# Aspect and Text Structure – Part II

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**Abstract:**

Part II of this report focusses on differences between English and Dutch in the use of Pluperfect. As in Part I, the investigation is not restricted to one text type, but covers narrative texts and news reports. Distributional differences in the use of Pluperfect are explained in terms of the interplay between functional text properties, specifically the role of states and events in the two genres, and language-specific characteristics in the interpretation of Perfect forms, in particular the Pluperfect, in English and Dutch.

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# 1 The Data

## 1.1 Introduction

As was argued in part I, there appears to be a difference between the effect of tense on temporal structure building in narrative text types and news reports. Of course, the different effects might be accounted for by giving simple Past, for example, two interpretations: one that would be selected in a narrative context and another that would be chosen for a news report. But this is not a very attractive solution: it would imply a complete duplication of the tense/aspect system and all its forms. Apart from an argument based on economy, other counter-arguments hold. For one, the lack of explanatory force of a systematic ambiguity of all tenses. What would the interpretation of e.g. Pluperfect and Present Perfect in narratives have in common compared to the same forms in news reports? And how does this tie in with the special characteristics of these text types?

A better solution will be not to differentiate between the individual tenses in both text types but to develop different temporal discourse interpretation procedures for them, making use of insights about the nature of narratives and news reports (cf. part I). Our purpose here is 1. to resume the English observations in relation to the use of the Pluperfect and to compare them to the Dutch data and to indicate the differences (section 1); 2. to interpret the differences, both between narratives and news reports and between English and Dutch, to the background of the view presented in part I (section 2).

Several constraints were introduced in part I. Those constraints which are supposed to hold for narratives and news reports alike, the Informational Status Constraint and the Contextual Relevance Constraint, are not addressed in part II.

## 1.2 Some observations: narratives and news reports in English and Dutch

**English narratives.** An accepted idea, both in theories on the literary narrative genre and in temporal linguistics studies (e.g. within the DRT framework), is the forward movement in time as the text proceeds (Hinrichs, 1981, 1986; Kamp and Rohrer, 1983; Partee, 1984; Webber, 1988). In the latter type of theories this is accounted for by having each new sentence introduce a reference time immediately following the previous one.[1] In English narratives this principle usually holds (apart from flash-backs). Consequently, in narratives we will not find sentences like (1) in an explanation interpretation:

(1) Jane left me. She fell in love with someone else.
(Caenepeel & Moens, 1993)

Recently, much attention has been given in the literature to the phenomenon exemplified by (1), that was baptized 'reversed order' sentences (Caenepeel, 1991; Caenepeel & Moens, 1993; Lascarides, 1990; Lascarides and Asher, 1992; Lascarides and Oberlander, 1992). What is meant by the term is a sequence of sentences that does not reflect the sequence of occurrence

[1]As in Partee (1984), e2 immediately following e1 means that no relevant event is in between e1 and e2.

of the events expressed in those sentences; the sequence is so to speak anti-iconical. Obviously, such sentences do not obey the default forward movement in time.

Caenepeel (1991) and Caenepeel and Moens (1993) argue that this type of sentences is odd in the context of a narrative, but as soon as linguistic devices are added that serve to suggest a non-narrative context, they become acceptable. In other words: reversed order interpretations (referred to as RO-interpretations) are confined to non-narrative text types. In (2a) below an (adapted) example is cited of an RO sentence that appears to be problematic in a narrative environment (2b) and acceptable in a non-narrative environment (2c).

(2) a John turned around. Max hit him.
 b ?? Suddenly John turned around. Max hit him.
 c A: How come John saw what happened behind them?
 B: He turned around. Max hit him.

However, the influence of text type on interpretation as exemplified in (2) specifically concerns event sentences. If the second sentence in a RO structure is a state, the sequence is acceptable in both narrative and non-narrative texts, as can be seen in (3) below.[2]

(3) a She turned on the bedside lamp. It was already too dark for reading.
 b Suddenly she turned on the bedside lamp. It was already too dark for reading.
 c A: What did you do when you entered her room?
 B: I turned on the bedside lamp. It was already too dark for reading.

In fact, we might envisage a simple Past - Pluperfect sequence as a special instantiation of the RO configuration: the event or state expressed in the second sentence temporally precedes the event expressed in the first sentence. The progression in time is not realized by this construction - similar to the other RO constructions - but here we have a clear marking of the non-default movement through time. The marking probably makes Pluperfects acceptable in narrative texts. There is a restriction on acceptability however. In part I, the monotonicity constraint was defined as follows (p. 25, (III)):

(4) **The monotonicity constraint**
An evolving episodic structure is only open at its right end. Two events entered as adjacent (and therefore as consequentially related) cannot be made non-adjacent through the later insertion of a third event.

This constraint makes it impossible to break open an episodic structure. Obviously, it is defined on events. This point will prove to be of importance later (see section (2.3.1)).

**English news reports**. As was argued above, whereas narratives in English do not in general allow for reversed order sequences, news reports do (cf. sequence (2c)). In both text types, reversed order interpretations of event-state sequences can be found, but only news reports allow for reversed order interpretations of event-event sequences.

