UC Berkeley
Dissertations, Department of Linguistics

Title
Giving Credit Where Credit is Due: The Case of Acknowledgments in PhD Dissertations

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6tx8t3kh

Author
Gesuato, Sara

Publication Date
2004

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Giving credit where credit is due:
the case of acknowledgments in PhD dissertations

by

Sara Gesuato

GRAD (University of Padua, Italy) 1988
M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1994

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor John Ohala, Chair
Professor Sam Mchombo
Professor Susan Ervin-Tripp

Fall 2004

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 3165376

Copyright 2004 by
Gesuato, Sara

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3165376
Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Giving credit where credit is due:
the case of acknowledgments in PhD dissertations

Copyright 2004

by

Sara Gesuato

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

Giving credit where credit is due:
the case of acknowledgments in PhD dissertations

by

Sara Gesuato

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkelely

Professor John Ohala, Chair

This dissertation presents a textual analysis of 40 US PhD dissertation acknowledgment sections (PhDASs), defined as macro speech acts of thanking consisting of multiple and variously realized component functional units.

Chapter 1 outlines the objectives of the research and identifies its relevant theoretical background; it also points out the contribution that the study offers to linguistics, describes the corpus to be analyzed, and presents a synopsis of the following chapters.

Chapter 2 defines PhDASs from both a functional and a formal point of view, specifies what recurrent themes make up their subject matter, explains the reasons for their communicative complexity, indicates what properties qualify them as a genre, and characterizes their typical context of situation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter 3 focuses on the speech act nature of PhDASs. It discusses the comparability between speech acts and genre exemplars; it offers a motivated description of PhDASs as elaborate acts of thanking; it reviews relevant literature on the speech act of thanking and acknowledgment sections; it shows what components and features of acts of thanking are also relevant to PhDASs; and it outlines the method of analysis applied to the corpus.

Chapter 4 examines the corpus from both a macro and a micro perspective. It explores the global structure and characteristics of the PhDASs and the specific wording of the most salient notions and of the acknowledgment moves occurring in them. It includes a qualitative analysis of selected texts and text excerpts, which reveals the variety of lexico-grammatical patterns available for the encoding of written acknowledgments and also shows the partly ambiguous nature of given textual phenomena. It also comprises a quantitative summary of the encoding patterns identified in the corpus (i.e. the strategies for the expression of acknowledgments and the structural arrangement of the PhDASs), whose occurrence is accounted for with reference to the relevant context of situation.

Chapter 5 derives the conclusion from the findings of Chapter 4 and evaluates the study as a whole. It points out the main problems encountered in analyzing the texts, it signals the limitations of the study, and offers suggestions for further research on PhDASs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section title	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	ix
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.0. Outline	1
1.1. Aims	2
1.2. Method	4
1.3. Theoretical background	5
1.4. Corpus	12
1.5. Overview of chapters	16
CHAPTER 2. MAIN CHARACTERISTICS	19
2.0. Introduction	19
2.1. Functions	19
2.2. Formal features	23
2.3. Content	26
2.4. Complexity	28
2.5. Genre status	38
2.6. Context of situation	73
2.6.1. Field	74
2.6.1.1. Event	74
2.6.1.2. Participants	77

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1.3. Setting 79

2.6.1.4. Purpose and functions 82

2.6.1.5. Rhetorical organization 84

2.6.1.6. Subject matter 88

2.6.1.7. Uses 91

2.6.2. Tenor 92

2.6.2.1. Characteristics of participants 92

2.6.2.2. Roles and relationships 99

2.6.2.3. Attitudes 103

2.6.2.4. Speech acts 104

2.6.3. Mode 107

2.6.3.1. Code and channel of communication 107

2.6.3.2. Elaboration and reception 109

2.6.3.3. Linguistic realization of the main concepts 113

2.7. Conclusion 118

CHAPTER 3. SPEECH ACT PERSPECTIVE 119

3.0. Introduction 119

3.1. Speech acts and genre exemplars 119

3.2. PhDASs as acts of thanking 122

3.2.1. Taxonomic principles 123

3.2.2. Constitutive conditions 139

3.2.3. Summary 143

3.3. Review of literature 144

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.3.1. Studies on the speech act of thanking 145

3.3.1.1. Impact of contextual variables 145

3.3.1.2. Encoding of gratitude: form and function 162

3.3.2. Studies on ASs 173

3.3.2.1. The professional-social value of ASs 173

3.3.2.2. Realization patterns of the main notions 184

3.3.3. Implications of findings 188

3.4. Developing a method of analysis 192

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS OF TEXTS 212

4.0. Introduction 212

4.1. Sample analyses 213

4.2. Identification of AMs 235

4.3. Tagging procedure 248

4.4. Size 252

4.5. Titles 262

4.6. Global structure 264

4.6.1. Introductory and concluding moves 265

4.6.1.1. Micro introductory and concluding moves 274

4.6.2. Order of benefactors 280

4.6.3. Syntax (and semantics) of AMs 294

4.6.4. Textual cohesion: linkers 320

4.6.5. Conclusion 328

4.7. Head acts vs. supportive moves? 329

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.8. Benefactor units 339

4.8.1. Benefactor expansion units 368

4.8.2. Appraisal in benefactor (expansion) units 382

4.8.3. Conclusion 397

4.9. Benefit units 398

4.9.1. Benefit expansion units 417

4.9.2. Appraisal in benefit (expansion) units 425

4.9.3. Conclusion 438

4.10. Gratitude expressions 440

4.10.1. Expansions of gratitude expressions 460

4.10.2. Appraisal in (expansions of) gratitude expressions 470

4.10.3. Conclusion 475

4.11. Approach to a grammar of thanking 477

4.11.1. Mini-grammar of gratitude expressions and their expansions 486

4.11.2. Mini-grammar of benefactor (expansion) units 509

4.11.3. Mini-grammar of benefit (expansion) units 549

4.11.4. Mini-grammar of thanking 586

4.12. Other text units 634

4.13. Conclusion 638

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS 651

5.0. General conclusions 651

5.1. Summary of main characteristics 651

5.2. Suitability of the model 660

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.3. Limitations of the study and future perspectives 671

REFERENCES 680

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF TABLES

Table number	Table title	Page(s)
Table 1	Constitutive conditions of ordinary acts of thanking and of the macro-act of thanking in a PhDAS	142
Table 2	Length of PhDASs in paragraphs	253
Table 3	Length of PhDASs in lines	254
Table 4	Length of PhDASs in words	254
Table 5	Length of PhDASs: average values	255
Table 6	Distribution of values for length in paragraphs across PhDASs	256
Table 7	Distribution of values for length in lines across PhDASs	257
Table 8	Distribution of values for length in words across PhDASs	258
Table 9	Distribution of values for length of paragraphs in lines across PhDASs	259
Table 10	Distribution of values for length of paragraphs in words across PhDASs	260
Table 11	Distribution of titles (*Acknowledgments*) across PhDASs	263
Table 12	Introductory and concluding moves	272
Table 13	Micro-organizational moves	279
Table 14	Order of benefactors in Arch	287
Table 15	Order of benefactors in B-Adm	287
Table 16	Order of benefactors in Edu	288

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table number	Table title	Page(s)
Table 17	Order of benefactors in EECS	288
Table 18	Order of benefactors in Engl	289
Table 19	Order of benefactors in Phil	289
Table 20	Order of benefactors in P-Bio	290
Table 21	Order of benefactors in Stat	290
Table 22	Distribution of moves in the corpus	307
Table 23	Distribution of PhDASs of the same length in moves across disciplines	311
Table 24	Syntactic structure of moves	312
Table 25	Number of linkers	325
Table 26	Distribution of types of linkers across PhDASs	327
Table 27	Distribution of types of benefactor units across PhDASs	366
Table 28	Distribution of types of benefactor expansion units across PhDASs	379
Table 29	Types and distribution of evaluative adjectives in benefactor units and benefactor expansion units	386-388
Table 30	Classification of evaluative adjectives in benefactor units and benefactor expansion units	391-392
Table 31	Distribution of types of benefit units across PhDASs	414
Table 32	Distribution of types of benefit expansion units across PhDASs	423

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table number	Table title	Page(s)
Table 33	Classification of evaluative adjectives in benefit units and benefit expansion units	431-438
Table 34	Main coding of gratitude expressions	456
Table 35	Main coding of expansions of gratitude expressions	468

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviation/Symbol	Gloss
AdjAdj	adjectival group
Adj	adjective
Adj-cp	comparative form of an adjective
Adj-sp	superlative form of an adjective
Adv	adverb
Adv-cp	adverb functioning as a marker of the comparative degree of an adjective
Adv-sp	adverb functioning as a marker of the superlative degree of an adjective
AM	acknowledgment move
Arch	Architecture
Art	article
AS	acknowledgment section
Aux	auxiliary
Aux	(group of) auxiliary verb(s)
B-Adm	Business Administration
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project
Cl	clause
ClCl	clause complex

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cl-inc	incomplete clause (with no or partial complementation after the verb group)
Cl-inf	infinitival clause
Cl-ing	gerundive clause
Compl	complementation of verb group (e.g., AdjAdj, NN, Prep NN, AdvAdv)
Conj	conjunction
Date	year
DCTs	Discourse Completion Tasks
Dem	demonstrative
Dem-pr	demonstrative pronoun
Edu	Education
EECS	Electrical Engineering and Computer Science
Engl	English
F	first name (initial)
Inst	name of an institution or event (consisting of one or more words, possibly abbreviated)
Interj	interjection
IR	information retrieval
L	last name
LGP	language for general purposes
LSP	language for specific purposes
M	middle name (initial)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mod	modal verb
N	noun (or non-professional title like *Mr*)
Name	proper name neither of a person nor of an institution
Neg	negation
NN	noun group
N-N(-N)	compound noun (consisting of as many nouns as are listed)
Num	number
O	other (a sequencing pattern other than S, R or P; e.g., S is repeated).
P	partial (only one macro benefactor category is mentioned)
Phil	Philosophy
PhDAS	PhD dissertation acknowledgment section
P-Bio	Plant Biology
PIC	peer interactive communication
Place	placename
Poss	possessive
Prep	preposition
Pron	pronoun
Pron-p	personal or reflexive pronoun
Quant	quantifier
R	reverse (friends and family are mentioned before academic benefactors)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rel-cl	relative clause
Rel-pr	relative pronoun
S	standard (academic benefactors are mentioned before friends and family)
Stat	Statistics
To-inf	verb in the *to*-infinitive form
To(-inf)	the *to* of an infinitive
(To)-inf	the bare infinitive part of a *to*-infinitive
UC	University of California
V	verb
V-ing	verb in the *-ing* form (not used for adjectives or nouns ending in *-ing*)
V-link	linking (or copula) verb
V-pp	past participle of a verb used in a passive clause
VV	verb group
+	co-presence of two morphemes in the same word
++	punctuation mark
(X)	optional presence of a word or structure
[X]	occurrence of one or more instances of the word or structure included in brackets
0	absence of an element (zero option)
^	beginning of an alternative word or structure

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*	end of an alternative word or structure
/	alternation between given words or structures
—	visual separation between neighboring grammatical slots in a given structure
...	separation between discontinuous text segments
§A	AM
§AC	AM realized as a clause (part of a sentence)
§ACI	AM realized as an incomplete clause, i.e., a clause with ellipsis of both subject and predicate or of predicate only
§ACIM	AM realized as an incomplete clause, i.e., a clause with ellipsis of both subject and predicate or of predicate only, which occupies one paragraph
§ACo	concluding (acknowledgment) move
§AF	AM realized as a phrase (part of a clause) optionally accompanied by an embedded phrase
§AFF	AM realized as 2 or more phrases
§AG	micro-introductory AM relevant to a few more specific AMs
§AIn	introductory (acknowledgment) move
§ALD	first part of a discontinuous AM
§AP	benefactor- specific AM subsumed under a more general, micro-introductory or concluding AM
§ALU	second or nth part of a discontinuous AM

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§AS	AM realized as a sentence (one or more clauses), and occupying less than a paragraph
§ASM	AM realized as a sentence, and occupying a paragraph
§AV	AM realized as something else (e.g., 1 or more phrases + 1 sentence; 1 phrase + 1 clause + 1 or more sentences; 1 or more phrases + 1 non-defining relative clause; 2 clauses, less than a sentence; 1 clause + 1 incomplete clause; 1 incomplete clause + 1 sentence; 1 sentence + 1 phrase)
§AVM	AM realized as something else that is also a paragraph
§AZ	AM realized as 2 or more sentences, and occupying less than a paragraph
§AZM	AM realized as 2 or more sentences, and occupying a paragraph
§B	benefactor unit
§Bacad	academic benefactor (e.g., advisor, professor)
§Bcombo	benefactor unit which makes reference to benefactor(s) in more than one way
§Bdescr	segment of a benefactor unit that offers a description of the benefactor through adjectives, adverbs, phrases, clauses, adpositions
§Bexpert	benefactor, expert in given academic field, but not a professor of the writer's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Bfam	family as benefactor (collectively identified as a group)
§Bfam-mem	family member as benefactor (specific familial relation mentioned, e.g., brother)
§Bfin	financial benefactor (either an individual or an institution)
§Bfriend	friend as benefactor
§Bgen	generic benefactor, identified through a very general word [with regard to order of benefactors]; (a segment of) a benefactor unit that refers to one or more benefactors only in very general terms) [with regard to types of benefactors]
§Bgroup	(segment of) a benefactor unit that refers to a group of benefactors that are identified through their proper names; the benefactors in question do not constitute an institution
§Bintel assist	intellectual benefactor (not a professor or an expert)
§Binstit	institution as benefactor (e.g., university, foundation, research center)
§Bisttitl	(segment of) a benefactor unit that identifies a group, institution or workplace through their generic title (not their proper name)
§BLD	first part of a discontinuous benefactor unit, to be completed with a subsequent text segment

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§BLU#	second (or other non-first) part of a discontinuous benefactor unit, appropriately numbered, relevant to an earlier text segment
§Bnam	(segment of) a benefactor unit that refers to benefactor(s) through her/their name(s)
§Bnamist	(segment of) a benefactor unit that mentions the proper name(s) of institution(s) such as groups of people, organizations or workplaces
§Bnamrol	(segment of a) benefactor unit that identifies benefactor(s) through explicit reference to their name(s) and implicit reference to the role(s) and/or titles recoverable elsewhere in the co-text
§Bnamtitl	(segment of) a benefactor unit that specifies the names and role(s) and/or title(s) of benefactor(s)
§Bno	absence of a benefactor unit
§Bother	(segment of) a benefactor unit not satisfactorily classifiable through any of the other benefactor tags
§Bpartner	the author's significant other as benefactor
§Bpeer	peer as benefactor (fellow graduate student, fellow lab member, co-instructor; typically both a colleague and a friend)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Bplace	(segment of) a benefactor unit that merely identifies a place as the benefactor or that also contains the indication of the location of a benefactor
§Bpron	(segment of) a benefactor unit which serves to identify one or more benefactors through a pronoun
§BR	benefactor unit that contains repeated reference to the same benefactor(s)
§Brepet#	numbered instances of the repeated reference to the same benefactor in the same AM
§Bretriev	benefactor unit that provides less explicit information about the identity of the benefactor than another part of the AM
§Brol	(segment of) a benefactor unit that does not specify the benefactor's social or professional role, which is, however, recoverable elsewhere in the move (i.e., outside the benefactor unit)
§Bset	set of various types of benefactors, as identified by the author's own labels
§Bset+	set of various types of benefactors, as identified by the author's own labels, in which academic benefactors are listed before family and/or friends

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Bset-	set of various benefactors, as identified by the author's own labels, in which family and/or friends are listed before academic benefactors
§Bsubject	study participant, interviewee or subject as benefactor
§Btech assist	technical assistant (benefactor providing goods and/or services of a technical nature, e.g., running a lab, retrieving data)
§Btime	segment of a benefactor unit that makes reference to the time when (a) given benefactor(s) acted in favor of the thanker
§Btitl	(segment of) a benefactor unit that explicitly refers to the benefactor's professional or other function and/or her role with regard to the beneficiary
§Bunclear	unclassifiable benefactor (lack of or vague information provided in the text)
§Bvoc	(segment of) a benefactor unit that identifies the benefactor and is used as an address term or vocative
§Bzero	no benefactor mentioned in the AM
§BE	benefactor expansion unit, a text segment that helps better describe the benefactor identified in the §B-tagged text segment

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§BEacc	(segment of) a benefactor expansion unit that mentions an accomplishment ascribable to the benefactor such that a compliment can be paid to her
§BEcirc	(segment of) a benefactor expansion unit that mentions circumstances (e.g., events, situations) relevant to the benefactor's background
§BEcombo	text segment that consists of a combination of benefactor expansions
§BEdescr	(segment of) a benefactor expansion unit that describes some aspect of the benefactor's personality or life
§BEeval	the writer's evaluation of the bene factor's behavior and/or traits
§BEno	expansion unit of a non-benefactor unit
§BEopin	(segment of) a benefactor expansion unit reporting the writer's opinion on the benefactor other than an explicit evaluation of her
§BEother	(segment of) a benefactor expansion unit not classifiable through other §BE tags
§BK	background information
§L	AM- and/or sentence-initial linker
§NRCo	non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding move
§NRCoSM	one-sentence non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding move occupying a paragraph

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§NRCoZ	multi-sentence non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding move
§R	beginning of gratitude expression
§Rackv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to acknowledge*
§Rappra	gratitude expression containing the adjective *appreciative*
§Rapprn	gratitude expression containing the noun *appreciation*
§Rapprpp	gratitude expression containing the past participle of the verb *to appreciate* in a passive clause
§Rapprv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to appreciate*
§Rblesspp	gratitude expression containing the verb *to bless* in the past participle form in a passive clause
§Rcaptivate	gratitude expression containing the verb *to captivate*
§Rcombo	gratitude expression containing a combination of lexemes encoding the notion of gratitude or its equivalents
§Rdebt	gratitude expression containing the noun *debt*
§Rdediv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to dedicate*
§Rforget+cannot	gratitude expression containing the negated modal *can* and the verb *to forget*
§Rforta	gratitude expression containing the adjective *fortunate*
§Rgratd	gratitude expression containing the noun *gratitude*
§Rgratf	gratitude expression containing the adjective *grateful*
§Rindebted	gratitude expression containing the adjective *indebted*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Rleave-out+cannot	gratitude expression containing the verb *to leave out* and the negated modal *cannot*
§Rlucky	gratitude expression containing the adjective *lucky*
§Rlux	gratitude expression containing the noun *luxury*
§Rmarvelv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to marvel*
§Rno	AM containing no explicit gratitude expression or gratitude expression equivalent
§Rnoten	gratitude expression containing the noun *note*
§Rofferv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to offer*
§Rowe	gratitude expression containing the verb *to owe*
§Rpleasn	gratitude expression containing the noun *pleasure*
§Rrecogv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to recognize*
§Rthnp	gratitude expression containing the noun *thanks*
§Rthnpr	gratitude expression containing *thanks* as a formula
§Rthnpt	gratitude expression containing the complex preposition *thanks to*
§Rthu	gratitude expression containing the expression *thank you*
§Rthu(u)	gratitude expression containing the expression *thank you* directly addressed to the benefactors
§Rthv	gratitude expression containing the verb *to thank*
§Rwishn	gratitude expression containing the noun *wish*
§RR	first part of a gratitude expression containing repeated reference to the notion of gratitude

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Rrepet#	second or other non-first, numbered, part of a gratitude expression containing repeated reference to the notion of gratitude
§RLD	first part of a discontinuous gratitude expression
§RLU	second or other non-first part of a discontinuous gratitude expression
§nR	expression of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state which is neither gratitude- nor acknowledgment-oriented
§nRcongrv	expression of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state, which is neither gratitude- nor acknowledgment-oriented, containing the verb *to congratulate*
§nRno	indication of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state in a non-thanking move
§(u)	gratitude expression (expansion) which is directly addressed to the benefactor
§/past	verb in a gratitude expression (expansion) encoded in the simple past or present perfect
§RE	expansion of a gratitude expression, occurring in the same move in which a lexically more conventional gratitude expression is to be found
§REadmv+adv	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to admire* and an adverb

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§REamazpp+adju	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to amaze* as a past participle and an adjunct
§REbeneft+know/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verbs *to benefit* and *to know*
§REdediv	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to dedicate*
§REenjoy/past	expansion of a gratitude expression with the verb *to enjoy* in the past tense
§REfann+adj+poss	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *fan*
§REfeelpp+adv	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the past participle of the verb *to feel*
§REfor+adv+adv	expansion of a gratitude expression with the preposition *for* and two adverbs
§REforta+adv/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the adjective *fortunate*
§REfortn+poss/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *fortune*
§REhonorn_privil/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the nouns *honor* and *privilege*
§REimpressv+adv/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to impress*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§RElook-up+adv/fut	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to look up*
§RElucky+feel+adv	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the adjective *lucky*
§REmiss(u)	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to miss* and directly addressed to the benefactors
§REmiss+adju/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to miss* and an adjunct
§REprovide+innovation	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to provide* and the noun *innovation*
§REprivil/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *privilege*
§REprivil+adj/past	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *privilege* and an adjective
§REremem/fut(u)	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to remember* directly addressed to the benefactor
§REwonder+find+adv+obj	expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to wonder*
§RELD	first part of a discontinuous expansion of a gratitude expression
§RELU	second part of a discontinuous expansion of a gratitude expression

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§nRE	expansion of an expression manifesting the thanker's cognitive-emotional state other than gratitude or acknowledgment
§nREjob+done+adv/past	expansion of an expression manifesting the thanker's cognitive-emotional state containing the noun job
§O	writer's opinion
§TE	expansion of thanker unit
§TEacc	expansion of thanker unit referring to the thanker's accomplishment
§Y	benefit unit
§Ycombo	unit in which reference is made to two or more types of benefits
§Yem	benefit unit referring to emotional help
§Yend	benefit unit referring to benefactor's patience
§Yfin	benefit unit referring to financial forms of support
§Ygen	benefit unit referring to beneficial circumstances in generic terms
§Yint	benefit unit referring to intellectual support
§YLD	first part of a discontinuous benefit unit
§YLU	second or subsequent part of a discontinuous benefit unit
§Yno	absence of a benefit unit in an AM
§Yother	benefit unit not easily classifiable through other benefit-specific tags

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Yqual	benefit unit referring to qualities or accomplishments that benefactors are being acknowledged for
§Ytech	benefit unit referring to technical or administrative assistance
§YE	benefit expansion unit
§YEadv	(segment of) a benefit expansion unit mentioning the past, present and/or future advantageous consequence(s) of a given beneficial event to the beneficiary
§YEavoid	(segment of) a benefit expansion unit that mentions dangers, disadvantages, pitfalls or failures avoided as a result of the benefactors' positive behavior and/or traits
§YEcirc	(segment of) a benefit expansion unit that refers to one or more contextual elements of a beneficial event, for example its time or location, the benefactor's manner of acting, a concomitant event or situation
§YEcombo	a benefit expansion unit that makes reference to a combination of beneficial events and/or situations
§YEcost	(segment of) a benefit expansion unit that specifies the cost of a given benefit to the benefactor, for instance the difficulties experienced or the time spent in trying to bring about a beneficial change

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§YEcred	(segment of) a benefit expansion unit that signals that a given benefit is to be attributed to the benefactor's generosity or that indicates the magnitude of the benefit received, which the benefactor should be given credit for
§YEgoal	(segment of a) benefit expansion unit that signals the beneficiary's and/or benefactor's objective in carrying out a given action
§YEinstr	(segment of a) benefit expansion that indicates the instrument through which a benefit is provided
§YELD	first part of a discontinuous benefit expansion unit, interspersed with text segments of benefit units or other functional units of an AM
§YELU	second or other non-first part of a discontinuous benefit expansion segment
§YEneed	(segment of a) benefit expansion unit referring to needs experienced or difficulties encountered by the beneficiary
§YEoffer	(segment of a) benefit expansion unit whose content is oriented towards the future; it may encode the author's desires, hopes, intentions about the future, including the choice to offer something in return for the benefit received
§YEother	(segment of) a benefit expansion unit not easily classifiable through other benefit expansion tags

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(§)D	part of a discontinuous text segment, whose complementary part occurs later in the text; the symbol is part of a tag
(§)L	discontinuous text segment; the symbol is part of a tag
(§)U	part of a discontinuous text segment, whose complementary part occurs earlier in the text; the symbol is part of a tag

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Outline

This dissertation presents a textual analysis of 40 US PhD dissertation acknowledgment sections (henceforth PhDASs). More specifically, it defines those texts as macro speech acts of thanking and examines the patterns of realization of their component functional units.

Chapter 1 is the introduction: it outlines the objectives of the research and identifies its relevant theoretical background; in addition, it points out the contribution that the study offers to linguistics, describes the corpus to be analyzed, and presents a synopsis of the following chapters.

Chapter 2 defines PhDASs from both a functional and a formal point of view, specifies what recurrent themes make up their subject matter, explains the reasons for their communicative complexity, indicates what properties qualify them as a genre, and characterizes their typical context of situation in detail.

Chapter 3 focuses on the speech act nature of PhDASs. It discusses the comparability between (complex) speech acts and genre exemplars; it offers a motivated description of the PhDAS as an elaborate act of thanking; it reviews relevant literature on the speech act of thanking and acknowledgment sections (henceforth ASs); it shows what components and features of acts of thanking in general are also relevant to PhDASs in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

particular; and it outlines the method of analysis applied to the corpus, which is meant to help account for the internal structure of the PhDASs and to identify their most salient notions.

Chapter 4 examines the corpus from both a macro and a micro perspective. It explores the global structure and characteristics of the PhDASs and the specific wording of single acknowledgment moves (henceforth AMs) occurring in them. It includes a qualitative analysis of selected texts and text excerpts, which reveals the variety of lexico-grammatical patterns available for the encoding of written acknowledgments and also shows the partly ambiguous nature of specific textual phenomena, which turn out to be difficult to classify. It also comprises a quantitative summary of the encoding patterns identified in the corpus (i.e., the strategies for the expression of acknowledgments and the structural arrangement of the PhDASs), whose occurrence is accounted for with reference to the relevant context of situation.

Chapter 5 derives the conclusion from the findings of Chapter 4 and evaluates the study as a whole. It points out the main problems encountered in analyzing the texts, it signals the limitations of the study, and offers suggestions for further research on PhDASs.

1.1. Aims

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a textual analysis of the discursive strategies employed by PhD candidates who publicly acknowledge in writing their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactors for help received while writing their dissertations. The broader aim of the study is to provide a description of the content and structural organization of PhDASs in relation to the relevant contexts of situation and culture. The more specific objectives include: defining PhDASs as extended speech acts of thanking; identifying their recurrent functional components; outlining the lexico-grammatical patterns of realization of the main components of AMs.

I consider PhDASs worth studying for five main reasons: (a) they are naturally-occurring (i.e., authentic, non-elicited) communicative acts; (b) they show how the same type of interactional exchange can be realized through a variety of lexico-grammatical formulas; (c) they exemplify elaborate speech acts, whose rich content, composite structure, and focus on relational needs reveals the interpersonal significance they are laden with; (d) they present internal contradictions which affect their global organization and linguistic encoding (e.g., they are public documents which contain private information about personal circumstances; they are conceptually separable from the dissertations they are physically attached to; although their rationale is the expression of gratitude, their focus is on the description of benefits and benefactors that gratitude is relevant to; see section 2.4.); (e) and finally, even if ASs in books and academic journals *have* been examined (see section 3.3.), to my knowledge, no studies have been published on PhDASs in particular (but see section 5.3.).

My analysis of PhDASs focuses on increasingly specific aspects of such communicative acts. I start out by examining the genre status of PhDASs, that is (the reasons for) the relative homogeneity of those texts as well as their degree of internal variability. Next, I explore their most salient global characteristics (in terms of structure,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

functions and content). I then motivate a definition of them as macro speech acts of thanking and outline their basic recursive structure; in other words, I show how a PhDAS writer's main communicative purpose (i.e., an expressive illocutionary intent) is made relevant to multiple, comparable interactional settings. I proceed to identify the core and supportive functional units of PhDASs' component moves, which reveal the importance of the interpersonal dimension of communication. Finally, I detail their linguistic encoding; in other words, I list both their typical and their original, less frequent lexico-syntactic ways of expressing gratitude.

This work is thus meant to contribute to an identification of generic properties as relatable to the situational and cultural contexts in which PhDASs are produced, to an understanding of what extended speech acts (of thanking) consist of, and to a description of the lexico-grammar of thanking in writing.

1.2. Method

The analysis of PhDASs I propose is set in a context. First, I define and describe PhDASs by characterizing them from both a formal and a functional point of view. Then I point out their main features and discuss their communicative complexity and relevance to the interactants' interpersonal needs. In addition, I outline their typical context of situation (see ch. 2). I also examine in detail the illocutionary nature of such texts (i.e., the expression of a specific reactive psychological state) and account for their main properties in relation to their communicative rationale (see ch. 3). These descriptive-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

evaluative sections, grounded mainly on insights from speech act theory and genre studies, are meant to provide a pragmatic account of the interactional value of PhDASs. In addition, I summarize the findings of studies on the speech act of thanking and on book or journal article ASs (see ch. 3) to determine what properties previously identified in comparable types of texts are worth exploring in PhDASs too.

The analysis itself involves first of all the collection and electronic formatting of exemplars of the PhDAS genre, the identification and manual tagging of their moves and move components, the classification and manual tagging of the various types of realization of its functional components according to a thorough coding scheme. It also comprises an elaboration of the frequency and order of occurrence of their moves, a quantitative account of the main notions distributed across the texts, and a detailed description of the wording of expressions of gratitude. Furthermore, it includes detailed sample descriptions of selected PhDASs meant to reveal how the typical patterns of encoding gratitude are actually instantiated in complete texts (see ch. 4).

The combined quantitative-qualitative approach adopted is aimed at describing and accounting for the elaborate linguistic make-up of PhDASs, identifying the socially relevant communicative actions performed through them, and assessing their social salience in the cultural context in which they are produced (see ch. 5).

1.3. Theoretical background

The research I report on in this study is relevant to the disciplines of pragmatics, text linguistics, genre studies, and corpus analysis.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pragmatics aims at describing and accounting for co- and con-textualized language use, in particular the relationship between language form and language function (i.e., the addresser's strategic use of language for the achievement of linguistic and non-linguistic ends), and the relevance of cognitive and socio-cultural expectations to the interpretation assigned to and the effects determined by a given unit of speech or writing in a given setting (i.e., the addressee's participation in the co-construction of meaning). Among other things, my analysis aims at describing how dissertation writers construct, maintain and shape their relationships with their benefactors — and indirectly with their readers — by performing exchanges of services through the use of language; it is also meant to account for the typical elaborateness of these texts (see sections 2.4., 2.6.1.5., 2.6.1.6.) by referring to the shared and unshared backgrounds of the participants involved in the communicative act (see sections 2.6.2.1., 2.6.2.2., 2.6.2.3.); furthermore, it specifically describes PhDASs as speech acts of thanking. More generally, it offers a possible, context-driven explanation for PhDAS authors' attempts to achieve both communicative effectiveness (as writers of semi-official documents meant for a public audience) and interpersonal acceptability (as individuals aware of their social obligations and interactional responsibilities). For all of these reasons, this study lies in the domain of pragmatics.

Text linguistics deals with the classification and description of stretches of speech or writing that function as cohesive, coherent and self-contained units of communication. One of my goals is indeed to describe the formal and functional structure of complete and organic units of language use by relating them, on the one hand, to the interactants' communicative purposes and strategies, and on the other hand, to the options offered and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the constraints imposed by the situational context. The analysis I present considers both macro (i.e., structural, content-related) and micro (i.e., stylistic, lexico-syntactic) characteristics of PhDASs (see sections 2.1., 2.2., 2.3., 2.4., 2.6.3.1., 2.6.3.2., 2.6.3.3.) in an attempt to account for their interpretability (i.e., understandability, unity, completeness, orientation towards a specific goal, and mutual relevance of their component parts). As a result, this study counts as an exercise in text linguistics.

Genre studies identify, classify and describe the shared semantic and stylistic properties of communicative acts that can be grouped together due to a common (set of) main purpose(s). My examination of PhDASs is in line with these research objectives in three respects: first, it involves determining what linguistic, structural and functional features PhDASs share such that they can be considered instantiations of the same *kind* of communicative act; also, it aims at revealing their degree of internal variation; and finally it is meant to identify their prototypical realization. Precisely because it draws attention to what makes a PhDAS a PhDAS (i.e., its communicative purpose and the properties instrumental to it; see section 2.5.), this work also makes a contribution to genre studies.

Corpus analysis of Languages for Specific Purposes (henceforth LSPs) consists in the identification and description, with the help of computer programs, of the most frequent and typical patterns of realization of meanings in large samples of texts produced in relation to given specialized activities. My analysis of PhDASs similarly includes listing, classifying and quantifying their various lexico-grammatical forms of encoding gratitude and its supportive notions as well as detecting their structural organization by means of a software program for the retrieval of words, collocations, and appropriately tagged text segments (see sections 3.4.1. and 4.3.). Because it

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

systematically examines various types of features of a body of texts in electronic format, assembled for linguistic description and representative of the same type of communicative act, this study can also be said to apply the methods of corpus analysis to text analysis.

This study draws on the insights and tools of the above disciplines in order to describe the properties shared by members of the PhDAS genre and to show how they can be related to the resources and constraints of their contexts of production and reception.

One theoretical approach useful for my analysis is offered by the pragmatics of speech act theory as developed by Austin and Searle. According to speech act theory "the basic unit of communication" is the speech act, an intentional act that a speaker realizes with words in order to achieve a given purpose in relation to the hearer (Searle 1969: 21). Every speech act can be labeled with a name identifying its communicative essence, is governed by rules (i.e., requires the fulfillment of co- and con-textual conditions), enacts one of a few main types of communicative exchanges, may realize multiple functions and may be encoded through a number of linguistic means.

The same observations also apply to PhDASs: these texts can be defined in terms of what their authors want to carry out through them in relation to their addressees (i.e., express feelings that help restore the balance of social credits and debits; see section 2.6.1.2.); they can make sense and be effective if certain pre-conditions are met (e.g., the writer must have completed his[1] dissertation and is supposed to feel indebted to his

[1] From now on, when making reference to the dissertation/PhDAS writer in the singular, I will employ masculine personal pronouns and possessives.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

helpers and supporters); they fulfill complementary purposes through their various functional components (which may serve to compliment benefactors, explain to the reader the authors' relationship to the benefactors, and describe benefits received) and also through their reliance on contextual information (i.e., the intention to thank may be implied and recovered from the accompanying units of information).

Particularly useful for the study of *elaborate* communicative acts interpretable as instantiations of speech acts is the contribution of Blum-Kulka, House, Kasper (1989) to the analysis of *extended* speech acts (more specifically, requests and apologies), also called speech act *sets* (Cohen and Olshtain 1981). Their approach consists in paying attention to the specific and variable lexico-grammatical encoding of the gist of the speech act (i.e., the possible strategies for manifesting the relevant illocution) and in examining its immediate co-text (i.e., identifying the type, determining the sequence and classifying the variable realization of its possible complementary functional units). As carefully planned, originality-oriented, composite texts (see section 2.4.) that contain several units of information and may carry out multiple functions, PhDASs lend themselves to an analysis that considers both the variety of linguistic means available for their encoding and the variable organization of their structural components, which can be adapted to ever-changing contextual needs.

With regard to text analysis, a valid theoretical foundation for an examination of PhDASs is provided by systemic functional linguistics (see, e.g., Downing and Locke 2002, Eggins 1994, Halliday 1994, Martin 1992). Its assumptions are that language users' choices depend, on the one hand, on the options offered and constraints imposed by the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

linguistic system available to them (e.g., in terms of phonology, lexicon, syntax), and on the other hand, on the contexts of situation and culture in which they produce their texts. Systemic functional linguistics proposes an analysis of the threefold structure of the clauses that make up a stretch of speech or writing (i.e., as representations that encode experience, as exchanges that convey interpersonal meanings, and as messages that build stretches of text) that clearly shows how the lexico-grammatical make-up of a given text (in particular its transitivity, modality and thematic structures) is systematically linked to the kind of interactional event it is part of, the role-relationships between the interactants, and the cohesive and strategic organization of the communicative act itself (technically called the field, tenor and mode of the context of situation, respectively; see sections 2.6. through 2.6.3.3.). In short, systemic functional linguistics makes it possible to account for the linguistic characteristics of a text by correlating them to relevant properties of the context of situation.

Systemic functional linguistics therefore offers viable guidelines for characterizing given texts' contexts of situation and for describing their multifunctional encoding of meanings about reality, relations, and language behavior (see Halliday 1978). This is particularly useful in the case of PhDASs because PhDAS writers set the encoding of such meanings as their overt aims: they purposely record professional and personal experiences that constitute the background of their dissertation projects (see section 2.3.); they enact interactional roles meant to manage at least temporarily unbalanced social relationships (see section 2.6.1.2.); they present carefully planned linguistic products that create expectations about their reception and function in the interaction (see section 2.6.3.2.). As a result, the concepts and descriptive criteria of systemic functional

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

linguistics are particularly relevant to an examination of PhDASs, and more specifically to a description of the interrelationships between their wording, their meanings, and their cultural-contextual relevance.

Genre studies of non-fictional texts (see, e.g., Swales 1990 and Bhatia 1993) have convincingly described genres as sets of partially or totally linguistic, purpose-oriented, conventionalized communicative acts which provide the members of given discourse communities with the means to successfully engage in recurrent interactional practices. PhDASs constitute such a class since they are meant to satisfy a purpose (i.e., expressing a favorable attitude towards the writers' benefactors) by means of conventional procedures (i.e., describing the benefits received and identifying the relevant benefactors) and through the medium of language (i.e., both stylistically and content-wise PhDASs represent finished linguistic products). The criteria adopted by the above scholars for defining and describing such genres are therefore also applicable to PhDASs as goal-oriented conventionalized communicative acts (see section 2.5.).

Corpus linguistic studies have repeatedly shown (see, e.g., Kennedy 1998) that several aspects of LSPs (e.g., connotations of individual words, typical collocations, text-specific syntactic structures) can be revealed by examining numerous examples of similar authentic texts produced within a given discourse community. For example, frequency lists of running words, KWIC (i.e., Key Word in Context) concordances, ratio between word types and tokens, part-of-speech tagging and lemmatization of texts are among the instruments that reveal in what ways and to what extent LSP texts are similar to or differ

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from Language for General Purposes (LGP) texts. The texts I investigate are in electronic format and manually tagged for the features that I am interested in investigating, and thus amenable to corpus processing analysis. The automatic retrieval of given individual words or text segments and counting of their frequency of occurrence and patterns of co-occurrence will provide quantitative evidence of actual language use and reveal the degree of homogeneity or variation among the texts examined.

The combination of the above lines of research will enable me to carry out a co- and con-textualized analysis of PhDASs, that is to say, to categorize their content and the forms of its realization, to provide a motivated interpretation of them as macro acts of thanking, and to describe their structural, semantic and formal properties in relation to their contexts of use.

1.4. Corpus

The corpus used for this study consists of 40 PhDASs written by University of California (UC), Berkeley PhD candidates in the 1990's. These texts form a subset of a larger collection of PhDASs that a friend of mine gathered in 2000 following my directions (see below).

From 1998 to 2000 I personally collected about two dozen English PhDASs from a larger set of dissertations I had borrowed from a few university libraries; these were texts whose elaborateness or original wording had attracted my attention. When I first decided

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to do to research on PhDASs, in 2000, I realized I did not have enough texts to look at and, more importantly, that these had not been collected according to any systematic criteria. I was in Italy at the time, but I wanted to gather PhDASs written in English, and so I asked a friend of mine living in the Bay Area to collect a suitable corpus on my behalf.

I wanted to have 25 sample texts from 8 different disciplines: (a) 2 disciplines from the humanities, (b) 2 from the hard sciences, (c) 2 from the social sciences and (d) 2 more from more professionally oriented branches of knowledge. In the UC Berkeley General Catalogue for the year 2000-2001, I checked what doctoral programs were offered to prospective graduate students and compiled 8 lists of disciplines one could get a PhD in at Berkeley, that is 2 lists per each of the above-mentioned categories of academic fields. I listed the disciplines in each set according to my order of preference, which means that at the top were those I was mostly interested in (i.e., which I considered typical representatives of the relevant categories). The lists were the following:

(1a) Humanities: English, Comparative Literature, Classics;

(1b) Humanities: Philosophy, History, Art and Art History;

(2a) Applied and Pure Sciences: Electrical Engineering and Computer Science (henceforth EECS), Molecular Cell Biology, Mechanical Engineering, Chemistry, Industrial Engineering and Operation Research, Astronomy, Materials Science and Mineral Engineering, Physics;

(2b) Applied and Pure Sciences: Plant and Microbial Biology, Nutritional Science, Optometry, Integrative Biology, Geography, Environmental Science and Management, Geology and Geophysics;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(3a) Social Sciences: Education, Psychology, Sociology;

(3b) Social Sciences: Statistics, Political Science, Economics;

(4a) Professional Disciplines: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Urban Design and Environmental Planning, City and Regional Planning;

(4b) Professional Disciplines: Business Administration, Law, Journalism.

I then e-mailed the above lists to my friend. I asked her to xerox and staple together 25 PhDASs and relevant title pages[2] from dissertations written in 2000 in the disciplines given at the very top of each list; I added that she should consider disciplines occurring lower in the list (in the order in which they were given) only if dissertations in those at the top should somehow turn out to be difficult to get hold of.

My friend did not have any difficulties retrieving *dissertations* in the disciplines I was most interested in, but had a hard time finding *PhDASs* from the year 2000[3]. In addition, it was taking her much longer than either of us had expected to gather the required research material; therefore, since neither did she have the luxury of spending long hours in the library nor could I afford to pay her for all the time necessary to do what I had asked her to, I revised my criteria for the collection of the corpus: my friend was now to collect only 15 texts per discipline and from works written in the 1990's (starting from 1999 and proceeding backwards). However, due to my friend's occasional oversights (e.g., photocopying the same PhDAS twice, xeroxing only the last page of a multi-page PhDAS, making copies of single PhDASs from additional disciplines), the corpus I could finally use consisted of the following PhDASs: 14 from Architecture

[2] I wanted to make sure I could always easily recognize the names of the PhD candidates' dissertation committee members in the PhDASs in case these professors should be mentioned there without reference to their academic title and/or roles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(henceforth Arch), 15 from Business Administration (henceforth B-Adm), 15 from Education (henceforth Edu), 15 from EECS, 15 from English (henceforth Engl), 14 from Philosophy (henceforth Phil), 15 from Plant Biology (henceforth P-Bio), and 15 from Statistics (henceforth Stat); (total: 118). Within each set, I ordered the texts alphabetically according to the authors' last names[4]. I then scanned the texts so as to have them in electronic format too, proof-read them, and grouped them into 8 files (i.e., one per academic discipline); thus the PhDASs in the files turned out to be ordered alphabetically by the authors' last names as in their xeroxed format.

