymn, who is the ADDRESSEE. On another level, in the performance of a hymn, the singer(s) is (are) the ADDRESSER(S) and the listener(s), including fellow singers, is (are) the ADDRESSEE(S). Hymns serve important functions for latter-day saints in worship, in which the worshiper is the ADDRESSER and God is the ADDRESSEE. Hatch 1968:12-15, 56-57, 162. God acknowledges that "my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads." D&C 25:12.

Finally, the ADDRESSER-ADDRESSEE relationship may be expressed in varying degrees of explicitness in the text of the hymn itself. For example, "Master, the Tempest Is Raging" (Hymns 1950:106; Hymns 1985:105) is structured by and around the ADDRESSER-ADDRESSEE relationship.

Master, the Tempest Is Raging

Master, the tempest is raging!
The billows are tossing high!
The sky is o'ershadowed with blackness.
No shelter or help is nigh.
Carest thou not that we perish?
How canst thou lie asleep
When each moment so madly is threat'ning
A grave in the angry deep?

The winds and the waves shall obey my will.
Peace, be still.
Whether the wrath of the storm-tossed sea
Or demons or men or whatever it be,
No waters can swallow the ship where lies
The Master of ocean and earth and skies.
They all shall sweetly obey my will.
Peace, be still; peace, be still.
They all shall sweetly obey my will.
Peace, peace, be still.
Master, with anguish of spirit
I bow in my grief today.
The depths of my sad heart are troubled.
Oh, waken and save, I pray!
Torrents of sin and of anguish
Sweep o'er my sinking soul,
And I perish! I perish! dear Master.
Oh, hasten and take control!

The winds and the waves shall obey my will.
Peace, be still.
Whether the wrath of the storm-tossed sea
Or demons or men or whatever it be,
No waters can swallow the ship where lies
The Master of ocean and earth and skies.
They all shall sweetly obey my will.
Peace, be still; peace, be still.
They all shall sweetly obey my will.
Peace, peace, be still.

Master, the terror is over.
The elements sweetly rest.
Earth's sun in the calm lake is mirrored,
And heaven's within my breast.
Linger, O blessed Redeemer!
Leave me alone no more,
And with joy I shall make the blest harbor
And rest on the blissful shore.

The winds and the waves shall obey my will.
Peace, be still.
Whether the wrath of the storm-tossed sea
Or demons or men or whatever it be,
No waters can swallow the ship where lies
The Master of ocean and earth and skies.
They all shall sweetly obey my will.
Peace, be still; peace, be still.
They all shall sweetly obey my will.
Peace, peace, be still.

This hymn alludes to the New Testament story of Jesus and his disciples on the Sea of Galilee when he calmed the storm.
Matthew 8:23-27; Mark 4:36-41. In the verses the disciples address themselves to the Master, asking for his help. In the choruses the Master responds with his assurance of peace. In the first verse the ADDRESSERS are the disciples ("we") in the boat calling for protection from the storm. The Master responds, "The winds and the waves shall obey my will. Peace, be still." In the second verse, the ADDRESSER is a single disciple ("I") calling to the Master for salvation from the storm of sin. Again the Master responds, "The wind and the waves shall obey my will. Peace, be still." In the third verse, the single disciple ("I") praises and thanks the Master for the sunny calm in her life following the Master's banishment of the sinful storm and expresses her happy anticipation of
making the blest harbor. The Master responds and promises, "The winds and the waves shall obey my will. Peace, be still."

In the 1985 hymnbook "Master, the Tempest Is Raging" was completely restructured by simply changing the word "my" to "thy" in the chorus. Now the chorus reads "The winds and the waves shall obey thy will. Peace, be still." (Hymns 1985:105, see Appendix) The call and response or dialog is gone from the 1985 version of this hymn because the words of the chorus were shifted to the mouths of the disciples. This creates an anomalous situation. Now it is the disciple who says, "Peace, be still," while claiming that "the winds and the waves shall obey thy will." This changes "Peace, be still" from the Master's command it was in the 1950 hymnbook (and in the New Testament) to the disciples' supplication in the 1985 hymnbook.3

Few hymns have dialog as explicitly and fully developed as "Master, the Tempest Is Raging," but a variety of discourse patterns are manifested in the hymns.

Some hymns, like lyric poems, direct attention to the ADDRESSER. For example, "I Stand All Amazed" (Hymns 1985:193, see Appendix), expressing the ADDRESSER's feelings about the Savior's atonement, begins with "I" and ends with "me."4 In "I Know that My Redeemer Lives" (Hymns 1985:136, see Appendix) the ADDRESSER worships the Redeemer by lovingly describing his relationship to the ADDRESSER. There are numerous references to the ADDRESSER: "I know," "my everliving Head," "to bless me," "to plead for me," "my hungry soul," "to grant me," "to comfort me," "my ... Friend," "loves me," "I'll sing," "my ... King," "grants me," "I shall conquer death," "my mansion," "to bring me ... there." See also "I Believe in Christ" (Hymns 1985:134). Because they direct attention to the ADDRESSER, these hymns often function as emotive expressions of the ADDRESSER's attitude about (her relationship with) Deity or some other gospel subject.

Other hymns direct attention to the ADDRESSEE. Two main varieties of hymns are oriented toward the ADDRESSEE, exhortative and supplicatory hymns. In supplicatory hymns the ADDRESSER is subordinate to the ADDRESSEE, while exhortative hymns are unmarked for subordination in either direction.5

3Neither the former dialogic structure nor this change was mentioned by Karen Davidson in her discussion of this hymn. Davidson 1988:133.

4"I stand all amazed ... wonderful to me."

5Compare Jakobson 1981:26, "poetry of the second person is imbued with the conative function and is either supplicatory or exhortative, depending on whether the first person is subordinated to the second one or the second to the first."
Some supplicatory hymns are "Jesus, Lover of My Soul" (Hymns 1985:102), "Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me" (Hymns 1985:104), "Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah" (Hymns 1985:83), and "Come, O Thou King of Kings" (Hymns 1985:59). "Come, Come, Ye Saints" (Hymns 1985:30), "Did You Think to Pray?" (Hymns 1985:140), "Do What Is Right" (Hymns 1985:237), and "Keep the Commandments" (Hymns 1985:303) are exhortative hymns.

An unusual hymn directing attention to the ADDRESSEE is "Reverently and Meekly Now" (Hymns 1985:185, see Appendix). In this hymn Jesus is the ADDRESSER and the ransomed one is the ADDRESSEE. When this hymn is sung, the singer (the ransomed one) is the delivery ADDRESSER but the textual ADDRESSEE. In most supplicative and exhortative hymns the singer is the ADDRESSER both in the delivery and in the text.  

Another hymn with this same unusual aspect is "Love One Another" (Hymns 1985:308, see Appendix). For some reason singers of this hymn are less markedly aware of the unusualness of singing Jesus's words to themselves than they are when they sing "Reverently and Meekly Now."  

