

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA

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TAG QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE -

A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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MESTRE EM LETRAS -

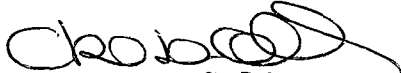
OPÇÃO INGLÊS E LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE

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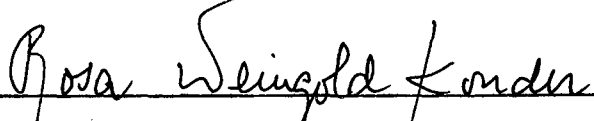
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RESUMO

A ocorrência e as funções de 'tag questions' na fala cotidiana de nativos da língua inglesa e portuguesa são estudadas nesta dissertação. O método usado é o da Análise Contextual.

O 'corpus' para a análise em inglês consiste de fragmentos de conversas informais, e o em português contém, além de fragmentos de conversas informais, algumas entrevistas. As pessoas que participaram para a feitura de ambos os 'corpuses' são anônimas. Foram identificadas seis funções nas 'tags' em inglês, e oito nas 'tags' em português, havendo três funções comuns aos dois idiomas: 'reinforcement of speaker's explanation', 'reinforcement of speaker's opinion', 'asking for information'.

O resultado da Análise Contextual sugere que, apesar de haver uma fundamental diferença entre a formação do tipo mais comum de 'tag question' em inglês e a do tipo mais comum em português, as duas funções mais frequentes realizadas por ambos os tipos são as mesmas.

ABSTRACT

The occurrence and the functions of tag questions in unplanned, spoken discourse in English and in Portuguese are studied in this dissertation. The method used is that of Contextual Analysis.

The corpus for the Contextual Analysis in English consists of fragments of free conversations, and the one in Portuguese consists of fragments of free conversations and interviews. The subjects in both corpuses are anonymous native speakers of English and of Portuguese. Six functions were identified for the tags in English, and eight for those in Portuguese. Only three functions are common to the tags in the two languages: reinforcement of speaker's explanation, reinforcement of speaker's opinion, and asking for information.

The result of the Contextual Analysis suggests that although the structure of the commonest kind of tag question in English differs from the commonest one in Portuguese, the two most frequent functions (reinforcement of speaker's explanation and reinforcement of speaker's opinion) realized by them are the same.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

To save time for the reader, all abbreviations used in this study are here put together in the order of their appearance in the dissertation.

The conventions used in the transcriptions for whatever is unintelligible on the tapes, and the pauses, are also given here.

Reference to 'laugh(s)' / 'ri' / 'pigarreia' / 'respira fundo' is made by writing these words in brackets.

ABBREVIATIONS

Tag-Q(s)	tag question(s)
Q(s)	question(s)
V	verb
Aff P	affirmative particle
Neg P	negative particle
Adv	adverb
Adj	adjective
Pro	pronoun
Conj	conjunction
N	noun
Pres Part	present participle
Pos	positive
Neg	negative
Reg.	regional
ESL	English as a second language
EFL	English as a foreign language
VP	verb phrase

St	statement
S (in Tables 1, 4, 5, 6)..	speaker
H (in Tables 1, 4, 5, 6)..	hearer
M (in Table 1)	male
F (in Table 1)	female
m (in Tables 4, 5)	medial
f (in Tables 4, 5)	final

- As regards tags in Portuguese -

NMVS	not modeled on the verb of the statement
Red-NMVS	reduced and not modeled on the verb of the statement
MVS	modeled on the verb of the statement
intonat	intonational

- As regards INTONATION (tone and termination)-

p (↘)	proclaiming
r (↗)	referring
o	level tone
p † (↘)	proclaiming plus
r † (↗)	referring plus
H	high
M	mid
L	low

CONVENTIONS

-----	unintelligible
. . .	pause

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INTRODUCTION

An important development in Linguistics is the interest in learning about language use and the subsequent knowledge of the functions which some linguistic features frequently used may have in communication. Tag questions (tag-Qs) commonly found in spoken language either in English or in Portuguese seem to have different communicative values.

The main objective of this dissertation is to study the occurrence of tag-Qs in spoken, unplanned discourse in English and Portuguese in order to:

a) describe the English tag-Qs, and analyze their functions;

b) compare the results of the research into English tag-Qs with the existing descriptions;

c) describe the Portuguese tag-Qs, and analyze the functions they realize;

d) compare the structure and functions of tag-Qs in English and in Portuguese.

To attain this objective I used the data organized by Crystal and Davy (1975) regarding tag-Qs in English. Permission to use the data has been implicitly given by the authors on pages 121 and 122, as follows: "We have found that the extracts readily suggest areas for further investigations of a linguistic or cultural kind".

For the observation of the linguistic features in Portuguese, I collected a corpus consisting of recordings of natural conversation, dialogs from TV plays, and interviews.

The subject matter has been divided into five chapters and three appendices.

Chapter 1 introduces a review of the literature as regards tag-Qs in English and Portuguese. Some characteristics of tag-Qs are discussed, and different kinds of tag-Qs are presented.

Chapter 2 provides the guidelines for the model of analysis adopted, describes the corpuses, and points out the value of Contextual Analysis for the description of the communicative role of tag-Qs in spoken language.

Chapter 3 presents the Contextual Analysis of the English tag-Qs. After the identification and classification of tag-Qs in the corpus, their function in the context, and the role of intonation through its two variables (tone and termination) are discussed. Some characteristics of tags in the research are compared with the existing descriptions, and the addition of one more characteristic is suggested.

Chapter 4 presents the Contextual Analysis of the Portuguese tags. It follows the same procedure used for the analysis of English tags, but the scarcity of literature on tag-Qs in Portuguese is the reason why there is not a final comparison with the theory.

Some conclusions are drawn in Chapter 5.

Appendices A and B contain the two corpuses, English and Portuguese, respectively, for the Contextual Analysis. Appendix C contains the questionnaire answered

by 3 English speakers, which was organized to test the value of Contextual Analysis.

This dissertation does not attempt to give full explanation of tag-Qs. It only introduces these linguistic features in natural spoken language (in English and Portuguese), and by means of Contextual Analysis tries to identify some of the functions which tag-Qs may have in different situations.

Finally, for what follows, I quote Firth (1966:94, 1st ed. 1937) :

"The world is indeed a stage and society is the author of the play. The grown man in a modern state has to play many parts , and unless he knows his roles and his lines he is no use in the play. If you do not know your part there are no cues for the other fellow, and no place or excuse for his lines either."

1- TAG-QS IN ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE

1- 1. THE PROBLEM

Tag-Qs in English have been studied by a number of authors who do not always interpret them in the same way.

In Portuguese, Brazilian variety, although the presence of similar linguistic realizations is frequently observed in the spoken language, these constructions have received little attention, and have not even been given a name. They are hardly ever mentioned by Brazilian authors.

There are thus two problems:

- a) a supposedly minor one, to find out the function of the different kinds of English tag-Qs in context;
- b) a major one, to discover the function of the Portuguese tag-Qs in context.

1- 2. TAG-QS IN ENGLISH - THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

1- 2. 1. Basic Description of Tag-Qs

Based on Sinclair (1972), we can say that tag-Qs in English occur in a two-part clause where the second part is modeled on the first part. The first part is the statement, and the second part is the tag.

The tag itself is a question which, as it is described by Arbini (1969), Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and

Svartvik (1972), and Swan (1981), generally consists of an auxiliary verb with or without a negative particle plus a personal pronoun. The auxiliary verb and the tense in the tag repeat the verb phrase in the statement. Its form is therefore predetermined, and Brazil (1984:36) says that the only meaningful decisions a speaker can make are the ones related to polarity¹ and intonation.

- (1) Mary is a pretty girl, isn't she?
- (2) Mary isn't a pretty girl, is she?
- (3) Mary is a pretty girl, is she?
- (4) Mary isn't a pretty girl, isn't she?

But these tags can be added not only to declaratives as in the above examples, but also to exclamatives, imperatives, and even interrogatives (Bolinger, 1957; Hudson, 1975:30; Cattell, 1973:616), as in these examples:

- (5) What a pretty girl Mary is, isn't she?
- (6) Let's say Mary is a pretty girl, shall we?
- (7) Let's say Mary is a pretty girl, won't we?
- (8) Let's not say Mary is a pretty girl, shall we?
- (9) Is Mary a pretty girl, is she?
- (10) Isn't Mary a pretty girl, isn't she?

1- I have chosen the terminology used by Huddleston (1970) for the two types of polarity in tag-Qs: reversed polarity and constant polarity. Examples (1), (2), (5), (7), and (8) have reversed polarity. The other examples, i. e., (3), (4), (6), (9), and (10) have constant polarity.

Cattell (1973:616) points out that interrogative plus tag can be only of constant polarity.

Quirk et al. (1972), and Quirk and Greenbaum (1977) assert that the main types of tag-Qs in English are those with reversed polarity whose statement is a declarative, positive or negative one, followed by a negative tag if the statement is positive, e.g. (1), or by a positive tag if the statement is negative, e.g. (2). They also point out that the less common tag-Qs are those with constant polarity whose statement is a declarative, positive or negative, followed by a positive tag if the statement is positive, e.g. (3), or by a negative tag if the statement is negative, e.g. (4). Thus reversed polarity tag-Qs with a declarative statement are the most common type of tag-Qs in English. Hudson (1975) refers to the others as "tags on non-declaratives" which, as we have already seen, can be exclamatives, imperatives, or interrogatives, depending on the first part of the two-part clause we have been studying.

In this study TAG-Q means declarative plus tag.

1- 2. 2. Classification of Tag-Qs

Bolinger (1957:1-4) says that it is difficult to give a definition of the entity question (Q) because it is a "complex" made up of a number of ingredients whose presence or absence or proportionate weight may vary. Nevertheless, he points out four classes of ingredients which are:

a) Interrogative distribution.

In an A-B exchange ², if A asks a Q, it probably will elicit an answer from the other party.

b) Interrogative syntax.

It can be characterized by inversion, 'Wh' plus inversion, tag-Qs, and other devices.

c) Interrogative intonation.

Qs are more frequently marked by terminal rising tone or terminal high pitch than non-Qs. This is the only ingredient sometimes claimed to be sufficient to define a Q.

d) Interrogative gesture.

It may sometimes be present, as Bolinger says, simply in the speaker's eyes focused on the interlocutor, and it may vary according to non-linguistic features.

Bolinger stresses that each of these four classes plus others, not specified by him, may be split up into many other divisions, which amplifies the idea of the "complex". Thus, Bolinger prefers to "venture to say that a Q is fundamentally an attitude, which might be called 'craving' - it is an utterance that 'craves' a verbal or other semiotic (e.g., a nod) response".

It thus seems fair enough to consider a tag as a Q, since it is made up of some of the ingredients of the

2- According to Brazil et al. (1980:74) exchange is "the basic building block of all types of interaction, consisting as it does of contributions or moves from at least two participants". In this way we may consider an A-B exchange a conversation between at least two parties.

"complex", and it expresses an attitude that is one of expectation on the part of the speaker. This claim will be related to the literature discussed in the next section.

1- 2. 3. General Characteristics of Tag-Qs

Hudson (1975:6) says that among the characteristics of tags are vagueness and polysemy. Nevertheless, many speakers have the feeling that the tag is used to emphasize the request expressed in the statement, and this is also Huddleston's claim (1970: 218-219).

Brazil (1984:28) stresses the communicative value of tag-Qs pointing out "the expectations they signal regarding the immediately following behaviour of the other party", i.e., the hearer. In this way not only the syntactic types of tag-Qs are important. Their discourse role is important as well, or even more important. Also according to Brazil (1984:35), the tag construction may realize either the first or the second move in an A-B exchange.

Quirk et al. (1972:391), and Cruz-Ferreira (1981: 341) also point out that the tag expresses an expectation on the part of the speaker.

According to R. Lakoff (1972:918), tag formation has a "semantic purpose", and the effect of the tag is to "soften" what is said in the statement "from an expression of certainty". She asserts (1975:15) that a tag-Q "is midway between an outright statement and a yes-no question": it is less assertive than a statement, but more confident than a yes-no Q. She also says that tag-Qs are used in situations intermediate between those.

Another effect of the tag has been pointed out by Bolinger (1957:18), which is to submit the assertion in the proposition to the hearer's opinion as a sign of courtesy. R. Lakoff (1975:14, 17, 18) says that one aspect of courtesy is leaving a decision open by not imposing one's mind, or views, or claims on anyone else. In this way, a tag-Q "is a kind of polite statement in that it does not force agreement or belief on the addressee". She also points out that although "there is no syntactic rule in English that only women may use (...) there is at least one rule that a woman will use in more conversational situations than a man (...) This is the rule of tag-formation". Such a feature, together with others discussed by this author, makes "women's speech sound more 'polite' than men's", in her opinion.

It is generally agreed (Bolinger, 1957:18; Huddleston, 1970:218; R.Lakoff, 1972:923; Quirk et al., 1972: 391; Hudson, 1975:26; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1977; Brazil, 1984: 36) that in most cases it is the first part of a tag-Q that contains the view, the assumption of the speaker.

Cattell (1973:620), however, says that the proposition represents the speaker's point of view only when it occurs in reversed polarity tag-Qs. When it occurs in constant polarity tag-Qs the proposition does not represent the speaker's point of view.

1- 2. 4. Conducive Aspect of Tag-Qs:

Polarity, Intonation, and Gesture

Bolinger (1957: 97) is very succinct when he defines a conducive Q as being "one that shows that a given answer is expected or desired".

It is well known that not only affirmative-negative manipulation in tag-Qs, i.e., polarity, leads us to the assumption of conduciveness. Such features as intonation and gesture may play the same role.

POLARITY

Huddleston (1970:221) asserts that reversed polarity tag-Qs are conducive since they ask for confirmation. In relation to constant polarity tag-Qs, Hudson (1975:23) says that it is conduciveness that makes the difference between them and the corresponding interrogatives. Swan (1981: 514-516) asserts that negative constant polarity tag-Qs usually sound aggressive. Thus, polarity may be considered a conducive conventional feature used by the speaker as a device to suggest how he wants his Q answered. Nevertheless, conduciveness in tag-Qs may be increased when polarity and certain intonation phenomena occur simultaneously (Brazil, 1985:88). Bolinger (1957: 102, 161) asserts that "conduciveness depends on reversing an assumption", and that unambiguously conducive intonations are those found in reversed polarity tag-Qs , bringing together these two forces, polarity and intonation.

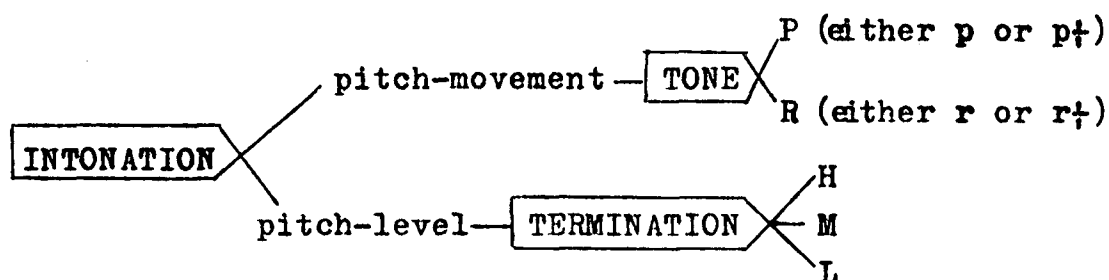
INTONATION

Intonation, according to Brazil et al. (1980:1) and Brazil (1985:9), is related to the variations in pitch of the speaking voice. We all know intuitively that intonation plays an important role in communication in A-B exchanges. The conducive aspect of intonation is stressed by Swan (1981:514-516) when he says that constant polarity tag-Qs that can be used simply to ask Qs are also commonly used to express interest, concern, irony, surprise, or anger, depending on the intonation

chosen by the speaker. All choices a speaker makes in intonation depend on his opinion about the common ground³ there may exist between himself and the hearer (Brazil et al., 1980: 83, 200), and intonation has, among others, the function of giving information about the state of convergence and divergence of the participants (Brazil et al., 1980:11).

Details about intonation are, according to Lyons (1978:766), "complex and to some extent controversial", but even the authors who do not give a detailed description of the intonation of tag-Qs agree that there are two main patterns of tag intonation such as "falling" and "rising" (Lyons, 1978; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1977; Quirk et al., 1972; Swan, 1981).

Nevertheless, when dealing with intonation in tag-Qs, we must be concerned not only with the traditional distinction 'falling / rising' tones, which are related to pitch-movement, but also with termination, which can be informally associated with pitch-level, at the tonic syllable in the tag (Brazil et al., 1980:60; Brazil, 1984: 37). For clarity the two variables are shown in the following diagram.



In order to understand how one choice may be made rather than the other, each feature of the above diagram will

3- Common ground may be understood as areas of knowledge shared by the parties in a conversation.

be described.

Falling tone is symbol P (either p or p‡) in the diagram, and means 'proclaiming' tone. Rising tone is symbol R (either r or r‡) in the diagram, and means 'referring' tone.

Brazil et al. (1980: 15, 16) explain that the speaker chooses p tone when he wants to indicate his expectation of enlarging the hearer's area of common ground, and chooses r tone when he wants to indicate the common ground already existing between him and the hearer. In other words, p tone is used to proclaim new information, and r tone is used to refer to shared information. The graphic symbols which represent the phonological realization are the fall ↘ for p tone, the fall-rise ↗ for r tone.

Reference will now be made to the other three tones and their communicative value. They are the rise ↗ for r‡, the rise-fall ↘ for p‡, and the level tone o.

Brazil (1985:129) points out that a general condition of verbal interaction is "a shared understanding of which participant is in control of the development of the discourse". Although much informal conversation is apparently free for all parties, the ‡ option may be a means to assure to the speaker the control of the discourse. In this way, the ‡ option may bring up the implication of dominance, considering dominance an aspect of the context of interaction. Thus, if we consider the ‡ tones characteristic of dominant speakers, then "choice of a ‡ tone at any time serves to project a context of interaction in which the speaker is dominant" (Brazil, 1985:131). Teachers and doctors, for instance, usually have a dominant role. The term 'dominant' is here being used "to indicate the person who has the greater freedom in making linguistic choices (...)" (Brazil et al., 1980:53).

Thus, the communicative function of † tones is the assertion of dominance.

The r† option is a kind of intervention in that the speaker invokes common ground (Brazil et al., 1980:55; Brazil, 1985:148). According to Brazil (1985:135) the most frequent attributes assigned to some uses of r† tone are "forcefulness and emphasis". Besides, as the use of r† tone may bring up the implication of dominance, its effect may be to prevent the speaker from being interrupted (Brazil, 1985:135). It may therefore be said that r† tone may signal a strong expectation that there is more to follow what is being said (Brazil, 1985:140).

The communicative function of p† is to signal that the speaker is adding information not only to the common ground but also to himself, and this option tends to be used by dominant speakers. Brazil (1985:132) observes that the use of p† is relatively uncommon.

The communicative function of level tone o is to signal that the stretch of language just uttered will be followed (Brazil et al., 1980: 94).

For the purpose of this study, this very brief description of the basic meaning of the TONES (the first variable) seems sufficient. The other variable, TERMINATION, will now be accounted for.

