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## ► To cite this version:

Diana M Lewis. Coherence relations and information structure in English and French political speeches. *Contrastive Analysis of Discourse-pragmatic Aspects of Linguistic Genres. Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics* 5., pp.141 - 161, 2017. <hal-01934681>

**HAL Id: hal-01934681**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01934681v1>**

Submitted on 26 Nov 2018

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## **Coherence relations and information structure in English and French political speeches**

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### **Abstract**

This study addresses the marking of additive coherence relations in French and English political speeches. It is based on a balanced comparable corpus of ministerial political speeches spanning the late 1990s and early 2000s. Additive relations are expected to be the least marked relations, as where a discourse follows on naturally from what has gone before, coherence is easily assured by continuity intonation, a discourse continuity marker such as English 'and', or simple juxtaposition. Density and variety of additive markers are found to be much greater in the French speeches compared with the English, where additive relations are more often left implicit, resulting in quite different discourse patterns. The role of markers is illustrated by a case study comparing the roles of *en effet* and its dictionary equivalent *indeed*, which are found to function differently. The findings arguably reflect the greater distance between literary and conversational French than is the case for English. At the same time, the higher frequency of a number of the French markers seems to go along with greater grammaticalization towards rhetorical 'presentational' functions.

**Keywords:** French-English, discourse marking, additives, political discourse, grammaticalization, bleaching.

### **1. Introduction**

As has been observed in a number of contrastive studies of French and English (such as Chuquet and Paillard 1987, Guillemin-Flescher 1981), there appear to be significant differences in the patterns of discourse marking between the two languages. There has been little agreement, however, on the nature of such differences. While some have argued that markers of discourse coherence seem to be more necessary in English than in French (v. Gallagher 1995; Mason 2001), others have claimed that French has a preference for a greater density of discourse marking (e.g.. Fetzer and Johansson 2010 on causation marking).

This paper takes a look at discourse marking in the genre of political speeches, a genre of written-to-be-spoken language that is broadly-speaking persuasive in intent. The study is based on a French-English comparable corpus of speeches.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses the additive coherence relation in the context of discourse coherence. Section 3 gives an overview of the genre-specific comparable corpus on which the study is based - political speeches - and describes the procedures. The findings on additive markers across the French and English speeches are presented in Section 4. Section 5 focuses on the uses of two additive markers that are commonly given as 'dictionary equivalents': French *en effet* and English *indeed*. The implications of the findings are discussed in the concluding section 6.

## **2. Discourse coherence, information structure and additive relations**

Discourse coherence concerns the level at which the speaker, putting together her discourse, needs to enable the hearer to build an ongoing representation where each upcoming 'idea' - theme or proposition - finds its place. Information structure refers here to thematic progression, in the sense of structuring given and new information, as well as informational salience: means used by the speaker to foreground or background ideas, creating an information contour for the discourse.

Both coherence relations and information structure may be encoded in some linguistic device (such as prosodic pattern, lexical expression/construction or syntactic structure /construction), or may be left implicit for the hearer/reader to pragmatically infer. Some particular linguistic device may mark simultaneously a coherence relation and an information structural relation. In fact, some approaches to discourse tie the two together so that each coherence relation has an inherent information contour or grounding relation. This is the case, for instance, of Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) (Mann and Thompson 1986). Others, such as Relational Discourse Analysis (RDA) (Oberlander and Moore 2001), distinguish 'semantic' coherence relations from 'functional' information structure.

Coherence relations (also known as discourse relations or rhetorical relations) include such notions as 'contrast', 'concession', 'result', 'elaboration', 'exemplification', 'addition', 'justification' and so on. They refer to the various ways in which the segments (or groups of segments) of a text or discourse fit into the rest of the text or discourse; that is, how each part relates to the parts that precede and follow it, and thus contributes to the overall meaning of the text.

These types of meaning can themselves be thought of as propositional. (In fact, they are referred to by Mann and Thompson (1986) as 'relational propositions', an area of meaning that is relatively grammaticalized into particles and adverbs, but which can also be 'propositionalized'.) Attempts to draw up empirically satisfactory taxonomies of coherence relations, using labels such

as the ones above (contrast, concession, etc.), have foundered on three main difficulties: the issue of constraining the number of relations, the degree to which the taxonomy is hierarchical and the relationship between coherence and information structure. Moreover, each language will have its own network of relations depending on the way relations are typically drawn in the language in question. We do not adopt a taxonomic approach here; descriptions of relations in sections 4 and 5 are not to be interpreted as labels belonging to a particular taxonomy of predefined coherence relations, but simply as indications of the types of meaning expressed in the corpus data.

For practical purposes, nevertheless, a working model is needed to delimit an area for investigation. The approach adopted here is to view relations as a consonant-dissonant cline from total or high consonance to low or zero consonance. High consonance occurs where the ideas or sets of ideas expressed in consecutive discourse segments co-exist happily, being wholly compatible with one another (e.g. reformulation, exemplification). High dissonance occurs where adjacent discourse segments express ideas that are wholly incompatible (e.g. polar opposites). (This model is comparable to Murray's (1997) model of continuous vs discontinuous relations; we prefer different terms to avoid confusion with Continuative relations, which Murry subsumes along with causal relations under 'continuous'.) Fig. 1 illustrates such a simple partial model.