Hymns combine attention to the ADDRESSER and orientation toward the ADDRESSEE in a variety of ways. Some hymns begin as lyric expressions of the ADDRESSER's feelings and modulate into supplications to the object of the ADDRESSER's emotions. "My Redeemer Lives" (Hymns 1985:135, see Appendix) starts with the ADDRESSER singing about his relationship to the Redeemer ("I know that my Redeemer lives ... my King, my Leader, and my Lord ... my one sure rock of faith") and the final verse is a prayer, a supplicatory focus on the ADDRESSEE ("Oh, give me thy sweet Spirit still, the peace that comes alone from thee"). Likewise, "Sing We Now at Parting" (Hymns 1985:156, see Appendix) has a first verse that emphasizes the feelings of the ADDRESSERS ("sing we now ... praise ... sweetest songs we'll raise ... our songs of gladness"), an exhortative second verse that addresses other worshipers ("Praise him ... praise him ... praise the Lord ... our happy voices ... our sweetest song"), and a supplicatory third verse addressed to Jesus himself ("Jesus ... hear ... we bow before thee ... lend a list'ning ear ... save us ... watch us ... help us to serve thee"). See also "Testimony" (Hymns 1985:137).

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6Davidson 1988:200-01 is intrigued by this aspect of this hymn.

7Davidson 1988:308-09 does not remark on this similarity between "Love One Another" and "Reverently and Meekly Now."
The hymn "Be Still, My Soul" (Hymns 1985:124, see Appendix) directs attention to the ADDRESSER while written as though oriented toward an ADDRESSEE. The ADDRESSEE is the ADDRESSER's soul, that is, the ADDRESSER herself. This hymn strongly and beautifully conveys the ADDRESSER's opposed emotions of grief, pain, and fear on the one hand and hope, trust, confidence, and joy on the other.

"Have I Done Any Good?" (Hymns 1985:223, see Appendix) is partially a dialog and partially just oriented toward the ADDRESSEE. The first verse directs attention to the ADDRESSER ("Have I done any good in the world today?"). The chorus responds, "Then wake up and do something more." The second verse directs attention to an ADDRESSEE, apparently the ADDRESSER of the first verse, as a continuation of the chorus because it is in the same voice as the chorus that precedes and follows it.

"Because I Have Been Given Much" (Hymns 1985:219, see Appendix) alternates attention between ADDRESSER and ADDRESSEE. "Because I have been given much, I too must give" ~ "Because of thy great bounty," "my gifts" ~ "from thee," "Because I have been sheltered" ~ "fed by thy good care," "Because I have been blessed" ~ "by thy great love, dear Lord," "I'll share" ~ "thy love ... according to thy word." The alternation between ADDRESSER and ADDRESSEE is not an equally balanced opposition. The ADDRESSER functions as grammatical subject and the ADDRESSEE as grammatical object. Thus this hymn has a lyrical quality because the preponderance of the attention is directed to the ADDRESSER, notwithstanding the "I" and "thee" alternation.

The word 'I' of course is always a grammatical subject. The word 'my' modifies an object of a giving verb the subject of which is 'I.' "I shall divide my gifts from thee With every brother that I see." "I cannot see another's lack and I not share My glowing fire, my loaf of bread, My roof's safe shelter overhead." In the last line of the hymn the word 'my' modifies a grammatical subject which is syntactically in the object position. "Thus shall my thanks be thanks indeed." This 'my' connects the ADDRESSER with the action of thanking to the ADDRESSEE in contrast with the other 'my's that connect the ADDRESSER with giving to fellow human beings. The word 'me' in the line "Who has the need of help from me" is the object of a preposition but also has the semantic function of connecting the ADDRESSER with the action of giving to another person. In each verse in the first two lines the ADDRESSER is in a passive grammatical relationship to the ADDRESSEE and in the last three lines the ADDRESSER is in an active grammatical relationship with her fellow human beings. The word 'thee' or 'thy' always is or points to (modifies) an object of a preposition or of a verb.
"Teach Me to Walk in the Light" (Hymns 1985:304, see Appendix) has a dialog that modulates into the interlocutors' joint supplication of Deity. The first verse is the child supplicating its parent(s) or teacher(s) to "teach me." In the second verse the parent or teacher responds "come little child." In the third verse they pray together, "Heavenly Father, we thank thee this day." Each verse directs attention to the ADDRESSEE, but each one is focused on a different ADDRESSEE.

We have seen several ADDRESSER-ADDRESSEE patterns in the texts of the hymns. These patterns are an integral part of the messages of the hymns. To the extent that hymns direct attention to the ADDRESSER they encourage the singers and hearers to reflect on their own feelings and the effects of the gospel in their own lives. Orientation toward the ADDRESSEE in hymns can help focus latter-day saints on worshipping God and on encouraging one another. Awareness of these patterns can enhance the use of the hymns for worship and for perfecting the saints.

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9Davidson 1988:305 observed that this hymn "conveys its message through a dialog."
Master, the tempest is raging! The billows are tossing high!
The sky is o'ershadowed with blackness. No shelter or help is nigh.
Garest thou not that we perish? How canst thou lie asleep
When each moment so madly is threat'ning A grave in the angry deep?
The winds and the waves shall obey thy will. Peace, be still.
Whether the wrath of the storm-tossed sea Or demons or men or whatever it be,
No waters can swallow the ship where lies
The Master of ocean and earth and skies.
They all shall sweetly obey thy will. Peace, be still; peace, be still.
They all shall sweetly obey thy will. Peace, peace, be still.

Master, with anguish of spirit I bow in my grief today.
The depths of my sad heart are troubled. Oh, waken and save, I pray!
Torrents of sin and of anguish Sweep o'er my sinking soul,
And I perish! I perish! dear Master. Oh, hasten and take control!
The winds and the waves shall obey thy will. Peace, be still.
Whether the wrath of the storm-tossed sea Or demons or men or whatever it be,
No waters can swallow the ship where lies
The Master of ocean and earth and skies.
They all shall sweetly obey thy will. Peace, be still; peace, be still.
They all shall sweetly obey thy will. Peace, peace, be still.

I stand all amazed at the love Jesus offers me,
Confused at the grace that so fully he proffers me.
I tremble to know that for me he was crucified,
That for me, a sinner, he suffered, he bled and died.
Oh, it is wonderful that he should care for me Enough to die for me!
Oh, it is wonderful, wonderful to me!

I marvel that he would descend from his throne divine
To rescue a soul so rebellious and proud as mine,
That he should extend his great love unto such as I,
Sufficient to own, to redeem and to justify.
Oh, it is wonderful that he should care for me Enough to die for me!
Oh, it is wonderful, wonderful to me!

I think of his hands pierced and bleeding to pay the debt!
Such mercy, such love, and devotion can I forget?
No, no, I will praise and adore at the mercy seat,
Until at the glorified throne I kneel at his feet.
Oh, it is wonderful that he should care for me Enough to die for me!
Oh, it is wonderful, wonderful to me!

I know that my Redeemer lives.... He lives, my everliving Head.
He lives to bless me with his love. He lives to plead for me above.
He lives my hungry soul to feed....
He lives to grant me rich supply. He lives to guide me with his eye.
He lives to comfort me when faint. He lives to hear my soul's complaint.
He lives to silence all my fears. He lives to wipe away my tears.
He lives to calm my troubled heart....
He lives, my kind, wise heav'ny Friend. He lives and loves me to the end.
He lives, and while he lives, I'll sing.
He lives, my Prophet, Priest, and King.
He lives and grants me daily breath. He lives, and I shall conquer death.
He lives my mansion to prepare. He lives to bring me safely there....
He lives, my Savior.... I know that my Redeemer lives!