The symbols H, M, and L stand for pitch-levels High, Mid, and Low, which are present at the end of an utterance.

High termination invites decision. The speaker invites his hearer to use a high-key "yes" or an equivalent expression so as to indicate whether he has the same viewpoint about what has just been said.

Mid termination indicates an expectation of agreement.

The speaker expects his hearer's viewpoint to be concurrent with his own opinion.

Low termination has always the function of closing the pitch-sequence, and it may mark the finality of the second speaker's agreement. Brazil (1984:38) points out the use of low-key in the tag as being "best characterized as the simultaneous expression of agreement and speaker dominance".

A two-part clause whose second part is a tag will have two tone-units, with tone and termination not necessarily the same in both. Termination plays an important role in A-B exchanges because it is essential to complete understanding. To support this claim, examples from Brazil (1985:87,88) show two intonational versions for comparison.

- H COULD i
- (a) M //p i COULDn't go //p //
- L
-
- H COULDn't go
- (b) M //p i //p COULD i //
- L

In example (a) high termination in the tag invites decision, and therefore modifies the expectation of agreement there is in the assertion in mid termination.

In example (b) mid termination in the tag expects agreement, and therefore modifies the invitation for decision there is in the assertion in high termination.

We may now say that intonation selections in the tag can modify the communicative value of the assertion to which it is attached.

GESTURE

The other feature which may lead us to the assumption of conduciveness is gesture.

From our knowledge of the world we know that conversational gesture may be of real linguistic importance not only for the speaker but also for the hearer. Its conducive aspect can be present to both parties in an A-B exchange. It is true that the speaker may use conducive gesture to influence his hearer, but it is also true that the speaker may be influenced by his hearer's gesture. In this way, signs of agreement or disagreement can be conveyed in gesture which may or may not be followed by its verbal equivalent.

I believe that this subject is relevant to the present study because in the contextual analysis that will be carried out further on, we will see many tag-Qs which remain without a verbal answer. Instead of producing a verbal response, the hearer may nod in sign of agreement, for instance, or shake his head in disagreement. On the other hand, the speaker may add some gesture following his utterance which may be a tag-Q, for instance.

According to Abercrombie's broad classification (1968:78-80), there are two distinct types of gesture: independent gestures that are independent of spoken words, and dependent gestures always accompanied by spoken words. We may say that those used by the hearer when he answers a tag-Q, for instance, are independent gestures, and those used by the speaker while uttering a tag-Q are dependent gestures. Abercrombie says that "dependent gesture seems to be sometimes interchangeable with certain intonation patterns (intonation, incidentally, has been described as 'vocal gesture')".

Therefore, it can be said that tag-Qs, which commonly occur in spoken language, are always conducive, since they present these three forces: polarity, intonation, and gesture.

1- 2. 5. Other Kinds of Tag-Qs

There is a kind of tag-Q in English which has not been mentioned yet while defining and describing tag-Qs. Nevertheless, its occurrence is quite common during conversation in group, when more than two people are talking. The first part, the statement, is addressed to one person, while the tag itself is a kind of invitation for another person to bear witness to the matter under discussion. In other words, there is one addresser, one tag-Q, but two addressees, or even more. So, the addresser gets two results with one action. The following example is taken from the play "The Entertainer" by John Osborne (Act Two, Intermission, Number Eight).

JEAN: I'm all right.

FRANK: Are you really? Bet you'd forgotten what this was like, didn't you?

PHOEBE: Course she hadn't forgotten. She doesn't forget as easy as that, do you dear?

JEAN: No - I don't think so.

I believe one cannot say that this kind of tag-Q is not a real tag-Q since the formal aspect of a reversed polarity tag-Q is maintained. The verb and the tense in the tag repeat the verb phrase in the statement, and the tag itself consists of an auxiliary verb with or without a negative particle plus a personal pronoun. So, the tag remains modeled on the statement. The difference is that the statement is

addressed to one participant, and the tag to another participant, while in the kind of tag-Qs we have been discussing so far the statement and the tag are addressed to one and the same participant. This different kind of tag-Q therefore promotes interaction between more than two participants. Conduciveness is present, and it can be considered a means a speaker may use to warm up conversation in a group.

Although the main types of tag-Qs in English are those with reversed polarity whose tag is modeled on the statement, and the statement is a declarative (see section 1-2.1.), Bolinger (1957: 17, 18, 20, 21, 47) points out other types of tags, and says that there is an unlimited variety of them in English. According to his terminology they are, among others:

"Tentations: He will I suppose?

Imputations: They'll attend to it later you say?

Explications: How does he like it I wonder?

The Intonational Tag: Says he's sorry, eh? "

This verbalized intonation 'eh?', besides the use of 'tag', has other uses which are not relevant to this study. 'Eh?', as tag, not only asks but also urges, e.g., "Pretty good looking, eh?". It also may be added to a tag-Q e.g., "You like it do you? (hearer fails to answer) Eh?". Bolinger also says that the "tag uses of 'eh?' imply as a rule that what precedes is rather strongly assertive".

The same author mentions another kind of tag modeled on the elliptic part of the statement. He calls it "tagllip": "All gone, have they?".

As regards accent Bolinger says that tag-Qs have a front accented element followed by de-accented ones. These

de-accented elements are 'tags'. He, therefore, does not include as tags "those forms intonationally separate which are primary accent, e.g., You gave them the information, right?; vocatives, e.g., Won't you try it, sir? or interjections, e.g., Didn't he even try it, for heavens sake?, and inversions that are accented, e.g., He did it how?".

It would perhaps be interesting to mention another tag, which is simply the negative particle 'no', which I have had the opportunity of hearing from an American native speaker:

"It looks as though you too were dissatisfied with your first examples and decided to go back to the story to look for better ones, no?"

In this way we may conclude that the formal aspect of tags in English may be highly varied.

1- 3. TAG -QS IN PORTUGUESE

1- 3. 1. Introduction

Tag-Qs in Portuguese are not well explored either in grammatical or in pragmatic terms. At this point I would like to quote Leech (1983:x) who defines pragmatics as "the study of how utterances have meanings in situations". So, to study tag-Qs in Portuguese in pragmatic terms would be to verify how they are used in communication. The only available works on tag-Qs in Portuguese I could find are those by Cavalcante (1972) who is from Brazil, and Cruz-Ferreira (1981) who is from Portugal. A slight mention to part of this linguistic realization in oral production is made by Mendes de

Almeida (1957:408), a Brazilian author, who includes some kinds of tags among "vícios de linguagem".

Lack of descriptions of tag-Qs, either in their grammatical form or in their function and use in A-B exchanges, is one of the reasons for this study.

Some tags have not been translated into English because sometimes there is no one-to-one correspondence. Translation will be given when there is such correspondence.

1- 3. 2. Grammatical Form for Tags

As we have seen above (1-2.1.), the most frequent types of tag-Qs in English are structurally predetermined, i.e., the first part of the clause determines the form of the second part, the tag itself.

In Portuguese, however, such a feature is not obligatory. Thus a sentence like "Ela decidiu comprar uma casa" (She decided to buy a house) may be followed by a variety of tags ⁴ such as:

Verb (V)	decidiu?/sa(be)?/(ou)viu?/ entende?/compreende? (other possibilities)
Affirmative Particle (Aff P)...	sim?
Negative Particle (Neg P).....	não?
Neg P + V	não decidiu?/não sabe? (other possibilities)

4- I believe that a complete range of grammatical forms for tags in Portuguese, Brazilian variety, is almost impossible to be predicted.

Neg P † V(†(Adv))/(Adj)/(Pro)...	não foi(?)(assim?)/ não é(?)(assim?)/ não é(?)(mesmo?)/'né?'
	não é(?)(verdade?)/'né?'
	não é(?)(isso?)/'né?'
	(other possibilities)
Conj † Neg P / Aff P	pois não?/sim? ⁵
V † Pres Part	(es)tá sabendo? (other possibilities)
V († Adj)	(es)tá (?)(legal?)/ (certo?)/(bom?)
(V †) Adj	(está) correto?/certo? (other possibilities)

1- 3. 3. Reduced Tags

The tags 'não é assim?' / 'não é mesmo?' (isn't it so?), 'não é verdade?' (isn't it true?), 'não é isso?' (isn't it?) plus other possibilities are commonly reduced to 'não é?', but more usual still is the agglutinative form 'né?'.

The reduced tag 'não é?' has been considered by Cruz-Ferreira (1981:344,345) as a "dummy tag" because, in her opinion, "the element é is a homonym of the third person singular (indicative present) form of the verb ser ('be'), and must be viewed as a fixed morph, not as an inflected verbal form". To support this claim Cruz-Ferreira says that é is used in this kind of tag "whatever the verb occurring in the

5- These forms 'pois não' and 'pois sim', as tags, are not frequent in Brazil. They are rather markers of European Portuguese.

statement (...) and whatever the inflection of that verb in the statement". She explains such a feature using any lexical verb as in these examples:

- a.1 In the indicative present
 tu queres esse livro, não queres?
 (you want that book, don't you?)
 or
- a.2 tu queres esse livro, não é?
- b.1 In any other inflection (e.g. imperfect past tense)
 tu querias esse livro, não querias?
 (you wanted that book, didn't you?)
 or
- b.2 tu querias esse livro, não é?

I think, however, that the second options in (a) and (b) should rather be understood in their underlying form, which is:

(É verdade que) tu queres esse livro, não é (verdade)?
 *(It's true that) you want that book, isn't it (true)?

and

(É verdade que) tu querias esse livro, não é (verdade)?
 *(It's true that) you wanted that book, isn't it (true)?

It becomes clear that 'não é?' in these two examples is a reduced tag whose verbal form is modeled on the deleted part of the underlying structure.

Cruz-Ferreira follows her considerations giving an example with the verb 'ser' (be) either in the statement or in the tag: "ele é presidente, não é?", and says that "this form is homonymous with the negator † V form, with V = ser ,

since 'ser' occurs in the statement as well".

I would rather say that in this case, i.e., "ele é presidente, não é?" there are two possible interpretations. The first possibility is to consider 'não é?' a reduced tag modeled on the deleted part of the underlying structure:

(É verdade que) ele é presidente, não é(verdade)?
 (*(It's true that) he is president, isn't it (true)?).

The second possibility is to consider 'não é?' a tag modeled on the statement which precedes it:

"Ele é presidente, não é?"
 (He is president, isn't he?).

It is perhaps simpler to perceive the difference between these two possibilities by observing the translation of the Portuguese examples into English. In the first possibility the equivalent for 'não é?' is 'isn't it?'. 'It' is the pronoun that makes reference to the news. In the second possibility the equivalent for 'não é?' is 'isn't he?'. 'He' makes reference to the pronoun in the statement. As in Portuguese pronouns are not present in tags at all, the choice between the two interpretations is left for the analyst to make. For the hearer it does not make any difference which analysis is preferred by the analyst, since to him the meaning⁶ of the utterance is quite clear.

6- 'Meaning' here is used as a pragmatic concept. Leech (1983: 5,156) says that in pragmatics, meaning is defined in relation to the user of the language, to what the speaker means by saying something; it is a reflexive intention whose fulfillment consists in its recognition by the hearer. Similarly Firth(1966:111) says that "meaning is a property of the people, their sets, their specific behaviour, the things of the situation as of the noises made".

The reduced tags formed by Neg P + V (ser) can be realized by various verbal tenses, and to exemplify this I use an example from Cruz-Ferreira's work:

"ele conheceu o presidente, não foi?"

As the verb in the reduced tag (SER) is not modeled on the verb in the statement (CONHECER), the only way to understand the origin of 'não foi?' is to resort to the underlying structure on which it is modeled:

(Foi verdade que) ele conheceu o presidente, não foi (verdade)?
 (*(It was true that) he knew the president, wasn't it (true)?)

Other verbal tenses are possible as well.

Therefore, 'não é?' does not have any of the characteristics of a "dummy tag" because the element 'é' is third person singular Simple Present of the verb 'ser' (be), and consequently must be viewed as an inflected verbal form frequently modeled on the deleted part of the underlying structure.

Cavalcante (1972:13, 66) identifies the Portuguese tag 'não é?' with the English tag 'isn't that so?', and also points out that in both languages the lexical items in the tag do not correspond to the lexical items in the statement to which the tag is attached. These are Cavalcante's (8, 65) examples:

(G) (2) Mary came here, isn't that so? ⁷

(145) Ele pode sair às 10 h, não é?

7- An American native speaker, however, informed me that the tag 'isn't that so?' is used only in specific cases such as, for instance, after a list of items, e.g., 'So, the

She classifies those tags both in Portuguese and in English as "tags interrogativos confirmativos", i.e., those that are used as a device to suggest how the speaker wants his Q answered.

It would perhaps be interesting and relevant now to mention Swan (1981:514) when he points out what he calls a "typical mistake:

* The pubs close at half past three, isn't it?".

This "typical mistake" occurs with Brazilian speakers of English, and is an example of mother tongue interference, i.e., the translation of the reduced tag 'não é?' which is modeled on the deleted part of the underlying form of the sentence.

Based partly on Brazilian TV programs, and partly on the observation of people's behavior in many cities and towns in Brazil, I would say that, at present, 'né?' is the commonest tag used by people regardless of their educational background, e.g., Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, né?.

The tags 'está legal?' (is it OK?) and 'está certo?' (is it right?) are more frequently pronounced 'tá legal?' , 'tá certo?', reducing 'está', third person singular Simple Present of the V. 'estar' (be), to 'tá'. But also commonly

house has a living room, three bedrooms, one bathroom, and a kitchen, isn't that so?', as if the person were checking some information received before. The tag in the example given by Cavalcante, however, "Mary came here, isn't that so?", although grammatical, may not be expected by a native speaker. The expected form should be, in this American native speaker's opinion, 'Mary came here, didn't/did she?'

heard we find only 'tá?' instead of 'tá legal?', 'tá certo?' or others. The reduced tag 'tá?' has been used in final position, and frequently has a summarizing force. The tone tends to be rising.

Although Portuguese does not require that these reduced tags be present, speakers may consider them helpful and adequate to the situation they are in. 'Né?' and 'tá?', commonly used as tags, are Qs but without the frequent demand of Qs for an answer. That is why 'né?' is usually heard between the moves of an exchange. Such a use can be exemplified by the following piece which is part of the recorded material for the contextual analysis to be carried out:

- (11) "... eu escrevia dez páginas por dia, compreende? É, quer dizer, fazia um livro em três meses, não é? (↗) Dois meses, três meses, quatro meses, né? (↗) Hoje eu levo ... alguns anos, dois, três anos, né? (↗) pra fazer um livro ..."

(Interview 5)

The tag 'né?' is commonly articulated very quietly, and sometimes it is almost inaudible. The intonation of this tag, slightly rising or level tone, tends to remain the same either in medial or final position.

The use of these reduced tags seems to be restricted to informal utterances, but they may be inadequately used even by native speakers.

The inadequate use of these reduced tags can be noticed when they are too frequently repeated, and with certain intonational characteristics. An example of the inadequate use of 'né?' may be the following piece which is also part of the recorded material for the contextual analysis:

- (12) "A gente explica também pras crianças, partes do nosso corpo que são públicas, isso na nossa sociedade, e partes do nosso corpo que são privadas, né? E daí, a gente vai pruma outra, né? situação que são as carícias que são públicas porque, né? elas podem ser feitas em qualquer lugar".

(Interview 2)

The use of 'né?' is here considered inadequate because it interrupts the sequence of what is being said. Besides, owing perhaps to the tone used, r†, it produces the connotation of dominance whose effect may be to prevent the speaker from being interrupted. ⁸

I would say that, in general, the frequent use of 'tá?', for instance, conveys the idea that the speaker's level of education is low. The example to illustrate the inadequate use of 'tá?' is also part of the recorded material:

- (13) "Bom, a minha função é de ... vamos se dizer, carregar o navio, tá? É de ... conduzir, tá? Conduzir o navio. É como se fosse um motorista de carro, tá? O motorista tem que conduzir o carro, tá? Ele tem que ..."

(Interview 3)

The speaker uses r† tone in all the tags.

8- I think that, at this point, the following remark made by Crystal and Davy (1975:125) is very relevant: "Too frequent a use of any grammatical pattern gives rise to boredom, irritability, and other like reactions on the part of a listener".

However, I must make an exception at least for one case: if the addresser is urging his addressee (a person of his esteem) to do something, he usually makes use of 'tá?' after imperatives as a final and vehement plea, e.g.,

(14) (Olha, eu estou te esperando!)

Vem logo, tá?

((See, I'm waiting for you!))

(Come soon, tá?)

As regards the tag 'sa(be)?' ('sá?' is rarely used), it seems that when the speaker uses it, he implies that something is being left out of the utterance and that the hearer must deduce what it is by himself. This 'something' could be supplied by the speaker, but for some reason he leaves it to the hearer's capacity of interpretation or knowledge of the world. The following example is also part of the recorded material for the contextual analysis:

(15) "Existe um fascínio tão grande entre o nosso relacionamento! A gente não perdeu não, ... sabe? Uma coisa de, de, de pele, de ... sabe? de contacto mesmo, que eu não sei se acontece isso com todo mundo, sabe? Não só entendimento, eh ... de toda uma vida, com todos os problemas, não. É um contacto, sabe? físico, bom, gostoso, uma compreensão (respira fundo) eh ... de cabeça e de ... corpo, sabe?"

(Interview 6)

The tag 'sabe?' is generally said quietly, drawled, usually with a rising tone, and this is what happens in example (15). Although there is no example of an initial

'sabe?' in the data such position is possible, e.g., 'Sabe?, ela decidiu comprar uma casa '. It is perhaps interesting to point out the difference of meaning when the verbal tense is changed from Present ('sabe?') to Past ('sabia?'). Although there is no example in the corpus of the tag 'sabia?', I believe it is important to mention that this tag usually has the implication of irritation and impatience.

The tag 'ouviu?' is often reduced to 'viu?'. It is used in final position, and suggests a kind of threat, as in the following example, which is part of the recorded material:

(16) "Não vai ter pra mais ninguém naquela ala de compositor não, viu?"

(Dialog 1)

Nevertheless, the reduced tag 'viu?' has also been found added to the expression 'Obrigado/a', but I believe that it does not sound so polite as the tag 'sim?' (see the next section) in this same context. Based on observation I would say that the tag 'viu?', even after the expression 'Obrigado/a', signals speaker's dominance.

To say that these reduced tags are either ungrammatical or meaningless, as some grammarians do, does not get rid of them. They actually are part of the oral expression resources Brazilian people very commonly make use of.

My view is that the frequent use of some of these reduced tags in spontaneous Portuguese speech may be compared sometimes to the use of the so-called 'pause fillers' (Brazil et al., 1980:15), or 'softeners' (Crystal and Davy, 1975:92)

commonly observed in spontaneous English speech. Ex.:

(17) Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, né? mas ela queria um apartamento.

(She has decided to buy a house, you know, but she wanted an apartment).

While 'you know' may be used initially, medially, or finally in an utterance as Crystal and Davy (1975:92) have observed in their analysis, the reduced tag 'né?' is used medially and finally only.