Consonant relations			Dissonant relations			
addition	cause	[other relations]	concession	contrast	antithesis	[other relations]
<i>Also,..</i> <i>For instance,..</i>	<i>Because...</i> <i>so that ..</i>		<i>although ..</i> <i>Even then ..</i>	<i>But ...</i>	<i>on the contrary, ..</i>	

Table 1. A partial simple model of discourse coherence relations

Relations may be explicitly marked or left implicit (v. Taboada 2009). Marking takes many forms, more or less grammaticalized: syntactic pattern, subordinating conjunction, non-subordinating conjunction, adverb, adverbial phrase, clause, modal particle, and so on. Dedicated discourse markers are adverbial lexemes and phrases such as *however*, *even so*, *besides*, *for instance*, *moreover*, and similar expressions in other languages. A further function of many, if not all, discourse markers is to signal the relative informational salience of the discourse segment they attach to. They thereby help the hearer to appreciate the speaker's evaluation of the relative importance of the states of affairs related in the discourse. The expression of discourse coherence is thus both subjective, indicating the speaker's vision of how the ideas expressed inter-relate, and intersubjective insofar as the speaker must anticipate the expectations of the hearer.

The focus here is on the discourse marking of additive relations. An additive relation will be

said to exist where a new idea in the upcoming discourse develops the topic of the preceding discourse and is compatible with the preceding idea(s); simply put, it is 'more in the same vein'. (This use of 'additive' differs from that of other authors such as Halliday (1994), for example.) The relation may be between two states of affairs ('content' use) or between two speaker arguments ('presentational' use); often both types of relation obtain between two ideas (cf Hasselgård 2014:72). A single occurrence of a discourse marker might therefore be interpreted as encoding a state-of-affairs relation, an argumentational relation and an information structural relation. In (1), for instance, *What's more* can be interpreted as introducing an additional event and an additional speaker argument, as well as signalling that the upcoming event/argument is more salient (rhetorically stronger for the speaker) than the previous idea that it links to.

- (1) *if they had been cheating I would have known. What's more, I would have been the first to complain.* [BNC CH7, newspaper]

The aim of the study is to compare the usages of additive coherence relation markers by speakers of the political speech genre in the two languages and to identify potential discourse constructions built around an additive coherence relation.

Consonant relations in general are expected to be less marked (for example, by a discourse marker) than dissonant relations. This is because 'coherence' in the lay sense excludes incompatibility: the bare assertion of two apparently incompatible ideas results in incoherence. Where a proposition may appear to the hearer to be either at odds with what went before or irrelevant to it, some marker is called for to at least acknowledge the counterexpectation. But where an idea follows on naturally and unsurprisingly, it will usually be enough to use discourse continuity intonation, a discourse continuity marker such as English 'and', or simple juxtaposition, for the coherence to be understood. This can be seen from example (1), where the removal of *What's more* does not render the sequence incoherent. As Patterson and Kehler point out, "the more difficult recovering the correct relation would be without a connective, the more necessary it is to include one" (2013:915). Additive markers are therefore more optional than markers of other relation types.

This notion of uneven marking of relations is compatible too with the uniformity of information density (UID) hypothesis, according to which predictability largely explains variability in reduction. That is, the more predictable an upcoming item is, the more likely it is to be reduced (phonetically, syntactically, discoursally) (Levy and Jaeger 2007). Ars and Demsberg (2012:84) apply this hypothesis to discourse marking and observe that easily inferable relations are on average

marked more ambiguously than relations which are less expected, in a fashion that arguably reflects discourse-level information density smoothing.

### **3. Data: the comparable corpus of political speeches**

The study is based on an English-French comparable corpus of around 760,000 words consisting of political speeches given during the late 1990s and early 2000s. All the speeches are given by politicians in government in the course of their ministerial duties. The genre of ministerial speeches, in the European context, is a fairly constrained one. The sociocultural parameters of the situations in which such texts are produced are well-defined and similar across the two languages, so that identifying comparable texts for a corpus is fairly straightforward. It is unidirectional public language - produced by the specialist few (the political figures and their assistants) and designed for reception by several constituencies, which can include, in addition to the immediate (often specialist) audience, other politicians, other governments, other institutions, the media and the wider public. A ministerial speech is typically written to be spoken and contains a few thousand words at most. It expounds policy, aims to impress and persuade, and seeks positive evaluation from its several audiences. But its ceremonial role is also important: a speech is an integral part of many ceremonial events and other regular gatherings in the calendar of each minister.

The comparable corpus on which the study of additive connectives is based contains around 375,000 words in each language. Size-matching the parts of a comparable corpus by number of words is, of course, a rough-and-ready way to proceed. As is well known, typological differences mean that written French text tends to be 'longer' than written English text.<sup>1</sup> For pairs of translated texts, for instance, the French text tends to exceed the English by both mean word length and number of words per sentence. The present corpus is no exception, with the mean length of word in the French part 5.16 characters compared with 4.83 for the English part, and mean sentence length 25.3 words in the French compared with 19.9 words in the English. A more appropriate measure (one involving the number of opportunities for the target constructions to occur - cf. discussion in Holmes 1994: 30), might be the discourse segment or, for an unsegmented corpus, the sentence. But the English speeches being on average notably longer than the French ones, by both word and sentence counts, the smaller number of English speeches is somewhat counterbalanced by the larger number of English sentences (table 2). Frequencies are given in relation to word counts. Prosodic information is not available, the corpus speeches being written versions only.

	French part	English part
No. of words to nearest 000	372,000	384,000
No. of speeches	149	133
Average no. of words per speech	2497	2910
Average no. of sentences per speech	98	145

Table 2. The English-French comparable corpus of political speeches

#### 4. Additive marking across English and French speeches

Starting from lists of potential additive markers in French and English, an overall picture of marking was drawn up for the texts in the two languages. The lists of markers were drawn up following consultation of a variety of sources: Danlos et al (2015), Roze (2009), the digital resource *Dictionnaire des synonymes français*, Quirk et al (1985) and *Roget's Thesaurus*.