REVERENTLY AND MEEKLY NOW  (Hymns 1985:185)

Reverently and meekly now, Let thy head most humbly bow.
Think of me, thou ransomed one; Think what I for thee have done.
With my blood that dripped like rain, Sweat in agony of pain,
With my body on the tree I have ransomed even thee.

In this bread now blest for thee, Emblem of my body see;
In this water or this wine, Emblem of my blood divine.
Oh, remember what was done That the sinner might be won.
On the cross of Calvary I have suffered death for thee.

Bid thine heart all strife to cease; With thy brethren be at peace.
Oh, forgive as thou wouldst be E'en forgiven now by me.
In the solemn faith of prayer Cast upon me all thy care,
And my Spirit's grace shall be Like a fountain unto thee.

At the throne I intercede; For thee ever do I plead.
I have loved thee as thy friend, With a love that cannot end.
Be obedient, I implore, Prayerful, watchful, evermore.
And be constant unto me, That thy Savior I may be.

LOVE ONE ANOTHER  (Hymns 1985:308)

As I have loved you, Love one another.
This new commandment: Love one another.
By this shall men know Ye are my disciples, If ye have love One to another.

MY REDEEMER LIVES  (Hymns 1985:135)

I know that my Redeemer lives, Triumphant Savior, Son of God,
Victorious over pain and death, My King, my Leader, and my Lord.

He lives, my one sure rock of faith, The one bright hope of men on earth,
The beacon to a better way, The light beyond the veil of death.

Oh, give me thy sweet Spirit still, The peace that comes alone from thee,
The faith to walk the lonely road That leads to thine eternity.

SING WE NOW AT PARTING  (Hymns 1985:156)

Sing we now at parting One more strain of praise.
To our Heav'ny Father Sweetest songs we'll raise.
For his loving kindness, For his tender care,
Let our songs of gladness Fill this Sabbath air.

Praise him for his mercy; Praise him for his love.
For unnumbered blessings Praise the Lord above.
Let our happy voices Still the notes prolong.
One alone is worthy Of our sweetest song.

Jesus, our Redeemer, Now our praises hear.
While we bow before thee, Lend a list'ning ear.
Save us, Lord, from error. Watch us day by day.
Help us now to serve thee In a pleasing way.

BE STILL, MY SOUL  (Hymns 1985:124)

Be still, my soul: The Lord is on thy side;
With patience bear thy cross of grief or pain.
Leave to thy God to order and provide;
In ev'ry change he faithful will remain.
Be still, my soul: Thy best, thy heav'ny Friend
Thru thorny ways leads to a joyful end.
Be still, my soul: Thy God doth undertake
To guide the future as he has the past.
Thy hope, thy confidence let nothing shake;
All now mysterious shall be bright at last.
Be still, my soul: The waves and winds still know
His voice who ruled them while he dwelt below.

Be still, my soul: The hour is hast'ning on
When we shall be forever with the Lord,
When disappointment, grief, and fear are gone,
Sorrow forgot, love's purest joys restored.
Be still, my soul: When change and tears are past,
All safe and blessed we shall meet at last.

HAVE I DONE ANY GOOD? (Hymns 1985:223)

Have I done any good in the world today? Have I helped anyone in need?
Have I cheered up the sad and made someone feel glad?
If not, I have failed indeed.
Has anyone's burden been lighter today Because I was willing to share?
Have the sick and the weary been helped on their way?
When they needed my help was I there?
Then wake up and do something more Than dream of your mansion above.
Doing good is a pleasure, a joy beyond measure,
A blessing of duty and love.

There are chances for work all around just now,
Opportunities right in our way.
Do not let them pass by saying, "Sometime I'll try."
But go and do something today.
'Tis noble of man to work and to give; Love's labor has merit alone.
Only he does something helps others to live.
To God each good work will be known.
Then wake up and do something more Than dream of your mansion above.
Doing good is a pleasure, a joy beyond measure,
A blessing of duty and love.

BECAUSE I HAVE BEEN GIVEN MUCH (Hymns 1985:219)

Because I have been given much, I too must give;
Because of thy great bounty, Lord, each day I live
I shall divide my gifts from thee With ev'ry brother that I see
Who has the need of help from me.

Because I have been sheltered, fed by thy good care,
I cannot see another's lack and I not share
My glowing fire, my loaf of broad, My roof's safe shelter overhead,
That he too may be comforted.

Because I have been blessed by thy great love, dear Lord,
I'll share thy love again, according to thy word.
I shall give love to those in need; I'll show that love by word and deed:
Thus shall my thanks be thanks indeed.

TEACH ME TO WALK IN THE LIGHT (Hymns 1985:304)

Teach me to walk in the light of his love;
Teach me to pray to my father above;
Teach me to know of the things that are right;
Teach me, teach me to walk in the light.

Come, little child, and together we'll learn
Of his commandments, that we may return
Home to his presence, to live in his sight --
Always, always to walk in the light.

Father in Heaven, we thank thee this day
For loving guidance to show us the way.
Grateful, we praise thee with songs of delight!
Gladly, gladly we'll walk in the light.
The Korean Language Trainer: Using HyperCard to teach the Korean writing system

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Among "real" computer programmers, HyperTalk, the programming language of HyperCard (developed by and for Macintosh computers), has been considered a "baby" programming language, one that required no skill or training to use and that no programmer would dare be seen using. Recently, however, HyperCard has been discovered by educators, especially language educators, who have found that the simplicity of the language is no gauge for the efficacy of the programming or the capabilities of the program. This is why we chose to use HyperCard for the Korean Language Trainer (KLT).

HyperCard uses a system of "cards", each new screen being a new card which is viewed in much the same manner as a book is seen, moving from one page to the next. On each card there are buttons and fields which are added to the card by layers. HyperCard is capable of performing different functions by scripts which are connected to the fields, the buttons, the individual cards, and the entire stack of cards. The programming language is that which goes in or on the scripts and the program, as such, is simply all the scripts taken together.

The Korean Language Trainer was developed because of a growing need for people fluent in Korean. Japan has had an economic foot in the door of America's import business for quite some time. In more recent years Korea has begun to demonstrate that the quality and quantity of its goods can rival those of its technological giant of a neighbor, Japan. As Korea has embarked on this trade courtship of America, it has educated many of its people in how to speak English and make a place for themselves in American society. Unfortunately, most Americans have not reciprocated this effort to get acquainted with their new trade partners. Currently, however, there are many who are beginning to see the advantages of being able to communicate with these innovative, energetic people. There are, nevertheless, obstacles in the way of Americans learning Korean. When most would-be language learners search out a language on which to bend their efforts, they conscientiously avoid all Asian languages because of the intricacy of the writing systems. What these people do not understand is that the native Korean alphabet is one of the most logical, easily understood alphabets in the world.