Unfortunately, since I did not manage my time very wisely when working on my dissertation, I was unable to analyze all the texts at my disposal. I examined only 40, that is, the first 5 from each set, which consist of about 12,000 words (i.e., 2,047 in Arch; 830 in B-Adm; 2,048 in Edu; 1,842 in EECS; 2,365 in Engl; 809 in Phil; 1,602 in P-Bio; 861 in Stat; total 12,404 words)[5]. This is in keeping with current standards for the compilation of LSP corpora (Bowker and Pearson 2002).

The texts examined display both similarities and differences. First of all, they exemplify the same specialized language (academic English as produced by budding experts); also, they instantiate the same genre given that they are motivated by the same communicative rationale (expressing gratitude for help obtained when carrying out one's dissertation project); they also share elements of the context of situation: they were written within one institution, over the same period of time, in the same language, and by people belonging to the same professional group. On the other hand, those texts were

[3] Unfortunately, I did not think of asking her to keep track of the ratio of dissertations with a PhDAS to dissertations without one.
[4] In four cases, I also had to consider the authors' first names, since two last names occurred twice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

written within 8 different discourse sub-communities (as identifiable by the academic disciplines they are relevant to) by authors of both sexes (as can be understood from their names)[6], and differ in length, detail and tone[7].

As a result of the similarities and differences reported above, the corpus turns out to be quite, but not completely, homogeneous: some of the situational, independent variables (e.g., text type instantiated and main subjects dealt with) are constant, which ensures that the texts are comparable; but in addition, it presents a little internal variation (mainly with regard to its inter-disciplinary sources), which is meant to reduce the possible over- or under-occurrence of certain characteristics possibly typical of only a subset of the genre considered. Therefore, the sample I have collected can be regarded as a fairly balanced set of PhDASs.

1.5. Overview of chapters

In chapter 2, I define PhDASs from a functional and formal perspective, as forms of interaction that fulfill social purposes and as units of language use with context-dependent textual characteristics. I also make reference to the transactional and communicative reasons for their complexity, including their one-to-many relationships with previous exchanges and language acts. In addition, I point out the features likely to

---

[5] The automatic word count used is not, however, totally reliable since it treats *all* sequences including apostrophes (e.g., *father's, didn't, 1990's*) as single orthographic words.

[6] A consideration of the authors' names also suggests — but does not guarantee — that the PhDASs were written by both native and non-native speakers of English.

[7] A reason for this may also be that the Graduate Division does not provide any official guidelines to follow for the writing up of PhDASs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be shared by these texts that justify their characterization as a genre. Finally, I provide a detailed analysis of their context of situation. Chapter 2 is thus meant to contribute partly to text linguistics (through a contextualized description of the communicative nature of PhDASs) and partly to genre analysis (through the identification of the expected properties such texts are bound to display as a result of their common interactional goal). Selected excerpts from the corpus will illustrate my observations.

In chapter 3, I focus on the pragmatic aspect of PhDASs by defining them as elaborate expressions of gratitude. After discussing the comparability between speech acts and genre exemplars, I show how the components and features of acts of thanking in general are applicable to PhDASs too. An overview to relevant literature on the speech act of thanking and on ASs paves the way for the selection of a model suitable for the examination of PhDASs as extended speech acts. Finally, I point out how this analytical tool can help reveal specifically linguistic features of PhDASs that previous studies of other types of ASs have not considered. Chapter 3 is thus meant to contribute to pragmatic theory, by presenting a method for the study of macro and micro aspects of the written speech act set of thanking.

In chapter 4, I offer my analysis of the corpus. I examine the global structure of the PhDASs, the internal organization of their component moves, and the wording of their expressions of gratitude. Sample analyses of a few whole texts are given; in addition, text segments intended as exemplifications of the main characteristics of the PhDASs accompany a summary of the quantitative data relevant to the corpus as a whole (cf. Bazerman 1984: 167). Chapter 4 is meant to contribute to the elaboration of a partial (i.e., genre-specific) description of the lexico-grammar of thanking.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In chapter 5, I derive the conclusions from the findings of chapter 4 and evaluate the study as a whole. I summarize the main structural and interactional features of PhDASs and offer my interpretation as to why these texts are socially valued. I also indicate what specific patterns of the encoding of gratitude have emerged from the corpus and how these may contribute to an understanding of the wording of speech acts of thanking in general. Finally, I point out, on the one hand, the limitations of my study, and on the other hand, possible directions of future research on the same subject.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 2.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

2.0. Introduction

PhDASs are contextualized units of language use through which dissertation writers create and sustain social ties by producing meanings. In this chapter I present a functional and a formal definition of such texts: the former highlights their interactional properties, which derive from their role as a type of social exchange; the latter reveals their main global characteristics, which are relatable to their typical context of situation. I also explain why PhDASs are likely to be elaborate, rather than formulaic, texts. In addition, I motivate a definition of them as a genre, that is I indicate why they count as a specific *kind* of communicative acts with shared properties. Finally, I characterize in detail the typical context of situation in which a PhDAS is used. Excerpts from the corpus are meant to illustrate and clarify the observations made about the various aspects of PhDASs under examination.

2.1. Functions

From a functional point of view, a PhDAS is a transactional-communicative act set in a larger, staged interaction. It is a means through which the dissertation writer both

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

acknowledges his participation in various interactional events and maintains his interpersonal contact with his interlocutors. Adopting terms and concepts from systemic-functional linguistics (Tsui 1989), a PhDAS can be defined as a delayed, supporting, responding move relevant to several exchanges, where *move* is to be intended as an act of participation in the interaction and *exchange* as a set of logically ordered interactional acts which interlocutors take turns uttering.

A PhDAS is an interactional move, albeit an extended one, because, like a turn in a conversation, it constitutes *one* utterance through which the dissertation writer takes part in a *multi*-phase speech event with his interlocutors. Organized as a self-contained unit of language use, which develops around one main notion and is delimited by clear typographic boundaries, the PhDAS enables its writer to make *one* meaningful contribution to an interaction consisting of a *series* of moves (see the sample analyses of PhDASs in section 4.1.). These moves can be said to include: (a) the author's (possibly indirect and possibly recurrent) request for help, (b) his benefactors' (possibly repeated) offer or provision of help, and (c) a final exchange of information between the author and his readers (and possibly his benefactors) about those requests and offers in the form of a monologic, written communication act.[8]

A PhDAS is also a responding move because it presupposes and reacts to previous interactional contributions (cf. Coulmas 1981: 71), more specifically offers of information and/or goods-and-services (see Halliday 1994: 69-71 about the speech function of offer), as can be gathered from the following excerpts:

[8] On a similar note, Ben-Ari (1987: 68) points out that ASs are perceivable as parts of ongoing relationships.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1) "[first name] has not only been a supportive mentor but a good friend as well. We have had *many personal conversations* which I did not imagine possible with an advisor, and she has given *many* [sic] *invaluable advice* on my personal life. (EECS1[9]; reference to offers of information, i.e., benefits; emphases added);

(2) "The project could not have been brought to its present completion without *the support and contribution* of many people." (Edu5; reference to offers of services, i.e., benefits; emphasis added);

(3) "I would like to thank [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their *valuable suggestions, comments and time.*"(B-Adm1; reference to offers of both information and services, i.e., benefits; emphasis added).

A PhDAS is a delayed response because it is removed in time and place from the solicitations of interaction it is refers to (i.e., it is produced some time after the writer has benefited from his interlocutors' offers; see Giannoni 1998: 61). This is apparent from the use of past tenses and the occasional reference to non-recent past events. Examples:

(4) "[abbreviated first name + last name] originally *suggested* to me the idea of working on [...]. [abbreviated first name + last name]'s acute criticism *saved* me from many mistakes. [...] The [name and location of departments] *gave* me the opportunity to read [...]" (Phil1; use of past tenses in relation to the benefits received; emphases added);

(5) "I am very grateful to many professors and colleagues for interesting discussions and for guidance *during the last few years*." (B-Adm1; reference to the

[9] Here and elsewhere, the number following the abbreviated name of the discipline identifies the specific text in the corpus the excerpt is taken from.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

time, including the non-recent past, in which benefits were provided; emphasis added);

(6) "I am particularly indebted to the architect [first name + last name], who *spent* many long hours working with me on the [name of monument] *as I began my research*." (Arch3; use of past tenses and reference to non-recent past events in relation to benefits received; emphases added).

A PhDAS is also a supporting move because it fulfills the interactional expectation of the offers of help it responds to: the writer uses it to express acceptance of — and thus sustain — the manifestations of support given by his various helpers. Examples:

(7) "I wish to express my sincere gratitude to *many people* whose help, directly or indirectly, made this dissertation possible." (Arch1; reference to the author's high number of helpers; emphasis added);

(8) "I am deeply grateful to my *family* and my *professors* for their unwavering support of this degree." (Edu2; reference to two categories of benefactors; emphases added).

Finally, a PhDAs is relevant to several exchanges because it refers to and rounds off previous transactions in which the writer was involved as a receiver of goods, services and/or information: through his text, the author manifests acceptance of the benefits received, confirms the validity of those transactions, shows their shared relevance to his academic goal, and brings closure to them by verbally re-enacting his role as a beneficiary. Examples:

(9) My work has *benefited* from *conversations* with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances." (Phil2; referring to the author's past role as a receiver of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefits; emphases added);

(10) "I was *fortunate* to work with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals throughout my Ph.D. study. *This research and its presentation today was* [sic] *only possible because of the quiet dedication and insight* of many friends and colleagues." (P-Bio3; recognizing the validity of benefits received; emphases added);

(11) "While in the midst of wrestling with this work, I have often found solace and inspiration *in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends who have nurtured my work*." (Edu1; combined reference to the author's benefactors and to the similar nature of their benefits; emphases added);

(12) "[...] but *it is one of the great pleasures* of my life as a writer finally to *record the acknowledgements* I have been impatiently saving up all these years." (Engl3; re-manifesting gratitude for benefits received; emphases added).

2.2. Formal features

From a formal point of view, a PhDAS is a communicative act distinct from its surrounding co-text and separate from the context it originated in. In Ehlich's (1983, 1984) terms, it is a text, i.e., an independent unit of language use.

For one thing, a PhDAS is characterized by marked typographic boundaries, a homogeneous layout, and a focus on one main topic, all of which stress its internal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

coherence and unity (see the sample analyses in section 4.1.). The presence of cohesive ties underlines the self-contained nature of such texts. Example:

(13) "*First*, I would like to thank the students who participated in these design studies. [...]. *Also*, I was fortunate to be in close collaboration with their teacher, [...]. *Particularly*, [first name + last name] helped me truly comprehend the numerous hats involved with being an educational researcher. [...]. I *also* wish to thank the other members of my committee, [...]. *Additionally*, [first name + last name] provided valuable feedback in early aspects of this work. *Generally*, I thank the [...] faculty for creating an interesting place for hybrids to spend some time. *Also*, this endeavor would not have been nearly as pleasant nor as productive if not for my close collaborator and dear friend [...]. *And*, I have also appreciated the hours of enjoyment shared with [...]. [...]. *Most of all*, I am indebted to my wife and graduate school partner, [...]" (Edu3; cohesive linkers stressing textual coherence; emphases added).

Secondly, a PhDAS is easily and conveniently identified as a distinct communicative act through its label, *Acknowledgments*. This title — to be found in all the texts in the corpus but Engl5 — encapsulates its communicative salience (i.e., its orientation towards the writer's helpers' accomplishments and merits) and thus signals its conceptual separability from the dissertation it is attached to (whose focus is on the writer's abilities and independently achieved results).

In addition, a PhDAS makes explicit its links with the previous relevant co-text, whose most salient content is reproduced or summarized through unambiguous reference to the author's benefactors and benefits. Such notions would not otherwise be easily

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accessible to the reader — who may or may not be one of the writer's benefactors — given that the PhDAS is relevant to *various* interactions developed in a *number* of contexts (see section 2.4.). Here is a typical thanking statement that clarifies its connection with the previous, relevant co-text:

(14) "Finally, for listening, understanding, and providing emotional support, I gratefully acknowledge my partner [first name + last name] and friend [first name + last name]." (Edu5; identification of the benefactor and list of specific benefits).

Less typical are thanking statements that are somewhat cryptic. Examples:

(15) "Last but not least, I cannot forget my intramural basketball buddies [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]." (EECS3; the reason for the author's positive attitude towards his previous interactants is not clarified);

(16) "I also thank [first name] for giving me the opportunity to live in [placename] for half a year." (EECS1; the type of relationship holding between the benefactor and the beneficiary is to be inferred).

Finally, as an attachment to a text meant for the "general" public (i.e., the dissertation), a PhDAS recontextualizes its deictic frame by selecting the dissertation reader as its official addressee; thus the PhDAS realizes its responding function indirectly, by *referring to* the writer's benefactors as part of the subject matter, rather than *addressing* them as members of the readership. The following excerpts are typical examples of this textual practice:

(17) "I thank [first name + last name] for *his* valuable comments about energy." (Arch1; reference to the benefactor in the third person; emphasis added);

(18) "I would like to thank my family for *their* encouragement and support from the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

start." (B-Adm1; reference to the benefactors in the third person; emphasis added). Less typical are instances of the use of address terms or second person pronouns and verb forms applied to benefactors; e.g.:

(19) "This thesis is partly for *you* too, *Mom* and *Dad*. Thank *you*." (EECS3; use of second person personal pronoun and address terms; emphases added);

(20) "Job well done, *Brother*!" (EECS2; use of address term; emphasis added).[10]

2.3. Content

From the point of view of content, a PhDAS may be oriented towards its writer's helpers and/or its writer himself, more specifically towards the complementary roles played by these individuals in previous interactions — as supposedly generous providers and satisfied receiver, respectively, of services and support. Indeed, in a PhDAS, the PhD candidate can focus on the roles that others played in the realization of his project, namely the trouble they went to which had a beneficial bearing on the final result he achieved and which determine his current indebtedness; at the same time, he can focus on the effect that those kind actions had on his attitude towards them, namely the change in his feelings due to the benefits received (i.e., his appreciation for their behavior).[11] With the former option, the writer fails to satisfy his desire not to be impeded upon, and ends up threatening his negative face; this is because the help received he refers to draws

[10] In only one case in the corpus is the reader referred to rather than addressed: "I can do no more than to refer the gentle reader to my dedication." (Engl3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

attention to a limitation on his freedom of action — however welcome — which influenced and directed his behavior.[12] With the latter option, on the other hand, he is able to satisfy the benefactors' desire to be liked and approved of, thus sustaining their positive face (see Brown and Levinson 1987); this is because reference to the writer's cognitive-emotional state can help reveal his perception of his benefactors as agreeable companions he is happy to be around.

The following excerpts show how the initial statement in a PhDAS, or even a micro introductory move (see section 4.6.1.1.) may openly address either or both interpersonal aspects of the interaction between the beneficiary and his benefactors:

(21) "To my dissertation committee, I give great thanks." (Edu1; focus on the expression of grateful feelings);

(22) "I would never have been able to complete this study, were it not for the persistent encouragement and the support of my professors, friends, and relatives." (Arch5; focus on the manifestation of indebtedness);

(23) "The joy I feel in having completed this dissertation is accompanied by a deep sense of gratitude. Traces of the hard work and insight of professors, friends, and colleagues are legible to me on every page. (Engl4; focus on the manifestation of gratitude and indebtedness).

The public expression of the author's feelings is what motivates the writing up of the PhDAS, while the description of the circumstances that caused his indebtedness

---

[11] Similarly, in a study on Japanese, Kumatoridani (1999) shows how thanks (for the benefit received) and apologies (for the trouble caused) can co-occur or alternate within responses to offers that have been accepted or requests that have been met (see section 3.3. for a summary of the article).

[12] His *current* manifestation of gratitude, too, is determined by the benefactors' previous interactional behavior. More generally, a beneficiary can react indifferently or resentfully, rather than gratefully, to a benefactor; however, assuming he is abiding by the cooperative principle, his (verbal) response will always be relevant to, and actually pre-selected by, the benefactor's previous interactional move.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

justify those feelings to the reader (see section 2.4.). Together, the reference to these situational variables — (a) the pleased acceptance (b) of previous offers (c) by other interactants — gives rise to the basic structure of the text's main strategic move (see section 2.6.1.5.).

2.4. Complexity

A PhDAS is a multi-faceted text. First, it is both a public document and a private communicative act (cf. Giannoni 1998: 64). On the one hand, it is meant to publicly and officially recognize others' professional merits, as its title *Acknowledgments* suggests (see section 2.4.); on the other hand, it is also used to inform the reader about personal circumstances, which are nevertheless made public (see Cronin, McKenzie, Stiffler 1992: 108; cf. also Meier 1989: 34 about private acts of thanking appearing in the press). Examples:

(24) "I would like to thank my dissertation committee members [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for invaluable guidance and suggestions." (B-Adm4; focus on the public acknowledgment of benefits);

(25) "I would like to express my most heartfelt appreciation to my research advisor, Professor [first name + last name], for his support, guidance, and encouragement throughout my doctoral program. His no-nonsense style and persistent work ethic has always given me something to strive for in my own daily pursuits — both

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inside and outside academic circles." (EECS2; focus on the public acknowledgment of benefits and merits);

(26) "Not only of academia is [sic] possible to survive. Many friends at Berkeley helped me to conclude. [...] These friends and their family provided the conditions for my family and me to spend unforgettable moments at Berkeley. My love and gratitude to them all." (Arch2; focus on the memory of private circumstances);

(27) "To las mujeres en me vida, particularly [seven pairs of first names + last name initials], all the fine women at the dog pound, y mis amigas son de Las Diablitas, thank you for embracing me with your warmth and affection, for feeding me, dancing with me, and for making me have the fun that I very much needed, and, most of all thank you for teaching me what it means to be a member of a community." (Edu1; focus on the memory of private circumstances);

(28) "[first name + last name], the most devoted, selfless and supportive friend one could ask for, has listened to my cries of joy and pain through times of thick and thin. [first name] is also a walking encyclopedia from whom I can always gather lots of technical information, career advice, stock insights, and, more recently, HP gossips." (EECS1; focus on dissertation-related and personal circumstances).

In addition, a PhDAS fulfills a twofold interactional function: on the one hand, as a delayed move that globally refers to previous (non)-verbal exchanges similarly oriented towards a common purpose, it completes a larger interaction, bringing it to an end; on the other hand, as an independent communicative act, it internally clarifies its connection with the relevant co-text, and creates and completes a distinct interactional event. As a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

result, a PhDAS is both a complementary and an autonomous unit of communication. Examples:

(29) "Many people have helped me in the writing of this dissertation. [...] I regret that I can offer, in return for all this help, no more impressive evidence of my gratitude." (Phil1; focus on bringing a larger interaction to an end: the PhDAS is sandwiched between a global, discontinuous, introductory-and-concluding AM; see sections 2.6.1.5., 4.6.1. and 4.6.1.1. about introductory and concluding AMs);

(30) "It has been a long journey and there have been so many people who were encouraging and helpful along the way. [...] Mom, Dad — I finished!" (EECS1; focus on bringing a larger interaction to an end: the PhDAS opens with an introductory move and ends with a concluding move);

(31) "The writing of a dissertation is a long and sometimes lonely task, and it is hard to recognize everybody who contributed to this work. However, some people stand out." (Stat1; introductory move stressing the self-contained nature of the PhDAS);

(32) "My work has benefited from conversations with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances. For their generous help, I am grateful to [...]." (Phil2; clarifying the connection of the PhDAS with its relevant co-text);

(33) "I am further indebted to Mr. [first name + last name] for carefully reviewing the draft of this dissertation, and for his invaluable comments on both technical contents and English writing." (EECS4; clarifying the connection between the PhDAS and the relevant co-text).

It follows from the above observations and relevant exemplifications that the kind

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of relationship a PhDAS is likely to establish with previous discourse is one-to-many. Although a PhDAS is *one* self-contained text that realizes a distinct act of communication, it is oriented towards *several* previous interactional events. This accounts for its cyclical internal arrangement, that is, the recursiveness of its basic functional component, the AM (see section 2.6.1.5.); in this respect, the PhDAS can be viewed as an integrated collection of mini-texts. Consider the following examples, in which the symbol [#] signals the beginning of a new AM:[13]

(34) "[#1] I would like to thank my doctoral advisor, [first name + last name], for financial support and for his guidance during the completion of the research project. [#2] I am indebted also to [abbreviated first name + last name] and [abbreviated first name + last name] for their advice and their insightful comments on the manuscript. [#3] Thanks also to [abbreviated first name + last name] and [abbreviated first name + last name] for their friendship, for many discussions early on in the project, and for always being willing to help me find an answer to my questions. [#4] I am grateful to my colleagues at the [name of institution] lab, [first name + last name], [first name + hyphenated middle name and last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name], for many interesting scientific discussions, and especially for their encouragement and support when things went wrong. [#5] Thank you very much to my father, [first name], for all the encouragement and for teaching me that there were no limits to what I could be. [#6] Thank you to [first name + last name], my friend and first real science teacher, for always being close in spite of the distance. [#7] Finally, special thanks to [first name + hyph. middle name and last name], for introducing me to the world of

[13] For identification of AMs, see section 4.2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

photosynthesis, for his continuous support and countless discussions on the experimental part of the project, and for sharing with me his never-ending enthusiasm for science." (P-Bio1; recursiveness of AMs: a 7-AM long PhDAS);

(35) "[#1] I'd like to thank my advisor [abbreviated first name + last name] for his guiding hand and help over the last two years. "THANKS!" [#2] Thanks also to my fellow graduate students, particularly [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], for listening to my musings, rhetorical questions and other types of 'thinking aloud'. [#3] Finally I'd like to gratuitously acknowledge the [italicized name of group] for accepting a softball novice into the fold. [new paragraph] [#4] The research in this thesis was partially supported by [name of institution] grants [three grant numbers] and [grant number]." (Stat3; recursiveness of AMs: a 4-AM-long PhDAS).

The connection between a PhDAS and its current co-text, namely the dissertation, is also complex, but in a different way. On the one hand, a PhDAS is concretely bound to its dissertation and partly relevant to it content-wise (i.e., it concerns the writer's *work* seen as an on-going process, i.e., related as in a narrative); also, it partly adopts the dissertation's deictic frame, by identifying the *you* of the message (i.e., the intended recipients of the text) in the readers of the dissertation, while the author's benefactors become part of the subject matter (this way, the PhDAs is partly anchored to a contextual property of the dissertation; see sections 2.2. and 2.6.1.2.). Examples:

(36) "I thank my family for *their* constant love and support of my eccentric pursuit," (Stat4; a third person plural possessive referring to a group of benefactors; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(37) "Finally, I want to thank [first name] for *her* support, patience and love, [...]" (B-Adm2; a third person singular possessive referring to one benefactor; emphasis added);

(38) "[first name + last name] was one of these persons to be remembered forever. *He* was a member of my doctoral exams and a member of my dissertation committee. I knew [abbreviated first name] through *his* work with the community and with minorities. I was invited to *his* Design Studio class to comment on the work of *his* students. From then on we developed a relationship which helped me to understand better the struggles of the peoples of the USA. *He* taught me a great deal about what cannot be learned exclusively at the university." (Arch2; third person singular personal pronouns and possessives referring to one benefactor; emphases added).

At the same time, a PhDAS is at least *conceptually* removable from its dissertation, given its distinct communicative purpose — showing deference to the benefactors and/or enthusiasm for the benefits rather than reporting and discussing the author's independently achieved academic results. In addition, with regard to content, a PhDAS is also highly relevant to the *author* himself as a social individual in a network of personal and professional relationships. As a result, the PhDAS partly contradicts the dissertation it accompanies — it reveals the author's dependence on others with regard to a project requiring (and a project report stressing) the author's confidence and self-reliance (see Giannoni 1998: 76-77). The PhDAS thus turns out to be simultaneously and ambiguously inward- as well as outward-oriented (see Ben-Ari 1987: 63), that is, relevant both to the individual research project reported in the dissertation — carried out by the author on his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

own — and to the circumstances of the project reported in the PhDAS itself — which involved others' help. Examples:

(39) "I wish to thank [first name + last name] of [name of company] and [first name + last name] of [name of company] for all of their help with confocal microscopes." (P-Bio2; focus on the author's dependence on others);

(40) "I feel lucky to be able to work in the [name of institution] Center and the Department of Plant Biology in UC Berkeley, which are two of the most dynamic and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology. [...] I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the [name of foundation] Foundation and the International House in UC Berkeley, which provided me with the support to continue my graduate studies. [...] Above all, endless love and thanks to my parents, all my sisters and my brother for their encouragement, unconditional support and love. Their love is the source of power that keeps me going throughout the years." (P-Bio3; focus on the author's network of professional and personal relationships);

(41) "My fellow students, especially [several names], and the [name of group], have been of invaluable help during my struggles, have provided many stimulating arguments and discussions, and have filled any excess time with fun." (Stat2; focus on the author's network of relationships and dependence on others).

Furthermore, given that a PhDAS is a *delayed* manifestation of thanks — its relevant co-text consists of spatio-temporally remote interactional events (see section 2.6.1.6.) — the gratitude it expresses may be worded in such a way that it has a *primary*, but not necessarily absolute, performative value. That is to say, AMs in a PhDAS do

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

realize a conclusive series of *current* acts of thanking through expressions of thanks relevant to the present (and, much more rarely, to the future); however, they may also *refer to* previous ones (e.g., when thanking expressions mention the writer's *past* cognitive-emotional state towards his benefactors and/or benefits; see Giannoni 1998: 73). Examples:

(42) "First, *I would like to thank* the members of my committee." (Phil1; realization of a current act of thanking; emphasis added);

(43) "*I would like to thank* my advisor, [first name + last name], for his support and for his boundless enthusiasm. He introduced me to the exciting and beautiful world of cell biology, and for that, *I will be eternally grateful*." (P-Bio2; realization of a current act of thanking and reference to a future one; emphases added);

(44) "As a foreign student in America, *I was blessed* to make many remarkable friends in the I-House who helped me to learn about the American culture and society. I cannot imagine a better start in a strange land than the I-House. (P-Bio3; reference to the author's positive perception of his past beneficial state in relation to his benefactors and/or benefits, emphasis added);

(45) "*It was a great pleasure* to work with so many undergraduate assistants." (P-Bio5; reference to the author's previous positive cognitive-emotional state towards his benefactors; emphasis added);

(46) "*I have been blessed* with a family which values higher education." (Engl3; reference to cognitive-emotional state experienced in a span of time extending from the past into the present; emphasis added).

Another relevant observation is that a PhDAS deals with the notion of 'exchange'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in two complementary ways: it is both a topic to be discussed and a function to be realized. If the PhDAS serves to *talk* about benefactors' past acts of giving to the author (i.e., offers of goods, services and/or information), it also allows the author to carry out an act of giving to the readers — and non-informed benefactors too — that is, it enables him to offer information about previous exchanges he was involved in and his feelings in response to those exchanges. For this reason, a PhDAS can be said to enact a role reversal in the interaction. Examples:

(47) "The University of California, Berkeley, and the Bay Area more generally, have given me ample intellectual community." (Engl3; *giving* information to the reader about a service *received* from benefactors);

(48) "I am also grateful for the keen editorial advice of my fellow graduate students." (Engl4; *giving* information to the reader about a service *received* from benefactors).

Finally, although the expression of the writer's grateful attitude towards his benefactors is the communicative goal that defines the essence of the PhDAS (i.e., as a global act of thanking), this does not necessarily mean that gratitude is the notion that acquires prominence in the text. Indeed, the writer's need to make his text understandable to a readership potentially wider or other than his helpers may lead him to focus on his benefactors and benefits when compiling his text, and to only succinctly express or even omit the expression of thanks. As a result, the textual means to the end of thanking may highlight the *subsidiary* meanings, not the primary concept, of the PhDAS. It is precisely the rich description of benefactors and benefits, rather than feelings, attested in the corpus (see sections 4.8., 4.9., and 4.10.), that usually turns an act of thanking into a speech act

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

set (Cohen and Olshtain 1981) of thanking (see section 2.6.1.5.). Examples:

(49) "[abbreviated first name] has not only been a supportive mentor but a good friend as well. We have had many personal conversations which I did not imagine possible with an advisor, and she has given many [sic] invaluable advice on my personal life." (EECS1; focus on benefits);

(50) "I have made many special friends, in Berkeley and [placename], who have made grad school such a unique and exciting learning experience. You know who you are, so I will not list your names here because, well, it's just not my style. Being in Berkeley or [placename] has been a transient period for many of us, and some of you have already left, and so have I. Fortunately, since most of us are engineers, it is likely that we either stay in or converge to the Silicon Valley, so there will be lots more chances to take trips or hit the bar scenes together." (EECS1; focus on background information and opinions);

(51) "First of all, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my advisor Professor [first name + last name] for his guidance and support given to me throughout my study in Berkeley. His keen insights, stimulating advice, and incredible patience toward my research have shown me what a top professor should be. It has been a special privilege to be his student. This unique experience will be a source of long lasting inspiration to me." (EECS4; focus on benefactors and benefits).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.5. Genre status

After Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993), I consider a non-fictional genre a set of spoken or written utterances that are produced in and shaped by habitual interactional events recognizable by members of a given socio-linguistic community. These units of communication answer recurrent interpersonal and/or instrumental needs through a partial or exclusive use of language; in the former case, they may *accompany* given interactional events (as is the case with mini-dialogues in service encounters), while in the latter case, they *constitute* the interaction itself (consider, e.g., an e-mail exchange of news). The fact that they are similarly function-oriented and ratified within a specific cultural group leads to the establishment of conventional procedures for their production, distribution, and use as well as to the development of their shared characteristics (i.e., in structure, content, and style). Indeed, they can be called a *genre* (i.e., a kind of kind) precisely because it is possible to identify and abstract from them a group of *shared* properties and generalize them into a category or type. That is, they are recognized as repeated occurrences of the "*same*" communicative situation or as repeated communicative situations perceived to be *similar*.

PhDASs can be said to form a genre because they conform to the above-mentioned properties: they are communicative acts meant to realize a common, basic interactional function which, in turn, shapes their content and form (see sections 2.1. and 2.3.). Swales's (1990) criteria for identifying and describing genres can aptly help characterize PhDASs as well.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(I) "*A genre is a class of communicative events*" (p. 45; original emphasis). PhDASs are communicative events in the sense that language plays "both a significant and an indispensable role" in them (p. 45). It is totally through verbal interaction that their authors try to express their feelings and satisfy their benefactors' positive face needs (see sections 2.3. and 2.6.1.4.). PhDASs also constitute a *class* of communicative events because they can be easily recognized and labeled within the discourse community in which they are exchanged. The interactional occasion that sets the stage for their production and reception and the role they play for the participants involved are familiar to the members of that community. As a result, the common properties of such texts stand out prominently in the professional domain in which they are used.

The following PhDAS illustrates the above observations: it is completely realized through language; it is accompanied by a descriptive label (i.e., its title); it is recognizable by its title (i.e., *Acknowledgements*) and content (i.e., reference to the benefits the writer received from his helpers and manifestation of the writer's relevant gratitude); and its content explains why it has been produced.

(52) **"Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my dissertation committee members [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for invaluable guidance and suggestions. I am also indebted to [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for their many helpful comments. I would also like to extend my appreciation to [first name + last name], [first name + middle name initial + last name], [first name + last name],

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for making my time here so memorable." (B-Adm4; an exemplar of the PhDAS genre).

(II) "*The principal criterial feature that turns a collection of communicative events into a genre is some shared set of communicative purposes*" (p. 46; original emphasis). PhDASs are indeed "communicative vehicles for the achievement of" (p. 46) common goals. Their authors write them because they want to manifest their positive attitude towards the people that were supportive of and helpful to them while they were busy completing their dissertation projects. It is this shared purpose that both identifies PhDASs as a genre and determines their typical content — expression of their writers' gratitude, description of the benefits received, and reference to the benefactors to be credited for them (but see below under criterion no. (III) about disacknowledgments).

However, PhDASs may include additional information and/or satisfy related purposes that sustain their main function. That is, PhDASs may expand on one or more of their basic units of information (see section 2.6.1.5.) with details that help the reader contextualize — and appreciate the value of — the relationship or interactions between the writer and his helpers. The inclusion of this extra information allows the authors to carry out complementary sub-moves that can be subsumed under the umbrella act of manifesting gratitude, such as apologizing to benefactors for disturbing them, complimenting them on their excellence or offering some form of repayment for services received. Examples:

(53) "My thanks also go to [first name + last name], who helped me produce this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

manuscript in its final form." (Arch1; AM expressing gratitude and motivating circumstances);

(54) "Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my wife [first name] for being the unique human being she is and for waiting relatively patiently for me in [name of nation] *while I spent countless hours working on this dissertation which could have been spent with her instead.*" (Stat 1; AM referring to the cost of the benefit to the benefactor; emphasis added);

(55) "I owe a profound debt to my dissertation advisors [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]. Each of them has provided the right combination of timely encouragement and knowledgeable criticisms which have saved me from many blind alleys. *Time and time again I have been amazed by their truly extraordinary dedication and by their incisive readings of Spinoza.*" (Phil 5; AM expanding on the qualities of the benefactors; emphasis added);

(56) "This is equally true for [first name + last name], who never lost faith in this dissertation. I am grateful to her for reading every single draft with extraordinarily rigorous attention. I count our (almost daily) exchange about my dissertation précis during the fall of 1996 to be one of the most transformative intellectual events of my graduate career. Indeed, the central arguments for the dissertation emerged out of this exchange. Throughout the writing process—and during that fall especially—I learned from her how to envision whole arguments from seemingly disparate close readings. *I will continue to strive to incorporate into my work the lessons I learned from her then.* It is hard to imagine how she has the time to do as much for her students as she does, *but I hope I will be able to find a similar reserve in*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

guiding my own students through their projects. She will certainly always remain a model of pedagogy for me.

I hope that I can bring to my own dissertation students what I have learned from each member of my dissertation committee about the rewards of rigor, the pleasures of scholarship, and the spirit of intellectual community." (Engl4; AM expressing the will to reciprocate the benefits received; emphases added).

(III) "*Exemplars or instances of genres vary in their prototypicality*" (p. 49; original emphasis). Genre exemplars are not clones of one another: *new* ones are produced whenever *new* interactional occasions arise, and even if the interactions in question are of the same kind, they will be distinctly relevant to their specific context. This means that each genre exemplar re-produces its genre differently, and therefore that some communicative acts represent the genre they are members of more typically than others. How typically they instantiate the genre depends on how many privileged vs. marginal features (see Rosch 1973, 1975, 1978) of the genre they exhibit and on whether they align with just one genre or more (see Bhatia 1994 about genre mixing and embedding).

The main privileged property of a genre is certainly its communicative purpose, because this determines its raison d'être and makes its exemplars easily recognizable. Other important properties of a genre — and relatable to its communicative purpose — are the form, content and structure of, and the audience expectations about its exemplars. Marginal properties of the genre have to do, for example, with the length, degree of elaboration, subsidiary topics, instrument of communication, and linguistic code of each

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of its exemplars; when such features are instantiated in similar ways across genre exemplars, they contribute to the conventionality of the genre itself.

A good genre representative is thus one that partly reproduces and partly innovates its genre: on the one hand, it instantiates its relevant text type and observes the most recurrent conventions of the socio-cultural community in which it is produced (so that it can be easily recognized by the addressee as a token of a given type); on the other hand, it unambiguously shows its relevance to its specific context of situation (so that it can be appropriately used by all the participants involved).

The properties PhDASs are expected to share include their authors' intention of manifesting appreciation for help received (purpose), reference to the authors' interactions with their benefactors (content), organization in conceptual paragraphs each focusing on one (group of) benefactor(s) (structure), tone typical of a partly public and partly private communicative act, i.e., half way between formal and informal (form), and awareness of the only partial overlap between the set making up the authors' benefactors and the set making up the readers of their dissertations (audience expectations).

A prototypical PhDAS is characterized by several properties. (a) First, it is a text that is immediately recognized as an instantiation of the type of communicative act its author had in mind and thus succeeds in conveying the writer's positive feelings towards his benefactors with regard to his dissertation project. (b) Also, it is a text that is oriented toward the higher-level goal of sustaining temporarily unbalanced social relationships: the benefits exchanged between the dissertation writer and his helpers have turned the former into a debtor and the latter into creditors, but then the PhDAS gives the writer the opportunity to show his awareness of the situation and to start giving something back, in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this case good feelings. (c) Moreover, a typical PhDAS satisfies its readers' expectations in four respects: it selects as its addressees the readers of the dissertation in which it is included rather than the writer's helpers; as a result, it includes information about the latter that might not be accessible to the former otherwise; also, it openly reveals that the dissertation in question was the result of a joint effort, a sort of group project coordinated by the writer, but not entirely carried out by him; finally, it appears to manifest the writer's sincere good will towards his benefactors as a result of help received. (d) Furthermore, a typical PhDAS is a linguistic product that shows some degree of creativity "despite" the recognizability of its text type: the text's partly original contribution to the genre both contributes to the latter's internal variation (i.e., vitality) and provides evidence of the writer's individual, distinct experience (i.e., relevance to specific interactional circumstances). In sum, a typical PhDAS is one that does not entirely reproduce the content of similar texts but gives due prominence to their common type, one that unambiguously reveals its writer's awareness of his past dependence on and current indebtedness to his benefactors, and one that provides enough background information about the writer's previous interactions so that its readers can make sense of, and thus agree with, the writer's manifestation of gratitude. Here are examples of typical PhDASs:

(57) "Acknowledgments

Thanks are due to the members of my committee: [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name]. Their comments on this project were unfailingly incisive, thought-provoking, and encouraging; their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scholarly works were models and inspirations to me. Thanks, also, to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], whose comments were very helpful to me at different stages of the dissertation. [first name + last name] was that great teacher who first inspired my interest in and love of eighteenth-century literature.

My personal debts are too many to pay off here. Thanks to the friends who helped me through, and especially to [first name], who kept me smiling this last year. My parents were an unfailing support. And of course, [first name] makes it all worthwhile." (Engl1; a typical PhDAS);

(58) **"Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their valuable suggestions, comments and time. I would also like to thank the [name of institution] for providing financial assistance and access to [abbreviated name of institution] data during my fellowship there. The comments and opinions in this dissertation are my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the directors, members, or officers of the [abbreviated name of institution]. I am very grateful to many professors and colleagues for interesting discussions and for guidance during the last few years. In particular, I would like to thank [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for helpful conversations and assistance. I would like to thank my family for their encouragement and support from the start. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the memory of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[first name + last name] who shared his enthusiasm towards investigating new ideas with me." (B-Adm1; a typical PhDAS).

Untypical instances of the genre could be PhDASs having the outer appearance of an acknowledgment, but not written in the true spirit of grateful good will, such that their categorization as members of the genre would be questionable. Non-typical exemplars could be PhDASs that push creativity to the limit by adopting or parodying the conventions and register of other genres (e.g., those that sound like prayers or have the tone of personal letters) or, more simply, those that do not follow the conventional formal practices of the genre. Less typical genre members could also be unusually long texts providing over-detailed accounts of previous interactional circumstances or unexpectedly short ones that are almost formulaic in nature and thus fail to describe or motivate the reasons for the writer's gratitude. Non-optimal instantiations of the genre could also be the PhDASs that include apparently irrelevant information (i.e., about the writer's family history). The acceptability of such texts depends of course on the overt and/or covert norms for the appropriate public expression of feelings in an academic setting. Here are instances of non-typicality from the corpus:

(59) "[...] and to those young women [...], it was an honor and a privilege to be a part of *your* lives for one brief semester. Thank *you*. [...] And to my dissertation chair, [first name + last name]: *you* have taught me to be a teacher, *you* have taught me to be a learner. *You* opened up a world of ideas for me, [...]! *You* are my advisor on paper and my mentor in life. *You* are a dear dear friend. To my partners in crime [...], working with *you* folks has taught me the meaning of collaboration,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[...]. [first name], of course I owe *you* a special thanks [sic] for trusting me, and allowing me to put *you* and *your* students under the scrutiny of my watchful eye. To the original [...], thank *you* for patiently introducing this renegade psychologist to a much more interesting and challenging species of theory. To [first name + last name], my dedicated writing partner, *your* words of encouragement, *your* honesty, and *your* sincerity consistently motivated me to keep on keeping on [sic] [...] To [...] my tai'ji transcriber extraordinaire, thank *you* for saving my hands and my mind with *your* skill, wit, and wisdom. To my parents, [...], *your* love and support [...] are what have gotten me through these many many years of formal education. [...]. To my brother [...] *you* were the first to give me lessons in peace and to protect me from harm's way, thank *you*. To my four living sisters [...]. I will always look up to *your* enduring inner strength and beauty. And to my other "brothers" [...] *your* abiding presence is always felt and appreciated in so many ways. To las mujeres en me vida, [...] thank *you* for embracing me with *your* warmth and affection, [...]. And to [first name + last name]: If I am *your* biggest fan, *you* are my hero. [...]" (Edu1; excerpts from a PhDAS containing recurrent instances of *you* relevant to specific benefactors rather than the dissertation reader: failure to observe conventional formal generic practices);

(60) "At UC Berkeley I had the opportunity to meet first [first name + last name]. He captivated my attention with his excellent sense of humor and his constant challenge, "What is new?" a question he always posed at the start of every class session. [...] I knew [abbreviated first name] through his work with the community and with minorities. I was invited to his Design Studio class to comment on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work of his students. [...] My first encounter with [first name] was as a student in his classes about the logic that admits conditionals. [...] I remember one of his first comments on one of my term papers: Do you blatantly accept the notion of wicked problems?" (Arch2; excerpts from a PhDAS containing quite a lot of information not immediately relevant to the dissertation: failure to observe conventional content-related generic practices);

(61) "I would also like to congratulate my younger brother, who is getting Ph.D. [sic] in Physics from the renowned [name of university] at about the same time as I do. Job well done, Brother!" (EECS2; PhDAS excerpt containing information not strictly relevant to the dissertation: reference to a person deemed important, who is not, however, a benefactor).