[2] It may seem controversial to call an event/state sequence "reversed order" since the state may continue during the event. But we refer to cases where the state must at least have begun before the event did - and this makes the term reversed order more or less legitimate.

Again as opposed to narratives, the Pluperfect is seldom used in English news reports. If Pluperfect is used at all in English news reports, the immediate context very often employs the free indirect speech. Free indirect speech is not a neutral way of reporting. It is not a manner of immediate reporting but one with an extra perspectival layer (see also Sanders and Redeker (1993)). We will return to this issue.

The monotonicity constraint does not hold for news reports; it is typically defined for texts that have an iconical structure by default.

**Dutch narratives.** With respect to reversed order interpretations no difference was found between English and Dutch narratives. Sequences (5a) and (5b) are unacceptable in reversed order interpretation just as (1) and (2b) above were, and (5c) is acceptable just as (3a) was.

(5) a ?? Jane verliet me. Ze werd verliefd op een ander.
Jane left me. She fell in love with someone else.
b ?? Opeens draaide John zich om. Max sloeg hem.
c Ze deed het nachtlampje (plotseling) aan. Het was te donker om te lezen.

Monotonicity is a requirement for both English and Dutch narratives. Example (6a) was used in part I to demonstrate the unacceptability of a non-monotonous sequence in English narratives. The Dutch translation in (6b) is equally unacceptable.

(6) a Jack took two dirty glasses from the table and filled them with brandy. ?? He had rinsed them out and the glasses glittered in the sunlight.
b Jack nam twee vuile glazen van tafel en vulde ze met jenever. ??Hij had ze uitgespoeld en de glazen schitterden in het zonlicht.

Concluding, we may say that Dutch narratives do resemble English narratives with respect to the text properties investigated here.

**Dutch news reports.** The Dutch data concerning Pluperfect are different from the English data. Pluperfect is used frequently in Dutch and it is not confined to free indirect speech passages. A few examples may illustrate this:

(7) Het lijkt alsof ze je willen zeggen: “Voor ons was het geen verrassing. Ons muziekkorps had er al rekening mee gehouden dat Attje kampioen zou worden.”
It is as if they want to tell you: “For us it didn’t come as a surprise. Our band had already anticipated that Attje would become champion.”

(8) Er bevond zich toevalligerwijs geen enkele gast in het gebouw. Enkele dagen tevoren had het echtpaar Soveaux een dreigbrief ontvangen waarin stond: “Als jullie ons huwelijk verhinderen, vermoord ik jullie.”
There happened to be not a single guest in the building. Some days earlier the Soveaux couple had received a threatening letter that said, “If you obstruct our marriage, I will kill you.”

(9) Na een half uur was het de goed spelende Seeman die het hoofd van Nuninga zocht. Juist verkeerd beoordeelde Nuninga deze kans, zoals eerder Bonsink finaal had misgetrapt toen Pijlman hem vrij voor van Zoghel bracht (...).
Half an hour later it was Seeman, playing well, who sought out the head of Nuninga. How wrong Nuninga judged this chance, just as Bonsink before had kicked badly off target when Pijlman got him free in front of van Zoghel (...).

In these examples the Pluperfect may express an event that happened some time prior to some other (reference) time. The sentence started by “zoals eerder..” in (9) is a good example of a non-stative interpretation of a Pluperfect. In fact, Pluperfect invokes a reversed order sequence; the Dutch simple Past cannot be used as easily as the English simple Past for events that actually precede another event in simple Past while they follow this event in terms of text structure.

Note, incidentally, that reversed order is not impossible. In the following news report, the event expressed in the second sentence must follow the state expressed in the first sentence:

(10) In de krant van 31 maart stonden bij het artikel over het nieuwe Franse kabinet (...) foto's van een aantal ministers. Van twee ministers werd echter een verkeerde afbeelding geplaatst.
In the newspaper dated March 31, pictures of several ministers accompanied the article on the new French cabinet (...). For two ministers, however, a wrong picture was placed.

The Dutch translation of (2c) is not acceptable in a reversed order interpretation (see (11a)). In (11b) another example is given of a sequence that is acceptable in English but not in Dutch.

(11) a A: Hoe komt het dat John zag wat er achter hem gebeurde?
B: ?? Hij draaide zich om. Max sloeg hem.

b Arme Billy, die kwam bont en blauw thuis. Die etter van de buren {*gaf hem een pak slaag / had hem een pak slaag gegeven}!
Poor Billy came home covered in bruises. That brat from next door beat him up! (Caenepeel, 1991)

Dutch news reports resemble English narratives with respect to reversed order interpretations: a reversed order interpretation of two events is not acceptable, but a reversed order interpretation of a consecutive event and state (12) or two states (12) cause no problems.

(12) Gabriel klopte heel zachtjes aan. Hij was bang dat hij iets belangrijks verstoorde.
Gabriel knocked very softly. He was afraid of interrupting something important.

(13) Gabriel bleef besluiteloos voor de deur staan wachten. Hij was bang dat hij iets belangrijks verstoorde.
Gabriel kept waiting indecisively in front of the door. He was afraid of interrupting something important.

Furthermore, news reports do not necessarily obey the monotonicity constraint. Example (14) below is a case of violation.

