

CONTEXT AND COGNITION IN FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR: WHAT, WHERE AND WHY?

Evelien Keizer

Abstract

This paper discusses a recurring problem in the development and application of models of grammar: That of deciding which linguistically relevant contextual information forms part of (i.e. enters) the grammar, and which contextual information interacts with the grammar without being part of it. More specifically it considers the active-passive alternation in English within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar. First, the possible factors recorded in the literature as determining the choice between an active and a passive construction are discussed. On the basis of an in-depth discussion of authentic examples it is concluded that the major determinant triggering the use of one of the two variants is not a single factor, but rather the composite notion of Speaker's perspective, a systematically encoded cognitive notion covering a number of communicatively relevant (pragmatic and semantic) factors. Subsequently, it is argued that since the Speaker's choice of perspective is the result of a cognitive process it is plausible to assume that this process takes place at a preverbal level, i.e. within the Conceptual Component. Since, however, in choosing the perspective the Speaker clearly draws on contextual information, stored in the Contextual Component, it can be concluded that information from the Contextual Component enters the Grammatical Component through the Conceptual Component), thereby indirectly influencing the choice of a particular grammatical construction.

Keywords: Active-passive alternation; Context; Cognition; Perspective; Functional Discourse Grammar.

1. Introduction¹

One recurring problem in the development and application of models of grammar is that of delineation, that is, of deciding what goes into the grammar and what may trigger or influence the form of a linguistic utterance without forming part of the grammar itself. Needless to say, the question is pertinent particularly in those approaches to grammar which do not study linguistic utterances in isolation but which prefer to consider also

¹ This paper has greatly benefited from discussion during the International Workshop of Functional Discourse Grammar, held in Barcelona, 7-9 September 2011, as well as from the numerous comments by the attendants of the workshop on earlier versions of the paper.

A shorter and less detailed version of this paper will appear in the proceedings of *III Seminário de estudos linguísticos da Unesp*, held at Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho", Campus de São José do Rio Preto, Brazil, 10-12 August 2011, to be published in the series *Trilhas Linguísticas*.

the cognitive processes that precede them, as well as the context in which they are produced. This, however, raises a number of questions, such as which processes take place where, and how can we determine which communicatively relevant information is grammatical in nature and which is not; or, more specifically, how do we decide which conceptual and contextual information needs to be represented in underlying structure and which information can be taken to influence linguistic form from outside the grammar. This paper intends to explore some aspects of the relation between grammar, context and cognition by examining the active-passive alternation within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008; see also Keizer *forthc*).

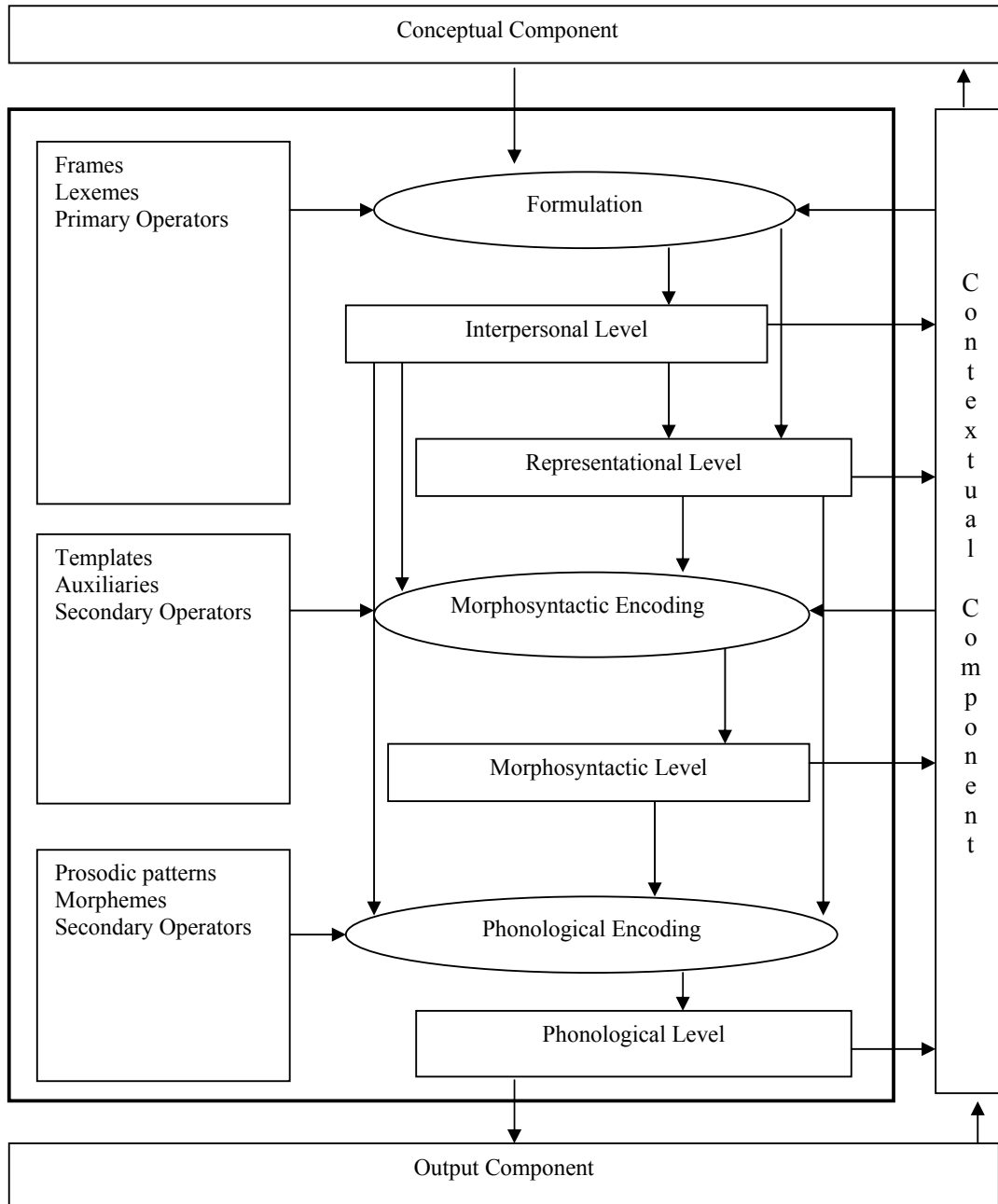
One of the distinguishing features of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) is that it is top down and Speaker oriented (see Figure 1). Information relating to a Speaker's communicative intentions is fed from a Conceptual Component into a Grammatical Component (first into Formulation, then into Encoding), and from there into an Output Component. However, not being part of the grammar, the Conceptual Component and the Contextual Component have received relatively little attention so far, despite the fact that both components play a crucial role in the linguistic production process. Thus, although a number of studies have looked at the role of the other components (in particular the Contextual Component; e.g. Connolly 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010, this volume; Butler 2008; García Velasco 2008; Keizer 2008; Rijkhoff 2008; Cornish 2009) and the kind of information they include, some of the issues involved have not yet been discussed in sufficient detail. This paper is meant as a further contribution to this discussion by addressing the following questions:

1. What is the division of labour between the Conceptual Component, the Contextual Component and the Grammatical Component?
2. How do we decide which information enters the Grammatical Component and which information is purely conceptual or contextual in nature?
3. If contextual information does enter the grammar, how and where does it do so: Directly (if so, at which stage: Formulation or Encoding) or indirectly (via the Conceptual Component)?