None of the PhDASs in my corpus contradicts its communicative purpose. Yet, I am aware of one AS that does just that, namely the one appearing in the 1999 master's thesis by Christopher Todd Brown, a University of California, Santa Barbara graduate student in materials science.[14] This text, called *Disacknowledgments* by its author, is basically a stream of invective against people and institutions (the Graduate Division, a library, a professor, former California governor Pete Wilson, the UC Regents and even Science) for their alleged disservice to the thesis writer. The text is structured like an ordinary AS (see section 2.6.1.5.): an introductory statement announcing what the author is about to do (i.e., explain in what ways certain people stood in the way of his academic pursuits) is followed by conceptual paragraphs each dealing with one (group of) malefactor(s) at a time. Each paragraph realizes one strategic move consisting of a core

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information unit and one or more expansions relevant to it (see section 2.6.1.5.). In addition, the text is relevant to the circumstances of the writer's scholarly life: the author makes reference to various episodes of his academic career and openly reveals his attitude towards his supposed malefactors, all of whom played an apparently negative role in that career. Unlike typical (PhD)ASs (see section 2.6.1.2.), however, this text selects the author's malefactors, rather than the readers of the thesis, as its addressees and makes no reference to the writer's personal life. What is most important, though, is that this AS falls so short of its first receivers' (i.e., the graduate division's) expectations that it incurred the risk of invalidating the larger text it was part of; indeed, the university at first refused to confer the master's degree on the author unless he removed or changed the AS (later on, however, the degree *was* conferred as a result of a lawsuit)[15].

Todd Brown's certainly unusual experience shows that adherence or inadherence to the genre's pivotal property (communicative purpose) may be a predictor not only of a specific genre member's communicative effectiveness, but also of its "popularity rating" and more generally of its social success or failure. This case reveals that, however non-essential ASs may be, or considered to be, these texts are not inconsequential. Their content can be dismissed as unimportant only as long as they reproduce a culturally ratified pattern of communication, in which no participant's face is deliberately or seriously threatened. Only mock offence and irony can be tolerated; e.g.:

(62) "Their faith—and disbelief about the length of time it was taking to earn my doctorate—alternately inspired and shamed me into finishing the dissertation." (Engl5; tongue-in-cheek remark);

---

[14] Eve Haque first informed me about this text.
[15] Details about this case can be found at www.disacknowledged.org.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

similarly, backhanded comments are acceptable, but only if they reflect well on the benefactor; e.g.:

(63) "[first name] was an early supporter of my academic career at Berkeley who saw promise in my academic abilities where others saw none." (Edu4; back-handed comment).

Thus, the interpersonal significance of ASs becomes evident when they fail to observe cultural expectations: their non-adherence to social norms may stand in the way of the instrumental effectiveness of the larger texts they are attached to.

None of the PhDASs in my corpus reproduces the text type or adopts the register of other genres in full. Yet, some are not exempt from marginal forms of contamination from other genres. For instance, reference to the grants that made the writers' studies possible is occasionally made in the succinct and impersonal way that is typical of journal article ASs (in 7 PhDASs). Example:

(64) "Financial support was provided by the [name of institution] ([abbreviated name of institution]) through grant [grant number], by a [name of institution] Fellowship under program [program code] and by the [institution] grant [grant number]." (Stat1; acknowledgment style of journal article ASs).[16]

The same style is only rarely adopted when other units of meaning are to be conveyed. Example:

[16] Other less typical PhDASs that I have collected but not considered in this study include: two that end with invocations to god, which make them partly resemble prayers (i.e. "I thank God it's over."; "To God be the glory for the things He has done for me."); one that ends with what looks like a stanza: ""Like a bird on the wire,/ like a drunk in a midnight choir,/ I have tried, in my way, to be free."" (EECS6); another that is structured like a short academic article, with quotes and footnotes; another that pretends to thank for a "malefit" (i.e., EECS12, "[first name + last name in bold] stole all of my work. Which is okay 'cause I will get even!"), and another that briefly explains the topic of the dissertation project (i.e., Stat10: "DNA base-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(65) "Portions of Chapters 7 and 8 were delivered at Philosophy Department Colloquia at [name of university], [name of university], and the University of [placename] at [placename]." (Phil5; exemplification of an impersonal style).

More frequently, instead, the PhDASs examined show their originality in making reference to "unusual" benefactors or benefits (see this section below).

The length of individual exemplars also contributes to determining the degree of internal variation of the genre. Although most PhDAS are one page long, some may be very short (e.g., one paragraph long) and others very long (e.g., a dozen pages long); (in the corpus examined, the shortest is 53 words long and the longest is 1,025 words long; see section 4.4.). A short PhDAS is a non-optimal genre exemplar because its lack of details fails to highlight the importance of the benefits to the beneficiary, the cost of the benefits to the benefactors as well as the non-obviousness of the transactions between benefactors and beneficiary to the reader. A lengthy PhDAS, on the other hand, is untypical because its numerous details and exhaustive accounts of previous interactions make it look like an important text on a par with the dissertation and thus attract some attention away from the latter. Example:

(66) "Acknowledgments

Many people have provided essential help to me in writing this dissertation. In addition to those mentioned below [sic] I would like to give special thanks to [12 pairs of first names + last names] and [first name + last name]." (Phil3; a 54-word long PhDAS).

---

calling is an interdisciplinary problem.").

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

With regard to content, less typical PhDASs are those that, rather than only *expressing* gratitude, also convey the writer's own reflections on this language act or on acknowledgment practices (2 PhDASs) or that refer to specific episodes of the candidate's graduate student life that are not directly relevant to the dissertation project proper (8 PhDASs) or that make intertextual references as is typical in scholarly publications (1 PhDAS). Examples:

(67) "The generic requirements of the acknowledgments page mandate that, like the wine at Cana, the best be saved for last." (Engl3; reflection on the act of thanking);

(68) "As is usual in such cases, last but not least my family." (Arch2; reflection on acknowledgment practices);

(69) "During the many "holidays" I spent with [first name + last name] — our pre-MLA December 25th's — [...]" (Engl4; details of graduate school life);

(70) "At Berkeley, I found myself surrounded by top talents not only from the U.S. but also from the rest of the world." (EECS2; details of graduate school life);

(71) "As an institution, the [name of library] I knew was purged out of existence in 1993," (Engl3; details of graduate student life);

(72) "Coming from the person who co-authored the paper "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning" left me astonished." (Arch2; intertextual reference).

Finally, unusual PhDASs are those that mention benefactors but not the relevant benefits, that are unclear in identifying benefactors or that mention benefactors that have little to do with the writer's work. Examples:

(73) "Special thanks to the members of the [...] program at [...] Laboratory," (Arch1; benefactors mentioned without benefits);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(74) "And special thanks to [three names]." (Phil4; benefactors mentioned without benefits);

(75) "You know who you are, so I will not list your names here because, well, it's just not my style." (EECS1; vagueness in identifying benefactors);

(76) "[...] and my cousin [first name] for helping me feel younger than I am." (Edu3; benefits not directly relevant to the dissertation);

(IV) "*The rationale behind a genre establishes constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their content, positioning and form*" (p. 52; original emphasis). That is, the "underlying logic" of a text affects its structure, content and wording, and thus makes it possible to reveal its genre membership (i.e., to distinguish it from texts sharing elements of the context of situation and/or register); (pp. 53-54).

With regard to positioning, the following consideration is in order: a PhDAS is written to publicly express the writer's gratitude to various people for support obtained in relation to his dissertation project. The focus on the writer as a beneficiary may determine that accomplishments he is primarily responsible for (e.g., the results of his research) are presented not as potentially beneficial to others (e.g., colleagues-beneficiaries interested in his field) but as consequences of his benefactors' involvement in his research or life. Examples:

(77) "Finally, but certainly not the least, I would like to thank my brother and my parents for their lifelong support, encouragement, and love, without which this dissertation would not have been possible." (B-Adm3; focus on the writer's dependence on the benefactor; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(78) "I would especially like to thank [abbreviated first name + last name] for his invaluable help and friendship. *I literally would not have been able to complete my doctorate without him*." (P-Bio2; focus on the writer's dependence on the benefactor; emphasis added).

With regard to content, it is important to observe that, as a language act meant to give credit to and highlight the value of its writer's benefactors, the PhDAS's expressions of gratitude may be accompanied by complementary acts that contribute to threatening the writer's face and sustaining his benefactors' (see section 2.3.) — thus apologetic statements about the writer's imposition on or disagreeable behavior towards his benefactors may alternate with statements of praise or acts of complimenting or even offers to reciprocate somehow the favors received. Examples (see additional relevant examples in section 2.3. and under (II) above):

(79) "[first name + last name] is also a *stimulating personality*." (Arch2; focus on the evaluation of the benefactor; emphasis added);

(80) "The *breadth* of [first name]'s *knowledge* in the field of biology inspired me a great deal during my study of pollen development [...]" (P-Bio3; focus on expressing compliments; emphases added);

(81) "*I will continue to strive to incorporate into my work the lessons I learned* from her then." (Engl4; focus on the will to reciprocate; emphasis added);

(82) "Perhaps *I have not always been easy to work with, and was at times wayward and spoiled*." (EECS1; focus on the cost of the benefit to the benefactor; emphasis added);

(83) "I am grateful to [first name + last name] *for remaining supportive through*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

thick and thin [...]" (Engl4; focus on the benefactor's patience; emphasis added).

Still with reference to content, the goal of manifesting appreciation for help received will involve the writer's mentioning only — or almost exclusively — past interactional events that can be understood as beneficial exchanges between him and his helpers. Examples:

(84) "I am very grateful to my brother [first name], who invited me to [placename] and [placename] so that I could see and visit various traditional and contemporary examples of earth-integrated houses." (Arch 5; reference to past beneficial exchanges);

(85) "[first name + last name] and [first name + last name] of the [name of library] at Berkeley looked up unusual requests." (Arch4; reference to past beneficial exchanges).

With regard to form, it is possible to observe that the need to refer to the author's *feelings* with regard to given *benefits* tends to lead to the congruent encoding of the former through verbs or adjectives (describing cognitive-emotional states) and of the latter through nouns and verbs (identifying goods exchanged and services rendered, respectively). Examples:

(86) "I thank [first name + last name] for her enormous assistance in both science and life, her talent, her sense of humor and her warm friendship through the years in the lab." (P- Bio3; cognitive-emotional state expressed through a verb and benefits expressed through nouns);

(87) "I am grateful to [first name + last name] who let me screen the Ac/Ds-mutagenized population, [...]" (P-Bio3; cognitive-emotional state encoded in an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

adjective and benefit encoded in a verb phrase).

With regard to both content and form, the need to produce official thanks to be relatively permanently available to the public will have two main effects: on the one hand, PhDASs will tend to focus on benefits considered valuable enough to be worth remembering even after they have been received, and on the other hand, the writer will make considerable efforts to produce an eloquent, original, and pleasant-to-read text. Examples:

(88) "I'm grateful to my advisors and mentors [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their technical guidance and moral support, and for being role models of what can be achieved with a sharp mind and a lot of hard work." (EECS5; reference to an important benefit);

(89) "I would like to begin by thanking the people who made this dissertation possible. The families of the preschool children that I interviewed for this dissertation. I have learned that it is not always easy raising preschool age children and I am very grateful for the time and the experiences that parents of disabled children shared with me about themselves and their children." (Edu4; example of an originally worded AM).

With regard to structure, I have already pointed out that the PhDAS's relevance to typically more than one benefactor determines its arrangement as a *series* of AMs; on the other hand, its reference to all those benefactors in a single interactional act determines its organic, *unitary* structure (i.e., as one text, possibly including an introductory and a concluding move); (see relevant examples in section 2.6.1.5.).

Still with regard to structure, one can observe that the text's relevance to a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dissertation may determine that benefactors mentioned first will be those more directly involved in the dissertation project (see sections 2.6.1.5. and 4.6.2.). Example:

(90) "I want to thank professors [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their guidance, friendship, encouragement and support. [...]. [new paragraph]. Also, I would like to thank my fellow doctoral students, and especially my friend [first name + last name], for making my staying a [sic] Berkeley a very enjoyable experience. [new paragraph]. Finally, I want to thank [first name] for her support, patience and love, my parents, [first name] and [first name], for their guidance, love and unconditional investment in my education, and my brothers, [first name], [first name] and [first name], for their encouragement and support." (B-Adm2; example of a typically ordered group of benefactors in a PhDAS).

Finally, the PhDAS's connection to a more impressive text determines its non-excessive length and its concise reference to the circumstances of the dissertation project once this can be assessed with some detachment, after its completion, and favors its inclusion at the beginning of the dissertation book, as an introductory preface.

(V) "*A discourse community's nomenclature for genres is an important source of insight*" (p. 54; original emphasis). Indeed, as a result of their repeated exposure to and participation in interactional events, members of a community recognize the "recurring rhetorical action" (p. 54) provided by classes of communicative events, and label them accordingly.

A PhDAS can be called *acknowledgment, acknowledgments* or *acknowledgment(s)*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

section. An acknowledgment is first of all the act of *recognizing* that something is the case, as its root *know* reveals; in this technical, primary meaning, *acknowledgment* can thus refer to a statement through which one shows, concedes or confesses that something is the case (because *knowledge* of its existence or validity has been acquired). Alternatively, the term can refer to the act of accepting a given situation (including somebody's authority), because this is *recognized* as true, valid or important. An acknowledgment can also be a gesture revealing to someone that they have been *recognized* (i.e., a type of greeting). Also, it can be a statement *recognizing* the receipt, acceptance and/or ownership of something that has been sent. Finally, it can be a message that *recognizes* the *grateful* acceptance of a gift or benefit received or it can be another type of sign (i.e., object or action) that *shows* the *pleased acceptance* of something. As a *sign* of appreciative receipt of something, an acknowledgment may more specifically refer to the act of publicly thanking someone for what they have done, that is, it can be an official statement that gives due recognition to somebody for their services and manifests gratitude to them. In a book, dissertation or article, acknowledgements are the section in which the writer *recognizes* others' contributions to his work and thanks his benefactors for such contributions.

The title *Acknowledgments* given to PhDASs reveals and encapsulates the conventional purpose of these texts, which is to give public recognition and thanks to others for work *they* have done, that is for their help in the completion of the writers' dissertation projects. A PhDAS's function of officially giving credit to others for their contribution to the writer's success is particularly evident when benefactors are referred to as co-authors of given sections of the dissertation and more generally when writers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stress their intellectual indebtedness to their benefactors, especially their advisors.[17] Examples:

(91) "In particular, I wish to thank [abbreviated first name + last name], who introduced me to the field of behavioral finance, and who co-authored the last essay of this dissertation with me." (B-Adm3; reference to the benefactor as a co-author of part of the dissertation);

(92) "I would like to thank my dissertation committee members [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for invaluable guidance and suggestions." (B-Adm4; indicating intellectual dependence on the benefactors);

(93) "As my numerous references to his book on Spinoza will attest, my thinking on Spinoza owes a great deal to [first name + last name]'s work." (Phil5; acknowledgment of intellectual indebtedness);

(94) "[...] and the "Conference on Competition and Development" organized by the [placename] Business School and [name of journal] for their comments on previous drafts." (B-Adm5; referring to one's indebtedness to the benefactors).

An acknowledgment is not necessarily one of gratitude, though. In fact, one can officially recognize not only others' accomplishments, but also, for example, one's responsibilities or even failures. Although not frequent, my corpus does contain instances of such non-thanking acknowledgments (3 in 3 PhDASs). Examples:

[17] According to Cronin (1991: 228) acknowledgments and citations have the same function, even if they have different currency value; cf. also Giannoni (1998: 65, 77) on the continuum between authorship and AS-status "within the academic reward system".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(95) "Mistakes in this study are my own, but the opportunity to do this work, along with many useful contributions, I owe to others." (Arch3; acknowledgment of possible oversights);

(96) "Although I have significant disagreements with [last name]'s interpretation, [...]" (Phil5; acknowledgment of disagreement).

It is probably as a result of this acknowledging function that PhDASs are addressed to dissertation readers rather than the author's benefactors: a grateful statement about help received shows that the dissertation writer is not taking credit for what *others* have accomplished that was of use to him. Rather, it publicly shows that the writer has conscientiously taken precautions against plagiarism. In addition, the choice to address the dissertation readers rather than the benefactors in a PhDAS reveals that what is important is not so much that the benefactors know about the AMs relevant to them — after all, a copy of the text segments relevant to them is not typically sent to them — but rather that the content of those AMs is publicly and stably accessible so that the author does not risk being judged unfavorably.

The act of giving credit to others stresses the official, overt goal of the PhDAS, but it is also an instantiation of the act of thanking, since the credit publicly recognized was beneficial to the writer and probably engendered positive feelings in him. For this reason, an acknowledgment statement can be associated with (other) verbal manifestations of thanks. Indeed, a PhDAS not only allows its writer to make claims of authenticity about the authorship of his research report, but also gives him an opportunity to publicly thank all the people he feels indebted to, independently of the role they played, if any, with regard to his dissertation project. The following excerpts show manifestations of gratitude

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relevant to benefactors involved to different degrees in the writer's dissertation endeavors:

(97) "Financial Support by the [name of institution] (Award number [award number]) is gratefully acknowledged." (B-Adm3; reference to a benefactor directly relevant to the dissertation);

(98) "I would finally like to thank my friends and family for their patience during these past years." (Arch3; reference to benefactors whose help was only indirectly relevant to the dissertation);

(99) "Thanks to my father who has taught me by his example to stand up for things that matter. I wish he had lived to see me graduate." (EECS5; reference to a benefactor relevant to the author only as individual, not as a dissertation writer);

(100) "Most of all, I am indebted to my wife and graduate school partner, [first name], for helping me maintain perspective, for walking with me to get coffee, and for generally making this manuscript possible in so many ways. My feet still dance because of you." (Edu3; reference to a benefactor important to the writer both professionally and personally).

The above examples, then, show that the official purpose of PhDASs is the public recognition of certain beneficial interactional events, but also that this acknowledging function is accompanied — and may be superseded — by the manifestation of the writer's feelings triggered by them. (The function of acknowledging is more rigorously observed in ASs tied to a more formal and public forum, i.e., journal article ASs.)

Acknowledgments and *thanks* are not, therefore, different names for the same type

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of messages.[18] Acknowledgments are produced to provide publicly accessible information about different people's credit and responsibility with regard to a given project. Thanks manifest — either publicly or privately — a beneficiary's positive feelings towards benefactors for benefits received. When the credits that are recognized to given collaborators coincide with the benefits received from them, then acknowledgments coincide with thanks, that is, they become public acknowledgments of gratitude. When indistinguishable from more general thanks, certain acts of acknowledgment can be easily associated with other, even non-acknowledging, thanks and ultimately "confused" with them. This is precisely the case with PhDASs, which publicly manifest their writers' indebtedness to benefactors for services they deserve credit for. In short, they are instances of *grateful acknowledgments*. Example:

(101) "I trace the beginnings of this dissertation to [first name + last name], whose astonishing graduate seminar, [title of seminar in quotes], confirmed my devotion to the poet and her culture. His course, scholarship, and stated faith that I could be an Emily Dickinson scholar have sustained me, and I thank him for being my "preceptor." I give my immense gratitude to [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [abbreviated first name + last name] for their constant support, for help in reading this work and making suggestions, and for long conversations. [first name + last name] provided me with friendship, encouragement, and a place to stay when I worked at the [name of library] at [placename] College. Thank you to my

[18] Indeed, there are books that contain distinct *Ackowledgments* and *Thanks* sections, like Swales (1990): on p. xi this book reports *Acknowledgments* to authors and publishers for granting permission to reproduce copyright material, and on pp. ix-x it has a section called *Thanks* relevant to other kinds of benefits. There are also books that contain sections with the twofold title *Thanks and acknowledgements*, like Hess (2001): on p. xi of this book the writer manifests his gratitude to her friends, colleagues, and collaborators (mostly through clauses having first-person pronoun subjects) and gratefully mentions the people who took care of the illustrations and index.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

committee, [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name], for their most helpful comments and stimulating ideas. And for his knowing when to put a hand on my shoulder as I wrote and then leave me alone, for his support, and for his love and fire, I thank my husband, [first name + last name]." (Engl2; an instance of a PhDAS encoding grateful acknowledgments).

Bhatia's (1993: 13) definition of genre is based on and overlaps with Swales's to a considerable extent. In particular, it draws attention to the high degree of conventionality displayed by genre members and their highly structured internal organization. In addition, and unlike Swales's, it points out that a genre's internal variability may derive from context-specific circumstances, namely individual authors' private intentions that combine with the genre's conventional purpose.

According to Bhatia, the conventional procedures that text authors conform to are the means through which they produce homogeneous classes of communicative acts. Such practices are both an effect of the genre's communicative purpose (i.e., they reveal the authors' interpersonal and/or instrumental goals) and a means to the end of communicative efficiency (i.e., they offer partially ready-made resources that an utterer can draw on to competently and smoothly produce a text of a given type, without having to re-invent the wheel every time there is a need to engage in interaction; Luckmann 2001). That is, these institutionalized social and linguistic conventions constitute reference points for understanding, planning, and participating in recurrent interactions.

In the case of a PhDAS, for example, the choice of topics (i.e., the writer's previous exchanges with various interactants, which were beneficial to him) is a function of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

purpose of manifesting gratitude (see above about criterion for genre membership no. (IV)); in addition, the selection of the dissertation readers as the addressees of the text depends on the sub-purpose of publicly showing recognition for those benefits to a wider, general audience (see sections 2.2. and 2.6.1.2.). On the other hand, the choice of *Acknowledgments* as the identifying label of the PhDAS and the placement of the PhDAS at the beginning of the dissertation immediately reveals to the reader that the former communicative act is to be understood as an act of thanking relevant, at least to some extent, to the circumstances of the latter text (see above about Swales's criterion for genre membership no. (V) for examples). Furthermore, the author's recurrent reliance on conventional expressions conveying positive feelings relatable to the acceptance of generous offers (e.g. *thank, appreciate, owe*; see section 4.10.) makes it easy for the reader to identify and interpret the text's component AMs. Examples:

(102) "*I owe a special debt of thanks* to [first name + last name] not only for his perceptive comments, but also for his kindness and support during the course of my writing and job seeking." (Phil1; standard expression of thanks; emphasis added);

(103) "*I am grateful* to [first name + last name] for everything — both philosophical and non-philosophical." (Phil4; standard expression of thanks; emphasis added);

(104) "Furthermore, *I would like to recognize* all my fellow students from the former [name of institution] (r.i.p.) who took the time and trouble to visit me here in Berkeley, listed in order of appearance: [...]." (Stat1; semi-original thanking expression; emphasis added);

(105) "*I will always remember* you, [first name]." (P-Bio3; original thanking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

expression; emphasis added);

(106) "Last, but not the least, *I would like to pay special respect* to my parents and all other members in my family." (EECS4; original thanking expression; emphasis added);

(107) "*I feel very fortunate* to come to know and work with many of them." (EECS2; original thanking expression; emphasis added).

A genre's conformity to a type is best revealed in the staged realization of its exemplars. Given that genre members, especially elaborate ones, may need to convey several meanings or achieve multiple purposes, they tend to be made up of several functional components, each of which is a step towards the achievement of the text's global purpose (they are "tactical choices" that reveal that a genre is "a dynamic social process"; Bhatia 1993: 19, 16). A PhDAS too consists of structural units (i.e., AMs), which gradually and collectively enable its author to express thanks to all his most important helpers. Example (as before, the symbol [#] signals the beginning of a new AM):

(108) "[#1] I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professors [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their constant support of my research. Without their invaluable guidance and suggestions, this work would have been impossible. [#2] I also gratefully thank Professor [first name + last name] for making suggestions and reviewing my dissertation manuscript, [#3] and thank the Department of Statistics for financial support throughout my graduate study and research." (Stat5; recursiveness of AMs in a PhDAS).

The standard encoding of a genre also shows up in the adherence of its members to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

one type of content and their adoption of a conventional style. This applies to PhDASs as well. Thus their authors will especially tend to convey information that is relevant to (the time of) their dissertations and that throws positive light on their benefactors. Examples:

(109) "Several faculty and fisheries scientists including Prof. [first name + last name], Prof. [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] have made valuable comments on my work." (Stat4; reference to benefits relevant to the dissertation that positively reflect on the benefactors);

(110) "I thank [first name + last name], who has been there from the beginning, for seeing me and this project through several personal and professional metamorphoses. She has remained a committed, generous, and involved mentor from the early stages of my graduate study through my introduction into the profession." (Engl4; reference to a dissertation-relevant benefit that positively reflects on the benefactor).

Also, several of the benefits mentioned will recur across PhDASs and across disciplines, as is the case with, e.g., financial aid (mentioned in all disciplines) and humor (mentioned in 3 disciplines). Examples:

(111) "I thank the U. C. Berkeley English Department for three years of fellowship awards that allowed me the time to develop these ideas. The dissertation benefited immeasurably from having the support of my department in these crucial years." (Engl4; reference to financial aid);

(112) "My friends [...] went beyond the call of *adda* to help measure and sketch many of the buildings, and kept me in good humor." (Arch4; reference to humor as a benefit; original emphasis).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, and as a consequence of mentioning benefits received, PhDAS writers will also display a positive attitude towards their former interlocutors, for instance deference and respect, or praise and consideration, or happiness and enthusiasm. Examples:

(113) "I am very grateful to my research advisor, Professor [first name + last name], for his guidance and support throughout my years at Berkeley. Besides the wealth of his technical knowledge, I truly admire his profound business insights and superior management skills." (EECS2; manifestation of deference to a benefactor);

(114) "[first name + last name], the most devoted, selfless and supportive friend one could ask for, has listened to my cries of joy and pain through times of thick and thin. [first name] is also a walking encyclopedia from whom I can always gather lots of technical information, career advice, stock insights, and, more recently, HP gossips." (EECS1; actual and tongue-in-cheek praise of a benefactor);

(115) "Professor [first name + second name initial + last name] always inspired me with his energetic pursuit of knowledge [...]" (Arch 5; praise and consideration for a benefactor);

(116) "To [first name + last name], you rule! What would I have done without your generous spirit." (Edu1; enthusiasm and happiness in mentioning a benefactor and relevant benefit).

PhDAS writers' observance of standard, ratified practices with regard to structure, content and style determines the recognizability of their genre membership (see Bhatia 1993: 14).

However, Bhatia also points out that the individual instantiations of a genre can

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

easily accommodate specific cultural, contextual, and individual needs. Thus members of a discourse community can tailor their texts to a particular audience in anticipation of their cultural expectations. The PhDASs I have collected are culturally homogeneous in the sense that they were all produced in the same US academic institution: their authors had to spend enough time there (i.e., a few years) to be in a position to write those texts, and this certainly influenced their cultural habits. One can speculate, however, that PhDASs from different cultural communities might display partially different structural, semantic or stylistic features; for instance, bilingual PhD candidates could code-switch from English to their other language in their texts (see example (27) in section 2.4., and examples (59) and (112) in this section above).

Genre exemplars can also reveal their contextual specificity by exploiting the opportunities offered or respecting the constraints imposed by the situation. The PhDASs I have collected are relevant to partially different context of situations, identifiable as the academic communities their authors are or were affiliated with. The professional group membership of those writers does indeed correlate with some of the features of their texts. For instance,

(A) reference to study participants is made only in 3 PhDASs from the Edu set and 1 from the Arch set; examples:

> (117) "To the students of [abbreviation of course name] Group who allowed me to prod and probe the workings of their classroom, and to those young women who thoughtfully and openly shared their stories with me, it was an honor and a privilege to be a part of your lives for one brief semester. Thank you " (Edu1; reference to study participants);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(118) "First, I would like to thank the students who participated in these design studies. I appreciated their enthusiasm when science class became something unfamiliar to them and their patience when our new software was revealing "unimplemented features" of various sorts. Also, I was fortunate to be in close collaboration with their teacher, [abbreviated first name + last name], who has always impressed me with his readiness to try out new things in the classroom." (Edu3; reference to study participants);

(B) reference to places visited in relation to the dissertation project is typical of the Arch PhDASs (4 instances in 3 texts), although one instance is also to be found in P-Bio5; example:

(119) "[...] and also the devotion of Maestro [name] of [placename, name of nation] who spent three days with me on my tour of [placename] in [placename] and [placename]. Without him I would not have been able to visit those houses built into the hills and interview the local people." (Arch5; reference to places visited in relation to the dissertation);

(C) reference to lab products, instruments or techniques is only made in the P-Bio PhDASs (5 times in 3 PhDASs); example:

(120) "[...] and to [first name + last name] who provided the EMS-mutagenized population." (P-Bio3; reference to a lab technique);

(D) short PhDASs are found mostly in the B-Adm group, with 4 out of 5 texts being less than 200 words long; (see examples (52) and (90) above);

(E) the use of direct address is particularly evident in the PhDASs from the Edu and EECS groups, in which *you* occurs 29 and 7 times, respectively, *your* occurs 12 times and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

once, respectively, and vocatives occur once and 3 times, respectively (an additional PhDAS contains two *ustedes* ('your-formal-plural') and two *su* ('your-formal-singular') in 1 AM); example:

(121) "To my own [...] students [...] I am deeply indebted to *you* all. I have learned more from *you* than I could ever hope to teach *you*." (Edu1; use of direct address to the benefactors).

The above exemplification reveals a tendency to conform to situation-specific communicative conventions that result from attempts to reproduce formulas already tested as acceptable (and that save the author time and energy; see above about the partial ready-made nature of the practices associated with a given genre).

Finally, genre exemplars can be flexible enough to adapt to their authors' private intentions, which accompany (or rarely, as in the case of the above-mentioned Disacknowledgments) contradict the genre's default purpose. In my corpus, the specificity of individual PhDASs is evident on a few occasions:

- when writers mention original benefactors (e.g., clubs, computers, dance partners, in-laws), that is helpers not frequently referred to in other genre exemplars; examples:

(122) "Not content with these face-to-face communities, however, I have also sought out virtual camaraderie in the [code] and [abbreviation] listservs, both of which have enriched my work in ways I am currently unable to catalog. Suffice it to say that my work would be bibliographically thinner and my life as a scholar more alienated were it not for the generosity and warmth of the hundreds of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subscribers to those lists, most of whom I shall never meet. We too constitute an irrational public sphere." (Engl3; reference to an unusual benefactor: listservs);

(123) "And I have been cheered time and time again by my wonderful mother-in-law, [...]" (Engl3; reference to an unusual benefactor);

- when authors mention benefits that are unusual and/or not directly relevant to the dissertation (e.g., food, complicity, sports activities); examples:

(124) "[...] thank you for embracing me with your warmth and affection, for feeding me, dancing with me, [...]" (Edu1; benefit not relevant to the dissertation);

(125) "[...] who was always willing to [...] and even cover for me out in the classroom when the need arose" (Edu3; benefit revealing complicity);

- when writers let the public know — or lead them to believe — that they have a life outside academia; examples:

(126) "My life is incalculably sweeter because of my girls; [...]" (Engl3; reference to life outside academia);

(127) "Lonely is a man who does not have friends upon which he can count on in times of crisis and need...or to chat while the copy machine warms up for that matter. Particular thanks goes [sic] out to [...]" (EECS3; reference to life outside academia);

- when authors project a positive image of themselves, as people who are fun to be with; example:

(128) "[...] thank you for patiently introducing this renegade psychologist to a much more interesting and challenging species of theory [...] and for waving that checkered flag and cheering me on at the finish line" (Edu1; mock self-irony and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"poetic" image revealing the author's fun-to-be-withness);

(129) "[...] and [first name + last name] for his innate [first name]ness." (P-Bio4; made-up benefit showing the author's light-heartedness);

- or when writers reflect on the act of writing acknowledgments (i.e., when they engage in metathanking; see above under criterion for genre membership no. (IV)); example:

(130) "After all, it would seem that there are only so many ways to express one's inability adequately to thank a spouse or partner, only so many ways to note that the project at hand has coincided with or paralleled the life of a child or the course of a career. I doubt I can provide much generic innovation, [...]." (Engl3).

Bhatia thus draws attention to the conventional and the flexible properties of a genre. The former determine its efficiency and effectiveness and the latter its vitality in adapting to ever-new, context-specific interactional events (cf. Bazerman 1984: 165).

In sum, PhDASs can be said to form a genre because they are a set of communicative acts (i.e., exchanges of information), carried out totally through language (i.e., as written texts), meant to pursue a common interpersonal goal (i.e., expressing gratitude so as to sustain partly unbalanced social relationships between moral creditors and debtors), which is their rationale. This rationale shapes the structure of these texts (which are arranged as sequences of AMs) and affects their content (including reference to beneficial exchanges of services and goods) and tone (which is positive). The shared purpose of PhDASs and their observance of the same conventional procedures makes it possible for the members of the community in which they are produced and exchanged to recognize them as communicative acts of the same kind (i.e., acts of grateful recognition

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of benefits received), and thus to categorize them with the same meaningful descriptive label (*Acknowledgments*). Although fairly similar to one another because instantiations of the same type of interaction (indeed, they have similar structure, content and style), such texts are not identical to one another and thus resemble their prototype to different degrees (see examples above). In addition, although they are subject to cultural and situational constraints — which actually facilitates their recognizability and reproducibility — they can reveal the creative originality or specific group membership of their authors, when these want to achieve additional, situation-specific and/or private purposes.

After having argued for a categorization of PhDASs as a genre on the basis of their communicative purpose, which in turn determines many of their properties, it becomes possible and necessary to point out and summarize their main situational features as derivable from a description of their typical context of production.

2.6. Context of situation

As mentioned in section 1.3., functional systemic linguistics provides adequate means for the analysis of a language act's context of situation because it identifies precisely those components of the situational context that are reflected in the content, structure, and wording of the text produced in it. The situational elements relevant to the encoding of messages are the field, the tenor, and the mode (Halliday 1978).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1. Field

The field is the interactional event as a whole. It comprises the spatio-temporal setting in which communication is taking place, the topic(s) and function(s) of the text produced in it, and the participants to the interaction (including their beliefs, knowledge and goals, strategies adopted and results achieved in the pursuit of their goals).

2.6.1.1. Event

A PhDAS is the conclusive and public verbal display of a PhD candidate's grateful attitude to people who were helpful in relation to (or relevant to him during the time of) his dissertation project. On the one hand, as a conclusive act of communication, it is therefore a by-product of previous interactions in which the writer played the role of a glad receiver (i.e., beneficiary) of goods (i.e., benefits) while his helpers acted as generous offerers of those goods (i.e., benefactors); in this respect, it is relevant to — and therefore makes reference to — multiple exchanges, and represents a stage in a multi-phase interaction (see section 2.1.). Example:

> (131) "Very many people over the past six years have given me the help and encouragement to finish my studies. [...]. [first name + last name] has been unceasingly generous with his time, resources, and expertise as my advisor.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Several faculty and fisheries scientists [...] have made valuable comments on my work. Our outstanding departmental staff, [...] and others have all helped in very many ways. My fellow students [...] have taught me a great deal, and have shared the peaks and valleys of graduate school. [...]. I thank my family for their constant love and support of my eccentric pursuit, [...]. Finally, and most of all, I thank my best friend, my wife [...] for being so very strange and wonderful, and for a love that has withstood even graduate school." (Stat4; reference to several previous interactions).

On the other hand, as a public document, a PhDAS is the result of the writer's intention to unambiguously and permanently clarify what roles others played, and what their degree of involvement was, in the realization of his project; in this second respect, the PhDAS is more directly relevant to — and therefore inserted into — the larger document it is inserted in, the writer's dissertation (see sections 2.1. and 2.4.). Example:

(132) "I wish to express my sincere gratitude to many people whose help, directly or indirectly, made this dissertation possible." (Arch1; indicating relevance of the PhDAS to the dissertation; notice the context-bound deictic *this*).

As an interaction consisting in the verbal manifestation of the writer's affect (i.e., the display of his emotional responses), a PhDAS focuses on the interpersonal dimension of communication, more precisely on the exchange of information meant to sustain and enhance social relationships (see section 2.4.). (That is why it is focused on positive events.) It does not involve an exchange of goods or services (i.e., it is not a material, non-verbal transaction), unless such goods and services are taken to include the attempt to elicit reciprocal feelings of warmth and solidarity in the previous and/or current

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interlocutors. (This is achieved by manifesting gratitude and a general positive attitude towards previous benefactors through reference to their helpful acts of generosity; see section 2.1..) Examples:

(133) "I am very grateful [...] I would like to thank [...]. I would like to thank [...]. Lastly I would like to dedicate [...] " (B-Adm 1; repeated manifestation of the writer's affect);

(134) "[...] so many people who were encouraging and helpful along the way. [...] my two wonderful advisors, [...]. Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, they were often more friends than authoritative figures. It is this humanness that made the working rapport so enjoyable and endearing. [...] for giving me the opportunity to live in [placename] for half a year. This experience has changed my perspective in life perhaps more than any other thing I have learned in grad school. [...] has not only been a supportive mentor but a good friend as well. We have had many personal conversations which I did not imagine possible with an advisor, and she has given many [sic] invaluable advice on my personal life. [new paragraph] All my colleagues throughout grad school have been wonderful." (EECS1; reference to positive events and situations attributed to given benefactors and to benefactors' merits).

Because it is primarily a person- rather than a task-oriented interaction, the facets of the participants' personalities more likely to emerge in the PhDAS will be relatable to their role-relationships.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1.2. Participants

The people taking part in the communicative contract of a PhDAS are its writer (i.e., the PhD candidate) and the readers of the text the PhDAS is attached to (i.e., the dissertation readers). The latter may include the writer's (previous) benefactors as long as these self-select as addressees of the dissertation and/or of its PhDAS. (Self-selection is necessary since, typically, the PhDAS itself is neither sent nor read out loud to those helpers; see section 2.5..) A PhDAS may include direct address to the writer's benefactors either throughout its text (Edu1 closely approximates this textual practice)[19] or in sections of it (as in EECS3; see examples (19) and (20) in section 2.2., and example (30) in section 2.4.); in the former case, the intended recipients of the PhDAS are only the benefactors, while in the latter case they consist of two complementary groups — the readers of the dissertation and the writer's support group. The PhDAS is thus a text in which the 'you' of the message can shift between these two sets of interlocutors. Example:

> (135) "I thank former postdocs [...] for *their* help and friendship that made my life in the lab so pleasant and memorable. I really miss *you* all." (P-Bio3; shift in the choice of the text's addressees from the general dissertation reader to the specific benefactors; emphases added).

The PhDAS writer is cast in a one-down position, that is, as a debtor of favors to his previous benefactors and of explanations to his current readers. As a former receiver of information, goods and/or services from his helpers, the PhD candidate is morally obligated to give them something back (i.e., good will) so as to restore the balance of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their relationships. As the official presenter of a single-authored, important work, which, however, came about also as a result of the guidance and support provided by others, the writer is in a position — and under the moral obligation — to point out how much he owes to others. His act of reciprocation and clarification consists in the PhDAS itself, through which he recognizes the beneficial nature of the benefits gladly received, manifests his reactive, appreciative attitude towards the benefactors, and specifies the roles his supporters played in the realization of his projects. Example:

(136) "I am indebted to her for my commitment to scholarship [...]" (Engl4; the writer's self-presentation as a debtor).

The other participants, as self-selected readers of the PhDAS and/or the dissertation, are under no reciprocal obligation with respect to the writer. They choose whether to read the text or not, and if they do, they use it as an interpersonal testbed (if they are benefactors) and a source of data (if they are general readers). The benefactors can ascertain what beneficial exchanges in particular they are given credit for and how enthusiastic and appreciative of them the writer appears to be. The dissertation readers, instead, can establish how much of the content of the research report is to be attributed solely to the author, and decide how original or independent he is as a budding academic.

Therefore, the participants involved in the PhDAS do not engage in the interaction on equal terms. The asymmetry in their relationship is due to two reasons. On the one hand, the text produced is implicitly expected, that is it is a pre-determined *reactive* counter-offer, not the result of a totally free, independent choice (it can be described as a sort of preferred second to the benefactors' previous interactional acts; this is evident in

[19] EECS7, not considered here, does use direct address to the benefactors throughout.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the reference to the benefactors' initiating moves of offering; see footnote no. 12). On the other hand, it is meant to prevent possible charges of plagiarism; it is thus a defensive move as well (i.e., a demonstration of the writer's moral integrity; this is evident in the attribution of credit to others for positive results achieved; see section 2.5 about criterion for genre membership no. (V)). Examples:

(137) "The Philosophy Departments of [names of 5 academic institutions] kindly gave me the opportunity to read parts of the dissertation to them and to benefit from their comments." (Phil1; reference to the benefactors' initiating moves);

(138) "I could not have accomplished my research without the assistance of [first name + last name] of the [name of institution], [...]" (Arch4; attribution of credit to the benefactors for the positive results achieved).

2.6.1.3. Setting

A PhDAS is produced, or presented as if produced, within the academic institution the writer is about to graduate from. The place of writing then is a specific university or the town or area in which the university is located. The 'here' of the text may either be inferrable from the title page of the dissertation the PhDAS is attached to or identified in the body of the text itself, as part of the content.[20] The body of the text may also refer to other spatial settings as relevant to specific interactional episodes in which the writer was involved as a beneficiary. Examples:

[20] In one of the PhDASs not examined in this study, the location and date appear at the very end of the text, as in a document or letter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(139) "My years at Berkeley have been very rewarding. The faculty, staff and students here have created a warm and exciting environment" (Stat2; reference to (the location of) the academic institution in the body of the text);

(140) "These were the people who provided the stimulating academic environment which I very much enjoyed at UC Berkeley. To all of them my enduring gratitude" (Arch2; reference to the academic institution in the body of the text);

(141) "I am also indebted to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for forcing me to go to [placename] before I graduated. I will never be the same." (EECS5; reference to spatial settings in which previous interactional episodes took place).

