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Cohesion - conceptualizations and systemic features of English and German

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In the following we will give an overview of different **perspectives** and **conceptualizations** of the term *cohesion* in German and English literature. A comprehensive and detailed work such as Halliday & Hasan (1976) for English has not been written yet for German. Nevertheless, there are several approaches dealing with the phenomenon, especially under the heading of *text linguistics/ Textlinguistik*. Furthermore, we seek to outline major **systemic differences** in English and German with respect to different types of cohesive devices. The other major question, that of the *use* i.e. relative frequencies and their implications for language contact, will only be addressed later (Work Packages 3 and 4).

1. Cohesion and coherence

The literature in German usually makes a distinction between the terms *cohesion* and *coherence* and takes this difference as a basis for the analysis of cohesion. For Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004), for example, cohesive devices create coherence in terms of the linguistic structure of the text ("Oberflächenstruktur"), while coherence itself is seen as a conceptual phenomenon ("Tiefenstruktur", cf. 2004:254f). Similarly, de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) distinguish between cohesion as the structural linking of text and coherence as the semantic/conceptual interrelation underlying a text (cf. 1981:3f). Both belong to the seven criteria de Beaugrande & Dressler establish for textuality, with coherence and cohesion as text-centred criteria and the others as user-centred criteria (e.g., intentionality).

Vater confines cohesion to the grammatical level and defines it as grammatical relation between text units (cf. 2001:32). Brinker rejects the differentiation between the two terms as unnecessary (2005:18, note 18) and consequently only talks of coherence (cf. in a similar way Wehrlich 1975, 1983). However, in Brinker's analysis of different aspects of coherence he distinguishes between grammatical and thematic coherence, thus basically drawing the same distinction as de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981). In some overall descriptions of German, substantial aspects of what we are covering here are treated as "The grammar of text and discourse" (e.g. Zifonun et al. 1997, Vol 1, 309ff).

What some of these approaches have in common is that, alongside the division into cohesion and coherence, they focus on co-reference, up to a point where it sometimes seems to be a prerequisite for phenomena of cohesion. It has to be mentioned, though, that in these approaches also means of cohesion are included that are not co-referential, e.g. conjunctives. The same is true for the phenomenon of *isotopy* (see below).

In contrast to German approaches, Halliday & Hasan largely speak of cohesion (rarely of coherence) and do so out of a different perspective. In their view, the "concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (1976:4)[1]. The distinction they draw is between text and sentence/clause in the sense that text is "a unit of language in use" (1976:1) in contrast to a "grammatical unit" (ibid.) like a clause or a sentence. These grammatical units are cohesive due to their (lexico-grammatical) structure.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) focus on devices that create cohesion beyond the sentence, i.e. the text, leaving phenomena within the sentence covered already by lexicogrammar out of their analysis. However, they point out that this distinction cannot always be drawn categorically; most of the devices they mention can create cohesion within and between

[1] But note that they speak of *substitution* as a "grammatical relation" (1976:32)

sentences. In their account, co-referentiality is a necessary precondition for some types of cohesion only. Within their model of language, the multi-functionally organized Systemic Functional Linguistics, *meaning* includes, but is not exhausted by, the phenomenon of (co-) reference, and as *cohesion* for them is a semantic relationship (though structurally encoded), it includes other semantic relationships, especially logico-semantic relationships between parts of discourses, non-referential relationships between lexical items, and collocational (sense) relationships in general (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976:3f and elsewhere). Structural relations are a subtype of cohesion-forming relationships, those which are grammaticalized (and/ or lexicalized?) for the given language (Halliday & Hasan 1976:8f). More recently (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:579), the textual resources making up the lexicogrammar of English are said to be (a) structural (thematic, information structure, focus) and (b) cohesive. Observe also, that for Halliday & Hasan (1976:298f, 324), cohesion is one phenomenon contributing to texture, though not the only one. *Texture* as a whole is related to *register* and includes factors beyond cohesion. The entirety of "text forming devices" according to Halliday & Hasan (1976) is very similar in terms of coverage to what the German tradition covers under *Textlinguistik*.[2] They claim, as does Schubert in his (2008:61ff) discussion, that *cohesion* and *coherence* are both usually conditions for texture, but do not mutually imply each other necessarily, (Halliday & Hasan 1976:23). In extreme cases, there can be cohesion without coherence, and there can be coherence without cohesion – although under most circumstances of real texts, both will co-occur. In general, though, the notion of *coherence* hardly figures in Halliday & Hasan (1976). Note, by the way, that their approach is largely shared in the chapter on text in Quirk et al. (1985:1421ff).

Something like a middle position with respect to coverage of the full conceptual space between cohesion and coherence seems to be represented by the line of reasoning in de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981:84f), Brown & Yule (1983:224) and recently Schubert (2008:61ff). They work on the basis of a dichotomy between *cohesion* as signalled by some aspect of linguistic structure on the one hand, and *coherence* as actively constructed by the reader as a form of continuity of meaning in processes of interpretation and inferencing with the help of *context* and *world knowledge*. If, in terms of Halliday & Hasan (1976), we read *context of situation* and *context of culture* instead of *context* and *world knowledge*, the two positions are not necessarily distinct any more (cf. also Martin 1992:381ff).

Another discussion which is relevant to the cohesion – coherence distinction is that about explicitness vs. implicitness of linguistic meaning (cf. Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007) and more generally around Relevance Theory (cf. Carston 2002, especially 15ff and again 222ff): Relevance Theory in Carston's version seems to assume three levels of "utterance meaning" which are additionally in relationships of "underdeterminancy" (Carston 2002:17):

a) Linguistic meaning underdetermining what is meant
b) What is said underdetermining what is meant
c) Linguistic meaning underdetermining what is said

Linguistic meaning is the linguistic encoding itself. *What is said* is a propositional semantic representation, including referential instantiation and disambiguation, as well as some forms of "pragmatic enrichment" (Carston 2002:223). *What is meant* is the full utterance meaning including all sorts of pragmatic implicature. Part of the importance of Carston (2002) can be

[2] For an extension of the Halliday & Hasan (1976) model in this direction cf. Cha (1982:74ff)

seen in the claim that there is a much wider gap between linguistic meaning and *what is said* than is commonly assumed, particularly in pragmatics. In terms of our discussion here, *what is meant* is probably the full range of factors to do with *textuality*. *What is said* seems to cover lexicogrammatical encoding plus cohesion (in its semantic aspect), and finally *linguistic meaning* would be the full structural encoding plus its linguistic representations, but nothing more.[3]

2. Means of cohesion

The terms for describing cohesive devices not only differ in number and meaning between German and English approaches, but also between the different German approaches. Therefore we will start from the work of Halliday & Hasan (1976) and compare the elements of their concept with the terminology in other works.

In the following we will provide a detailed discussion for the category of reference only, in which we will particularly sketch functional and semantic as well as morphological and lexicogrammatic peculiarities in the systems of English and German. The present approach requires further elaboration in future research, especially with respect to the other cohesive devices, for which we only give some basic insights.

2.1 REFERENCE – CONCEPTUALIZATION

In terms of methodology, the more a classification starts from the morphosyntactic systems of a particular language, the more language-specific the account becomes. Classifications yielding semantic/functional rather than purely morphosyntactic categories provide an easier interface to other languages and cognition, even if they are systematically related to morphosyntax and thus basically language-specific.