(14) Dinsdag 6 april drongen drie gewapende mannen het hotel binnen. De gangsters verlieten vannacht kwart voor twee het hotel. Ze hadden toen vanaf woensdagmorgen half zeven gebarricadeerd gezeten in kamer 110 en al die tijd was het hotel een belegerde vesting geweest.
On Tuesday April 6, three armed men intruded the hotel. The gangsters left the hotel last night at a quarter to two. By then they had been barricaded in Room 110 from 6:30 on Wednesday morning, and during that whole time the hotel had been an occupied fortress.

As a matter of fact, many of the reversed order examples given in the literature are in fact violations of the monotonicity constraint. This could be expected: monotonicity does not apply to news reports and reversed order sequences of events are confined to news reports. Therefore reversed order sequences do not have to obey the monotonicity constraint.

## 1.3 Recapitulation of the data

In section 1.2, English and Dutch were compared with respect to a small set of text properties in two types of text: narratives and news reports. Theoretically that gives us four different groupings of property values - in practice only three of them appear to differ. The data, concerning reversed order possibilities, use of Pluperfect and requirement of monotonicity for two languages and two text types are summarized in Table 1.

*Table 1: Temporal properties of the two text types in English and Dutch*

| | **English** | | **Dutch** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Narrative** | **News Text** | **Narrative** | **News Text** |
| Reversed order event/event | no | yes | no | no |
| Reversed order event/state | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Pluperfect | yes | ?? | yes | yes |
| Monotonicity | yes | no | yes | no |

The question marks for the use of Pluperfect in English news reports mark this form not so much as not well-formed, but as unusual in this context. In the corpus a very small amount of occurrences was found - and the ones that were found were used to express a perspective. Both observations should be accounted for in this paper.

Remarkably, the reversed order interpretation for two events and the Pluperfect use have entirely complementary distributions: whenever one is possible, the other is not, and vice versa. We will return to this observation in our explanation of the data.

# 2 An explanation of the data

## 2.1 Making sense of the differences (narrative-news report / English-Dutch)

In part I, a fundamental difference between the text organization of narratives and that of news reports was described for English. The central distinction can be made in terms of orientation, dynamics and relational strength. In narratives, states and events are oriented towards each other. The major role of the relations among them and the construction of an episodic structure is characteristic for narratives. News reports, on the other hand, were argued to be organized with respect to a deictic center (the point of speech). This organization is not by nature iconical. The organization of events and states in narratives usually is, and this is connected to the second property of dynamics. In narratives a progression in time is expressed. If the expression of an event textually follows the expression of an other event, the former is interpreted as following the latter one. Consequently, the time referred to by the subsequent events is pushed along the timeline.

The overall difference between narratives and news reports is shared by both languages, English and Dutch. It concerns the temporal ordering principles employed in both text types. Since some (simple or complex) story is told in narratives, the primary concern must be: ordering the events properly with respect to each other in episodic structures. This ordering can be achieved by means of explicit instructions (temporal connectives) or iconicity. News reports, on the other hand, give a state of affairs at a certain date and moment. Therefore they order the events and states described with respect to a deictic center, usually the point of speech. There may be jumps forward and backward in time. There is no episodic structure; the 'story' is not connected by one thread. The structure is spider-like, with the point of speech as the body of the spider.

Several observations given in (I) above intuitively agree with these generalizations, for example the fact that news reports but not narratives allow for reversed order presentation, or the fact that narratives but not news reports are subject to the monotonicity constraint. In general, the generalizations agree with the fact that news reports are less exacting with respect to tense/aspect choice than narratives are (more simple Pasts, less Pluperfects). One by one all the differences resumed in (I) will be discussed and explained in terms of the distinctions set out in part I plus an additional aspectual difference between English and Dutch. But first some opinions on Pluperfect in English and Dutch will be considered in section 2.2.

## 2.2 Perfect and Pluperfect in English and Dutch

English and Dutch display a different use of Pluperfect: English news reports were found to hardly use the Pluperfect while Dutch is less restrictive. In Dutch the Pluperfect is used rather frequently in news reports. In this section we will have a closer look at the structure of the Perfect, Past and Present, in both languages in order to find an explanation of this difference.

Firstly, English Pluperfect allegedly has two interpretations, corresponding to the way it comes about. Many linguists, Jespersen (1924) to start with, have argued that it may either be interpreted as a Perfect-in-the- past or as a Past-in-the-past. Assuming that Perfect in English is a stative operator (see part I), on the first option a state holding at some moment in the past will be expressed. On the second option, however, we have the possibility of a state or an event holding at some moment previous to some reference time. In Reichenbachian terms, we would have a E–R–S configuration. Or to be more precise: a Past-in-the-past would have an extra reference point simultaneous with E. Kamp and Rohrer (unpublished manuscript) introduced two different notions of reference point to illuminate the difference in nature between the one simultaneous with E (Rpt, for reference point) and the one simultaneous with R (TPpt, for temporal perspective point). In this work, one interpretation of the Pluperfect has the described event overlap with the TPpt, the other interpretation has the described event precede the TPpt. We will return to these notions discussing focus.