Discourse-connective *and* and *et* were excluded from the study as they typically mark discourse continuity rather than addition, and often precede markers of other coherence relations (cf. *And yet, Et pourtant* and so on). *Donc* and *so* were also excluded for being still inherently causal, though both can arguably also mark discursal addition. The additive uses of the markers listed in table 3 were counted.

French	<i>ainsi, aussi, d'ailleurs, d'autre part, de même, du reste, du reste, effectivement, également, en effet, en fait, en outre, en plus, enfin, ensuite, finalement, par ailleurs, parallèlement, pareillement, puis / et puis, qui plus est, surtout</i>
English	<i>additionally, again, also, and of course, as well, besides, equally, further, furthermore, here again, in addition, in fact, in the same vein, in the same way, indeed, likewise, moreover, similarly, then, thus, too, too, what is more</i>

Table 3. Additive markers counted in the comparable corpus

Surprisingly, the frequency of *besides*, a fairly typical marker in English conversation and other genres (cf. Hasselgård 2014), was zero. The most frequent fifteen markers in each language are listed with their frequencies in fig. 1.

French speeches clearly contain more frequent and more varied additive marking than the English ones. *Aussi, ainsi, également, enfin, en effet, par ailleurs, d'ailleurs, de même, en outre, [et] puis, d'autre part* all occur at more than 10 per 100k words, in an additive function, across a range

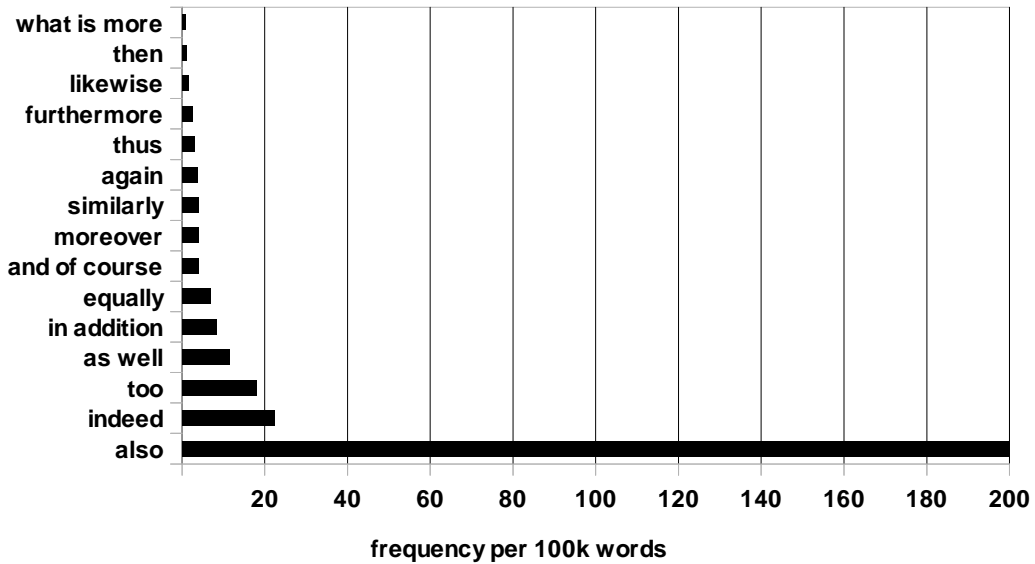
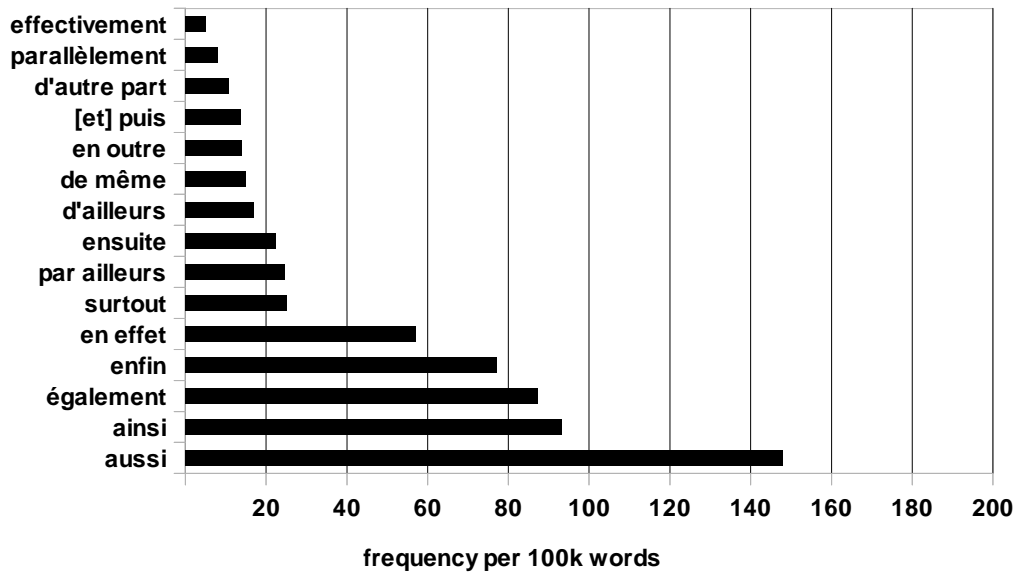


Fig. 1. Frequencies of the fifteen most frequent additive markers in the French and English speeches

of speakers. The English speakers, by contrast, rely largely on juxtaposition and on *also*; the only other frequent markers being *too*, *indeed*, and *as well*. English additive discourse markers such as *in addition*, *moreover*, *similarly*, *thus*, *further[more]*, *likewise*, *what is more*, *in fact*, *in the same way*, *here again*, *besides*, etc. are rare (<10 per 100k words). The use of the French additive markers can be viewed as helping to create, or as reflecting, a particular style of parallelism, using additive marking to pile up consonant propositions and create a layered, cumulative case. Each layer of ideas seems to add equal weight to the overall argumentation, but may be internally structured into more salient and less salient points. The English speakers, by contrast, rely more on juxtaposition and structural similarity to create argumentation that is less explicitly cumulative.