The opposite methodology would be an approach setting out from the logic of (cohesive) reference in general, rather than that of any particular language. The problem for such an approach is that it may only loosely co-incide with what specific distinctions any particular language makes and that it may be relatively blind to the specifically linguistic problems of co-reference. .

The methodology employed by Halliday & Hasan (1976), based on "transfer comparison" (Halliday et al. 1964), sets out from a particular language, in this case English, but makes the classification on a **functional** rather than **morphosyntactic** level (cf. Figures 1 and 2 below). It represents a compromise in terms of methodology in that it sets up its initial classifications from the lexicogrammatical, including morphosyntactic, phenomena of one language (English), yet abstracts away from those into a functional/ semantic level which may be a better interface for cross-linguistic comparison than the lexicogrammatical realizations themselves.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) talk of *co-reference* where different linguistic expressions have the same point of reference, for example a referring expression, usually an NP, and a pronoun co-referring to one *entity* previously introduced into the discourse world: "The cohesion lies in the continuity of reference" (1976:31). Cohesion generating referential devices usually are

[3] To be briefly covered at a later stage: DRT-type approaches (cf. Kamp and Reyle. 1993; Asher 1993) and model-theoretic semantics (Montague, Dowty etc.)

semantically and formally reduced and cannot be fully interpreted in their own right[4]. Therefore, information as to their reference has to be retrieved from another source. In the case of *exophoric reference*, this source is the situational (and/or cultural) context, and in the case of *endophoric reference*, the linguistic environment of the text provides the information required for interpreting the identity of the referent denoted by the referential devices.

Within endophoric reference, Halliday & Hasan (1976) differentiate further between *anaphoric reference* (to preceding text) and *cataphoric reference* (to following text). Taking into consideration the *identity* of the information, they establish three types of reference, namely *personal*, *demonstrative*, and *comparative* reference. The first type can be realized by personal and possessive pronouns, the second by demonstrative pronouns, adverbs like *here* or *there* and the article *the*, and the third type by adjectives and adverbs such as *same*, *similar*, *so* or *such*. Note that co-reference, in the strict sense, here only seems to apply to *personal reference*, because none of the other types co-refer in a very strict sense. Importantly for our study, the general distinction into *personal*, *demonstrative*, and *comparative* is probably common to the two languages English and German; the sub-types, as well as their realization, are not. Between typologically more distant languages, e.g. even between Romance, Slavic and Germanic languages, not even the general distinction would be completely shared, and sub-types and realizations would vary more widely.

The very broad category of *cohesive reference* does not have one equivalent in the German approaches; instead, the phenomenon (co-)reference appears in three categories of cohesion variously mentioned in these works: proforms, articles, deixis and the often fully lexically-headed phrases they are part of. The category of proforms as part of reference, however, is interpreted there in a much broader sense than in Halliday & Hasan (1976): de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) include pronouns, adverbs, demonstrative pronouns, pro-adjectives like *so* or *solch*, pro-verbs like *tun* or *machen*, and pronominal adverbs, but only the first four would be listed under the heading *reference* in Halliday & Hasan (1976). The same list, except for pro-adjectives and pro-verbs, can also be found in Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004).

The definite and indefinite article is mentioned only in Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004), who see it as a form of deixis. They distinguish between textual deixis in the case of reference to new information (indefinite article) and given information (definite article), and deixis to (previous) knowledge ("(Vor-) wissensdeixis"), where the definite article is used for elements that are new in the text, but, in the opinion of the authors, known to the reader. They mention another form of deixis, that of situational deixis, using this term where the reference is not to another element of the text, but to the situation the text is embedded in.

2.2 REFERENCE – SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES

Generally speaking, three distinct functional systems of reference are realized in English and German: personal reference, demonstrative reference and comparative reference

Observe that, characteristically, the exposition in Halliday & Hasan (1976) proceeds by semantic distinctions, not by word class or some other morphosyntactic reflex (cf. Figures 1 and 2 below).

[4] Note that this also applies to grammaticalized structures in general, e.g. verbal inflection signalling person in "pro-drop" languages

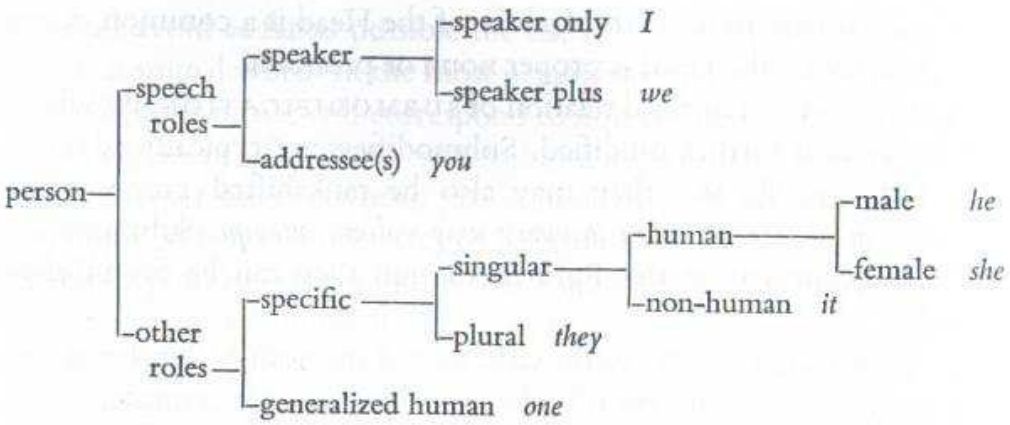

Figure 1: A classification of cohesive personal reference for English (Halliday & Hasan 1976:44)

	Speech roles		Other roles		
			Specific		*Generalized Human*
	Speaker	*Addressee*	*Human*	*Non-human*	
one	I me mine my	you you yours your	he him his his	it it [its] its	one one – one's
			she her hers her		
more than one	we us ours our		they them theirs their		

Figure 2: Tabular form for the classification in Figure 1 (Halliday & Hasan 1976:44).

2.2.1 Personal reference

"Personal reference is reference by means of function in the speech situation" (Halliday & Hasan 1976:37). We first explore the commonalities and differences in English and German with respect to **functional differences** in the system of personal reference before we deal with the formal features of the cohesive devices employed.

Figure 3 below gives us a bi-lingual classification fragment on the functional/ semantic level as we see it for English and German, i.e. one classifying all and only the distinctions made by the two languages in combination through cohesive personal (co-)reference. Options in the system network unique to, or at least more elaborated in, German are marked by italics[5].

[5] As we have shown in detail elsewhere (e.g. Steiner 1996), semantic/ functional distinctions specific to some place in the structure of a language will usually be made at some other place of the system in another language.