In (15) examples are given in which the temporal modifiers (adverbial and sentential) force a Perfect-in-the-past reading; in (15a) Past-in-the-past reading is forced.[3] The examples are taken from DeClerck (1991, p. 360).[4]

(15) a John had left by five o'clock.
b When I came back, Mary had written two letters.

(16) a John had left at approximately two o'clock.
b I had met her one day in August.
c I had been introduced to him at some party or other.

Dutch has another way to arrive at the E–R–S configuration. In Dutch there is no need for a special stipulation of two interpretations for the Pluperfect. A Perfect-in-the-past would automatically have two interpretations, because the Dutch Perfect, both Present and Past, is always ambiguous between two interpretations. A comparison of the Dutch a-sentences in the examples below and their English b-counterparts shows that Dutch Present Perfect and English Present Perfect behave differently with respect to modification.

(17) a Jonathan heeft gisteren de deur groen geverfd.
b * Yesterday Jonathan has painted the door green.

(18) a Johanna heeft vliegensvlug de ramen gelapt.
b * Johanna has cleaned the windows as fast as she could.

The temporal adverbial in (17) specifies the time of the event and the modifier in (18) modifies the event. In Dutch this is unproblematic: an event can be available in the representation of a Perfect. In English no event is available for specification because Perfects express states.

[3] In the Perfect-in-the-past interpretation no event is available for (temporal) modification, Perfect being a stative operator. It was stated in part I that the event leading to the consequential state is presupposed but that the event is not available as a discourse referent.

[4] If part of a flashback, (15b) may also have a past in the past reading, as was pointed out to me by Marc Moens (personal communication)

For English, Moens (1987) argues that the four types of Perfect distinguished by Comrie (1976) and McCawley (1971, 1981) essentially boil down to one core Perfect. This Perfect expresses a consequent state (of some event). Evidence for this position can be obtained from the unacceptability of the following a-sentences (Moens, 1987: p. 70):

(19) a * I have worked in the garden.
b Ik heb in de tuin gewerkt.

(20) a * I have run.
b Ik heb gehold.

(21) a * John has known the answer.
b John heeft het antwoord geweten.

If the Perfect expresses some consequent state, it can only operate on an event type having the consequent state that follows a culmination as part of its semantic structure. Moens and Steedman (1986) give a classification of event types; not all of these types are constructed with the help of a consequent state following a culmination. Processes and lexical states, for example, are not. For this reason, the a-sentences above are bad: work in the garden, run and know the answer cannot combine with a Perfect.

The acceptability of the Dutch b-sentences proves that no consequent state need be involved in the Dutch Perfect. Apart from a resultative state interpretation, Dutch has another interpretation for events in Perfect. In this interpretation the event character remains intact. The point of view is the point of speech, as is the case in the stative interpretation of Present Perfects in English and Dutch. The infelicity of (22b) and (22c) as answers to the question (22a) indicates that the event is not temporally focused upon: intuitively the question requires temporal focusing of the event. However, the event is available for all kinds of (temporal) modification (cf. (17a)/(18a)).

(22) a Wat was je aan het doen?
what were you doing?
b * Ik heb in de tuin gewerkt.
I have worked in the garden.
c *Ik heb hard gelopen.
I have run.

This two-fold character of Dutch Perfect (and German Perfekt) has been called the Double Perfect Assumption (Oversteegen, 1989). It holds not only for Present Perfect. The Perfect of the Past, the Pluperfect, also has two interpretations. One describes a state in the past, the other an event in the past of some past moment.

So far we may conclude that Dutch has two interpretations for a Present Perfect (an event interpretation and a state interpretation of an event having occurred) and consequently two interpretations for a Pluperfect. English has one Perfect-in-the-past interpretation, the stative one, and a Past-in-the-past interpretation. The behavior of Pluperfect in English with event types lacking a consequent state, confirms the existence of a Pluperfect origin other than the Present Perfect. In contrast to the unacceptable Present Perfect sentences (19) and (21), their

Pluperfect counterparts in (23) are all right. We are aware that some of the examples contain indirect discourse but that does not affect the argument. The claim could be broadened to stating that Pluperfects of processes or states may occur as 'non-transposed' or 'transposed' forms of the Pluperfect.[5]

(23) a (The inspector asked her how she spent her day.) She had slept late. She had worked in the garden and she had baked two cakes.

b Peter awoke in hospital. He had forgotten everything. He had known many people; he had lived in many places. (Now everything was gone.)

The acceptability of (23a) and (23b) suggests a second possible interpretation for Pluperfect in English – but it has to be different from the second interpretation of the Pluperfect in Dutch.

It has to be noted that there is no agreement with respect to the role played by focus in the Past in the past interpretation of the English Pluperfect, for convenience: Plupast. Fenn (1987) argues that there is no principled distinction to be made between Plupast and Pluperfect in English. Central to the argument is the identity of the focuses in both Pluperfect forms.[6] He argues that the temporal focus of both types of Pluperfect is, in Reichenbachian terms, the reference time. So even the alleged Plupast does not direct the attention to the time at which the event occurred – which would have been in character for a double Past tense. We will not decide the focus matter here; there are proponents of the focus creating ability of an event in Pluperfect as well. Webber (1987, 1988) interprets the possibility to continu an event to be an indication that the event is a focus bearer. In the examples in Pluperfect she gives she considers this construction possible and so Pluperfect may contain two potential focus bearers.[7] If temporal progression too would be defined on focused elements, the event in a Pluperfect would be a possible focus bearer. Compare the example below.