Hobbs (1985) discusses parallelism as follows:

"Considerations of coherence in general allow us to string together arbitrarily many parallel arguments. But it is a convention of argumentation for there to be just three, and those ordered by increasing strength. In political rhetoric, one also hears sequences of parallel statements, but for maximum effectiveness, they should be more than just the semantic parallelisms characterized by the theory of coherence. They should also exhibit a high degree of lexical and syntactic parallelism." (Hobbs 1985:27)

These devices are made quite explicit in the French speeches through both lexical and syntactic parallelism and the regular framing of arguments by discourse markers. This kind of parallelism is exemplified in (2), which shows the coherence markers (in bold, with the additives underlined) and the hierarchical structure (indentation).

- (2) *L'euro n'est pas un joujou [...]*  
*L'euro c'est un projet politique [...]*  
*L'euro c'est **aussi** un enjeu économique que, **là aussi**, je résumerai simplement [...]*  
*L'euro c'est **d'abord** [...] un facteur de stabilité [...]*  
***là aussi** [...]*  
*L'euro c'est **ensuite** plus de sécurité [...]*  
***Enfin** créer l'euro c'est donner à la monnaie européenne une masse critique [...]*  
*Voilà pourquoi l'euro est une chance [...]*  
*N'est-ce pas **d'ailleurs** [...] [Juppé, 27/11/996]*

The euro is not a plaything ...

The euro is a political project ...

The euro is **aussi** an economic challenge that, **là aussi**, I will simply summarize ...

    The euro is **d'abord** ... a stabilising factor ...

**là aussi** ...

    The euro **ensuite** means more security ...

**Enfin** the creation of the euro provides European currency with a critical mass ...

That is why the euro is an opportunity ...

Is it not true **d'ailleurs** ...'

English speeches tend to manifest a different style of parallelism altogether, as in (3). There

is semantic parallelism here (underlined) in the repetition of the notion 'impact on Britain': a crescendo of impact from *it matters* through *directly affect us* to *enormous disruptive effect on us*. And there is structural and semantic parallelism (bold) in the three subordinate clauses *even if ...*, *whatever ..* and *even if...* . The rhetorical cohesion is achieved without any discourse markers at all.

(3) It matters to Britain that EMU should succeed, **even if we never join it**.

The emergence of a euro-zone in the middle of our largest market, the Single Market, will directly affect us in this country, **whatever we do**. We want EMU to be solid, durable and stable because a euro-zone would inevitably be our most important trading base. Already growth or recession on the continent feeds quickly into the UK economy.

If a euro-zone failed, the disruptive effect on us would be enormous, **even if we were outside it**.

[Clarke, 18/12/1996]

These speakers of French and English are using quite different rhetorical templates.

## 5. *En effet* and *indeed* in the political speeches

Both *en effet* and *indeed* seem to be particularly typical of the genre of speeches. And both, as sentence adverbials, are used overwhelmingly in the context of consonant discourse relations. Both are anaphoric, dependant for interpretation on a previous idea from a previous segment of discourse being accessible to the hearer. They can both, therefore, be characterized as typical or 'central' additive markers. Moreover, they are considered dictionary equivalents (e.g. *Dictionnaire Le Robert & Collins* 2013). We shall see below, however, that although their functions overlap, they cannot be considered functional equivalents in the context of political speeches.

To identify the probable functions of the discourse markers, the procedure was to interpret, independently of the marker, the degree of coherence and the most plausible type of relevance holding between the proposition in the host discourse segment and that in the previous discourse segment. This interpretation was then compared to the interpretation with the marker.

### 5.1 *Indeed*

*Indeed* is conventionally described as a modal epistemic adverb of certainty, with a transparent origin in the prepositional phrase *in deed*. Its development from PP to discourse marker is traced in

Traugott and Dasher (2002: 160-164). *Indeed* is associated with formal registers and is more frequent (and differently distributed) in writing than in speech (191pmw vs 166pmw in the British National Corpus). At 221pmw, then, the frequency in the political speeches is relatively high, in accordance with the formality of the genre.

Núñez Pertejo (2008), working with the ICE-GB corpus, identifies three functions of *indeed*: (i) as a speech-act adverb, (ii) as a narrow-scope adverbial modifier, and (iii) as a discourse marker which confirms or reinforces a preceding argument or assertion, this last being by far the most frequent use (2008: 725-731). Aijmer's (2008) analysis of *indeed* based on parallel corpora identifies it as a marker of emphasis, of confirmation, and as focalizing or intensifying. And Aijmer (2007:330) characterises *indeed* as further having "the social meaning speaker authority".

Table 4 shows the positions of *indeed* in the English speeches. The medial position is limited to clauses with *be* or an auxiliary. (While pre-V position is frequent for English *-ly* sentence adverbs like *clearly* and connectives like *therefore*, it seems to be avoided for modal adverbs such as *indeed*, *in fact*, *at least*, *after all*, etc. used as discourse markers. Where no other auxiliary is present, a *do*-construction is used. Instances of such adverbials found pre-verbally (no Aux) in other corpora were rarely connective.)

Position in the sentence	% of occurrences
Sentence-initial, including 4 x <i>And indeed</i> ..	77%
After Aux or <i>be</i>	15%
After Adj or Adv (constituent-final position)	8%

Table 4. The position in the sentence of occurrences of 'indeed' in the English speeches (n=85)

The different functions of *indeed* apparent in the corpus correlate closely with position in the host (table 5). *Indeed* in both final and medial positions is a modal adverb. Final position corpus occurrences, after an AdjP or AdvP host, are all exemplars of the construction <very Adj|Adv *indeed*>, in which *indeed* combines with *very* to indicate 'extremely' (4).