2. Delineating the Grammatical Component

Although Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 2) explicitly state that FDG is a theory about grammar rather than a model of the Speaker, the model does seek to attain psychological adequacy by taking a top-down approach, compatible with findings from psycholinguistic studies on language production (e.g. Levelt 1989). Rather than a model of language production, FDG, as Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 2) put it, is a “model of encoded intentions and conceptualizations”, i.e. a tool that enables linguists to reconstruct the steps that Speakers have to take to ensure that the communicative intention developed in the Conceptual Component is optimally expressed. In describing this process, FDG takes what Hengeveld and Mackenzie call a form-oriented ‘function-to-form’ approach”:

Figure 1: FDG: general layout



It is form-oriented in providing, for each language analysed, an account of only those interpersonal and representational phenomena which are reflected in morphosyntactic or phonological form. It is ‘function-to-form’ in positing a range of functions flowing from the Speaker’s communicative intentions (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 38-39)

In other words, it may be assumed that all formal devices that are systematically used to encode a Speaker’s communicative intentions must be triggered within the Grammatical Component, and, more specifically, during the operation of Formulation.

At the same time, however, FDG acknowledges the existence of certain language-specific characteristics “that cannot be brought into correspondence with distinct communicative intentions” (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 40). These are regarded as “a-functional” (i.e. synchronically arbitrary features) and are regarded as autonomous characteristics of the Morphosyntactic Level and/or the Phonological Level. An example of such an a-functional characteristic is the preference for many languages to place modifiers either in the prefield or in the postfield.

From the above it follows that information from the Conceptual and Contextual Components only enters the Grammatical Component in those cases where this information has a (systematic) influence on linguistic form. It is, however, not always clear exactly which conceptual and contextual information ends up being represented in the Grammatical Component, and, if it is, how and where the interaction takes place.

The general layout of the model allows for a number of possibilities. First of all, information from the Conceptual and Contextual Components affects the form of a linguistic utterance, but this influence is not systematic; in that case the information will not enter the Grammatical Component. Secondly, conceptual and contextual information does systematically influence the form of an expression. In that case, the conceptual information will be dealt with during Formulation; contextual information, however, may enter the Grammatical Component either during Formulation (if it is functional) or during Encoding (if it is a-functional). A third possibility would be a system in which (all or some of) the interaction between the Contextual Component and the Grammatical Component is mediated by the Conceptual Component. In such a system, communicatively relevant information from the Contextual Component feeds into the Conceptual Component, where it helps to give shape to the Speaker’s intentions. If those intentions are subsequently coded in the grammar, the Contextual Component can be said to interact with the Grammatical Component through the Conceptual Component.

In order to find out which of these three scenarios is most plausible, this paper will look at the role of conceptual and contextual information in determining the choice between an active and a passive construction in English. After a detailed discussion of the active-passive alternation in Section 3, an attempt will be made to develop a unified multi-factor approach to this alternation by using the notion of (wider) Speaker’s perspective (Section 4). Subsequently, Section 5 will consider the implications of such an approach for the theory of FDG. Section 6 will present a brief conclusion.

3. The active-passive alternation

3.1. Previous accounts

Broadly speaking, two types of account can be found in the large body of research on the active-passive alternation: Those accounts that focus on the formal aspects of the two constructions, without making any attempt to explain what triggers one variant rather than the other; and those accounts that do address the question of what motivates the speaker to use a particular variant. As we will see, these two approaches have proposed different determining factors.

Starting with the first approach, we find that active and passive are typically regarded as differing in terms of voice, i.e. as two morphosyntactically different constructions presenting the same semantic content. Quirk et al. (1985: 159), for instance, define voice as “a grammatical category which makes it possible to view the action in either of two ways, without change in the facts reported”. What distinguishes the two forms is therefore not a difference in meaning, but “the way semantic roles are aligned with syntactic functions” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1427), whereby the active form, in which an agent is selected as the subject, is generally taken to be the basic (or default) form (e.g. Shibatani 1988: 2; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 175-182).² A very detailed account of this kind is provided by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 274), who claim that

grammatical relations (syntactic relations) exist in a language only where the behavioral patterns of a language give evidence of a syntactic relation independent of semantic and pragmatic relations; that is, only where the behavior patterns are not reducible to semantic or pragmatic relations can we say that there is evidence of syntactic relations.

The difference between active and passive is thus once more presented in a very mechanical way, as two alternative ways available in a language to formulate the same message, without any indication of what determines the choice between the two constructions. For Valin and LaPolla, the selection of the subject (or, in their terminology, the privileged syntactic argument) with multi-argument verbs is governed by the “Privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy” (Valin and LaPolla 1997: 281; see also p. 175):

- (1) Arg. of DO > 1st arg. of do' > 1st arg of pred' (x,y) > 2nd arg. of pred' (x,y) > arg. of pred' (x).

where argument of DO = Agent (highest ranking argument)
argument of pred' (x) = Patient (lowest ranking argument)

² It would be more correct to use the term first argument instead of agent, since the SoA in question is not necessarily an action volitionally performed by the participant in question. However, since most studies discussed here use the terms agent and patient to refer to first and second argument, this convention will also be adopted here. It is, however, important to realize that what we are dealing with is more like Dowty's (1991) Proto-roles, or, in FDG terminology, the semantic roles of Actor and Undergoer (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 195).

A passive is thus characterized by the fact that (i) an argument lower on the hierarchy in (1) than the default choice is selected, and (ii) the argument which, according to this hierarchy, would be the default choice takes the form of an oblique phrase or is left out altogether (Valin and LaPolla 1997: 294).

FDG takes a similar approach. Here, too, active and passive constructions are seen as different kinds of alignment, i.e. as different mappings of representational (semantic) units into morphosyntactic units. The semantic similarities between the two constructions are captured by the fact that they have the same underlying representation at the Representational Level (in terms of number of arguments and their semantic functions). The difference between them is the result of different morphosyntactic realizations of the representational material (in terms of Subject and Object assignment; see also Section 5).

However, although such morphosyntactic and semantic features are necessary ingredients of any analysis of the passive, they provide for a very mechanical definition, which says nothing about what the passive really is or what purpose it serves.³ The same objections can be raised against many other form-based analyses that have been offered. In early generative accounts, for instance, passive constructions were assumed to be derived from active ones through a rule of passive transformation, which specified the syntactic changes that take place in the process (Chomsky 1957: 61).⁴ This idea that passives are derived from active constructions by means of a straightforward rule can also be found in lexical approaches. Freidin (1975: 395), for instance, tries to capture the semantic equivalence between the two forms by means of a morphological rule of passivization. Within the framework of Lexical Theory, Bresnan (1982), too, proposes a (universally valid) lexical rule of passivization, which changes a transitive lexical form into an intransitive one.

What all these analyses have in common is that they fail to address the question of why, if the active is the default form, and if active and passive are semantically synonymous, Speakers choose to use a passive at all. Other linguists, however, have looked at the different functions (or meanings) of active and passive constructions. This has resulted in a long list of factors which have been claimed to trigger the use of either construction. What follows is a brief summary of the most important factors identified so far.

I. Perspective

At first sight there seems to be little difference between the notions of perspective and voice; Comrie (1988: 9), for instance, describes voice as “a system of grammatical encoding of event participants”. The notion of perspective is therefore only meaningful when the reasons for a change in perspective are specified, as, for instance, in Dik (1997: 247). Dik observes that “[i]n many languages the SoA designated by a

³ In addition, it has been objected that to view actives and passives as representing different ways of viewing the same event, whereby the active is the default option, is inadequate, since not all passives have an active counterpart (and vice versa, see e.g. Freidin 1975; Beedham 1982; Wanner 2009). Since an exhaustive discussion of the passive is beyond the scope of this paper, the discussion will be restricted to those cases where (from a semantic and morphosyntactic point of view) the Speaker has the choice between an active and a passive construction.