A question I would like to pose is: How do English speakers, for instance, know when to use these tags while learning Portuguese? As regards this matter, I asked two American native speakers who have been living in Florianópolis for a long time, and use 'né?' in their oral production adequately, how they can do so since such a reduced tag as well as others are not included in the traditional Portuguese teaching material in Brazil. They said that they have learned it by imitating native speakers, in their effort to speak as natives do. But as I know another American person who has learned Portuguese in the US and uses the tag 'não é?' in his speech, I wrote him a letter asking him the same question. He answered saying that though he had learned Portuguese in the US, he had been raised in New Mexico, where more than half of the population are native Spanish speakers. So his feeling is that his familiarity with Spanish speakers conditioned him to use tags in Portuguese. He also thinks that his being a teacher may make him use tag-Qs in English and in other languages more frequently because as a teacher he usually tries to make sure whether his students understand

what he says. He adds to all this some very interesting information. He says that the most commonly used Portuguese text book in the US - Modern Portuguese by Barrutia, Ellison, et al. published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York - devotes considerable space to the use of tags such as 'não é?'.

The point is that if one is to learn Portuguese (or any other language) successfully the situations in which forms of this type are used must be identified, as R. Lakoff (1972:908) points out.

1- 3. 4. The Tags 'SIM?', 'HEM?', and 'NÃO TEM?'

The tag 'sim?' (yes?) is frequently used by people with all levels of education in many places in Brazil after the expression 'Obrigada/o'. Its use is governed by extra-linguistic factors. By saying 'Obrigado/a, sim?' the speaker also says that he is immensely grateful as the hearer has just done something very important to the speaker. Thus, the tag 'sim?' after 'Obrigado/a' may also be considered a marker of gratitude. The equivalent to this expression, making what is implicit explicit, would perhaps be in English: 'Thanks! That's very kind of you!'.

'Sim?' is also commonly used after imperatives in a similar way to 'tá?', with the same function, but it sounds more polite:

(18) (Olha, eu estou te esperando!)

Vem logo, sim?

((See, I'm waiting for you!))

(Come soon, yes?).

After declaratives the tag 'sim?' expresses ex-

pectation of acquiescence or consent to what has been expressed in the statement, e.g.,

(19) Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, sim?.

The tag 'hem?' is the equivalent of 'eh?', the "verbalized intonation" described by Bolinger (see 1-2.5.). 'Hem?' as a tag in Portuguese, similarly to 'eh?' in English, not only asks but also urges, e.g., 'Ela é linda, hem?'. It can also be added to a tag, e.g., 'Gostas disso, né? (hearer fails to answer) Hem?'.

The tag 'hem?' can also be added to the expression 'Obrigado/a' with the same meaning as that of the tag 'sim?' discussed above, but it sounds less polite.

The tag 'não tem?' deserves special reference because as far as I know it seems to be typical of Florianópolis, SC. People who were born and live on the Island commonly use this tag, and such a use has called the attention of Brazilian people who come from other states to visit the Island or to live here. For this reason it will be called, in this study, regional 'nãõ tem', and appears in Tables 4 and 6 as 'nãõ tem?' Reg.. The grammatical form of this tag is

Neg P † V

and it is not modeled on the verb phrase in the statement. The V 'tem' in this tag seems to be third person singular Simple Present of the V 'ter', but it does not have the expected meaning of 'ter' which is 'possuir' (have/possess). It has rather the meaning 'nãõ te lembrãõ?' (don't you remember?) or 'nãõ sabes?' (don't you know?).

The following example from the recorded material

can show us the use of the tag 'não tem?' Reg. with the meaning of 'não te lembrás?':

- (20) "Mãe, aquele presente que eu te falei,
não tem? Aquele presente da ... Ada, tu
não queres levar lá pra trocar?"

(Natural Conversation
Fragment 6)

The next example, also from the recorded material, shows us the use of this same tag with the meaning of 'não sabes?':

- (21) "A- ... e pra alugar carro, vocês alugaram?
B- Sempre dois. Um atrás e outro na frente,
não tem?"

(Natural Conversation
Fragment 7)

In this example the V in the statement has been ellipted; it should be 'ia': 'Um ia atrás e outro (ia) na frente, não tem?' It is quite clear that the tag 'não tem?' is not modeled on the V in the statement and does not have the meaning of 'ter', but I am not capable of explaining the origin of this tag.

1- 3. 5. Conducive Aspect of Tag-Qs -

Polarity, Intonation, and Gesture

As we have seen in section 1- 3.2., the sentence 'Ela decidiu comprar uma casa' may be followed by a great variety of tags. As a result, we may have a reversed polarity tag-Q in the pattern Pos-Neg:

(22) Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, não decidiu?

(She decided to buy a house, didn't she?)

or a constant polarity tag-Q in the pattern Pos-Pos:

(23) Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, decidiu?

(She decided to buy a house, did she?).

At this point I would like to add an extra explanation about the formation of interrogatives. In Portuguese, at least in the Brazilian variety, there is no interrogative syntax characterized, for instance, by inversion. It is intonation that makes the difference between a statement and a Q. Thus, both examples (22) and (23) could be not only tag-Qs, i.e., declarative plus tag, but also interrogative plus tag, depending on the speaker's decision and on the context. This is important to understand what follows.

If we transform the declarative, which is positive in both examples, (22) and (23), into a negative statement maintaining the intonation generally required for statements, we will see that only the pattern Neg-Pos is possible:

(24) Ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, decidiu?

(She didn't decide to buy a house, did she?)

The pattern Neg-Neg is impossible while maintaining the intonation usually required for statements:

(25)* Ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, não decidiu?

(She didn't decide to buy a house, didn't she?).

Nevertheless, if a rising intonation, generally used for Qs,

is used in this example it becomes possible:

(26) Ela não decidiu comprar uma casa? não decidiu?

(Didn't she decide to buy a house, didn't she?).

There is, however, a possibility for the pattern Neg-Neg to occur in Portuguese tag-Qs, i.e., declarative plus tag:

(27) Ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, a) não sabia?

b) não sabe?

c) não foi?

não é verdade?

d) não é?

né?

(other possibilities)

In this example (a-d) we can see that the V 'decidir' (to decide) is not present in the list of possibilities, and I believe this is due to the fact that all the tags above are modeled on the deleted part of the underlying form of example (27):

a) (Você sabia que) ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, não sabia?

b) (Você sabe que) ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, não sabe?

c) (Foi verdade que) ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, não foi (verdade)?

d) (É verdade que) ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, não é (verdade)? / né?

In English they would be:

a) *(You knew that)	| she didn't decide to buy a house,	|	didn't you?
b) *(You know that)			don't you?
c) *(It was true that)			wasn't it?
d) *(It is true that)			isn't it?

As regards polarity, there are therefore the following patterns in Portuguese:

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (22) Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, não decidiu? | <u>Pos-Neg</u> |
| (23) Ela decidiu comprar uma casa, decidiu? | <u>Pos-Pos</u> |
| (24) Ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, decidiu? | <u>Neg-Pos</u> |
| (27) Ela não decidiu comprar uma casa, não sabia? | <u>Neg-Neg</u> |
| | não sabe? |
| | não foi verdade? |
| | não é(verdade)?/né? |

It is important to point out that the pattern Neg-Neg in example (27) is possible only when the verb in the tag is modeled on the deleted part of the underlying form of the statement.

The conducive aspect of tags in Portuguese has been explored by propaganda. Some propaganda has been recorded and transcribed (see Appendix B). As an example, part of it can be cited here, and I believe it is an example of conduciveness by means of polarity, intonation and gesture. It is about a new make of a Brazilian car. A beautiful woman (or a handsome man) appears on the TV video and rounds off some considerations by saying:

- (28) "Agora, ... você sabe quanto ele custa mais que seu principal concorrente?

(S/he shows a pen)

MENOS que isso. E você não vai deixar de ter um Santana por isso, ... vai?

(Propaganda 6, 7)

During approximately one month before Christmas 84 all propaganda for the main local Shopping Center was heard and seen on TV using the force of 'tags' as in this imperative

plus tag (although with a common grammatical mistake):

- (29) " (...) um presente ótimo pra você me dar. É um relógio que eu vi lá no Shopping. Se você não me der, depois não *reclama se eu chegar tarde em casa, ... falou?

(Propaganda 4)

Other examples can be found in Appendix B.

Conversational gestures and their conduciveness are of real linguistic importance in Portuguese A-B exchanges. But as the importance of gestures has already been discussed in section 1- 2.4. as regards tag-Qs in English, and as it can be applied to tag-Qs in Portuguese as well, this subject will not be explored any further.

1- 3. 6. Conclusion

I believe we may conclude that there are two major kinds of tags in Portuguese:

- a) those modeled on the verb phrase of the statement:

- (28) "É você não vai deixar de ter um Santana por isso, ... vai?"

(Propaganda)

b) those modeled on the deleted part of the underlying form of the statement, and which are frequently reduced:

- (11) "... eu escrevia dez páginas por dia, compreende?
É, quer dizer, fazia um livro em três meses, não é?
Dois meses, três meses, quatro meses, né?"

(Interview 5)

From those two major kinds of tags, the reduced ones and not modeled on the verb phrase of the statement are the most frequent in the Brazilian variety of spoken Portuguese.

2- MODEL OF ANALYSIS

2- 1. INTRODUCTION

According to Celce-Murcia (1980:41) contextual analysis is a type of discourse analysis which examines a linguistic form, or more than one, so as to determine where, why, when, and how frequently this form occurs in discourse. The discourse can be written or spoken, planned or unplanned, spontaneous or elicited. Celce-Murcia (1980:44) says that a "contextual analysis begins with the identification of a form or forms, and then sets out to uncover as much information as possible regarding the meaning, function, and frequency of the form(s) (...) and restrictions of the form(s) as used in context".

For the present contextual analysis, data were collected from spoken, unplanned, and spontaneous language in English and in Portuguese. The linguistic form chosen to be examined is the tag-Q in the two languages.

Contextual analysis was chosen for this study because it brings out the communicative value of language. Besides, as Celce-Murcia says, contextual analysis appears to be complementary to pragmatic analysis. Pragmatic analysis "begins with a situation or a language function and empirically explores the different linguistic forms that are possible or probable manifestations of the situation or function". Contextual analysis does the reverse. It begins with the linguistic form and seeks to discover its function as used in context.

Studies in contextual analysis can also be used as an empirical means to verify validation of theory. Results of contextual analyses should therefore be used, as Celce - Murcia (1980:48,49) points out, "as a basis for materials development or be presented to ESL classes as truly valid explanations of the linguistic behavior of native speakers of Standard English". The same can be said as regards the teaching of Portuguese as a second language.

The main guidelines for doing contextual analysis suggested by Celce-Murcia (1980:49-53) have been followed in this study. They are:

- a) review of the literature;
- b) data collection of natural spoken discourse of native speakers;
- c) consideration of the linguistic context so as to try to determine the function of the linguistic form which is being investigated;
- d) testing the hypotheses generated by the previous steps.

2- 2. VALUE OF CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

To verify the value of contextual analysis, a questionnaire was organized, which was mailed to six native speakers of English who are living in Florianópolis now. Four of them work at UFSC. They are two professors of Physics, and two professors of Anthropology. The other two persons are a retired officer from the US Army, and a businessman. They were all also sent a letter with some ex-

planations and with the request that their answers should be based on their intuition only. They were also asked to answer the questionnaire immediately after reading each tag-Q. The 12 tag-Qs for examination were taken from the extracts in Crystal and Davy, and presented to those six native speakers of English without the context. The six functions submitted to the subjects are the ones which appear in the contextual analysis of the tag-Qs (section 3-2.). The questionnaire and the tag-Qs are the following:

QUESTIONNAIRE

- ①- Considering an A-B exchange (that can be understood as a conversation between two participants), which exchange realizes this Q-tag?

1 A 2 B

- ②- Considering Q-tags midway between a statement (St) and a yes-no question (Q), in which category would you place this Q-tag?

1 St 2 Q

- ③- Which of the following functions do you think this Q-tag may have?

- 1 reinforcement of self opinion
- 2 reinforcement of self explanation
- 3 comment
- 4 addition of some information
- 5 asking for information
- 6 asking for someone's opinion
- 7 other function different from those above

- ④- Do you think this Q-tag receives an answer?

1 Yes 2 No

The tag-Qs

- a) I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they?
- b) Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that room, mightn't they?
- c) That was a bit early, wasn't it?
- d) But it's not quite like having logs, is it?
- e) They can swim, can't they?
- f) Mice swim though, don't they?
- g) You just patch it up, don't you?
- h) There's a famous one there, isn't there?
- i) They had a village one, did they?
- j) You've read Scoop, have you?
- k) It was something to do with the strike though, wasn't it?
- l) But you're teaching at a grammar school, aren't you?

The form of the list which was presented to the collaborators is available in Appendix C.

Only three of the questionnaires were sent back to me. They are the ones answered by the two professors of Physics (Prof Phy 1, Prof Phy 2), and by the retired officer (RO). One of the two professors of Physics did not answer item (1-) of the questionnaire because he said he had not understood it. When the answer based on intuition coincides with the one based on the contextual analysis it is counted one (1) point. The ideal total of points for each item of the questionnaire is therefore twelve (12), since there are 12 tag-Qs from letter a) to letter l). The results are the following:

<u>Prof Phy 1</u>		<u>Prof Phy 2</u>	
Items in the questionnaire	Nº of points	Items in the questionnaire	Nº of points
①-	..... 9	①- -
②-	..... 5	②-	..... 5
③-	..... 3	③-	..... 4
④-	..... 7	④-	..... 6

R O

Items in the questionnaire	Nº of points
①-	..... 6
②-	..... 6
③-	..... 5
④-	..... 7

The list with the 12 tag-Qs, the three questionnaires answered by the three kind collaborators who based themselves on their intuition as native speakers of English, plus the questionnaire answered in the light of the contextual analysis are available in Appendix C. The 12 tag-Qs can be examined in their context in Appendix A, in the fragments of the extracts as follows:

- (a), (b), (g), and (h) Extract 1;
- (c), (d), and (i) Extract 2;
- (j) Extract 3;
- (k) Extract 7;
- (e) and (f) Extract 8;
- (l) Extract 10.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that Contextual Analysis is of great value to show us how language is used in communication.

2- 3. SUBJECTS

The subjects in this research are anonymous native speakers of English and Portuguese. They are male and female adults, and they speak what Crystal and Davy define as "the standard educated colloquial language".

2- 4. CORPUS

The basic material used in this investigation for the analysis of tag-Qs in the spoken language is:

a- natural conversation fragments from the tape which records CRYSTAL, David and DAVY, Derek, 1975. Advanced Conversational English, 1st ed., London, Longman;

b- natural conversations in Portuguese, some of which were recorded without the participants' knowledge, but used with their permission;

c- some recorded Brazilian TV programs: interviews and television plays;

d- interviews in Portuguese.

2- 5. PROCEDURE

The steps followed were:

a- identification and classification of English tag-Qs, according to polarity, tone, and function, in the conversation extracts transcribed by Crystal and Davy;

b- transcription, identification, and classification according to the grammatical form, kind of tag, polarity, tone, and function of Portuguese tags from the recordings;

c- analysis of tags in the two languages to verify how they are used in communication.

The results of the research into English tag-Qs are compared with the existing descriptions (see 1- 2.3.), and the results of the research into Portuguese tags will hopefully show us their function in context.

3- CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH TAG-QS

3- 1. INTRODUCTION

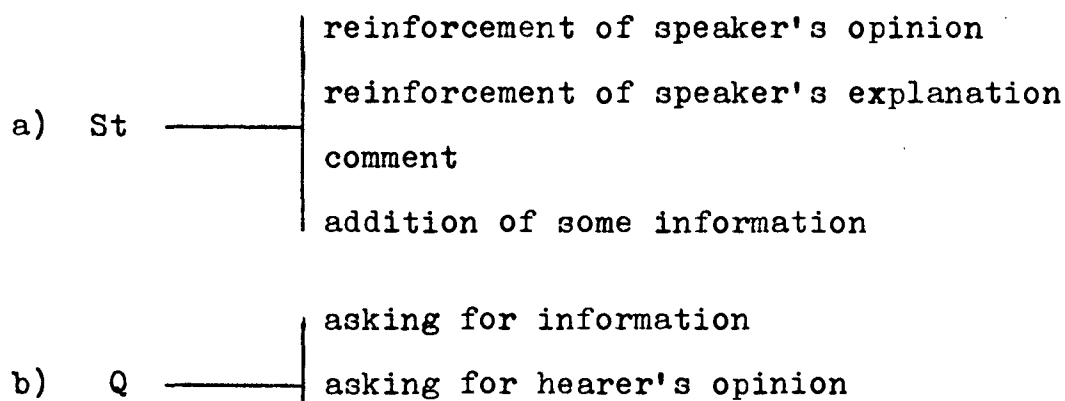
Advanced Conversational English by David Crystal and Derek Davy contains essentially the transcription of natural conversational data recorded by the authors for a linguistic analysis. Part of the data was recorded while the speakers were not aware, but permission to use the data was obtained from the participants afterwards. With such data the authors organized fifteen conversation extracts, which are examined in this study. It was verified that only four of those extracts, numbers 5, 6, 9, and 14 do not contain tag-Qs. Eleven extracts contain tag-Qs with different patterns of polarity such as Pos-Neg, Neg-Pos, and Pos-Pos. Fragments of the eleven extracts, those which contain tag-Qs, are available in Appendix A. Some tag-Qs remain without an answer, at least without a verbal response. Some others receive a verbal answer. The occurrence of the tag-Qs in various patterns of polarity, their intonation, and their function in the conversation extracts will be studied now. Function is here understood as the specific purpose of the tag in the context.

3- 2. IDENTIFICATION, CLASSIFICATION, AND FUNCTION OF TAG-Qs IN CONTEXT

Six different functions performed by the tag-Qs in the extracts were identified as follows:

1. Reinforcement of speaker's opinion
2. Reinforcement of speaker's explanation
3. Comment
4. Addition of some information
5. Asking for information
6. Asking for hearer's opinion.

We may consider that when one wants to reinforce an opinion or explanation, to comment on something, or to add some information, one commonly uses a statement (St). On the other hand, to ask for information, or for someone's opinion one commonly uses a Q. Considering a tag-Q a Q that is midway between a St and a Q, these six functions may be grouped into two categories of mood, which are St and Q as follows:



Such a division is thought useful to help us investigate the reason why some tag-Qs in the extracts remain without an answer.

We can see in the fragments (Appendix A) and in

Table 1 and Table 2 below that 6 tag-Qs under the category of mood St do not receive an answer, and there is only 1 tag-Q under the category of mood Q which does not receive an answer either. Why is this tag-Q under the category of mood Q left without an answer? This Q refers us to the context once more to see whether it is possible to determine the reason of the absence of a probably expected answer. This tag-Q is found in Extract 8, p.58, lines 64-82:

A- in the end we devised a very good trap which was a toilet toilet roll, the the roll in the middle of it, an empty toilet roll and blocked up one side with tissues and they as soon as they saw this they'd go into it (B: hum) and then if you had found someone brave enough to slap their hand on the other end (C: hum) you could empty it into this bucket (C: hum) so then I put all that lot out in the garden, however

B- They can swim, can't they? (↘) (M) Mice.

D- You put them out in the garden

A- Yeah, well, what else was I going to do with them?

D- I thought you flushed them down the lavatory.