The 'now' of the text (i.e., its reference time) is — or is to be taken to be — the time when the dissertation project has been fully completed and the dissertation itself is about to be filed. This temporal inference is supported by the fact that (a) the author may refer to events prior to or concurrent with the dissertation project, or to the completion of the dissertation report itself or of graduate school, which are relevant to the past or both the past and the present; (b) he can refer to events following the dissertation as projected into the future; and finally, (c) he can refer to the act of thanking — which is the purpose of the text — as a current or expected event. It clearly appears, then, that time — however indirectly encoded — may easily become part of the subject matter in the PhDAS. Examples:

(142) "I owe a great debt as well to [first name + middle name + last name], who *directed* my master's thesis and *influenced* my intellectual development in countless ways. Her dazzling mind and terrific teaching *reassured* me that pursuing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a career as an academic *was* a worthwhile endeavor after all!" (Engl5; reference to events prior to the dissertation in the past; emphases added);

(143) "My family in India and U. S. *have encouraged* me all the way." (Arch4; reference to an event concurrent with the dissertation project in the present perfect; emphasis added);

(144) "I *remember* [first and last name initials] not only guid*ing* this journey with patience and wisdom to a successful ending, [...]" (Arch2; reference to the completion of the dissertation project as a past event through lexical and morphological choices; emphases added);

(145) "The vast and impressive array of Development Planning Theory literature still *remains* something for me *to be mastered* in order to deliberate as much is [sic] I desire about many of the differences" (Arch2; reference to an event later than the dissertation projected into the future; emphases added);

(146) "I *am* particularly grateful [...] for answering my often arcane (and always uninvited) queries." (Engl3; expression of gratitude in the present; emphasis added);

(147) "I would like to thank my advisor, [abbreviated first name + last name], for his support and for his boundless enthusiasm. He introduced me to the exciting and beautiful world of cell biology, and for that, I will be eternally grateful." (P-Bio2; expressions of gratitude in the present and future; emphases added).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1.4. Purpose and functions

I have already outlined the main functional properties of the PhDAS in sections 2.1., 2.3., and 2.4. In brief, I will repeat here that a PhDAS author's overt goal is to obtain the benevolence of previous benefactors and current readers in relation to the successful completion of his dissertation project. Manifesting his gratitude to and dependence on his helpers is what his text is all about, as indeed these notions are repeatedly encoded in the text. This global goal leads the author to carry out several functions: by currying favor with his supporters in a stable and public text, he officially and nicely rounds off and ratifies previous interactions with his helpers; by sustaining their positive face and consenting to threaten his own face, he can cancel some or all of the moral debt he owes to his previous interlocutors (i.e., he can give them something back); by mentioning others' helpful acts or offers, the author can also convey to the general reader background information about the dissertation project; by referring to previous interactions with a number of people, the author reveals to the reader the network of professional and private relationships he is involved in. Examples:

(148) "[...] it is hard to recognize everybody who contributed to this work. [...] My advisor, [...] encouraged and supported me throughout my work and it would have been impossible to complete this dissertation without his generous help. I would like to thank the chair of the Statistics Department, [...] for sustaining the Department as a unique research environment and a very friendly place and also for his valuable comments and advice. My fellow graduate students deserve recognition for their encouragement and good spirits, [...]. My best wishes to my

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

office mates [...] and to my fellow students [...]. Furthermore, I would like to recognize all my fellow students [...] who took the time and trouble to visit me here in Berkeley, [...]. Financial support was provided [...]" (Stat1; recurrence of the manifestation of gratitude to and dependence on the benefactors);

(149) "Very many people over the past six years have given me the help and encouragement to finish my studies. Without their kindness and support, this thesis most likely would not be." (Stat4; rounding off and ratifying previous interactions with benefactors);

(150) "I regret that I can offer, in return for all this help, no more impressive evidence of my gratitude." (Phil1; manifesting the intention to reciprocate and pay off one's debts);

(151) "[first name + last name] has been unceasingly generous with his time, resources, and expertise as my advisor." (Stat4; informing the reader about a benefactor's credit and her role-relationship with the writer);

(152) "I would like to thank my advisor [...]. Many thanks to the members of the [...] club [...]. I wish to thank the members of my thesis committee [...]. I want to thank my family (especially my father, my mother, Uncle [...]. I want to thank my wonderful husband [...]" (P-Bio2; informing the reader about professional and private connections).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1.5. Rhetorical organization

To fulfill its communicative goal of conveying gratitude, a PhDAS has to realize at least one act of thanking, which may be relevant to one or more benefactors.[21] However, since the dissertation writer is likely to have been involved in several beneficial exchanges, his PhDAS is usually made relevant to all those episodes. As a result, the PhDAS develops a recursive arrangement due to the repeated instantiation of the act of thanking, in connection with several (groups of) benefactors and/or benefits, through distinct AMs (see section 2.4. and Giannoni 1998: 68). Example:

(153) "First, I want to start by thanking all the members of my dissertation committee and qualifying exam. [...] Special thanks to the members of the [name of institution] program [...] My appreciation is also extended to my friends: [...] My thanks also go to [first name + last name], who helped me produce this manuscript in its final form." (Arch1; excerpts from a multi-AM PhDAS).

A PhDAS also displays a sequential structure in the sense that benefactors are mentioned in a preferred order; first, those most important from a professional point of view are introduced; next, reference is made to those that were close to the writer both professionally and personally; and then those most significant from a personal perspective are included (see section 4.6.2.). Example:

(154) "I would like to express my most heartfelt appreciation to my research advisor [...] for his support, guidance, and encouragement throughout my doctoral program. [...]. I would also like to thank the rest of my committee members, [...] for their comments and suggestions. [...] Additionally, I would like to thank

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Professor [...] for his brief but meaningful tenure [...]. I would like to thank my fellow device group colleagues [...]. Additional colleagues whom [sic] have contributed to my development as a student, scholar, and person include [...]. Last but not least, I cannot forget my intramural basketball buddies [...]. I would like to take this moment to acknowledge the support that my parents have given me [...]." (EECS3; excerpts from a PhDAS in which professionally relevant benefactors are mentioned before personally relevant benefactors).

A PhDAS may include special introductory or concluding AMs which contribute to its cohesion (see sections 4.6.1. and 4.6.1.1.) They provide the conceptual boundaries of the text and thus stress its self-contained nature. The former may identify the text's overall purpose and clarify to the general reader, with no privileged access to the writer's previous interactions, and the interpersonal dimension of the communication. Example:

(155) "Many people have provided essential help to me in writing this dissertation." (Phil3).

The latter may show how the benefactors are all similarly relevant to the thanker as a dissertation writer (by presenting a remark applicable to all of them) and emphasize the completeness of the PhDAS as a text (by providing a final comment about the conclusion of the dissertation project). Example:

(156) "I regret that I can offer, in return for all this help, no more impressive evidence of my gratitude." (Phil1).

Neither the introductory nor the concluding AM is, however, necessary in a PhDAS. On the one hand, an introductory AM is superfluous because the typical

[21] B-Adm7, not considered in this study, consists of one AM relevant to a group of benefactors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

functions of a preparatory move are either taken care of elsewhere in the dissertation or irrelevant. For instance, there is no need to form a bond with the reader, as this is done in the first chapter of the dissertation; similarly, there is no need to justify the PhDAS, as its message is in the interest of the previous and/or current interlocutors; thirdly, there is no need for the writer to introduce himself, since his identity is already clear from the cover and title page; finally, there is no need to negotiate the interaction as in jointly managed exchanges, as the PhDAS is a *finished* (not on-going) linguistic *product* (not process) presented *after* (not developed during) exchanges of goods or services have occurred, that is, it is a report and/or comment on (not an accompaniment of) them. On the other hand, a concluding move is not necessary as long as each AM in the text is coherently and cohesively organized and as long as the global staged realization of the PhDAS follows an expected cultural frame (see above about the typical order of benefactors in the PhDAS).

Finally, a different facet of the staged organization of the PhDAS is manifest in its components, the AMs, which are composite text segments consisting of functional sub-units. Indeed, AMs typically consist of three elements, the expression of gratitude, the identification of the benefactor(s), and the reference to the relevant benefits. Example:

> (157) I should also like to thank [i.e., expression of gratitude] my friends [i.e., benefactors] who gave me much moral support during the seclusion of my study, [i.e., benefit] [...]" (Arch5; the three main components of an AM).

In the above illustrative AM, the first component *defines* the AM as an act of thanking; the second helps *identify* it (i.e., the act of thanking is made relevant to new benefactors);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and the third justifies and ratifies the writer's gratitude (i.e., it confirms and explains why given people are to be thanked).

AMs may also include additional units of meaning which enhance the value of their content and contribute to justifying the writer's positive attitude to his benefactors. External to the core constituents of the AM, these text segments may qualify the expression of gratitude, describe the benefactor('s behavior) and/or expand on the value of the benefits (see section 4.7.). Examples:

(158) "And to [first name + last name]: *If I am your biggest fan*, you are my hero. Thank you for freeing up the writer in me, for being right there beside me with each step I took, and for waving that checkered flag and cheering me on at the finish line. You are the prize girl!" (Edu1; an AM with an expansion of the thanking expression: description of the writer's cognitive-emotional attitude towards the benefactor; emphasis added);

(159) "And *although not de jure a member of my committee*, [first name + last name] was an active de facto member whose philosophical and philological comments often forced me to rethink my analysis." (Phil1; an AM with an expansion of the identification of the benefactor: descriptive specification about the benefactor; emphasis added);

(160) "He and [first name + last name] reviewed several versions of my dissertation. I discussed with them many ideas *that helped me to understand and admire the English language*." (Arch2; an AM with an expansion of the reference to the benefit: description of the consequence of the benefit; emphasis added).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1.6. Subject matter

Given its reactive functional relevance to previous interactional events that led to the completion of a dissertation project and more generally of a doctoral program, the PhDAS typically refers to the dissertation writer's past (see sections 2.3. and 2.6.1.3.). The specific background of the dissertation and more generally the writer's academic progress prior to that are likely topic candidates. Examples:

(161) "I am grateful as well to the following fellow graduate students at Berkeley, whose friendship and intellectual vigor contributed significantly to the development of this dissertation [...]" (Engl 4; reference to the background of the dissertation);

(162) "I am grateful to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their interest in my work as an undergraduate at [placename]," (Engl 4; reference to the writer's academic past).

More specifically, though, because of the high interpersonal value of the text (meant to balance social relationships) and the conventional beneficial nature of the previous relevant interactions, the text is likely to select as its subject matter events or situations that it can reasonably present in a positive light. This tactical choice may involve reference to various types of assistance received by the writer: academic, intellectual, emotional or financial. Examples:

(163) "I would also like to thank Professor [first name + last name] *for his dedication and patience in advising my wireless project*. It has been a privilege *to work with him*." (EECS2; example of an academic benefit; emphases added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(164) "Additional colleagues *whom [sic] have contributed to my development as a student, scholar, and person* include [...]" (EECS3; example of an intellectual benefit; emphasis added);

(165) "Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents, *whose care and love* supported me throughout my education. *Their encouraging letters and phone calls* helped me work more diligently toward graduation." (EECS3; example of an emotional benefit);

(166) "For two years I was supported by an [name of institution] Corporate Fellowship Award." (EECS2; example of a financial benefit; emphasis added);

Specific AMs may also include reference to the positive effects of the assistance received, to the benefactors' credit for determining those effects, or the benefactors' generosity in contributing to those effects; this extra information appears in the expansions of its main constituents. Examples:

(167) "Last, but not the least, I would like to pay special respect to my parents and all other members in my family. Their high expectation, confidence, and encouragement *made this endeavor successful*." (EECS4; reference to an advantage gained from a benefit; emphasis added);

(168) "To my four living sisters— [first name], [first name], [first name], and [first name], *you have taught me more than you will ever know about positions of power, hybridic identities, and what it means to negotiate conflict*, I thank you for being the roots of this dissertation. [...]." (Edu1; reference to the writer's dependence on the benefactors and/or the benefactors' merit for the benefit; emphasis added);

(169) "Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, they were often more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

friends than authoritative figures. It is this humanness that made the working rapport so enjoyable and endearing. *Perhaps I have not always been easy to work with, and was at times wayward and spoiled*, but I think we all got along pretty well. (EECS1; reference to the cost of the benefit to the benefactor; emphasis added).

Expansions of the main constituents of an AM may also make reference to the future, in the form of good wishes or hopes or positive intentions deriving from the completion of the dissertation project. Example:

(170) "I learned from her how to envision whole arguments from seemingly disparate close readings. *I will continue to strive to incorporate into my work the lessons I learned from her then.*" (Engl 4; reference to the future; emphasis added).

Finally, as a text neither subject to specific academic requirements nor strictly scholarly, the PhDAS offers its writer the opportunity to refer to events that are not tied to the dissertation, but that he feels like sharing with the reader so as to reveal non-professional aspects of his personality or to display his likeability; (see section 2.5.). Examples:

(171) "[...] so there will be lots more chances to take trips or hit the bar scenes together." (EECS1; reference to a non-professional side of the writer's personality);

(172) "Also, this endeavor would not have been nearly as pleasant nor as productive if not for my close collaborator and dear friend [first name + last name] who was always willing to [...] and even cover for me out in the classroom when the need arose" (Edu3; reference to the author's human fallibility).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.1.7. Uses

A PhDAS is meant for possibly multiple uses. Not only is it usually relevant to several benefactors (i.e., potential readers of it), but, in addition, it is addressed to a larger public (i.e., all those potentially interested in the dissertation, who may end up looking at the PhDAS too, even if they never acted as benefactors to the writer). In addition, although its content is associated with the specific circumstances of one dissertation project and its writer, the PhDAS is produced so as to be a permanent text; and indeed that is one of the reasons why its content and organization make it possible for the possibly spatio-temporally distant reader to clearly retrieve those circumstances. Moreover, the larger text the PhDAS is attached to *is*, of course, removable from the place where it is usually stored, and thus the PhDAS itself does have the opportunity to reach a wider audience than originally envisaged.[22] Finally, the content and form of any given PhDAS may circulate in yet another way. Since the conventions for writing a PhDAS are to be culturally learned — as opposed to instinctively acquired — it is possible that a PhD candidate consults a previous candidate's PhDAS for "suggestions" on how to write his own, or more simply, it is possible that he unconsciously learns those conventions as a result of reading PhDASs while consulting others' dissertations (see section 2.6.3.2.). This way, some formulas or topics may end up being re-produced in different places and different times by unrelated authors and reach a multitude of readers. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- similarity of content in mentioning a benefit:

(173) "[...] for his support, guidance, and encouragement throughout my doctoral program." (EECS3; reference to academic benefits);

(174) " [...] for their advice and support" (P-Bio3; reference to academic benefits);

- similarity of content and form in the expression of thanks:

(175) "[...] it was an honor and a privilege to be a part of your lives for one brief semester. (Edu1; original thanking expression);

(176) "It has been a special privilege to be his student" (EECS4; original thanking expression).

2.6.2. Tenor

The tenor of a communicative act has to do with the social roles played by the participants in the interaction (e.g., peer, subordinate), the discourse roles they assume in producing their utterances (e.g., informer, requester), the relationships they establish with one another (e.g., distance, closeness), and their stable and temporary qualities (e.g., sociability, fear).

2.6.2.1. Characteristics of participants

[22] Being a self-contained communicative act, the PhDAS itself can also be used as a totally independent text, e.g., if it is xeroxed and circulated as a distinct piece of writing, severed fom the dissertation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A PhDAS is a source of information about its author in at least two respects. Not only does it inform the readers about the candidate's background (i.e., about how he came to write up his dissertation), but it also projects an image of his personality and reveals his current cognitive-emotional state; that is, the wording of the text manifests the kind of person the writer is and his orientation towards the present interactional event. At the same time, the way in which the subject matter is approached and the readers are addressed shows what the thanker's expectations are about his interlocutors; that is, his text is shaped in anticipation of the reader's possible reaction towards him and his text. What characteristics of the participants are then likely to emerge from a PhDAS?

A PhDAS writer can be expected to be more formal when referring to his teachers and more relaxed when mentioning his acquaintances and friends, but positively oriented to both groups of helpers. He can also be expected to be precise in recounting his previous interactions. I will take up each of these issues in turn.

Although the writer may have developed over the years a friendly kind of relationship with his teachers and be on familiar terms with them, he is still professionally subordinate to them and he still partly depends on them for his future career (prospects). Referring to them by mentioning their academic titles (i.e., *Dr.*, *Prof.*) or professional roles (e.g., first dissertation reader) will be a sign of recognition of their higher academic status. Examples:

(177) "I want to thank professors [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for their guidance, friendship, encouragement and support. Throughout the last five years, these professors have helped me to become a better researcher, always providing stimulating and critical

However, this is not often the case.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

thoughts, within and beyond their respective areas of expertise. But more important, with their friendship, these professors have helped me to become a better person." (B-Adm2; benefactors mentioned with relevant titles);

(178) "My deepest thanks are extended to [first name + last name], my academic advisor and dissertation Chairman for all his valuable advice and support, both academic and personal, since the beginning of this long journey." (Arch1; identification of the benefactor's role).

In alternative or addition to that, the writer may decide to mention of all the benefits received only those that directly relate to the dissertation or his general academic achievements, which cast him in the role of a learner. Example:

(179) "And to my dissertation chair, [first name + last name]: you have taught me to be a teacher, you have taught me to be a learner. You opened up a world of ideas for me, and together we put them into practice! You are my advisor on paper and my mentor in life. You are a dear dear friend." (Edu1; reference to a benefit casting the writer in the role of a learner).

Such choices with regard to the form and content of AMs relevant to academic benefactors are to be attributed to the manifestation of courteous social distance — professional titles show that the writer's teachers are higher up on the social ladder, while selective reference to work-related events and situations relevant to them shows that his relationship with them is of a professional kind.

A similar kind of formality can be expected when the writer mentions organizations he may have received financial aid from. Their official role is recognized in the precise and stylistically neutral reference to the institution's full name and specific benefit.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example:

(180) "This research was supported by funding from [name of institution] [placename] and the Graduate School of Education at University of California, Berkeley." (Edu5; precision and neutrality in identifying the benefactor-institution that provided financial support).

When mentioning benefactors he interacted with on an equal footing, that is colleagues, friends, family or acquaintances, the PhDAS writer may feel less pressured to be formal for two reasons. First, he is not tied to those people in a hierarchical fashion; although they may have worked together, neither party was working under the other's supervision or seeking the other's approval; rather, they were cooperating. The recognition of the equal status enjoyed by the interactants may be reflected in the use of first names (with no titles) or playful nicknames in reference to the benefactors. Examples:

(181) "[first name], my mother, has been a perpetual source of inspiration, she also has accepted patiently my absences, and has encouraged me to achieve my objectives." (Arch2; reference to the benefactor through her first name and role-identifying label);

(182) "My colleagues at Berkeley shared my trials and excitement, particularly the members of the "Dissertators/Dessert-eaters Anonymous" club [...]" (Arch4; reference to benefactors through a playful nickname).

Second, the relationship between the writer and his family and friends is more of a private than professional kind. In the relevant AMs, this may be reflected in the reference to more personal circumstances in relation to them. As a result, the text may move away

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from its public function of officially recognizing others' credit to the more private one of showing and strengthening *personal* closeness and rapport with his previous interactants. Examples:

(183) "We likely wasted a semester just standing about chatting in hallways, but it was the best semester. (Stat4; reference to personal, "trivial" circumstances);

(184) "And to my mother, thank you for teaching me the value of kindness and for always being my biggest supporter." (EECS5; reference to private circumstances).

Given that the conventional purpose of a PhDAS is to manifest a reactive positive attitude to the author's benefactors, a PhDAS writer will tend to manifest good will towards all of the benefactors he mentions. (For an exception, see section 2.5. about Disacknowledgments.) This is reflected both in the expressions of gratitude, which manifest how the writer feels and thinks — or how he wants to be perceived in these respects — and in the selective reference to previous interactional episodes that only show his benefactors in a good light (see section 2.6.1.6.). Examples:

(185) "I would like to extend my appreciation to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], whose work and efforts have made my years in the doctoral program all the more enjoyable." (B-Adm3; manifestation of the author's cognitive-emotional state of appreciation and indication of what the benefactors deserve credit for);

(186) "I am particularly indebted to [first name + last name] for reading and commenting on numerous versions of the papers included in this dissertation [...]." (B-Adm3; manifesting the writer's cognitive-emotional state of indebtedness to the help provided by the benefactor).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The alternation between a more formal and a more informal tone in a PhDAS is also due to its semi-public nature. Although it is part of an official document endowed with important academic value, a PhDAS is not subject to strict editorial requirements, as the dissertation is. In addition, the dissertation itself is not actually a prototypical publication as a book might be; that is, it is not a work that has been published with an accredited publishing house. As a result, the PhDAS does not have to receive an editor's official approval. It is therefore mostly up to the individual writer to decide whether to be formal and if so, to what extent and in which parts of his text.

The need for the writer to be precise, instead, is due to his awareness or expectation that the reader will not share his interactional background. While the author's current emotional-cognitive state does not have to be overtly manifested because inferrable from the co-text, reference to previous beneficial exchanges has to be clear enough to the reader so that she[23] is in a position to understand why the writer feels grateful and who he feels grateful to. Examples:

(187) "[first name + last name], [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], and the rest of the exemplary administrative staff at the Berkeley Department of Philosophy have helped me more than they realize." (Phil2; omission of the thanking expression, reconstructable from the co-text);

(188) "[first name + last name] was the epitome of a committee chair and a friend — patient, persistent, encouraging, exacting." (Edu2; specification of the benefits received as a form of reader-friendliness);

(189) "As I neared completion of my dissertation, [first name] was especially kind,

[23] From now on I will use third person feminine pronouns and possessive when referring to the dissertation reader in the singular.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

giving me advice, solace, and even food, when I forgot to eat." (P-Bio2; specification of the benefits received as a form of reader-friendliness).

Finally, the writer can be expected to want to present himself in a positive light too. Indeed, by following the conventions of the genre, manifesting his benefactors' past good will and his current good will, and making his message easily understandable to the reader, he chooses to show that he is a nice person in general, and an effective communicator in particular.

The other participant in the communicative contract of the PhDAS is the reader. This may, but does not have to, be the same as the reader of the dissertation. The reason is that the PhDAS, which "only" reveals background information about the dissertation, is not indispensable to the person interested in understanding the content of the dissertation. Thus the dissertation reader has nothing to lose from a scholarly point of view from skipping the PhDAS.[24] At the same time, the dissertation reader's possible failure to read the relevant PhDAS will not damage the writer, that is, it will not compromise or invalidate the soundness of his research, reported in the dissertation. Precisely because the PhDAS is a potentially useful but not necessary text,[25] its self-selected reader must be an interested addressee, that is an independently motivated interlocutor. The PhDAS reader may decide to read the PhDAS to check whether she has been recognized as an important benefactor, to evaluate the author's writing style, to find out about his personal and academic background, to learn about his professional

[24] However, she may have something to gain from reading ASs. Cronin and Overfelt (1994: 180-181) reported that one of the reasons why scholars are in favor of including acknowledgments in promotion dossiers as evidence of intellectual impact is the possibility of reconstructing intellectual connections: "'Because it might lead me to persons or books/articles that I would find helpful'; 'Additional sources of references for research purposes'." (p. 181).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

connections and network of interpersonal relationships, to get to know a facet of his personality. Partial confirmation for this comes from the following excerpt:

> (190) "I always read acknowledgment first. As perhaps befits my interest in communities of readers, virtual and otherwise, I want to know who a given scholar's friends and acquaintances are and how that scholar has dealt with his or her own belatedness in the highly conventionalized genre of the acknowledgments page. After all, it would seem that there are only so many ways to express one's inability adequately to thank a spouse or partner, only so many ways to note that the project at hand has coincided with or paralleled the life of a child or the course of a career." (Engl 3; typical reactions of a regular PhDAS reader).

2.6.2.2. Roles and relationships

How do the writer and reader of the PhDAS relate to one another? Through the PhDAS they establish a semi-professional contact which leads them to establish various role-relationships. *Semi-professional* means that the text is relevant to their academic-professional interests, but also that it is about the private background circumstances of an academic-professional project. As a result, through the PhDAS, the participants interact in both a personal and a public domain.

First of all, the two participants play the roles of the writer and reader of the PhDAS. The former is officially responsible for the text and thus enjoys communicative

[25] In his examination of the evolution of spectrographic articles in *Physical Review*, Bazerman (1984: 182) observes that "acknowledgements sections did not explicitly emerge until 1940 and were not a regular

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

power — he can decide, for instance, what to convey in his message (e.g., Stat5 is only about the writer's academic life while P-Bio3 is about both academic and private events), how long it should be (e.g., B-Adm4 is 6 lines long while Engl3 is 65 lines long), what style to adopt (e.g., Edu1 is characterized by a constant attempt at establishing camaraderie, while Phil1 is very formal). The reader is not, however, a powerless participant. She can decide whether or not to engage in the interaction as an addressee, and indirectly contributes to shaping the text, since the writer will typically try to produce a PhDAS that will not antagonize or irritate her. At a minimum, this will involve presenting a text that is legible (i.e., graphically decodable), is linguistically correct (i.e., interpretable), makes sense (i.e., is logically organized and relevant to the dissertation) and is socially acceptable (i.e., non-threatening for the addressee or the benefactors mentioned in it).

Also, as a result of recounting the circumstances of his dissertation project, the writer assumes the role of an informer and attributes to the reader that of a questioner or at least of an uninformed interlocutor who is, however, willing to be informed. The adoption of these roles can be easily explained: only the writer is adequately informed about the relevant circumstances of his background project to be in a position to write about them, while each individual reader either only knows about part of those circumstances, if she was one of the benefactors, or nothing at all, if she is not connected with the writer in any way and is simply interested in his work.

In addition, because he only refers to events and situations that were beneficial to him (or at least that are presented as such), the writer is also a positive evaluator of the circumstances he relates. This is reflected in the manifestation of a good attitude towards

---

feature until 1960."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his benefactors, in the reference to previous interlocutors' offers of goods or services, in the choice to specify the advantages gained from the offers received. Examples:

(191) "*I especially appreciate* the assistance of Dr. [abbreviated first name + last name], who not only proof-read the script meticulously, but also gave me ample perceptive advice." (Arch5; thanking expression revealing the writer's positive attitude towards the benefactors; emphasis added);

(192) "[...] and to [first name + last name] for his *invaluable* guidance throughout my doctoral degree." (B-Adm3; reference to a positively evaluated service received from the benefactor; emphasis added);

(193) "While in the midst of wrestling with this work, *I have often found solace and inspiration* in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends who have nurtured my work." (Edu1; clarification of the advantage gained from the benefit received; emphasis added).

In turn, the reader can be considered an evaluator too, because she is in a position to examine how adequate and successful the writer is at expressing his gratitude; as a self-selected reader, she may indeed be curious about the writer's ability as a communicator of good feelings.

Moreover, in referring to previous offers of help he has benefited from, the writer also selects for himself the role of a receiver of goods, that is, a beneficiary. This involves attributing the complementary roles of offerers-benefactors only to the sub-set of readers who are presented in the text as past helpers and supporters, and who in turn become receivers of reactive good feelings from the writer. The general reader, on the other hand, is "only" a receiver of information, a narratee who is to be entertained with a narrative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that the writer considers meaningful and/or pleasant. Example:

(194) "*I feel really lucky* to have many wonderful friends at Berkeley. *I wish to thank* them *for the help, encouragement and fun time together*." (EECS2; the reader is informed about the help given by certain benefactors and about the writer's attitude towards them; emphases added).

Furthermore, in discussing previous beneficial interactions with his helpers, the writer is also an official acknowledger of their credit, which reveals his dependence on them. The reader can consider herself an acknowledgee only if she has been recognized as a helper in the text. Otherwise, as a general reader, she can only notice that official acknowledgment has taken place. Example:

(195) "[first name + last name]'s role as third reader *might have afforded him the leniency to take a far less active role than he did*." (Engl4; recognition of a benefactor's credit; emphasis added).

Besides that, as the presenter of his first major research project, the writer officially introduces himself as a budding expert who has proved to be adequate for future independent quality work either within or outside academia. His PhDAS contributes to revealing that the writer has reached intellectual maturity because it makes repeated reference to the *endpoint* of his *growth* as a *specialist* in a given field. And given that his research (i.e., his dissertation) is presented to a similarly expert audience who works in the same field, the "accidental" reader of the PhDAS is therefore equally likely to be an expert or budding expert in the same discipline as the writer.[26]

[26] The last two roles mentioned that the PhDAS writer plays (i.e., acknowledger of others' credit and self-assured, expert presenter of personal quality work) appear to clash with each other, as they place conflicting demands on him, namely revealing modesty and dependence on others while projecting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Last, but not least, the writer is a PhD candidate whose work has to be co-signed by his dissertation readers for official approval. This work, in its final form, ready for filing, does include the optional PhDAS. Therefore, among the likely, expected readers of the PhDAS are the candidate's supervisors. This means that the roles of the interactants may include those of assessor vs. observer and of examinee vs. performer, respectively. That is, in a sense, the author also writes for the supervisors' benefit so that these can evaluate his communicative and social skills (i.e., check whether he can adequately express his awareness of and recognition for the help received also from his dissertation readers). Aware that his supervisors may act as gate-keepers to his academic advancement, the writer is likely to display his deference and courtesy to them by thanking them for their help and/or praising them for their achievements. Examples:

(196) "Time and time again I have been amazed by their truly extraordinary dedication and by their incisive readings of Spinoza. (Phil5; praise of a benefactor's behavior);

(197) "[first name + last name] is an invaluable friend. He was always accessible to help my family." (Arch2; indication of help received and praise of the benefactor's qualities).

2.6.2.3. Attitudes

Given the various role-relationships the writer and readers establish with one

---

confidence and self-reliance (cf. Giannoni 1998: 76-77). This contradictory feature contributes to the complexity of the PhDAS (see section 2.4.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

another, they end up displaying several attitudes.

First, the author is likely to be deferential and respectful to those readers that he regards as his superiors and/or represent official institutions, because so directly tied to his current educational-professional success and also his future career prospects (see section 2.6.2.1.). Secondly, he is interested in showing his benevolent closeness to the other helpers he interacts with on a more equal footing (see section 2.6.2.1.). In general, he displays gratitude to all his supporters. Also, he presents the content of his text as true and both personally and professionally significant. With regard to the general reader, he appears to be sincere (i.e., he justifies his attitude by referring to the benefits received), clear (i.e., he explains the connection of his text with the preceding co-text), and intelligible (i.e., the content he conveys is logical and his text is conventionally worded and structured).

The reader is necessarily curious about the writer's circumstances, which would not be retrievable elsewhere. She is probably also willing to accept his statements as conventionally sincere, that is, well-meaning. According to her specific circumstances and role-relationship with the author, she may feel sympathy for the ordeal the writer has gone through (e.g., as a colleague), pride for the results he has achieved (e.g., as a parent or spouse) or satisfaction for the conclusion of a good project (e.g., as a supervisor).

2.6.2.4. Speech acts

As a whole, a PhDAS counts as an act of thanking (see section 2.5.). The overt

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

manifestation of this expressive goal constitutes the essence of the text because it provides a motivation for it, and it may not only be tied to the recurrent reference to the episodes the writer benefited from, but also to the general statement that defines the overall purpose of the communicative act (see section 2.6.1.5.). Examples:

(198) "I would first like to thank [abbreviated first name + last name] for his enthusiasm and all the members of the [name of lab] lab for their unwavering support and making the lab a great place to work. I would like to thank my husband, [first name + last name], for all his support in so many ways. I would also like to thank [first name + last name], without whom I probably would not have been a scientist. I want to especially thank my bay-mate [first name + last name], for her advice and discussion of any number of things scientific or otherwise and [first name + last name] for her wonderful pragmatism, which never failed to give perspective." (P-Bio4; recurrent manifestation of gratitude as relevant to several benefits);

(199) "I was fortunate to work with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals throughout my Ph.D. study. This research and its presentation today was only possible because of the quiet dedication and insight of many friends and colleagues." (P-Bio3; general introductory statement).

The feelings of gratitude that the author manifests make the text count as a form of counter-offer, that is a verbal act that reciprocates the services, goods or information previously received. Example:

(200) "For them my everlasting gratitude." (Arch2; reciprocating benefits with feelings).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The effectiveness of the various manifestations of thanking may be supported by ancillary speech acts, namely compliments to the benefactors for their excellence, apologies to them for the disturbance caused, offers of repayment, acknowledgments of responsibility (see section 2.5.). Examples:

(201) "[first name + last name] was one of these persons to be remembered forever. (Arch2; compliments to the benefactor);

(202) "[first name], my wife, [first name] and [first name], my sons, accepted, most of the time with serenity, the many absences, first from home, then from the country. However, they also shared with me the value of persistence and the cost of success." (Arch2; apologetic reference to the cost of the writer's success to his benefactors);

(203) "The comments and opinions in this dissertation are my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the directors, members, or officers of the [abbreviated name of institution]." (B-Adm1; acknowledgment of personal, authorial responsibility).

As a reactive communicative act that acknowledges the pleased acceptance of previous offers, the PhDAS is also a statement, that is an informative act, which enables the general reader (and not only specific benefactors) to understand what specifically the text is about (i.e., it satisfies the communicative need for clarity) and at the same time legitimizes it (i.e., it justifies the writer's feelings resulting from those previous acts).

It thus appears that the PhDAS conveys several meanings. Its wording plays a fundamental role in determining its multifaceted functionality. To better appreciate this semantic richness it is useful to examine its verbal make-up in detail, that is, to analyze

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

its mode.

2.6.3. Mode

The mode has to do with the wording and organization of the text and the effects these have on its context of production and reception. Examining the mode of a text involves considering its linguistic code, channel of communication, degree of elaboration, way of encoding notions, degree of conventionality or originality in instantiating its relevant genre, and anticipated and actual effects.

2.6.3.1. Code and channel of communication

As in any kind of verbal interaction, communication through a PhDAS can take place and be effective only if the interlocutors share a given linguistic code. But in addition to ensuring the understandability of his text, the PhDAS writer has also to make sure that the code he uses is contextually appropriate, that is, that it is the official language of his academic institution. For the texts in my corpus, this means that they are all encoded in English. Therefore, the writer does not actually *choose* a language, but identifies and adopts the official one of the academic institution where he has been

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

educated, that is, the language that is conventionally common currency among his peers and superiors. This may or may not be the language the writer is most comfortable with, that is, it can be his first, second or even a foreign language. At the same time, it is a language of which the writer must know a specific variety (i.e., academic-scientific) because this is the one he must have used to survive and succeed in academia. In a PhDAS, too, it is this variety that the writer needs to resort to, at least when referring to his superiors or institutions. Indeed, the writers of the PhDASs I have collected do reveal comfortable familiarity with the formal, academic variety of English, although occasional oversights do show up. Examples:

(204) "Funding for this paper was generously provided by the [...] and [...] Foundations, the [...] Chair of [...] and the Institute for [...]." (B-Adm 5; revealing familiarity with academic English);

(205) "My largest intellectual debts are, not surprisingly, to my teachers at Berkeley, first and foremost my dissertation committee" (Engl3; revealing familiarity with academic English);

(206) "[first name + last name]'s friendship is invaluable and unforgetable [sic]." (Arch2; spelling oversight);

(207) "[...] and the clear, incisive impute [sic] of [first name + last name] supported this dissertation as well as my progress through the School of Education" (Edu1; spelling oversight);

(208) "In the end, its [sic] family that really counts." (EECS 4; grammatical oversight).

The medium of communication for a PhDAS is the written one, which is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appropriate for a monologic, stable, multiply re-usable piece of discourse attached to another written text. As for the instrument, a PhDAS is first written up as a file through a word-processing software, then printed out on paper and bound, and finally maybe saved on a microfiche too. In its most typical realization, the PhDAS has the same layout as the dissertation it prefaces (i.e., as a typed document) and is one or a few pages long (see section 4.4.).

2.6.3.2. Elaboration and reception

Being a permanent and semi-official document, a PhDAS too is likely to be a carefully elaborated text, that is, planned and "rehearsed" (i.e., re-written, edited, proofread), until it achieves a final form and structure that the writer is satisfied with. This is because the text is meant to be clear, non-threatening and convincing at the same time, goals which can only be achieved gradually, through a staged elaboration.

In the case of a PhDAS, clarity is achieved by producing a cohesive and coherent text, which includes sufficient and sufficiently straightforward information for the reader to make sense of the background circumstances of the dissertation and/or its writer even if she did not happen to be one of the writer's benefactors. The requirement for clarity is thus satisfied when explicit reference is made to previous, relevant interactional events, including the unambiguous identification of the previous interlocutors' role-relationships and of the benefits exchanged between them (see section 2.4.).

The communicative and social acceptability of the PhDAS is ensured through

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

several means: clarity and legibility, first of all, manifest reader-friendliness and respect, because they favor the reader's interpretation of the message. In addition, reference to only positive circumstances which show the people involved in them in a good light both serves to curry favor with previous interactants, whose generosity is publicly recognized, and contributes to the author's own likeability, because he appears to be focused only on positive aspects of previous communicative events (see section 2.6.2.1.).

The convincingness of the content of the PhDAS depends on its author's ability both to express and to justify his gratitude. On the one hand, this means that his positive reactive attitude has to appear to be sincere, whether it is expressed through conventional, and thus easily recognizable, thanking formulas, or through more original expressions. On the other hand, this also involves that the reasons for feeling and manifesting gratitude have to be such that the writer himself feels like subscribing to them or such that he can easily understand when they are to be intended as tongue-in-cheek remarks. Examples:

(209) "I wish to thank [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for carefully reading this dissertation," (Stat2; a conventional, easily recognizable thanking formula);

(210) "As a foreign student in America, I was blessed to make many remarkable friends in the I-House, [...]" (P-Bio3; an originally worded thanking formula);

(211) "I really appreciate all of their help and kindness over the years. They made graduate school much more pleasurable." (P-Bio2; a reasonable motivation for the writer's gratitude, such that the addressee can agree on it);

(212) "I am grateful to my friends [...] and for pretending to understand why I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

needed to spend five years of my life studying kid's [sic] ideas about how far light goes" (Edu3; an unusual motivation for the writer's gratitude, intended as ironic).

As a PhDAS is not the kind of text one produces on a regular basis, its conventions may have to be (specially) learned, for example by reading other such texts. As a result of exposure to other genre exemplars, a future PhDAS writer may end up reproducing in his own text turns of phrase picked up elsewhere. In this sense, each PhDAS may be considered the result of a collective, though probably unconscious, effort (see section 2.6.1.7.). Combined with a recurrent participation in the communicative practices of a given discourse community, the writer's familiarity with the PhDAS genre may account for similarities among PhDASs, especially if from the same discipline. Example:

(213) "[...] provided invaluable criticism to my work [...]" (Arch2); "[...] is an invaluable friend" (Arch2); "[...] friendship is invaluable and unforgetable [sic]" (Arch2); "[...] for his invaluable guidance throughout my doctoral degree." (B-Adm3); "[...] for invaluable guidance and suggestions." (B-Adm5); "[...] whose insight and experience have been invaluable throughout my years of working with her" (Edu6); "[...] she has given many [sic] invaluable advice on my personal life" (EECS1); "[...] and for his invaluable comments on both technical contents and English writing." (EECS4); "[...] for her time, patience, support, guidance, and invaluable philosophical energy and clarity." (Phil4); "[...] the encouragement of my family has been invaluable [...]" (Engl5); "[...] for his invaluable help and friendship." (P-Bio2); "[...] have been of invaluable help during my struggles [...]" (Stat2); "[...] Without their invaluable guidance and suggestions [...]" (Stat5); (recurrence of the notion 'invaluable' across disciplines).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A PhDAS establishes a relationship that is removed in time and place from its possible recipients. Typically, these cannot provide input to or feedback about it while it is being drafted, because they only get to see it in its final form. Therefore, when they receive it, they can only decide how to use it, e.g., disregard it, skim it, read it over and over again, read parts of it, think about its content, and decide if and how to develop explicit response strategies (see section 2.6.1.2.). Therefore, the reader's influence on the text is only indirect, in the sense that the writer prepares it trying to anticipate his addressee's possible cognitive-emotional reactions to it (see above about his communicative goals of clarity, acceptability and convincingness; cf. Bazerman 1984: 165; see section 2.6.2.1.). There may also be, however, privileged readers, who have access to the PhDAS when it is still in the making, for example friends and colleagues of the writer's who he turns to for feedback and advice as well as the candidate's dissertation committee members, who might act as censors or proofreaders too.

Since the PhDAS *concludes* a multi-phase interaction (see section 2.4.), it does not call for a reply or a non-verbal response from the reader. But a reader cannot not react to a text she has been exposed to, even if only internally, i.e., cognitively and emotionally. What is more, as a self-selected addressee, the reader may have specific goals in mind when approaching the text. Finally, explicit, concrete reactions may also be triggered by the text.

For instance, instinctive reactions to the text could include feeling a personal like or dislike for its author; experiencing sympathy for, indifference to or amusement at his academic ordeals; or feeling satisfied or disappointed about having or not having, respectively, been mentioned as a benefactor in it. More intentional kinds of responses

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

along the same lines could include sizing up the author's personality through the content and form of his text, evaluating his communication skills, deliberately checking if one's name is among the people acknowledged. Finally, more direct kinds of reactions could comprise taking action on the basis of the feelings experienced or the intentions carried out, for instance openly expressing one's opinion about the PhDAS, either to the author himself, or to others; or maybe thanking back the writer for having been publicly recognized as a benefactor (or alternatively, complaining to others for having been forgotten).

With regard to the intentional reception of the text, the reader may choose to use the PhDAS to learn about the author's professional background, that is, to see who he is currently connected with in his discipline and guess who may write letters of recommendation for him (cf. Ben-Ari (1987: 66-67, 72) about the writer's complementary intention to show he is well-connected); she may also want to find out about scholars who are experts in a given field of interest to her, but may not have been mentioned in the dissertation bibliography (see Cronin and Overfelt 1994: 180-181), so as to look for their works later on; or she may want to learn how to write an acceptable PhDAS when her turns comes to do so (see section 2.6.1.7.).

It thus appears that several are the responses, both automatic and deliberate, that a reader may have towards a PhDAS. This potential variability in the responses to such a text is precisely due to the fact that, as an interaction-concluding communicative act, there is no conventionalized type of reaction that the PhDAS calls for, i.e., no fixed reactive practice conventionally envisaged for it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.6.3.3. Linguistic realization of the main concepts

From an organizational point of view, the most important notion to be encoded in the PhDAS is its title, which makes it possible for the reader to easily recognize the genre membership of the text. Indeed, its importance is reflected in its visual prominence: it occurs at the very beginning of the PhDAS, it is typographically set off from the body of the text, and it tends to graphically stick out because bigger in size and/or different in font from the rest of the text. (In only one PhDAS, though, i.e., Engl5, is the title missing and left for the reader to infer from the surrounding co-text and context.)

The other main notions to be encoded in the PhDAS are, as I have pointed out several times by now (see sections 2.3., 2.6.1.5.), the writer's gratitude, the reasons for that gratitude (i.e., benefits) and the people who have determined that reactive feeling in the author (i.e., his benefactors). These are notions that ensure the understandability and effectiveness of the text as a whole.