⁴ In later generative work the position that active and passive constructions were related was abandoned. In Chomsky (1965), for instance, active and passive were given different representations also at the deep level, and were thus not only seen as differing in morphosyntactic form but were also given different semantic readings (see also Katz and Postal 1964).

predication can be represented from different perspectives or ‘vantage points’, whereby the primary vantage point becomes the subject of a clause and the secondary vantage point the object” (Dik 1997: 249). In some cases, this alternation can be achieved by lexical means, by using converses like *follow* and *precede*, or *buy* and *sell*. The active-passive alternation is regarded as a grammatical device to obtain the same effect. In other words, here, too, the difference between an active and a passive construction is explained in terms of different combinations of semantic functions (agent, patient, recipient) and syntactic functions (subject, object), whereby “the basic perspective runs from the first argument A1 to A2, and on to A3, if present” (Dik 1997: 250). What distinguishes Dik’s account from purely form-based approaches is that he gives a number of reasons why a speaker should want to present a SoA from a non-basic perspective (Dik 1997: 252-3):

1. The Speaker “emphasizes” or identifies himself more with the second argument entity than with the first argument entity.
2. The second argument represents a Given Topic, and will thus be definite, whereas the first argument is a New Topic, and thus usually indefinite.
3. The first argument is not (sufficiently) known or identifiable, or it is unimportant, or S consciously wishes to leave it unidentified.
4. There may be politeness conventions which prevent a direct address of the Addressee (e.g. *(You) read this book!* vs. *This book is to be read (by you)*).

Wanner (2009), too, explains the difference between active and passive as a difference in point of view, which she considers to be a functional device. Following Lambrecht (1994), Wanner thus believes the choice between active and passive to be pragmatically motivated: As “pragmatically structured propositions” (in Lambrecht’s terminology) active and passive are different:

The mapping of the semantic object onto the position of the subject in the passive can therefore be seen as a side effect of its being positioned according to its informational status as the topic in the clause (Wanner 2009: 9)

This is, however, only one part of the story. After all, the change of perspective brought about (or rather reflected) in the choice of a passive construction involves two separate strategies: Not only does it promote the patient (the “semantic object”) by assigning it subject function (commonly referred to as patient promotion), it also involves the demotion of the agent (see Wanner 2009: 9). And although it is plausible to assume, as do Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 294), that prototypical passives involve both strategies, in many cases the passive construction is selected either to promote the patient or to demote the agent. For Thompson (1987), for instance, it is clear that we are dealing with two independent strategies, as evidenced by the fact that, according to Thompson, they result in two different passive constructions: Whereas agent demotion (or agent backgrounding) leads to a passive without a *by*-phrase (a short passive), promotion of the patient results in the use of a long passive, and serves a discourse function (see also discussion below; cf. Biber et al. 1999, 2002). This means that in order to find out what is meant by perspective, we need to consider the various reasons Speakers may have for demoting the agent or promoting the patient.

Ia. Demotion of the agent

Three of the reasons for using a passive mentioned by Dik (1997) result in agent demotion: (1) Speaker “emphasizes” the second argument entity; (2) the first argument is not (sufficiently) known or identifiable, or is unimportant; (3) direct address is avoided for reasons of politeness. Another reason that has been mentioned for demoting the agent is its familiarity. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1443-46), for instance, suggest that a passive is more likely to be used when the agent is the Addressee (and as such fully familiar). Approaching the issue from a psycholinguistic point of view, Abb et al. (1993: 9) conclude that, more generally, when agents are demoted (left unexpressed) this is because they are “particularly salient or easily inferable” (e.g. *Frank Rijkaard was sent off for knocking down his opponent*). Note that this is the exact opposite of the situation described in (2), where use of the passive is favoured because the agent is not known or identifiable (we will come back to this point in Section 3.2). Finally, animacy has been mentioned as a relevant factor. As pointed out by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 304-306), agent-like arguments are normally animate or human, while patient-like arguments may, but need not, be animate or human. They accordingly predict that when the agent (or first argument) is not human or animate, it will be demoted. Likewise, an early study conducted by Svartvik (1966) showed that 81% of the passives had inanimate subjects, against 27% of the active sentences.

Ib. Promotion of the patient

A great deal of attention has been paid to the second strategy, that of promoting the patient. Many early treatments of the passive emphasize its use as a way of topicalizing the second argument (Jespersen 1933: 121; Halliday 1967: 216; Quirk et al. 1972: 943; see also Beedham 1982: 34); the idea being that more topical material tends to come nearer to the beginning of the clause than non-topical material (cf. Mallinson and Blake 1981: 151). This, as we saw, is also the position taken by Lambrecht (1994) and Wanner (2009: 10). Abb et al. (1993: 9) explain the “topicalization” of the patient in terms of incremental language production: According to them, the appearance of the patient in first position is “the effect of the constraints of rapid, incremental utterance production”, which causes a Speaker to place a prominent referent in subject position before realizing its thematic role in the SoA.

II. Promotion of the agent: End focus

Interestingly, some linguists also see the passive as a means to promote the agent, in accordance with the principle of end-focus (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 323, 1356-1357). This observation was already made by Poutsma (1926: 101), who states that

[c]onversely, the passive construction is frequently resorted to to serve the diametrically opposite purpose of giving prominence to the primary participant in the action, by mentioning it expressly at the end of the sentence.

III. Complexity: End weight

Another factor to be taken into account is the principle of end weight, i.e. “the tendency for long and complex elements to be placed towards the end of a clause” (Biber et al. 1999: 898; cf. Dik 1997: 404; Quirk et al. 1985: 323, 1282ff.; Hawkins 1994; Poutsma 1928: 386). In other words, in those cases where the agent is referred to by means of a

long and complex expression, a passive may be the preferred construction (see also Biber et al. 2002: 168).

IV. Aspect

A different kind of explanation for the use of the passive is given by Beedham (1982) and Langacker (1982), who see the passive as marking a particular type of aspect. For Beedham (1982: 91; cf. p. 45) the passive occupies a position between actions and states, as it “portrays a state as the result of a preceding action: Or put another way, it portrays simultaneously an event and the state that results from that event.” As such, Beedham continues, the passive participle has features in common with both (active) verbs and adjectives. They also differ (syntactically) from both these classes in various respects. Thus, unlike adjectives, they cannot occur freely in attributive position (**the brought book*), nor in predicative position (**the man seemed left*), they cannot be modified by *very* and do not take the comparative and superlative form (cf. Huddleston (2002: 1436-37), and Toyota (2009: 476-477), who adds that unlike adjectives, passive participles do not allow *un*-affixation). They differ from active verbs in that they are not marked for tense, person and number. This particular mix of actional and statal features corresponds with a distinctive meaning, which Beedham (1982: 45) describes as follows:

Passives are not cognitively synonymous with actives. The difference between them is this: while an active sentence portrays the occurrence of an event, a passive sentence portrays both the occurrence of an event and the state which arises as the result of that event.

Within the framework of Cognitive Grammar, Langacker (1982, 2002, Ch. 4) offers a similar characterization of the passive as both stative (“instantiated at a single point in time”) and processual (“designating all the states within a process as it unfolds, not just the final state”) (Langacker 1982: 61, 62, 65).

V. Style

It has often been claimed that the use of the passive belongs to a particular style of communication. According to Biber et al. (1999: 154), “[p]assives and active constructions are by no means equivalent, and their use varies widely upon the type of text”. This is confirmed by extensive corpus research. Thus, Biber et al. (2002: 167-168) found that the frequency of the passive varies considerably across registers: They are most common in academic prose (where they account for 25 per cent of all finite verbs), are also common in news (about 15 per cent of all finite verbs), but hardly occur in conversation.