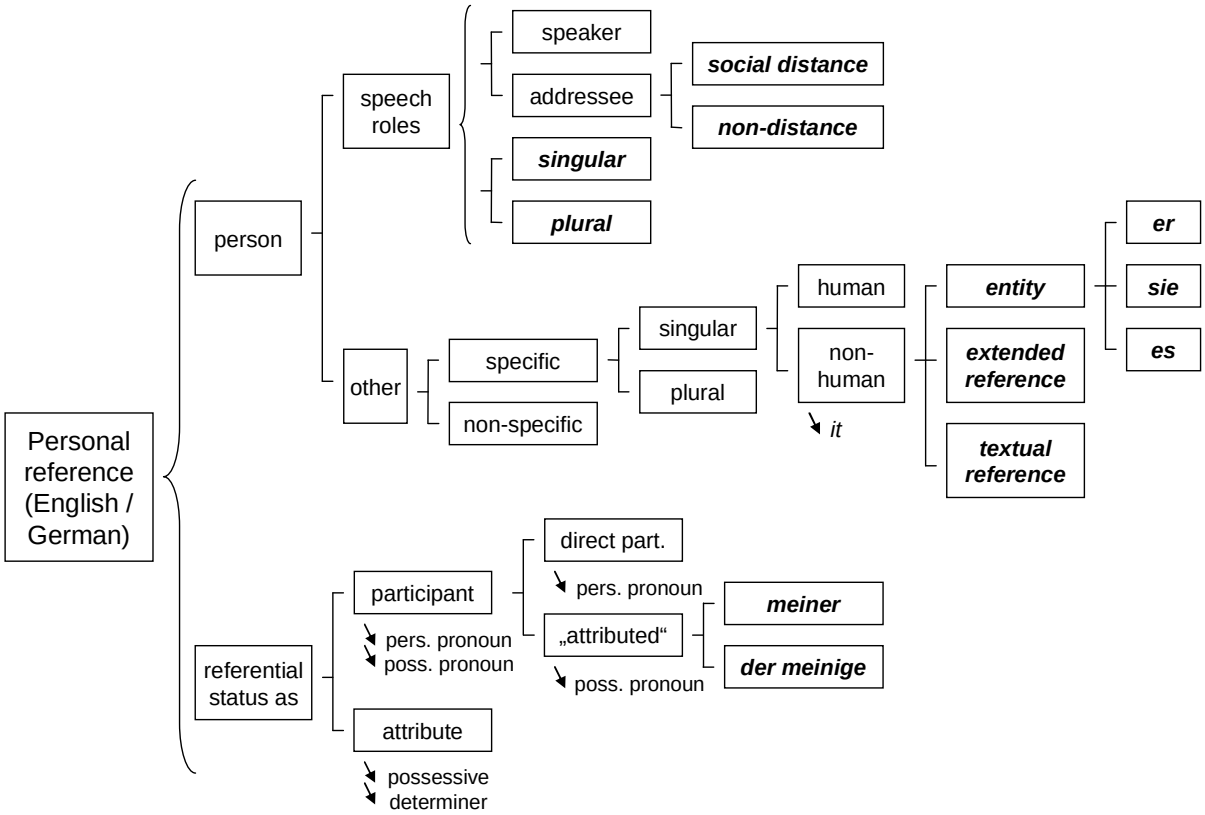

Figure 3: Personal reference in English and German

Generally speaking, a distinction is drawn, in both languages, in terms of reference to distinct *persons/ roles* as *speech role* vs. *other* involved in the act of communication, and in terms of their *referential status* as either *participant*, or as an *attribute* (see Figure 3 above).

First, persons (where *person* is a generalized category involving all sorts of entities, including complex states and events) are denoted via different lexical and morphological forms of personal pronouns either as taking an active part in the communication (*speech role*) or as being involved as some other third-party entity (*other*). English and German mainly express two speech roles, the *speaker(s)* (via first person pronouns) and the *addressee(s)* (via second person pronouns). The languages differ in that German further distinguishes *social distance* (*Sie*) and *non-distance* (*du*, *ihr*) and *singular* (*du*, *Sie*) and *plural* (*ihr*, *Sie*) in the speech role of the addressee whereas contemporary modern English does not realize this contrast in terms of personal reference since it uses one form only (you). In the speech role of *speaker*, both languages distinguish between *singular* and *plural*.

Referents which do not take an active part in the speech event are either expressed as being *specific* (third person pronouns) or *non-specific* (*one*; *man*) in English and German, even if the use of *one* in modern English is much more restricted than German *man*. In many contexts of modern English, *one* is substituted by either general nouns *(people)*, specific pronouns *(we, you)*, or agentless passive. For specific reference, a further classification is made in German and English for *plural* and *singular* referents. With singular referents, English distinguishes human and non-human referents as “natural” categories, whereas German realizes a threefold grammatical gender distinction in cases of reference to *non-human entities* (see below). For both languages, there is the further distinction under non-human singular into reference to an *entity*, extended reference to an *event*, and textual reference to the *fact that an event occurred* (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976:52ff). We strongly

suspect that these types of reference are a) less ambiguous in German than in English, and b) are differently expressed by personal or demonstrative reference in the two languages.[6]

Second, a difference is made in English and German with respect to the status of referents either as *attributes* or *participants.* As for reference to *participants*, the two languages further distinguish between referents involved as *direct participants* in a process and referents which constitute *attributed or possessed persons/ referents of other referents/ persons*. The former type is indicated by personal pronouns, the latter by possessive pronouns (*mine*, *meiner*, *der Meinige*). Reference to *attributes* of referents is realized in the two languages via possessive determiners.

We now move on to describe contrastive differences in terms of morphological forms of the cohesive devices employed in the two languages for personal reference, because lexicogrammatical realization will be seen to have strong effects on the textual function, e.g. creation of ambiguities or otherwise, in referential cohesion . As we have already seen above, three main categories of referential devices are existent in English and German: personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and possessive determiners.

As for *personal pronouns*, both languages inflect for number, or rather, they use different word stems depending on number. Yet, there are differences with respect to gender and case inflection, and German systemically enforces a choice depending on *social distance* in the second person (singular and plural). German also differentiates *singular vs. plural* for both speaker and addressee speech roles.

The marking of gender in Standard English is primarily determined by natural sex distinctions and metaphorical extensions thereof (Hawkins 1986; König & Gast 2007:63). Pronouns referring to entities other than human beings or higher animals are assigned to neuter gender. In German, gender assignment mostly is arbitrary i.e. grammatical with a semantic basis allowing for some generalizations (König & Gast 2007:60). Most nouns (though not all, cf. *Mädchen,* even what triggers the neuter here is the diminutive, cf. analogously *das Bübchen)* denoting humans and higher or domestic animals are inflected for biological gender; all other nouns are marked arbitrarily, by masculine, feminine or neuter gender (cf. König & Gast 2007 for some generalizations). As a consequence, more neuter personal pronouns can be expected in English, relative to German, which leads to ambiguities in co-reference in English texts where such does not obtain for a parallel German version (see (1) below).

Case inflection in personal pronouns is richer in German than in English (cf. König & Gast 2007), as German distinguishes four cases and English only two.

In addition, the referential ties of endophoric devices to full lexical noun phrases in German may be more explicit than in English since these contain gender as well as number and case inflection whereas English full lexical noun phrases do not inflect for gender and case. Thus constructions such as the following in German are expected to occur rather seldom in English since they are highly ambiguous:

(1) *Eine verantwortungsbewusste Politik kann diesen Prozess, der zudem von objektiven Faktoren determiniert wird, nicht nur flankieren. Sie muss ihn vielmehr formen.*

[6] Halliday & Hasan's example: "It rained day and night for two weeks. The basement flooded and everything was under water. It spoilt all our calculations." They rightly point out the two way ambiguity between an extended reference and a text reference for the last *it*. In fact, it could be three ways ambiguous, with an entity reference to *water*. Note the interesting variation in German between having *es* vs. *das* as anaphor, and likewise *dadurch*.

Also note that, in some registers, particularly in spoken texts, personal pronouns may be employed in English where demonstrative pronouns are employed in German (see below).