The Korean alphabet was created about 1446 by Korea's king and his best scholars. They felt they needed a writing system other than the Chinese characters they had been using up until then because the characters were created for the Chinese language, not the Korean language, and the two differ widely in grammar as well as vocabulary. The writing system thus developed is unique in all the world; it has symbols which are directly correlated with the shape
of the mouth when pronouncing the sounds represented by the letters. Once understood, this is one of the easiest systems to remember and use.

Most people who use the Roman or Cyrillic alphabet, however, are awed and dismayed at the sight of any Asian writing system, and the thought of having to memorize those senseless squiggles leaves them cold. This is the entire rationale for taking the time and trouble to create a computer program which would teach the writing system to students of Korean. Because the Korean alphabet, known as hangul, is relatively simple to learn, the program merely needs to be interesting enough to entice more students to give the language a chance. All that is needed to learn hangul is practice, and the KLT makes that both entertaining and time-effective.

Designed for the absolute beginner, the KLT opens with a short history of the Korean writing system then goes on to teach the student to read and write Korean. This is accomplished in three steps: the first is to teach recognition of each letter or symbol individually, the second is to teach the correct stroke order (Korean is written using strokes of a pen) of each symbol, and the last is to teach the student the correct order in which to put the letters together to form words. Although not yet completed, there are plans to create two additional sections for the program, one for vocabulary and one for reading comprehension.

The section that teaches recognition of the letters does so using three different methods. The symbol is presented in authentic Korean script with its appropriate romanization. This is the first method and the one used most commonly at present: teach the student to recognize the Korean symbol by correlating it with the romanization which most closely approximates it in sound. There are an additional two methods, however, which have proven far more effective in the long run. These are to accompany the Korean script with a mnemonic and to provide a vocal track which will be automatically correlated with the Korean script so that the letter and the sound will be one in the student's experience. There are two accompanying buttons which the student can "push" (use the Macintosh "mouse" to click on the button) to see the mnemonic and to hear the vocal representation.

The mnemonic is a picture of something which has a name that begins with a sound closely approximating the sound which correlates with the Korean letter. For example, with the symbol for /g/, there is a picture of a horse galloping and the word "gallop" is written below the mnemonic while the Korean letter for /g/ is somehow worked into the picture. This way, when the student sees the Korean letter for /g/ in the future, he/she will automatically visualize the galloping horse and think "/g/".

Additionally, there is the vocal track which has a native Korean speaker pronouncing the /g/ in a Korean accent while the student views the mnemonic. There is also a button which, when pushed, will produce just the voice without the mnemonic for those students
who have already seen and memorized the mnemonic and have no further need of seeing it again or for those to whom the mnemonic is of no real use.

The section which teaches the student to write the Korean alphabet does so by using a graphics function which allows the students to actually see the symbols drawn. When the students first see the symbol, they see it as it looked in the previous section in the original Korean script. When they click on the draw button, the graphics program will draw the letter in the correct stroke order while the vocal track again pronounces the letter, further cementing the association between the letter and the sound in the students' minds.

The final section, at present, is the one which teaches the students the correct order for connecting these letters in order to form words. There are a couple of different patterns for connecting the letters and this section teaches the students under which circumstances each order is used.

Each individual section is followed by a quiz section which allows the student to gauge how well he/she has learned the information in the section. There are always chances for the student to review the section before taking the quiz and there are help sections all along the way. Some of the HyperCard functions which we have taken advantage of are the graphics, the voice capabilities, the card idea for animation (animation can be created in the same way it is in a book; by putting a different graphic on each of several cards, then flipping quickly through the cards, the illusion of movement is created), and the layers of buttons and fields. the programming is fairly simple yet the effect is very professional.

As we have tested this program on actual students, we have found that they have no problems using the Korean Language Trainer and they seem to find the different animations and other features entertaining enough that they didn't mind repeating the lessons. Because the best method of learning is repetition in addition to the mnemonics and other learning tricks, we have found it encouraging that the students are interested enough in the lessons to repeat them willingly.

The Korean Language Trainer is the best method we have seen for teaching new students how to read and write the native Korean writing system. In the future, the KLT will also include vocabulary and reading comprehension exercises for the more advanced students. Using HyperCard for programming has proven cost-effective because of the capabilities and the simplicity of the language.
Language Methodology and Text Design: What Finnish Has Taught Us

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NOTE:
Jacques du Plessis's experience and background is in instructional materials development, and Scott Jarvis is a researcher of the Finnish language. They pooled their resources to produce *The Plug-in System--Finnish*. The sections in this paper are marked according to the authors' expertise.

INTRODUCTION--Jacques du Plessis
The development of the Plug-in System--Finnish is an ongoing project and the intention is to provide in the needs of anglophone learners from the beginning level up to the high intermediate level. The presentation of this paper will be as follows:

i) Background will be given that influenced the design of the Plug-in System.
ii) The Plug-in System will then be introduced and discussed.
iii) Specific adaptations to the Finnish language will then be addressed.
iv) We will then elaborate on significant aspects about the methodology.
v) Results and the conclusion will then be presented.

BACKGROUND--Jacques du Plessis
Why on earth write another text, when so many have already been developed? Either someone is paying you to do so, or you are convinced that you are about to make a difference. As a language learner I complained about the way in which foreign language materials were structured. In my first grammar text, *The English Speaker's ABC to Afrikaans*, I opted for a nonlinear text design. As a learner, I preferred the accessibility to the different aspects of language. I separately grouped all the vocabulary, the grammar, etc. This affords the teacher greater freedom in compiling a curriculum. Traditional texts have a prescribed linear pattern, and to a great measure that influences the methodology since the materials developer decides which words will be acquired at what stage in the curriculum. The vocabulary listed in a lesson is often considered as acquired vocabulary from that point on. This vocabulary is then used in the initial stages of familiarization and acquisition in the following lessons. Often such vocabulary is not thoroughly internalized and becomes another unintentional variable the student has to deal with. In the nonlinear design the grammar and vocabulary sections are independent, so that a small set of vocabulary would be sufficient to teach any grammar principle. This text is being used in the Afrikaans programs at BYU and at UCLA. The experience of this materials development project led to the design of the Plug-in System. So far this design has been used to do materials development in Afrikaans, German, Dutch, Swedish, and Finnish. In addition to the nonlinear approach as mentioned above, the following two principles governed the design:

i) One variable was introduced at a time

ii) The required usage of metalanguage was obviated

The design of the grammar section has the following features:

a) The grammar is linearly sequenced with one pronoun paradigm governing the whole linear unit. A similar linear unit is then followed through with the next pronoun paradigm that requires a different verb conjugation.

b) Each time a page is turned, a new grammar principle is introduced.

c) Each new principle is placed in a graphical representation that presents the principle in relationship with all the previously taught principles. This enables the teacher to teach the principle independently, and then to teach/drill the principle in conjunction with the previously taught principles. This helps the teacher to avoid the inadvertent inclusion of previously taught principles in the teaching of a new principle. The concurrent separation yet cohabitation of each grammar skill raises the teacher's consciousness of the separation of grammar skills and to avoid the inadvertent inclusion of such skills. Teaching the grammar with a nucleus of vocabulary helps the teacher avoid the inclusion of unknown words. Yet, that does not exclude the usage of newly learned vocabulary, but the teacher will consciously do so and hopefully be more aware of this being a potential variable. That will help the teacher better control the achievement of the intended objective.