A small-scale study by Libermann (2006) shows that also in literary texts the frequency of passive constructions varies with the style of writing. Comparing the styles of Hemingway (the “loose” style, sentences strung together with no indication that another statement is coming) and Samuel Johnson (the periodic style, with markers of various sorts indicating the path ahead), he found that the latter seems to promote the use of the passive, thus confirming the idea that the passive can be used as a cohesiveness marker (e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1980; Bolkestein 1985; Bolkestein and Risselada 1987; see below).

A corpus study conducted by Wanner (2009: Chapter 5) into the use of the passive in academic discourse shows that the use of the passive also varies between

academic disciplines. Wanner looked at 160 abstracts from 8 different peer-reviewed journals published in 1999 and 2000 by academic publishers in the UK and the US, half of them from the area of experiment-based sciences and half of them from the humanities. Wanner made a further distinction between reporting events (with verbs like *argue*, *suggest* and *demonstrate*) and reported events (the material on which the argument was based), and found the passive to be more popular as a reporting strategy in the experiment-based sciences than in the humanities, the agent-construction (*These data show*, *This paper argues*) being more popular in the humanities (Wanner 2009: 192).

Use of this latter strategy may well be a result of a (more or less) conscious attempt to avoid the passive. More generally, Wanner found that the number of passives in academic writing recently seems to have dropped, possibly due a strong prescriptive attitude, according to which passives, being “undynamic, pseudo-objective and evasive”, should be avoided (Wanner 2009: 191). In addition, style guides often object to the use of passives for aesthetic reasons, describing them as less smooth, less interesting and less natural than actives (see discussion in Zwicky 2006). Although in recent years opposition has been building up against this prescriptive attitude (e.g. Zwicky 2006; Pullum 2009, 2011), writers may still be sparing in their use of the passive, with editors consciously reducing the number of passives before publication of a text.

VI. Priming

Research in cognitive psychology and corpus-linguistics has shown that forms used in previous discourse may influence the choice between two alternative constructions (Bock 1986; Pickering and Garrod 2006; Pickering and Ferreira 2008). Thus, there is evidence that priming (or ‘persistence’) plays a role in determining the choice for a particular form in the dative-alternation and the genitive-alternation (e.g. Gries 2005; Szmrecsanyi 2006; Hinrichs and Szmrecsanyi 2007). Although the influence of priming also needs to be taken into consideration in a discussion of the active-passive alternation, it will be clear that it has a different status from the other factors: Since priming is not a communicatively motivated (pragmatic or semantic) factor, it does not help us to understand the difference between the two constructions; nor does it help to explain shifts from one form the other.

3.2. A multifactor approach

In the preceding section six different factors have been discussed which have been presented in the literature as determining the choice between an active and a passive construction. Four of these seem to be relatively independent:

- (2) a. Perspective:
 - demotion of agent (lack of identifiability or prominence, inanimacy, familiarity)
 - promotion of patient (topicality, politeness)
- b. Promotion of the agent (end focus)
- c. Complexity (end weight)
- d. Aspect (perfective)

The fifth factor mentioned in the previous section is that of style. However, although there is clearly a relation between the stylistic properties of a text and the frequency of the passive, this relation seems to be indirect, mediated by other triggers. Consider, for instance, the style employed in academic writing. The specific goals of this type of text typically require a style that is distanced and objective, and one way of achieving this effect is through backgrounding of the agent. In addition, in experiment-based research the findings tend to be more important than the person conducting the experiment, which may lead to promotion (topicalization) of the patient and use of a perfective aspect. Style is, therefore, not a simple, independent factor in the choice for the passive, but a complex, derived factor, brought about by a combination of other factors.

As pointed out above, the sixth factor, priming, is also different from the first four factors in that it is not used to code the Speaker's communicate intentions: Rather than choosing a form to reflect a particular perspective, the Speaker simply adopts the perspective that is 'active' in the preceding discourse. It will therefore be assumed that this factor interacts with the Grammatical Component before any of the other factors are taken into consideration (see also Sections 4 and 5).

As for the four basic factors, most previous accounts have tried to explain the active-passive alternation in terms of one factor only, the assumption being that all passive constructions must have something in common. However, given the variety in the use of the passive, as well as in the factors that have been identified as triggering its use, such an approach does not seem very promising. Instead, the present account will be based on the assumption that the choice between an active and a passive is determined by a number of interacting (possibly competing) factors. Such an approach has the advantage of being able to account for the fact that some passives are better examples of the category than others: If all factors favour the same constructions, the result will be a prototypical (or optimal) active or passive construction, whereas in the case of competing factors the resulting construction will be non-prototypical.

Let us now look at some authentic English examples to see whether the approach advocated can indeed account for the choice for an active or a passive construction. The analysis will be based on the four clusters of factors distinguished in (2). Most examples will be taken from one short passage from the first chapter of Peter Ackroyd's biography of Thomas More (1999):

- (3) (a) The litanies of the saints were pronounced over the baptismal font. (b) The priest then divided the water with his right hand and cast it in the four directions of the cross. (c) He breathed three times upon it and then spilled wax in a cruciform pattern. (d) He divided the holy water with a candle, before returning the taper to the cleric beside him. (e) Oil and chrism were added, with a long rod or spoon, and the child could now be baptized. (f) Thomas More, what seekest thou? (g) The sponsors replied for the infant, Baptism. (h) Dost thou wish to be baptised? (i) I wish. (j) The child was given to the priest, who immersed him three times in the water. (k) He was then anointed with chrism and wrapped in a chrismal robe. (l) Thomas More, receive a white robe, holy and unstained, which thou must bring before the tribunal of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life and live for ever and ever. (m) The candle was lit and placed in the child's right hand, thus inaugurating a journey through this dark world which ended when, during the last rites, a candle was placed in the right hand of the dying man with a prayer, 'The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom shall I fear?' (n) Whom shall this particular child fear, when it was believed by the Church that the whole truth and meaning of baptism was achieved in the act of martyrdom? (o) 'Baptism and suffering

for the sake of Christ', according to a second-century bishop, are the two acts which bring full 'remission of sins'. (Peter Ackroyd, *The life of Thomas More*, London, Vintage, 1999: 1-2)

The first thing we notice is that there is not a single passive that fulfils all the above-mentioned criteria – which is not surprising, given that fact that some of these criteria are contradictory (agent demotion and agent promotion). There are, however, various instances where, on the basis of the criteria in (2), the passive can reasonably be seen as the preferred form. Consider the following examples:

- (3) e. Oil and chrism were added, with a long rod or spoon, and *the child could now be baptized*.
 k. He was then anointed with chrism and wrapped in a chrismal robe.

Neither of these examples contains a *by*-phrase; as such they may be assumed to involve demotion of the agent. There may, however, be independent reasons for promotion of the patient. In both examples, for instance, the agent need not be mentioned because the reader can be assumed to know who performs the actions described – in (3e) on the basis of long-term general knowledge, in (3k) on the basis of the previous discourse. At the same time, it is clear that, throughout the passage, the child is an important discourse topic. Together these factors seem to justify the use of a passive.

Note, however, that discourse topicality by itself cannot account for the use of a passive in these cases, since the unmentioned agent – the priest – seems to be equally discourse topical. This is clear from, for instance, the example in (3j). Here, unlike in the previous examples, the perspective shifts from the child to the priest. Note, however, that, having been reintroduced at the end of the preceding clause, the priest is the more highly activated of the two discourse topics. This may account for the choice of an active construction in the relative clause (with the priest as the perspective), the overall effect being one of increased cohesiveness.

- (3) j. The child was given to the priest, *who immersed him three times in the water*.