- (4) *..the rationale for having such a power is clear and we shall want to look at it very closely indeed.* [Lloyd, 09/06/1997]

In medial position (5), *indeed* stresses the veracity of its host where there may have been doubt (cf. *really, truly, definitely*); it can be said to be counterexpectational.

- (5) *..the indications are that conditional fees are **indeed** widening access to justice.* [Hoon, 23/09/1997]

In this position *indeed* may also combine with an adversative marker to form a concessive construction <*indeed* p, [adversative DM] q> as in (6), or with *if* to form a concessive-conditional construction (7). In these constructions it can also be described as counterexpectational.

- (6) *Companies are **indeed** observing those rules, **but** not always in a way which positively informs shareholders and employees, or responds to their concerns.* [Becket, 04/03/1998]
- (7) *Who do you think should run such a bidding system, **if indeed** you are persuaded by its attractions?* [Aitkin, 15/03/1995]

Initial occurrences, by contrast, are all discourse connective; and by virtue of this position, *indeed* acts as a presentative. The hosts are not all full clauses, as exemplified in (8).

- (8) *Hong Kong stands as a monument to what the human spirit can, **indeed** will, achieve ..* [Rifkin, 12/02/1997]

In the great majority of cases (v. table 5), the *indeed* host is a wider, stronger claim than the preceding one. The examples in (9) are typical. In contexts such as (9a), the relation is usually expressed in French with *au contraire* (v. Lewis 2005:45-46).

- (9) a. *NATO has not collapsed. **Indeed** - the best test of success - countries are queuing for membership.* [Portillo, 05/12/1995]
- b. *The new government in Britain has a clear plan about how it intends to shape British foreign policy, and **indeed** to shape the world in which Britain lives.* [Symons, 10/10/1997]
- c. *Hong Kong, as so often in its history, has defied the pessimistic smart Alecs. **Indeed** it has defied the odds.* [Major, 04/03/1996]

In a few instances, the *indeed* host largely repeats the previous idea (10), or provides some detail or additional information about it that exemplifies, clarifies or justifies it (11). These contexts are the closest to the French contexts in which *en effet* is found.

- (10) *IT offers immeasurable oppportunities to bring new, more efficient ways of delivering public services shaped to meet the needs of the customer. **Indeed**, IT presents an amazing opportunity to rethink fundamentally the way that Government provides services* [Freeman, 28/10/1996]
- (11) *..trade has always been the backbone of Anglo-Tunisian relations. **Indeed**, our first formal treaty in 1662 was about commerce.* [Hanley, 09/01/1997]

Table 5 summarizes the distribution of *indeed* in the corpus.

Position	Construction	Function	n=	%
Host-final	<i>very {Adj Adv} indeed</i>	intensification	7	8
Medial (post-Aux)	Subj Aux <i>indeed</i> V C	counterexpectation contexts (a) emphasis (b) concession (c) concessive-conditional	13 8 3 2	15
Initial	<i>p indeed q</i>	rhetorical salience (a) q is wider/stronger claim than p (b) q gives detail of p (c) unclear occurrences	65 54 6 5	77

Table 5. The functions of 'indeed' in the English corpus (n=85)

In the ICE-GB corpus, Aijmer (2008: 117-119) found *indeed* to be more than twice as frequent in parliamentary debates and non-broadcast speeches (respectively 80.9 and 61.9 per 100 kwords) as in other genres and in those contexts it typically conveys rhetorical strengthening: "The function of *indeed* in parliamentary debates is to strengthen the assertion or argument (the rhetorical use of *indeed*) by adding more certainty especially in the combination *and indeed*" (Aijmer 2008: 117). Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer (2007) likewise note that "'x and indeed y' ... implies that y is informationally stronger than x" (2007:120). The findings from the present political speeches corpus bear this out, though the frequencies are much lower at 22 per 100 kwords.

While operating as an epistemic modal adverb, emphasizing veracity, *indeed*, like some other epistemic adverbs, can be used dialogically, persuasively, depending on the assumptions the speaker makes about the hearer's state of knowledge and beliefs. This rhetorical function depends on *indeed* being seen in the wider context of a discourse construction, <p *indeed* q> where q is a wider or stronger claim than p, set in a wider-still context of a thematic chunk of discourse.

## 5.2 *En effet*

*En effet* in present-day French, as noted by Charolles and Fagard (2012: 137), is used exclusively as a lexicalized particle, or 'particule lexicalisée', which functions as a connective or discourse marker. It cannot be discourse-initial, but must have a previous idea to refer back to. Like *indeed*, *en effet* as a connective goes back a long way. It is attested already in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, considerably earlier than other, similar connectives and, again like *indeed*, the earliest widespread use seems to have been, as far as can be ascertained from available sources, in legal prose and in records, followed by philosophical prose (Bertin 2002: 47-48). Bertin suggests that *en effet* may have been in competition in Middle French with the declining epistemic adverb *si*, to which it offered a weightier and more substantive alternative, and which it may have gradually replaced (2002: 48). It may therefore be an example of the grammaticalization cycle whereby a highly grammaticalized form, become eroded and/or bleached, is overtaken by a periphrasis, which then in turn undergoes further grammaticalization. *En effet* evolves from high-certainty epistemic sentence adverb to connective, a typical development cross-linguistically. It also occurs, from an early stage, as a complete dialogic turn of confirmation, again like *indeed*.

In the Speeches corpus, *en effet* occurs overwhelmingly in post-verbal (post-auxiliary where there is one) position (table 6).