The writer's gratitude, being a feeling, is likely to be expressed through verbs or adjectives that manifest this positive, reactive attitude (as an experience or state, respectively). However, it can also be encoded through abstract nouns (i.e., as an entity) or through combinations of verbs and nouns (i.e., as a mini-event). A thanking expression can also encode the deliberate action resulting from the cognitive attitude of gratitude. Alternatively, the gratitude expression can be expressed from the benefactors' point of view (i.e., as an event in which they are involved as primary actors/experiencers); (see section 4.10.). Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(214) "Professor [first name + last name] and my colleagues helped me to conduct the second survey in the class of Arch. [class code]. *I truly appreciate* their help." (Arch5; gratitude expression rendered with a verb; emphasis added);

(215) "*I am also indebted* to my parents for always having encouraged me in my studies." (Stat1; gratitude expression including an adjective; emphasis added);

(216) "*A special thanks* [sic] to [first name + last name] for her patient proof-reading and useful suggestions;" (Arch4; gratitude expression encoded as a noun phrase; emphasis added);

(217) "[...] *with a special note* to Grandma [first name] and Grandpa [abbreviated first name] for having a home on the river, where the salmon spawn." (Stat4; gratitude expression encoded as a prepositional phrase; emphasis added);

(218) "*I have had the great pleasure* of regular conversations with a very thoughtful geneticist, [first name + last name]. Our discussions on statistics and genetics will have a lasting effect on my views of both fields." (Stat2; gratitude expression involving a combination of a verb and a noun phrase; emphasis added);

(219) "*My best wishes* to my office mates [...]" (Stat1; deliberate action, i.e., counteroffer, resulting from the experience of gratitude; emphasis added);

(220) "*I cannot leave out* my daughter, [first name] and my son, [first name] whose moral support has been vital during the long period of my study." (Arch5, deliberate action resulting from the experience of gratitude; emphasis added);

(221) "My fellow graduate students *deserve recognition* for their encouragement and good spirits, [...]". (Stat1; thanking expression presented from the point of view of the benefactors; emphasis added).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

When syntactically linked to the expression of thanks, the benefits are typically encoded through a prepositional phrase whose head, the preposition *for*, signals the causal connection between the writer's gratitude and the benefits received. There are also thanking expressions, though, which take other types of objects or complements for the encoding of the benefit, such as direct objects or subordinate clauses; in the former case the writer's attitude is directed at the benefit, rather than the benefactor; in the latter case, the benefit constitutes a descriptive statement about the benefactor. When the gratitude expression is missing, the benefit may be encoded as a verb phrase. Finally, the benefit can also be syntactically separate from the rest of the AM, that is, it can be an independent sentence (see section 4.11.4.). Examples:

(222) "I would like to sincerely thank my dissertation committee members [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] *for their suggestions and support*." (B-Adm3; benefit encoded as a *for*-headed prepositional phrase; emphasis added);

(223) "[abbreviated first name + last name] has been a constant source of energy and inspiration for me. I appreciate *all of the advice and encouragement he has given me.*" (Stat2; benefit encoded as a noun phrase/direct object; emphasis added);

(224) "It has been my good fortune *to work* with the supportive and collaborative individuals in the [abbreviated name of a research group] and [abbreviated name of a research group] research groups at Berkeley. Thank you all." (Edu3; benefit encoded as a non-finite clause; emphasis added);

(225) "I would like to thank all of the preschool teachers *who donated their time* to make this a better research project." (Edu4; benefit encoded as a subordinate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clause; emphasis added);

(226) "[abbreviated first name + last name] *originally suggested to me the idea of working on the Laws and offered valuable comments during my writing.*" (Phil1; benefits encoded as verb phrases; emphasis added);

(227) "I would also like to thank [first name + last name], my undergraduate research advisor. *She was like a mother to me.*" (P-Bio2; benefit encoded as a distinct sentence; emphasis added).

As for the benefactors, these are typically encoded in such a way that their identity and role-relationship with the writer is explicitly revealed to the general reader: thus their names, titles and/or roles tend to be signaled (see section 4.8.). Examples:

(228) "I would like to thank *my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name]*, for introducing me to the world of plant development and providing me with the resources which made this project a reality." (P-Bio3; benefactor identified through a combination of role-specific label, title and name; emphasis added);

(229) "Most of all, I want to thank *my wonderful husband [first name]*. Meeting him was the best thing that happened to me in graduate school. He makes it all worthwhile. (P-Bio2; benefactor identified through a combination of name and role-specific label; emphasis added);

(230) "Discussions *with many other faculty* have also been helpful in sorting 'wheat from chaff'." (P-Bio5; benefactor identified through a role-specific label; emphasis added).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, one or the other specification may also be left out, for example if the writer does not consider it particularly salient or if more information can be retrieved from the surrounding co-text. Examples:

(231) "[...] [first name + last name] for her advice on the problem [...] "(Stat2; non-salience of the benefactor's role);

(232) "My appreciation is also extended to my friends: [#] [first name + last name] for her valuable comments and encouragements, [...]" (Arch1; role-specific label retrievable from the previous AM).

2.7. Conclusion

From the discussion and relevant exemplification in this chapter, it appears that a PhDAS is meant to express the PhD candidate's public and grateful acknowledgment of help received with regard to his dissertation and/or related circumstances. The manifestation of the writer's pleased acceptance of his previous interactants' offers is what motivates his text. This motivating function qualifies the PhDAS as the realization of the speech act of thanking, that is an intentional verbal action which involves (A) recognizing the beneficial nature of the services received, (B) expressing gratitude for those benefits, and (C) showing approval of and manifesting indebtedness to the benefactors. Using Searle's (1976: 12-13) terminology, a PhDAS can be said to constitute a type of expressive speech act. In the following chapter, I propose a definition and description of the PhDAS as an expressive speech act of thanking.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 3.

SPEECH ACT PERSPECTIVE

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter I propose to describe PhDASs as macro speech acts of thanking. To this end, I first consider the comparability of non-fictional genre exemplars to speech acts. Then, I point out the similarities between PhDASs and acts of thanking. I proceed to review relevant literature in the field (i.e., on the verbal expression of gratitude and ASs). Finally, I present a method for the analysis of such extended speech acts and show how it can help reveal structural and lexico-grammatical properties of PhDASs.

3.1. Speech acts and genre exemplars

Establishing the genre membership of a given communicative act depends on the identification of the main goal that that text achieves through the partial or exclusive use of language. This communicative purpose determines the text's name (and affects other properties such as its strategic organization and wording; see section 2.5.). Similarly, determining what speech act an utterance performs depends on the identification of the communicative point, or intention, that that utterance is meant to express and realize. This intention, technically called illocution, constitutes the essential condition of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

speech act and provides a suitable descriptive label with which the act can be named. Therefore, the comparability between non-fictional genre members and instantiations of speech acts is due to the fact that both kinds of utterances realize intentional interactional acts, which are expressed verbally, and which can be named on the basis of what their locutors want to achieve through them.

An example may help clarify what I am trying to say. Texts produced by the *same* speakers or writers and dealing with the *same* topic, are, however, characterized by *different* content and style if they are motivated by *differing* communicative intents. For instance, the descriptions of a region in an encyclopedia entry, a travel brochure, and a guidebook will tend to be focused on providing clear and precise data, presenting tourist-attracting information, and pointing out the pros and cons of the region in question, respectively (Dalziel and Helm 2002: 29-30). The first kind of text can thus be likened to a representative speech act, whose purpose is to provide a truthful account and description of given events and situations; it will have to be objective, factual and accurate. The second can be likened to a directive speech act, given that it is meant to sell a holiday and thus to get the addressee to do something which is in the writer's interest; it will have to sound and look interesting, enthusiastic, fun and convincing. The third can be compared to an offer of services to a person in need of guidance; it will have to be balanced, honest and contain useful advice.

The above-mentioned functional comparability between genre exemplars and speech acts determines additional, subsidiary similarities between them. (A) Both types of language acts follow conventional procedures so that they can be easily recognized, effectively produced and perceived as socially acceptable. (B) Their identifiability

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

depends on that stretch of speech or writing that manifests and fulfills their communicative goal, that is the specific text segment that constitutes their gist, in the sense that it justifies their realization and determines their interpretation. (C) However, in both genre exemplars and speech acts that central text component may be marginalized or even omitted if the co-text and context are explicit enough and/or the addressee is experienced enough too to ensure their understandability. (D) Whether explicitly encoded or an underlying functional component to be inferred, the central element of the speech act or genre exemplar accounts for the content and structural organization of those utterances (e.g., for the presence of optional components supportive of the central act; see (E) below). (E) Both genre exemplars and speech acts, in addition, may be accompanied by other textual components meant to ensure communicative effectiveness (i.e., understandability) and interactional success (i.e., the production of certain effects on the addressee and/or the situation at large); these supportive adjuncts may, for instance, help clarify the meaning, highlight the convincingness or justify the production of the utterances. (F) The encoding of the central and optional components of both these types of language acts is subject to non-random variation; that is, on the one hand, *several* lexico-grammatical means can be used to encode both types of utterances, but on the other hand, such variation is partly *predictable* from the ever-changing context, and partly *restricted* by the communicative goals of the utterances themselves.

Genre exemplars and speech acts, however, may also differ in certain respects. These may include typical length and possible multiplicity vs. ambiguity of purpose. That is, on the one hand, genre exemplars tend to be longer than comparable speech acts (see Freedman and Medway 1994: 47, but also p. 64, footnote 3); on the other hand, due to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their staged realization, adaptability to authors' specific needs, and more generally flexible, creative instantiation, genre exemplars offer language users the opportunity to pursue multiple goals (see section 2.5.). On the other hand, if realized indirectly (i.e., with no explicit performatives), speech acts may be given two simultaneous interpretations, one based on textual, the other on contextual information, so that they may be understood as the realization of both a literal and a primary act.

The main point to be stressed, however, is that genre exemplars and speech acts are similar in what is pivotal in their identifiability-definability, namely the communicative purpose of the former can be compared to and described in terms of the illocutionary force of the latter.

In the following section I will draw a set of parallels between the exemplars of the PhDAS genre and the speech act of thanking. On the basis of Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts, I will first show that it is possible to establish a functional correspondence between the two types of language acts. Then I will consider similarities and differences in their realization patterns.

3.2. PhDASs as acts of thanking

In this section I summarize the main speech act properties of the act of thanking and of the PhDAS. The discussion is based on Searle (1979) and Searle (1969) and focuses on the features that (a) distinguish acts of thanking from other speech acts and (b) highlight formal and functional similarities between acts of thanking and PhDASs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.2.1. Taxonomic principles

Following Searle's (1979) taxonomic principles for the description of illocutionary acts[27], I will argue that PhDASs can be said to belong to the class of expressives and to be categorizable as acts of thanking. Although I have frequently referred to PhDASs as gratitude-oriented communicative acts (see, e.g., sections 2.4., 2.5., 2.6.1.4., 2.6.2.4., 2.6.3.3.), in this section I offer a global interpretation of such texts as specific instantiations of the illocutionary act of thanking.

Principle 1: purpose. The purpose of a PhDAS is to manifest to the dissertation reader the writer's positive cognitive-emotional attitude towards benefits received in relation to his recent academic achievement and the people responsible for them. The PhDAS is therefore meant to express an emotional reaction triggered by interactional moves previously performed by other interactants. As the specific affective state to be conveyed implies the writer's positive evaluation of the offers he has received and their beneficial impact on him, the PhDAS serves to sustain the previous interactants' positive face. As a result, an additional, indirectly realized, function of the PhDAS may be that of getting the dissertation reader to develop a positive attitude towards the writer, resulting from a newly-acquired awareness of the latter's positive psychological state (see section 2.6.1.4.).

[27] According to Searle (1969: 23-25), a speech act comprises an utterance act (i.e., saying or writing words, sentences), a propositional act (i.e., referring, predicating), an illocutionary act (i.e., manifesting and realizing an intention, e.g., stating, questioning, arguing) and a perlocutionary act (i.e., achieving certain effects, e.g., convincing, alarming, influencing others' behavior).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Principle 2: the relationship between the world and words. The manifestation of the writer's cognitive-emotional attitude presupposes that he indeed experiences the psychological state he wants to express (i.e., that he is grateful) as well as that the propositional content to be conveyed corresponds to the truth (i.e., that he has gladly accepted useful goods and/or services kindly offered by previous well-meaning, efficient and helpful interactants). Therefore, the PhDAS is built neither on a world-to-words fit nor on a words-to-world fit, in the sense that the PhDAS does not constitute an attempt to have the world match the words or vice versa. Both the feelings and thoughts the writer has about previous events and/or situations and those events and/or situations themselves are taken to be unquestionably true (see sections 2.6.1.1. and 2.6.2.2.).

Principle 3: the relevant psychological state. The writer expresses a multi-dimensional psychological state, which involves his feelings towards, judgment of and aesthetic sensitivity to given situations and/or events.[28] Indeed, the writer's grateful attitude implies first of all that he experiences a positive feeling directed at some person (i.e., that he felt happy, satisfied and/or secure because of something she/he did, said or because of the way he/she was); in addition, it implies that he positively evaluates that person for his/her qualities and/or behavior (e.g., exceptional traits, ability, determination, honesty, propriety); finally, it implies that he can aesthetically appreciate the states and/or events that caused his psychological state in terms of their noticeability or impact, their likeability or quality, their proportionality or balance, their detail or complexity, and their social significance. In sum, the writer's grateful attitude implies a positive, reactive,

[28] These appraisal categories and the relevant notions mentioned below in this paragraph are from Martin (2000).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

motivated feeling/thought towards a previous interlocutor whose qualities and/or behavior are positively assessed (i.e., admired and praised); (see section 2.6.2.3.).

Principle 4: the strength of the purpose. The PhDAS is (meant to be) neither a routine, formulaic manifestation of feelings nor a panegyric. Its writer's relevant psychological state is supposed to be expressed at a moderate level of intensity so that his text can be neither regarded as an automatically, almost unconsciously uttered, non-deeply felt response, nor considered an overblown statement about the writer's attitude or his benefactors' merits. In the former case, the writer would not be considered respectful or obliging enough given the magnitude of the benefits received; in the latter case, he might be perceived to be insincere and his utterance might end up being ineffective. An appropriate manifestation of gratitude may be achieved by creatively enriching standard thanking formulas (to avoid routinization in the manifestation of gratitude), by resorting to totally original expressions of thanks (to realize a conscious, non-automatic affective response), and by rationally motivating the feeling of gratitude itself (to show there is a link between the psychological state expressed and a previous event considered its cause); (see section 2.6.3.3.).

Principle 5: the influence of the (relative) status of the interlocutors on the force of the utterance. The expression of the writer's attitude is affected by (A) his perception (or awareness) of his social identity relative to that of his benefactors, (B) the relative rank of the beneficiary and the benefactors with reference to the *current* interaction, and (C) the former's awareness of the *general* type of relationship sustained with the latter.

With reference to the first point, one can observe that the PhDAS writer's benefactors do not form a socially homogenous group, since they include superiors

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(typically, professors or other well-established academics in general), peers (e.g., colleagues-assistants, providers of various types of service), and intimates (e.g., friends, family). The varying degrees of distance or closeness and of power or solidarity between the writer and the benefactors may thus determine the manifestation of a different level of deference vs. rapport and of hesitancy vs. enthusiasm in specific expressions of gratitude. That is, when referring to benefactors he feels he is on more familiar terms with, the AS writer may take liberties in the expression of his emotional-cognitive state (and/or mention information seemingly irrelevant to the dissertation; see relevant examples in section 2.4.); on the other hand, he may restrain himself when referring to benefactors he sustains a more formal relationship with, especially if they are his superiors (and remain focused on factual, supposedly objective information; see relevant examples in section 2.6.2.2.). The force of the utterance itself, however, may be comparable in both types of situations (cf. relevant examples in sections 2.4., 2.5., 2.6.2.2., and 2.6.3.3. about the use of the notion of 'appreciation' in the expression of gratitude to both superiors and peers).

The above observation leads me to the second point I want to make, namely that, in the end, a strong determinant of the force of the expression of gratitude is the extent to which the writer appears to feel indebted and/or appreciative towards his benefactors, independently of his status relative to theirs. The relationship between the two parties necessarily involves social imbalance. The writer is in a one-down position simply because he has received benefits he has not reciprocated yet (see section 2.5.). Therefore, the writer may emphatically express his gratitude both with benefactors who enjoy a higher status relative to his on the social and/or professional domain and with those he is on a more or less equal standing with on the social scale (see relevant examples of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

emphatic thanking to peers and superiors and of standard, conventionally indirect ways of thanking colleagues, intimates and professional superiors in sections 2.1. and 2.2.).

Finally, the writer and his benefactors' *overall* type of relationship is to be taken into consideration too, as this motivates the former's experience and expression of his social indebtedness to the latter as reasonable and expected: the writer's superiors' help (even if simply in the "form" of competence) was also part of their academic and/or professional duties, while his peers' support was a natural effect of their spontaneous, freely developed, attachment to him. As a result, typically, the thankful writer neither states that the benefits received were unnecessary nor that he did not expect to receive what he needed and wanted (thus, e.g., **You shouldn't have* and **How did you know I needed just that?* would be contextually inappropriate).

All of these considerations are likely to lead the thanker to formulate an expressive act of gratitude of moderate illocutionary force, neither totally complimentary as in a praise-oriented communicative act nor completely formulaic or token-like as in a routine and low-cost exchange — that is, a rationally motivated act of gratitude.

Principle 6: the interests of the interlocutors. An expression of gratitude is supposed to manifest the thanker's favorable disposition towards the thankee which is to be ascribed to the latter's earlier helpful behavior. As a motivated expression of appreciation, it sustains the benefactor's positive face and thus relates to her interest (see section 2.3.). This also holds true for the PhDAS, whose often detailed content is meant to show that benefactors are thought highly of, accepted, liked and wanted.

The manifestation of gratitude may at first not reflect well on the thanker, since it shows that his single-authored original piece of research owes a great deal to others (see

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

section 2.4. and the summary of Hamilton's (1990) article in section 3.3.2.1.). However, it serves his long-term interests. Indeed, manifesting a good, reactive attitude towards his benefactors is likely to engender a similarly positive response from them, who may, in their turn, appreciate the thanker's awareness of his indebtedness and (continue to) like him and be willing to interact with and for him precisely for that reason (see this section above about Principle 1). The writer may indeed write his text also with a view to achieving given perlocutionary effects in *his* interest both from his benefactors (e.g., letters of recommendation, technical help in the lab, general professional advice, continued positive affect in his circle of friends) and from his readers (e.g., establishing or increasing his likeability, proving his reliability). Such effects can be achieved if the writer succeeds in convincing the reader that he cares about his benefactors: thus, by producing an original, sincere-sounding, non formulaic, coherent message he reveals (a) that he has produced a readable and pleasant message worthy of the reader's attention and (b) that he has taken the trouble to reciprocate, in writing, and thus that he has deserved, all the help he has received.

Principle 7: the relation to the rest of the discourse. An expression of thanks is always a reacting move, and as such relevant to the *previous* discourse and its context.[29] When such an expression is produced simultaneously with the acceptance of the benefit, it may indeed include an explicit manifestation of the fact that it is a reply to and consequence of a previous interactional move (e.g., through adverbs, as in: *Well, thanks, then!*), but it does not need to include reference to the specific content of that move or the person responsible for it, as this is clear from the context (e.g., *Well, [Jane], thanks [for the gift], then!*). In the PhDAS, the relation to the previous discourse is typically signaled

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

precisely via reference to the specific circumstances that have determined the writer's current gratitude, since these are not accessible to the reader (see sections 2.2. and 2.4.), and less frequently by pointing out the reactive nature of the text; that is, both the PhDAS as a whole and its individual AMs are structured as self-contained (sub-)texts (see examples (52) and (53) in section 2.5.): the sequential position of the PhDAS in a series of interactional moves does not have to be made explicit to make sense of it (although it may be made explicit; see example (29) in section 2.4.).

Principle 8: the relation between the illocution and the propositional content. The propositional content of an expressive speech act can be about a past event (as in the case of condolences) or a present one (as in the case of welcoming acts). Being a reactive act, an act of gratitude tends to be about past acts performed by the addressee, although it can even be issued in anticipation of an act whose future realization is taken for granted (e.g., after the interlocutor's promise to carry it out) or hoped for (e.g., *Thank you for not smoking*; *I thank you in advance for your cooperation*; see Coulmas (1981) reviewed in section 3.2.1.2.). In the PhDAS, the writer manifests his gratitude to addressees in *previous* interactions for their *past* actions, as is evident from the use of expressions or structures marked for or presupposing the notion of 'past' (e.g., see examples (3), (4) and (5) in section 2.1. and (13) in section 2.2.). In addition, part of the propositional content of the text is also focused on the writer's *current* psychological state relevant to those past events, and thus encoded in the present (see examples in sections 2.4. and 2.6.1.3.).

Principle 9: the optional or obligatory verbal performance of the act. A speech act may be performed verbally, although not necessarily with an explicit illocutionary force-

[29] See, however, Coulmas (1981), reviewed in section 3.3.1.2. about thanking ex ante.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indicating device, or it may not be performed verbally at all as long as the relevant utterance and its context clarify what the act is supposed to count as. This also applies to expressive speech acts: a psychological state may be conveyed through gestures, facial expressions or implied in the informative co-text, that is realized indirectly through reference to the circumstances (e.g., causes, effects) relevant to that state. The choice between alternative ways of carrying out the act may depend on context, including, e.g., the medium of communication and the relative status of speaker and hearer (e.g., a subordinate speaker may be expected to be explicit, and thus express himself verbally and directly, so as to reduce the hearer's inferential path).

The expression of the psychological state is recurrent in the PhDAS because the writer manifests this state in relation to his various, distinct benefactors and benefits (see sections 2.4. and 2.6.1.5.). This expression can only be verbal given that the PhDAS is a communicative act realized completely through language. The overt signaling of the act of thanking reveals the writer's awareness of his duty to ensure communicative effectiveness, that is to favor the readers' and/or benefactors' understanding and cooperation; it also reveals the writer's social subordination to one group of his benefactors (i.e., his academic advisors) and his interactional subordination to all of them (as a beneficiary) because it highlights his indebtedness to them (i.e., it overtly acknowledges his dependence on them). However, in the PhDAS too, the writer's positive reactive attitude may be left understood if the co-text is informative enough (see relevant examples in section 2.6.3.3. for instances of overt and implied expressions of gratitude).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Principle 10: the potential relevance of extra-linguistic institutions. Sometimes speech acts can be felicitously performed only if one or more of the interlocutors involved occupy a special position within a given extra-linguistic institution. This does not apply to expressives, which only require the speaker's obedience to the rules of the language and sincere experience and manifestation of his internal state; that is, whether or not the thanker and the thankee belong to a given institution does not affect the validity of the expressive act itself uttered by the former for the benefit of the latter.

However, the context of the PhDAS does presuppose the existence of an extra-linguistic institution, namely the university the writer has been educated in, and presupposes specific circumstances relevant to it, namely that he is about to graduate from it because he has fulfilled all his requirements, and that this graduation depends on the direct involvement of people affiliated with it, namely his supervisors. Thus *contextual* conditions have to be satisfied for the overall text to make sense (i.e., so that a communicative purpose can be assigned to it); they are necessary only in the sense that they justify the production of the text itself, but not in the sense that their absence would prevent the realization or reduce the validity of the core message of the text.

Finally, the procedure for thanking does not have to conform to an institutionalized method for it to be valid. Adherence to socio-cultural conventions relevant to given contextual parameters only serves to ensure the understandability, likeability and effectiveness of the text, but is not necessary for its performance (see section 2.5. about Disacknowledgments and this section above about the expressions of gratitude not typically found in PhDASs, under Principle 5).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Principle 11: The possible performative use of the relevant illocutionary verb. A speech act may sometimes be realized by using the relevant illocutionary verb in the first person singular present tense form; it takes immediate effect in the utterance itself, as becomes apparent if the adverb *hereby* is included in the proposition.

Thanking is one of the speech acts that can be realized as a performative utterance when its relevant illocutionary verb, *to thank*,[30] is used in the first person singular present tense (e.g., *I thank X for Y* (full form); *Thank you, X, for Y* (reduced form)). However, the act of thanking may also be carried out through a hedged performative, that is, with the relevant illocutionary verb preceded by a modifying expression (e.g., *I would like to thank X for Y; I also have to thank X for Y; I cannot thank X enough for Y; I will never thank X enough for Y*). Alternatively, the relevant illocutionary verb can also be used non-performatively (e.g., *I thanked my parents for all they had done for me.*). Moreover, performative-like, complex expressions may also be formulated, when verbs which do not encode the notion of gratitude occur in the first person singular present tense form and are accompanied by words that do convey that notion (e.g., *I [hereby] give my gratitude to X for Y; I [hereby] extend my thanks to X for Y*). Finally, the act of thanking can be carried out without the relevant illocutionary verb, for instance by employing other lexemes which do not serve to carry out, but rather describe or report the act of thanking (e.g., *I am thankful to X for Y; I give my gratitude to; I owe special thanks to*).

Of all possible gratitude expressions, PhDASs tend to select those that match their relatively formal nature (see relevant examples in section 2.6.3.3.) and to exclude, instead, those typically employed in everyday routine interactions (e.g., *I really*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appreciate it; *Thanks a lot*; *I owe you one*; *You shouldn't have*; *You've saved my life*; *That's very kind of you*), which are appropriate in more "relaxed" contexts relevant to low-cost benefits. Thus the performative and hedged performative are appropriate syntactic choices in PhDASs, but so are in general lexical and/or grammatical encoding options that stress the official tone of the text.

Principle 12: the style of performance of the act. Sometimes verbs having the same illocutionary point and applied to the same propositional content may, however, mark specific ways in which the "same" speech act is performed. That is, they may add or highlight a specific nuance of meaning besides conveying the speaker's specific intention.

The above principle applies to the speech act of thanking. Indeed, the psychological state of gratitude may be conveyed through various lexical means[31] (see section 4.10), each of which emphasizes one particular aspect of the thanker's cognitive-emotional attitude.

First of all, the default lexeme for expressing gratitude is the illocutionary verb *to thank*. Deriving from a root **tong-* originally meaning 'to think', it gradually developed the meaning of 'entertaining a favorable thought (e.g., good will, consent, approval, positive frame of mind) and experiencing a positive feeling'. It now conventionally signals the experience and manifestation of a favorable feeling and positive way of thinking towards a benefactor (as a result of services received); (see relevant examples in section 2.2. for instances of thanking expressions containing the verb *to thank*). Forms

[30] Other verbs can also be used in the first person singular of the present tense although this does not guarantee that they are to be interpreted as performatives; see examples with the verb *appreciate* in sections 2.6.2.2. and 2.6.3.3.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morphologically related to it and expressing the same basic notion include: *thanks (a lot, a million, awfully, ever so)*, originally meaning 'willingly, of one's good will'; *thank you (so much); thankful*, which means a combination of 'grateful, happy, and relieved'; *thankfully*, now mostly used as a sentence adverb meaning 'one is thankful and relieved that' rather than as an adverb meaning 'gratefully, with thanks'; *thankfulness; thanks to*, originally meaning 'thanks are to be given or due to' and now meaning 'because of (the merit of)'. Examples:

(233) "And I wish to thank [first name + last name], from whose philosophical influence I have greatly benefited as well." (Phil4; use of the verb *to thank* as part of a gratitude expression);

(234) "Thanks to [first name + last name] I now try to forget less this lesson." (Arch2; use of *thanks to* as a compound preposition to express gratitude);

(see also section 2.4. for instances of the use of *thanks* and *thank you* as gratitude expressions). In general, gratitude expressions containing the stem *thank-* represent the thanker as a positive thinker.

Other ways of expressing thanks involve the use of the stem *grat-* (e.g., *grateful, gratefully, gratefulness, gratitude*). Deriving from a root *$*g^{w}er$?* meaning 'to praise', and more specifically from Latin *gratus* meaning 'pleasing', and related to the noun *gratuity* meaning 'favor, gift', these lexemes convey the glad acceptance of (or the agreement to accept) an offer perceived as agreeable and welcome. Gratitude expressions containing the root *grat-* portray the thanker as a perceiver and receiver of something pleasant. Example:

[31] Etymological information about the lexical stems considered below is based on Watkins (1985) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(235) "My eternal gratitude to these people and institutions." (Arch2; use of *gratitude* in a gratitude expression);

(see also sections 2.1. and 2.2. for instances of gratitude expressions containing the words *grateful*, *gratefully* and *gratitude*).

Lexemes like *debt, indebted*, *indebtedness*, (from the Latin verb *debere*, meaning 'to owe', derived from a root **ghabh* meaning 'to give') and *owe* 'to have to pay' (from a root **e:ik* meaning 'to possess') serve to indicate that the thanker is under the obligation to pay or render something to his benefactor; they thus signal that the former has received more benefits than he may have given to the latter. As a result, the use of such words leads to a conceptualization of the thanker as a debtor and of the benefactor as a creditor. Example:

(236) " [...] and I owe a special debt of gratitude to my wife, [first name + last name], for the support — intellectual and otherwise — she has given me during the rather unusual process of writing a dissertation. It is to her that I dedicate this work." (Phil5; use of *owe*, *debt* and *gratitude* in a gratitude expression);

(see also relevant examples in sections 2.4. and 2.5. for instances of the use of *indebted*, *owe* plus *debt*, and *owe* plus *thanks* in gratitude expressions).

To express the same notions, however, it is also possible to resort to other lexemes. These may signal the writer's duty to give something back, and include, for instance, *obligation* (meaning 'binding agreement, bond, restriction') or *obligated* (meaning 'bound, compelled') — from a root **leigh-* meaning 'to bind, to tie'. Alternatively, they may signal the benefactor's right to receive something back, namely *credit* (meaning 'entitlement to something good, praise for something one is responsible for') — from

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Latin verb *credere* meaning 'to believe, to trust' and the derived past participle (and noun) *creditum* meaning '(something) entrusted to another, a loan'. These lexemes are not exemplified in my corpus.[32]

Other words convey a public indication of benefactors' kindness, generosity and merits (qualities and/or accomplishments). They include *to acknowledge* (meaning 'to come to know, to admit as true, to show recognition of, to (gratefully) accept') and its derived noun *acknowledgment*[33], and also *to recognize* (meaning 'to come to know, to confess, to accept and approve of, to show appreciation for something') and its derived noun *recognition*. Both groups of words are based on a root meaning 'to know' and present the thanker as a communicator or announcer, who expresses and thus makes known to everybody his gratitude and the reasons for it (i.e., the benefits received; see section 2.5.). Examples:

(237) "I wish to acknowledge the extraordinary support I have received from the various members of my committee in planning and writing this dissertation." (Engl5; use of *acknowledge* in a gratitude expression);

(238) "My fellow graduate students deserve recognition for their encouragement and good spirits [...]" (Stat1; use of *recognition* in a gratitude expression).

(see also sections 2.2., 2.4. 2.5., and 2.6.1.4. for relevant examples of the use of the stems *acknowledg-* and *recogn-* in gratitude expressions).

The verb *to appreciate* (from Latin *pretium* 'price' and a root **per-* meaning 'to sell, to distribute') originally meant 'to set a price to' and is now used in the sense of 'to

[32] However, Stat6 includes the following AM: "Many past teachers and mentors share credit for my academic growth."

[33] The twofold sense of 'giving credit to, paying homage to' and 'showing appreciation for' is also present in Yoruba acknowledgment practices (Abiodun 2000).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

evaluate, to estimate the qualities of, to recognize the qualities in and thus like, to perceive and be grateful for the excellence of'. Together with its derived noun *appreciation* and adjective *appreciative, to appreciate* expresses the favorable evaluation or understanding of the high value of the benefactors' contribution. Thus gratitude expressions containing the stem *appreciat-* show the thanker as an appraiser. Example:

(239) "I am also appreciative of the insightful conversations and relaxing times with the dissertation group: [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [abbreviated first name]. They made the process a smoother, more enjoyable one for me." (Edu3; use of *appreciative* in a gratitude expression);

(see also sections 2.6.2.2. and 2.6.3.2. for examples of the use of *to appreciate*, and sections 2.4., 2.6.1.4. and 2.6.1.5. for examples of the use of *appreciation* in gratitude expressions).

The above lexemes can also be combined with one another and with other words in more complex expressions which convey a multiplicity of meanings and/or to emphasize the expression of gratitude itself; for instance: *due acknowledgment, deeply indebted, give full credit, grateful acknowledgment/heart/recognition, much obliged, owe a debt of gratitude, sense/feeling of obligation, show appreciation, token of gratitude*. Example:

(240) "[...] but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record the acknowledgements I have been impatiently saving up all these years." (Engl3; example of a combination of lexical resources in a gratitude expression);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(for additional instances of combinations in gratitude expressions see, e.g., sections 2.2. (*gratefully acknowledge*), 2.4. (*endless love and thanks*), 2.5. (*thanks are due*; *gratefully thank*)).

In addition, as will become clearer in ch. 4. (see section 4.10.), genre-specific and/or non-conventionalized ways of encoding a positive, reactive psychological state are available in English, each of which emphasizes one specific aspect of the notion of gratitude. These include, e.g., *never forget* (comparable to *thank* because it refers to a(n implicitly positive) cognitive state), *be privileged* and *have the honor to* (comparable to *grateful* and *appreciative* because they invoke the notions of pleased acceptance and positive evaluation), and *dedicate* (comparable to *gratitude* and *debt* because it invokes the ideas of respectful admiration and loving offer). Such less standardized ways of phrasing thanks would count as part of supportive moves or as expansions of gratitude expressions in the presence of more explicitly encoded thanks. Examples:

(241) "[...] and other [abbreviated name of company] researchers whom I had the luxury to work with." (EECS2; original gratitude expression containing *luxury*);

(242) "I enjoyed the company of them [...]" (EECS4; original gratitude expression containing *enjoy*);

(243) "My work has benefited from conversations with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances." (Phil2; use of *to benefit* as part of an expansion of a gratitude expression);

(see also sections 2.1., 2.4., 2.6.1.2., 2.6.1.5., 2.6.3.3., for examples of the use of *fortunate, privilege, honor, to miss, lucky, not forget, pleasure, wishes* as part of gratitude expressions or their expansions).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Finally, the style in which gratitude is expressed also depends on the register, formal or informal, associated with give contexts of situations. For instance, the following expressions are typical of and appropriate for routine exchanges (of benefits) and some of them are likely to be given as automatic responses to acts of kindness: *I appreciate that*; *Thanks a lot*; *Thank you so much!*; *I owe you one*; *You shouldn't have*; *You've saved my life*; *You're a life saver!*; *That's very kind of you; What would I do without you?*; *I know I can always count on you*. They mark the situation in which they are used as possibly informal and are good for on-the-spot positive reactions to the offer of provision of benefits (see this section above about Principle 4). None of these is exemplified in my corpus.

3.2.2. Constitutive conditions

A consideration of Searle's taxonomic principles for classifying illocutionary acts has made it possible to pinpoint some characteristics of acts of gratitude also in relation to PhDASs. As a complement to this, a consideration of the constitutive conditions of speech acts of thanking (discussed in Searle 1969) makes it possible to understand under what circumstances these can be successfully performed and to reveal further similarities between acts of gratitude in general and PhDASs in particular.

According to the propositional content rule, the illocutionary act of thanking can be felicitously performed if it refers to an act already carried out by the interlocutor. This is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

because gratitude is a *reactive* cognitive-emotional state, and thus necessarily linked to a *previous* interactional move. This condition also holds for the PhDAS writer, who is in a position to *re*cognize his indebtedness to his benefactors only at the end of his dissertation project, that is, once he has the time to assess how his various acquaintances behaved towards him in relation to or during the time of his research. More simply put, the writing of the PhDAS presupposes that its author is aware of something, which either already exists or has already happened, that he can (positively) appraise and attribute to somebody's initiative. Even if the act of thanking is uttered or the PhDAS written *before* the beneficial event(s) it refers to actually take(s) place, the relevant text takes that event for granted (consider, e.g., the following made-up example, which encodes a perfectly understandable and sensible act of thanking: *I thank you in advance for your cooperation*).

The main difference between the ordinary act of thanking and the PhDAS with reference to the propositional content condition has to do with the identification of the person(s) held responsible for the past act. In general, the (previous) benefactor is the same as the (current) hearer or reader (of the act of thanking itself), but in the PhDAS the (previous) benefactor(s) do(es) not need to coincide with the (current) addressee(s); indeed, the PhDAS writer addresses the readers of the dissertation, independently of their previous role-relationship with them. In sum, this means that the PhDAS writer's benefactors are *his* previous interlocutors, who may or may not overlap or coincide with his *current* ones (see section 2.4.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

According to the preparatory rule, the past act referred to in the act of thanking has been performed in the interest of the speaker, and the speaker does perceive that act as beneficial to him. Similarly, the PhDAS writer recognizes that the past acts carried out by his benefactors had beneficial (professional and/or personal) effects on him. Although Searle does not specify this, I would like to add that most of the time, the act perceived as beneficial is understood to be *intentionally* performed so as to be beneficial to the thanker. It is precisely the non-accidental nature of the beneficial act that can account for such grateful responses as *Don't mention it* or *Well, I'm glad it helped, but actually it's Jane who did everything*, which acknowledge or deny, respectively, the interlocutor's responsibility for the benefit.[34] In addition, it is worth pointing out once more that while the act mentioned in the propositional content relates to the interests of the thanker, the expression of gratitude itself relates to the interest of the benefactor since it sustains her positive face (see section 2.3.); in the PhDAS, in particular, it is a motivated, deserved expression of appreciation that draws attention to the fact that the benefactor is wanted, liked and accepted (see section 3.2.1. about Principle 6).

According to the third type of rule, the grateful speaker's sincerity is taken for granted, that is the thanker is presumed to experience a positive reactive psychological state (i.e., of gratitude) towards previous interlocutor(s) for their earlier intentional, beneficial behavior towards him. This presumption of sincerity holds for the PhDAS writer too, who is not only expected, but actually believed, to experience a positive reactive emotion to, a positive evaluation of, and a positive appreciation of his previous

[34] For the same reason, utterances like *Thank you for being such a wonderful person* or *Thank you for being you*, which technically refer to non-intentionally produced benefits, are actually to be understood as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interactants' earlier moves. This belief can be rationally accounted for with reference to contextual circumstances: in general, the thanker is *known* to be morally indebted to his benefactors for the benefits received; in particular, the PhDAS writer is unlikely to be in a position to ever adequately cancel his debts or reciprocate those benefits.

Finally, the essential condition states that the thanker's utterance counts as (i.e., constitutes, is recognized as and is likely to bring about the effects of) an expression of gratitude. This means that the utterance is understandable, potentially effective, and both meant to be and perceived as a valid 'verbal manifestation of gratitude'. The recognizability and validity of the act of thanking is thus also the result of the conventional and contextually appropriate use of linguistic means; this observation applies to PhDASs as well. Thus, for instance, while *Let me thank you for doing that* and *I wish to acknowledge Petra Jones for doing that* are acceptable acts of thanking (the former probably more appropriate in a relatively informal setting and the latter in a relatively formal one), **I am your thanker* and **You must be aware of my acknowledgment* are not: they are understandable utterances, but they constitute assertives rather than expressives. On the other hand, *Let me congratulate you on your success* and *I truly admire her dedication to work* count as compliments, that is as expressive speech acts of a different type, because they do not presuppose the speaker's indebtedness to the addressee for benefits received, but rather "only" convey information about the speaker's positive, reactive frame of mind in relation to the addressee's admirable qualities or deeds.

---

compliments dressed up as thanks rather than thanks.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.2.3. Summary

I summarize the main points of similarities between ordinary acts of thanking and PhDASs in the following table, based on Searle (1969: 67):

Table 1: Constitutive conditions of ordinary acts of thanking and of the macro-act of thanking in a PhDAS

Type of rule	Thanking	Thanking in PhDASs
Propositional content	A past act done by the hearer	Past acts done by various benefactors (possibly readers)
Preparatory	The past act benefits the speaker, and the speaker believes that that past act benefits him	The past acts have benefited the writer, who is aware of the benefits received
Sincerity	The speaker feels grateful or appreciative for the past act	The writer has a positive attitude towards his benefactors, has a high regard for their behavior, and perceives the value of their acts
Essential	The utterance counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation	The text counts as a public manifestation of gratitude

The discussion carried out in sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.2. indicates that PhDASs can be said to count as acts of thanking. I now proceed to consider what previous research has revealed about speech acts of thanking in general and ASs in particular with a view to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

developing a suitable method for the study of structural and lexico-grammatical properties of PhDASs.

3.3. Review of literature

The literature relevant to the present work comprises both studies on the speech act of thanking in general and studies on ASs in particular. With regard to the first topic, one strand of research focuses on the influence of contextual (i.e., socio-cultural) variables on the linguistic realization of the speech act in question; its aim is to detect the principles that determine the variable instantiation of the act. A second group of studies, instead, comprises empirical or descriptive works on specific aspects of the verbal manifestation of gratitude; their aim is to test the soundness of models of speech act behavior which are applied to authentic or elicited data, or more simply to provide suitable accounts of authentic or elicited speech act behavior. (Sometimes, the two lines of research end up intersecting.) With regard to the second topic, most relevant works examine the professional-social significance of ASs within academic circles, while a few analyze recurrent patterns in the encoding of their main units of meaning.

I will review selected[35] contributions to the study of the verbal expression of gratitude. This will then enable me to identify aspects of thanking behavior worth

[35] Unfortunately, I have been unable to get hold of the following works, which would have been relevant to my research: Edge D. (1979), "Quantitative measures of communication in science: a critical review", in: *History of Science*, vol. 17, pp. 102-134; Katesi Yime-Yime Kapalay (1986), *Thanking in Engwi: a study of language in its sociocultural context*, Indiana University, PhD dissertation; Lang, Yanxia (1998) *'Thank you' and 'no, no': Communicative context and Chinese perceptions of and responses to American English compliments*, University of Tennessee, PhD dissertation; Macintosh K. H. (1972), *Acknowledgment Patterns in Sociology*, University of Oregon at Eugene, PhD dissertation; O'Connor William F. (1993)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

examining in PhDASs and will ultimately provide a basis for the formulation of an analytic framework for the study of PhDASs (see section 3.4.).

3.3.1. Studies on the speech act of thanking

3.3.1.1. Impact of contextual variables

Apte (1974) offered "a sociolinguistic analysis of the usage of gratitude expressions in" Marathi and Hindi compared to that of American society (p. 67). The author observed that while in American society gratitude is a basic concept and gratitude expressions are the norm in most interactions between well-mannered interlocutors, among Marathi and Hindi speakers the verbal manifestation of gratitude is a much more limited aspect of their polite interactional behavior (i.e., it is only appropriate in public and formal settings).