For possessive pronouns in German and English, there is a form available where the possessive pronoun functions as nominal head and constitutes the only element of the noun phrase: *mine* in English and *mein(e,r)* in German. Both languages use variant stems for expressing variation in speech roles and number. The German and English forms additionally differ with respect to morphological inflection in that German uses gender, number and case inflection whereas English provides one invariant form only.

Additionally, German provides a possessive pronominal form which is introduced by the definite article. In contrast to the form described above the use of the latter is assumed to be delimited to particular registers of formal style and is also considered to underlie regional preferences. In English no such form is available. Possessive determiners are the words known traditionally as *possessive pronouns*. Different use in particular linguistic environments, such as *external possession* is well documented between English and German (cf. König & Gast 2009:112ff).

2.2.2 Demonstrative reference

Demonstrative reference is one area of the overall field of *deixis*, but in no way exhausts it (cf. among many other Zifonun et al. 1997, Vol. 1, 311ff). "Demonstrative reference is reference by means of location, on a scale of proximity" (Halliday & Hasan 1976:37).

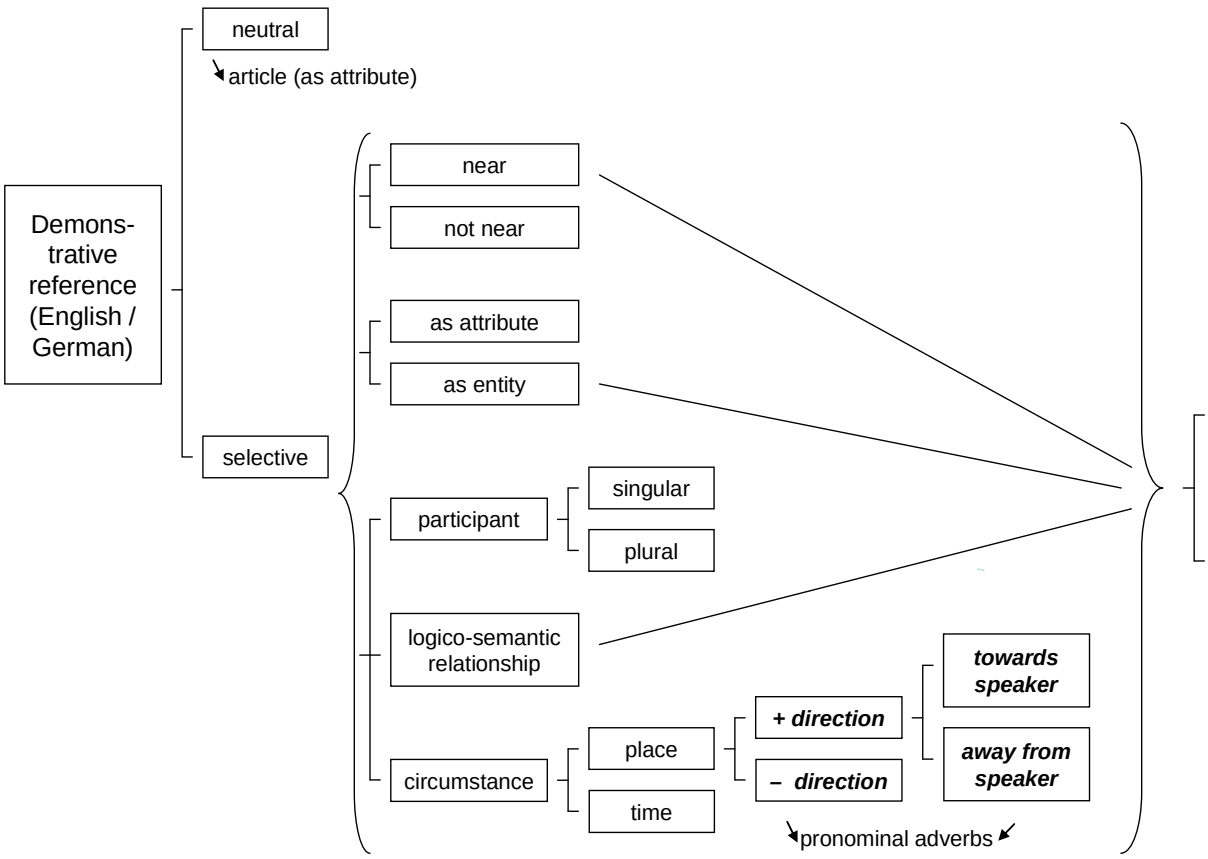

Figure 4: Demonstrative reference in English and German

From a broad perspective, similar systems are available in English and German, though with differences in *selective→as entity* demonstrative reference through the existence of a *demonstrative article* in German, and substantial differences in *selective→circumstance* "demonstration", where German has developed a full set of *demonstrative adverbs* for all the major circumstance relations, which is, moreover, used with high frequency (cf. *Präpositionaladverbien* in Zifonun et al., Vol. 1, 54f and elsewhere). There is additionally a fairly comprehensive set of *Präpositionaladverbien/ Pronomialadverbien* for logico-semantic relations.

The major systems are structured around *neutral vs. selective* demonstrative reference, and within the latter into functions to do with *attribute vs. entity*, *near vs. far* and *participant vs. circumstance*. Their realization is related to the existence of specific word classes and phrase types in English and German: demonstratives, determiners introducing referring noun phrases, demonstrative pronouns and articles serving as head of a noun phrase, and adverbs. Within the word class of determiners, we can distinguish demonstratives on the one hand and the definite article on the other hand.

Demonstrative reference is either *neutral* or *selective.* The option *neutral* encodes some referent as *identifiable*, which in English is realized through the definite article *the*[7], and in German through the definite article in its inflected forms (gender, number, case). The German *demonstrative article* which can occur as a head will be covered under *selective→as entity* below, although historically, and in some (low-German) varieties, it may be a form of neutral demonstrative reference encoding simply *identifiable*.

Selective demonstratives are selective by encoding not only general identifiability, but more specifically identifiability through (semiotic) proximity. It may be temporal-spatial-textual proximity (*near vs. not near*), it may be that of a participant or of a circumstance (or even of a logico-semantic relation), and it may be reference as an entity, or as an attribute. Furthermore, if we have selective demonstrative reference to a *participant*, it may be *singular* or *plural*, and if we have selective demonstrative reference to a circumstance, it may be by *place* or *time*, with further sub-distinctions for German dependent on *place*. Finally, if we have demonstrative selective reference to place and by proximity, or to a logico-semantic relation, we get in German a full set of pro-forms, the so-called *pronominal demonstrative adverbs*.