Great emphasis is placed on mastery of each skill, before that skill is drilled as a subskill with other subskills. If mastery is not achieved at each level, the purpose of negotiating one variable at a time will be defeated.

THE SETUP OF THE PLUG-IN SYSTEM--FINNISH

The system has been divided into the following booklets:

- Book 0--Lesson Preparation,
- Book 1--Pronunciation,
- Book 2--Vocabulary,
- Book 3-7--Grammar,
- Book 8--Contextuary and Conversation,
- Book 9--Culture,
- Book 10--Reference and Practice.

Flexitutor--Software application

Each booklet will now be discussed in further detail:

BOOK 0 LESSON PREPARATION--Scott Jarvis

The first section of The Plug-In System--Finnish is a booklet entitled "Lesson Preparation." It is basically a teacher's instruction booklet for teaching the individual grammar lessons in the text series. Following is a sample of one of the pages of instruction:
OBJECTIVE: Learn the possessive pronouns and their corresponding possessive suffixes which are added to the possessed noun (but not its modifying adjective). The possessive suffix is not a case, and will always be added after a case suffix.

DIRECTIONS:
• Drill vocab list #5.
• Do oral examples substituting the possessive pronoun and suffix with other possessive pronouns and suffixes. Have the students discover the principle by your substitution examples in Finnish. Say the sentences in Finnish; let the students tell you what they mean.
• Students explain the principle to each other.
• Students drill each other with the full vocab list (present tense only).
• Teacher gives present tense example; student replies with past tense equivalent.
• Student 1 asks a question; student 2 responds positively; student 2 asks a question; student 1 responds positively.
• Student 1 asks a question; student 2 responds negatively; student 2 asks a question; student 1 responds negatively.
• Work on exercise sheet.

Teacher Suggestions:

The contents of this page reveal the procedure suggested in teaching a new grammar skill.

BOOK 1 PRONUNCIATION--Scott Jarvis
Pronunciation is the very first topic dealt with in the Plug-In System. Lessons in this book are arranged in such a way that the learners will first learn the individual vowel sounds and combinations within the language. Subsequently they will practice articulating consonant-vowel combinations as well as any potential syllable structure in the language. This is
designed to retrain their articulatory habits in order for them to acquire native-like pronunciation. This section also contains lessons and exercises in Finnish consonant gradation (liaison or softening of stop consonants within the word with the addition of certain suffixes). Finally, the pronunciation section has lists of common place and person names for the students to practice. Accompanying these lists is a group of common tongue-twisters and a list of some of the most difficult words for an English speaker to pronounce.

**BOOK 2 VOCABULARY--Scott Jarvis**
The vocabulary booklet is arranged by topic, e.g. colors, toiletries, the body, etc. This tends to increase the student's ability to retain vocabulary, and offers him/her a better conversational capacity. At the front of the booklet are several useful and common phrases for the student to memorize. These phrases provide for the immediate 'how-do-you-do' conversational requirements that s/he may rely on until the grammar skills necessary to produce spontaneous sentences have been acquired.

**BOOKS 3-7 GRAMMAR--Jacques du Plessis**
The first grammar booklet (book 3) uses the third person singular pronoun exclusively. Pictures are frequently used to help illustrate the use of the cases. Booklet 4 uses the first and second person singular pronouns. Booklet 5 uses the first and second person plural pronouns. Booklet 6 uses the third person plural pronoun. Booklet 7 concentrates on imperatives and the passive voice. Since there is no progressive interdependency with the inclusion of new vocabulary, the teacher has many options in the order in which the lessons may be taught. Some possible options may include the total completion of each booklet in numerical order, or the first four or five lessons of each booklet could be done in the initial stages, without restricting the order in of the pronoun presentation. A central thought in the design is to expose a new variable so that the student's preceding experience and knowledge will be helpful in the acquisition of the new principle. The penultimate objective of each lesson is the mastery of the principle as a unique variable and then as a subskill used with the other variables taught up to that point. The final objective would be to apply the principle in context so that the function and not only the form will be emphasized.

**BOOK 8 CONVERSATION AND CONTEXTUARY--Jacques du Plessis**
This booklet is not in its final form, but the idea is well established. The CONTEXTUARY provides words in context with three main sections. The first section is a list of interjections and handy sayings. The second and largest section contains words that were collected by means of error analyses. This collection of words focuses on words that are frequently misused in Finnish. The last section contains a listing of idioms and sayings. The CONVERSATION section of the booklet contains a collection of pictures, each representing the chronological development of a story. The stories are done in both English and Finnish. The stories are told in English first and then in Finnish. This helps the learners to better concentrate on proficiency, since they know what they want to say and by having the necessary vocabulary in each picture to accomplish the task.

**BOOK 9 CULTURE--Jacques du Plessis**
The following listing represents some of the topics covered in the culture booklet which is written in English: fairy tales from Finnish mythology, the ethnic groups in the country, Finnish geography, Finnish songs and recipes, etiquette and traditions, food, religion, values and perceptions, history, etc.

**BOOK 10 WORD INFLECTION & GRAMMAR REFERENCE--Scott Jarvis**
This book provides lists of various inflections for the most common (800+) words in Finnish. The frequency of the words was determined by a study at the University of Oulu.
in Finland by tallying and studying samples of communication from the radio, magazines, literature, etc.

This book is designed specifically for drilling and internalizing the inflections of Finnish, but can also be used as a reference book.

**EXERCISE FORMAT--Scott Jarvis**
The exercise format is organized to allow the students to practice writing the sentences they have been saying. Its layout provides a concise format for practicing the exercises in the grammar books while substituting words, changing tenses, adding negation, forming questions, etc. We have chosen to laminate this format so that it can be used over and over with a felt-tip (transparency) pen. The format allows the student to write an infinite number of practice sentences.

**SOFTWARE--FLEXITUTOR**
Flexitutor is a shell that reads DOS text files. This program was used to create a computer-assisted language learning application. Files have been created to drill various aspects of grammar and vocabulary.

**SPECIFIC ISSUES OF ADAPTATION TO FINNISH--Scott Jarvis**
The structure of the Finnish language poses some specific pedagogical challenges. Aside from developing and defining a general methodology of second language instruction, we were also faced with the challenge of extending our approach to cover specific obstacles concerning Finnish. Some of these issues are as follows:

**Consonant Gradation--Scott Jarvis**
Consonant gradation in Finnish is the alteration of a voiceless stop consonant to a "softer" articulation of voicing. This happens to words which have a /kl, /pl, or /lt/ in the final syllable of the stem word, which is followed by certain suffixes which "close" the final syllable. By closing the syllable, we mean that a suffix is added which causes the final syllable of the stem word to end with a consonant rather than a vowel. By way of example, the /lt/ in the Finnish word *katu* 'street' will become a /dl/ with the addition of the accusative suffix -n (i.e., *katu* + -n = *kadun*).