(24) Fred arrived at 10. He had got up at 5; he had taken a long shower, had got dressed and had eaten a leasurely breakfast. He had left the house at 6.30.

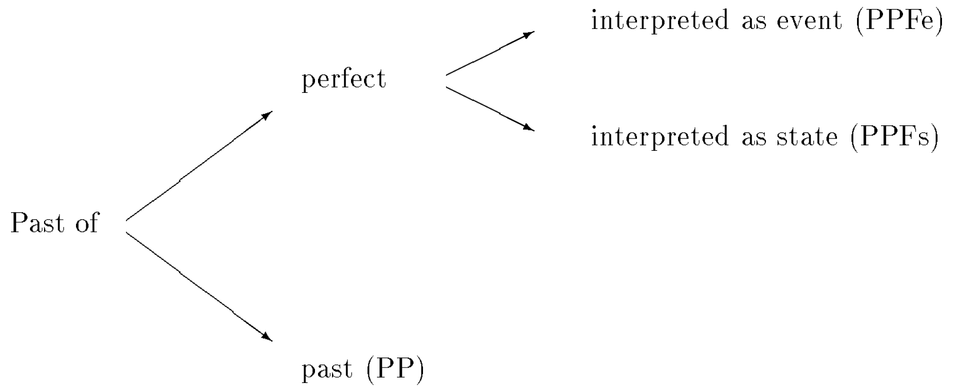
The example is from Kamp and Reyle (1993); in their terms the question here would be: are Rpt and TPpt both candidates for temporal focus? Leaving unanswered the question regarding the exact focus structure of the second English Pluperfect, the situation is as in Table 2 below.

[5] Kamp and Rohrer (unpublished manuscript) state that "results of transposition must be precisely the set of tenses that occur in the complements of indirect discourse verbs in the past tense" and tenses found in that position must be transposed forms of the tense that would have occurred in the direct discourse. For French, Passé Composé. Passé Simple and Plusqueparfait are considered to be transposed forms of the Plusqueparfait.

[6] The observations usually presented as arguments in favor of the existence of a Plupast are: 1. the back shift of simple Past to Plupast under influence of indirect speech rules and 2. the occurrence of certain event modifying temporal adverbials in sentences in Pluperfect (cf. (16)) which were not allowed in sentences in Present Perfect. Both indications are weakened bu Fenn and the conclusion is against assuming a Plupast.

[7] Moens (1986, p.90) seems to doubt her observations.

*Table 2: Types of Pluperfect*




The options in English are PP and PPFs; the options in Dutch are PPFe and PPFs. Given the fact that only Dutch frequently uses Pluperfect in news reports, Table 2 might suggest that it is specifically the PPFe-interpretation of a Pluperfect that agrees with news reports.

Other questions that suggest themselves at this stage are: Why is the PP option not (or hardly) found in English news reports? Why do we find reversed order constructions instead?[8] We will begin to answer these questions in section 2.3.

## 2.3 Interpreting the differences

The nature of narratives on the one hand and news reports on the other hand was described with the help of three kinds of text properties: (i) being speechpoint-oriented; (ii) being dynamic and (iii) being strongly relational (episodic).[9] Whereas narratives have a positive value for (ii) and (iii), news reports do not; whereas narratives are oriented towards each other, news reports are oriented towards the point of speech, and so they have a positive value for (i). These text type properties have to be of use for the explanation of our observations with respect to English and Dutch (summarized in Table 1 above).

A second source of explanatory force is the three-way distinction of Pluperfect forms. Both English and Dutch have an interpretation of the Pluperfect that the other language does not have, next to one shared interpretation. The types of Pluperfect can be described discriminatingly in terms of event and/or stative interpretation, consequentiality, relevance with respect to some reference point - and probably in terms of focus. The interplay of text type properties and characteristics of the distinct Pluperfect interpretations will be invoked as an

[8] Given the signalled complementary distribution of Pluperfect and reversed order event sequences, this question is connected to the question: why do we find no reversed order constructions in narratives. Caenepeel and Moens (1993; p. 15) offers an answer to this question.

[9] To a large extent (i) and (iii) happen to indicate two values of the same property. But theoretically, orientation towards the point of speech does not exclude relations among events. On the contrary: even news reports must obey the contextual relevance constraint.

explanation of the linguistic data in Table 1.

### 2.3.1 Pluperfects and Narratives

Narratives were supposed to be dynamical in so far that they 'push time forward' - why doesn't this characteristic of narratives imply that reversed order interpretations, in a broad sense, are excluded altogether? As we have shown, a Pluperfect may be used after a simple Past under certain circumstances (i.e., if the monotonicity constraint is obeyed), while the descriptive content of the former precedes the event expressed in the latter. This can be explained for the PPFs-interpretation of Pluperfect. This Pluperfect is a stative operator and an event–state reversed order construction is in principle acceptable in English. A state does not invoke narrative movement; it takes the previously mentioned event for an anchor. A consequent state maintains a consequent relation to a (presupposed) event.[10] In the context of another event, the most straightforward interpretation puts a consequential relation between the (presupposed) event and the context event, because it locates the context event in this consequent state. This is the case in (25) below.