Let us go through selective demonstratives type by type, giving examples:

a) Selective, near, as attribute, participant, singular

   this house/ dieses Haus

b) Selective, near, as attribute, participant, plural

   these houses/ diese Häuser

c) Selective, near, as attribute, circumstance, place

   **here house/ *hier Haus*[8]

d) Selective, near, as attribute, circumstance, time

   **now house/ *jetzt Haus*

[7] Or, in fact, the 3rd person sing pronoun *it*, but that is covered under *personal reference*.
[8] Approximations in some dialects, cf. *this here house/ das da Haus*

e) Selective, not near, as attribute, participant, singular
that house/ jenes[9] *Haus*

f) Selective, not near, as attribute, participant, plural
these houses/ jene Häuser

g) Selective, not near, as attribute, circumstance, place
**there man/ *dort Mann*

h) Selective, not near, as attribute, circumstance, time
**then man/ *dann Mann*

i) Selective, near, as entity, participant, singular
this [10]*/ der/ die/ das*[11]*; dieser,/diese/ dieses*[12]

j) Selective, near, as entity, participant, plural
these/ die; diese

k) Selective, near, as entity, circumstance, place
here/ hier

l) Selective, near, as entity, circumstance, time
now/ jetzt

m) Selective, not near, as entity, participant, singular
that [13]*/ jener/-e/-s*[14]

n) Selective, not near, as entity, participant, plural
these/ jene [15]

o) Selective, not near, as entity, circumstance, place16
there/ dort

p) Selective, not near, as entity, circumstance, time
then/ dann

Observe a few options specific for German here:

q) Selective, not near, as entity, circumstance, place, -direction
darunter, darauf, davor, dahinter

r) Selective, near, as entity, circumstance, place, -direction
hierunter, hierauf, hiervor

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[9] Registerially very restricted in modern German
[10] Only possible with neuter gender and most likely extended reference
[11] *Demonstrative articles* quite acceptable in German colloquial register
[12] Only in contrastive contexts
[13] See fn. 6 above
[14] Only in contrastive contexts
[15] Restricted
[16] German may actually have a threefold distinction there into *hier – da – dort*, or *jetzt – da – dann*

s) Selective, near, as entity, circumstance, place, +direction, towards speaker
herunter, herauf, hervor

t) Selective, near, as entity, circumstance, place, +direction, away from speaker
hinunter, hinauf

And one specific additional option, largely for German only:

u) Selective, not near, as entity, logico-semantic relationship
thereof, thereby…/ davon, damit, deswegen[17]

We now move on to describe contrastive differences between the two languages departing from the respective forms at hand.

2.2.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives are described in the literature as a form of verbal pointing (cf. Ahrenholz 2007 for a recent specialized study).. In their function as exophoric devices they denote referents that are present in the speech situation. Employed as endophoric devices, demonstrative pronouns serve as *focus-lifters* (Gundel 2004, Diessel 1999, Bosch et al. 2007, etc), they raise a referent's degree of accessibility from a very low to a rather high level. Similar to the neuter form of the third person pronoun, they may also serve for extended and textual reference in English and German. However, we assume that demonstratives serving as complex anaphors may refer to non-nominal antecedents that are structurally and conceptually more complex than those of *it* in English and *es* in German.

Basically, two different forms are available in English: *this/these* and *that/those*. They are inflected for number but do not contain any marking for case of gender. The two forms can be distinguished in terms of proximity (locational, textual or emotional). *This/these* mark referents in terms of nearness and *that/those* signal distance to the referent from the view of the speaker.

The two forms in singular, *this* and *that*, are restrictive in use in that they cannot denote human beings. According to Halliday & Hasan (1976:63), the use of the plural demonstrative pronouns *these* and *those* for humans is more acceptable.

In German, four different forms are available. The invariant forms *dies* and *das*, the inflected forms *diese(r,s)* and *jene(r,s)*, and the inflected forms of *der/die/das*.

Dies and *das* and *diese(r,s)* and *jene(r,s)* may be distinguished in terms of proximity but the distinction is more blurred, relative to English. Furthermore, *jene(r,s)* is becoming more and more outdated, hence *diese(r,s)* is also used for cases in which *that/those* would be employed in English.

Equal to *this* and *that* in English used as head in a nominal group, the invariant forms *dies* and *das* are restricted to reference to inanimate objects and are used quite frequently as complex anaphors for non-nominal antecedents. It still remains to be examined more closely, if the two forms reflect differences in scope and if these differences correspond to the *this*-and-*that* distinction in English.

The demonstrative pronouns *der/die/das* lack a corresponding form in English. They exhibit gender, number and case inflection. There is no clear definition in the literature in

[17] with possible restricted "near" variants *hereof, hereby…/ hiervon, hiermit…*

terms of the functional difference to the other demonstratives described above. Assumptions however are that *der/die/das* occur in certain registers only, and spoken texts in particular.

Since particular demonstrative pronouns can be employed for human beings in German but not in English, a higher frequency may be expected for German demonstrative pronouns, relative to English.

2.2.2.2 Demonstrative Determiners

Demonstrative determiners have a similar function to that of demonstrative pronouns (see above). However, while demonstrative pronouns function as head of the noun phrase, demonstrative determiners introduce full lexical noun phrases, at least in English. They are combined with a form of lexical cohesion expressed by the lexical head of the noun phrase. Thus, demonstrative lexical phrases are considered to lift referents with an even lower level of accessibility into the focus of attention, since they explicitly indicate the type of referent denoted.

In English, there are two devices available which correspond formally to the demonstrative pronouns described above. However, used as demonstrative determiners *this/these* and *that/those* only introduce noun phrases with a lexical head. Similar to their pronominal counterparts they are inflected for number and enhance identification of a referent in terms of proximity.

German provides the demonstrative determiners *diese(r,s)* and *jene(r,s)* introducing nominal referring expressions. In contrast to English, the two forms are not only inflected for number but also for gender and case. Thus, more explicit ties may be created between anaphoric lexical phrases introduced by demonstrative determiners and their antecedents in case there is congruency in gender and number.

2.2.2.3 The Definite article

The definite article is considered by Halliday & Hasan (1976) as the neutral form of verbal pointing: it marks a referring expression as denoting a referent that is somehow known without indicating explicitly which type of knowledge is required. Thus, the information about the referent in question may be retrieved by inferences from long-term memory, the situational context or the linguistic context. In addition no distinction is made with the definite article in terms of proximity. The definite article is combined in the nominal referring expression with a lexical noun functioning as head which establishes a tie of lexical cohesion. Definite noun phrases thus are employed as endophoric devices to establish a relation of co-classification or co-extension or a co-reference relation.

The definite article in English has one invariant morphological form that is neither inflected for number nor for gender and case. Different from that, the article in German (*der/die/das*) is inflected for grammatical gender, number and case, resulting in more explicit textual ties, relative to English.

In addition, differences are assumed between the two languages when articles are employed as generic reference markers or when used in proper names.

2.2.2.4 Demonstrative Adverbs

Halliday & Hasan (1976) only present the four adverbs *now*, *then*, *here* and *there* under the heading of demonstrative reference. Contrasts in meaning can be described with respect to proximity on the one hand, and time and space on the other hand: *now* and *here* mark something as being near, the former in time and the latter in space; *then* and *there* signal distance, the former with respect to time, the latter with respect to space.

The corresponding items in German are, *jetzt/nun* (=> *now*), *damals* (*then*), *hier* (*here*) and *da/dort* (*there*), with the German system at this point encoding a threefold distance distinction (*hier – da – dort*).

Other devices such as *after that*, *in this respect*, etc are assigned by Halliday & Hasan (1976) to the category of cohesive conjunctions. However, in German particular forms of pronominal adverbs would additionally fall under demonstrative reference since they rather function as reference markers than as devices establishing logico-semantic relations between different textual parts. German provides a broad range of these devices, such as *damit*, *dafür*, *dazu*, etc. German certainly has a larger and more differentiated system at this point of structure, and even where the two languages have similar systems, textual frequencies are supposed to be lower in English. Corresponding items in English would be *thereafter*, *thereof*, etc. Yet, these are quite outdated and not assumed to appear in contemporary texts of Standard English with frequencies comparable to those of their German counterparts. Pronominal adverbs employed as demonstrative devices therefore are expected to occur much more frequently in German than in English.

2.2.3 Comparative reference

"Comparative reference is indirect reference by means of identity or similarity" (Halliday & Hasan 1976:37). It is employed to describe the referent denoted by comparing its features to that of another referent denoted in the preceding text. Two distinct categories may be distinguished according to word class in both languages: adjectives and adverbs.