In addition, these sentences seem to comply with the criterion of perfective aspect. This is particularly clear for the second clause in (3e): Although a verb like *baptize* can easily be used to convey a purely stative SoA (emphasizing the highly salient resultative state of being baptized), in this example the emphasis is just as much on the action itself, describing the process as it unfolds. In other words, the passive construction in (3e) is stative (adjectival) and actional (processual) at the same time. All in all it seems that, even though none of the passives in these examples are optimal in the sense of fulfilling all the criteria listed in (2), use of the passive is fully justified and, indeed, perfectly natural.

The same seems to be true for the following examples:

- (3) a. The litanies of the saints were pronounced over the baptismal font.
 e. *Oil and chrism were added*, with a long rod or spoon, and the child could now be baptized.

Here the use of the passive could be regarded as being triggered mainly by the wish to demote the agent. Demotion seems to be done for different reasons in the two sentences: In (3a) because the agent's identity is either unknown or unimportant, in (3e) because the agent is fully familiar. Note, however, that familiarity of the agent cannot by itself explain the use of a passive, since in the preceding sentence a fully familiar agent appears as the subject of an active transitive construction with a likewise familiar patient. Nor can the use of the passive here be accounted for in terms of animacy, since the sentence combines an animate (human) agent (the priest) with an inanimate patient (oil and chrism), which normally favours use of the active (which is indeed the form chosen in all the preceding sentences). Discourse topicality does not seem to play a role either: Although the patient subjects could be argued to have some degree of activation, they are nevertheless newly introduced, and, in (3e), not identifiable. Nor can we resort to the notion of priming, as it is the shift from active to passive that needs to be accounted for.

In fact, the choice for the passive could be seen as resulting from an opposite need (as a case of reversed priming); i.e. the passive could be used in anticipation of the shift in perspective to follow – from the priest to the child. Since this shift calls for the use of a passive in the second clause, the first passive may be chosen to prepare for this shift in perspective, already demoting the agent before moving on to promote the patient. Finally, other considerations (e.g. placement of the instrument PP) may also help to tip the balance in favour of the passive.

So far, it seems that perspective (patient promotion and/or agent demotion) is a very strong factor in choosing between an active and a passive construction – it is the one factor that all the passives discussed have in common. In this respect, it may be useful to look at passives with a *by*-phrase (long passives), as here both the agent and the patient perspective are clearly available. The passage in (3) contains only one long passive. Since, as we will see, this particular example turns out to be quite complicated, it may be useful to start by looking at some more straightforward examples, starting with the sentence in (4):

- (4) Poor Des DES Maea, 22, Oldham's new Rugby League signing, is in danger of losing his sight after a serious road accident. *He was hit by a truck* as he crossed a road in Auckland. (BNC, newspaper tabloid)

In this example we are clearly dealing with an instance of patient promotion: The patient subject is the topic of the passage and, as such, fully identifiable. The agent, on the other hand, is non-topical and unidentifiable. Animacy, however, may play a role, since (4) combines an inanimate agent with an animate patient. Aspect, too, may be seen as favouring a passive here, as it is both the action itself and the effect on the patient that form the focus of attention. Therefore, the choice for a passive seems, on the whole, a logical one.

However, if the use of a passive is triggered by the need to promote the patient, then why mention the agent at all? In this particular case, explicit mention of the agent seems necessary to make the sentence sufficiently informative: Without reference to the truck, the Addressee cannot be expected to know what happened. This means that even if the agent is unidentifiable or unimportant (in terms of its role in furthering the discourse) this does not always mean that omission of the agent is appropriate: The agent may be needed simply to provide the right level of specificity in describing the

SoA (and will therefore typically be present in those cases where the verb itself lacks the descriptive specificity required, e.g. with *hit*, but not necessarily with *baptize*).⁵

Much easier to explain are those cases where a long passive is chosen to promote the agent. In those cases, the agent is typically new and prominent. Often, agent promotion goes hand in hand with complexity, as shown in (5), where the italicized clause takes the current discourse topic (the award) as the perspective in order to introduce the new topic of discussion (the winner of the award).

- (5) British Rail's Superstaff awards are to be presented in May and the Transport User's Consultative Committee is taking nominations for the most customer care conscious employee. *Last year the award was won by Ernie Acker at Charlbury station*, and we asked him what he thought of the awards. (BNC, spoken, news broadcast)

Let us now return to the one example of a long passive in (3n):

- (3) n. Whom shall this particular child fear, *when it was believed by the Church that the whole truth and meaning of baptism was achieved in the act of martyrdom?*

Explaining the use of the passive here seems to be somewhat of a challenge. The patient provides new, unidentifiable information, while the agent, being semi-active (subtopical) and identifiable, hardly qualifies for demotion. It could of course be argued that the use of a passive allows for the postponement of the new and complex information contained in the *that*-clause, but note that the same effect could have been achieved by using an active construction (with the agent, the Church, as the subject). It is also true that the sentence has a stative quality, but this is due to the nature of the verb *believe*, and would have been equally true of the "active" form. This also explains why, despite its stative nature, the sentence is not characterized by perfective aspect. In other words, none of the criteria for the use of a passive seems to be fulfilled. Nevertheless, there seems to be no doubt about the appropriateness of the use of a passive. We will return to this example in the following section.

Although obviously far from complete, the discussion in this section seems to justify the conclusion that, of the four factors mentioned in (2), perspective is the most important in determining the choice between an active and a passive construction (short or long). At the same time, this factor cannot by itself explain all occurrences of the passive: Despite the fact that other factors are clearly less influential they cannot be disregarded completely. In the next section, we will try to come to a more satisfactory and more unified explanation of what triggers the use of a passive construction, by considering the matter from a wider perspective.

⁵ As shown by the following example, such situations can even lead to the explicit mention of pronominal agents in passive constructions:

- (i) In its aftermath Mrs Thatcher apparently took greater care to consult the Cabinet more fully and *was overruled by it* on the proposed sale of British Leyland to the US-based General Motors. (BNC, written, academic)

4. The wider perspective

4.1. *Speaker's perspective: A cognitive-pragmatic notion*

If we want to find a more satisfactory explanation of what triggers a passive construction, we will have to go beyond the mere identification of the possible factors involved and find out why it is that these factors play a role, what it is that binds them and how they interact. In addition, we need to find a way of dealing with these factors in FDG, which means specifying how and where the relevant information enters the grammatical component, and how (if at all) it should be represented.

As a first step in trying to realize these goals, the present analysis, too, will resort to the notion of Speaker's perspective, providing it, however, with a broader definition. Also, rather than regarding it primarily as a pragmatic or discourse-related notion, the analysis to be proposed will emphasize its cognitive nature: In what follows the perspective from which a linguistic utterance is presented will therefore be regarded as reflecting the way in which a SoA is conceptualized in the mind of the Speaker. It will further be argued that – in certain cases – a language like English allows a Speaker to systematically code this conceptualization. The formal means available can be seen as fulfilling a very basic interpersonal function: Not only do they enable the Speaker to convey to the Addressee how the intended message is organized in his/her mind, in addition they serve as an invitation to the Addressee to view this message from the same perspective.