The alteration of the /kl, /pl, and /lt/ to softened articulations is not always a simple and straight-forward operation. The metaphysical principles behind consonant gradation are very complex and rule governed. A list of the most prevalent alterations is as follows:

Even by knowing the complete array of consonant alterations that can occur does not guarantee that the learner will have a proficient knowledge of when they will occur. Of course, most Finns do not even have a conscious understanding of the metaphysics behind such phonetic changes, but they do have an accurate productive ability of gradating words in a very complex but uniform manner. They have been exposed to all the conditions related to consonant gradation, and they have had ample practice re-producing such forms, so that the principles behind consonant gradation have become internalized and automatic for them. On several occasions, I have asked Finns to add certain suffixes to words that do not actually exist in the language. Without fail, they have gradated the words uniformly and according to the underlying metaphysical principles of Finnish phonology. The fact that they can apply such principles accurately to words they have never heard before proves that they have a productive competence of Finnish phonology. This is the very thing we hope to instill in second-language learners of Finnish.

In order to instill a productive phonological competence of Finnish in second-language learners, we felt that it would be most effective to expose them to a series of learning
activities which would allow them to acquire a productive competence of consonant gradation similar to that of a native speaker. These learning exercises would, of course, focus on the principles of phonological change in the language while eliminating all other variables (e.g., meaning of words, grammatical functions, etc.). In order to eliminate outside variables, we simply chose to complete the consonant gradation learning activities before any other variables (aside from mere pronunciation) have even been presented. In addition, although all the words in the gradation exercises are formed in accordance to the phonological constraints of Finnish, many of the words have no actual meaning. The learners are told this, and are therefore better able to concentrate on the immediate principle.

The first principle of gradation presented to the learners is the series of conditions in which consonant gradation will occur. These conditions depend on the structure of the head word as well as the suffix. The learners are given a brief explanation followed by a considerable list of words and suffixes to practice their knowledge. Answers to the exercises are given on the reverse side of the page. The following pages show the specific consonant alterations which occur in the language. They are accompanied with an ample array of exercises in which the learners will combine words with most of the suffixes in the language. They will gain a feel for which words will undergo gradation, and which suffixes cause gradation. This feel for correctness is the main goal and highest achievement within second-language acquisition.

**Vocabulary--Scott Jarvis**

Vocabulary is an enormous obstacle for most learners of Finnish as a second language. Because of the genetically unrelatedness of Finnish to nearly all of the other European languages, most of the lexical items in Finnish are completely foreign and unrecognizable to second-language learners of Finnish. Not only is the vocabulary very unfamiliar, but recognizing the words a learner *does* know within various inflections can, at times, be completely frustrating.

Possibly all texts and methods in the past have concentrated on teaching the learner the dictionary form of a word first, and then giving the learner a set of rules to show how to get to the stem or root of the word from the dictionary form (the stem and the dictionary form are often drastically different). Once the learner can identify the root word, s/he is able to form a remaining dozen or so inflections by agglutination (simple adding of suffixes). This two-step method of identifying or producing the inflections from the dictionary form has often been very confusing, and has resulted in serious inflection errors by the students.

We chose to deal with this problem by teaching the stem word first. The stem is usually the most identifiable form of a word within any given inflection. From the stem the learner may identify and produce all of the inflections, including the dictionary form of the word. This simplified one-step operation reduces confusing variables, and offers a more uniform and systematic approach to learning words and inflections. It also better illustrates the actual underlying relations of the various forms and inflections of the word.

**Morphological Proficiency--Scott Jarvis**

In addition to learning of the existence of all sixteen nominal cases and all the various tenses, moods, and infinitives of Finnish verbs, the learner is faced with the challenge of learning to form each inflection depending on the phonetic structure of the stem word. For instance, the singular partitive inflection of the word *talo* 'house' is *taloa*, but the same inflection with the word *perhe* 'family' is *perhetä*. In the first example, the singular partitive inflection was formed by adding an *-a* to the base word, but the second example required a *-tä* ending to form the singular partitive.
Forming this and other inflections is often much more difficult than the examples above. Existing Finnish grammar texts usually divide Finnish nominals into somewhere between fifteen and twenty-five different categories based on the phonetic structure of the words. Accompanying these structural categories are lists of rules for forming the various cases and inflections. According to this method, a student must learn up to twenty-five rules for forming the singular partitive according to the phonetic structure of the word. Have him/her learn the rules for the plural partitive, and we're up to a possible 50 rules for partitive inflections alone. Realizing that Finnish has 15 other cases implies that the student may have to memorize upwards around 800 rules just for the formation of nominals alone! And we haven't even begun to consider verbs!!

Well, it's actually much simpler than that. There are several shortcuts, and many rules can apply to several circumstances. But it should be quite clear that many learners are initially overwhelmed with rules and exceptions to the point that they believe the language to be utterly impossible to learn—"I mean, who memorize that many rules anyway?" Quite right, and who needs them when it comes right down to it? We have yet to meet a Finn who consciously knows more than two or three of them. And yet, the Finns are perfectly fluent in their language.

In order to help students acquire the ability to produce any inflection without hesitation or undue contemplation, we devised a system with the objective of helping the student realize the patterns of inflection subconsciously. Subconscious or internalized competence is the key to fluency. We compiled a booklet containing the most common (800+) words in the language (University of Oulu research). The book is divided into three sections—namely verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Each section is organized in a parallel manner showing the stem words on the left side of the pages, and the inflections in columns directly to the right of the stems. The words are grouped together in accordance with their phonetic structure, and thus, in accordance with their manner of inflection.

After the teacher says the stem form of the word, the learners will respond with the inflected form of the word. In this way, the learners are devising conscious and subconscious rules of formation, they are gaining a feel for what sounds correct, they are learning to rely on examples rather than abstract rules, and they are internalizing the inflections of several of the most frequently used words in Finnish. In order to assure that the learners have actually acquired accurate conscious and subconscious rules of formation, this exercise is followed by an exercise in which the stem words appear in the same order as before, but the inflected forms are not given. Now, the learners are forced to produce the inflected forms from their own understanding of the language. Again, a third exercise is given the learners to check their mastery of the inflectional principles. In this exercise, the stem words are presented only in their order of frequency, and not in any order of inflectional correspondence. Mastery of this exercise proves the learners to be fluent and spontaneous in inflection formation.

**Syntactic Functions--Scott Jarvis**

Whereas the English language marks function with word order, Finnish marks function with inflection. For instance, in the sentence "John saw Mary," the function of John as the subject is determined by its position at the head of the sentence. If the position of the words John and Mary were exchanged, the meaning would change drastically. In contrast, the same sentence in Finnish "John näki Maryn" would not change in meaning with the rearrangement of the words to "Maryn näki John." Finnish syntactic function is determined by inflectional markers, and only emphasis is shifted with the rearrangement of lexical items. Second-language learners of Finnish must learn to substitute their competence of function marking by word order with a corresponding competence of inflection.
However, it is not enough to simply replace the English system of functional marking with the Finnish inflectional system. English marks certain functions which are not even intrinsically perceived in Finnish (e.g., definite and indefinite articles, gender within the pronoun system, progressive tenses, future indicative perfect tense—"I will have gone," etc.). These functions must simply be ignored or reduced to comply with Finnish ways of perception.