In German, adjectives inflect for number, gender and case and show congruence with other components of the noun phrase. In addition there is morphological inflection of comparative and superlative.

In English, adjectives do not exhibit inflection with respect to gender, number and case. Morphological inflection is restricted to comparative and superlative in English for adjectives with one syllable. For adjectives with more than one syllable, comparative and superlative are expressed by different words: *more* and *most.*

Further contrasts in the two languages may be expected in terms of experiential extension between corresponding devices. For instance, while German distinguishes between comparative reference to the same type of referent (*der gleiche*) and the same specific referent in the situational context (*der selbe*), English provides no such distinction.

In addition, differences in the two languages also exist with respect to what follows as head of the noun phrase (see *substitution* below).

2.3 SUBSTITUTION – CONCEPTUALIZATION

The term *substitution* can be found in the English as well as in the German literature, but with different meanings. Halliday & Hasan (1976) use it to describe the substitution of a word by a word that has the same structural function, but is semantically weaker. The difference to *reference* lies in the type of relation: whereas reference is a meaning relation, substitution is one of wording: "Substitution is a purely textual relation, with no other function than that of cohering one piece of text to another" (1976:226). They distinguish between three types of substitution: nominal (substitute *one*, *ones*, or *same*), verbal (substitute *do*), and clausal (substitute *so*, *not*). Co-reference is often associated with cases of *substitution*, but are not a necessary prerequisite: substitution is possible, where, for example, reference is to the same class of referents but not to the same instantiated referent (co-classification in the sense of Hasan 1985, e.g. "That's a nice shirt – I'd like *one*, too", where the class of referents would be *shirts*).

The term *substitution* is not used in this way in the German literature. A nominal substitution is not obvious in German at first sight; whether the use of *ein(e/r/s)* or plural *welche* could be an equivalent is up to discussion[18] (see 2.4.1). A verbal substitution could maybe be realized with *tun* or *machen*. But on the one hand these are at first sight full verbs and are therefore not an equivalent to the English *do* constructions, and on the other hand their use in this function is rather unusual, as well as restricted to the general verb class of *action verbs* (see 2.4.2).

Therefore *substitution* in German approaches has a different meaning and relates to the replacement of a word or a phrase by an element similar in content. De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) describe the same phenomenon with the term *Paraphrase*, Weinrich (1993) uses *Quasi-Rekurrenz*. However, in all cases there has to be an identity of reference between the related elements; this is not true for the English use of *substitution*, as seen above. Most examples for substitution in the sense of Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004) or other German approaches, such as hyponym or synonym, would in the categorization of Halliday & Hasan (1976) be included in *lexical cohesion*.

2.4 SUBSTITUTION – SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES

There are no equivalent substituting forms in German for all three categories discussed by Halliday & Hasan (1976) for English. However we assume that various other cohesive devices exist in German which establish a more vague relation in terms of scope.

2.4.1 Nominal substitution

In particular, the form *one* employed as cohesive device for nominal substitution lacks a corresponding item in German. As a consequence, other means have to be used to express an equivalent meaning. One option is to make use of cohesive ellipsis, as example (3) illustrates:

(2) *People who need this science, I would make an effort to tell them we have real sciences, hard sciences, we don't need imaginary ones. [EO_FICTION_003]*

(3) *Den Leuten, die diese Wissenschaft brauchen, also, ich würde mir extra Mühe geben, ihnen zu erzählen, daß wir richtige Wissenschaften haben, hieb- und stichfeste Wissenschaften, wir brauchen keine imaginären(?). [Gtrans_FICTION_003]*

Another option may be to repeat the lexical head of the antecedent and use lexical cohesion instead of substitution:

(4) *They must cross this river - and two others as well, when they meet them, though they do not yet know that those exist. As they did not know of this one either. [EO_FICTION_005]*

(5) *Sie müssen über diesen Fluß kommen - und obendrein noch zwei andere, von denen sie jetzt noch gar nicht wissen, daß es sie gibt. Genausowenig, wie sie etwas von diesem Fluß wußten. [EO_FICTION_009]*

[18] We can take a possible translation of the example above again as an example: "Das ist ein schönes Hemd. Ich möchte auch eins." Cf. in addition: "Dort liegt ein schwarzes Hemd, aber ich möchte ein(e)s in weiß"

Third, as example (6) illustrates, a quasi-substitute like *welche* may be employed in German in some cases where a nominal substitution like *some* is used in English:

(6) *Darf ich heute früh Puddingsuppe? - Ja, ja. - Koch mir welche! [GO_FICTION_010]*

(7) *Can I have pudding soup for breakfast? - Yes, yes. - Make me some! [Etrans_FICTION_010]*

In addition, there are some other cohesive devices such as *eine(r,s), solche(r,s).* It remains to be discussed whether these can be considered as substitutional devices or whether they rather function to precede ellipsis.

(8) *I don't have a car,' he said. 'If I borrowed one, would you . . . ?' George appeared. 'No, I see you wouldn't, and Andrew stalked back to the bar.*

(9) *Ich habe kein Auto", sagte er. "Wenn ich mir eines leihen würde, würdest du ... ?" Da tauchte George auf. "Nein, wie ich sehe, würdest du nicht", sagte Andrew und stakste an die Bar zurück.*

2.4.2 Verbal substitution

Verbal substitution in English is realized with *do* (examples taken from Halliday & Hasan 1976:115)

(10) *John is smoking more now than Mary is doing.*

(11) *John is smoking more now than he should be doing.*

(12) *John is smoking more now than he used to do.*

(13) *John is smoking more now than he was doing before.*

This is not possible in German. The same meaning can be realized by various types of ellipsis:

(14) *John raucht jetzt mehr als Mary.*

(15) *John raucht jetzt mehr als er sollte.*

(16) *John raucht jetzt mehr als früher.*

(17) *John raucht jetzt mehr als vorher.*

Observe that a somewhat forced (14a) constitutes a combination of lexical cohesion with a general verb plus an obligatory reference *es/das*.

(14a) *John raucht jetzt mehr als Mary es tut*

In addition, verbal substitution can be construed by *do* + *so*:

(18) *Peter rented a car. So did I.*

At first sight, *tun* and *machen* seem to produce corresponding constructions in German, together with a demonstrative pronoun:

(19) Peter hat sich ein Auto gemietet. Das habe ich auch getan/gemacht.

However, this is rather colloquial style. In addition, *tun* and *machen* can only be employed to substitute verbs of action:

(20) Peter's house collapsed. So did mine.

*(21) Peters Haus ist eingestürzt. *Das tat auch meines*

Thus, *tun* and *machen* may rather be interpreted as general verbs establishing lexical cohesion. More importantly, the cohesion in examples such as (19) is actually carried through reference (*das/ es?)*.

For other verb types, other means have to be employed in German, implying the application of several different cohesive devices, such as a demonstrative pronoun and other devices of lexical cohesion:

(22) Peters Haus ist eingestürzt. Das ist auch mit meinem passiert.

(23) He thought he recognised the twisted thorn trees, and might indeed have done so;

(24) Es wollte ihm scheinen, als erkenne er die krummen Weißdornbäume wieder, und das mochte sich durchaus so verhalten,

(25) Zwei von uns haben nun doch in ein Gespräch gefunden; kein Wunder, daß es vor dem riesigen Kühlschrank geschehen ist.