It may be objected that this approach means going back to the idea of a single factor. This is, however, not the case: The wider notion of Speaker's perspective proposed here is a composite notion, the result of a cognitive balancing act, in which a number of factors are assessed and weighed against each other, eventually giving rise to a single unified concept. What still needs to be explained, however, is how these different factors combine to yield this unified Speaker's perspective.⁶

4.2. *Active, passive and the Speaker's perspective*

Since the notion of perspective was originally seen as being determined by the need to demote the agent or promote the patient, the contribution of these two factors to the wider notion of Speaker's perspective is relatively straightforward. Nevertheless, it might be useful to examine the relation between these two processes in some more detail. Although the two processes are obviously related, which of the two forms the real trigger depends on the communicative intention of the Speaker, which, to a large extent, is determined by the discourse context. If the agent is unknown or unimportant, the patient is likely to be promoted, as the only truly available perspective. This typically results in the omission of the agent (i.e. in a short passive). However, even if the agent is (well-) known and not unimportant, the patient may still be promoted,

⁶ It needs to be stressed that the notion of perspective as defined here is different from the notion of perspective used in Cognitive Grammar (e.g. Langacker 1987, 2002). Where in Cognitive Grammar perspective is seen basically as a semantic notion (where semantics is directly related to conceptualization), here it is seen as a pragmatic notion, fulfilling an interpersonal, communicative function. As such we will consider the question of why a particular perspective is chosen, whereby the assumption is that the choice of perspective is determined by a number of interacting factors.

simply because its own role in the discourse warrants such a promotion; for instance, because the patient forms the primary topic of discussion or because the Speaker identifies more strongly with the patient. In those cases, the agent may still be mentioned in a *by*-phrase, if there is sufficient reason to do so (see discussion in Section 3.2). So although the two processes are indeed related, they should nevertheless be seen as separate factors, both of which may serve as the real trigger of the passive.

Let us now consider the second factor listed in (2): Promotion of the agent. As noted before, this notion seems to be in conflict with the previous factors. This is, however, only partly the case. Thus, although agent promotion is obviously incompatible with agent demotion, it is not in fact inconsistent with patient promotion. Rather, it appears that we are dealing with two kinds of promotion. First, there is promotion on the basis of the preceding discourse (Promotion Type A), instigated by topic continuity, which will result in the promotion of the patient. Promotion of the agent (Promotion Type B), on the other hand, is done in recognition of the contribution made by the agent to the further development of the discourse, such as the introduction of new, salient information, and possibly a new discourse topic (see example (5)). Both kinds of promotion can be seen as contributing, at the same time, to the overall perspective chosen by the Speaker, and the passive as the optimal structure to express this perspective, as it allows the Speaker to place the patient in first position and the new, salient information towards the end of the clause.

Particularly interesting in this respect is the passive in (3n), repeated here for convenience:

- (3) n. Whom shall this particular child fear, *when it was believed by the Church that the whole truth and meaning of baptism was achieved in the act of martyrdom?*

What makes this example special is that the two kinds of promotion described above both apply to the same (patient) referent. This is what triggers this particular – and otherwise inexplicable – use of the passive: On the basis of the previous discourse, the Speaker chooses the proposition *that the whole truth and meaning of baptism was achieved in the act of martyrdom* as the perspective (Promotion Type A), while indicating at the same time that this proposition introduces new, salient information (Promotion Type B). The use of the passive is a result of these two forms of promotion, not from any need to demote the agent – which is why the agent is still mentioned in the form of a *by*-clause.

Next, we need to explain how the aspect factor fits into the picture. Here, too, it could be argued that the perfective aspect associated with the passive contributes to the choice of perspective. After all, perfective aspect reflects both the actional (processual) and the stative (adjectival) quality of an action: What binds these qualities is the patient, as the referent affected by the action at each stage, including the final stage. This is, of course, closely connected to the idea of patient promotion: By choosing the patient as the perspective, the Speaker makes it possible to draw attention both to the action as a whole (including the role of the patient, the processual quality) and its effect (at each stage of the action) on the patient (the adjectival quality).

Finally, we need to consider the influence of the complexity of the phrases denoting the agent and the patient. Although complexity is also a cognitive notion, concerning the mental effort required by a speech participant in the production or interpretation of a construction, it does not contribute to the Speaker's perspective.

Instead it functions as a separate factor, influencing a Speaker's choice for an active or passive independently from, and at times in competition with, the notion of perspective. Once again, two different kinds of complexity seem to be relevant here. The first (Complexity Type A) concerns the internal structure of an expression, the tendency being to place the more complex information towards the end of the clause (the principle of end weight; e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 323, 1282). In that case, if the phrase denoting the agent is (much) more complex than the one denoting the patient, use of a passive will be preferred – and vice versa – even if this conflicts with the preferred perspective. However, given the fact that in most cases patient subjects are typically topical (and therefore likely to be short), and, in the case of agent promotion, agent phrases are typically long, the two factors – Speaker's perspective and complexity – will typically reinforce each other.

The second kind of complexity (Type B) relates to the cognitive effort involved in choosing the optimal perspective. As pointed out before, the wider perspective is the result of a complex balancing act that a Speaker has to perform before he/she can decide on the most appropriate form. It may be assumed that, especially in spoken discourse, this process is sometimes too complicated and time-consuming. In that case, simply sticking to the same perspective will be easier (provided, of course, that communicative success is not sacrificed completely). This may explain the presence of priming, as well as the fact that shifts in perspective are less frequent in spoken than in written language – which in turn may account for the low frequency of passives in spoken discourse (the active being the basic form).

4.3. Two further issues

Before we turn to the implications of the approach outlined in the previous sections for the theory of FDG, let us briefly address two further issues. The first of these concerns the question whether perspective is always present. On the one hand, it seems plausible to assume this to be the case, since we seem to be dealing with a very basic interpersonal notion, comparable in a sense with other interpersonal notions like Illocution and Identifiability. Moreover, in a language like English, every clause is either active or passive. Thus even in those cases where the Speaker does not have a choice (simply because there is only one perspective available, as in intransitive constructions), the choice of perspective is still reflected in the (default) choice for an active construction, with the subject representing the point of view from which the SoA is presented. Note that even in those cases, however, the processes of agent demotion, patient promotion and agent promotion may lead to non-default constructions. Thus, the choice for an unaccusative construction (e.g. *the window broke*) or a middle construction (e.g. *this book sells well*) may be due to agent demotion (agent is unknown or unimportant) or patient promotion (patient is topical or otherwise prominent). Furthermore, presentative constructions (*there are many different types of fruit*) can be seen as a means of promoting a single referent even in the absence of predication. The only cases where perspective is truly absent, therefore, seem to be those in which there is no participant, as in the case of zero-place predicates like *rain*.

The second issue pertains to the notion of free variation. It will be clear from the discussion in the previous sections that the approach presented in this paper starts from the assumption that the choice between alternative constructions is not arbitrary but

communicatively motivated. Alternatively, it might be argued that (in some cases at least) the choice between two syntactically well-formed constructions occurring under seemingly very similar circumstances is not motivated, but is simply a matter of free variation. However, if free variation really means synonymy in all respects (semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and discourse organizational), such an approach is problematic, not only because, from a functional point of view, assuming the existence of such redundancy is unattractive, but also because it fails to capture the tendencies and patterns identified in the previous sections. The approach advocated in this paper, however, enables us to provide a different definition of the term free variation. After all, although a multi-factor approach usually shows one of the available constructions to be preferable over the other, the result may also be a draw. In that case, both constructions are equally acceptable in the specific context, but for different reasons. This means that the constructions are not synonymous: They still perform different functions – it just happens to be the case that under the circumstances both constructions will serve equally well (or equally badly) to achieve the Speaker’s communicative intention. Cases in point might be the sentences in (6):

- (6) a. There is, however, a potentially very important theoretical weakness in the approach adopted by Rhodes, because it is difficult to see *how any other conclusion could be generated by it*. (BNC, written, academic)
- b. There is, however, a potentially very important theoretical weakness in the approach adopted by Rhodes, because it is difficult to see *how it could generate any other conclusion*. (adapted)

In these examples, the agent, referring to the earlier mentioned approach, is topical, fully identifiable and structurally simple. The patient (*any other conclusion*), on the other hand, is unidentifiable (and non-specific) and more complex than the agent. These factors favour the use of an active construction, which, as shown in (7b), does indeed seem acceptable. The fact that in the original text a passive is used can be accounted for by the fact that the patient is (i) related to the previous context (as indicated by the use of *other*) and as such semi-active, and (ii) prominent, specifying the “potentially very important theoretical weakness” that is the main concern of the author in this passage. In addition, the first argument, being inanimate and abstract, has a low degree of agentivity, which contributes to the stative (adjectival) character of the sentence. Clearly, then, despite the fact that the active and passive constructions are doing different things, and are chosen for different reasons, both forms may be equally acceptable in the given context. This kind of ‘free’ variation obviously does occur and can be explained quite elegantly by the approach suggested here.