Position in the sentence	% of occurrences
Sentence-initial	21%
Pre-subject, after a sentence-initial adverbial	3%
Post-subject, before the finite verb	2%
Post-verb/auxiliary	74%

Table 6. The position in the sentence of occurrences of '*en effet*' in the French speeches (n=210)

This post-verbal (or post-auxiliary) position is also the most frequent position (over 70%) for two other high frequency discourse markers in the corpus: *également* (87 per 100 kwords) and *donc* (122 per 100 kwords). By contrast, the less frequent *de même* (15 per 100 kwords) in just over half its occurrences is in initial position, just less than half being post-verb/auxiliary.

Using a corpus of literary texts, Schoonjans (2014) shows that, in declarative sentences, this same post-verb/auxiliary position accounts for around 80% of high frequency markers such as *donc*, *seulement*, *quand même* and *tout de même*. Schoonjans likens this position in French to the well-known 'middle field' of German modal particles (see also Schoonjans 2012 for similarities between

French and German particles). Given this kind of data, it looks as though these high-frequency discourse markers may be at a relatively advanced stage of grammaticalization (in the broad sense), and may be part of an emergent discourse-level schematic construction in which there is a post-verb/auxiliary 'slot' for the anaphoric marker.

In the speeches corpus, the *en effet* host is a full clause in every case, unlike *indeed*. *En effet* occurs mainly in declaratives, but also in interrogatives. The speeches being monologues, the interrogatives are, of course, rhetorical questions. When the *en effet* host (the segment to which it attaches) contains a speaker-attitude predicate, there can be some ambiguity as to whether the marker has (pragmatically) scope over the speaker attitude, over the following proposition, or both. The position of the discourse marker, along with the context, suggest that in most cases it is at least the speaker attitude and often both (12).

- (12) *L'action du gouvernement repose sur l'ouverture d'un débat public. J'ai en effet la conviction que les solutions ne peuvent être imposées d'en haut à la société.* [Jospin, 25/08/1997]

'The government's actions depend on setting up a public debate. I am **en effet** convinced that solutions cannot be imposed on society from above.'

Previous work on *en effet* has identified a range of related functions, suggesting that it is polysemous. Charolles and Fagard (2012), for instance, argue that uses of *en effet* can be attributed to one of three functions: (i) confirmation of an idea expressed in the preceding context, most often in dialogue; (ii) confirmation of an expected event; (iii) justification or explanation of the previous idea. Rossari (2016) argues that the Justificative use of *en effet* emerges from its dialogic use: "L'adverbe signale l'approbation de ce qui a été énoncé précédemment et le segment p qui le suit donne une raison de cette approbation" (2016) ('The adverb signals approval of what has been said previously and the segment p that follows gives a reason for this approval'). Rossari (2016) further suggests that the dialogic origin of the Justificative usage may be in a truncated concessive: "La valeur justificative propre à l'emploi de *en effet* et *effectivement* dans certaines configurations monologiques coïncide avec un schéma concessif tronqué" ('The justificative sense of *en effet* and *effectivement* in certain monologic contexts matches a truncated concessive schema'). A dialogic concessive involves a three-element construction, <p p<sup>1</sup>, q>, where an idea (p) (attributed to the hearer or a third party) is acknowledged and confirmed (p<sup>1</sup>), but dispreferred or considered not relevant by the speaker compared with some following idea (q) that she wishes to promote (cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson 2000). *En effet* in the political speeches does seem to share with

Concession the notions of given information and of dialogic confirmation, as discussed below. But no evidence of a dispreferred idea that might suggest truncated concession was found.

In the majority of cases of *en effet* in the political speeches corpus, the host picks up on and elaborates in some way on the previous idea(s), to reformulate it (13), justify having expressed it (14), or provide evidence that it is true (15). But *en effet* often occurs with a less specific elaborative relation, especially a move from the general (in the previous idea) to the particular (in the host idea). This typically involves reiterating the thematic element of the idea and providing greater detail (16) and (17).

In (13) the same idea is expressed in both clauses. The effect of the discourse marker is to emphasize their equivalence; without it, 'a lot being at stake' might come across as stronger than 'particularly important'.

- (13) *...ce texte dont nous débattons aujourd'hui revêt une importance particulière. L'enjeu est **en effet** de taille.* [Guigou, 29/02/2000]

'The text we are discussing today is particularly important. What is at stake is **en effet** considerable.'

Example (14) illustrates the typical justification use, the *en effet* host being the justification for the speaker not going into detail.

- (14) *...le collectif prévoit une diminution voisine de 3,3 milliards d'euros par rapport à la LFI, sur laquelle je ne m'étends pas : votre rapporteur général a **en effet** décrit l'ensemble des évolutions prévues par ce collectif de manière exhaustive dans son rapport écrit ..* [Mer, 29/07/2002]

'.. the revised budget involves a reduction of around 3.3bn euros from the initial budget; I will not go into that in detail : your Rapporteur-general has **en effet** described all the changes involved in the revision thoroughly in his written report..

In (15), evidence for the first assertion is presented in the second. At the same time, the evidence provides a justification for making the first statement, so that evidence and justification are closely linked.

- (15) *je sais qu'il n'est point nécessaire de vous convaincre que la recherche universitaire doit aujourd'hui s'inscrire résolument dans un espace européen. Votre colloque annuel qui s'est tenu voici 2 mois à Bordeaux était **en effet** consacré pour une large part à la discussion de la communication de la Commission intitulée " Vers un espace européen de la recherche ".* [Schwartzenberg, 18/05/2000]

'I know you do not need to be convinced that university research today must be firmly anchored in a European context. Your annual conference held two months ago in Bordeaux was **en effet** largely devoted to discussion of the Commission paper entitled "Towards a European research area".