(26) Two of our number have now struck up a conversation after all. No wonder they did so in front of the huge refrigerator,

2.4.3 Clausal substitution

As for clausal substitution, the item *so* in English is mostly employed for substituting propositions.

(27) Is John coming to the party tomorrow? I don't believe so.

In German, the proposition of the preceding sentence is often referred to by a demonstrative pronoun.

(28) Kommt John morgen zur Party? Das glaube ich nicht.

2.5 ELLIPSIS – CONCEPTUALIZATION

A very general classification can be found in Quirk et al. (1985:861ff), who distinguish between

a) textual recoverability
b) situational recoverability
c) structural recoverability

Ellipsis in the sense of *cohesive ellipsis* largely has to do with a), although a) can be regarded as a special case of b). c) is purely structural ellipsis, as in relative pronoun-dropping in English, *that*- deletion, etc. (cf. also Schubert 2008:38ff).

The cohesive device of ellipsis is very similar to that of substitution, or, as Halliday & Hasan (1976) put it, "ellipsis is simply 'substitution by zero'" (1976:142). Consequently, they distinguish here, too, between nominal, verbal and clausal ellipsis. In all cases, an ellipsis leaves certain things unsaid that have to be supplemented by the addressee. This definition, however, is too unspecific, so that Halliday & Hasan limit the term *ellipsis* "specifically to sentences, clauses, etc whose structure is such as to presuppose some preceding item, which then serves as the source of the missing information" (1976:143). This falls within the realm of *textual recoverability* in terms of Quirk et al (1985).

Similar to reference and substitution, ellipsis establishes a relation between two items so as to identify one item by relating it to the other one. But while with reference this is happening on the semantic level, substitution and ellipsis are to be seen at a structural level, with ellipsis being a form of substitution. Therefore, co-reference is not required in the strict sense of the word.

The German approaches see ellipsis as a cohesive device as well, and use it in a similar way. The only difference that can be established is that usually ellipsis is not subdivided like in Halliday & Hasan (1976), although there are related distinctions e.g. in Zifonun et al. (1997), Vol. 1, 410ff into *situative Ellipse (Person, Ereignis, Objekt).*

2.6 ELLIPSIS – SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES

The two languages have different systems in terms of which types of ellipsis are possible. From a very general perspective, there are more grammatical restrictions as to which pieces can be left out in English. In German there are more possibilities which are vaguer in scope and which often cannot be classified in terms of structural rules. It would appear that many cases of *textual ellipsis* in English are encoded as *situational ellipsis* in German.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) distinguish three different categories: nominal, verbal, and clausal ellipsis.

2.6.1 Nominal ellipsis

With nominal ellipsis, the nominal head of a noun phrase is omitted and a modifier is functioning as head instead. There are differences in the two languages with respect to which type of modifier is acceptable as head.

For English, Halliday & Hasan (1976) note that numeratives and epithets may be acceptable, while classifiers are seldomly left to function as nominal head of nominal elliptical constructions. Consider the following examples:

(29) *Which apples would you like to have?* *I'll take these two.*
**I'll take the red.*

With classifiers, a substitutional element has to be used in English functioning as nominal head. => "I'll take the red one."

In German, both types of elliptical constructions are possible:

(30) *Welche Äpfel wollen Sie haben?* *Ich nehme diese beiden.*
Ich nehme die roten.

As a consequence, we expect some differences in terms of frequency between English and German.

2.6.2 Verbal ellipsis

Verbal ellipsis concerns the omission of constituents inside the verbal complex. In English, there are two distinct forms of verbal ellipsis: lexical ellipsis and operator ellipsis.

With lexical ellipsis, only the operator, the finite verb form, is retained, while the infinite lexical form is omitted:

(31) *Is John going to come? – He might. He was to, but he may not.*

(32) *He should if he wants his name to be considered.*

In German, lexical ellipsis is possible as well, with modal operators as well as temporal operators.

(33) *Has John arrived already? Yes, he has.*

(34) *Ist John schon angekommen? Ja, ist er.*

Note however, that in question-answering pairs, the finite precedes the subject in the sentence containing the ellipsis.

We expect lexical ellipsis to be more frequent in English, for several reasons. First, in German modal adverbs are often used to express modality. Second, temporal operators are expected to occur less often in order to express future events, since in German present tense may be employed as well. Consider example(36):

(35) *Is John going to come? – He might.*

(36) *Kommt John? – Vielleicht.*

And finally, so called tag questions are a frequent English construction, but not in German:

(37) *He was at the cinema with Jane, wasn't he?*

(38) *Er war mit Jane im Kino, nicht wahr/oder?*

In cases such as tag-questions, German can be said to resort to *situational ellipsis* where English has a grammaticalized variant in form of the tag question.

With *operator ellipsis*, the operator is omitted and the lexical verb is retained:

(39) What is she doing? Sleeping.

In this case the subject is also omitted.

2.6.3 Clausal ellipsis

Clausal ellipsis concerns the omission of several clausal constituents. It is very similar to verbal ellipsis, since arguments of the verbs or adjuncts may also be omitted, but treated from a different perspective.

There are differences in the two languages with respect to scope in that more syntactical constituents can be omitted in German than in English:

(40) He likes green covers, but I don't.

(41) Er mag grüne Umschläge aber ich nicht.

(42) Has he already arrived? Yes, he has.

(43) Ist er schon angekommen? Ja.

This looks like another case of German tending more towards situational ellipsis than English.

2.7 CONJUNCTION – CONCEPTUALIZATION

Halliday & Hasan (1976) talk of conjunction where sentences are related to each other in a systematic way, in contrast to the kind of search instruction we find with reference or substitution. The attention here is on logico-semantic relations, particularly on a specific aspect of them, the "function they have of relating to each other linguistic elements that occur in succession but are not related by other, structural means" (1976:227). An important point here is that, the "cohesive power" (1976:229) actually does not rest in a conjunctive expression like *afterwards* or *before*, but in the underlying semantic relation. Therefore for Halliday & Hasan "any expression of that relation, with or without a demonstrative or other reference item, will be considered to fall within the category of conjunction" (1976:231). The cohesive function of a semantic relation, e.g. a time sequence, is called *conjunction*; the adjunct that actually expresses this relation, e.g. *afterwards*, is assigned the term *conjunctive* or *conjunctive adjunct* instead. These adjuncts include adverbs (simple as well as compound) and prepositional expressions with *that* or another reference item. Within conjunctions, Halliday & Hasan (1976) distinguish the categories *additive, adversative, causal*, and *temporal*.

In the German approaches the idea of conjunctives is taken up with the notions of *Konnektive* (Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann 2004) or *Junktion* (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981). Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004) only give a brief overview, stressing the point that *Konnektive* create cohesion not only within a sentence, but between two sentences or elements of the text as well. Depending on the conjunction or pronominal adverb used, the conceptual character of the connected parts can be deduced. De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) take on a more detailed approach and list four main subcategories: *Konjunktion*, *Disjunktion*, *Kontrajunktion*, and *Subordination*. The first one is an additive relation and can thus be compared to the additive conjunctions in Halliday & Hasan (1976). *Disjunktion* refers to a combination of alternatives and could also fall within the category of additive conjunctions. *Kontrajunktion* is the equivalent to adversative conjunctions; for *Subordination*

there is no real equivalent in Halliday & Hasan (1976), since this is a typical cohesive device within a sentence – a unit they do not include in their analysis. But where *Subordination* describes a relation of cause and effect, can this be compared to the clausal conjunction. The idea of temporal conjunctions is reflected in a phenomenon de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) mention in addition to their four subcategories: expressions for relations of temporal proximity ("Ausdrücke für Relationen der Zeitnähe").