(25) Ella picked out the fanciest dessert. She had just received her first wages.

But the consequent state of course may be connected to the context in other ways: as is the case for other states, the connection may be a topical/propositional one (see part I). Consider example (46) from part I:

(26) "Can we take it out?" I said, intrigued. "Of course, but we can't all go, we'll sink." I had never been in a boat in my life. [Tartt, *The secret History* ]

Note, moreover, that Pluperfect PPFs by itself already defines a fragment of an episodic structure: a state-event relation. For these reasons PPFs Pluperfects fit in well with narrative text structure, characterized by an episodic structure in which events and states are related to each other by means of consequential or topical relations. Naturally, if the consequent state can not be related to the context in any way, topical or consequential, the Context Relevance Constraint is violated. But this will not easily happen since such a link is presumed in the semantics of the PPFs Pluperfect. Consider (26) again as support for this claim. Although the last sentence, in Pluperfect, is not related in a strong (consequential) way to the previous text, it does not violate the Context Relevance Constraint because of the possibility of a Background interpretation. Evidently such a possibility is easily available in narratives.

We should mention here that sometimes topical/propositional relations are thought to be the only type of relations that events or states in simple Past - Pluperfect sequences maintain. Lascarides and Asher (1992, 1993) have a rule to the effect that only Explanation, Elaboration, Parallel or Contrast can hold in such a sequence (1993, p. 29). They call it the

[10] In part I, consequential relations are formulated as a requirement for narratives rather than a meaning aspect. However, being coherent is a requirement for any text type (cf. the Contextual Relevance Constraint) whereas we are presdisposed to interpret events and states in a narrative as related to each other. The Dutch author W.F. Hermans once remarked: "In novels even a sparrow falling off the roof can be assumed to have a specific meaning." With respect to narratives, one might say that the reader has a strong confidence that the writer obeys the Gricean co-operation principle.

Connections when Changing Tense rule (CCT) and give no real explanation for its existence. This restricting rule is not in agreement with what we have said before. The four relations above fall under the heading of topical/propositional relations as introduced in part I, whereas we just claimed that consequential relations can be found within simple Past – Pluperfect sequences. It seems to us that evidence can be found in the same literature that CCT is not correct indeed. Compare the sentences in (27).

(27) a John turned around. Max hit him.
b John turned around. Max had hit him.

(28) a Max slipped. He spilt a bucket of water.
b Max slipped. He had spilt a bucket of water.

Lascarides and Asher (1993) observe that there is a causal relation between the two sentences in (27a). Furthermore, they claim that there is an Explanation relation between the two sentences in (28b). Unexpectedly, they assume narration in (28a). We agree with Caenepeel (1991) that this seems to be inconsequent: if (27a) is supposed to be a reversed causal relation, then so is (28a). Moreover, if the choice between a reversed order sequence (as in(27a) and (28a)) and a simple Past-Pluperfect sequence is forced by the text type in which the sequence occurs, the nature of the relation should be the same. In other words: if (27a) and (28a) express causal relations, then so do (27b) and (28b). The conclusion must be that Pluperfects may express causes for events expressed in preceding simple Past sentences.[11]

We have argued that the properties of the Pluperfect type PPFs make it suitable for use in narratives. Why an PP-interpretation of a Pluperfect is acceptable in narratives is not equally self-evident. This type is not derived from the Perfect and so it implies no consequentiality relation. Moreover, the event is not presented as being relevant at the (Reichenbachian) reference time, the time at which a preceding simple Past sentence would hold. Being past of the Perfect warrants such relevance, just as Present Perfect is always described as having present relevance. However, if a proper consequential relation can be inferred, as in example (29) taken from Fenn (1987, p. 220), the discourse is fine.

(29) The children were to be driven, as a special treat, to the sands at Jagborough. Nicolas was not to be of the party; he was in disgrace. Only that morning he had refused to eat his wholesome bread-and-milk on the seemingly frivolous ground that there was a frog in it. Older and wiser and better people had told him that there could not possibly be a frog in his bread-and-milk, and that he was not to talk nonsense; he continued, nevertheless,... Saki (1968, p. 369).

Even this type of Pluperfect appears to be preferred over a reversed order configuration of two events. The reason lies in the dynamical nature of narratives. In both cases, a Pluperfect of type PP following and RO events, the inference of a consequential relation is required. Pluperfect, however, can be seen as a marking of event relations. The default for narratives being progression through time, this marking explicitly indicates that the default is overruled. Understandably, this explicit marking is preferred over the unmarked RO sequence: in both

[11] Lascarides and Asher (1993) do not exclude this: explanation is described as a relation between an expression a and an expression b if the event described in b explains why a has happened (perhaps by causing it).

cases an equal amount of reasoning must be done to arrive at the correct interpretation, but the signals with respect to the structure's being non-default are not equally strong.