A- Well, only the dead ones, and that took so long
(C: Ugh) I wasn't going to do the live ones
(C: down the lavatory)

B- Mice swim though, don't they? (↗) (H) Swim like mad.

A- Well, this one was dead so it wouldn't swim very far ('A', 'D', and 'C' laugh).

There are two couples taking part in this conversation. They are close friends. 'A' and 'B' are the women. 'A' is just in the middle of an important explanation of how she managed to get rid of a lot of mice that happened to be all over her house. 'B' interrupts her just at a crucial moment of the story to say: "They can swim, can't they? Mice". Nobody answers her, and another participant, 'D', repeats

'A''s final remark so that 'A' can continue her story. Although the tone used in this tag (p) is one that proclaims new information, the speaker indicates her expectation of concurrence using M termination, and waits for an answer, which is not given by the hearers however. Thus as soon as 'A' goes on with her story, 'B' insists on asking, by means of a reversed polarity (Pos-Neg) tag-Q once more, "Mice swim though, don't they?". This time she adds something more to her tag by saying "Swim like mad". In this way there is addition of information although irrelevant since those mice were already dead. The tone, r†, 'B' uses for this second tag asserts her desire of emphasizing what she says, and perhaps indicates irritation at not having received an answer. Using H termination in this second tag, 'B' urges decision on the part of the hearers who eventually laugh at her Q.

The first tag-Q, "Mice can swim, can't they?" comes under the category of mood Q because M termination indicates, in this context, an expectation of concurrence. The fact that 'B' does not receive an answer is due to the irrelevance of her Q. Both claims - that the first tag-Q is under the category Q, and that it does not receive an answer because it is irrelevant - can be justified by 'B''s insistence on asking the same thing again, and by the way the other participants ridicule her silly Q.

A sample of each function is now given and analyzed. Fragments of the extracts longer than those in the analysis are available in Appendix A. The pages and lines refer to Crystal and Davy's book.

Reinforcement of speaker's opinion

(Extract 4, pp 41,42; lines 53-63)

- A- These pigs varied because some of the pigs they y
you could sort of just walk through them, but other
pigs (B: hum) you couldn't go near because they'd
bite you and eat you (C: hum) and this sort of
thing -----
- C- They were horrible, filthy, snorting things,
weren't they? (↘) (M)
- A- Oh, they were -----
- B- They are revolting, aren't they? (↘) (M) although
a friend of ours who w was so passionately fond of
pigs that, he came (D:-----) he came from Norfolk,
you see, and he

'A' and 'C' are wife and husband. 'A' tells their
friends 'B' and 'D' (wife and husband) about her family's
summer holiday on a farm, and the things that they have seen
there. The two couples are talking about the pigs on the
farm and about pigs in general.

In this sample there are two examples of tag-Qs which
are used to reinforce the participants' opinions. 'C', a
man, and 'B', a woman, use a reversed polarity (Pos-Neg)
tag-Q with p tone and M termination to reinforce their
opinions about pigs. The tone p in both tags used by 'C'
and 'B' indicate their expectation of enlarging the area of
common ground already existing between them and the others.
M termination in this context may indicate the speakers' agree-
ment of opinions. The two couples actually bear grudges
against pigs, according to their opinions expressed in the
whole conversation.

Reinforcement of speaker's explanation

(Extract 1, p 20; lines 32-44)

B- they're not giving the entertainment they used to give. The erm conditions have if anything are not are f deteriorated and er (C: in what way) they're charging three times what they used to or four times what they used to.

C- In what way have conditions deteriorated, Gerry?

B- Well, the grounds are scruffier than they used to be, I mean, they never do these groundsup, do they? (v) (M) I mean, they're progressively getting worse.

C- You know, I thought they always had these wooden benches, and stands, and that

B- Yeah, but they've been getting worse, I mean,

'B' and 'C' are friends and are talking about football. 'B' speaks about the bad conditions of the football grounds in England, and uses a series of explanations. One of them is under the form of a reversed polarity tag-Q (Neg-Pos), which reinforces the reasons he gives for the deterioration of the football grounds in England. The speaker does not receive an answer to his tag, and goes on with his explanation. The tone used, p , is one to proclaim that the football grounds in England are never restored, which reinforces his explanation, and M termination indicates that the speaker expects hearer's agreement to his own opinion.

Comment

(Extract 2, p 28; lines 3-11)

Two women are talking about Bonfire Night, which is celebrated in England on the evening of November 5th. Both live in London, but were brought up in different parts of

the country. This is the first time they meet each other. 'A' has two small children, and is older than 'B'. 'A' says that she and her children are looking forward to Bonfire Night (it was then the end of October), and asks whether 'B' indulges in it. 'B' says that at the place where she and her family had lived before they did. And adds:

B- In fact I went to one last week ... but it was ...

A- ----- that was a bit early (laughs) wasn't it?(↑) (L)

B- All the all the joys were joy was taken out of it for me because it was a huge bonfire in a garden the size of this room, with big houses around, and the bonfire was right under a big tree with its leaves all dry (A: hum) and

'B' goes on explaining the real reasons for which the joy had been taken out of the Bonfire Night celebration she had been at. However, since 'A' hears "but it was" she seems to be sure that the Bonfire Night 'B' had gone to the week before had taken place at an inadequate time and laughs at this idea. Besides, 'B' has also hesitated after saying "but it was", so 'A' takes advantage of it and uses a reversed polarity tag-Q (Pos-Neg) which functions as a mock comment. The tone chosen, r†, serves to emphasize her remark, and L termination in this context may characterize speaker dominance.

Addition of some information

Two tag-Qs with such a function can be found in Extract 7, p 54 line 59, and in Extract 8, p 58 line 81. Both are reversed polarity tag-Qs (Pos-Neg), have the same grammatical construction, the same intonational pattern, and are

uttered by one and the same person who happens to be a woman. There are two couples in the conversation. 'A' and 'D' are wife and husband, as well as 'B' and 'C'. In the first example they are talking about crossing the English Channel and some problems involved in it.

D- mind you last summer there was a weekend when the queues were so bad that even people who'd booked couldn't get to the boats

B- and, yeah, it was something to do with the strike (↘) (H) though, wasn't it? (↗) (M)

D- Yeah, there was (A: yes) there was

It can be seen that 'B' adds some relevant information to the conversation through a reversed polarity tag-Q (Pos-Neg) whose stressed syllable in the St is 'strike', which is uttered in p tone. 'B' indicates, in this way, her expectation of enlarging the area of common ground. She uses H termination while uttering the word 'strike', which asks for decision. The tag has r+ tone, which emphasizes the common ground there may be among speaker and hearers, and M termination indicates an expectation of concurrence. Two out of the three hearers ('D' and 'A') really react accordingly, answering 'Yeah' and 'Yes' respectively. In this way this tag-Q realizes its function of adding some information in this context, and the hearers accept 'B's contribution.

In the second example (Extract 8) 'A' tells the others how she could manage to get rid of a lot of mice which had infested her house. At a crucial point of the story 'B' interrupts 'A' to add some information although irrelevant to that story, since those mice 'A' was talking about were dead:

B- Mice swim (↘) (H) though, don't they? (↗) (M)
Swim like mad (↘) (H)

A- Well, this one was dead, so it ('A', 'D' and 'C' laugh) wouldn't swim very far -----

B- I remember my brother trying to drown a mouse -----

A- I reckon they would, yes, I I I I reckon a mouse is capable of anything (B: -----) going to the moon, anything (B: yeah) so, anyway

D- I didn't realize you'd let those things loose in the garden

'B' 's information (although irrelevant) is added to the conversation through a reversed polarity tag-Q (Pos-Neg) whose stressed syllable in the St is 'swim', which is uttered with p tone, one that proclaims new information. H termination is chosen by 'B' while uttering 'swim', which invites decision. M termination in the tag expects concurrence and modifies the invitation for decision there is in the statement in H termination. The tag has r₊ tone, which in this case brings up the connotation of avoiding being interrupted since 'B' firmly wants to say what she thinks has to be said, and insists on it adding some information although irrelevant: "Swim like mad" (↘)(H). She knows they swim and uses p tone to proclaim it, and H termination to demand an answer from the hearers (see the whole fragment if needed in Appendix A). 'D' even goes back to 'A' 's story again, which is a sign that 'B' 's information does not fit in that story.

Asking for information

(Extract 10, p 65; lines 1 - 4)

The two participants in this conversation are men. They are friends. Both took an honor degree in English at

the same University and at the same time. 'A' teaches mainly literature at a Grammar School in England, and 'B' teaches EFL out of England. They have not seen each other for several years until this conversation takes place, and are now exchanging information about their lives and careers.

B- but er you're teaching erm at a Grammar School,
aren't you? (↘) (M)

A- Yes, yes

B- Well, what do you think about sex education?

Since they have not seen each other for a long time, 'B' wants to be sure whether his friend 'A' still teaches at a Grammar School. He chooses a reversed polarity tag-Q (Pos-Neg) whose function, in this context, is to ask for information. He uses p tone, which indicates his expectation of enlarging the area of common ground, and M termination to indicate his expectation of concurrence.

Asking for hearer's opinion

(Extract 11, p 73)

Two couples, close friends, take part in this conversation. They are comparing their different ways of passing Christmas Day. 'A' and 'B' are the women. They have read about the convenient idea of having the main meal of the day in the early evening instead of in the middle of the day as traditionally done. They talk about this with 'C'. But 'C' does not feel like changing his habits because he is interested in a TV program whose time coincides with the new time proposed for the main meal. Besides, in this

new schedule there would be no opportunity for some delicious food like Christmas cake and mince pies, and 'C' is not willing to go without one of the traditional dishes. So, 'A' says:

A- You could have Christmas cake for brunch,
couldn't you? (\) (M)

C- Oh, I don't know about that

B- Yes

C- Mince pies certainly

A- Cos, I mean, if they're addicts then they'll eat whenever it is.

B- Because you see they eat their breakfast and then they're stuffing all morning and you slave away at (A: yeah) you're rushing

'A' uses a reversed polarity tag-Q (Pos-Neg) to ask hearer's opinions. As 'B' answers positively both women could perhaps convince 'C' to accept the new sequence of meals on Christmas Day. For the women it would be more convenient, as it can be seen through the whole conversation in Appendix A. The tone, p, for the tag indicates 'A's' expectation of enlarging the area of common ground between the three: 'A', 'B', and 'C', and M termination calls for agreement of opinions.

The tag-Qs analyzed above represent a sample of a total of 25 tag-Qs identified in the extracts. All the tag-Qs are grouped in Table 1. It shows the number of the page and line in Crystal and Davy where the tag-Q appears.

It also shows which tag-Qs are realized by 'A' and which by 'B' in an A-B exchange (see 1- 2.3.), their pattern of polarity, tone, and function in the context. It was thought relevant to mention who uttered the tag-Q, whether a man or a woman. Thus, beside the column 'FUNCTION' there is the column under the title 'Sex of participant' in which an M means male, and an F female. Following this column there are two more columns which show which tag-Qs do not receive an answer and which do.

We can see in Table 1 that out of a total of 25 tag-Qs identified in the extracts, the most frequent pattern of polarity is Pos-Neg with 20 tag-Qs. Secondly comes the pattern Pos-Pos with 3 tag-Qs. The least frequent is the pattern Neg-Pos with 2 tag-Qs.

The first move of the A-B exchange realizes 15 tag-Qs, and the second move realizes 10.

The most frequent tone is p. There are 17 tags with this tone and 8 tags with r+ tone.

We can also see that the tag-Qs are uttered either by men or by women.

There are 7 tag-Qs which remain without an answer, and 18 which receive a verbal response.

Function will be dealt with later.

Table 1

TAG-Qs IN THE EXTRACTS								
NUMBER	PAGE and LINE	A-B EXCHANGE	POLARITY	TO NE	F U N C T I O N	sex of participant	WITHOUT ANSWER	WITH ANSWER
1	20:39	A	Neg-Pos	✓	reinforcement of S's explanation	M	x	
	21:28	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's explanation	M	x	
	22:83	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M		x
	23:119	B	Pos-Neg	✓	comment	M	x	x
2	28:5	B	Pos-Neg	✓	comment	F	x	
	29:44	A	Neg-Pos	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	F	x	
	29:54	A	Pos-Pos	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	F		x
3	36:99	A	Pos-Pos	✓	asking for information	M		x
4	40:8	B	Pos-Pos	✓	asking for information	F		x
	41:29	B	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M		x
	42:58	B	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M		x
	42:60	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	F	x	
	42:69	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	F		x
7	54:59	B	Pos-Neg	✓	addition of some information	F		x
8	58:73	B	Pos-Neg	✓	asking for information	F	x	
	58:81	B	Pos-Neg	✓	addition of some information	F		x
10	65:1	A	Pos-Neg	✓	asking for information	M		x
	65:6	A	Pos-Neg	✓	asking for H's opinion	M		x
	66:27	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M		x
11	72:12	B	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M	x	
	73:32	A	Pos-Neg	✓	asking for H's opinion	F		x
12	76:33	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	F		x
13	78:15	B	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M		x
	78:30	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's opinion	M		x
15	83:26	A	Pos-Neg	✓	reinforcement of S's explanation	F		x

In Table 2, below, the tag-Qs either with or without an answer are grouped according to the category of mood they belong to and also according to their function in the context.

We can see that the most frequent function is to reinforce what the speaker thinks: reinforcement of speaker's opinion, and reinforcement of speaker's explanation, and such a function may be related to the category of mood St. There are 15 tag-Qs with such a function out of a total of 25.

There are 2 tag-Qs whose function is to comment, and

it may be related to the category of mood St as well.

There are also 2 tag-Qs whose function is to add some information, and these still fit the category St.

Finally there are 6 tag-Qs whose function is to ask either for information or for the hearer's opinion. These 6 tag-Qs fit the category Q.

Thus we can see that there are 19 tag-Qs fulfilling the category St, and 6 tag-Qs fulfilling the category Q.

Table 2
CATEGORY AND FUNCTION OF TAG-Qs IN THE EXTRACTS

CATEGORY	FUNCTION	WITHOUT	WITH	TOTALS
		ANSWER	ANSWER	
St	reinforcement of S's opinion	3	9	12
	reinforcement of S's explanation	1	2	3
	comment	2	-	2
	addition of some information	-	2	2
		6	13	19
Q	asking for information	1	3	4
	asking for H's opinion	-	2	2
		1	5	6

3- 3. NO TAG-Qs : WHY?

One might ask why four of the fifteen extracts do not contain tag-Qs. A tentative approach to try to find an answer might be to give a very brief outline of each extract so as to see whether they have a common characteristic.

In all those conversations in Table 3, which summarizes the context in the 15 extracts, we can see that

people who are telling somebody a story do not use tag-Qs. In Extract 12, the person who tells the others a folk story uses one tag-Q, but it should be noticed that it is not uttered while she is telling the story. She interrupts the story to make a remark on it, which serves at the same time as reinforcement of her opinion, and uses a tag-Q for that purpose:

" a fairy will come, and will give you,
well, two and a half p., BUT THAT
SOUNDS A BIT CRUDE FOR A FAIRY,
DOESN'T IT?"

(line 33)

In extracts 5, 6, 9, and 14, the only ones which do not contain tag-Qs, the hearers only pay attention to the story without interrupting the speaker. *

Thus it seems that when a person tells a story and the hearer(s) cooperate(s) by paying attention to it, he normally does not use tag-Qs. We can perhaps conclude that this may be the reason WHY four of the fifteen extracts do not contain tag-Qs.

Table 3

EXTRACTS

NUMBER OF EXTRACT	QUANTITY OF TAG - Qs	O U T L I N E O F T H E C O N T E X T	
1	4	Three men.	Expressing opinions.
2	3	Two women.	Expressing opinions.
3	1	Two men.	Expressing opinions.
4	5	Two couples.	Expressing opinions.
5	-	<u>NO TAG-Q</u>	Two men. One tells a story. The other one pays attention.
6	-	<u>NO TAG-Q</u>	Two women. Recollection. One describes the place she lives in, and her feelings towards it. The other one pays attention.
7	1	Two couples.	They tell their own experiences. Choosing solutions. One of the hearers adds some information.
8	2	Two couples.	One of the women tells a story. The other woman asks for and adds some information.
9	-	<u>NO TAG-Q</u>	Two couples. One of the women tells a story. The other participants pay attention.
10	3	Two men.	Exchanging information. Expressing opinions.
11	2	Two couples.	Expressing opinions.
12	1	Two couples.	One of the women tells a story and interrupts the story to make a remark. The other participants pay attention.
13	2	Three men.	Expressing opinions.
14	-	<u>NO TAG-Q</u>	Two women. Recollection. Talking about feelings towards countryside life. One speaks. The other listens.
15	1	Two women.	Expressing opinions.

3- 4. RESULTS AND COMPARISON

Some characteristics of tag-Qs have been pointed out in the literature on the subject in sections 1- 2.1 and 1- 2.3. Recapitulating they are:

1) declarative plus tag with reversed polarity is the commonest pattern of tag-Qs in English (Quirk et al., 1972; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1977);

2) the first part, i.e., the St, contains the view, the assumption of the speaker (Bolinger, 1957:18; Huddleston, 1970:218; Lakoff, 1972:923; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1977; Brazil, 1984:36);

3) the second part, i.e., the tag, emphasizes the request expressed in the statement (Huddleston, 1970:218, 219);

4) tag-Qs are midway between a statement and a yes-no Q (Lakoff, 1975:15);

5) tag-Qs are related to politeness (Bolinger, 1957: 18; Lakoff, 1975: 14, 17, 18);

6) the St represents the speaker's point of view only when it occurs in reversed polarity tag-Qs (Cattell, 1973:620);

7) the St does not represent the speaker's points of view when it occurs in constant polarity tag-Qs (Cattell, 1973:620);

8) the syntactic rule of tag formation is more often used by women than by men in conversational situations (Lakoff, 1975:18);

9) the tag construction may realize either the first or the second move in an A-B exchange (Brazil, 1984:35).

A comparison of these characteristics with the results of the research can now be made.

The results of the research confirm characteristic 1 (the commonest tag-Q in English: declarative plus tag with reversed polarity). Actually the majority of the tag - Qs studied have reversed polarity. Only 3 out of a total of 25 tag-Qs have constant polarity. Other kinds of tag-Qs discussed in section 1-2.5. have not been found in the fifteen extracts.

As regards characteristic 2 (the St contains the assumption of the speaker), we may say that all the statements, regardless of polarity, contain the view of the speaker. As a sample, the constant polarity tag-Q (Pos-Pos), which appears in Extract 3 line 109, can be given here:

A- ----- and how the whole thing blows up, rather like, have you you've read Scoop, ... have you? (A)(M)

B- No

A- Evelyn Waugh, because it's (B- No) just like

In this fragment, 'A' and 'B' are friends, men, but they have not seen each other for several years. Both are teachers and are now talking about news reporting. At a certain point, 'A' remembers a book he has read, which focuses on the difference between reality and what is reported and which serves to illustrate what he has been saying. 'A' assumes that 'B' has read that book, but politely submits his assumption to his friend's opinion: "You've read Scoop, ... have you?". The tone, r†, emphasizes his assertion in the statement.