Closely related to conjunction is, according to Halliday & Hasan (1976), the cohesive function of intonation. Though they do not include it as a type of conjunctive relations, they suggest it could be "considered as expressing forms of conjunctive relation" (1976:271). De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) include intonation as a cohesive device, as well, in the sense that it is a system that supports cohesion in oral communication.

2.8 CONJUNCTION – SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES

The systems appear very similar at first sight. The differences between English and German do not reside (so much) in differences between general types of relations expressed but in:

a) The number of devices available on the one hand
b) The variability in terms of syntactic position
c) Slightly differing meanings of corresponding devices
d) Forms available

Possible differences between English and German concern the constructions via different linguistic devices on the one hand. Consider examples (44) and (45):

(44) PNTR and China WTO membership (subtitle) – Harnessing China to the global system is crucial. That's why China's entry into the WTO is so important.

(45) PNTR und Mitgliedschaft Chinas in der WTO (subtitle) - Die Einbindung Chinas in das globale System ist entscheidend. Deshalb ist die Aufnahme Chinas in die WTO so wichtig.

In addition, some authors argue (Fabricius-Hansen 1996, 1999 but also Doherty 2004) that more intrasentential attachment points are available in German than in English (cf. Fabricius-Hansen 1996) and that information is spread more horizontally in German and more vertically in English. As a consequence, more conjunctions may be required to relate pieces of information on sentence level in English while corresponding units of meaning in German may be connected by subordination inside the sentence.

Furthermore, English tends to mark semantic relations between textual parts less explicitly on the basis of grammatical metaphor.

(46) Ihr habt keinen Abschlussbericht geliefert. Deshalb gibt es keine Förderung mehr in den nächsten Jahren.

(47) Failure to deliver a final report will preclude any further funding over the years to come.

In addition, English is assumed to exhibit more options for expressing logico-semantic relations with lexicogrammatical means, in particular via verbs.

2.9 LEXICAL COHESION – CONCEPTUALIZATION

Lexical cohesion concerns the creation of cohesive ties between two or more referring expressions via lexis. A lexical item in the anaphor establishes a semantic relation to a lexical item within the antecedent. In contrast to substitution, ellipsis, and conjunction, lexical cohesion may relate more than two linguistic expressions in so-called lexical chains.

Halliday & Hasan mainly distinguish between reiteration and collocation. The former includes all phenomena which "have in common the fact that one lexical item refers back to another, to which it is related by having a common referent" (1976:278). It is again subdivided into repetition, synonym (or near-synonym), superordinate and general word. It is not always possible to draw a clear distinction between lexical cohesion and reference. Especially general nouns represent a form of lexical cohesion that is on the borderline to grammatical cohesion, i.e. reference.

With collocation, co-reference is not considered to matter since it concerns "any pair of lexical items that stand to each other in some recognizable lexicosemantic (word meaning) relation" (Halliday & Hasan 1976:285). Thus the notion of collocation may be comparable to those called bridging, part-whole relations or indirect anaphoric relations in the literature (cf. e.g. Clark 1977, Winston et al. 1978, Schwarz 2000).

Since German approaches make their categorization from a different perspective, there is no similar category to lexical cohesion in these works. Instead, phenomena like synonyms or hyponyms form part of the German *Substitution* category, while repetition would be listed under *Rekurrenz* and the general nouns could fall within *proforms* (as pseudo-pronouns).

A similar point, however, is addressed in the concept of *isotopy*, as for example in Greimas (1966). Here, the linking of elements within a text is considered from a mainly semantic point of view. Out of this perspective cohesion is said to be created not only by repeating the same word, but also by repeating words with similar semantic characteristics, such as to fall within the same semantic complex, the same isotopy domain (*Isotopieebene*).

2.10 LEXICAL COHESION – SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES

No significant contrasts between English and German are noted in the literature with respect to lexical cohesion, possibly because no corpus-linguistic studies are available so far. However, differences may arise from slight differences in experiential meaning of corresponding lexical items. In addition, the languages may differ in terms of frequency of particular types of semantic ties. For instance, English may favour repetition where German favours synonymy or hyponymy. Concerning the nature of chains, German may have more, longer, and more varied lexical chains.

2.11 OTHER MEANS

After broadly covering the cohesive devices on the basis of the work by Halliday & Hasan (1976), we would like to point out a few further aspects not mentioned there or mentioned only briefly.

Tense is only regarded as a cohesive device in German approaches, but only to a limited extent. Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004) mention it as a means of creating cohesion; however, they consider the cohesive effect of tense as a weak one. De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) list it as well; but in all approaches this phenomenon is treated only marginally.

A further cohesive device not mentioned in Halliday & Hasan (1976) is the explicit textual linking (*explizite Textverknüpfung*). Under this heading Linke / Nussbaumer /

Portmann (2004) include all expressions an author uses to create an explicit reference to his own text. Two things are important to be kept in mind here: on the one hand, the reference has to be to an element within the same text; on the other hand, expressions used to create this textual linking are usually stereotyped, such as “see above”. They are used mainly where the element referred to cannot be found in the preceding or following sentence. However, these expressions could also be interpreted as a form of spatial deixis.

The role of *pronominal adverbs*, too, is only considered in German approaches. This is probably due to the fact that these expressions are only of minor importance in English. Halliday & Hasan (1976) make brief mention of words like *therefore* or *thereby* when considering types of conjunctive relations (1976:230); so in their model part of the pronominal adverbs would belong to conjunction. Other pronominal adverbs would rather have to be grouped under demonstrative reference conjunction.In German conceptualizations pronominal adverbs are listed within different categories. Linke / Nussbaumer / Portmann (2004) focus on their function of combining sentences and thus treat them as *Konnektive*. De Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) instead categorize them as proforms, since they see mainly their substitution function, in the sense that they consist of a preposition and a pronoun and thus working as a substitute.

Intonation is an important means of creating cohesion and is, in fact, addressed in Halliday & Hasan (1976:271f) in a short section of its own.

3. Summary

German approaches to *textlinguistics* are addressing the global question of “what is the range of linguistic phenomena which create texture (coherence)”. They often focus on *co-reference*, and they do not primarily distinguish between which of these phenomena are already covered in lexicogrammar or not. They thus often include both grammatical and cohesive phenomena (especially Weinrich 1993), and they include phenomena such as tense sequences into their accounts.

Within English traditions, Brown & Yule (1983) may share some of the characteristics of the German stream, whereas Halliday & Hasan (1976) are grounded in the question: “which are the structural resources beyond grammaticalized units that serve as cohesive devices”. They do not address other phenomena contributing to coherence and texture in that sense, without denying their importance. Surprisingly, thus, Halliday & Hasan’s “functional” approach to cohesion is in some sense much more “structure-oriented” than the German approach.

This basic difference between the German and the English Approach can be seen in their treatments of many phenomena. If we take the area of *lexical cohesion / Isotopien* as an example: Halliday & Hasan (1976) do not require for cohesive items in a lexical chain to be (partly) co-referential, although co-reference is often at stake here. Thus they include non-co-referential items, but exclude pro-forms. On the other hand, the German tradition asks “how is (partial) co-reference established through lexical items” thus including pro-forms, but excluding non-co-referential items.

4. Literature

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