Monotonicity is defined in terms of events - in fact this would imply that it is only applicable to the PP-interpretation of the Pluperfect. Assuming this version of the monotonicity constraint, the unacceptability of (5) is therefore another indication for the existence of this type of Pluperfect in English.[12]

Dutch narratives obey the same principles as the English narratives do; the text type properties are similar, reversed order interpretations are available in the same configurations and Pluperfect PPFs is a shared form of English and Dutch. Only Pluperfect PPFe is specific for Dutch. Given the claim that all Pluperfects in Dutch are derived from the Perfect, relevance with respect to the reference point is always expressed. So if in English the Pluperfect PP is used in narratives, the Dutch Pluperfect PPFe will be appropriate in narratives as well.

### 2.3.2 Pluperfects and News Reports

News reports were analyzed as containing events and states that are oriented towards the point of speech rather than towards each other. Furthermore, the dynamical aspect, progression in time, is lacking in news reports. This has a consequence for the use of the Pluperfect. Whereas in narratives the Pluperfect has to be used if the second event expressed in a sequence is supposed to precede the first one, in news reports the absence of a strong forward movement in time makes it less obligatory to explicitly mark the reversed order interpretation. The absence of the requirement of ordering between events warrants that, in situations in which narratives must use a Pluperfect, news reports could do with the simple Past. The orientation being towards the point of speech S, two events in simple Past may maintain any temporal relation. The eventual interpretation of this relation depends on additional, but not necessary indications: a consequentiality relation, an explanation relation or a temporal adverbial.

However, this general idea only serves as an explanation for the fact that no Pluperfect is required to express reversed order interpretation. It does not tell us why Pluperfects are used so seldom in English news reports and it certainly does not explain why they are used frequently in Dutch news reports. Starting with the English case, we will take a close look at the interaction of properties of news reports on the one hand and the two types of Pluperfect on the other hand. Type PP, the 'Past in the past', presents an event (or state) in relation to the reference point - not immediately in relation to the point of speech. Already, this does not agree with the deictic nature of a news report; the relational aspect is not central to this text type. There is a second reason for this type of Pluperfect to avoid news reports. As we said before, this type of Pluperfect does not warrant relevance of the event to the point of reference because it is not derived from a Perfect. Since the reader is not predisposed in news reports - as she is in narratives - to infer a relation between the event expressed with the help of the Pluperfect and some context event, there is a serious danger of violating the

[12]Further research should point out whether the stative interpretation of the Pluperfect should be constrained by monotonicity as well. If this is the case, the event presupposed by this type of Pluperfect should be available as a discourse referent - contrary to the position taken in part I.

Contextual relevance Constraint. If, on the other hand, there is an inferable consequential relation between the event in Pluperfect and its context, a reversed order sequence in simple Past will be preferred for the first reason. The relational component being equal in both cases, two simple Pasts are oriented towards the point of speech whereas a Pluperfect is not.

Type PPFs is derived from a Perfect. Therefore the irrelevance argument does not hold here. But this type of Pluperfect would always express a state: a consequent state of some event. The discrepancy to an 'ordinary' state in simple Past is very small: it is exactly the relational aspect and the orientation (S or R) that makes the difference. Both properties are disadvantageous for fitting in a news report; therefore a simple Past again appears to be more appropriate.

For Dutch, the same explanation should apply for the PPFs-interpretation of the Pluperfect. There is only one fact that distinguishes the situation for Dutch from the situation for English: in English there is no Pluperfect form suitable for news reports while in Dutch there is. The PPFe-interpretation of the Pluperfect warrants that the event expressed is presented as being relevant for the reference point. This is true for all forms of the Pluperfect that are derived from the Perfect. But it is not true for the PP-interpretation of Pluperfect! On the other hand no consequential relation is implied - as is the case in PPFs! Relations among events are not considered to be central to news reports, so PPFe would be favored over PPFs in this respect. In short, PPFe has properties in common with other interpretations of the Pluperfect -for example its orientation on the reference point instead of the speech point - but it also has sufficient distinct properties to make it acceptable in the context of a news report while the other Pluperfect forms are not.

As may be clear by now, the interplay of text type properties and characteristics of types of Pluperfect is a matter of balancing rather than a matter of absolute rules. Intuitively this is correct: text types are not very rigidly definable and the observations concerning certain occurrences or non-occurrences in their context are relative. In this fashion we can also find the rationale behind the variation between reversed order sequences of events and simple Past - Pluperfect sequences. Partly they have the same function: they signal a double relation between the events expressed: a temporal relation (the first mentioned follows the second mentioned) and a consequential/topical relation. So in all cases we argued the Pluperfect to be a good option, simply for that reason the reversed order construction would not be a good option. In all cases we are able to give autonomous arguments either in favor of Pluperfect, or in favor of RO. For example, a RO construction ties in both with the orientation and the lack of dynamics characterizing news reports. Apart from this type of arguments, having both RO and Pluperfect constructions would imply redundancy of linguistic means.