Following Hymes's ethnographic model, Apte aimed to identify what situational variables determine the norms about the appropriate usage and stylistic encoding of expressions of gratitude within the Marathi and Hindi socio-cultural communities. Thus Apte analyzed the domains, within those speech communities, in which verbal gratitude

---

ESL/EFL Textbooks and the Presentation of the Speech Acts of Complimenting and Expressing Gratitude, Temple University, PhD dissertation; Patel N. (1973), "Collaboration in the professional growth of American sociology", in: *Social Science Information*, vol. 12, pp. 77-92; Ragone, Agnes Camille Madeleine (1998), *An exploratory study of thanking in French and Spanish: Native norms vs. non-native production*, PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin; Rubin J. (1983), "The use of "Thank you"", paper presented at the *Sociolinguistics Colloquium, TESOL Convention,* Toronto, Canada; Suls J., Fletcher B. (1983), "Social comparison in the social and physical sciences: An archival study", in: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 44, pp. 575-580; Terry Caesar (1992) "On Acknowledgments",

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is obligatory (e.g., public meetings and functions, introductions to books), taboo (e.g., interactions with household members and friends, and services encounters) and optional (e.g., service encounters taking place in westernized settings; informal social gatherings of educated and westernized Marathi or Hindi speakers at educational institutions, clubs, restaurants; social events and ceremonies like marriages; interactions among white collar employees).

Apte observed that the first domain is characterized by an institutionalized verbalization of gratitude, realized through formal set phrases, and addressed to a large audience within an official setting in which the interlocutors are socially distant and unlikely to engage in a stable relationship. In the second domain, relevant to more private settings, he noticed that verbal gratitude is ruled out by the interactants' role-relationships, and more specifically (a) by family members' awareness of, reliance on and agreement to act in accordance with their complementary, stable and cooperative social roles; (b) by friends' social-emotional closeness, which involves intimacy-building, concrete reciprocity rather than distancing or insulting verbalization of gratitude; or finally (c) by servers and customers' awareness of the transactional nature of the interaction and its beneficial effects on both. In the third domain, Apte observed that the individual's choice to verbalize gratitude depends on the social characteristics of the participants, that is, that it is favored among participants who frequently use English in their speech, who are of similarly high social status, level of education and degree of westernization, and in urban environments.

---

in: *New Orleans Review*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 85-94; Ward Karen (2001) *Understanding Acknowledgments*, Oregon Graduate Institute of Science and Technology, PhD dissertation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The author then provided explanations for the above norms of interactional behavior. Interactional norms in public settings are said to have been heavily influenced by western practices, while those in private settings by indigenous cultural values; the latter include (a) the duty to do good deeds without speaking about them and without expecting (verbal) gratitude in return, (b) the perception of formalities ("the frills of words"; p. 83) as acceptable, if at all, only among or with strangers, (c) the conceptualization of the verbalization of gratitude as "a cheap way of getting out of" one's obligation to reciprocate (p. 82), and (d) the acceptability of the non-verbal manifestation of gratitude. The author also showed how local behavioral norms clashing with traditions imported from other cultures are expertly handled by (AS) writers. Thus, for example, Apte referred to a book writer who prefaced his public praise of his son for his help with an explicit reference to the traditional norm not to thank one's son; he also mentioned other writers who intentionally stopped short of actually thanking their helpers (i.e., they "simply" mentioned or referred to them) so as to *remain* in bondage to their debt.

Apte then contrasted the South Asian cultural environment with the American scene, in which gratitude expressions are pervasive, almost mechanical, considered necessary for the smooth handling of interactions, and explicitly and insistently taught to small children (although occasionally used for other purposes like shutting off the interlocutor or showing dissatisfaction). The author tentatively ascribed this interactional behavior to the Americans' belief that all individuals are equal and that their cooperation or help is not expected as a duty, and thus has to be requested and explicitly acknowledged. He concluded by listing the rules for the appropriate verbal manifestation

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of gratitude that an American speaker wishing to interact with Marathi or Hindi speakers should internalize.

Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) examined gratitude expressions by native and advanced-level non-native speakers of American English from different linguistic backgrounds. To collect their data, they administered a written questionnaire containing open-ended discourse completion tasks; these were relevant to 14 communicative situations which represented a range of formal and informal settings and required the expression of gratitude as appropriate, relevant responses to "receiving a gift, favor, reward or service" (p. 169).

In examining the data relevant to the native speakers, the authors noticed that some situations produced "phatic, ritualized responses" (p. 170), others produced short expressions of thanks, accompanied, however, by subsidiary language acts (e.g., compliments, jokes, questions), and that still other situations produced speech act sets. In these, the expression of gratitude was qualified by up to 5 additional functions such as complimenting, reassuring, promising to repay, expressing delight, expressing lack of necessity. The authors observed that lengthier speech act sets correlated with the subjects' feeling "especially indebted, surprised or overwhelmed" (p. 171), that formal situations in which the thanker was subordinate to the thankee were characterized by more reticence, that is by fewer expressions of surprise or complimenting, and that all the text segments making up the set were equally important ("synergistic"; p. 171).

It appeared that, unlike natives, non-natives did not always produce linguistically correct or socially appropriate responses, especially with regard to situations that were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

culturally unfamiliar or that they found uncomfortable or that required the knowledge of specialized vocabulary. This poor performance, however, was also evident in some familiar situations, in which non-natives failed to produce the speech act sets that were instead typical of the natives (i.e., act sets fulfilling multiple situationally appropriate language functions), and that led to a perception of them as not grateful enough (i.e., as not well-mannered). Language specific problems had to do with the use of intensifiers; selection of tenses or prepositions; lexical choices; word order; mixing of idioms. Of all the language groups represented among the non-natives, it turned out that the Russian participants performed the best, as they accurately selected conventionalized expressions and appropriately used various language functions in their responses.

Given the non-natives' problematic divergence from native use in the expressions of thanks on several levels (i.e., lexicon, syntax, idioms, context-appropriateness) despite their high proficiency in English according to more traditional measures, the authors argued for the need to introduce language functions into curricula for English as a second language, for example, by giving students models to imitate — or at least to compare one's utterances with — and by offering "supervised activities in the classroom that promote the use of language functions" (p. 176).

Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) examined "the underlying complex rules" needed for expressing gratitude in English (p. 64) by comparing native and non-native speakers' formally elicited utterances. They collected the first set of their data from 56 native speakers of English by administering a written questionnaire containing 14 "situations designed to elicit expressions of gratitude" (p. 65). The authors coded each response

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

given by the subjects for its underlying speech act by using (sometimes ad hoc) functional labels for its components. They noticed that 4 questionnaire items "produced phatic, ritualized responses", 2 items produced still short, but "more creative responses", and that the remaining items produced lengthy and elaborate gratitude expressions (p. 66). These speech act sets consisted of a number of semantic formulas, not appearing in a fixed order, similarly salient and functional to the appropriate expression of gratitude, which expressed a relatively small range of conventionalized ideas.

The authors then administered the same test to 67 non-native speakers "in advanced-level ESL classes" and rated their responses using the native speaker data as a baseline. They noticed that non-native speakers found it difficult to produce adequate speech act sets, both because they had limited or no familiarity with some of the situations described in the questionnaire and because they lacked the lexical, syntactic, prosodic or even non-verbal competence required in certain situations.

Eisenstein and Bodman also administered the same questionnaire orally to native speakers both by simply taping their individual, autonomously produced responses and by setting up role-plays. In the latter type of situation, the authors observed that the expression of gratitude was actually "a negotiated and interactive event", with the thankee giving "prompts and comments throughout the development of the speech act", which appeared to give the thanker cues on how to continue to thank the benefactor (and thus reassure her of his gratitude) and which enabled to benefactor to contribute to restoring the social equilibrium by downplaying the importance of the benefit or the inconvenience suffered. Similarly structured role-plays with non-natives (or a non-native and a native) produced shorter and, by native speakers' standards, unconvincing gratitude

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

expressions, occasionally embedded in ungrammatical turns; in particular, when two non-natives conversed, conversation tended to break down quite easily, since neither participant knew what, if any, script had to be followed.

In addition, both by examining their data and by interviewing subjects later on, the authors detected several intra- and inter-cultural "differences in language values and customs" which could lead to misunderstandings (p. 73); (e.g., Anglo-Americans appeared to value re-entry thanks occurring after the time of giving, especially if conveyed in writing, while Jewish Americans preferred face-to-face interactions; some natives and non-natives said that a gift is best opened at a later time to avoid embarrassment, while other natives and non-natives said that it is better to open it in front of the giver "to share the enjoyment"; p. 73).

The authors in general observed that thanking is a multi-faceted speech act, which requires the interactants' cooperation, which addresses conflicting face wants and which is accomplished differently in different cultures according to whose gratitude components they value the most. They also suggested using speech act role plays in pedagogical situations both as diagnostic tools for teachers and as a practical activity for learners.

In a study of compliment responses, Herbert (1986) found that in American English appreciation tokens (e.g., *thank you*) optionally followed by comment acceptance (e.g., *it's my favorite too*) are the exception rather than the norm, despite etiquette prescriptions to the contrary. Other types of agreements (e.g., comment history, transfers) and non-agreements were instead frequent. According to the author, this infrequent acceptance of compliments among Americans is to be attributed to "the dominant value profile of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American culture, which rests upon the notions of democratic idealism and human equality": as compliments are offers of solidarity, compliment responses of non-acceptance reciprocate that solidarity (because they serve to make the complimenter feel good too) and establish equality (because through them the complimentee avoids self-praise). Herbert finally noted that this pattern ties in perfectly well with Apte's observations that American speakers utter thanks on all sorts of occasions more mechanically than sincerely: as everybody is equal, reciprocity is expected where a previous act of solidarity has determined a temporary unbalance in the interaction.

Hinkel (1994) compared 7 native English speakers' and 36 advanced non-native English speakers' perception of the act of thanking after having observed that in American English *thank you* often functions merely as a discourse marker and that the rules of politeness governing its use do not necessarily involve such considerations as indebtedness, social status, reciprocity, gender or age, which are, instead, of primary importance in other speech communities.

The author administered to the subjects a written multiple-choice questionnaire presenting 24 situations (i.e., role-plays) containing alternative verbalizations of gratitude forming a three-point continuum (responses with zero thanks, with one thanks and with two thanks). Hinkel noticed that speakers from the same native language group made similar judgments of politeness, while he detected no correlation "between their L2 behaviors" across language groups; the author thus inferred that subjects probably "transferred their L1 pragmatic competence to L2, rather than exhibiting developmental and/or non-language-specific politeness behaviors." (p. 83). The author concluded that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

L2 learners' perceptions of the degree of politeness to be associated with given thanking situations draw on "L1 rules of politeness acquired at a very early age" (p. 84).

Van Hecke (2003) used Wierzbicka's cultural script model to identify the tacitly accepted norms that influence French people's and Romanian people's thanking behavior. The author first described the act of thanking as being based on two mental states, namely gratitude (i.e., feeling something good toward the benefactor because of the benefit received) and indebtedness (i.e., awareness of the benefit). Then she proposed a hierarchy of the uses of thanking formulas: (a) genuine thanking (i.e., gratitude- and indebtedness-driven), (b) perfunctory thanking (i.e., routine courtesy behavior meant to satisfy social expectations), (c) mere (or bold) thanking (i.e., an automatically produced social amenity), and (d) punctuation-thanking (i.e., formal boundary marking of segments of the interaction). On the basis of data collected from the internet, databanks, dialogue fragments in literature, and field notes, the author further observed that thanks occur much more frequently among French than Romanian speakers; the former appear to more frequently use such expressions in functions (b), (c) and (d) above, often as mere accompaniments to departure greetings, "apparently without a well-determined propositional content" (p. 239), and in particular without reference to the speaker's attitude toward the benefactor.

More specifically, Van Hecke drew attention to French speakers' and Romanian speakers' different conceptualizations of the notion of indebtedness: for the former, this concept consists in the mere recognition of the debt incurred (which can thus be compensated for by simply acknowledging it); for the latter, it involves both awareness of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the debt but also the intention to compensate for it through a tangible counter-gift. The author then proceeded to examine the linguistic repercussions of these different conceptualizations: "French respondents typically deny, or play down, the existence of the object of gratitude, and consequently the debt of the thanker", for example by using *de rien* as a reply (p. 241), while Romanian respondents recognize the existence of the object of gratitude, for example by using the equivalent of '[my] pleasure'; in addition, Romanian thankers often assure their benefactors of their everlasting gratitude or indebtedness, or manifest the intention to reward the benefactors, which, according to the author, virtually turns the expressive speech act of thanking into a commissive one of compensating. In particular, Van Hecke noticed how not infrequently words for 'grateful, gratitude, to thank, recognition' are used to specifically mean 'to compensate for, to do something in return' (consider the following illustrative translations of data excerpts: "Until now we haven't been grateful to you with anything"; "if the so-called gratefulness of the patient [i.e., offering to do the doctor's laundry] has been elicited, conditioned by the doctor"; "maybe then I will have the possibility to thank you for what you have done for me"). The author also pointed out that when Romanian thankers are not in a position "to reward the benefactor by a physical action", they offer verbal counter-gifts, that is good wishes (e.g., of health, success) to him.

Van Hecke proposed historical explanations for such differing types of thanking behavior: in France, institutions and public services function normally and people do not feel indebted for receiving from them what is their own right and the others' duty; in Romania, instead, customer service, customer satisfaction and general efficiency is not taken for granted, so that when you do obtain what you have asked for you are likely to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feel indebted. According to the author, these different attitudes to institutional benefits have become general cultural creeds: for the French, people want and can help others, while for Romanians, people help others only if they can and want to.

Aston (1995) examined the use of thanks in conversation closings. His examination of authentic data from English and Italian service encounters suggests that interactional norms for "the use and realization of thanking" (p. 57) depend not only on cultural preferences for conversational management and the assessment of the background situation, but also on local, context-internal constraints, namely the requirements and expectations of the moment, the interactants' negotiations for the development of the discourse (the sequentiality of their moves in the exchange, their management of floor and topic) and their need to align to "a common frame of reference" (p. 57), that is to maintain mutual understanding and agreement.

Aston first pointed out that thanking is not only or always an indication of gratitude but also a marker of discourse structure and that the latter conversation management function is subject to differing cross-cultural instantiation practices. He then argued that an analysis of the pragmatic variation in the use of thanking, both within and across cultures, needs to be sensitive to the co-text (p. 62). He also underlined the pedagogical significance of this situational approach: communicative capacity also depends on the use of "interpretative procedures" (p. 61), that is, it also consists in the ability to produce meanings that adapt to an ever-changing context and co-text.

To examine local organizational constraints on thanking, Aston provided a qualitative analysis of authentic service encounters in English and Italian bookshops. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

author observed that thanking occurred in over half of the encounters, and more frequently in the Italian data, that it was mostly produced by customers, that thanking by assistants was more frequent in the Italian data, and especially that "the proportion of customer thanks to be acknowledged" by assistants was much higher in Italian (p. 65). The Italian data also showed that when the assistant directed the customer to the till by using a deictic expression (e.g., "*below, that way, next door*" p. 68), the exchange did not typically end with thanks, but that when non-deictic referential expressions were used (e.g., "*in the psychology department, at the cash desk*", p. 68), thanks by either party were possible in Italian, and thanks only from the customer was possible in English. The author also showed that the English data revealed similar, but not identical, interactional practices: relative references, which identified locations close to the current frame of reference, were not typically followed by any form of acknowledgment on the customer's part, while those that contained absolute descriptions tended to be followed by the customer's thanks.

On the basis of the above data Aston argued that a directive characterized by a relative type of description relies on the presumed mutual accessibility of the referents to the participants (i.e., a shared physical context), and on the other hand that absolute descriptions, as potentially problematic for understanding, require confirmation of their accessibility. Thus, according to the author, thanking by one or other party appears to reveal the participants' perception of the accessibility of given referents as problematic, but at the same time shows the interlocutors' alignment to a mutual referential framework, not originally shared, but currently under negotiation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aston also observed that when the customer's requests could not be satisfied, the assistant's negative response was accompanied by remedial work (e.g., apologies, suggestions, explanations), which paved the way for the closability of the encounter. In the English data, it was typically the customer's saying *ok* and thanking that produced closure, while in the Italian data it was the sequence 'Ok thanks' *and* 'You're welcome' that served that purpose. According to the author, these different closing procedures were attributable to cross-cultural differences in remedial work. In English, remedial work was volunteered by the assistant without any prompting from the customer (who in the end responded to it by accepting it and thanking for it) or alternatively, if the assistant had failed to offer satisfactory information, the customer prefaced the acceptance of that information with delay statements as if expecting further help (i.e., elaboration) from the interlocutor. In Italian, instead, remedy was typically elicited by the customer, who thus set "the terms of that remedial work" (p. 77); the assistant's 'you're welcome' was meant to show to the customer that the remedy offered was the best possible that could have been provided and that no further elaboration of it was going to be given. Other differences had to do with the function of customer questionings of assistant responses (which elicited co-operative remedies in Italian, but were perceived as challenges in English), and the management of unsatisfactory responses (in Italian, the customer's silence was filled by the assistant's confirmation of the negative response, while in English it left room for remedial proposals). Thus, in conclusion, while in English assistant extensions proposed "remedy and customer questionings" elicited confirmation, in Italian, extensions confirmed the negative response, while questionings" elicited remedial proposals." (p. 76).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aston's data thus showed that thanking was motivated by conversational management needs to ratify referential and/or role alignment, and that the ratification of the latter was carried out differently in English and Italian due to differences in the management of the preceding remedial work. According to Aston this shows "the need for contrastive pragmatics to consider the sequential organization of the discourse as a whole", and, in foreign language pedagogy, the need to "practise activities such as thanking in the context of an extensive process of negotiation" (p. 79) in order to enable learners to familiarize themselves with underlying patterns of regularities in conversational management (regularities of sequential structure or scripts), but also to cope with problematic instantiations of those scripts, that is with the variation detectable in specific instances of interaction (p. 80).

Kachru (1995) examined the effect of socio-cultural context on speech acts by comparing expressions of thanks and apologies in the neutral and Englishized varieties of Hindi and the translation equivalents of the relevant speech act verbs in Hindi-English dictionaries. The author observed that traditional ways of expressing gratitude in neutral Hindi involve acknowledging one's good fortune for the benefit received and/or praising the person or beneficial circumstances but not expressing one's reactive, positive attitude towards the beneficiary, as this would create distance or formality in familial settings and would be interpreted as a sign of arrogance in addressing a superior. On the other hand, the author noticed that in Englishized Hindi, expressions such as *thank you* or *thanks* are quite common, both in familial settings and in formal domains. Kachru also noticed that neither monolingual nor bilingual Hindi dictionaries acknowledge the use of such

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

expressions as *thanks* or *thank you*, and only list expressions that are not exact equivalents of the English formulas and especially do not function in the same way. Finally, the author pointed out that educated speakers of the Englishized variety of Hindi are adopting more and more patterns of interaction typical of English-speaking communities with a resulting great deal of mixing of the resources of the language.

Becker and Smenner (1986) investigated 250 preschoolers' spontaneous use of *thank you* in a familiar context in the absence of their parents. They found that overall, about 37 of the subjects said *thank you* spontaneously, that is more frequently than in previous studies conducted in unfamiliar situations, and that children's use of *thank you* was affected by situational factors, namely the children's sex, their parents' socioeconomic status and the relative status of speaker and listener. In particular, the authors found that girls, children from low-income families, and children interacting with an adult used *thank you* more than boys, children from middle-income families, and children talking to a peer, respectively. The authors argued that one reason why children did not use *thank you* all the time even if in a familiar context was because they probably considered their parents' prompts a necessary part of the routine in the exchange. They also stated that the higher use of *thank you* by females might have a cultural basis, namely that the use of politeness routines is probably considered more important for females in Western culture. Moreover, they suggested that the higher frequency of *thank you* among children from low-income families could be attributable to the perceived magnitude of the reward, viewed as an exceptional luxury item. Finally, they concluded

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that the children's higher use of *thank you* with an adult apparently revealed their sensitivity and adaptability to differences in listener status.

Ferguson (1976) offered a grammatical and sociolinguistic analysis of various "ritualized interpersonal exchanges" in which "a given formula triggers an automatic response" (p. 138) in several languages (e.g., Syrian Arabic, American English). Included in these politeness formulas are verbal routines of thanking. The author stated that formulaic expressive elements (e.g., condolences, blessings, thank yous, apologies) vary in constituency and intensity in correlation with several situational and social dimensions, as is the case with greetings; these dimensions include the length of time elapsed since the previous encounter, the distance between the interactants, the number of individuals in the relevant groups and the interactants' relative social status. He also observed that these often have a function in turn allocation and management, since they trigger standardized (sequences of) responses (in most cases, an adjacency pair is instantiated, but three-part sequences are not uncommon either). The author pointed out the main features of politeness formulas: phonetic weakening (due to the fact that what is important is their presence and function rather than the meaning conveyed by its constituent parts), archaism, diffusion across language boundaries (e.g., Arabic *thank you* formulas have spread to speech communities which have converted to Islam but not adopted Arabic), limited structural variability and expandability. He also noticed that they are often explicitly taught by adults and acquired as unanalyzed chunks.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Greif and Gleason (1980) examined the acquisition of three politeness formulas, including *thanks*, by 22 children aged 2 to 5. The authors noticed that under experimental conditions the children's spontaneous production of politeness routines was low, especially with regard to *thanks*, but that it increased markedly after prompting by their parents. They also observed that both the parents' prompting was noticeably standardized and that the children did not vary or elaborate on the formulas modeled for them by their parents, which probably suggests that the children had no clear idea of what the thanking formula actually meant. In addition, the authors pointed out that children of both sexes were treated alike and that mothers provided more polite models in their interaction with the interviewer-experimenter than fathers did. Finally, the scholars argued that children might find it particularly difficult to spontaneously produce the thanking routine because it requires the identification of *environmental* cues that call for thanks and because it is not necessarily preceded by *unambiguous verbal* cues.

Okamoto and Robinson (1997) conducted a field experiment with 228 subjects and a questionnaire study with 120 subjects to identify determinants of gratitude expressions in British English, the hypothesis being that the relationship between the giver and the receiver and the extent of the imposition of the benefit on the giver (i.e., its cost to her in terms of, e.g., effort, time and money) would affect the receiver's gratitude expressions.

In the first study, Okamoto and Robinson examined participants' responses to a benefactor who opened the door for them in four situations slightly varying in degree of imposition of the benefit on the giver. They found that the experimenter's eye-contact with the beneficiary increased the pressure for the explicit acknowledgment of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefit, and similarly that the extent of his imposition triggered increasingly more polite (i.e., elaborate) gratitude expressions.

In the second study, the authors examined participants' responses to related situations differing, however, in power relations, degree of imposition, and locus of the responsibility (i.e., the giver, the receiver or neither). The data revealed that polite expressions (i.e., gratitude expressions accompanied by expansions and qualified by modifiers) were more often used in high-imposition situations and less frequently in giver-responsible situations with both equal status and higher status givers. The data also showed that apology-type expressions often occurred in both giver- and receiver-responsible situations; in the former case they served to protect the giver's positive face, and in the latter to show that the receiver took responsibility for the imposition caused.

3.3.1.2. Encoding of gratitude: form and function

Bakalejnikova (1990) discussed a number of Russian formulaic (i.e., phrasal) and elaborate (i.e., clausal) expressions of gratitude. She specified their degree of formality and typical context of use (i.e., their relevance to specific contextual variables) and listed the modifications they take. The author divided the variety of situations in which gratitude is expressed into two main groups. In one, which she referred to as the type of situations of actual gratitude, the speaker is said to experience the need to thank another party for what they did for him, especially if this required a lot of efforts and/or was not considered a duty of hers (e.g., help received in carrying a heavy bag). In the other, which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

she called the type of situations of courteous etiquette gratitude (*etiketnaja blagodarnost'*), gratitude is expressed simply because this is a social requirement, a sign of good manners and of the ability to interact socially, independently of the speaker's actual feelings or attitude (e.g., thanking for a present that one does not like; thanking for an action that is considered part of the interlocutor's duty, as in a service encounter; or thanking for a low-cost act of courtesy between strangers, like giving the time). The author observed that the boundary line between these two types of situations is fuzzy, and that most of the time real and courtesy gratitude coincide: that is, typically, an expression of gratitude will both express the speaker's feeling grateful and display his good manners. The author added that while expressions of gratitude always satisfy the same etiquette requirement, their content varies from situation to situation, as is evidenced by the lexico-grammatical means through which they are encoded.

The author then discussed some of the expressions of gratitude available in Russian. *Spasibo* 'thank you' is said to be the neutral basic means of encoding gratitude (especially common among young people and in ordinary conversation), and inappropriate only in official documents and formal situations. When pre-modified by *bol'shoe* ('great') or other intensifying expressions, it is said to signal not so much a strong feeling of gratitude, but rather a positive emotional state, namely the speaker's good mood and intention to be perceived as a nice person. The author pointed out that expanding on the formula *spasibo* (i.e., by identifying the addressee through the pronouns in the dative form *tebe* 'to you-sing' and *vam* 'to you-pl, to you-sing+polite/formal' or by referring to what motivates gratitude with the preposition *za* 'for' followed by a phrase in the accusative), may signal a shift from etiquette to real gratitude, in which the speaker

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wants to stress his attitude to the addressee (i.e., to achieve closeness or express deeply felt gratitude) and/or to stress that thanks are being given for an actual service rendered that was not part of a routine task. The author also explained the role of the noun identifying the reason for expressing gratitude: a deverbal one conveys a bookish nuance to the utterance, while a concrete one sounds more neutral.

Expressions involving the use of the verb *blagodarit'* 'to thank' were examined next. Of '*blagodarju Vas* 'I thank you-pl/you-sing+polite/formal', the author said that it is typically used by elderly people in everyday encounters requiring etiquette gratitude; that it does not convey any nuance of officialdom since it is not opposed to the singular form **Blagodarju tebja* 'I thank you-sing'; that when used without the pronoun identifying the addressee, it conveys the will to sound laconic. She added that it is accompanied by the indication of the reason for gratitude only in cases of actual, not perfunctory, gratitude; she also specified, on the other hand, that if motivation for one's gratitude is not given, expansions revealing the degree of gratitude felt by the speaker can be expressed (e.g., *ot svoevo serdtsa* 'from my heart'). The author pointed out that the past participle *blagodaren* 'grateful' is used as a complement in sentences with the subject pronoun 'I' identifying the speaker and the dative pronoun identifying the addressee. She added that it is typical of actual gratitude situations and often accompanied by the intensifying adverb *tak* 'so', that it conveys a nuance of formality, that it is typically used by adult speakers, that it is associated with the dative form of 'you-pl' identifying the addressee, and that it can convey a variety of degrees of emotional involvement according to the specific order of the sentence constituents.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bakalejnikova also considered written thanks in novelists' and poets' private letters. She observed, on the one hand, that the verb *blagodarit'* 'to thank' occurs more frequently in these written thanks than in spoken thanks, and on the other hand, that this higher use of the verb reduces its perceived formality.

The author briefly examined other particular thanking formulas. She specified that *spasibochki* 'little thanks' (used in everyday speech) and *blagadarju pokorno* 'I thank obediently' (developed in the 19th century to convey the speaker's awareness of his humble social position) are to be intended ironically. She explained that *mersi* 'merci', *tysjacha blagodarnostej* 'a thousand thanks' and *net slov* 'there are no words' are typical of everyday conversational speech. She pointed out that *vyrazhat' blagodarnost'* 'to express gratitude' is typical of official situations, and added that when unmodified, it is typical of interactions between a superior and a subordinate, and serves to introduce an order, while on the other hand, if preceded by the verb *pozvolit'* 'to allow', it can be used by an inferior speaker addressing a superior. The author also listed which specific modal verbs (e.g., *khotet'*, to want, *razreshit'* to permit) and upgrading formulas typically accompany which verbs and verb phrases that encode gratitude. She also explained that mentioning the addressee in thanking expressions always reduces the official character and stresses the personal aspect of the interaction.

Bakalejnikova's main observations are thus that the two main means of expressing gratitude in Russian are *spasibo* and *blagodarit'*, that they have a variety of uses, and that their use with or without given expansions depends on the situation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Coulmas (1981) discussed typological similarities between thanks and apologies. First, the author made a few important observations: he pointed out (a) that both are reactive acts that presuppose the existence of a previous or concomitant verbal and/or non-verbal intervention calling for an acknowledgment of some sort (p. 71); (b) that both typically require an appreciative reaction from the interlocutor; (c) that this reaction may be verbalized in the same way (e.g., A: *Thanks a lot.* B: *Not at all.*; C: *I'm sorry.* D: *Not at all.*; p. 72); (d) that there exist apologetic thanks (e.g., *I'm so grateful, how can I ever repay you.*; p. 73); and (e) that there are different types of both thanks and apologies.

Coulmas then identified the main dimensions along which thanks can differ with regard to the object of gratitude: (a) ex ante (i.e., for a potential good or service) vs. ex post (i.e., for a good or service already provided), (b) for material vs. immaterial goods, (c) for a requested vs. non-requested benefit, and (d) indebting vs. non-indebting. He also listed the main dimensions along which apologies differ with regard to the object of regret: (i) predictable (calling for anticipatory apologies) vs. unpredictable (determining ex post apologies), (ii) indebting (involving the speaker's responsibility) vs. non-indebting (not requiring pardoning), and (iii) relevant to the need to attract attention vs. relevant to the need to express regret. At the same time, the main similarity between thanks and apologies that Coulmas noticed is that both may imply and indeed express indebtedness of the recipient of the benefit and of the person responsible for the damage caused, respectively.

Coulmas observed that responses to thanks and apologies can be of two main types, namely those recognizing the object of gratitude or regret and "relieving the interlocutor of its burden" (p. 77) (e.g., *You're welcome*) and those denying the existence of the object

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and playing it down (e.g., *Don't mention it*). He noticed that both choices are not always available, that is not always contextually appropriate; thus, e.g., thanks cannot be recognized if originally triggered by compliments (else flattery would be explicitly admitted) or wishes (because the speaker cannot claim credit for them) or if they are relevant to a non-indebting benefit (which has already been paid for). Similarly, he pointed out that the current speakers' recognition of the object of regret is out of place if his interlocutor previously used an apologetic formula to simply inform him of an intention of hers.

The author then observed that in Japanese, apology formulas are used not simply or not only to apologize but also to give other speech acts an apologetic undertone. Thus, Coulmas explained, a formula like *sumimasen* meaning 'it is not finished' is appropriate as a gratitude or apologetic response because in either case it signals that the matter is not over and the interlocutor has to be repaid (in the case of apologies, because she has received some damage from the locutor, and in the case of thanks, because she has gone to some trouble to help the beneficiary). Similarly, the author pointed out that the Japanese equivalent of *Don't mention it* is an appropriate response to both thanks (which recognize the existence of some object of gratitude) and apologies (which recognize the existence of some object of regret), as in both cases, it serves to deny the previous speaker's acknowledgment of his indebtedness. In particular, Coulmas added that apologetic formulas within thanks can be used because the interactional focus is not on the pleasing aspects of the benefits received, but rather on the beneficiary's responsibility for the strain caused to the benefactors; he also added that this attitude stresses obligation and interpersonal commitment as in the case of apologies.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Coulmas also examined formal and functional properties of Japanese thanks and apologies, like their typical encoding as declarative sentences, the co-variation between their length and the degree of politeness they convey, their typical single-unit realization pattern (the lack of expectation of a response to them is due to the fact that they are not used to settle an issue but simply serve to make communication inoffensive), their possible use as conventionalized greetings (which set the tone of the interaction as based on a network of mutual responsibilities).

Coulmas stressed how in a culture based on an ethics of indebtedness, gratitude is equated with a feeling of guilt and verbalized through formulaic apologies which show sensitivity to mutual obligations. He also pointed out that ritualized formulas in Japan are not considered insincere, "hackneyed expressions lacking in any real content" discrediting to the speaker (p. 90), but rather conventionalized patterns that enable the speaker to mean just the right thing at the right time and ensure the addressee's understanding of it.

Held (1996) contrasted the realization of oral thanks in Italian and French. Her analysis was based on an investigation of the conventional lexical means for expressing gratitude used in the two languages (and a description of their context appropriateness), and an examination of thanking episodes. The latter was carried out through a model of "an idealized parameter evaluation" of interactional events, which makes it possible to establish the weightiness of the situations — by considering such social variables as the interlocutors' power, distance, and rank (i.e., rights and obligations) — and thus tentatively predict which politeness strategies interlocutors will use. According to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

author, a typical, idealized, weighty thanking event is characterized by the following: power imbalance and distance between the interlocutors; the importance of the benefit received; the thanker's lack of expectation of the benefit, which is not considered to be given on a habitual basis; the thanker's indebtedness to the benefactor due to the profit received; the benefactor's lack of obligation to act beneficially; and the cost of the benefit to the benefactor.

Using a Discourse Completion Test, the author asked Italian and French subjects to provide a "spontaneous reaction" to a given situation that approximated her idealized model; she then examined their responses with regard to their preparatory phases (i.e., the rituals through which interpersonal contact was established and the ongoing speech act was first assessed), the central phase in which the main illocution was expressed, and the subsidiary moves.

On the structural level of politeness, the author noticed more or less the same patterns in both languages, namely: a high frequency of preparatory phases that introduced, explained, and justified the following illocution; head acts consisting of performative introductions followed by thanking formulas intensified by expressions of modality; combinations of compliments to the benefactors and acts of self-denigration; remedial moves stressing the thanker's indebtedness and/or the intention to reciprocate. The formal level of politeness was characterized by an abundant use of intensifiers in the head acts and supportive moves external to them (e.g., adverbs stressing sincerity, quantifiers underlining emotional involvement, repetitions, colloquial forms and in-group markers signaling solidarity, metaphors). In general, Held noticed "amplifications on the level of textual argumentation", disroutinization "on the level of modal marking" and the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

use of positive politeness devices meant to increase the impression of friendliness (pp. 379-380).

However, the author also noticed some differences between the French and the Italian data. The French speakers used more pre-structures and grounders, while the Italians used more repetitions of the head acts accompanied by routinized, unspecific supportives. In general, the author observed that while the Italians tended to resort to formal rhetoricity and revealed low affective involvement, the French were more sensitive to recipient design and personal claims by demonstrating tact in "conflictive moments of interaction" and by spontaneously using positive politeness forms when social conventions called for friendliness. Finally, the author noticed differences on the formal level too; for example, equivalent lexical units in the two languages were used with different connotations and in different registers; different ritualized formulas were available in the two languages; and different conventions guided the use of words with the same etymological basis (i.e., cognates).

Overall, Held observed that thanking acts are complex because they are based on the concept of indebtedness and thus depend on the situational weightiness which has to be balanced or compensated for as if it were an economic transaction (p. 367).

Kumatoridani (1999) examined the degree of interchangeability between thanks and apologies in Japanese. The author noticed (a) that where alternation is possible, it is only in one direction (i.e., the apology expression can replace the gratitude expression, but not vice versa); (b) that the choice between one or the other may depend on the addressee's social status (e.g., the apology expression being preferred with a superior and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the gratitude expression when addressing a colleague); and (c) that the two expressions are sometimes used for a single event in a standard sequence (i.e., the apology expression precedes the gratitude expression).

Kumatoridani observed that apology and gratitude expressions typically alternate in relation to events interpretable as both pleasing (i.e., beneficial) to the speaker and offensive (i.e., intrusive) to the hearer, as is the case with requests for action. The author thus concluded that the replacement of the gratitude expression with the apology expression is possible when the focus of the evaluation of the event empathically shifts from the speaker's to the hearer's viewpoint. Similarly, he argued that apology expressions are considered to be more polite than thanking expressions precisely because they involve an empathic change from the speaker's to the hearer's perspective in the perception of an originally speaker-focused event. At the same time, the author observed that gratitude expressions cannot replace apologies because this would involve perceiving the hearer as responsible for the offending event and presenting the speaker as selfishly concerned with the benefit of the event for him, and would not repair the politeness imbalance between the interlocutors.

Kumatoridani further observed that a speaker cannot use an apology expression in place of a gratitude expression when he simply reacts to the interlocutor's speech act but refuses to accept her offer of action (i.e., her substantive action), or when he reacts to the interlocutor's speech act expressing her psychological state toward him or his condition, or when he is operating in a socially fixed role-relationship like clerk-customer (unless it is necessary to tell the addressee she has done more than was required by her role). Finally, the author observed that a typical Japanese gratitude exchange has a tripartite

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

structure (i.e., occurrence of imbalance, repair of imbalance, closure of the exchange) such that the apology expression can be used as a repair device in the second phase, while the gratitude expression can function either as an imbalance-repairing mechanism or as a closing marker of the interaction; the author thus shows that it is this tripartite structure that accounts for the possible co-occurrence of thanks and apologies.

Poppe (1978) briefly described gratitude expressions in Mongolian. The author observed that the most common gratitude expression in Script Mongolian, *achi qarighul*, literally means 'to return the benefit', although previously, in the fourteenth century, it could also mean 'to revenge, to feed the retribution'. Through his examples he thus showed that the original meaning of the expression must have been 'to return what was due, to return what one deserves', either revenge or a favor according to whether the interlocutor had done something good or bad. The author pointed out that equivalent thanking expressions all pivoting on the notion of merit or benefit are available also in spoken Mongolian languages, although they sound formal, solemn and even bookish. These expressions are glossable as, e.g., 'to remember the benefit, to repay the benefit, to have merit and fruit'. Poppe also identified and translated informal thanking expressions used in Mongolian, which are based on other notions, that is happiness (e.g., 'to be happy, to have rejoiced'; 'to bring happiness'), friendship (e.g., 'to side up with someone, to regard her/him as a friend'); radiance (e.g., 'to be radiant with joy'); goodness (e.g., 'you are really good'); deference (e.g., 'to bow down'); satisfaction (e.g., 'to be satiated, to be satisfied, to have enough; to present one's satisfaction, contentedness');

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

remembrance (e.g., 'not to forget your kindness'); fortune (e.g., 'let there be good fortune, to make reach the good deed').

3.3.2. Studies on ASs

3.3.2.1. The professional-social value of ASs

Ben-Ari (1987) analyzed the content and style of 200 ASs in ethnographies, focusing on how their formulation is closely tied to their authors' "strategic choices" in the management of their career and relationships within their discourse community, in the construction of their professional credibility and in the presentation of images of themselves as social beings (p. 63). He showed that ASs are relevant both to the "main parts of ethnographic texts" (p. 63) (i.e., as introductions to the contents of given intellectual products) and to the social aspect of those texts' contexts of production (i.e., as reconstructions of the contributions that made those intellectual products possible). At a general level, the author pointed out ASs are shaped by both social and literary constraints, and defined acknowledging practices as ritualistic, that is as involving the ""management of meaning" within anthropology" (i.e., the construction of "the social and cultural orders of their profession"; p. 66). In particular, he showed that it is possible

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to detect the metamessages underlying specific textual practices and their socio-professional implications.

Ben-Ari identified the content-related differences in acknowledgments addressed to anthropologists and those addressed to other benefactors. First of all, he noticed how the former often include references to seniors within the community. The author then observed that this name-dropping practice enables the thanker to recognize scholars for their intellectual influence on him, to reciprocate these benefactors by re-introducing their names into the community's discourse, to show he has important professional connections, to gain professional attention, and ultimately to improve his career chances. At the same time, Ben-Ari pointed out that name dropping reveals a complex dynamics of debts and obligations within the professional community: the beneficiary's verbal repayment to the benefactor may end up putting the latter into debt; indicating one's ties to the benefactor is also a commitment to the same ties in the future (thus an old debt is repaid while incurring a new one); the repayment the AS writer can offer (e.g., esteem, loyalty) is different in kind from the benefit received (e.g., guidance and benevolence) so that reciprocity in the exchange does not lead to symmetry and balance in the ongoing relationship. According to Ben-Ari, a second characteristic of acknowledgments addressed to anthropologists is the veiled allusion (rather than open reference) to problematic issues in asymmetrical relationships. He claimed that the use of politeness formulas, qualifications, and play messages like sarcastic observations are typical of a masked hostility, and reveal a tension between the need to preserve the hierarchical structure of the community (and thus conceal one's dissatisfaction) and the need to openly voice one's ideas (and thus release it). A third function of acknowledgments to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ethnographers is said to be the contextualization of the author's professional identity combined with the emphatic indication of his originality; thus, ties with intellectual ancestors are mentioned because they establish the author's intellectual genealogy, show continuity in intellectual traditions, and reveal the community's internal integration and solidarity; at the same time, the AS writer's contribution to creativity and innovation is highlighted and presented as non-hostile.

On the other hand, the author stated that acknowledgments to benefactors other than anthropologists reveal first of all the writer's indebtedness to his informants. According to Ben-Ari, these are mentioned — even if the ethnographic text itself is for a professional public — especially because this lends credibility and authority to the ethnographic work by revealing the close ties developed within the community that has been studied. (Ben-Ari added that in keeping with this, such AS writers refrain from resorting to professional jargon, make confessions of fallibility, and describe personal circumstances, so as to create the impression their fieldwork was a genuine, authentic, intimate experience.) Ben-Ari identified a second important characteristic of this second group of acknowledgments, namely the fact that they mention and acknowledge people only marginally or not at all involved in the writer's work or the anthropological community at large. According to the author, their function is to present ethnographers not just as professional figures, but as social individuals, tied in a network of relationships with their supportive and patient friends and family, whom they appear to care about and be cared about.

Ben-Ari underlined that ASs are special texts: they abide by conventions different from those of the texts they are attached to, that is they are based on suggestiveness and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indirectness rather than argumentation and criticism. He concluded by saying they are marginal texts with a twofold, social and textual function: they are oriented towards the social framework in which the ethnographer works and towards the main text.

In 1975 Chubin wrote a paper in which he proposed a method for analyzing communication patterns in scientific literature that could help detect and measure the relationship of trust (or better trusted assessorship) among scientists. He mentioned ASs as one of the sources of data to be examined, suggesting that their content can help reveal the types of non-competitive, cooperative relationships held among academics, namely co-authorship (i.e., direct collaboration), apprenticeship (i.e., academic descent), colleagueship (i.e., professional relationship within an institution) and simple communication (i.e., professional contact or exchange).