The *en effet* host in example (16) can be interpreted as elaborating in more detail on what women point out; but also as explaining why new legislation is not the obvious answer or justifying the speaker's statement that it is not the obvious answer.

- (16) *Du point de vue même de ce que demandent les femmes, c'est-à-dire la justice et l'égalité, la création de dispositifs légaux ne va pas de soi, elles sont d'ailleurs nombreuses à le dire. Elles ne veulent pas **en effet** être des "femmes alibis" qui seraient choisies sur d'autres critères que la compétence.* [Juppé, 11/03/1997] [116]

'From the point of view of what women are demanding, that is to say justice and equality, creating new legislation is not the obvious answer, as many of them point out. They do not want **en effet** to be 'token women' selected on criteria other than their competence.

In all, around 5% of occurrences clearly involved Reformulation, 37% justification and 3% evidence. Overall, 40% involved a move from a more general idea to a more particular idea in the *en effet* host (17). Where a point the speaker wishes to make is split in two, so to speak, into a topic-introducing segment and an explanatory or enhancing segment, it is easy to see a dialogic echo, with a tacit response between the two conjuncts, followed by *en effet* acting as affirmation ('yes') and an elaborative, justificative, or explanatory sequel.

- (17) a. *Ce régime est plus sévère que celui de la loi de 1995. **En effet**, le seuil au dessus duquel les condamnations à une peine d'emprisonnement avec sursis simple ne sont pas amnistiées a été abaissé par rapport à la loi de 1995 : il passe **en effet** de neuf mois à six mois.* [Perben, 23/07/2002]

'This regime is more severe than that of the 1995 act. **En effet**, the threshold beyond which 'simple' suspended sentences cannot be amnestied has *been* lowered from that of the 1995 act: it has gone **en effet** from nine months to six months"

- b. *... vous vous inscrivez dans une de nos plus anciennes traditions. C'est **en effet** au milieu du XVIIIe siècle .. que les premiers prix du concours furent discernés ..* [Darcos, 02/07/2002]

'.. you are joining of one of our most ancient traditions. It was **en effet** in the middle of the 18th century that the first competition prizes were awarded'

In one example in the corpus *en effet* might perhaps be interpreted as concessive (18), but it is not clear. One interpretation of (18) is that the use of *en effet* conforms to the elaborative pattern:

the notion of paradox is introduced, then the paradox is specified; the two elements comprising the paradox are marked by '*d'un côté*' and '*mais de l'autre*' which together frame the contrast. Another is that the two contrasting elements are marked by '*d'un côté*' and '*de l'autre*', while '*en effet ... mais*' frames a concession.

- (18) *J'ai évoqué tout à l'heure le paradoxe agricole de notre pays. Mais celui-ci se double d'un paradoxe rural. D'un côté **en effet**, nous assistons à un certain renouveau démographique de nos campagnes. Mais de l'autre, nos compatriotes ruraux s'interrogent devant la méconnaissance par la France urbaine de certaines spécificités de leur modes de vie ...* [Gaymar,04/07/2002]

'I spoke just now about the agricultural paradox in our country. But there is also a rural paradox. On one hand, **en effet**, we are witnessing a certain demographic renewal in the countryside. But on the other hand, our rural compatriots are concerned that urban France is ignorant of the particularities of their way of life ...'

In several cases what is striking is the way *en effet* occurs as part of a series of discourse markers that together create a rhetorical frame for a chain of interlinked ideas, as seen in Section 4, each with its anaphoric marker. In (19) the *en effet* host is a simple repetition, after a parenthesis, of a previous proposition ('This law will be exemplary' - 'Our future law will be exemplary'). To maintain coherence, it needs to be marked as old information, the function of *en effet* here.

- (19) *Je ne souhaite pas que cette disposition ... puisse masquer le fait que la France, par l'adoption de ce projet de loi, sera l'un des pays les mieux armés pour lutter contre la corruption internationale.*

*Je me prononcerai **donc** en faveur de l'amendement [1] ...*

***Enfin**, j'approuve **également** l'amendement [2] ...*

*Notre future loi sera **ainsi** exemplaire, et je tiens une fois encore à remercier votre Commission et Monsieur Jacky DARNE, votre rapporteur, pour son utile contribution à l'élaboration de ce dispositif législatif.*

*Cette loi sera **en effet** exemplaire, d'abord par son effet dissuasif ...*

*Elle traduira **ainsi** le souci de la France de combattre sans relâche ce fléau économique et social que constitue la corruption nationale et internationale. [Guigou, 29/02/2000]*

'I do not want this provision to be able to conceal the fact that France, in passing this bill, will be one of the countries best equipped to fight international corruption.

I will **donc** vote in favour of amendment [1] ...

**Enfin**, I approve **également** of amendment [2] ...

Our future law will **ainsi** be exemplary, and I would like once again to thank your Commission and Mr Jacky Darne, your rapporteur, for their useful contribution to the drafting of this legislative package.

This law will **en effet** be exemplary, first of all due to its disuasive effect ...

It will **ainsi** answer France's concern to fight relentlessly the economic and social scourge of national and international corruption.'

For many occurrences, then, more than one relation plausibly holds between the conjuncts; for others, there seems to be no relation other than continuity. We suggest that the range of contexts in which *en effet* occurs in the political speeches genre reflects its vagueness rather than polysemy. Across different context types, it implies consonance and helps validate or in some way reaffirms the previous idea.

To summarize, *en effet* links its host segment to the previous segment, thereby creating a two-segment discourse pattern. The *en effet* host expresses an idea that is entirely consonant with the previous idea, which it reformulates or expands on with a more particular, or, more rarely, a broader idea. There is a range of similar relations with which use of *en effet* is compatible, and its removal does not result in incoherence. The frequency and contexts of *en effet* point to its being highly bleached, and rather than consider that *en effet* is polysemous, it better fits these data to characterize it as vague: we can hypothesize that these relations are contiguous in conceptual space.