5. Consequences for FDG

It is now time to return to the questions raised in the introduction:

1. What is the division of labour between the Conceptual Component, the Contextual Component and the Grammatical Component?

2. How do we decide which information enters the Grammatical Component and which information is purely conceptual or contextual in nature?
3. If contextual information does enter the grammar, how and where does it do so: Directly (if so, at which stage: Formulation or Encoding), or indirectly (via the Conceptual Component)?

In order to answer these questions, we need to decide how to deal with the kind of multi-factor approach advocated in this paper within the framework of FDG. The model seems to allow for three possible approaches:

1. *The “Contextual Component only” approach*

The first option is to adhere strictly to the FDG position that contextual and conceptual information will only be included in the grammar if it can be shown to “have a systematic effect upon grammatical choices in formulation” (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 10), the reason being that

[t]here are so many aspects of the context of interaction that could be argued to have an incidental impact upon a speaker’s linguistic choices that modelling them within our theory would deprive it of much of its power (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 10).

Given the fact that the separate factors influencing the choice between an active and passive construction do not, by themselves, lead to systematic coding, it could be argued that they should not be represented during Formulation, and that any interaction between the Grammatical and Conceptual Components takes place during Encoding.

2. *The “Contextual + Grammatical Component” approach*

On this approach it will be assumed that the factors responsible for the choice of a particular variant together do lead to systematic coding. To account for this, the relevant (communicative) factors will be separately represented at the Interpersonal and Representational Levels, while non-communicative (a-functional) factors (e.g. Complexity Type A) may influence the form of the utterance during Encoding (possibly overriding the communicative factors coded during Formulation).

3. *The “Contextual + Conceptual + Grammatical Component” approach*

Finally, it may be assumed that the communicative factors involved together determine the Speaker’s perspective in representing a Communicated Content. Choosing this perspective (identifying and weighing the different factors) is a cognitive, preverbal process, which is situated in the Conceptual Component. From there, the outcome of this cognitive process enters Formulation, where it is represented as a single operator (Perspective) at the Interpersonal Level. As in the previous scenario, this communicative factor can be overruled by a-functional factors during Encoding.

It will be clear that, in view of the discussion in this paper, the third option is the one that will be adopted here. The first option is not satisfactory as it fails to recognize and account for the patterns observed. As a consequence, it does not explain the choice between an active and a passive construction, thereby reducing this alternation to a mere instance of free variation.

The second approach is more attractive in the sense that it can explain the choice for a particular construction. On the downside, however, such an approach would require a plethora of new operators and functions and would have to account for the fact that some of the information represented might actually favour a different construction (in the case of non-optimal coding). In addition, it does not explain where and how the interaction between the different factors takes place.

The third approach avoids these problems. All the relevant contextual information enters the Conceptual Component, where the Speaker performs a balancing act, the outcome of which provides the perspective from which the message is to be presented. The contextual information includes not only all the communicative factors identified, but also takes into account forms used in the preceding discourse (Complexity Type B; priming). After all, if priming is to be regarded as an instance of ease of effort (in particular for the Speaker), it must be assumed that it influences the cognitive process at an early stage: Instead of going through the process of weighing the different factors the Speaker simply chooses the perspective currently present in the discourse. The only factor to influence the choice of construction at a later stage (during Encoding) will be the internal complexity of the relative units (Complexity Type A), which may overrule the communicatively motivated perspective for processing reasons.

The consequences for the model of FDG are relatively minor, as only two small additions have to be made:

1. A mechanism that allows information to feed from the Contextual Component to the Conceptual Component (symbolized by an arrow between these components in Figure 1).
2. A new interpersonal operator (Perspective) at the layer of the Referential Subact, which, together with the information provided at the Representational Level, will trigger the appropriate morphosyntactic form.

It will be clear that the approach chosen will also lead to a different treatment of active-passive alternation in FDG. Currently, Subject and Object assignment is accounted for in terms of morphosyntactic alignment. This means that, unlike with the other two types of alignment (interpersonal and representational), “the morphosyntactic organization is not a direct reflection of the organization of the Interpersonal and/or Representational Level, but exhibits its own organization in terms of the syntactic functions (Subject, Object) of the morphosyntactic constituents, and/or in terms of complexity/weight (Word, Phrase, etc.)” (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 317). The choice between an active or passive construction is not, in other words, triggered by pragmatic or semantic information; instead, according to Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 331),

the actual factors triggering the choice of Subject and Object assignment apply in the Contextual Component, outside the Grammatical Component as such. Bolkestein (1985) and Bolkestein and Risselada (1987) argue that the key factor to understanding these choices is cohesiveness, which concerns the extent to which referents have already been invoked in the preceding discourse or can be inferred from it. This type of information is stored in the Contextual Component and has to be called upon in the process of morphosyntactic encoding.

If one accepts the multi-factor analysis proposed in the present paper, such an approach is not very satisfactory. First, it has been demonstrated that cohesiveness forms only one of the various factors that influence the choice between a passive and an active. In the second place, it has been argued that the contextual information determining the choice of construction triggers a cognitive process (situated at the Conceptual Component), and that the outcome of this notion forms a unified notion (Speaker's perspective) which is systematically coded in the grammar (at the Interpersonal Level). The only factor that may affect the choice of construction during Encoding is the complexity of the relevant linguistic units.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been twofold. Its primary objective has been to shed light on the overall organization of the model of Functional Discourse Grammar by examining the division of labour, as well as the interaction, between the Grammatical, Conceptual and Contextual Components. This does not, however, mean that the discussion is relevant only for linguists working within FDG, as the issues addressed form part of a more general attempt to find ways of determining which communicatively relevant information belongs to the grammar of a language and which is best considered to influence the form of linguistic utterances from outside the grammar.

In order to obtain insight into the various kinds of information that influence a Speaker's choice of a particular syntactic construction, and their place in or vis-à-vis the grammar, a particular syntactic alternation in English was investigated: The active-passive alternation. After an evaluation of previous proposals and an in-depth discussion of a number of examples, it was concluded that the most viable approach is a multi-factor one, according to which the choice for one particular variant is determined by the interaction between a number of different, sometimes competing, factors. It was further concluded that the major determinant was the cognitive notion of Speaker's perspective, a composite notion covering a number of communicatively relevant (pragmatic and semantic) factors. Since this notion is systematically coded in the language (resulting in the choice for one variant of the alternation), and since it is interpersonal in nature, it was proposed that the notion of perspective be represented by means of an operator at the Interpersonal Level.

Finally, it was argued that since the Speaker's choice of perspective is a cognitive process it is plausible to assume that this process takes place at a preverbal level and as such is to be situated within the Conceptual Component. However, since in choosing the perspective the Speaker clearly draws on contextual information, this information must be assumed first to move from the Conceptual Component into the Grammatical Component, and from there to enter the Grammatical Component, thus indirectly influencing the form of the linguistic utterance. This does not mean that all (linguistically relevant) contextual information will influence the Grammatical Component indirectly through the Conceptual Component; this route will only be followed in those cases where the contextual information influences the linguistic strategies selected by the Speaker (during Formulation). In all other cases (e.g. the influence of the gender of a referent on the form of the pronoun) the contextual information can be said to have a direct impact on the Grammatical Component (during Encoding).