The PPFe interpretation cannot be compared truthfully to a reversed order construction. Its specialty is that it may express a purely temporal relation. As we said, no consequentiality is involved. Consequently, apart from other reasons given so far, there are contexts, especially news reports contexts, that would favor PPFe over a reversed order construction. With respect to the complementary distribution an explanation can easily be given now. Where English news reports do not have a Pluperfect form suitable for news reports, reversed order constructions are the better option. Where Dutch has a Pluperfect form that is in harmony with the text type properties of a news report, it does not need another, less explicit way of expressing the same - and it does not allow for another, less explicit way of expressing more.

In section 2.1 we hypothesized that the Pluperfect form occurring in Dutch but not in English, would be the one suitable for use in news reports. Later this form was baptized PPFe. The hypothesis seemed to be plausible because the Pluperfect is not (or hardly) found in English news reports and neither is PPFe. And indeed, the Pluperfects in the Dutch fragments cited in (8), (9) and (10) can all be interpreted as instantiations of PPFe. In general, 90% of the Pluperfects in the corpus were of type PPFe - the remaining 10% were of type PPFs.[13] This may be interpreted as additional support for our analysis.

### 2.3.3 Pluperfect and perspective

By now the majority of the data resumed in section 1.2 has been accounted for. The only observation we have not discussed yet concerns the relation between indirect speech, or perspectivation in general, and Pluperfect in news reports. Our explanation will be concise. It has been argued extensivily why Pluperfect would be a suitable form for expressing the perspective of a person other than the principal story teller or the speaker (Caenepeel, 1989; part I of this paper). A relation is supposed between the propositional nature of status and their capacity for introducing perspective. Therefore we should expect at least PPFs to be capable of conveying perspective. But PPFs is not the only Pluperfect interpretation that may do so: PP is capable of suggesting that there is some source of information or evaluation appart from the speaker as well. Fragment (29) in part I, repeated here for convenience, may serve as an illustration of this claim.

(30) Mr Browne took another sip of his whisky and said, with sid[Aling mimicry: “Well, you see, I’m the famous Mrs Cassidy, who is reported to have said: “Now, Mary Grimes, if I don’t take it, make me take it, for I feel I want it.” His hot face had leaned forward a little too confidentially and he had assumed a very low Dublin accent, so that the young ladies, with one instinct, received his speech in silence. (Joyce, *The Dead*)

No consequent states are expressed by the Pluperfects used here and still the reader gets the impression that the situation is described through someone’s eyes - probably the eyes of “the young ladies,” which judge that Mr. Browne is acting too confidentially. Consequently, both PP and PPFs are used for expressing perspective. The question becomes: why do these Pluperfects in their perspectival interpretation agree with the properties of news reports whereas they were found to disagree with those properties in a non-perspectival interpretation? The property of the Pluperfect that constituted the major obstacle to its fitting into news reports, was its orientation on the reference point. The prominence of relations with the reference point does not agree with the immediate reporting mode characterizing news reports–unless the stress on the reference point has a specific function; the ”point of perspective” then serves

[13] It is possible that the existence of a Dutch Pluperfect form suitable for news reports engenders the use of the other Dutch Pluperfect form (PPFs) in news reports. An example of a PPFs form is the following news report text: ”Regisseur HV heeft zich kennelijk beijverd de tekorten in het stuk door visuele vondsten te camoufleren. Ook had hij een frappant decor ontworpen, te fraai voor een groteske en liet hij de spelers zelf changeren bij open doek.” (Evidently, director HV did his best to camouflage the shortcomings of the play by visual inventions. He also had devised a striking set, too beautifiul for a grotesque, and he had the players themselves change with the curtains up.)

to convey that a source (of information or evaluation) distinct from the reporter is implied. The relation to the reference point is not a purely temporal one in that case: the reference point functions as a marker of an atypical situation. It marks not so much a position that is separated on the temporal line–as not being immediately related to the point of speech–as a position that is not immediately related to the reporter. The marking by Pluperfect in news reports signals an implied source of information or evaluation.

# 3 Conclusion

In this part of the report, a minimal inventory was given of the use of Pluperfect and reversed order interpretation in general for two text types, narratives and news reports, and two languages, English and Dutch. The facts to be explained were:

- in narratives Pluperfects behave similarly in English and Dutch
- in news reports Pluperfects are hardly ever used in English, but occur regularly in Dutch
- if Pluperfect is used in news reports in English, it has perspectivizing function
- in news reports, RO sequences with two events are used in English, but not in Dutch
- Pluperfect and RO of event sequences appear to have complementary distribution
- RO event-state is less problematic than RO event-event
- modification options for English and Dutch Pluperfect are similar
- modification options for English and Dutch Perfect are dissimilar

These facts were explained with the help of the properties of events and states and of narratives and news reports in general (as described in part I); with the help of the double Perfect assumption and the characteristics of different variants of the Pluperfect used in Dutch and English.[14]

[14] A representation language was developed which is well suited to account for the facts and regularities discussed in this paper: the Two Track of Time, or in short, TTT (see Oversteegen, 1989, and DANDELION deliverable R1.3.2a). The different types of Pluperfect were defined in TTT and a discourse rule for narratives was defined, that does not apply in news reports. These definitions amount to an account of the interaction of languages and text types as found in this paper. The special case of perspectival interpretation of Pluperfect can get a very natural explanation as well in TTT.

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