As mentioned above, *en effet* occurred in full clauses. In this genre, a theme is typically introduced in general terms in one clause and then fleshed out or expanded on in the next. Insofar as the *en effet* host provides the additional detail, it is informationally subordinate to the previous segment (a 'nucleus-satellite' relation typical of elaboration, in RST terms, or a 'core-contributor' relation in RDA terms). Oberlander and Moore (2001) cite corpus studies showing that, in English at least, a discourse marker is much less likely to be used when there is nucleus-satellite (core-contributor) order, since this order is easy to process, and marking is superfluous. All this suggests that there may be reasons other than coherence marking and/or information structure marking for such frequent occurrence of *en effet*. And when seen in wider rhetorical context, it appears that *en effet* forms part of a network of markers providing thematic continuity and lending a particular rhetorical rhythm to the discourse through parallelism.

Two discourse constructions for *en effet* can be identified in this genre: (i) <p *En effet* q> and (ii) the more frequent <p q> where q is <Subj - V/aux - *en effet* - Compl>. While the relation is the same for both (p is any proposition and q is presented as confirming or expanding on p), the information structure differs, reflecting that of the higher-level constructions (i) <p DM q> and (ii)

<p q> where q is <Subj - V/aux - DM - Compl>. The regularity of the post-verb/auxiliary position, shared with other very high-frequency connectives, suggests the second is the more grammaticalized.

### 5.3 Comparison

Both *en effet* and *indeed* are modal adverbs that retain some epistemic sense but have now taken on discourse structuring functions too. Both are found overwhelmingly in contexts of elaboration in this genre.

Halliday describes 'elaboration' as where "one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by further specifying or describing it" (1994:225). In paratactic elaboration, the secondary (elaborating) clause may have one of three functions: (i) "to restate the thesis of the primary clause in different words, to present it from another point of view, or perhaps just to reinforce the message", (ii) to develop the thesis of the primary clause "by becoming more specific about it, often citing an actual example" and (iii) to clarify the thesis of the primary clause, "backing it up with some form of explanation or explanatory comment" (1994:226). This sense of elaboration comes close to matching the predominant political speech use of *en effet*, which is found in all three contexts.

Connective *indeed* is used more narrowly, either to present a stronger version of the same claim, or to make a further and stronger claim related to the first claim. Its initial position and parenthetical syntax are typically presentative. There is thus a significant difference in the information structuring functions of the two expressions, *en effet* marking its host as old or given information (from a new aspect or in more detail), while *indeed* introduces a new and more surprising claim (counterexpectation).

A second difference, as we have seen, is that *en effet* appears to be more grammaticalized than *indeed*, which ties in with its much greater frequency and its bleached semantics that allows it to occur in a wider range of contexts.

Finally, the markers should be seen in the context of the wider rhetorical patterns of the genre. *En effet* contributes, along with other markers, to a pattern of parallel ideas each explicitly linked to the previous discourse. The English speeches make more use of juxtaposition, so that *indeed* does not function as part of a network of markers.

## 6. Conclusion

It has been seen that the overall effect of use of additive markers in French political speeches is to create even-paced stretches of discourse where each segment forms a link in a well-constructed chain of arguments and where the hierarchical structures (the rhetorical dependencies) are transparent and conventional. One of these conventions is the regular, almost rhythmic use of additive discourse markers such as *également*, *de même*, *en effet*, *ainsi*, all occurring overwhelmingly in the same post-verb/auxiliary position in the host, acting as the 'hooks' attaching each segment to the previous discourse in a series of parallelisms. Metaphorically-speaking, these markers can be seen as pinning the content of the discourse to its rhetorical backcloth.

The use of dedicated connectives - for coordination, subordination and discourse connectivity - has been linked to literacy. Speakers conjoin fewer constituents than writers. Non-literate languages rely heavily on juxtaposition and often lack grammaticalized coordination or acquire it through language contact (Mithum 1988). The density of additive marking in the French speeches does convey a literary impression as well as a degree of formality that is less striking in the more conversational-sounding English ones. This is no doubt a reflection of the greater distance between literary and conversational French than is the case for English. Additive markers combine with other coherence markers to form a network that knits the discourse together into a tightly-structured whole. In the English speeches, by contrast, additive discourse relations are more often left implicit, and the resulting discourse is more loosely woven.

As seen in Section 2, markers of consonant discourse relations are expected to be relatively infrequent because discourse coherence can be established by juxtaposition within a logical ordering. These most frequent French markers, however, seem to function in this genre as text-structuring devices marking information flow more than as relational propositions. In political discourse, a regular filling of this French discourse-marker 'slot' seems almost obligatory. The French markers are more frequent, more bleached and arguably more grammaticalized than their English counterparts.

Further research will need to situate discourse marking in this genre with respect to other genres and discover to what extent the discourse constructions frequent in political speeches are used across other genres, and how these constructions may be evolving.

## Note

1. Translation agencies regularly advise their clients that the 'expansion rate' in translation from English to French is

between 15% and 20% by word count. See, for example, <<http://www.kwintessential.co.uk/translation/articles/expansion-retraction.html>>, <<http://translation-blog.trustedtranslations.com/prices-according-to-source-word-count-2010-02-25.html>>, <<https://e2f.com/203/>> and <<http://www.andiamo.co.uk/resources/expansion-and-contraction-factors>>. Conversely, translations from French to English are shorter by word count. Armstrong (2015) discusses "the high expansion rate usually seen in translation from English to French" (Armstrong 2015:193).

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