References

- Abb, Bernd, Michael Herweg, and Kai Lebeth (1993) The incremental generation of passive sentences. In *Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, 21-23 April 1993, Utrecht, The Netherlands.
- Beedham, Christopher (1982) *The Passive Aspect in English, German and Russian*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad, and Edward Finegan (1999) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Biber, Douglas, Susan Conrad, and Geoffrey Leech (2002) *Longman Student Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Bock, J. Kathryn (1986) Syntactic persistence in language production. *Cognitive Psychology* 18: 355-387.
- Bolkestein, A. Machteld (1985) Discourse and case-marking: Three-place predicates in Latin. In C. Touratier (ed.), *Syntaxe et latin*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, pp. 191-225.
- Bolkestein, A. Machteld, and Rodie Risselada (1987) The pragmatic motivation of syntactic and semantic perspective. In J. Verschueren, and M. Bertucelli-Papi (eds.), *The Pragmatic Perspective*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 497-512.
- Bresnan, Joan (1982) The passive in lexical theory. In J. Bresnan (ed.), *The Mental Representation in Grammatical Theories*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, pp. 3-86.
- Butler, Christopher S. (2008) Interpersonal meaning in the noun phrase. In D. García Velasco, and J. Rijkhoff (eds.), *The Noun Phrase in Functional Discourse Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 221-261.
- Chomsky, Noam (1957) *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, Noam (1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam (1970) Remarks on nominalization. In R.A. Jacobs, and P.S. Rosenbaum (eds.), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham MA: Ginn, pp. 184-221.
- Comrie, Bernard (1988) Passive and voice. In M. Shibatani (ed.), *Passive and Voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 9-23.
- Connolly, John H. (2004) The question of discourse representation in Functional Discourse Grammar. In J.L. Mackenzie, and M.A. Gómez-González (eds.), *A New Architecture for Functional Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 89-116.
- Connolly, John H. (2007) Context in Functional Discourse Grammar. *Alfa: Revista de Lingüística* 51/2: 11-33.
- Connolly, John H. (2008) Freestanding noun phrases within documents: A pragmatic approach based on Functional Discourse Grammar. In D. García Velasco, and J. Rijkhoff (eds.), *The Noun Phrase in Functional Discourse Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 263-285.
- Connolly, John H. (2010) Accommodating multimodality in Functional Discourse Grammar. In G. Wanders, and E. Keizer (eds.), *Web Papers in Functional Discourse Grammar* 83: 1-18. Available at http://home.hum.uva.nl/fdg/working_papers/WP-FDG-83_Connolly.pdf

- Cornish, Francis (2009) *Text and discourse as context: Discourse anaphora and the FDG contextual component*. In E. Keizer, and G. Wanders (eds.), *Web Papers in Functional Discourse Grammar* 82: 97-115. Available at http://home.hum.uva.nl/fdg/working_papers/WP-FDG-82_Cornish.pdf
- Dik, Simon C. (1997) *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dowty, D. (1991) Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67.3: 547-619.
- Freidin, R. (1975) The analysis of passives. *Language* 51.2: 384-405.
- García Velasco, Daniel (2008) Functional Discourse Grammar and extraction from (complex) noun phrases. In D. García Velasco, and J. Rijkhoff (eds.), *The Noun Phrase in Functional Discourse Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 321-363.
- Gries, Stephan, Th. (2005) Syntactic priming: A corpus-based approach. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 34.4: 365-399.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1967) Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics* 3: 199-244.
- Hawkins, J.A. (1994) *A Performance Theory of Order and Constituency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hengeveld, K., and J.L. Mackenzie (2008) *Functional Discourse Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hinrichs, Lars, and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi (2007) Recent changes in the function and frequency of Standard English genitive constructions: A multivariate analysis of tagged corpora. *English Language and Linguistics* 11.3: 437-474.
- Hopper, Paul, and Sandra A. Thompson (1980) Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56.2: 251-299.
- Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jespersen, Otto (1933) *Essentials of English Grammar*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Katz, J.J., and Paul. M. Postal (1964) *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Keizer, Evelien (2008) Reference and Ascription in F(D)G: An inventory of problems and some possible solutions. In J. Rijkhoff, and D. García Velasco (eds.), *The Noun Phrase in Functional Discourse Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 181-220.
- Keizer, Evelien (forthc.) Context, cognition and grammar: The active-passive alternation in Functional Discourse Grammar. To appear in *Trilhas Linguísticas*, Unesp, Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita Filho”, Brazil.
- Lambrecht, Knud (1994) *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1982) Space grammar, analysability, and the English passive. *Language* 58.1: 22-79.
- Langacker, Ronald, W. (1987) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. 1: Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Langacker, Ronald W. (2002) *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Levelt, Willem J.M. (1989) *Speaking*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Liberman, M. (2006) The ancient roots of passive avoidance. *Language Log*, <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/languagelog/archives/003382.html>.
- Mallinson, G., and B.J. Blake (1981) *Language Typology: Cross-linguistic Studies in Syntax*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Pickering, Martin J., and Simon Garrod (2006) Alignment as the basis for successful communication. *Research on Language and Computation* 4: 203-228.
- Pickering, Martin J., and Victor S. Ferreira (2008) Structural priming: A critical review. *Psychological Bulletin* 134.3: 427-459.
- Poutsma, H. (1926) *A Grammar of Late Modern English, Part II, The Parts of Speech, Section II: The Verb and the Particles*. Groningen: Noordhoff.
- Poutsma, H. (1928) *A grammar of late modern English, Part I: The Sentence, First Half: The Elements of the Sentence*. 2nd edition. Groningen: Noordhoff.
- Pullum, Geoffrey K. (2009) 50 Years of stupid grammar advice. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, <http://chronicle.com/article/50-Years-of-Stupid-Grammar/25497>.
- Pullum, Geoffrey K. (2011) The BBC enlightens us on passives. *Language Log*, <http://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=2990>.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Rijkhoff, Jan (2008) Layers, levels and contexts in Functional Discourse Grammar. In D. García Velasco, and J. Rijkhoff (eds.), *The Noun Phrase in Functional Discourse Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 63-115.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi (1988) Introduction. In M. Shinatani (ed.), *Passive and Voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 1-8.
- Svartvik, Jan (1966) *On Voice in the English Verb*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Tannenbaum, Percy H., and Frederick Williams (1968) Generation of active and passive sentences as a function of subject or object focus. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 7.1: 246-250.
- Thompson, Sandra (1987) The passive in English: A discourse perspective. In R. Channon, and L. Chockey (eds.), *In Honor of Ilse Lehiste*. Dordrecht: Foris, pp. 497-511.
- Toyota, Junichi (2009) Fossilisation of passive in English: Analysis of passive verbs. *English Studies* 90.4: 476-497.
- Wanner, Anja (2009) *Deconstructing the English Passive*. Berlin: Mouton the Gruyter.
- Zwicky, Arnold (2006) How long have we been avoiding the passive, and why? *Language Log*, <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/languagelog/archives/003380.html>.

EVELIEN KEIZER is Chair of English linguistics at the University of Vienna. Her main interest is in the interplay between the discourse-pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and phonological properties of linguistic expressions. The overall approach is a functional-cognitive one; more specifically she works within framework of Functional Discourse Grammar. She has published widely on the noun phrase in English (e.g. *The English Noun Phrase. The nature of linguistic categorization*, 2007, OUP) and Dutch (*Syntax of Dutch: The Noun Phrase, Vol. 1*, 2011, AUP). Her current research interests include syntactic alternations, linguistic categorization and the analysis of semi-fixed expressions.

Address: University of Vienna, Department of English, Spitalgasse 2-4/Hof 8.3 1090, Wien, Austria. E-mail: evelien.keizer@univie.ac.at.