The findings in the research can be equated with the theory as regards characteristic 3 (the tag emphasizes the request expressed in the St). Nevertheless, there is something to be added. In the following sample in Extract 7, lines 58-61, one of the hearers adds some information by means of a reversed polarity tag-Q:

- a) "it was something to do with the strike
though, wasn't it?" (↑)

According to the answer:

- b) "yeah, there was there was there was some
some trouble as well, yes, that's right" ,

we can see that the tag in (a) not only has the force of emphasizing what has been stated, but also reactivates the hearer's prior knowledge.

Another sample can be taken from Extract 4, lines 68-73, where two couples are talking about pigs. One of the women remembers a peculiar friend of hers and her husband's and says:

"he went out looking for the pigs and would
lean over and talk to them fondly,
wouldn't he?" (↘) .

Her husband immediately reacts by saying "yeah", and although his wife goes on expressing her own opinion about pigs : "these dirty, shuffling monsters in acres of mud", he continues thinking of that peculiar friend of theirs, and completes what he had started with by saying: "Yes, he was really affected by pigs". It may perhaps be concluded that besides emphasizing what is expressed in the statement, the 'tag' may reactivate the hearer's prior knowledge.

As regards characteristic 4 (tag-Qs are midway a St and a yes-no Q), we have seen in section 3-2. that the tag-Qs in the extracts were divided into two categories of mood - St and Q - according to their function in the context. In this way, I believe that theory has been confirmed.

Characteristic 5 (tag-Qs are related to politeness) may be illustrated by the following example taken from Extract 1, lines 76-82 and line 39:

C- I suppose it's alright easy to talk, but if you've got so many thousand quid's worth of stand there you're not going to sort of knock it all down and build it from scratch. You just patch it up, don't you? (v)(M)

B- Yeah.

These two men, friends, 'C' and 'B', plus 'A' who is only listening, have been talking about the differences between the football grounds in England and the ones on the continent. In a previous stage of the conversation (which has been given as an example of the function 'reinforcement of speaker's explanation' in section 3-2.) 'B' tells 'C' and 'A' that conditions have deteriorated in those grounds and that those grounds are never done up. However, 'C' seems to have a different slant on the matter. He thinks it is fair enough to "patch up" those ancient grounds, as it actually has been done, since there is much money involved, and politely asks:

"You just patch it up, don't you?"

Eventually 'B' agrees with 'C', in spite of having said before:

"I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they?"

Nevertheless, it can be seen that through a tag-Q 'C' does not impose his view, and leaves a decision open, which is an implicit sign of courtesy.

The ideas expressed in characteristics 6 and 7 (the St contains the views of the speaker only in reversed polarity tag-Qs) were not confirmed by our findings, as already mentioned while discussing characteristic 2.

Characteristic 8 (tag formation is more often used by women) was not confirmed by the research either. There is a perfect balance in the use of tag-Qs in the extracts. It should be borne in mind however that there may be differences in the use of tag-Qs according to sex between British English and American English. All the speakers in the extracts speak British English.

Finally, the assertion expressed in characteristic 9 (tag construction may realize either the first or the second move in an A-B exchange) was entirely confirmed. As can be seen in Table 1 and in the fragments of the extracts in Appendix A, 15 tag-Qs realize the first move of the A-B exchange, and 10 the second one.

4- CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF PORTUGUESE TAG-QS

4- 1. INTRODUCTION

The corpus for the contextual analysis of Portuguese tag-Qs consists of three parts. The first part contains eight fragments of natural conversation and two dialogs from a TV play; the second part has eight interviews, and the third part is taken from propaganda used on TV and also on radio programs. Some of the eight fragments of natural conversation were recorded while the speakers were not aware, nevertheless they gave permission for the use of the data. The interviews are of different kinds. Interviews numbers 1, 4, 5, and 6 were recorded from TV, and have the characteristics of informal conversation. That is to say, there is no pre-established subject. Thus, the interview-conversation flows naturally, although the interviewed (always a famous person) knows that s/he is expected to speak about her/his life and career. Interview number 2 contains the opinion of a participant in a group of guests invited by the presenter of a TV program. The guests know in advance what subject is going to be discussed by the group. However, the development of the discussion cannot be foreseen. In interview number 3 the reporter is on a ship and asks an engineer what his job on the ship is. The reporter interviews a number of people to illustrate the activities of various professions. The last two interviews, numbers 7 and 8, are conducted by a group of students who are performing a school task in a town in Minas Gerais (MG).

The questions, previously written by the group, are read by one of the students. The two interviewed persons, therefore, are only acquainted with the questions at the moment they are interviewed. I was sent the tape by one of the students.

Tables 4 and 5 show a summary of the tags identified in the first two parts of the corpus, classified according to their grammatical form, kind of tag, position in the utterance, polarity, tone, and function. They also specify whether the tags received an answer or not, and who realizes the exchange. Table 6 groups the various kinds of tags according to their function in the context.

Intonation was recognized and determined in this study by listening to the tape many times. Neither 'tone' nor 'termination' was determined by means of any mechanic process.

The whole corpus is available in Appendix B.

The tag-Qs in the first two parts of the corpus will be discussed in the next section. The third part (propaganda) is used in this study mostly to illustrate conduciveness in tag-Qs.

4- 2. IDENTIFICATION, CLASSIFICATION, AND FUNCTION OF TAG-QS IN CONTEXT

Five different kinds of tags can be identified in the corpus:

a) a V not modeled on the VP of the St (NMVS), e.g., "É forçar demais de tudo quanto é lado, entendeu?" (Interview 4);

b) a V not modeled on the VP of the St, and whose form is reduced (Red NMVS), e.g., "O meu primeiro livro saiu tem cinquenta e três anos, né?" (Interview 5); "Preservar a natureza é não mexer nela, tá?" (Interview 7);

c) a V modeled on the VP of the St (MVS), e.g.,
 "Cada um de nós tem que almoçar e jantar, não tem?" (Interview 7);

d) the negative particle 'não' (Neg P), e.g.,
 Esse ofício de escritor, por mais que você aprenda, você
 aprende, não?" (Interview 5);

e) the intonational word 'hem' (Intonat), e.g.,
 "O Z. nunca fumou não, não é? (hearers fail to answer),
 hem?" (Natural Conversation Fragment 5).

After identifying 110 tag-Qs in the first two
 parts of the corpus, eight functions, which are performed
 by the tags in the context, were found:

1. Activation of hearer's imagination
2. Reinforcement of speaker's explanation
3. Reinforcement of speaker's opinion
4. Asking for information
5. Reactivation of hearer's prior knowledge
6. Acquiescing
7. Imposition of speaker's opinion
8. Imposition of authority.

A sample of each function is now given and ana-
 lyzed. The functions are described as they appear in the
 data.

Reinforcement of speaker's explanation

Acquiescing

Imposition of authority

(Interview 8)

Part of the fragment in interview 8 may be used to
 exemplify these three functions. In this interview a group
 of students in a town in MG are interviewing a man who is
 a forestry engineer. They had written some questions about

problems concerning ecology. To make things easier, the forestry engineer asks the students for the list of questions and reads them. He begins by explaining why man has been considered the most damaging agent causing the destruction of nature, and in the end he says:

- (a) "Então o maior destruidor da natureza é o próprio homem. Isso aí é inevitável, né? (↗) (M) O homem é que vem causando toda todo todo o estrago da natureza na na ... na face da terra... Então, ninguém mais do que o homem, né? (↗) (M) pode proteger ou destruir a a natureza ..."

After saying that, the interviewed makes a pause and reads the next question. After reading the question he agrees to answer it by saying:

- (b) "Então, vocês gostariam também de saber quais as técnicas, né? (↗) (M) que estão sendo utilizadas na tentativa da preservação da natureza".

From then on he speaks as if he were the 'Instituto Estadual de Florestas (IEF) itself. He says that they (the institution where he works at) are the only ones who have official authority in that town to control the use of land. In a certain way he imposes his authority and importance:

- (c) "porque nós somos o único órgão de MG que recebeu delegação do IBDF, e nós temos autoridade para liberar ou não uma determinada área, ... tá certo? (↗) (H) E isso tem uma limitação. É essa limitação que é provocada pela lei, ... tá certo? (↗) (H) A lei fala que toda propriedade, né? ... eh pode ser desmatada até em 80% dela. Então se a

área tem 100 hectares, né? ... pode ser desmatada até 80 hectares e 20% dessa área tem que ----- . Mas isso é muito pouco, ... tá certo? (↗) (H) ... Ainda é pouco".

In passages (a) and (b), the tag 'né?' is found in two different contexts.

In passage (a) the forestry engineer finishes all his explanations (see Appendix B) with the tag 'né?'. He plays a dominant role since he explains to the students why man, as an intelligent human being, is the only one responsible for either protecting or destroying nature. But as many basic points in the subject must certainly be known to the students, he uses r₊ tone in all the tags, which invokes this common ground, and uses M termination, which indicates his expectation of concurrence. Thus we may conclude that the tag 'né?', in this context, has been used as reinforcement of speaker's explanation.

In passage (b) we see the transition from the answer to one question to the answer to the next question. The forestry engineer agrees to answer the question he reads. The tag 'né?' is placed immediately after the word 'técnicas', which indicates that he is acquainted with the students' wish to know about the techniques used to preserve nature. He uses r₊ tone, which emphasizes which topic he has to talk about. Acquiescing is here made clear, and he uses M termination, which signals agreement. Therefore it may be said that the tag 'né?', in this context, signals the speaker's acquiescence in answering one more question.

In passage (c) the forestry engineer speaks on behalf of the official organ where he works. He uses first

person plural pronoun to state 'nós somos' (we are), or 'nós temos autoridade' (we have authority). Further on, we see that he makes it clear that such authority is granted to the official organ by law. After each statement he makes a pause and uses the reduced tag 'tá certo?'. To make things clearer he reminds the group of students of what has already been explained (in a part of the interview not included in the fragment). It is mentioned again that 20% of all the properties must remain intact, and while saying so he uses the tag 'né?', which reinforces his explanation. To complete his thought he, again as a representative of the IEF, states that it is hardly enough. After this affirmation, he makes a pause and uses the tag 'tá certo?' once more. The tone is r+ in all tags 'tá certo?', which emphasizes what is being explained. These tags are said with H termination, which in this context reinforces speaker's authority with the students. Out of the context H termination could invite the hearers for decision, adjudication, but it is clear that in this context the speaker is an authority and does not wait for any answer. Therefore, it may perhaps be said that the tag 'tá certo?', in this context, functions as an imposition of authority.

Activation of hearer's imagination

Reinforcement of speaker's opinion

(Interview 6)

A sample of these two functions can be taken from interview 6:

- (a) B- É um contacto , ... sabe?(o) (M)... físico, bom, gostoso, uma compreensão eh ... de cabeça e de corpo, sabe? (r) (M) E o engraçado, eu acho hoje em dia muito mais gostoso do que há vinte anos atrás ...
- A- Você tá muito bem mesmo. O olho brilha!
('B' ri) ----- ... Que é que você acha do Brasil? Você acha que vai melhorar mesmo? Temos entrando aí na Nova República ...
- (b) B- Pois é, esperanças a gente tem, né? (r) (M) E eu acho que todos nós, né? (r) (M) com essa Nova República e com Tancredo, evidentemente que temos a grande esperança de melhora.

Before analyzing these two passages, (a) and (b), it would be advisable to see the whole fragment of this interview in Appendix B. By doing so we notice that the interviewed, a famous actress, does not use any tag construction while speaking about a character she has been playing on TV, But when asked to talk about her married life and about her country, the interviewed begins to use tags, as we can see in the two passages selected for this analysis.

In passage (a) the first tag 'sabe?' has medial position and is uttered in o tone, which signals that what she says will be followed by another stretch of language : "físico, bom, gostoso, uma compreensão ...". The second tag 'sabe?' has final position and is uttered in r+ tone, which in this context may be considered a means to invoke common ground. Actually both, interviewer and interviewed, are women and married. So there is tacit understanding that there has to be common ground between them in this matter. M termination in these tags indicates expectation of concurrence. Both are constant polarity (Pos-Pos) tag-Qs. It can be said that these two tags in this context function as an activation

of hearer's imagination. It seems to be clear in this context that the use of the tag 'sabe?' implies that there is something more to be said, but for some reason it is not said. Nevertheless, this 'something more' can be supplied by the hearer's imagination. In passage (b) the interviewer changes the topic of the conversation and asks about the prospects of the New Republic in Brazil. The reduced tag 'né?' is then used twice to reinforce the speaker's opinion. She utters these two tags in r+ tone, which emphasizes what she thinks and invokes common ground. M termination signals that she expects agreement on the part of her interviewer. Both are reversed polarity (Pos-Neg) tag-Qs.

Asking for Information

A sample of this function can be found in Natural Conversation Fragment 5:

- C- O Z. nunca fumou não (L), não é? (↗) (L)
 B- O Z., que é que estás ----- aí?
 C- hem? (↗) (M) ... fumaste, Z.? (↗) (M)
 F- Não.

The participants of this conversation are members of a family: a couple, their two daughters and their two sons-in-law. They are talking about smoking and its inconveniences. One of the sons-in-law however is not participating in the conversation although present in the room. So, his mother-in-law, 'C', says to the hearers that this son-in-law has never smoked. Immediately after this she looks at him ('F') and asks 'não é?'. As he fails to answer, 'C'

adds to this tag the intonational word 'hem?'. As he still fails to answer, she ('C') uses a tag modeled on the statement and adds her son-in-law's name. Only then she receives an answer. The speaker who utters the tags really asks for information, since she insists on receiving an answer, and uses three tags in one and the same statement: "O Z. nunca fumou não, não é? hem? fumaste Z.?". It is interesting to point out that the statement is addressed to a different person. (This example refers us to section 1- 2.5. where different kinds of tags are discussed.) The tone used is r+ in all the three tags, which in this context emphasizes what has been said. L termination in the statement and in the first tag ('nãõ é?') is a sign of speaker dominance. The other two tags, however, have M termination, which indicates expectation of concurrence, and modifies the communicative value of closing the pitch-sequence in the assertion in L termination. As regards polarity, the first tag-Q is constant polarity (Neg-Neg), the second is intonational, and the third is reversed polarity (Neg-Pos).

Reactivation of hearer's prior knowledge

Natural Conversation Fragment 6 gives us a sample of this function. A daughter ('A') asks her mother ('B'):

- A- Mãe, aquele presente que eu te falei, nãõ tem?(↗)(M)
 (B: ham, ham) Aquele presente da ... Ada, tu nãõ
 queres levar lá pra trocar?

In this fragment, the regional tag 'nãõ tem?' (it

appears in Table 4 as 'não tem? Reg.')

helps reactivate hearer's prior knowledge about a gift the speaker has received and wants to change. When the daughter says "aquele presente" (that gift) it is clear that she has already discussed this matter with her mother before. The tag helps the reference, already made by 'aquele', reactivate mother's prior knowledge. M termination in the tag indicates an expectation of agreement, and r+ tone indicates that the speaker invokes common ground.

Imposition of speaker's opinion

We can find a sample of this function in Dialog 1. A man ('A') explains to his fiancée ('C') why he has been working overtime:

- C- Vê lá se você vai se prejudicar, hem Piscina?
 A- ----- pelo menos tô ganhando algum dinheiro, né? Depois tem o seguinte, todo mundo faz hora extra nesse país, né? Único jeito da gente ganhar algum trocado a mais, né? E olha aí, é só por uns meses (M),... tá?(↗) (H) Depois, quando o dono do bombom Vida Minha pagar a bolada que me deve
 C- Ele te deve?

The imperative 'olha aí' signals imposition of speaker's opinion that is realized through the constant polarity (Pos-Pos) tag-Q "é só por uns meses, ... tá?". With the reduced tag 'tá?' the speaker urges his hearer to accept what in his opinion is the only way to earn a little more money. In this way the speaker imposes on his fiancée his decision of working overtime. He uses H termination in

the tag, and M termination in the statement. The communicative value is that his fiancée is urged to decide in favor of him. The tone, r†, asserts his dominance and emphasizes what he says.

The tag-Qs analyzed above represent a sample of a total of 110 tag-Qs identified in the first two parts of the corpus. All the 110 tags are grouped in Tables 4 and 5 according to the different parts of the corpus so as to facilitate reference. Table 4 below shows the 28 tags in the Natural Conversation Fragments, and the 13 tags in the Dialogs. Table 5 shows the 69 tags in the Interviews. Both Tables show which tags are realized by 'A' and which ones by 'B' in an A-B exchange (see 1- 2.3.), the grammatical form of the tag, the tag itself, the kind of tag it is (whether Red-NMVS, NMVS, or MVS already specified in section 4-2.), the position of the tag in the utterance, plus polarity, tone, and function of the tag in the context. Finally, the last two columns show which tags do not receive an answer and which ones do. It is thought unnecessary to mention the sex of the participants since it can be easily observed that Brazilian people, regardless of their sex, frequently use tag constructions in their spoken language.

Table 4

TAG-QS IN THE NATURAL CONVERSATION FRAGMENTS										
NUMBER	A-B EXCHANGE	GRAMMATICAL FORM	THE TAG	KIND OF TAG	POSITION	POLARITY	TOPE	FUNCTION	WITHOUT ANSWER	WITH ANSWER
1	A	V	entende?	NMVS	m	Pos-Pos	↗	activation of H's imagination	x	
2	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	↘	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	↗	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's opinion		x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	↗	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation		x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
3	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation		x
4	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	↗	activation of H's imagination	x	
5	B	Neg P+V	não é?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	↘	asking for information	x	
	B	intonat.	hem?	intonat.	f	-	↗	asking for information		x
	B	V + N	fumaste?	M V S	f	Neg-Pos	↗	asking for information		x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
6	A	Neg P+V	não tem? Reg.	NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reactivation of H's prior knowledge	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
7	A	Neg P+V	não tem? Reg.	NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's opinion		x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's opinion		x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's opinion		x
	A	Neg P+V	não tem? Reg.	NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reactivation of H's prior knowledge	x	
8	A	Neg P+V	não tem? Reg.	NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	não tem? Reg.	NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation		x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation		x
TAG-QS IN THE DIALOGS										
1	A	V	vlu?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	↗	imposition of S's opinion	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	↗	imposition of S's opinion	x	
	B	Neg P+V+N	né C?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
2	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	↘	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation		x
	A	V	entendeu?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	↗	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↘	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	↗	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	↗	activation of S's imagination	x	

Table 5

NUMBER	A-B EXCHANGE	GRAMMATICAL FORM	TAG-QS IN THE INTERVIEWS				FUNCTION	WITHOUT ANSWER	WITH ANSWER
			THE TAG	KIND OF TAG	POSITION	POLARITY			
1	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation		
	B	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	x
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	m	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	x
	A	V	sabe, sabe?	NMVS	m	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	x
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	x
	B	Neg P+V Neg P+V+N	né? né C.?	Red-NMVS Red-NMVS	m f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation reinforcement of S's opinion	x	x
2	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V+N	né H.?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Neg-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
3	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
4	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	m	Neg-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	entendeu?	NMVS	m	Neg-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	giving acquiescence	x	
	A	V	entendeu?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	m	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	B	Neg P+V Neg P+V	né? né?	Red-NMVS Red-NMVS	f f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion giving acquiescence	x x	
5	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	asking for information	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	asking for information	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	giving acquiescence	x	
	B	Neg P	não?	Neg P	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	não é?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	x
	A	V	compreende?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	Neg P+V	não é?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
6	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	m	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	m	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	V	sabe?	NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	activation of H's imagination	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
7	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Neg-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V(+Adj)	tá?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	A	Neg P+V	não tem?	M V S	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
8	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's opinion	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	B	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	giving acquiescence	x	
	A	V + Adj	tá certo?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	V + Adj	tá certo?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
	A	Neg P+V	né?	Red-NMVS	m	Pos-Neg	reinforcement of S's explanation	x	
A	V + Adj	tá certo?	Red-NMVS	f	Pos-Pos	imposition of authority	x		

4- 3. RESULTS

We can see in Tables 4 and 5 that the first move of the A-B exchange realizes 92 tags, and the second move realizes 18 tags.