Cronin, McKenzie, Rubio, Weaver-Wozniak (1993) examined acknowledgment behavior in 10 highly ranked sociology journals over a ten-year period. They found that 3/4 of the 4200 articles considered included some form of acknowledgment statement, and that over half of them referred to peer interactive communication as one of the benefits recognized. They found that only a few individuals (i.e., less than 8%) were frequently acknowledged and that there was no correlation between frequency of acknowledgment and frequency of citation or between frequency of acknowledgment and the length of the benefactor's academic career as measured from the date of their terminal degree. However, the authors suggested including acknowledgment data into the academic audit process (i.e., in the context of tenure or promotion evaluation) as is done

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with publications and citation counts — on the grounds that acknowledgments are measurable and categorizable tokens of credit (especially with regard to peer interactive communication), which sometimes hint at original and substantive contributions of greater value than those offered by cited authors or even co-authors. They finally pointed out that ASs represent created value, which makes it worthwhile to explore the criteria authors follow in assessing and recognizing their colleagues' help.

Cronin, McKenzie and Stiffler (1992) examined about 2,100 ASs in four top-ranked library and information science journals over a twenty-year period in order to compare the frequency and distribution of their acknowledgments, identify the individuals most frequently mentioned in them (especially those mentioned in more than one journal) and establish the extent to which highly acknowledged individuals were also frequently cited. The authors discovered that on average half of the acknowledgments were for peer interactive communication (i.e., intellectual indebtedness), and that their distribution was similar to that found in citation analyses of research productivity, with a small number of individuals (i.e., less than 5%) being frequently acknowledged, and a majority, instead, being infrequently recognized. They attributed this similarity in their concentration patterns to their similar functions, namely providing contextualization for the work carried out, recording intellectual indebtedness, producing units of symbolic capital. They also noticed a variation in acknowledgment frequency across the journals examined, which was higher in those considered to be more scientific. Finally, they noticed that the top five names mentioned in acknowledgments worked primarily in the same area, namely information retrieval (IR), suggesting a high intensity of interaction

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(i.e., a high degree of connectedness and collaboration) between the few members of the IR community as well as revealing the hybrid character of the IR community, which "lies at the intersection of information science and computer science" (p. 120).

Cronin and Overfelt (1994) examined the "normative bases of acknowledgment behaviour" among scholars in major US universities (p. 165) to determine possible regularities and conventions in the discourse of ASs that could reveal prevailing beliefs and practices about the reward system in the academic community. In particular, they surveyed 278 academics from a large number of disciplines and at different stages in their careers by means of a questionnaire in order to measure agreement and divergence with regard to five acknowledgment practices: expectations (i.e., motivations for ASs and data derivable from them), etiquette (i.e., norms for appropriate acknowledging behavior), ethics (e.g., sanctions against failure to acknowledge), equity (i.e., difference between co-authorship and acknowledgment status) and evaluation (i.e., value of ASs as indicators of scholarly impact).

Their data revealed that ASs are "an integral aspect of the primary communication system" (p. 186) as they show in part "the dynamics of collaboration and interdependence among scholars" (p. 165), and that — although acknowledgment practice is only marginally codified — many scholars "subscribe to the idea of a governing etiquette" (p. 165) and agree on what constitutes acceptable acknowledgment practice and on what kinds of contributions warrant acknowledgment.

In general, the authors noticed that most of the people surveyed agreed on a number of issues: that acknowledgees are intellectual contributors who do not qualify for co-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

authorship status; that they expected this type of recognition for themselves in case of scholarly, technical, and professional contributions; that they were aware of having been acknowledged at some time in their career, but also that sometimes colleagues had failed to acknowledge, or had underacknowledged, their contribution; that they did not keep a record of the acknowledgments received; that misunderstandings between colleagues may arise due to the ambiguous and unstated nature of "the criteria for awarding co-authorship as opposed to acknowledgment status" (p. 186); that they did not typically seek permission to acknowledge in advance; that they did not adapt their acknowledgment practices to the expectations or character of specific journals; that formal training in acknowledgment practice is not typically offered to young academics; that they did not usually scan ASs to determine the relevance of a work to their professional needs; that the development of an acknowledgment index is not a worthwhile enterprise.

However, Cronin and Overfelt also noticed that there was disagreement or at least plurivocality on other central assumptions; for instance, acknowledgments were often described as gifts to be dispensed voluntarily, which, however, are expected and may annoy a colleague, if not granted; in addition, while some viewed them as trivial expressions of courtesy, others recognized that they signal receipt of substantive support; finally, while some realized that ASs are indicators of intellectual influence, not all academics accepted the idea of using acknowledgment data in sociometric analysis.

Davis and Cronin (1993) suggested considering ASs as textual constructs comparable to citations, in which authors recognize their intellectual indebtedness to their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

peers, among other things. They proposed a mathematical model, previously applied only to the study of citations, for the analysis of this "peer interactive communication" in ASs from 6 academic journals. They argued that this statistical technique could be used to estimate individuals' influence in a field (i.e., to identify who gets acknowledged the most often and how often) as well as determine the cognitive interdependence between disciplines (i.e., to measure similarities in the frequency distributions of acknowledgments in closely related fields).

Hamilton (1990) offered a few personal, ironic comments on the social significance of book ASs in order to highlight, in particular, the contradictions of these texts. The author pointed out, for example, that the praise contained in ASs is meaningless because not balanced against criticism; that ASs refer to ideal cooperative working environments contrary to the reality of academia that one typically experiences; that ASs are presented to the public even if their often cryptically encoded content cannot then be fully appreciated by the readers; that AS authors portray themselves as inept on several grounds, namely unable to adequately express their gratitude, unable to produce any valuable intellectual work on their own, unable to spot the faults in their work despite the help received, unable to care enough for their loved ones so as to avoid inflicting their writing on them. In short, Hamilton pointed out that book ASs combine pretension, hyperbole, and banality.

Kassirer and Angell (1991) discussed two interrelated aspects of reports of clinical trials, which sometimes involve hundreds of people in multiple institutions, namely

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ambiguous authorship and lengthy acknowledgments. These scholars observed that when many co-authors are mentioned, it is not because they can take "comprehensive responsibility for the study" (p. 1511), but because authorship is offered to them as a way to ensure their cooperation. In addition, they noticed that acknowledgments often list not only people "who made special intellectual or technical contributions to a study" (p. 1511) but all those who merely carried out their jobs in relation to the study, which, they argued, is neither a good use of journal space nor of interest to the readers. Finally, they noticed that people who are acknowledged are often listed as co-authors, too, which blurs the distinction between authorship and acknowledgment status. In conclusion, they specified the criteria that have to be met to qualify for authorship status (i.e., conception or design of the study, and analysis or interpretation of data; drafting or critical revision of the article for important intellectual content; final approval of the version to be published) and suggested that not more than one column of journal space should be devoted to acknowledgments.

McCain (1991) interviewed experimental geneticists and examined ASs in genetics publications to reconstruct the scenarios for the exchange (i.e., request and provision) of research-related information (i.e., research products, instruments, techniques) among genetics researchers, that is, to explore "the causes and effects of secrecy and openness in scientific and technical communication" (p. 494).

With regard to acknowledgment practices in genetics, the author classified the ASs found in 241 articles according to the types of information or service mentioned in them, thus identifying five major acknowledgment categories (research-related information,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

secondary access to research-related information, specific research-related communication, general peer communication, technical assistance and clerical support), each of which was further subdivided into more specific sub-categories (the first comprised access to experimental materials, unpublished protocols, facilities, home-grown software; the second included access to unpublished results or data; the third included provision of specific information or suggestions, or critical comments on the manuscript, or advice and insights or inspiration; the fourth included performance of specific analyses, collaboration, and technical assistance; the fifth included typing of manuscript and graphics/photography).

McCain noticed that the two most frequent categories both across genetic sub-disciplines and in terms of number of acknowledgees mentioned with relevance to it were the third and the first; the former — which comprised the sub-categories 'advice and discussion' and 'comments on the manuscript' — occurred in about 80% of the papers examined and was relevant to about 33% of the acknowledgees, while the latter occurred in about 60% of the papers and was relevant to about 30% of the acknowledgees. The papers also showed that individuals and institutional sources were sometimes acknowledged in the methods or materials sections of articles.

McCain also highlighted the high value assigned to intellectual property rights in the geneticists' community; she learned from her interviews that geneticists consider it important for the documentation of their contribution to be properly cited not only as an expectation of reciprocal exchange (i.e., so that thanking may occur) but also, or especially, so that interested readers can correctly link the materials in question with their origin, and, if so inclined, to go back to the first relevant publication. She also specified

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that some of the centers that are repositories of research-related information request to be acknowledged so that the importance of their services to the community may become more visible.

Using a written questionnaire in multiple-choice format, Spiegel and Keith-Spiegel (1970) examined 746 psychologists' opinions about appropriate and inappropriate credit assignment in collaborative research situations. Their survey revealed a general (i.e., about 82%) agreement among respondents independently of their publication rate or differences in specialty areas within psychology. The interviewees stated that determinants of credit assignment should not be (gratitude or deference to) power or status or more simply the hope to enhance one's chances of publication, but active involvement in or contribution to a given project (i.e., design of the project, discussion of the project, testing subjects, scoring the tests, statistical analysis of data, writing a section of the paper). In particular, they stated that authorship order should reflect "the relative significance of the contributions made" (p. 747), while footnotes should only acknowledge minor contributions and be explicit about the nature of the help provided (e.g., use of someone else's research idea; conversion of pen-recorded responses into digital form; guidance offered during the writing of a dissertation that is then turned into a paper; revision of manuscripts; review of literature; co-planning, but not conducting, the project; technical assistance, even if long, laborious and necessary for the project to be carried out). The authors added that in the planning of a study, the head of the research team should explicitly indicate the form of acknowledgement to be given to each

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contributor; however, they also observed that it is usually the highest power and status person who "makes the ultimate credit determination" (p. 747).

3.3.2.2. Realization patterns of the main notions

Cronin (1991) examined the social function and cognitive salience of ASs. Her analysis of 444 ASs appearing in one information science journal over a 20-year period led her to develop a typology of six acknowledgment categories reflecting the different motivations lying behind ASs. The first category, called *paymaster*, referred to financial support; the second, *moral support*, referred to the possibility to access or use various types of institutional facilities; the third, *dogsbody*, referred to secretarial, editorial, data collection or analysis assistance; the fourth, *technical*, had to do with help in (the implementation of) methodology; the fifth, *prime mover*, referred to intellectual inspiration and/or stimulation; the sixth, *trusted assessor*, referred to intellectual influence, determined in particular by exchange and evaluation of ideas. The author grouped the six categories into three main groups, which identified their main common denominators: resource-related (paymaster and moral support), procedure-related (dogsbody and technical), and concept-related (prime mover and trusted assessorship).

Cronin observed that many ASs consisted in compound acknowledgments, and that resource-related, procedure-related, and concept-related acknowledgments occurred, respectively, in over 90%, over 30%, and over 50% of the ASs examined. Cronin argued

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that resource-related acknowledgments are a matter of good manners and common sense; that procedure-related acknowledgments are a matter of basic decency, and that concept-related acknowledgments reveal networks of influence within a discipline. The author also noticed a pattern of high concentration in the distribution of acknowledgments, with only a few individuals receiving multiple mentions and over 85% receiving only a single mention. The author in conclusion argued in favor of taking into consideration both citations and acknowledgments in the assessment of academic performance, as both textual constructs register valuable social-professional influence, but neither does so exhaustively.

Cronin, McKenzie and Rubio (1993) examined over 5,600 ASs published over a twenty-year period in four academic journals in the disciplines of history, philosophy, psychology and sociology. They focused in particular on the text segments encoding the benefit category called peer interactive communication (PIC), considered a record of significant intellectual influence and thus comparable to citations. The authors observed that intensity of acknowledgment was lowest in philosophy, slightly higher in history, stronger in psychology and the strongest in sociology, which led them to argue that the practice of acknowledging may be particularly favored in the harder sciences. They also noticed that the most frequent benefit category across disciplines was indeed PIC and that the PIC frequency distribution across disciplines was strikingly similar, with only a few individuals being repeatedly mentioned, and a majority being only seldom acknowledged. They also observed that there were distributional differences with regard to the other benefit categories considered (i.e., moral support; financial support; access to facilities,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

data, specimens, samples, documents or materials; clerical support; technical support). Finally, the authors noticed that the structure, style and syntax of the ASs examined was homogeneous, allowing little room to ornaments or the author(s)' subjectivity. According to the authors, this standardized consistency in acknowledgment practices suggests that academics have a clear idea of who to acknowledge and how.

Giannoni (1998) examined the ASs found in 50 UK and US journal articles in biology, economics, mathematics, medicine, linguistics, and sociology. By comparing previous studies on the functional structure of ASs and by drawing on insights from politeness theory, genre analysis, and bibliometric studies, Giannoni identified the main communicative purpose of the ASs and described their rhetorical organization.

The texts considered typically consisted of three main moves (establishing ancestry, mapping research credit where it is due, anticipating future interest in the article). None of these moves, however, was essential to the text, and each of them could include additional, subordinate components (the first could make reference to parent texts or events and express gratitude to their authors or agents, respectively; the second could comprise acknowledgment of institutional support and/or support from individuals; the third could specify hypothetical editorial developments and/or the address for correspondence).

The author noticed that the sequence of moves in the ASs was held together by recurrent reference to the process of production of the relevant research articles, consistently conceptualized as that of organisms that are conceived and given birth to. According to the author, this conceptual metaphor revealed that the scientific community

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

perceives itself as a nurturing one, guided by an ethical principle of collaboration, but at the same time stressing the individual academic's responsibility for the successful "delivery" of each specific piece of work.

Giannoni's data revealed that individuals were more frequently acknowledged than institutions, that institutions were always named, while individuals could remain unnamed (23% of the time), that 33% of the individuals acknowledged also appeared in the bibliographical references. The author also observed that the type of benefit most frequently mentioned was peer-interactive support, that explicit gratitude expressions in the first person were rarer when the relevant benefit was of an institutional kind, that occasional discontinuous moves (or subordinate steps) served to avoid unpleasant repeated listings, that the language of the ASs was strongly tied to the sphere of personal emotions, and that the ASs "encode[d] highly-prized values like modesty, restraint, gratitude and generosity" (p. 61) that are part of the unwritten norms underlying those texts.

Finally, Giannoni pointed out the internal contradictions of ASs: they may be perceived as acts of boasting since they recognize access to precious human and financial resources, yet they reduce the impudence of publication by stressing reliance on other academic actors; they may reflect more the courtesy standards within a scientific community and the contributors' relative status rather than their respective merits; they are meant to acknowledge dependence on others for the success achieved in a competitive environment but also stress the author's self-reliance, credibility, and responsibility for the article itself.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although not strictly speaking about ASs, the article by Gifford (1988) on book dedications is relevant to part of the content of ASs, as it focuses on the identification of the book writer's socially and personally significant ties. In an attempt to find "an alternate [sic] method of assessing scholarly impact" (p. 222) Gifford examined 557 psychology books to discover who books are typically dedicated to. He found that about half of the books contained a dedication; that on average, dedications were made to two dedicatees; that in about a third of the books, the relationship between dedicator and dedicatees was spelled out or somehow discernible; that family members were more likely to be chosen as dedicatees than friends or academic individuals, although teachers and students were often mentioned as well; that academic dedications, which were less frequent than non-academic dedications, were often made to several individuals; that one's seniors (i.e., parents and teachers) were honored more often than one's peers (i.e., spouses and friends) and even more so than one's juniors (i.e., children and students); that male authors more often dedicated their books to their juniors than female authors; that as "the number of authors" rose, so did "the number of dedications made by each author" (p. 223); that textbook dedicatees were more often female and family while monograph dedicatees were more often teachers; that only about 1% of the dedications were made to non-persons (i.e., organizations or pets); that as the number of dedications rose, so did the number of dedicatees whose relationship to the author(s) was made clear.

3.3.3. Implications of findings

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The above overview of findings on the linguistic encoding of thanks and acknowledgments offers some insights into the nature of speech events focused on the satisfaction of interpersonal needs, and offers suggestions as to how to conduct further research in this domain.

Studies on the cultural contextualization of acts of thanks have shown that different speech communities follow different, and largely unconscious, norms for the management and encoding of gratitude-oriented interactional events; the implication that follows from this for the current study is that the acknowledgment practices to be found instantiated in my corpus should be regarded as applicable only to the cultural group in which they have been produced and not automatically generalizable to (genre exemplars produced in) other communities without further validation. Other such studies have pointed out some specific cultural values of American society, namely the belief in the equality among individuals and the preference for thanks expressed after the occasion in which benefits are received; the former triggers the need to acknowledge what cannot be expected as due and to repay offers with counteroffers so as to reestablish equality in the interaction, while the latter explains the production and exchange of written thanks. Such observations reveal the need to check, in PhDASs, whether and to what extent benefactors of not equal standing as the writer are linguistically treated as equals (and more specifically, in what ways they are repaid for their deeds), and also how carefully drafted such texts are (i.e., if they appear to be valuable messages).

Studies focusing on the situational contextualization of acts of thanking have shown that several social dimensions and situational variables such as participants' sex and relative status, and the degree of imposition on the benefactor affect the use (i.e., choice

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and phrasing) of expressions of gratitude; the implication of this for future research is that an analysis of AMs could consider the variable role-relationships between acknowledgers and acknowledgees, and the variety of benefits exchangeable between them, as these are likely to reveal correlations between the wording of gratitude expressions and the type of benefactor and/or benefit they are relevant to.

Studies focusing on the encoding of acts of thanking have shown that these can be elaborate, that is that they can consist of functional components that selectively focus on one or more facets of beneficial exchanges of goods and services, and that they can be qualified by modifiers and expanded by supportive moves. This implies that, in analyzing AMs in PhDASs, attention has to be paid to the possible complementary communicative roles played by its component units of meanings and to the range of options available for enconding them. Other studies in this group have revealed the multifarious character of the verbalization of gratitude, which may reflect a number of cognitive-emotional attitudes to, or types of evaluation of, given interactional circumstances; this suggests that it is useful to classify the range of gratitude-related meanings conveyed in thanking expressions. Still other studies have pointed out that not all acts of thanking are alike (some being genuine and others perfunctory, some implying and others not implying the notion of indebtedness, some being relevant to requests and others to offers) and consequently that they are associated with different types of encoding; this implies that it is useful to classify AMs in PhDASs along the dimension of their social significance and to identify possible correlations between the degree of their interactional value and their specific phrasing. Finally, other studies have revealed that thanking addresses conflicting face wants, which indicates the need to establish which range of specific interactional

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

needs are served by the meanings encoded in PhDASs, whose perspective is adopted in reporting gratitude-related events, and what possible metamessages underlie specific textual practices.

Studies specifically focusing on ASs have revealed that conventionalized acknowledgment behavior may not reflect the actual professional practices of an academic community; this implies that the content of PhDASs too may be partly misleading or exaggerated and should not necessarily be taken at face value. Along the same lines, other studies have pointed out the internal contradictions of ASs, which suggests that the content of PhDASs should be critically examined. Still other studies have revealed that scholars tend to agree on what counts as appropriate acknowledgment behavior; this suggests that it may be possible to identify in PhDASs recurrent patterns of manifestation of gratitude. One study has shown that ASs are structurally organized in a sequence of stages; this suggests that PhDASs too may be arranged in phases that need to identified and labeled. Other studies have revealed that various types of benefits (and sub-benefits) are recognized in ASs, that some are more frequently mentioned than others, and that there are distributional differences with regard to some benefit categories across academic disciplines; this suggests that it may be useful to identify benefit categories in PhDASs as well and to assess their frequency of occurrence within single disciplines and their distributional patterns across disciplines. Similarly, others have pointed out that several types of acknowledgees are mentioned in ASs (or even book dedications), not all with the same frequency, and not all in relation to the same types of benefit categories, which suggests the need to categorize the benefactors mentioned in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PhDASs too and to establish which benefactor categories are more prominently referred to in relation to which benefit categories.

In sum, the above findings suggest that PhDASs can and should be examined with reference to their multi-dimensional social significance and semantic elaborateness.

3.4. Developing a method of analysis

The above overview of part of the literature on acts of thanking and ASs has revealed that the situational and cultural contexts in which such communicative events take place affects their content and phrasing. The exemplification provided especially in ch. 2 has also shown — but only briefly commented on — (a) how these messages may be encoded lexically, morphologically and syntactically; (b) what their main units of meaning are; and (c) what their overall structural organization is like.

However, it is also necessary to systematically identify the various formal and functional properties of PhDASs (and quantify their occurrences) so as to establish and account for the peculiarities of these texts, that is, so as to determine the specificity of their surface characteristics in relation to both their contexts of production and reception and their main communicative goal. This is possible if an adequately thorough coding scheme is developed or adopted.

To accurately describe the structural features of PhDASs, I draw on insights from the work carried out by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues as part of their Cross-Cultural

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) on requests and apologies (see especially Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984). I find their method suitable to my research needs because applicable to authentic, uncensored speech and writing. Indeed, these scholars focused their attention not on pre-defined linguistic constructs, but on the material produced by subjects in experimental conditions, that is on stretches of language use that their informants *themselves* — not linguistically trained/biased researchers — considered to count as given types of speech acts. More specifically, Blum-Kulka and her colleagues had subjects complete Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), that is a set of incomplete discourse sequences (i.e., short descriptions of interactional situations and relevant incomplete dialogues) that were expected to elicit either requests or apologies. Their units of analysis were thus the entire utterances or sequences of utterances supplied by the informants to complete the various test items. These messages were often both formally and functionally complex linguistic units: although meant to realize single requestive or apologetic acts, they could comprise several components serving the same general illocutionary goal, but in a complementary fashion. Such texts might thus consist of a single head act, that is the obligatory nucleus of the message that minimally, most explicitly, and possibly independently of other elements realized the act; however, they might also include adjuncts external to the head act, such as alerters (i.e., address terms or attention-getters) and/or supportive moves mitigating or aggravating the impact of the head act.

What is of relevance and interest to my research project in Blum-Kulka and her colleagues' approach to the study of requests and apologies is the recognition of the possibility that speech acts do not always or necessarily consist of one-clause-long

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performative (or equivalent) formulas. The texts I am interested in are indeed elaborate communicative acts: their building blocks are AMs that typically consist of *three* elements, namely a manifestation of gratitude associated with two other units of information (i.e., the benefit and the benefactor); and each component of the AM is potentially *expandable* with enriching information (see sections 2.4. and 2.6.1.5.). Just as the speech acts examined by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues are multifunctional and polysemous linguistic units coherently organized around a common theme, so do PhDASs convey complementary meanings and fulfill multiple functions, which realize one structural whole originating from one basic expressive need.

The comprehensive coding schemes developed by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues to analyze requests and apologies make it possible to both identify and classify the components of elaborate speech acts (i.e., the speech act perspective, the speech act strategy, the head act downgraders and upgraders, the illocutionary function of supportive moves) and thus to appreciate their composite and functional nature.

However thorough, though, the CCSARP coding schemes are not perfectly suitable for analyzing PhDASs; this is because, unlike the speech acts examined by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues, PhDASs also present genre-like properties (see section 2.5.), that is a staged realization; indeed, they may comprise *introductory and concluding moves* and they typically contain *repeated* AMs (see section 2.6.1.5.). Thus an adequate coding scheme has to make provision for the description of a text (a) possibly consisting of multiple parts which recurrently instantiate a given speech act and (b) nevertheless possibly organized as a single, global macro communicative act.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, as studies on ASs have revealed, acts of acknowledgment may be produced in relation to various benefits partly predictable from the benefactors they are associated with, and the coding scheme has to make it possible to categorize both types of units of meaning.

Blum-Kulka and her colleagues' attention to the wording of speech acts is also directly relevant to my study. Indeed, the exemplification in ch. 2 (in particular in section 2.6.3.3.) has revealed that each component and component expansion of the AMs making up the PhDASs is *variably* realizable through a combination of lexical, phrasal, and syntactic means. Nuances of meaning conveyed by the whole texts can be detected only by paying attention to their specific surface realization, and only an exhaustive coding scheme that takes the texts' phrasing into consideration can help reveal such subtleties. Unfortunately, the coding scheme by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues is not consistent in the choice of the linguistic criteria (semantic, syntactic, lexical, pragmatic, sequential) for the description of the surface encoding of speech acts.[36] This drawback points to the need for a systematic distinction between different *types* of encoding resources; for instance, the formal/syntactic encoding of a message has to be kept distinct from its functional/semantic role; this can be achieved by distinguishing between the mood (e.g., imperative) and the speech function (i.e., command) of clausal messages, as is typically done in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

[36] The coding schemes developed by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues present a few oversights: the speech acts they serve to examine are not defined; the linguistic categories considered for the analysis of requests and apologies are meant to specifically account for the data collected through DCTs, not to describe and classify requests and apologies in general or all their possible types of encoding patterns relatable to their varying situational contexts; the authors provide only generic guidelines for distinguishing head acts from supportive moves; they also conflate different types of criteria (lexical, syntactic, semantic, functional) to determine the level of directness of speech acts; in examining speech acts, they do not take into consideration their propositional content, the interlocutors' relative status, or the viewpoint from which the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, the exemplification provided in ch. 2 has revealed that various lexical and syntactic means can be used (and often combined) to indicate the thanker's cognitive-emotional attitude towards his benefactors and/or to describe the benefits received; these multiple encoding possibilities of gratitude and benefits appear to identify different types of appraisal of (i.e., emotional reaction to, evaluation of, appreciation of) the exchanges they are relevant to (see section 3.2.2.). With reference to the latter observation, it may thus be useful to include in the coding scheme taxonomic principles from the system developed by Martin (2000) to describe evaluative uses of language.

Martin's (2000) Appraisal System, developed within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, helps explain which specific interpersonal meanings are exchanged in an interaction and how they serve to enact social relationships and manage positions and roles. It comprises three main systems, Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation, which serve to identify and classify the semantic resources employed in texts for conveying emotions (i.e., for expressing feelings about something), judgments (i.e., for expressing opinions about something, especially people's behavior), and valuations (i.e., for expressing aesthetic assessments of something), respectively.

According to Martin, the first sub-system, Affect, includes the categories of happiness/unhappiness, security/insecurity, satisfaction/dissatisfaction, and inclination/disinclination. Encodable through various lexico-grammatical means (e.g., verbs expressing mental processes, phrases describing circumstances, epithets, attributes and nominalizations), Affect can help classify emotional responses to events and

---

actions being referred to are presented to determine their impact on or cost to the addressee; all the combinatorial possibilities — in terms of sequencing — of the speech act components are not considered.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

situations; it is thus suitable to an analysis of thankers' attitude towards their benefactors, especially as encoded in gratitude expressions.

The second sub-system, Judgment, has to do with the expression of positive or negative opinions (i.e., praise or criticism) of human behavior (i.e., actions, beliefs, motivations) in relation to social norms, cultural ideologies and moral values (which can, e.g., be upheld or breached). That is, Judgment is about the evaluation of the observance of or disregard for rules of social conduct. It includes two main categories: social esteem and social sanction, through which judgments are expressed about behavior perceived as either conforming or not conforming to socially desirable standards.

Social esteem comprises three evaluative sub-categories: normality, capacity, and tenacity. These have to do, respectively, with the assessment of how usual or untypical (whether good or bad) a type of behavior is; with the assessment of a person's ability or inability to understand an act; and with the assessment of a person's determination and reliability.

Social sanction comprises two evaluative categories: veracity and propriety. Veracity has to do with the assessment of a person's honesty and truthfulness vs. dishonesty and deceit. Propriety is concerned with the assessment of compliance with or defiance of given norms, the former considered favorably, the other perceived negatively.

It thus appears that Judgment is suitable to an analysis of thankers' opinion towards their benefactors, especially as conveyed in the text segments that identify and/or describe them.

Appreciation, the third sub-system, regards "the institutionalisation of feeling, in the context of propositions" (Martin 2000: 159), that is the manifestation of evaluative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reactions to phenomena, states of affairs, processes that are part of our experience (whether produced by human behavior or by "natural forces") and that we verbally represent in our texts, and which we assess according to some aesthetic criteria. Encodable through such verbal means as adjectives, adverbs, verbs expressing mental processes and nominalizations, it includes three main categories: *reaction* (the cognitive-emotional impact of an event, i.e., how it captures our attention and affects our emotions), *composition* (the perception of proportion and detail in an event), and *valuation* (the understanding of the social significance of an event).

Appreciation thus appears to be suitable to an analysis of thankers' assessment of the benefits received, especially in the text segments that describe their properties and their effects on the beneficiary.

As is evident, all the above categories are relevant to a description of acts of thanking, in particular, (a) the reactive feelings experienced as a result of benefits received (affect), (b) the assessment of benefactors' behavior (judgment), and (c) the value attributed to the benefits received (appreciation).

Last but not least, a coding system has to make it possible to define (and then identify) acts of thanking so that these can be recognized in a corpus of authentic material which may realize a number of speech acts or, more generally, which may convey a variety of meanings. A working definition of the speech act of thanking can be elaborated by drawing on the work of such scholars as Searle (1969, 1979) (see sections 3.2., 3.2.1., 3.2.2., 3.2.3.), Coulmas (1981) and Kumatoridani (1999) (see section 3.3.1.2.), and van Hecke (2003) (see section 3.3.1.1.), so that its conceptual specificity becomes determinable.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The model of analysis of acts of gratitude applicable to PhDASs that I propose below is thus based on insights from various scholars' contributions to the analysis of the speech act of thanking in general and written acknowledgments in academic contexts in particular; it also benefits from the application of analytic tools developed to account for verbal evaluative behavior and from concepts relevant to genre theory developed to account for the structural organization of communicative acts; finally, it considers various dimensions of verbal thanking behavior: the role-relationships between the participants involved in it, the categories of benefits it is relevant to, its basic semantic properties, the semantic evaluative notions it conveys, the sequential arrangement of its components, the strategic organization of its component functional units, and its lexico-grammatical encoding.

In synthesis, the model is meant to serve the following needs: to functionally define the units of communication that constitute acts of thanking; to identify their occurrences in authentic data (in particular in the spontaneous writing produced by language users); to recognize their component functional units (i.e., nucleus and optional modifications); to identify their possible sequential (i.e., staged) organization in a more inclusive text; to classify them formally and functionally. The data obtained by applying the model should then be relatable to the contexts of use of such acts and thus make it possible to account for the situational, individual, and cultural variability in their realization.

Model for the analysis of (written) thanks[37]

[37] The components of the tagging system based on a section of this model and applied to the PhDASs analyzed in ch. 4 are presented in various sections in ch. 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

• Definition and main discursive-interactional characteristics

- a verbal expressive act manifesting the speaker's/writer's positive cognitive-emotional reaction to one or more benefactors (typically the addressee) for benefits already or about to be received

-- sequential arrangement:

--- it may accompany or occur later than the beneficial exchange it is relevant to (thanking ex post, for an actual good or service)

--- or it may occur before the relevant benefit is provided, in which case it can be re-interpreted as a request (thanking ex ante, for a potential benefit)

--- it may conclude an interactional sequence (as the preferred second in an adjacency pair)

--- or it may trigger an acknowledgment that either recognizes or downplays the (value of) the benefit received (and thus occur within a three-part interactional sequence)

---- but an acknowledgment does not apply if the thanks were triggered by compliments or wishes or if they were relevant to non-indebting benefits

-- relevant benefits and sequential arrangement of discourse:

--- benefits spontaneously provided (thanking is part of the act of acceptance that follows an offer)

--- benefits provided after solicitation (thanking complements a request that precedes an offer)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

--- benefits taken for granted, provided by default, as part of a routine interaction (thanking marks the interaction as polite, but does not actually express feeling of gratitude or indebtedness)

-- relevance to previous discourse:

--- relevant to a single beneficial exchange

---- consisting of one AM (possibly repeated)

-- relevant to multiple beneficial exchanges

---- potentially consisting of multiple AMs

---- organized as a mere sequence of moves (set of mini-texts)

---- organized as an organic whole (one global text)

-- perspective and focus: the exchange (of goods or services) the act of thanking is relevant to may be perceived as beneficial to the thanker and/or costly to the benefactor; the content of the act can relate to either or both aspects

-- main types:

--- genuine (motivated by feelings of gratitude and/or indebtedness)

--- perfunctory (i.e., social courtesy)

--- interaction-marking (signaling closure of the interaction)

-- social-interpersonal significance:

--- it sustains the benefactor's positive face if reference is made to the thanker's positive attitude to the benefactor, benefit and/or resulting positive effects

--- it sustains the benefactor's negative face, if (apologetic) reference is made to the thanker's imposition on the benefactor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

--- it may imply indebtedness, if it is genuine

---- indebtedness may involve the recognition of the debt incurred (to be compensated for by acknowledging it) or awareness of the debt plus the intention to compensate for it through a tangible counter-gift

--- it does not imply indebtedness if it is perfunctory

--- it serves to restore the balance of social relationships in which social debts were incurred

---- in its turn it may cause the interlocutor to incur similar social debts in the future

• Length

- orthographic words
- paragraphs
- AMs

• Main components

- optional introductory move: initial conceptual boundary of the text that identifies the latter's communicative purpose and/or range of benefactors it is relevant to
- optional concluding move: final conceptual boundary of the text that repeats the latter's communicative purpose and/or shows the benefactors' shared relevance to the thanker
- one or more AMs: act(s) of thanking relevant to a single benefactor or a group of benefactors for the same benefit(s)

-- identifiability:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

--- new benefactor(s) is/are mentioned for the first time, whether alone or in relation to specific benefit(s)

--- or subset of previously identified benefactors is mentioned "again", whether alone or in relation to specific benefit(s)

• Global arrangement

- relevant to functional components

-- single AM

-- multiple AMs

-- introductory move + AM(s)

-- AM(s) + concluding move

-- introductory move + AM(s) + concluding move

-- discontinuous introductory-concluding move partly preceding and partly following AM(s)

- relevant to content

-- order of types of benefactors

-- order of types of benefits

• Components and sub-components of the AM

- expression of gratitude (part of the head act)

-- expansion of the gratitude expression (supportive move)

- identification of benefits (part of the head act)

-- expansion of the identification of benefits (supportive move)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- reference to benefactors (part of the head act)

    -- expansion of the reference to benefactors (supportive move)

• Arrangement of the AM

- presence of the various components and sub-components of the AM

    -- no component or sub-component is mandatory

    -- but at least one component has to be present

    -- one or more components or sub-components may be repeated

- order of the components which form the head act

    -- functional

        --- any possible combination of gratitude + benefactor + benefit

        ---- either combination of gratitude + benefactor

        ---- either combination of gratitude + benefit

        ---- either combination of benefactor + benefit

        --- only one of the following: gratitude - benefactor - benefit

    -- syntactic-typographic

        -- each component occurs in the same sentence and paragraph

        -- one or more components occur in a different sentence and/or paragraph

- order of head act with respect to its supportive moves

    -- functional (global):

        --- pre-posed: head act + supportive(s)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

--- post-posed: supportive(s) + head act

--- inter-posed: supportive(s) + head act + supportive(s)

--- circumposed: part of the head act + supportive(s) + part of the head act

--- alternating:

---- part of the head act + part of supportive(s) + part of the head act + part of supportive(s)

---- or: part of supportive(s) + part of the head act + part of supportive(s) + part of head act

--- no head act: only supportive(s)

-- functional (specific)

--- immediately before, immediately after, or around (i.e., as a discontinuous element) the relevant component

--- near a component other than the one it is relevant to

-- syntactic-typographic

-- in the same clause as the relevant component and in the same sentence and/or paragraph as the rest of the AM

-- in the same clause as the relevant component but in a sentence and/or paragraph other than the rest of the AM

-- in a sentence and/or paragraph other than the rest of the AM, alone

-- in a sentence and/or paragraph other than the rest of the AM, together with (an)other sub-component(s) and/or non-relevant component(s)

• Syntax of the AM

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- type

    -- imperative

    -- interrogative

    -- declarative

    -- nominalization

    -- combination

- length

    -- paragraph(s)

    -- sentence(s)

    -- clause(s)

    -- phrase(s)

    -- combination

• Semantics of the AM (speech functions)

- question: message eliciting a verbal response (possible reaction: answer or disclaimer)

- command: message eliciting a physical, mental or verbal act (possible reaction: compliance or refusal)

- statement: message conveying information (possible reaction: acknowledgment or contradiction of stated information)

    -- sub-type: exclamation: emphatic statement

• offer: message suggesting or accompanying the provision of goods or services (possible reaction: acceptance or rejection)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

• Types of gratitude expressions

- feelings experienced by the thanker: enjoying; missing; gratitude; love; pleasure; bliss; appreciation

- actions performed by the thanker: dedicating; wishing; mentioning-enumerating-recognizing-noting; paying

- non-emotional states the thanker is in: indebtedness; benefiting; memory; fortune; honor; privilege; luck; luxury

- other

• Encoding of gratitude

- lexical resources

    -- non-relational verb (and optional object or complements)

    -- relational verb + adjective or noun (group)

    -- adjective or noun (group)

    -- nominalization

    -- combination

- syntactic resources

    -- orientation

        --- active

        --- passive

        --- evasive (no participant in the act is mentioned)

    -- perspective (from which gratitude is expressed)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

--- thanker's viewpoint (subject of relevant clause is noun (phrase) identifying thanker, i.e., *I*; e.g., *I thank*)

--- benefactor's viewpoint (subject of relevant clause is noun (phrase) identifying benefactor, i.e., *you* or *they/she/he/it*; e.g., *You/She are/is to be thanked*)

--- impersonal (passivization, nominalization; e.g., *My thanks are extended*)

-- modifiers

--- upgraders that increase the intensity of the expression of gratitude (adjectives, adverbs, typographic devices, repetitions)

--- downgraders that reduce the intensity of expression of the gratitude (adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers)

• <u>Expansion of gratitude</u>

- content and relevant appraisal category

-- feeling (affect)

-- opinion (appreciation or judgment)

-- combination

- syntactic encoding

-- phrase(s)

-- clause(s) or sentence(s)

-- paragraph(s)

• <u>Types of benefactors</u>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- relevant to thanker's professional life

- relevant to thanker's personal life

- relevant to thanker's professional and personal life

- irrelevant to thanker's professional or personal life

• Encoding of benefactors

- identification

    -- name

    -- name and role/title

    -- role/title

    -- name of institution

    -- generic

    -- combination

- syntax

    -- vocative (addressee)

    -- other (topic)

• Expansion of benefactor

- content and relevant appraisal category

    -- circumstances in which benefactor acted

    -- characteristic of benefactor (appreciation)

    -- opinion on benefactor (e.g., compliment) (appreciation)

    -- origin of benefactor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-- accomplishment of benefactor (judgment)

- syntactic encoding

-- phrase(s)

-- clause(s) or sentence(s)

-- paragraph(s)

• Types of benefits

- content and relevant appraisal category

-- administrative (judgment)

-- financial (judgment)

-- practical/technical (judgment)

-- intellectual (judgment)

-- emotional (judgment)

-- combination

- semantic category

-- material action

-- mental action

-- relational or existential process

• Encoding of benefits

- phrase

-- nominalization

- clause(s)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

• Expansion of benefit

- content and relevant appraisal category

    -- advantage gained from the benefit (appreciation)

    -- disadvantage avoided (appreciation)

    -- cost of the benefit to the benefactor (judgment)

    -- need or difficulty experienced by the beneficiary

    -- goal to be achieved: (project) background

    -- credit recognized to the benefactor for the benefit (judgment)

    -- opinion on the benefit (appreciation)

    -- offer: the beneficiary's desires, intentions, hopes, decision to reciprocate (affect)

    -- acknowledgment of responsibility (judgment)

    -- combination

- syntactic encoding

    -- phrase(s)

    -- clause(s) or sentence(s)

    -- paragraph(s)

The above coding scheme for the analysis of (written) thanks appears to be relevant to a number of formal, structural, and semantic characteristics of possibly elaborate gratitude-oriented communicative acts. In chapter 4 I show how the application of sections of the model to PhDASs helps reveal the complexity of these texts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 4.

ANALYSIS OF TEXTS

4.0. Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to provide a partial[38] description of the grammar of written gratitude expressions in the PhDAS genre. I start out by presenting sample analyses of a few whole texts so as to examine the global structure of PhDASs, the internal organization of their component moves, and the general wording of their expressions of gratitude. I then proceed to specify in detail how I identify AMs in PhDASs, as it is within these text units that gratitude expressions become salient. Next, I describe the tagging procedure and the quantitative analysis of the whole corpus. Finally, I offer a summary of the quantitative data relevant to the corpus; this encompasses, among other things, the length of the texts, the types of moves and move components that make them up, the order in which benefactors are listed in the PhDASs, the types of benefits mentioned, and the wording of the expressions of gratitude. The presentation of the quantitative data is accompanied by text segments intended as exemplifications of the overall corpus's main characteristics.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.1. Sample analyses

The PhDASs that form my corpus are comparable in content and form as they were produced in the same context of culture and situation. Indeed, they all fulfill the same main purpose (i.e., publicly expressing thanks), refer to the same type of content (i.e., support received in relation to the realization of a dissertation project), are structured in the same way (i.e., their building blocks are benefactor-specific AMs), and follow the same social norms of interaction (e.g., they are written in English, they are typed, their degree of formality varies across AMs according to how socially-emotionally close the writers and the benefactors happen to be).

Nevertheless, PhDASs are not mass-produced and their wording and structure may also reflect their writers' personalities, private goals, or restricted discourse community membership.

Following are five stylistically different PhDASs[39] accompanied by an analysis of their wording and rhetorical arrangement.

(I) The first exemplar of the PhDAS genre that I examine is a text typical in content and organization, although not in length, namely B-Adm4:

(244) "**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my dissertation committee members [first name + last name],

[38] My description is partial not only in the obvious sense that no analysis of a text or texts is ever complete, but also in the sense that of all the features that could be examined (see section 3.4.), I consider those most likely to reveal the *specificities* of PhDASs with respect to other communicative acts of thanking.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for invaluable guidance and suggestions. I am also indebted to [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for their many helpful comments. I would also like to extend my appreciation to [first name + last name], [first name + middle name initial + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for making my time here so memorable."

B-Adm4 unambiguously announces its communicative purpose at the very beginning through its title, "Acknowledgements," which also signals the conceptual unity of the text, built around one main notion, namely that of giving thanks. The manifestation of gratitude is indeed the focus of the text, as is clear from the fact that the verbal act of thanking is realized-mentioned three times (i.e., "I would like to thank"; "I am also indebted to"; "I would also like to extend my appreciation to") in just one paragraph. Each time the act of thanking is realized-mentioned, it is made relevant to new groups of benefactors and benefits (i.e., "for invaluable guidance and suggestions"; "for their many helpful comments"; "for making my time here so memorable"). The association of a gratitude expression with the identification of a group of benefactors and the reference to a benefit attributable to their generosity constitutes an AM in the text (see section 4.2.); as a result, B-Adm4 consists of three AMs.