Likewise, Finnish has several inflections and constructions which mark functions and perceptions non-existent in the English language. Possibly the clearest example of this is the partitive/accusative distinction in Finnish. These inflections are applied to direct objects to show contrasts in the quantitative defmity of the object, completion of the action, endurance of the action, and the resultative nature of the action on the direct object. The foreign learner of Finnish must learn to perceive the world in a different light.

In order to deal with the challenges of the acquisition of new perceptual functions, we arranged the new principles in such a way as to enhance clearness of meaning, and to maximally reduce confusion caused by a multiplicity of variables. We provided several graphics to represent the functions and meanings of the new inflections, and listed brief forms of explanation at the bottom of the page in each new lesson. Wherever possible we included accompanying sentences which were nearly parallel in meaning, but which were already familiar in structure and function. The teacher is given a list of objectives for each lesson, and is instructed to lead the students to self-discovery of the principle through a series of questions dealing with the meaning and structure of the new principle.

THE METHODOLOGICAL CONCEPT--Scott Jarvis

Thus far, we have emphasized the importance of internalizing the grammatical patterns of a language in order to acquire true linguistic proficiency. Practicing syntactic patterns of sentence structure over and over until they become automatic will produce native-like fluency. This may sound somewhat like the behaviorist claims of Skinner during the 1950's, when he proposed that language proficiency is nothing more than a series of phonological habits triggered by some type of stimulus. In essence, he claimed that speakers could only produce sounds and phrases which they had heard before, and which were inter-related to some type of situational stimulus. Thus, a speaker's linguistic repertoire would be finite—limited to past communicative experience.

Chomsky was more than successful in refuting Skinner's claims of the finite nature of language. He showed, first of all, that speakers of all languages continually produce sentences and phrases which have never before been uttered. In addition, the productive capacity of all languages is completely infinite. There is a limited number of vocabulary items in any language, but the potential to combine, modify, and coordinate vocabulary items in any language is absolutely infinite.

Now, let's return to our position of language proficiency. No doubt, the productive capacity of language for a native speaker is infinite. In order for learners of a second language to become fluent at that language, they must acquire the ability to produce language spontaneously within this infinite productive capacity. Spontaneity can be achieved by internalizing and automatizing the elements of the language which are finite, and then by learning to re-combine, re-modify, and re-coordinate these finite elements. Looking at this by analogy, we can show that when a person has acquired a natural ability for driving a particular model of a standard (stick-shift) car, that person will have little trouble driving any standard automobile. We can say that this person has acquired proficiency at driving an infinite number of standard automobiles of any model or make by simply developing a finite series of habits related to a particular series of functions.
In relation to the preceding analogy, we could say that the finite series of habits used in
driving a standard car (e.g. stepping on the clutch, shifting the gear, pressing the gas pedal,
turning on the lights, etc.) are analogous to the surface sentence structure or word order of
any affirmative question in the language. In the same way that the gear lever, clutch, gas
pedal, and control panel of the car may differ considerably in size, shape, or order, the
words of the affirmative question may vary. Regardless of the variance, however, there is
a one-to-one relationship between the ordering or inflection of the words and their function,
just the same as there is a one-to-one relationship between the instruments in the car and
their function. By learning to manipulate function with recognizable instruments, a learner
is able to become proficient and spontaneous. Practicing specific sentence structures over
and over while substituting words within the sentence will produce native-like proficiency
in spontaneity and in the understanding of syntactic functions.

There may be a number of ways to apply this methodology to second language learners. In
our own applications, we have developed language-specific texts centered around this
methodology--one of which is the Plug-In System--Finnish, whose structure and
organization has thus far been described.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION--Scott Jarvis
We have now evaluated and tested learners of the Plug-In System--Finnish for nearly five
months. We have compiled lists of statistical information relating to learner competence
and error analysis. We have not yet, however, completed the evaluating process, and our
arrangement of statistical data is still somewhat vague, so we felt that it would be most
appropriate at this time to list some general observations which we can state with real
accuracy.

The most substantial evidence, so far, for the success of the system has been the oral
proficiency of the students. The Missionary Training Center of the Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-Day Saints has been concurrently teaching two groups of missionaries preparing
to go to Finland. One group is learning from a traditional grammar book, and the other
from the Plug-In System--Finnish. The Plug-In students are generally quite proficient at
generating sentences during speech interaction. The traditional learners often can only
produce spontaneously such phrases as they have memorized. Their generative proficiency
is often very inhibited, and when they do produce generative sentences and phrases, it is
usually only after an extended period of silent deliberation and sentence forming in
accordance with the long array of structural rules they have tried to memorize.

Error analysis shows that the two groups make errors of a completely different nature. The
Plug-In students often make overgeneralizations in their formation of inflections and
ordering of sentence structure. They often decline and conjugate words according to the
most common and most productive forms of the individual inflections. In contrast, the
traditional learners often confuse formation rules of one inflection with another. By far, the
most acceptable errors are the former. Although the Plug-In learners often inflect words in
a way that a native never would, the function of the word is still recognized. For instance,
if a foreigner learning English were to err while forming the past tense of the word tell by
using a productive morphological representation so that s/he were to say telled rather than
the correct form told, the function of the word would still be retained and recognized. On
the other hand, if the learner were to confuse past tense formation rules with progressive
verb formation rules so as to say telling rather than told, the function of the word would be
confused.

It has been somewhat difficult to abstract necessary information from our evaluations of the
different learners because of the difference in the understandability of the errors which the
learners make. We cannot simply tally one mark for every error made. Errors have a
gradated degree of severity within the realm of proficient communication. Besides simple accuracy of inflection, pronunciation, and sentence formation, we must also evaluate the learners understanding and representation of grammatical function. Therefore, we give separate attention to three basic areas of proficiency: (1) Use of the appropriate words and morphemes, (2) accuracy of pronunciation and/or spelling (depending on the method of evaluation), and (3) representation of grammatical function by means of inflection and sentence structure.

The second major area of success we have had with the Plug-In System has been the learner's proficiency at accurately translating and understanding written Finnish material which is given to them after three and a half weeks of intense language training. They have been far more successful at recognizing the meanings and functions of individual words and inflections within the text. They can recognize the individual building blocks of each word. Traditional learners, on the other hand, are often not able to identify even words which they already know; they don't recognize words in the shroud of their inflectional variations. A teacher will generally spend several minutes on each paragraph of text while translating, pointing out inflections, and reviewing formation and function rules with the learners. Plug-In students rarely have this problem.

Self-correction is a very important factor of language learning. When they realize they have said something incorrectly, Plug-In students are more often able to correct their own errors, while traditional learners often require a review of rules by the teacher. Because of the increased awareness of Plug-In students, they are able to cover more material in less time. They have more time to communicate in the language and learn new vocabulary items. They experience less frustration in the learning process--they seem less inhibited by the fear of breaking grammar rules and making errors. I was once teaching the traditional text to a group of students who expressed their frustration and claimed that they were "unable to learn such an impossible language." On the same day, I walked over to the classroom of the Plug-In group to speak with the teacher. When I walked in the classroom the students seemed more confident, and two of the Plug-In students asked me, "Why do they say that Finnish is a hard language?"