As regards the grammatical form (see section 1- 3.2.) of the tags, these are the figures:

Neg P + V	67
V	25
V (+ Adj)	9
V + Adj	3
Neg P + V + N	3
V + N	1
Neg P	1
Intonat 'hem?'	1

The most frequent tag is 'né?' (61 times), followed by 'sabe?' (18 times), and 'tá?' (9 times). Such a feature can be better observed later in Table 6.

As regards 'kind of tag', these are the findings:

Red-NMVS	77	} 107
NMVS	30	
MVS	2	
'hem?'	1	

Concerning position, the tag 'né?' appears 42 times in (f) position, and 19 times in (m). The tag 'sabe?' appears 12 times in (f) position, 6 times in (m) position, and there is no example of initial position in the corpus. The tag 'entendeu?' has (f) position twice, and (m) position only

once. The tag 'entende?' appears only once in the corpus and in (m) position. The other tags appear in (f) position only.

In relation to polarity these are the results:

né?	Pos-Neg	53
	Neg-Neg	8
sabe?	Neg-Pos	7
	Pos-Pos	12
tá?	Neg-Pos	2
	Pos-Pos	7
não tem? Reg.	Pos-Neg	4
	Neg-Neg	1
tá certo?	Pos-Pos	3
entendeu?	Neg-Pos	1
	Pos-Pos	2
não é?	Pos-Neg	2
	Neg-Neg	1
M V S	Pos-Neg	1
	Neg-Pos	1
viu?	Neg-Pos	1
compreende?	Pos-Pos	1
entende?	Pos-Pos	1
não?	Pos-Neg	1
'hem?'	-	1

The most frequent tones are for 'né?' :
 r† - 44 times, o (level) - 17 times; for 'sabe?' :
 r† - 12 times, o (level) - 7 times. The tags 'tá?' ,
 'tá certo?', and all the other tags appear with r† tone.

We can also see that 92 tags do not receive a verbal answer while 18 tags do.

All the tags are now grouped in Table 6 below according to their function in the context. In this way we can easily see which is the most frequent tag in the corpus, and which is the most frequent function of each tag.

The most frequent tag in the corpus is 'né?' and its most frequent function is to reinforce what the speaker thinks (55 times), i.e., 'reinforcement of S's explanation'- 41 times, and 'reinforcement of S's opinion'- 14 times. On the other hand, all the tags 'sabe?' in the corpus, totaling 19, have the function of activating H's imagination. The tags 'tá?' and 'tá certo?', totaling 12, are found in the corpus with the function of imposing S's opinion / authority. The frequency of occurrence of the less frequent tags is also shown in Table 6.

Table 6

F U N C T I O N	T H E T A G S											T O T A L S		
	né?	sabe?	tá?	não tem? Reg.	tá certo?	entendeu?	não é?	M V S	viu?	compreende?	entende?		não?	hem?
activation of H's imagination	-	19	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	23
reinforcement of S's explanation	41	-	-	3	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
reinforcement of S's opinion	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	16
asking for information	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	5
reactivation of H's prior knowledge	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
acquiescencing	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
imposition of S's opinion	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
imposition of authority	-	-	8	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
T O T A L S	61	19	9	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	

5- CONCLUSIONS

Some conclusions can now be presented.

- 1) Besides the characteristics of 'tags' already referred to in the literature (see section 1-2.1. and 1-2.3.) one more characteristic might be added, which is to reactivate the hearer's prior knowledge. The discussion on 'characteristic 3' in section 3-4. could be considered a support for this claim.

- 2) Although the formal aspect of tags in English may be highly varied (see section 1- 2.5.), the only kind of tag identified in the corpus in English is the one modeled on the verb phrase of the statement, e.g.,
 - a) Pos-Neg: "They can swim, can't they?"
 - b) Neg-Pos: "But it's not quite like having logs, is it?"
 - c) Pos-Pos: "You've read Scoop, have you? "

(examples from the 'questionnaire'-
see section 2-2.)

On the other hand, although the kind of tag modeled on the verb phrase of the statement is quite possible in Portuguese, the most usual kind of tag in the Portuguese corpus (108 out of a total of 110) is not modeled on the verb phrase of the statement and is frequently reduced, e.g.,

- a) "Pelo menos tou ganhando algum dinheiro, né?"
(Dialog 1)
- b) "Quem tá cansada sou eu, sabe?"
(Dialog 2)
- c) "Mas isso é muito pouco, tá certo?"
(Interview 8)

We may therefore conclude that the commonest kinds of tags in English and in Portuguese differ fundamentally in their formation.

- 3) The reduced Portuguese tag 'né?' (não é verdade > não é > né), which is the most frequent tag in the corpus, is found performing four different functions in the context (see Table 6), but the two most frequent ones are:

- reinforcement of speaker's explanation
- reinforcement of speaker's opinion.

These two functions are found to be the most frequent ones for the tags in the corpus in English too, in inverse order (see Table 2).

Thus, we may conclude that, although different in their formation, 'tags' are mostly used in the spoken language, either in English or in Portuguese, to reinforce speaker's opinion / explanation.

- 4) The reduced Portuguese tags 'tá certo?' / 'tá?' are usually chosen by dominant speakers. As a support for this claim we can see in Table 6 that in the examples in the corpus those tags always function as imposition of speaker's authority / opinion.

It may also be concluded that attached to imperatives (see example (14)) the tag 'tá?' is a marker of a dominant speaker.

- 5) Contextual Analysis is essential for inferring the function of linguistic features and their role in communication. The analysis of passage (c) on pages 69,70 may be given as a support for this claim. Mention must also be made to the results of the questionnaire in section 2-2., which confirm the value of Contextual Analysis.
- 6) A knowledge of the commonest uses of tags in English and in Portuguese need not be solely a rewarding exercise of the intellect for native speakers either of English or Portuguese. This study can also be of practical value in teaching / learning English / Portuguese as a foreign language, for I believe that, within the limits of the dissertation, the functions which the tags may have in different situations have been identified.
- 7) The most frequent tone for the tags in the corpus in English is p (17 times), r† coming second (8 times). On the other hand, p does not appear in the Portuguese tags whose most frequent tone is r† (86 times), o (level) coming second (24 times).

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A P P E N D I X A

CORPUS FOR THE CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS
IN ENGLISH

This corpus consists of fragments from the extracts in Crystal and Davy (1975) which contain tag-Qs.

Fragments from Extract 1

Three men, A, B, and C, are friends and are talking about football, at the home of A. B has been talking about the probable reason - lack of money - for the failure of football in England.

Fragment I - p.20

B- they're not giving the entertainment they used to give the erm conditions have if anything are not are if deteriorated and er (C: in what way?) they're charging f three times what they used to.

C- In what way have conditions deteriorated, Gerry?

B- Well, the grounds are scruffier than they used to be. I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they? (✓)(M) I mean, they're progressively getting worse

C- You know, I thought they always had these wooden benches and stands and that

B- Yeah, but they've been getting worse

Fragment II - pp 21,22

C- I think he said there was only one modern ground in England really that could claim to be modern, was it

Man City? ...

B- Coventry may be.

C- or was theirs taken as one of the oldest - but you know, it said - all ours are really ancient except erm about one or two compared with these continentals, cos they're all built, pu ... they're purpose built for modern conditions and ours aren't, and every time a disaster like this happens, or somebody gets killed in a ... or trampled in a crush, a stand breaks. This erm ... this highlights it, and they sort of patch it up, and it's botched, you know, thi ... because I suppose it's alright easy to talk, but if you've got so many thousand quid's worth of stand there you're not going to sort of knock it all down and build it from scratch. You just patch it up, don't you? (↘)(M) (B: yeah) Of course the continentals, I suppose, they came in late, and they build them

B- properly

C- You know, this Milan ground. There's a famous one there, isn't there? (↗)(M) (B: erm) you know, they were saying how superb they were, but the one in Spain was the best!

B- Of course.

C- I thought it was in Madrid. Was it Real Madrid? They were fan... (B: They're all erm -----) oh they were fantastic it showed the photographs of them. People sitting there in the hot sun, you know, smoking cigars and out and it showed the crowds emptying (B: hum) they had a practice erm exit (B: Yeah)

Fragment III - p. 23

B- Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that

room as the room, mightn't they? (v)(M) Really

C- Oh, there were kids sitting on that great hoarding

B- about as wide as that, and about thirty thousand have to go out through there (C: cor) you know, I mean, er (A: hum) oh, it's terrible!

C- Ooh, the sea of bodies in front of you, moving, and people started to push behind you, it got quite frightening cos you couldn't have been absolutely helpless!

Fragments from Extract 2

Two women, A and B, are talking about Bonfire Night, an English traditional celebration. Both are living in London, but they have been brought up in the country. The two had never met each other before this conversation. A has two small children and is older than B.

Fragment I - p. 28

A- We're looking forward to Bonfire Night. At least the children are. Do you indulge in this?

B- Oh, in in Sussex we did. I've in fact I went to one last week, but it was

A- ----- that was a bit early, wasn't it? (r)(L) (laughs)

B- all the all the joys were joy was taken out of it for me because it was a huge bonfire in a garden the size of this room with big houses all around, and the bonfire was right under a big tree with its leaves all dry (A:hum) and I was so worried the the flames were going up to the lower branches of the tree, and I was so worried about everything catching fire

Fragment II - p. 29

A- Well, I suppose if we went into the park we might collect a few sticks, but it's not quite like having logs, is it?

(\)(M) But I don't know where one would get this from here. I er if we were m at home back in the midlands we would know if, you know, where we could go, and get all these things from, but

B- Yes, yes, hum hum in Sussex in my village, they spent the whole of of October building up the bonfire (A: hum) yes, they probably did it in yours

A- They had a village one, did they? (↗)(M)

B- Yes

A- Yes

B- Yes

A- Yeah

B- All the local people helped with it, put all their old armchairs and things on it (A: hum) used to be about twenty feet high (A: hum)

Fragment from Extract 3

p.36

Two men, A and B, who graduated at the same time and from the same University, had not met each other for some years. Both are teachers of English. They met each other again at a friend's house, and began to talk about the "tremendous and frightening" power of printed news, according to the qualification given by one of the men.

A- Well, I I it annoys me no end reading newspapers really does. I get so irritated with almost everything.

If you start to read them reasonably seriously you start to see all the the flaws in what they're saying, and if you've had an experience or you've been on the spot and seen the difference between the reality and what's reported (B: hum) you can imagine what it is.

B- Yes, well, there you are, you see, that's it.

A- ----- and how the whole thing blows up rather like, have ... you you've read Scoop, have you? (↗)(M)

B- No.

A- Evelyn Waugh, because it's (B: no) just like that er it's very clever. Actually it's one of Evelyn Waugh's best, I think because

Fragments from Extract 4

Two women, A and B, are talking when their respective husbands, C and D, enter the room. A goes on telling her friends about her family's summer holiday on a farm where her young children got particularly impressed with the pigs. The two couples bear grudges against pigs.

Fragment I - p. 40

A- Oh, and one pig died because it ate too much.

B- Oh, really?

A- Oh, it was revolting, oh, they were terrible the pigs

(C: Oh!) they made a dreadful row in the morning when it was feeding time and one pig it was erm a young pig about that size, you know, m middling and erm it was dead and it was lying there. I'd never seen a dead pig before, absolutely stiff

B- Di the children saw it, did they? (↗)(H)

A- Oh, they were engrossed, you know,

C- Oh, yes, ----- it was marvelous!

A- erm, they thought this was wonderful and erm they -----
they asked why it was dead

Fragment II - p. 41

C- (laughs) But didn't one pig eat another pig?

A- Yes (B: -----) that was before we were there er oh
no, yes, one of the mothers ...

C- Yes, that's really crude, isn't it? (v)(M)

A- Yes, it had piglets

D- They'll eat anything -----

A- and it ate all the litter up

Fragment III - pp 41, 42

A- These pigs varied because some of the pigs they y you
could sort of just walk through them, but other pigs
(B: hum) and this sort of thing -----

C- They were horrible, filthy, snorting things, weren't they?
(v)(M)

A- Oh, they were -----

B- They are revolting, aren't they? (v)(M) although a friend
of ours, who w was so passionately fond of pigs that he
came (D: -----) he came from Norfolk, you see, and he
came to the er Midlands er to teach and he, I think
he was very sad for the the lost fields of Norfolk or
something (A: hum) because whenever we were out he
would stop the car if ever he saw or smelt sign of a pig.
The car stopped, it didn't matter where it was and he
went out looking for the pigs and would lean over and

talk to them fondly, wouldn't he? (N)(M) (D: Yeah)

these dirty, shuffling monsters in acres of mud

D- Yes, he was really affected by pigs

B- Yes, he was. I could never come to terms with this -----

C- Sounds a bit strange

Fragment from Extract 7

p. 54

B and C are husband and wife. They have invited their friends A and D, also husband and wife, for an informal supper at their house. As they are talking, they compare some holiday experiences, and point out some problems involved in choosing the means of crossing the English Channel.

C- Well, I'll tell you the sort of thing (A: hum) I've heard, I mean, ev every summer er you you see stories of tremendous queues at the

D- But they're people who haven't booked

A- Yeah, and people (B: hum)

D- Mind you, last summer there was a weekend when i th the queues were so bad that even people who'd booked couldn't get to the boats

B- and, yeah, it was something to do with the strike though, wasn't it? (N)(M)

D- Yeah, there was (A: Yes) there was there was some some trouble as well, yes, that's right!

A- But certainly

D- But we've never had any trouble

A- in the past

Fragment from Extract 8

pp 58,59

Two couples, A-C and B-D, close friends, are talking. A tells the others that once her children had brought home some mice as pets. She also tells them how she managed to get rid of those mice.

A- in the end we devised a very good trap which was a toilet toilet roll the the roll in the middle of it an empty toilet roll (coughs) and blocked up one side with tissues, and they as soon as they saw this they'd go into it (B: hum) and then if you had found someone brave enough to slap their hand on the other end (C: hum) you could empty it into this bucket (C: hum) so then I put all that lot out in the garden however

B- They can swim, can't they? (v)(M) Mice.

D- You put them out in the garden

A- Yeah, well, what else was I going to do with them?

D- I thought you flushed them down the lavatory.

A- Well, only the dead ones, and that took so long (C: Ugh)
I wasn't going to do the live ones

C- down the lavatory

B- Mice swim though, don't they? (A)(M) Swim like mad.

A- Well, this one was dead, so, it (A, D, and C laugh)
wouldn't swim very far -----

B- I remember my brother trying to drown a mouse -----

A- I reckon they would, yes, I reckon a mouse is capable of anything (B: -----) going to the moon, anything (B:yeah) so anyway

D- I didn't realize you'd let those things loose in the garden

Fragment from Extract 10

pp 65,66

Two men exchange information about their careers since leaving University, and discuss difficulties as regards teaching teenage children, specifically 'sex education'. The film referred to was about this matter and had been made for use in schools, which had aroused controversy at that time.

B- But er you're teaching erm at a Grammar School,
aren't you? (↘)(M)

A- Yes, yes.

B- Well, what do you think about sex education? Do you think that er i it er I mean, there's been a a a great hoocha about it (A: hum) recently, hasn't there? (↘)(M) and er about a film that was made and so on (A:hum) well, what are your views on it?

A- I find that ... with so many of these problems, marriage, sex education, as soon as you try and make it a sort of formal lesson ... the whole thing falls flat ... (B:hum) you know, if you used to have a ... period we used to have one called 'discussion groups' and you were landed with ... m twelve, sixteen boys in a room and there you were you were supposed to discuss could be anything ... but it was so difficult, it was so artificial (B:hum) whereas teaching something like English, of course, a lot of these subjects come up fairly naturally and you can discuss them in the context of the class when they arise and usually then it becomes much more satisfactory ... and you get lots of questions

B- I I I quite agree with that (A: Yes) I mean, it's a it's a wide sort of open ended subject , English (A:Yes)

isn't it? (↘)(M)

A- Yes

B- But the trouble is it does depend on the teacher because there are some teachers (A: oh, entirely) who just won't, I mean, as far (A:hum) as they're concerned

Fragment from Extract 11

pp 72,73

The participants, two couples, are comparing their different ways of passing Christmas Day. One of the women tells the others about what she has read: that the main meal of Christmas Day would be more convenient to organize if it were timed to take place in the early evening and not, as traditionally, in the middle of the day.

B- Did you read it in the Sunday Times?

C- What?

B- on Sunday about this new er the idea of having Christmas Day that you sort of get up in the morning and have your cereals and whatnot (C:hum) and then about eleven thirty (C: Christmas cereals) (A: hum) oh, of course you have a brunch ... you know

A- Nice savoury things you know, bits of nice bacon, and all that

B- sausages -----

C- Well, you're doing that anyway, aren't you? (↘)(M) You're sort of supping all morning (laughs)

B- and you have a a proper brunch

A- and then you put your turkey in

B- then you put your stuff on and you eat ... li in the evening (C: about six or something you know) six o'clock

- or something and you eat -----
- C- in the middle of Billy Smart's circus -----
- B- Well, that's it er well of course I did think of that -----
- A- But than, I mean, isn't it a relief to have an excuse for getting a way from the television (B: yeah) cos one tends to have
- C- and n n no tea ... (A: -----) wait a minute, I'm just catching up on this conversation, no Christmas tea!
- A- I can see you have problems
- B- but you see, nobody ever eats their Christmas tree tea
- C- True, very true.
- A- You could have Christmas cake for brunch, couldn't you?
(\)(M)
- C- Oh, I don't know about that
- B- Yes
- C- Mince pies certainly.
- A- cos I mean, if they're addicts then they'll eat it whenever it is

Fragment from Extract 12

p. 76

A woman, A, makes reference to a traditional story, which is usually told to children in England when a tooth falls out.

- A- What I like doing is is erm with the Pakistani children and the Indian children, the infants, when their tooth falls out in school and they cry and if they've got enough English I explain to them that in England (coughs) you put it under the pillow (B:oh, yes, yeah) and a fairy

will come (C: hum) and will give you, well, ----- two
and a half P, but that sounds a bit crude for a fairy,
(B: yeah, it does) doesn't it? (↗)(L)

B- Oh, no, our fairies have to pay five!

A- Yeah, five pence, and it's so funny you see and I say,
now you must explain properly to your mummy and daddy what
this custom is in England you see

Fragment from Extract 13

p. 78

Three men, friends, are discussing about sex films.

B- I mean, cinema have b for a long time has been in trouble,
I mean, that's why well, you got all these sex films. It
was a kind of a desperate attempt to

C- sh it's a sure sign of failure, isn't it? (↘)(M)

B- Yeah

C- Once they resort to that really -----

B- they're they're trying to get them -----

A- What once you resort to sex you mean (all laugh)

C- Well, it's some people resort to beer (laughs) no but
you know what I mean i it to me it's always been a confession
of failure (B and C: yeah)

C- You know, tha the i it's cheap is'n it's a cheap way of
... I er

B- It's trying to get the crowds in

C- it's a confession ... er yeah, to me it's a confession
of a lack of a story, isn't it? (↘)(M) a lack of er
(B: yeah) you know, any depth really I've always thought

this with with these things (A: hum) I mean, I'm not
you know

Fragment from Extract 15

pp 83,84

Two young women, A and B, are sharing ideas about the education of young children. As the school attended by A's daughter is proposing to adopt the 'Family Grouping Method' (children with different ages in the same class), and as B is a primary school teacher, A asks her opinion on the method.

B- most of us haven't got small groups

A- with forty kids, yes.

B- and it puts a terrible strain on the teacher so that, you know, you can't get anybody (A:hum) to the required standard because you just have got so many groups, do you understand what I mean?

A- Yes, I do, yes.

B- If you've got a whole class at the same age you will have (A:yes) by nature you will have in it at least (A:hum) three groups, (A: hum) may be more. Now, if you've got three different age groups (A: yes, three age groups, yes) you've got at least nine different groups, (A: yes) haven't you?
(\)(M)

A- Yes

B- You know, even though some of them might work up with a (A: yeah) a higher group you've still got a lot

A P P E N D I X B

CORPUS FOR THE CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS
IN PORTUGUESE

This corpus consists of three parts:

First Part

- 1) Eight Natural Conversation Fragments
- 2) Two Dialogs from TV plays

Second Part

Eight Interviews

Third Part

TV Propaganda

First Part

- 1) Eight Natural Conversation Fragments

Fragment 1

Five persons take part in this conversation. A tells his father (B) some news he has heard from a couple who have just arrived from a trip to Russia. D who is A's wife, plus C and E respectively D's father and mother also take part trying to help A. They are all talking at the home of C and E. Only E was born in RN. The others were born in Florianópolis.

A- O o que esse esse casal contou é que ... eh ... o russo tem dinheiro, mas não tem no que gastar, porque eles não têm muita opção. Não que são proibidos de fazer determinadas coisas, por exemplo, viajar pra onde quiserem, segundo a versão deles. Eles não tolhem.

B- É, e isso é, isso é verdade. Inclusive eu acho os os veraneios também deles é é , não ..., é ...

A- É tudo através (B: controlado) de sindicato. Ele só consegue vaga se o sindicato indica.

B- Mas agora, agora parece que já abriram alguma coisa com relação a a coisas usadas no Ocidente, com relação a modas, por exemplo, feminina. Parece que já está havendo ...

A- É. Até ela contou uma passagem interessante, que eh ... foi um casal junto com eles que tinha um amigo lá. Esse amigo veio visitá-los e teve algumas dificuldades pra ... viajar e tal mas chegou. E eles levaram presentes pro (C: é) pro casal. Segundo eles disseram, o casal olhou os presentes, se comoveu muito, diz que a mulher chorava, com camisola, com casaco, uma capa,

C- e essa capa ela ela usou e saiu vestida (D, C, e A: -----)

A- Ah, é, a capa foi a única coisa

D- Ela não tinha ...

C- Estava chovendo

D- ela não tinha ido de 'coisa'

A- foi a única coisa, mas levaram assim, ... entende?(↗)(M) capa, camisola, não sei quê, ela não aceitou, a mulher não aceitou porque não ia poder usar ...

D- Não, porque não podia carregar, não podia levar

A- Não,(C: pois é, tinha que dar explicações) podia, podia pôr por dentro, uma camisola, por exemplo, ou sei lá!

D- Ah, mas isso, uma camisola dá de usar ...

E- Não, não é o usar. Eu entendi ... (D: camisola, calcinha e soutien usa-se à vontade) eu entendi exatamente sair do hotel com aquelas coisas

Fragment 2

Two women, A and B, take part in this conversation. They are friends and A is much younger than B. They are talking at the home of B where A is staying as a guest. A is homesick and talks about her two sons. A was born in MG and B in Florianópolis.

A- ... com tempo bom, tempo ruim ele ... não deixa de ir de jeito nenhum, sabe? (o)(M) Ele começou ele vai, sabe? (↗)(M) Ele ...

B- Quer dizer que eles estão fazendo diariamente a nataçãõ.

A- Nataçãõ diariamente.

B- Bom, pro Marcelo é essencial,

A- Pro Marcelo é. Essencial.

B- devido à saúde dele.

A- Agora, o tênis pra ele ainda tá uma coisa assim, ... ele tá indo, gostando, mas não é uma atividade assim que ele tá fazendo regular, né? (o)(M) É uma atividade que ele tá ainda meio ...

B- É, tu não sabes se ele vai gostar ou não, né? (↗)(L)

A- Tem gostado.

B- E como é que ele tem jogado? Com que raquete?

A- Ah, sim, com a raquete dos primos (ri) (B: Ah) então todo mundo joga, i isso é a a influência dos dos amigos também, né? (o)(M) Ele pega a raquete emprestada dos primos e ele tá jogando com a raquete. E lá no clube mesmo eles emprestam a raquete, tem ... (B: ah, sei) sabe? (↗)(M) Deixa a carteirinha lá e e e ... (B: usa a r) usa a raquete, quer dizer, ... (B: não é a mesma coisa) não é a mesma coisa, é, não é a mesma coisa ...

B- Mas (A:mas) é bom pra, pelo menos pra saber se ele gosta, (A: gosta, é) ou se vai ficar nisso ...

- A- Agora, ele não ele não é um um não tá assim exigindo muito, não sabe? (↗)(M) Então a gente fica assim até preocupada, a gente, poxa ... Quanto tempo faz, né? (↗)(L) A gente fica ... poderia juntar as duas coisas, Natal e aniversário (B: é, isso é verdade) né? (↗)(M) porque qualquer coisa que você for comprar pra ele ... de Natal e de aniversário, eu acho que vai ficar por aí também, né?(↗)(M)
 Não sei, por aí quanto? (ri) Qualquer 'por aí', né?(↗)(M)
- B- É ... é, depende também do que tu queiras

Fragment 3

A and C are husband and wife. They are at home talking to their daughters B and E who do not live with them, plus their son-in-law D (married to B). B's hobby is photography, and her father (A) uses slides in his professional activity very frequently. They talk about the high prices of slides. A was born in RN, C, B, and E were born in Florianópolis, and D was born in RJ.

- A- Oh D., eu tou com um problema muito sério, é o dos preços de material fotográfico, 'slides'.
- B- Tá assim horrível, né? (↗)(M)
- A- No ano passado, em outubro, estavam cobrando 8 mil cruzeiros cada um.
- B- O que? Pra que?
- A- Slide
- B- Cada?
- C- Cada slide,----- cada diapositivo.
- B- Como é?
- A- Oito mil cruzeiros cada um.
- C- Oito mil cruzeiros! Eu acho que é um preço absurdo!

B- Por que? Por que isso?

A- Porque é. Que é que eu vou fazer?

B- Não! Mas tu compras um rolo de eslaide

A- Mas eu não bato

D- Mas ele não bate. Ele compra pronto.

A- Ah, pra mandar reproduzir de livro, esse tipo de coisa
(E: é é) ou montar, né? (o)(M) pra ... (E: é) Oito mil!
tá muito caro!

Fragment 4

Continuation of conversation in Fragment 3. In this piece, although present, C does not take part in it. A feels it necessary for his daughter to stop smoking for the sake of her health. He uses a popular saying which is the equivalent to 'to kill two birds with one stone': If you stop smoking 'you'll kill two birds with one stone'. The two 'birds' would be 'health' and 'money'.

A- Mas o importante não é saber o que o A. bebe nem o que o A. fuma. (dirige-se para B) O importante é sa ... é saber se você deixa de fumar.

D- (dirigindo-se para E) Não é assim beber um copo ...

E- Sei, ----- tem que tá (A: Eu não sei,) (D: -----)

A- eu faria um esforço, sabe? (o)(M) Eu acho que você mata ... de uma cajadada matava dois coelhos (olhando para B) um um um de saúde e um de economia.

E- Tu pensas o que é que ... tudo o que tu podias fazer com trezentos mil cruzeiros por mês? ...

B- Fumar deliciosamente ..., encostada na cama à noite, de manhã ... (D ri)

E- Esse lençol meu ali que eu estou usando agora tem dois furros ...

Fragment 5

Continuation of conversation in fragments 3 and 4. They are still talking about smoking. In this fragment C tries to get his other son-in-law (F) into the conversation. Although present in the room, F is reading.

B- Ah, e quando a gente está de noite na cama, que já fechou a janela, tá com o ar condicionado e ... aí começa a me dar insônia, e eu quero fumar mais um cigarrinho e ... fumar (C: aí não dá) dá, ué!

C- Isso é horrível.

E- Coitado do A.

C- Isso é horrível

B- É e

A- É ... autoritarismo. Porque você obriga as a outra pessoa a

D- Não! Mas ela sai.

B- Não, A., às vezes tu me deixas fumar (ri)

D- Não, é assim uma vez em mil. 'Não, deixa unzinho só, unzinho só'

B- (rindo) aí ele abre a porta e diz 'tá, unzinho' ... eh ...

C- O Z. nunca fumou não, não é? (↗)(L)

B- Oh, Z., que é que estás----- aí?

C- Hem? ... fumaste Z.?

F- Não

B- Agora, o diabo da história do cigarro é é porque que a pessoa fuma (C: por que?) né? (↗)(M) Porque eu comecei a fumar porque achava bonito ...

Fragment 6

A, B, and C are daughter, mother and father respectively. They are talking about little things of life while waiting for dinner time at the home of B and C. A does not live with her parents.

A- Mãe, aquele presente que eu te falei, não tem? (↗)(M)

(B: hã, hã) Aquele presente da ... Ada, tu não queres levar lá pra trocar?

C- (dirigindo-se a B) O, L.

B- (ainda falando com A) Aonde é mesmo?

A- É lá na Korrigan.

B- Ah, na Korrigan. Muito boa, a malha, né? (o)(M)

A- -----

C- O L. querida, tu escutaste a ópera?

B- Já ...

C- Ela é bonita?

B- É, muito bonita.

C- Porque senão troca.

Fragment 7

A and B are friends, and both were born in Florianópolis. A is much younger than B. A has just returned from a trip to Europe, and B, who is planning a trip to Europe too, goes to the home of A to get some news.

A- Mas não é, não é bom mesmo um casal só viajar (B: é), porque em turma, assim, ...

B- Vocês viajaram em três casais, (A: três casais) e ... e pra alugar carro, vocês alugaram?

- A- Sempre dois. (B: ah, sei) Um atrás e outro na frente, não tem? (↗)(M) Porque ... e dá pra dividir certinho porque vai três num taxi (B: Ah, é) e três em outro. (B: han, han) Eu acho que eu (B: sim) ... não sei, eu acho que seria assim o melhor número, né? (o)(M)
- (B: é) porque qua eh dois casais (B: sei) né? (↗)(M) já fica um espaço sobrando no taxi, né? (↗)(M) (B: isso é verdade) Aí são dois e dois (B: é) então três é a conta assim exata (B: é a conta certa é) não tem? (↗)(M)
- Três num carro e três em outro.
- B- E vocês alugaram um carro também ou só taxi?
- A- Só taxi. (B: só taxi)

Fragment 8

Continuation of conversation in Fragment 7.

- A- Mas o metrô, o metrô de Paris é muito organizado. É fácil a gente ir (B: han, han) assim se localizar, não tem? (↗)(M) É bem fácil, (B: han, han) agora, o ... o de Roma não foi assim muito fácil não. Meio que foi ... de Londres, de Londres ...
- B- de Londres
- A- de Londres (B: e como) Não sei, porque tava em reforma assim a gente teve uma, a gente não teve assim uma boa impressão, não tem? (↗)(M) (B: sei) Ficou assim um ... tanto eh que a gente só foi uma vez, depois a gente não ... a gen ninguém utilizou mais. Aí (B: han han) a gente andou muito pelo ... pelo ... um ônibus cultural, né? (↗)(M) (B: Ah!) que passa pela cidade, então a gente conheceu Londres todo através desse desse ônibus

2) Two Dialogs

Dialog 1

A and C are characters in a TV play. They play the role of a civil construction worker and a housemaid respectively. They are engaged and meet outdoors by chance while A is talking to his friend B. They talk about their plans for the near future. The actors and actress were born in RJ.

A- Ele até deu uma força pra mim, porque eu mostrei uma letra dum samba pra ele, aí ele ... ele pediu desculpa e disse que tinha um erro de português (risos). Mas dessa vez eu vou pras cabeça. Não vai ter pra mais ninguém naquela ala de compositor não, viu? (↗)(H) Não é não, Salvinho?

B- É isso aí.

A- (canta o samba) O, Creusa!

C- Oi!

A- Oi, tudo bom?

C- Tudo bem.

B- Piscina, té logo.

A- Alô, até amanhã Salvinho.

C- Tchau

B- Té logo

C- Fez hora-extra de novo?

A- Pois é, esse engenheiro tá com uma pressa, né? (↗)(M) ele tá querendo ... acho que ele tá querendo entregar a obra antes do prazo.

C- Vê lá se você vai se prejudicar, hem Piscina?

A- Pelo menos tô ganhando algum dinheiro, né? (↗)(H) Depois tem o seguinte, todo mundo faz hora-extra nesse país, né? (o)(M) Único jeito da gente ganhar algum algum troca-

do a mais, né? (o)(M) (ri) E olha aí, é só por uns meses (M) ... tá? (↗)(H) Depois... quando o o dono do bombom 'Vida Minha' pagar a bolada que me deve,

C- Ele te deve?

A- (pigarreia) Foi meu irmão que morreu, né Creusa? (↗)(M)

Aí eu compro um apartamento lá em Campinho ... (risos)

Será que tu vai gostar de morar lá em Campinho? ... Hem?

C- Se for com você ...

Dialog 2

The characters A and B play the role of daughter and mother in a rich family in a TV play. They are at home in the late evening and are drinking some coffee served by the servant C. A talks about her sweetheart, a young athlete without any sponsor. A was born in RJ and B in SP.

A- ... é orgulhoso, ele não fala assim, ... sabe? (↗)(H)

Mas às vezes ele ele se abre, então ele conta, né?(o)(M) e fica se lamentando.

B- Pois é, mas então o que é que a gente pode fazer por ele? Hem?

A- Ah, ele tinha que ... arrumar um patrocinador (B: patrocinador?) é, uma firma que contrata um atleta, paga pra esse cara estudar e treinar, entendeu? (↗)(H) Em troca esse atleta faz propaganda dessa firma.

B- Ah ... Escuta, e é muito difícil a gente arranjar um patrocinador?

A- Dificílimo,

B- É?

A- é é o sonho de todo atleta.

B- Pode ir Gil.

C- Licença

A- O cara tem que ter conhecimento, tem que ser famoso, né? (o)(M) Ele tá só começando, coitado!

B- Tadinho, que é que a gente pode fazer, né?

A- Mas também não vai ficar conversando essas conversas não. Você não tem nada que ver com isso.

B- Ah, imagina, problema seu problema meu também, né? (↗)(M)

A- Quem tá cansada sou eu, sabe? (o)(M)

B- Vai dormir. Boa noite, Deus te abençoe.

Second Part

Eight Interviews

1.

A is a well known TV interviewer. She was born in RJ. B, the interviewed, is a famous singer of Brazilian popular music, and was also born in RJ. The interview has characteristics of an informal conversation, and it takes place at the TV studio. They talk about some of the singer's peculiarities. The singer is a man.

A- (dirigindo-se aos telespectadores) porque o C. tem uma fama maravilhosa. Ele tem a fama de ... (dirigindo-se ao cantor) que você canta em botequim, em casas noturnas, (B: exato) em casas de shows, (B: é) de repente o C. pega o microfone pra dar uma casca, e ... canta ----- músicas, né? (↗)(M) (B: é, é) Dá um show.

B- É é é e não gosto que anunciem não, sabe? (↗)(M) Eu vou assim, sabe? (o)(M) (A: -----) é como se fosse assim

o 'Antônio das Couves', sabe? sabe? (↗)(M) sem nome, sem aparecer, escondido da luz, e tal ...

A- É pelo prazer mesmo.

B- Pelo prazer mesmo. Daqui a pouco a gente não consegue, né? (↗)(M) (A fala ao mesmo tempo que B -----) porque daqui a pouco identificam a voz, e alguma música que a gente canta, né? (↗)(M) Aí começa, C., C., canta isso, canta 'Conceição'. Aí acaba ...

A- Também dá um prazer, né C.? (B: é é) Também dá um prazer, (B: dá, dá, dá) claro!

B- Claro! Aplauso nunca é demais (risos)

2.

A is a well known presenter of a TV program. Once a week she invites some important people to discuss a certain subject in front not only of the cameras but also of an audience. In this fragment the participants are talking about 'sex education'. B is an expert in the subject and was born in SP. She gives her opinion on it to the other participants of the program, to the presenter, to the audience who applaud in the end.

B- A gente explica também pras crianças partes do nosso corpo que são públicas, isso na nossa sociedade, e partes do nosso corpo que são privadas, né? (↗)(H) E daí a gente vai pruma outra, né? (↗)(H) situação que são as caríncias que são públicas porque, né? (↗)(M) elas podem ser feitas em qualquer lugar. Isso também tá mudando, né H.? (↗)(M) Hoje em dia as pessoas se abraçam, se beijam, se acariciam em público, né? (↗)(H) E tem um tipo de caríncia que é privada, né? (↗)(H) (A: Hum m) Quer dizer, é

uma carícia que você faz quando você tá sozinho, né?(↑)(M)
 Agora, isso não se aplica à Arte, ao teatro, né? (↑)(H)
 ao belo, aos quadros, às esculturas, ao erótico, quer
 dizer, erótico é tudo aquilo que tá ligado a Éros, ao
 deus do amor, e isso nunca deveria ser ... suprimido, su-
 focado numa cultura, né? (↑)(M) porque uma das expres-
 sões mais lindas, né? (↑)(M) do belo está naquilo que tá
 vinculado ao amor.

3.

A series of interviews especially made for a TV program, which gives explanations on various professions, is carried out by a journalist who interviews professionals from different areas. The one in this fragment (B) is an engineer in the Brazilian merchant marine. The journalist has just asked him about his work on the ship. The interview takes place on the ship where the interviewed works.

B- Bom, a minha função é de ... vamos se dizer, carregar o navio, tá? (↑)(H) É de ... conduzir, tá? (↑)(H) Conduzir o navio. É como se fosse um motorista de carro, tá? (↑)(H) O motorista tem que conduzir o carro, tá? (↑)(H) Ele tem que procurar sempre tá atento às coisas que ele faz, pra poder sair tudo numa boa. Então a minha função aqui dentro é , de, levar o navio, não deixar que o navio páre, porque se acontecer algum problema aqui ... eh ... automaticamente nós teremos problema na navegação.

4.