From the conversationalist point of view, perhaps the greatest benefit of the Plug-In method is that it reduces the need for conscious analysis of language during conversation. Learners who acquire a feel for correctness in language use, rather than relying on memorized rules of use and formation, are better able to focus on topics of conversation as well as non-verbal, situational elements of interaction. They listen more closely to the speaker, and are more able to pick up on colloquial and idiomatic uses of the language.
In trying to devise a better teaching method to clarify case usage for students I recently produced a simple learning device which draws upon the students' knowledge of and interest in football and its heroes, enhances their visualization of the action conveyed by case usage (both in real life and in language), and also involves them kinesthetically.

By folding a sheet of 8" × 11" paper into three rather equal segments, we can form a simple though very useful teaching aid. We will start with basic sentence structure.

Each of you hold your sheet by the shorter sides and fold the right side under about one third (3 1/2 inches) and crease it flat. Now fold the left side under the same amount and flatten the edges so the resultant piece is approximately 1/3 the original width. Turn the sheet over to the right and at the bottom center write "the", then 2/3 up toward the top write "the thrower throws", and directly above that draw a stick figure with right arm cocked back to throw, left arm extended ahead of him and legs spread apart and firmly planted. This is Ty Detmer, the all-American passer--write his name in parentheses below "the thrower" and write the number "1" at the top center of this part. (This will be the left-hand "wing" of the paper when it is spread out flat--see examples 1 & 2.)

Now turn the sheet over to the right and at the bottom center write "big" and 2/3 up the words "the wide receiver" and above this a stick man running forward with hands outstretched. This is Jeff Frandsen; write his name just below "the wide receiver". (No number here yet.) (See examples 1 & 2.)

Next fold the two sides of this sheet inward together so the picture of the wide receiver is hidden and the new fold is pointing away from you. Flatten this edge with your fingers. You realize, of course, that you can't really flatten a wide receiver this easily in real life. Turn the paper over to the left and at the bottom center write "picture", and 2/3 up write "the ball" and right above that draw a one-inch long football. At the top center write the number "2". Keeping the center folded, open the two wings so you see 1 and 2 only. Our sentence reads: "The thrower throws the ball", a very important action for scoring. We can also close the right wing behind and we have the shorter sentence "The thrower throws". And by opening the sheet completely we produce our three-part sentence, the big
picture, "The thrower throws the wide receiver the ball". While this is excellent grammar and syntax it has no relevance to life as you can see by looking at your picture. You've all seen an activity like that—the wide receiver running eagerly after the ball that is ahead of him. Does the play click? Of course not. But if we were to rearrange the sentence into the "real-life" sequence of 1, 2, 3, we get "The thrower throws the ball the wide receiver" and we have a very humorous sentence—unless we add "to" after ball. This now reveals two very important linguistic facts that are crucial to our understanding:

1) The short form of the sentence doesn't match the real-life sequence.
2) The "real-life" sequence requires an extra word (to) in order to make sense.

Thus we see we are dealing with a sort of time warp in normal word order, or a codified sentence. As long as we recognize this shorthand arrangement we are all right, however, and to note this aspect we will put a number three at the top of the center section resulting in 1 3 2.

With this final notation we are ready to discuss the role of case and syntax in language: #1 indicates the mover of the sentence, the subject (called nominative or "naming" case). "This is the thrower, Ty Detmer", we can record in the lower third of section one and recognize that the words "this", "the thrower", and "Ty Detmer" are all nominative since each word refers to our one stick figure. This tells us also that some verbs can only be used with one case, the nominative, and that the verb choice limits the case possibilities, a very helpful realization. Thus the sentence "He is my friend." (due to "is") also only has one case since friend and he are the same person.

If we open the right wing as well (still keeping the folded center closed) we find we have added a second separate picture and therefore a second "case"; the object case that receives the action and is referred to as "accusative". This is the second most likely case to be used, thus the second one we learn. It is also helpful to know that having two cases in a sentence is the most common structure, thus most verbs are accusative or transitive (meaning they transfer action to an object).

Opening the sheet to its full 11-inch width now reveals a third case, the "receiver" case, the indirect object or dative, the person indirectly receiving the action. We also see that some transitive verbs can extend into third case involvement. Other verbs, such as "give", "donate", "send" and a few others fit in the "dative" verb category. Thus our knowledge of football helps us "see" grammar more readily and more clearly.

Now, everyone knows a football game is incomplete without a cheer, so let's create one for our "game". Here it is: Verbs cause case 1, verbs cause case 2, verbs cause case 3. Yeh!
Let us now apply this to a foreign language, German, and see how useful the 1, 2, 3 numbering can be.

For case 1 German uses a one-stroke letter "r" to form the word "der", (the: the thrower = der Werfer). For case 2 it uses a two-stroke letter "n". Thus "der Ball" changes to "den Ball" so we can recognize the object role vs. the subject role of "der Werfer". This two-stroke letter also enables us to change word order (thus greater flexibility) without losing sight of roles: "Den Ball wirft der Werfer."

And would you care to guess how many strokes the letter has that shows third case usage? Three, of course! "m", "dem". So "dem Fänger" is our resultant form. This is especially helpful when we read or hear German because the nominative, dative sequence "der Werfer wirft dem Fänger" warns us the writer or speaker has more to share so we continue reading or listening to "catch" the object promised--"den Ball".

Now we can also rearrange the sentence to read "Dem Fänger wirft der Werfer den Ball" and by noting the strokes of the final letter of each determiner or article "the", we know the real-life sequence, despite altered linguistic sequence.

To be sure this becomes more complex when we add two more genders and plural forms, yet this "logical" basis covers the largest group and gives us a solid basis to work with.

The three-part sheet can also be applied to: 1) the three basic genders of German and their respective plurals; 2) the difference between a) active, b) true passive and c) false passive--the latter fitting between the two extremes; 3) indicative, subjunctive II and the more restricted written form, subjunctive I--again the "odd" one in the middle where it can be "folded" away, and 4) even the awesome participial or long attribute construction. All of these can more readily be "seen" and thus understood faster by this method.

Try it, you'll like it!

(See example charts for details on following pages.)
Example 1 - The Folded Sheet

Example 2 - The Open Sheet

The thrower throws the wide receiver the ball

the big picture

Example 3 - Plurals

1. der
   plural adds "s"
   Group 4 with "el"-en-"er"
   adds nothing for plural

2. das
   plural adds "en" (foreign words & "odd" forms from above)
Example 4 - Active/Passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Oblique cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>He conquers the mountain.</td>
<td>The mountain is conquered.</td>
<td>The mountain is being conquered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>False Passive</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 5 - Indicative/Subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal (Indicative)</th>
<th>Special Subjunctive</th>
<th>General Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Er sagt: &quot;Gott ist mit euch.&quot;</td>
<td>Er sagt: &quot;Gott sei mit euch.&quot;</td>
<td>Er sagt: &quot;Wäre Gott nur mit euch.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He says, &quot;God is with you.&quot;</td>
<td>He says, &quot;God be with you.&quot;</td>
<td>He says, &quot;If only God were with you.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 6

1. der Herr von uns besucht
2. (This is the codified, shorthand form—1 3 2)
3. (This is the real-life conversational form—1 2 3)