The interviewer A (the same as in interview 1) interviews a woman who is a famous singer of popular music and was born in Bahia. The interview takes place at the TV studio, and has characteristics of an informal conversation. The singer complains about the bad working conditions.

B- quando ... eu acho assim que, pra mim, não sei se é o melhor pra todo mundo, mas para mim, quando eu tiver um repertório, sentir ... alguma coisa me motiva fazer um disco, com uma idéia, ou com um repertório lindíssimo, com canções ... novas ou antigas, o que me vier de bom, aí eu tenho um disco pronto (pigarreia) perdão (pigarreia) então que eu vá e procure ... uma gravadora, ou ... uma distribuidora, ou o que for, jamais um contrato, sabe? (↗)(M) de 3 anos, 4 anos, quantos, porque eu não tenho condição, eu não me sinto capaz, não tenho ... saúde, talento, nada, pra, entendeu? (o)(M) pra conseguir realizar por ano um LP bom, que eu fique satisfeita comi ... sabe? (↗)(M) Não tenho condição. Acho que os compositores também são sobrecarregados, e os compositores do Brasil são todos solicitados por todos os cantores ... eles também têm que fazer por ano um disco inédito, quer dizer (ri) é muito, é muita coisa.

A- É forçar demais a criação ----- , né? (o)(L)

B- É forçar demais de tudo quanto é lado ... entendeu? (↗)(M)
E o próprio ouvido ... Eu acho que é legal, um ano grava ... o C., outro ano ... o C., depois o E., ... sabe?(↗)(M)
Sei lá, ou ... por um acaso num ano dez estão com dez discos lindos, aí, é ótimo, felizmente. Mas não tem obrigação e ... um ano ----- ... tá legal, o disco tá bom, sabe? (↗)(M) sem nenhum ... 'Ai meu disco'. Tem que

ter o prazer do trabalho, né? (↗)(M)

A- É, não pode ser só trabalhar, né? (↗)(M) (B: Não!) Senão não tem sentido.

B- Não, não, ... não, cantar não é isso.

5.

A is the same interviewer as in interviews 1 and 4, and she follows the same technique. This time she interviews a great Brazilian author who was born in Bahia. The author's wife, C, is present at this interview but does not take active part in this fragment. The author is asked about the long time it took him to write his latest novel. The interview takes place at the TV studio.

A- Quer dizer, é uma loucura escrever um livro, né? (o)(L)

B- Bem, pra mim não é loucura. Foi assi ... foi ----- atrapalhado (A, B, C: -----) porque

A- Ficar driblando todo mundo, né? (o) (M)

B- É, porque fui muito ... interrompido, né? (↗)(M)

A- Quer dizer, você levou mais tempo, três anos pra escrever o, o 'T.G.' porque ... você ficou nessa ... nesses 'déu-em-déu' aí tentando um lugar ... de sossego, ou porque hoje, nesse momento, aos 72 anos você tá escrevendo ... mais demorada ..., mais calmamente -----

B- É muito mais difícil a eh ... você ... esse ofício de escritor, por mais que você aprenda, você aprende, não?(↗)(M)

Você aprende seu ofício. O meu primeiro livro saiu tem 53 anos, né? (↗) (H) Quer dizer, eu tenho 53 anos de livro publicado. Então você aprende, você acaba aprendendo o seu ofício, mas você nunca aprende completamente o seu ofício. E ademais é cada vez mais difícil. Por que? Porque cada vez ... você ... fica menos satisfeito, ...

né? (ʃ)(H) Quando eu tinha 20 anos, vinte e poucos anos, eu escrevia e achava ótimo tudo aquilo, eu achava que eu era um escritor formidável, ... não é? (ʃ)(M) Hoje não acho isso, né? (o)(L) (A: Não?) nem acho ... Não. Hoje me custa. Eu leio ... Naquele tempo eu passava até ... eu escrevia de noite. Hoje eu escrevo de dia cedo. De noite já não tenho capacidade pra isso. Tô burro, sabe? (o)(M) Agora, o (risos de C) o, o ... eu eu escrevia dez páginas por dia, compreende? (ʃ)(M) É, quer dizer, fazia um livro em três meses, não é? (ʃ)(M) dois meses, três meses, quatro meses, né? (ʃ)(H) Hoje eu levo ... alguns anos, dois, três anos, né? (ʃ)(M) pra fazer um livro, porque quando eu faço uma página, chega o fim do dia eu tenho uma página, eu fico muito satisfeito. Porque às vezes eu passo uma semana e no fim da semana eu escrevi três, quatro páginas, né? (o)(L) (respira fundo)

6.

A is the same interviewer as in interviews 1, 4, and 5, and B is a famous Brazilian actress (movies, theater, and TV) who was born in RS. As she and her husband have been married for a long time, their life has called the attention of other people who consider them an unusual example. The interview, as usual with this interviewer, has characteristics of an informal conversation, and takes place at the TV studio.

It would perhaps be interesting to notice that B does not use tag constructions while speaking about a character she has been playing on TV.

B- ... tô num momento muito feliz ... muito contente porque ... eh ... tô tendo consciência, e é tão raro você

ter isso na tua profissão ... de que você tá passando uma verdade. Isso já é muito importante pra mim ----- o gostoso é você poder mostrar essas mil facetas que o ser humano tem, que nós todos temos ... Então eu fico pensando. Meu Deus do céu, tem determinadas pessoas que se identificam com a 'T.' não pelo fato de terem realizado o que a T. realizou, mas por terem pensado em fazer. Só nisso já vêm a identificação.

A- Você pensa nisso quando você pega um papel assim de que você vai passar uma coisa pro telespectador?

B- Ah, é claro, claro!

A- Assim uma passagem de um lado pro outro?

B- Claro, claro, claro penso sim. Porque tenho uma responsabilidade muito grande meu Deus do céu. Eu tive um contacto agora na na na penitenciária de Bangu, eu tive contacto com as presidiárias todas lá ... eh ... você sabe que ... elas têm uma confiança em você muito grande. Então cada vez mais eu me imbúo dessa responsabilidade de você aparecer no vídeo com um personagem e mexer com a cabeça das pessoas ... É uma coisa muito séria ... Não é fácil não, L. ... Você tem uma responsabilidade muito grande.

(Segue-se outro trecho não desgravado)

A- Voltando ao casamento, envelhecer juntos que eu falei é no sentido de ... caminhar (B: é, é) juntos. (B: é) Eu acho bonito demais, só acho muito difícil (risos)

B- É, e você sabe de uma coisa? É engraçado ...

A- e o que você acha? Você tem, tá tendo essa experiência
(ri)

B- É, são vinte e um anos ... ma ... eh ... de muito amor, muita compreensão, graças a Deus. E de muito fascínio ... Existe um fascínio tão grande entre o nosso relacionamento, a gente não perdeu não, ... sabe? (o)(L) Uma coisa de de de pele, de ..., sabe? (↗)(M) de contacto mesmo, que eu não sei se acontece isso com todo mundo, sabe? (↗)(M) Não é só entendimento eh ... de toda uma vida, com todos os problemas, não. É um contacto, ... sabe? (o)(M) ... físico, bom, gostoso, uma compreensão (respira fundo) eh ... de cabeça e de corpo, sabe?(↗)(M) E o engraçado, eu acho hoje em dia muito mais gostoso do que há vinte anos atrás ...

A- Você tá muito bem mesmo. O olho brilha! (risos) -----
... Que é que você acha do Brasil? Você acha que vai melhorar mesmo? Temos entrando aí na Nova República ...

B- Pois é, esperanças a gente tem, né? (↗)(M) E eu acho que todos nós, né? (↗)(M) com essa Nova República e com Tancredo, evidentemente que temos a grande esperança de melhora.

7.

A is an adolescent in a group of students who are interviewing some professionals who work in an official re-forestation program in MG. In this fragment the interviewed is a technician in Agronomy who works at the Instituto Estadual de Florestas (IEF) in MG. The interview takes place at the office of the interviewed. He is from MG and talks about problems concerning the preservation of nature.

A- Em nossa cidade está havendo muita solicitação das técnicas empregadas na preservação da natureza?

B- Não, porque ... essas tais técnicas de preservações se precisava ver quais são as técnicas, quer dizer, preservar a natureza é não mexer nela, ... tá? (↗)(M) Então não é bem técnica, é não mexer nela, ... tá?(↗)(H) Se ... re fazer ela é bem dizer impossível, tá? (↗)(L) Podemos considerar que é impossível refazer a natureza como ela era. Agora, você, as técnicas empregadas, eu não posso te enumerar quais elas e poucos técnicos sabem o que fazer com isso aí, pelo menos aqui na nossa região ou no nosso país, tá? (↗)(L)

A- Que lucros você obtém trabalhando neste ramo além dos bens materiais?

B- Pergunta difícil de responder, né? (↗)(M) Você ... se vo cê for pensar ... em simples destruição da natureza, se você eh ... tirar uma mata natural e plantar café, criar boi, plantar arroz, plantar feijão, você tem um lucro, um lucro um lucro benéfico a toda natureza a todo homem vamos dizer assim, porque cada um de nós tem que almoçar e jantar, não tem? (↗)(M) Se alguém não plantar pra colher pra gente comer, hoje, se você abandonasse toda agricultura e voltasse a ter toda a natureza como ela era, sei lá, mil mil e poucos anos atrás, nós não íamos comer, ia morrer todo mundo de fome

8.

The same group of students as in 7 ask the same questions now to a forestry engineer who works at the IEF and is from MG too. In this fragment, the interviewed knows that the questions have been written beforehand. Thus he himself reads the questions so as to know what is to be answered. The interview takes place at the office of the

interviewed. The interviewed himself reads the question brought by the students:

B- O homem é o único destruidor da natureza? A resposta seria sim, né? (↗)(M) Por que? Porque o homem é ... é dotado de inteligência, né? (↗)(M) É dotado de de de meios, vamos dizer, cons conseguiu construir máquinas, tratores, né? (↗)(M) E quando um homem entra ou sobe em cima de um de um trator desses, né? (↗)(M) ele se julga com poder so até mesmo sobrenatural. A vontade que ele tem é destruir e ver o máximo de rendimento que aquela máquina pode dar. Então o maior destruidor da natureza é o próprio homem. Isso aí é inevitável, né? (↗)(M) O homem é que vem causando toda todo o estrago da natureza na na ... na face da terra ... Então, ninguém mais do que o homem, né? (↗)(M) pode proteger ou destruir a a natureza ...

The interviewed reads the next question (written by the students) so as to know what he is expected to clarify and respond, and says:

Então vocês gostariam também de saber quais as técnicas, né? (↗)(M) que estão sendo utilizadas na tentativa da preservação da natureza. Então nós do Instituto Estadual de Florestas, que é um órgão praticamente ligado à área de conservação da natureza, o que a gente pensa é o seguinte: através desse controle de desmatamento, porque nós somos o o único órgão de Minas Gerais que recebeu delegação do IBDF, e nós temos autoridade para liberar ou não uma determinada área, ... tá certo? (↗)(H) E isso

tem uma limitação. É essa limitação que é provocada pela Lei, ... tá certo? (↑)(H) A Lei fala que toda propriedade, né? (o)(M) eh pode ser desmatada até em 80% dela. Então se a área tem 100 hectares, né? (o)(M) pode ser desmatada até 80 hectares e 20% dessa área tem que ----- . Mas isso é muito pouco, ... tá certo? (↑)(H) ... Ainda é pouco.

A- -----

B- É, exatamente ... e muitos deles ...

Third Part

Propaganda (trechos)

- 1)está mais confortável, mais bonito, mais gostoso. Você consegue entender o porquê dessa mudança? (pausa) Hem? (música) Shopping! Shopping! Shopping!...
- 2)vai me dar de Natal, hem Papai Noel? Han, você vai sentir o maior orgulho da sua Mamãe Noel ... Ah! Dá aque la roupa, dá?
- 3)lá no Shopping! Não acha que eu mereço? Afinal, quem é que faz a comidinha gostosa que deixa o Papai Noel tão gordinho assim, Hem?

- 4) um presente ótimo pra você me dar. É um relógio que eu vi lá no Shopping. Se você não me der, depois não reclama se eu chegar tarde em casa, (pausa) falou ?
- 5) quando você compra o Cenoura e Bronze você ganha um óculos igual a esse (mostra), e quando você usa o Cenoura e Bronze você ganha uma cor maravilhosa! Igual a essa (exibe a sua própria cor). Agora, se você não quer ter nem um óculos igual a esse (mostra), nem uma cor igual a essa (exibe-se), é porque você gosta mesmo é de chuva, tá? Muita chuva! (ri)
- 6) Agora, você sabe quanto ele custa mais que seu principal concorrente? (Mostra uma caneta) Menos que isso. E você não vai deixar de ter um Santana por isso, vai? (propaganda apresentada por uma mulher)
- 7)..... quanto o Santana custa mais do que o seu principal concorrente? (Mostra uma caneta) Menos que isso. E você não vai deixar de ter um Santana por isso, vai? (propaganda apresentada por um homem)

A P P E N D I X C

This appendix contains:

a) the questionnaire and the list of tag-Qs, out of their context, which were sent to 6 native speakers of English;

b) the answers sent by 3 of them;

c) the 'MODEL', i.e., the same list of tag-Qs but answered by me in the light of Contextual Analysis.

QUESTIONNAIRE

- ①- Considering an A-B exchange (that can be understood as a conversation between two participants), which exchange realizes this Q-tag?

 1 A

 2 B

- ②- Considering Q-tags midway between a statement (St) and a yes-no question (Q), in which category would you place this Q-tag?

 1 St

 2 Q

- ③- Which of the following functions do you think this Q-tag may have?

- 1 reinforcement of self opinion
- 2 reinforcement of self explanation
- 3 comment
- 4 addition of some information
- 5 asking for information
- 6 asking for someone's opinion
- 7 other function different from those above

- ④- Do you think this Q-tag receives an answer?

 1 Yes

 2 No

Instructions

Read the following Q-tags (statement plus tag), and answer the questionnaire. MAKE SURE OF ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER READING E A C H Q-TAG.

a) I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

e) Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that room, mightn't they?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

d) That was a bit early, wasn't it?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

e) But it's not quite like having logs, is it?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

f) They can swim, can't they?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

g) Mice swim though, don't they?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

h) You just patch it up, don't you?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

f) There's a famous one there, isn't there?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

g) They had a village one, did they?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

k) You've read Scoop, have you?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

l) It was something to do with the strike though, wasn't it?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

n) But you're teaching at a grammar school, aren't you?

- ①- ②- ③- ④-

Instructions

Read the following Q-tags (statement plus tag), and answer the questionnaire. MAKE SURE OF ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER READING E A C H Q-TAG.

a) I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they?

①-1✓ ②-1✓ ③-1 ④-1

b) Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that room, mightn't they?

①-2✓ ②-2 ③-6 ④-1

c) That was a bit early, wasn't it?

①-2✓ ②-1✓ ③-3✓ ④-2✓

d) But it's not quite like having logs, is it?

①-2 ②-2 ③-5 ④-1

e) They can swim, can't they?

①-2✓ ②-1 ③-5✓ ④-1

f) Mice swim though, don't they?

①-2✓ ②-2 ③-6 ④-1✓

g) You just patch it up, don't you?

①-2 ②-1✓ ③-5 ④-1✓

h) There's a famous one there, isn't there?

①-1✓ ②-1✓ ③-5 ④-1✓

i) They had a village one, did they?

①-2✓ ②-1✓ ③-5 ④-1✓

j) You've read Scoop, have you? ←

①-1✓ ②-1 ③-1 ④-2

k) It was something to do with the strike though, wasn't it?

①-2 ②-2 ③-5 ④-1✓

l) But you're teaching at a grammar school, aren't you?

①-2 ②-1 ③-5 ④-1✓

Instructions

Read the following Q-tags (statement plus tag), and answer the questionnaire. MAKE SURE OF ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER READING E A C H Q-TAG.

a) I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they?

①- ②- 2 ③- 6 ④- 1

b) Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that room, mightn't they?

①- ②- 1[✓] ③- 1 ④- 1

c) That was a bit early, wasn't it?

①- ②- 2 ③- 6 ④- 1

d) But it's not quite like having logs, is it?

①- ②- 1[✓] ③- 1[✓] ④- 1

e) They can swim, can't they?

①- ②- 2[✓] ③- 5[✓] ④- 1

f) Mice swim though, don't they?

①- ②- 2 ③- 5 ④- 1[✓]

g) You just patch it up, don't you?

①- ②- 2 ③- 5 ④- 1[✓]

h) There's a famous one there, isn't there?

①- ②- 2 ③- 6 ④- 1

i) They had a village one, did they?

①- ②- ③- ④-

j) You've read Scoop, have^{n't} you?

①- ②- 2[✓] ③- 5[✓] ④- 1[✓]

k) It was something to do with the strike though, wasn't it?

①- ②- 2 ③- 6 ④- 1

l) But you're teaching at a grammar school, aren't you?

①- ②- 2[✓] ③- 5[✓] ④- 1[✓]

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①-1✓ ②-1✓ ③-1,3 ④-1

b) Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that room, mightn't they?

①-2✓ ②-2 ③-1,6 ④-1

c) That was a bit early, wasn't it?

①-2✓ ②-1✓ ③-3✓ ④-1

d) But it's not quite like having logs, is it?

①-2 ②-~~2~~✓ ③-1,6 ④-1

e) They can swim, can't they?

①-1 ②-1 ③-1,5✓ ④-1

f) Mice swim though, don't they?

①-2✓ ②-2 ③-1,4 ④-1

g) You just patch it up, don't you?

①-2 ②-2 ③-1,5 ④-1

h) There's a famous one there, isn't there?

①-2 ②-2 ③-6 ④-1

i) They had a village, one, did they?

①-2 ②-1 ③-3 ④-1

j) You've read Scoop, have you?

①-1 ②-2✓ ③-3 ④-1

k) It was something to do with the strike though, wasn't it?

①-2✓ ②-1✓ ③-1,3 ④-1

l) But you're teaching at a grammar school, aren't you?

①-2 ②-1 ③-1,3 ④-1

Instructions

Read the following Q-tags (statement plus tag), and answer the questionnaire. MAKE SURE OF ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE IMMEDIATELY AFTER READING E A C H Q-TAG.

a) I mean, they never do these grounds up, do they?

①-1 ②-1 ③-2 ④-2

b) Well, some of the gates might be about as wide as that room, mightn't they?

①-2 ②-1 ③-3 ④-2

c) That was a bit early, wasn't it?

①-2 ②-1 ③-3 ④-2

d) But it's not quite like having logs, is it?

①-1 ②-1 ③-1 ④-2

e) They can swim, can't they?

①-2 ②-2 ③-5 ④-2

f) Mice swim though, don't they?

①-2 ②-1 ③-4 ④-1

g) You just patch it up, don't you?

①-1 ②-1 ③-2 ④-1

h) There's a famous one there, isn't there?

①-1 ②-1 ③-1 ④-1

i) They had a village one, did they?

①-2 ②-1 ③-1 ④-1

j) You've read Scoop, have you?

①-1 ②-2 ③-5 ④-1

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①-2 ②-1 ③-4 ④-1

l) But you're teaching at a grammar school, aren't you?

①-1 ②-2 ③-5 ④-1