The order of the AMs is quite typical: the author first mentions the people most relevant to him as a dissertation writer; then he refers to those that were both competent

[39] All the information that could lead to the identification of the authors has been omitted and rephrased in square brackets. All the PhDASs considered here have been briefly described in chapter 2 as well.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and close enough to be able and willing to help in that task (probably, friendly colleagues, i.e., fellow graduate students); and finally, he names those that were most important to him on a personal basis (probably friends and family). The roles played by the three groups of benefactors are partly explicitly signaled, and partly recoverable from the co-text: the first three benefactors are openly identified as the author's committee; on the other hand, the role-relationships between the writer and the other groups of benefactors are to be inferred from the benefits attributed to them.

Several elements contribute to the cohesion of the PhDAs. At a global level, cohesion is determined by the presence of multiple AMs, which give the text its characteristic recursive structure. In addition, the formal unity of the text is enhanced by the syntactic parallelism displayed by the AMs: each AM is encoded as a one-clause sentence in which the words referring to the thanker, the benefactors, and the benefits function as the subject, the direct or indirect objects, the final complements, respectively. Finally, the text hangs together also due to the reiteration of the notion of gratitude, which is expressed through conventional expressions focusing on different facets of the writer's mental state.

The PhDAS is one paragraph and 71 words long, 18 of which are devoted to the manifestation of gratitude. The text is thus not long enough to allow for an elaboration of its main concepts, with the exception of the indications of benefits, which all include adverbial or adjectival modification (i.e., *invaluable, helpful, so*). It is especially through the adjectives *invaluable* and *helpful* that the author overtly expresses his appraisal (Martin 2000) of the situations he was involved in. These terms serve to qualify the benefits he has received as worthwhile, that is, valuable. But other words have a similar

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

function: *memorability*, which is what the third benefit consists in, expresses a facet of Martin's (2000) appraisal notion of appreciation, namely 'impact'. Also, the nouns identifying the benefits (*guidance, suggestions, comments*) indirectly express positive judgments on the benefactors' ability to act, that is, they encode social esteem. Moreover, the expressions of thanks manifest the author's affective attitude towards the previous beneficial exchanges, namely happiness (see *thank*) and satisfaction (see *indebted*, *appreciation*).

Finally, one can notice that the tone of the text is halfway between formal (the last two thanking expressions are typical of official occasions) and informal (e.g., benefactors are referred to only by their names, not their titles; one of the benefits is not relevant to the dissertation), as is appropriate in a communicative act attached to an official document (the dissertation), but which also expresses personal emotions and opinions.

In sum, B-Adm4 is an effective, although not elaborate PhDAS. It succeeds in carrying out its communicative purpose (in the title and through the thanking expressions), it motivates its illocutionary intent to the reader (by mentioning benefits and benefactors) and it selects the register appropriate to the context (see above). It is organized in a series of moves, logically ordered in a way that highlights the salience of the benefits received to the author's recent accomplishment. Also, the lexical encoding of the moves reveals the thanker's multi-faceted appraisal of those benefits. Finally, the AMs in question only consist of their basic functional elements (i.e., expression of gratitude, identification of benefactors, reference to benefits) and do not provide additional details about the exchanges they are relevant to.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(II) The second text I want to consider is P-Bio3, an elaborate PhDAS:

(245) **"ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I was fortunate to work with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals throughout my Ph.D. study. This research and its presentation today was [sic] only possible because of the quiet dedication and insight of many friends and colleagues. First of all, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of plant development and providing me with the resources which made this project a reality. I am grateful for her advice, support (both scientific and financial) and, above all, her patience. The breadth of [first name]'s knowledge in the field of biology inspired me a great deal during my study of pollen development and will continue to inspire me throughout my career in science.

I thank [first name + last name] for her enormous assistance in both science and life, her talent, her sense of humor and her warm friendship through the years in the lab. I thank former postdocs [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their help and friendship that made my life in the lab so pleasant and memorable. I really miss you all. I also thank the present members in the lab, especially [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] who are continuing the work in this thesis with enthusiasm and tolerance.

I feel lucky to be able to work in the [name of center] Center and the Department of Plant Biology in UC Berkeley, which are two of the most dynamic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology. I thank all the members of my thesis committee, Prof. [first name + last name], Prof. [first name + last name] and Prof. [first name + last name] for their advice and support. I am grateful to [first name + last name] who let me screen the Ac/Ds-mutagenized population, to [abbreviated first name + last name] who provided the *tes* mutant seeds, and to Prof. [first name + last name] who provided the EMS-mutagenized population.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the [name of foundation] Foundation and the [name of institution] in UC Berkeley, which provided me with the support to continue my graduate studies. As a foreign student in America, I was blessed to make many remarkable friends in the I-House who helped me to learn about the American culture and society. I cannot imagine a better start in a strange land than the I-House.

I want to thank [first name + last name] Who [sic] was the greatest graduate student assistant ever. When I could barely speak English and did not have a clue of what to do, [first name] helped me to survive in the graduate program with a warm and caring heart. May his soul rest in peace. I will always remember you, [first name].

I want to give a special thanks to my best friend Dr. [first name + middle name + last name] for being there for me at some of the most difficult times of my life. We have shared a bitter-sweet thirteen years of our lives with lots of joy, laughter and long-distance phone calls. I thank [first name + middle name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their beautiful friendship which ensures me that I always have a place to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

turn to. I would like to thank [abbreviated first name + last name], for making this last year in Berkeley a wonderful time in my life. Above all, endless love and thanks to my parents, all my sisters and my brother for their encouragement, unconditional support and love. Their love is the source of power that keeps me going throughout the years."

P-Bio3 is more complex than B-Adm4 in several respects. It is longer (it consists of 6 paragraphs and 571 words); it is richer in information units (it is made up of 17 AMs); it is more detailed in the information it provides (certain AMs contain expansions of their basic functional components and/or background information); it is more flexible in the phrasing of the various AMs (a few of them do not have all the canonical functional components, while others have certain functional components repeated); it reveals a global textual organization (it begins with a general introductory move); it is partly conventional and partly original in the manifestation of the notion of gratitude (cf. "I am grateful" and "I was fortunate"); it employs a variety of syntactic constructions to encode relevant benefits (e.g., *for*-headed prepositional phrases, infinitive clauses, relative clauses).

On the other hand, P-Bio3 reveals a few fundamental similarities to B-Adm4: it clarifies its communicative purpose at the very beginning and it effectively achieves it and motivates it to the reader repeatedly throughout the text; most AMs comprise a gratitude expression and include reference to both benefits and benefactors; academically relevant benefactors are mentioned before those more significant from a personal perspective; the role-relationships between the thanker and the benefactors are sometimes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

spelled out, and at other times recoverable from the co-text; the text displays cohesion in its recursive strategic structure and in the reiteration of the notion of gratitude; the register is almost exclusively formal, although the occasional mention of personal anecdotes and the occasional reference to benefactors through first names alone reveal a tone of familiarity as well; nouns serve to refer to benefits that manifest the writer's judgment of his benefactors, while adjectives are used to qualify the benefits mentioned, and they reveal their impact on the thanker.

Here I would like to focus my attention on the peculiarities and elaborateness of P-Bio3. First of all, with regard to the formal organization of the AMs, one can notice that they can consist of two or more sentences (e.g., "First of all, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of plant development and providing me with the resources which made this project a reality. I am grateful for her advice, support (both scientific and financial) and, above all, her patience. The breadth of [first name]'s knowledge in the field of biology inspired me a great deal during my study of pollen development and will continue to inspire me throughout my career in science"), single sentences (e.g., "I would like to thank [first name + last name], for making this last year in Berkeley a wonderful time in my life."), single clauses (e.g., "I thank all the members of my thesis committee, Prof. [first name + last name], Prof. [first name + last name] and Prof. [first name + last name] for their advice and support) or even phrases combined with clauses (e.g., "[...] to [abbreviated first name + last name] who provided the *tes* mutant seeds, [...]"). The variable length of the AMs necessarily correlates with the amount of information they can convey: as the above examples show, the longer the AM, the more detailed its content.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, one cannot predict from the mere length of an AM which of its information units will be more elaborate or whether they will be expanded upon with supportive sub-moves. In this PhDAS, it is especially the text segments identifying benefits that are rich in information, in the sense that they may include reference to multiple benefits (e.g., "for her advice, support (both scientific and financial) and, above all, her patience") and/or such benefits may be qualified by adjectives (e.g., "for her enormous assistance in both science and life, her talent, her sense of humor and her warm friendship through the years in the lab") and/or they may be accompanied by expansions detailing their value to the thanker (e.g., "for their beautiful friendship which ensures me that I always have a place to turn to"). This choice to spell out the benefits can be easily accounted for, as it helps motivate the writer's gratitude (on the other hand, expanding on the benefactors' qualities would count as an appropriate motivation for an act of praise). The benefits listed in P-Bio3 illustrate in part the variety of events and circumstances considered worthy of gratitude; thus, reference is made to specific academic support (i.e., "for their advice and support"), intellectual and emotional support (i.e., "for their help and friendship that made my life in the lab so pleasant and memorable"), emotional support (i.e., "for being there for me at some of the most difficult times of my life"), financial support (i.e., "which provided me with the support to continue my graduate studies"), technical support (i.e., "who let me screen the Ac/Ds-mutagenized population"), the benefactor's credit (i.e., "for introducing me to the world of plant development") and combinations of benefits (i.e., "for her advice, support (both scientific and financial) and, above all, her patience").

The benefit expansions (italicized in the following examples) illustrate, instead, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

various ways in which benefits may be relevant to the thanker. They can provide information about: details about the benefits (e.g., "for being there for me at some of the most difficult times of my life. *We have shared a bitter-sweet thirteen years of our lives with lots of joy, laughter and long-distance phone calls.*"), dependence on the benefactor (i.e., disadvantages avoided; e.g., "*This research and its presentation today was only possible because* of the quiet dedication and insight of many friends and colleagues."), positive opinions (e.g., "I feel lucky to be able to work in the Plant Gene Expression Center and the Department of Plant Biology in UC Berkeley *which are two of the most dynamic and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology.*"), advantages gained (e.g., "for their encouragement, unconditional support and love. *Their love is the source of power that keeps me going throughout the years.*"), reciprocal gifts to the benefactors (i.e., wishes about the future: e.g., "*May his soul rest in peace.*"), and combinations of these various notions (e.g., "I am grateful for her advice, support (both scientific and financial) and, above all, her patience. *The breadth of [first name]'s knowledge in the field of biology inspired me a great deal during my study of pollen development and will continue to inspire me throughout my career in science.*"); (emphases added).

Similarly, the numerous benefactors listed in the text exemplify the variety of ways in which helpful supporters may be identified: by mentioning their names only (e.g., "I would like to thank *[first name + last name]*, for making this last year in Berkeley a wonderful time in my life"), by providing a label identifying the role-relationship between the thanker and the benefactors (e.g., "[...] *to my parents, all my sisters and my brother* for their encouragement, unconditional support and love"), by mentioning the title identifying the benefactor's role, independent of her relationship with the thanker

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(e.g., "*former postdocs* [several names]"), by resorting to generic terms (e.g., "*individuals*"), and by employing a combination of linguistic-conceptual resources (e.g., a label revealing the benefactors' role-relationship with the thanker and a title revealing their professional role or academic status; "*my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name]*"; "*to my best friend Dr. [first name + middle name + last name]*"); (emphases added).

An examination of the AMs in P-Bio3 also shows four other interesting dimensions of elaborateness: one is the repeated reference to a given benefactor in the same move, who is, however, identified through different terms or expressions (e.g., "I also thank *the present members in the lab*, especially *[first name + last name] and [first name + last name]* who are continuing the work in this thesis with enthusiasm and tolerance."; "I was fortunate to work *with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals* throughout my Ph.D. study. This research and its presentation today was only possible because of the quiet dedication and insight *of many friends and colleagues*"; emphases added).

Another facet of AM elaborateness is the difficulty of keeping benefits distinct from benefactors in certain moves: for example, in the very first AM it appears that the benefits received by the writer include the existence of the benefactors responsible for it, that is, the benefit consisted in the opportunity to work with certain exceptional individuals, and at the same time the benefactors are the very people who gave the writer the opportunity to work with them. The same applies to the following AM: "As a foreign student in America, I was blessed to make many remarkable friends in the I-House who helped me to learn about the American culture and society. I cannot imagine a better start in a strange land than the I-House." In this move, 'making friends in the I-House' is presented as the benefit enjoyed by the writer, which determined some positive

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consequences, expressed in the following benefit expansions; however, the friends that the writer made are his benefactors too, who were nice enough to be willing to get close to him. The AM is actually rephrasable in such a way that the people (benefactors) and the events (benefits) are kept distinct: "I am thankful to the friends I made in the I-House for helping me to learn about the American culture and society [...]". (However, the re-wording involves a reinterpretation of the original benefit expansion as a benefit.) A similarly interesting text segment is "I want to thank [first name + last name] Who [sic] was the greatest graduate student assistant ever." This is the beginning of another AM. In this case the benefit mentioned (a compliment to the benefactor for his greatness) includes the identification of the benefactor's professional role (which is not an accomplishment-benefit in and of itself).

A third element that contributes to the complexity of the AM is the alternate identification of some of the benefactors as at times referents and at other times addressees (e.g., "I thank former postdocs [...] for *their* help and friendship that made my life in the lab so pleasant and memorable. I really miss *you* all." [emphases added]). This reveals the ambivalent or fluctuating identification of addressees in PhDAS, as both the dissertation readers in general and the specific benefactors in particular may self-select as the intended recipients of the text.

A fourth manifestation of the elaborateness of an AM is the presence of contextualizing narrative segments that identify episodes or circumstances relevant to the identification or description of benefits and/or benefactors. The two examples to be found in P-Bio3 are italicized in the following excerpts: "*As a foreign student in America*, I was blessed to make many remarkable friends in the I-House [...]" and "[...] *When I could*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

barely speak English and did not have a clue of what to do, [first name] helped me to survive in the graduate program with a warm and caring heart [...]"; (emphases added). (Notice, however, that reference to the spatio-temporal context in which a benefit was received may also be considered part of the benefit itself (i.e., its scope, magnitude or duration), as in the following case: "I thank [first name + last name] for her enormous assistance in both science and life, her talent, her sense of humor and her warm friendship *through the years in the lab*."; emphasis added.)

Another interesting characteristic of P-Bio3 is the range of its manifestations of gratitude. These may be conveyed through conventional expressions of thanks (e.g., "I would like to thank"; "I thank"), conventional, but elaborate expressions of thanks (e.g., "I would like to express my deepest appreciation"; "endless love and thanks"), but also more original formulas, which also serve to manifest the thanker's cognitive-emotional state (and attitude) of happiness and satisfaction towards the benefactor and/or benefit (e.g., "I was fortunate"; "I feel lucky"; "I was blessed").[40] Expressions of gratitude too may contribute to the complexity of an AM, in one of two ways: either they recur in the same AM, maybe characterized by different wording (e.g., "I would like to thank [...] I am grateful [...]") — as happens with the parts identifying benefactors — or they are accompanied by gratitude expression expansions, which qualify the writer's emotional state ("I thank former postdocs [...] I really miss you all."; "I want to thank [...] I will always remember you, [first name]").

P-Bio3 effectively shows that the elaborateness of a PhDAS may be due to the interplay of a number of factors, including the size of the text itself, the organization of

[40] According to Martin (2000), such expressions should be classified as instantiations of the appraisal category 'judgment: social esteem: fate'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

its strategic moves (especially the expandability of their functional components), the informativity of its AMs, the variable lexico-grammatical encoding of its main notions and the occasional, resulting fuzziness of the boundaries between such neighboring units of meaning.

(III) As a third interesting exemplar of the PhDAS genre, I would like to quote EECS2. This is a text that displays some of the features of elaborateness already pointed out with regard to P-Bio3 (including expansions of AMs, a global textual organization, a few original expressions of thanks, an occasional use of direct address), but that also has other peculiarities:

(246) "**Acknowledgments**

I came to Berkeley not because of great enthusiasm in engineering but because I wanted to find out how smart people can be! At Berkeley, I found myself surrounded by top talents not only from the U.S. but also from the rest of the world. It makes me feel smarter by learning, studying, and working with them. While brilliant people are all around and clever ideas are [sic] dime a dozen, I found the brightest scholars to be polite, humble, and open minded. I feel very fortunate to come to know and work with many of them. My graduate education and research would not be possible without their advice and encouragement.

I am very grateful to my research advisor, Professor [first name + last name], for his guidance and support throughout my years at Berkeley. Besides the wealth

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of his technical knowledge, I truly admire his profound business insights and superior management skills. I would also like to thank Professor [first name + last name for his dedication and patience in advising my wireless project. It has been a privilege to work with him. I would like to thank two great scientists, Professor [first name + last name] and Dr. [first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of vision science. Dr. [last name]'s dedication to scientific research is inspiring. I would also like to thank Professor [first name + last name] and Professor [first name initial + middle name + last name] for many comments and feedback before, during, and after my qualifying examination. For two years I was supported by an [name of institution] Corporate Fellowship Award. Dr. [first name + hyphenated middle name and last name] was kind to be my mentor to make the award possible. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to him, and other [name of institution] researchers I had the luxury to work with. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name], Dr. [first name + last name], and Dr. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name].

I feel really lucky to have many wonderful friends at Berkeley. I wish to thank them for the help, encouragement and fun time together. Fina lly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents, whose care and love supported me throughout my education. Their encouraging letters and phone calls helped me work more diligently toward graduation. I would also like to congratulate my younger brother, who is getting Ph.D [sic] in Physics from the renowned [placename] University at about the same time as I do [sic]. Job well done,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brother!"

What may strike the reader the most in EECS2 is the introductory AM, and for several reasons: first, it is quite long (one paragraph); second, it is syntactically elaborate: it consists of six sentences, variously characterized by coordination (e.g., "[...] to come to know and work [...]"), subordination (""While brilliant people are all around [...]") and/or embedding (e.g., "[...] I wanted to find out how smart people can be!"); third, it is semantically elaborate: it contains two benefits (i.e., "[...] I found myself surrounded by top talents [...]" and "[...] to come to know and work [...]") and several benefit expansions through which the author also expresses his personal opinions (e.g., "[...] I found the brightest scholars to be polite [...]"); fourth, it has a twofold function in the text: it acts as a typical AM (the penultimate sentence contains the canonical gratitude expression, identification of benefits and reference to benefactors), but it also sets the context for the overall text by offering a mini-narrative of the writer's relevant academic experience (e.g., the first sentence provides background information about the author's academic ties) in very general terms; finally, both part of the content of the move (which refers to personal events and opinions) and its occasional light tone (see the use of *smart* in the first and third sentences, and the exclamation point in the first sentence) shows that the author may be trying to achieve a private purpose within the official purpose of the text, namely have a chance to talk about himself, even if this may involve referring to episodes not directly relevant to his role as an acknowledger.

A strategic, personal use of the PhDAS is indeed confirmed in the last move of the text. It is quite untypical in that it serves neither to thank a benefactor nor to acknowledge

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

something the writer may have done he wants to take responsibility for (therefore it is not motivated by the global function of the text). Rather, it serves to express the writer's positive attitude towards his brother for the latter's imminent academic achievement, comparable to the writer's own. Its content can be likened to that of a benefactor expansion, in the sense that it serves to praise the accomplishments of a person who the writer admires, although this person does not happen to coincide with a benefactor. (Indeed, this move resembles others in the text in which benefactors are not only thanked but also positively evaluated; e.g., "I am very grateful to my research advisor, Professor [...], for his guidance and support [...] *Besides the wealth of his technical knowledge, I truly admire his profound business insights and superior management skills*"; "I would like to thank two *great* scientists, [...], for introducing me to the world of vision science."; emphases added). The tone of the last move is similar that of the first move (see, e.g., the presence of a final, informal exclamation). From the point of view of structure, it definitely resembles an ordinary AM: it contains an expression of attitude ("I would also like to congratulate [...]") and its repetition-expansion ("Job well done"), two text segments identifying the object of that attitude ("my younger brother", "Brother"), and reference to the event motivating the writer's attitude ("who is getting Ph.D [sic] in Physics from the renowned [placename] University at about the same time as I do [sic]"). Because of its untypical content and its formal-functional similarity to the first move in the text, the final move constitutes an appropriate final conceptual boundary for the overall PhDAS.

Both the introductory and the concluding move also display characteristics that are exemplified in the other moves of the text, namely the lack of correspondence between

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their syntactic and semantic boundaries and the occasional (sometimes consequent) repetition or expansion of one of their components. With regard to the first feature, one can notice that all but three moves consist of more than one sentence. This may mean either that the main functional components of a move are spread over syntactically separate text segments (e.g., "Dr. [first name + hyphenated middle name and last name] was kind to be my mentor to make the award possible. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to him, [...]") or that they are syntactically held together, while one or more expansions appear in another sentence (e.g., "I am very grateful to my research advisor, Professor [first name + last name], for his guidance and support throughout my years at Berkeley. Besides the wealth of his technical knowledge, I truly admire his profound business insights and superior management skills."). With regard to the second feature, one can notice that the main units of meaning of a move may recur in the move itself via lexical cohesion or anaphora. For instance, in the following AM "I would also like to thank Professor [first name + last name] for his dedication and patience in advising my wireless project. It has been a privilege to work with him.", the benefactor is referred to three times (through "Professor [...]", "his", and "him"), the gratitude expression is given at the beginning ("I would also like to thank") and expanded upon later on through a more opaque (i.e., less conventionalized, more original) manifestation of gratitude (i.e., "It has been a privilege"). In addition, the syntactically composite structure of the move makes it possible to refer to benefits received in two different parts of it (i.e., "for his dedication and patience in advising my wireless project" occurs in the first sentence, while "to work with him" in the second). Both these recurrent features of the text signal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the elaborateness of its AMs, which do not consist of formulaic or standardized expressions, but are rather mini-texts in themselves.

A final formal-functional peculiarity of the text is to be found in two of its central AMs, which are linked syntactically by the same sentence, although different parts of it are semantically relevant to them (the symbol # signals the beginning of a new AM): "Dr. [first name + hyphenated middle name and last name] was kind to be my mentor to make the award possible. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to him, [#] and other [name of institution] researchers whom I had the luxury to work with. They include [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name], Dr. [first name + last name], and Dr. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name]."

In conclusion, EECS2 shows that a PhDAS can have clearly identifiable textual-conceptual boundaries that re-instantiate the structure of its main building blocks (i.e., AMs); that its content may not be directly relevant to or its tone perfectly fit for the communicative purpose announced in the title of the text, but that both are justifiable if one considers that the author chooses to mention all and only those episodes, circumstances or people that he considers particularly salient (intellectually and/or emotionally) to him; and finally, that the elaborate content of single moves may affect their syntax too, such that they can stretch over sentence boundaries.

(IV) As a further example of the multifarious manifestation of the elaborateness of PhDASs, I would like to quote Edu5, which reveals the nesting of AMs:

(247) "**Acknowledgments**

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This research was supported by funding from [name of institution] [placename] and the [name of institution] at University of California, Berkeley.

The project could not have been brought to its present completion without the support and contributions of many people. I would like to thank my committee members for guiding me and also for knowing when to let me guide myself. My advisor, [first name + last name] challenged my ideas thus promoting deeper levels of understanding. [first name + last name] provided detailed feedback on the manuscript, which kept me mobilized and focused. [first name + last name] introduced me to this topic with an enthusiasm that propelled me forward. [first name + last name] provided valuable practical advice.

A number of others were integral to this project. [first name + last name] provided guidance as I reviewed and chose measures for the study. [first name + last name] assisted with data collection and brought her knowledge of the topic to our many discussions. [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + hyphenated middle name and last name] assisted with data collection, coding, and literature reviews. I would also like to thank the children who participated in the study for taking time out of their weekends and vacation days to meet with us and to teach us about their experience.

Finally, for listening, understanding, and providing emotional support, I gratefully acknowledge my partner [first name + last name] and friend [first name + last name]."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

After referring to a specific benefit and benefactor in the first AM, whose register is typical of book or journal article ASs, the author of Edu5 presents a very general AM, applicable to all the people who helped him along the way (referred to as "many people"). This is followed by a less generic AM, which identifies a subset of his benefactors (i.e., "my committee members"). In turn, this move is followed by four specific AMs, relevant to the individual committee members. After that, another AM can be found, which identifies another subset of the writer's benefactors (referred to as "A number of others"), who complement the subset made up of the author's committee. This AM is then followed by four specific AMs, relevant to individual benefactors belonging to this second subset. The text ends with another AM, structurally similar to the very first one, in that it identifies specific benefactors, who are not members of either benefactor subset, namely the author's partner and friend: they are not members of the first benefactor subset because they are not the author's professors; they are not members of the second one either, because the benefits they are associated with (i.e., love, support) have nothing to do with that of that group (i.e., helping with the project).

Edu5 is thus hierarchically and symmetrically organized. The AMs that begin and end the text identify specific benefactors and benefits that cannot be associated with other benefactors or benefits; they appear to stand out because they identify particularly salient benefactors, although relevant to the author from different points of view. Then, one very generic AM, the second one, conceptually encloses the rest of the text; it branches off, so to speak, into two less general AMs, which identify two complementary groups of benefactors and relevant benefits, and both of them, in their turn, comprise four more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

specific AMs. This text thus shows that the building blocks of a PhDAS may be more than a sequence of AMs, as these can be structured as multi-layered mini-texts.

(V) Finally, Phil3 provides an example of a partly unsuccessful PhDAS:

(248) "Acknowledgments

Many people have provided essential help to me in writing this dissertation. In addition to those mentioned below I would like to give special thanks to [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name]."

This text is not communicatively very effective, not because of its length, but because of its lack of data that would help the reader make sense of it — benefactors are identified only through names and this makes it difficult to understand what their role-relationships with the author are or were like; in addition, benefits are not mentioned, except generically in the first sentence, which leaves the writer's gratitude unmotivated. Lastly, it appears that the writer has forgotten to mention one group of benefactors announced at the beginning of the second sentence ("In addition to those mentioned below [...]"), which reveals forgetfulness or carelessness in the drafting of the text.[41]

[41] A different use of punctuation marks (i.e., removing the period between "dissertation" and "In" and inserting one between "below" and "I") would make the PhDAS understandable.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Phil3 thus reveals that not all those who choose to write a PhDAS can produce a text serves the purpose it is meant to achieve. What their communicative failure is to be attributed to (e.g., lack of expertise, awareness that a poorly drafted text will not undermine their academic goals) is, however, a matter of speculation.

After outlining the general characteristics of a few sample texts, I proceed to examine the features of the corpus as a whole. As my constant reference point for my analysis is the notion of the AM, I first explain in some detail my procedure for identifying AMs in PhDASs.

4.2. Identification of AMs

How does one recognize the boundaries of a verbal act of thanking, and more specifically, how does one recognize its relevant gratitude expression? The literature on the speech act of thanking (see sections 3.3. through 3.3.2.2.) does not discuss this issue. This implicitly shows that the identifiability of such a speech act is seen as automatic or unproblematic; however, the identification of head acts in elaborate linguistic constructs is not necessarily a straightforward process. In section 3.4. I presented a possible definition of a typical written act of thanking and indicated how I think an instantiation of such an act can be identified. As the identification of AMs is fundamental to an understanding of the organization of PhDASs, I would like to specify in more detail how

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it is that I decide when a text segment is to be considered a new AM or a continuation of a previous AM.

To identify the AMs in the corpus I use the recognizability of a new benefactor (or groups of benefactors) as my reference point. That is, I consider an AM to be instantiated if a text segment can be shown to be relevant to a specific person or group of people not previously identified by the writer as (a) thankee(s). More specifically, a new benefactor is either a person (or group of people) never mentioned before in the text and recognized as positively salient to the writer or a person (or group of people) that constitute(s) a subset of a (larger) group of people already mentioned and recognized as benefactors, but who appear to be relevant to a new (implied or overt) benefit. Put differently, this means that (a) new benefactor(s) may be mentioned alone or accompanied by a relevant gratitude expression and/or reference to a benefit, while a subset of a larger and previously mentioned group of benefactors has to be associated with a new thanking expression and/or benefit, or at least that the latter, even if implicit, has to be co-textually retrievable.

My decision to focus on the benefactor in order to identify AMs is in part arbitrary and in part justified. It is arbitrary because each of the three components of an AM is equally salient to the act of thanking from a conceptual point of view; therefore, each of them contributes to a definition of the AM to the same degree. It is justified, on the one hand, because the act of thanking serves to manifest an *other*-directed cognitive-emotional state (and in the PhDAS *other* means 'benefactor'), and on the other hand, because of the three functional components of the AM, the reference to the benefactor is indeed is the most frequent in the corpus (see section 4.8.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

By examining a few text samples I will show how AMs can be identified in a PhDAS. As a first exemplification, I choose the beginning of Arch3 (here and in the following excerpts, the symbol # signals the beginning of a new AM):

(249) "I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their guidance, encouragement and support: the Chair, [first name + middle name initial + last name], the other committee members from the Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology, as well as the members from the Department of Architecture at the University of California at Berkeley. [#] I am also grateful for the financial support provided by the [name of institution] in [placename] and the [name of institution] in [placename]." (Arch3; a PhDAS excerpt realizing two AMs).

The first AM in Arch3 is relevant to a group of benefactors (the writer's dissertation committee); these are mentioned first collectively ("my dissertation committee") and then more specifically, as two sub-groups ("the Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology" and "from the Department of Architecture"). The reference to more specific members of a larger, previously identified group of benefactors does not count as the instantiation of a new AM, as the specific members of the group of benefactors are all relevant to the same benefit. On the other hand, the reference to two funding bodies, later in the text, makes it possible to identify another AM, in which two benefactors are linked by their relevance to the same benefit.

The following excerpt from Arch1 shows a sequence of three AMs:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(250) "My appreciation is also extended to my friends: [#] [first name + last name] for her valuable comments and encouragements, [#] [first name + last name] for his stimulating comments at the beginning of this work." (Arch1; a PhDAS excerpt realizing three AMs).

The first AM in the excerpt above is a generic one, relevant to the writer's friends, and "underspecified" for the notion of benefit (this, however, could be inferred to be a form of emotional-cognitive support); the second and third are relevant to two specific people, both of whom are members of the set of the writer's friends previously identified as benefactors (as is clear from the use of the colon after "friends"); both benefactors are relevant to distinct benefits ("stimulating comments and encouragements" and "stimulating comments").

Although less frequently, the opposite can also occur, namely that a single benefactor (or a group of benefactors) is associated with a given benefit, and is later mentioned again together with another benefactor (or group of benefactors) in association with a different benefit; examples:

(251) "[first name + last name]'s friendship is invaluable and unforgetable [sic]. [#] He and [first name + last name] reviewed several versions of my dissertation. I discussed with them many ideas that helped me to understand and admire the English language." (Arch2; a PhDAS excerpt realizing two AMs that have one benefactor in common);

(252) "[...] to [first name + last name] for reading the preliminary drafts [#] and who along with [first name + last name] helped with the drawings [...]" (Arch4; a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PhDAS excerpt realizing two AMs that share one benefactor).

In the above excerpts, then, two AMs can be identified, even if they have one benefactor in common; this is because two (kinds of) benefits are (mentioned as) relevant to different subsets of the author's acknowledgees, the second of which happens to include the first.

A text segment relevant to only a subset of previously identified benefactors does not necessarily signal the beginning of a new AM, if the text segment in question does not encode a new benefit, but is rather an expansion of a benefit or benefactor unit. Example:

> (253) "I wish to acknowledge the extraordinary support I have received from the various members of my committee in planning and writing this dissertation. In many ways, because of them Berkeley has been a supremely gratifying place to earn a doctorate. Their scholarly example and interests are reflected in my dissertation's focus on the West Indies and empire in the new republic: [first name + last name]'s brilliance as an "anatomist" of American literature and culture; [...]" (Engl5; a PhDAS excerpt realizing one AM containing expansions).

In the above excerpt, "brilliance as an "anatomist" of American literature and culture" is relative to one of the benefactors previously collectively identified as "the various members of my committee", and it serves to describe the benefactor in question; it thus constitutes an expansion of the text segment that identifies that benefactor.

In the following excerpt, instead, an expansion of one of the members of the first

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

group of benefactors also introduces a benefit (i.e., "is inspiring") and thus contributes to identifying a distinct AM:

(254) "I would like to thank two great scientists, Professor [first name + last name] and Dr. [abbreviated first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of vision science. [#] Dr. [last name]'s dedication to scientific research is inspiring." (ECCS2; a PhDAS excerpt realizing two AMs with a shared benefactor).

This other excerpt includes three AMs, each with different characteristics:

(255) "I thank [first name + last name] for his valuable comments about energy. [#] Special thanks to the members of the Building Technologies program at [name of institution], [#] especially to [first name + last name] for his support during my academic career." (Arch1; a PhDAS excerpt realizing three AMs).

The first AM has the three functional components typical of an AM; the second includes a thanking expression and reference to a group of benefactors (whose referents do not include the benefactor in the previous AM), who are not associated with any specific benefit; and the third identifies a benefactor who is a member of the group of benefactors mentioned in the second AM, but who is associated with a specific benefit ("for his support during my academic career").

Another text segment shows how the mention of new benefactors may be enough to identify new AMs:

(256) "I would also like to thank [first name + last name] from [placename] Law School for his support of my graduate education, [#] [first name + last name] my

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

training director at Berkeley, [#] [first name + last name] and colleagues at [name of institution], [#] and [first name + last name] and colleagues with the [placename] Unified School District." (Edu4; a PhDAS excerpt realizing four AMs, each relevant to different benefactors).

In the above excerpt, four AMs can be identified, the last three of which consist of only new benefactors; given the way these are identified by the author (with professional titles and/or reference to their workplace), they can be implicitly associated with different benefits.

When an old, i.e., previously mentioned benefactor, is mentioned again, but in association with a new benefit and/or a new thanking expression, this does not signal the beginning of a new AM, but the continuation of the same AM. Examples:

(257) "First of all, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my advisor Professor [placename] for his guidance and support given to me throughout my study in Berkeley. His keen insights, stimulating advice, and incredible patience toward my research have shown me what a top professor should be. It has been a special privilege to be his student. This unique experience will be a source of long lasting inspiration to me." (EECS4; a text segment referring to one benefactor in association with several benefits).

In the above excerpt the thanking expression occurs twice ("I would like to express my sincere appreciation" and "It has been my privilege"); two benefits are mentioned ("for his guidance and support given to me throughout my study in Berkeley" and "to be his student"). The benefactor too is repeatedly identified, first through title and name, then

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

through pronouns.

Similarly, in the following excerpt it is possible to see that the same benefactor may be mentioned repeatedly, but within the same AM:

(258) "In addition, I have received an enormous amount of good advice and comments from past and present participants of the [proper name] lab. The lab group has been an especially important resource for me and I am very grateful to each and every member." (PlantBio5; one benefactor frequently mentioned in the same AM).

In this other excerpt, the benefactors are mentioned three times, through different expressions ("from past and present participants of the [proper name] lab", "the lab group" and "to each and every member") while only one thanking expression occurs ("I am very grateful") and a single benefit is identified ("I have received an enormous amount of advice and comments") in association with its expansion ("has been an especially important resource for me").

Finally, the various functional elements of an AM may be repeatedly instantiated through paraphrase and/or anaphora; these repetitions are indeed part of the same AM precisely because they provide no extra information. Example:

(259) "I am also grateful to Professor [first name + last name], Professor [first name + middle name initial + last name], Professor [first name initial + middle name + last name], and Professor [first name + last name] for serving as my Qualifying Examination or Dissertation Committees. I would like to thank them for their guidance as well as reviewing this dissertation." (EECS4; one AM with repetitions of its main constituents).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the excerpt from EECS4 above the three main components of the AM occur twice: thanking expressions ("I am also grateful" and "I would like to thank"), reference to the benefactors ("Professor [...] Professor [...] and Professor [...]" and "them") and benefits ("for serving as my Qualifying Examination or Dissertation Committees" and "for their guidance as well as reviewing this dissertation"). Each repetition does not add new information to the text, but simply reformulates it.

As all the above examples show, functional considerations take priority over the form of given text segments. Thus whether a stretch of writing counts as an AM or not depends on its content rather than its encoding. Consider the following excerpt:

> (260) "At the [name of institution] ([abbreviation of the name of institution]) I found also the required support. [...] My eternal gratitude to these people and institutions." (Arch2).

This is a discontinuous AM (see section 4.6.1.). Its functional components are a gratitude expression ("My eternal gratitude"), reference to a benefit ("I found also the required support"), and the repeated mention of the same benefactors ("At the [name of institution] ([abbreviation of the name of institution])" and "to these people and institutions"). While these functional components extend over two distinct typographic and syntactic text segments, together they constitute one unified act of thanking; for this reason, they count as a single — rather than twofold — AM.

Adhering to the principles outlined in this section above for the identification of AMs may cause some formal problems. That is, regarding a text segment that identifies a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactor as the beginning of an AM may involve dividing up portions of text that the authors meant to be regarded as unified. Consider the following examples:

(261) "I want to especially thank my bay-mate [first name + last name], for her advice and discussion of any number of things scientific or otherwise [#] and [first name + last name] for her wonderful pragmatism, which never failed to give perspective." (P-Bio4);

(262) "To the students of [abbreviation of course title] Group who allowed me to prod and probe the workings of their classroom, [#] and to those young women who thoughtfully and openly shared their stories with me, it was an honor and a privilege to be a part of your lives for one brief semester. Thank you." (Edu1).

In the excerpt from P-Bio4, one thanking expression (consisting of subject and predicate) is logically relevant to two benefactors (syntactically encoded as coordinated direct objects) and two benefits (syntactically encoded as oblique cases). However, as a result of the segmentation strategy applied here, that thanking expression turns out to be associated with only the first benefactor-benefit pair, while the coordinating conjunction "and" introduces the second, distinct AM. Something similar happens in the excerpt from Edu1. There the text segment "it was an honor and a privilege to be a part of your lives for one brief semester. Thank you" is conceptually relevant to the *two* groups of benefactors (and relevant benefits) mentioned right before (see also that "your" anaphorically retrieves both "To the students of [abbreviation of course title] Group" and "to those young women"). Once again, however, due to the type of segmentation strategy I have applied, that text segment remains associated only with the second AM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thus the above exemplification reveals that identifying AMs according to a consistent principle may clash against the author's original intentions regarding the organization of his text.

Besides causing formal problems, a strict adherence to the principles outlined above could sometimes produce intuitively (or conceptually) unsatisfactory results. This makes it necessary to take *alternative* or *several* units of meaning into consideration — besides the text segment that mentions the benefactor — to be able to classify given stretches of writing as AMs. This observation applies, for instance, to the conceptually unified text segments that make no reference to benefactors. Example:

> (263) "I always read acknowledgments first. [...]. After all, it would seem that there are only so many ways to express one's inability adequately to thank a spouse [...] I doubt I can provide much generic innovation, but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record the acknowledgements I have been impatiently saving up all these years." (Engl3).

What is untypical about this AM is the fact that it includes only one main functional component, namely a gratitude expression, but makes no reference to benefactors or benefits. What accompanies the gratitude expression is an expansion relevant to it and background information about the thanker's past course of action and opinions. (Note that the generic reference to a "spouse" is part of the manifestation of the author's opinion on the act of acknowledging, but is not an act of acknowledgment in and of itself.) On the other hand, the author refers to his intention to "record the acknowledgments" he has "been impatiently saving up" and this indirectly shows that he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has someone he feels grateful to, as acknowledgments can only be *other*-oriented communicative acts. Thus, one can safely assume that the benefactor in this text segment is only implied, rather than missing. In addition, the lack of explicit reference to specific benefactors is not surprising, given that this stretch of writing is the introduction (both conceptually and typographically) to the PhDAS in which it occurs, and thus generally applies to all the rest of the text. Finally, from the point of view of content, this text segment forms an organic whole: it pivots on one main notion (i.e., the intention to thank), which is sustained by supportive units of meaning. Therefore, given that this stretch of writing manifests gratitude explicitly, in general terms, with relevance to the whole text and that it is phrased as a unified whole, it too can be considered a distinct, introductory, AM.

Other text segments may turn out to be problematic for different reasons. Consider the following excerpt:

> (264) "My best wishes to my office mates [first name + last name] and [first name + middle name + last name] and to my fellow students [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]" (Stat1; the difficulty of chunking a text segment into AMs).

The text segment above refers to *two* groups of benefactors, as identified by the author's own benefactor category labels (i.e., "my office mates" and "my fellow students"), and thus should be divisible into two AMs (i.e., "My best wishes to my office mates [...]" and "and to my fellow students [...]"). However, the two groups of benefactors are members of the same type of benefactor category (i.e., peers) and are linked by a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

coordinating conjunction (i.e., "and"), which suggests that they are similarly relevant to the ellipted benefit; finally, the same thanking expression equivalent (i.e., "My best wishes") is associated with them. For all these reasons, it makes sense to consider the text segment *one* AM.

Similar considerations apply to those text segments that list together two or more types of benefactors, who are, however, all relevant to the same benefit. Examples:

> (265) "Many are the professors, colleagues, friends, and family who helped me set myself to finish this endeavor." (Arch2; an AM making reference to different benefactors relevant to the same benefit).

The benefactors listed in the above introductory AM are relevant to the author in different respects (i.e., academia vs. personal life) and to different extents (e.g., professors are presumably more important to the author for the successful completion of his dissertation than his colleagues are). Yet, they are tied by their collective relevance to a shared benefit.

Similarly, the following text segment constitutes one AM, because it makes reference to only one benefit similarly relevant to all the benefactors being mentioned:

> (266) "[first name + last name]' [sic] shrewd insights improved my arguments considerably, as did those of the other members of my vital dissertation group: [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name]." (Engl4; one repeated benefit relevant to two subsets of a larger group of benefactors).

In the above text segment one benefit is mentioned twice with reference to two (sets of) benefactors. The use of substitution and anaphora shows that exactly the same benefit is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

being referred to ("as did" replaces "improved my arguments considerably" while "those" refers back to "shrewd insights"). Benefactors that appear to share a given benefit can be said to belong to the same AM.

Other text segments may turn out to be quite more complex to analyze. Example:

(267) "Financial support was provided by the [name of institution] ([abbreviation of the name of institution]) through grant [number], by a [name of institution] Fellowship under program [program abbreviation] and by the [name of institution] grant [abbreviation] [number]." (Stat1; a complex AM).

The above stretch of text refers to three distinct funding institutions and to their respective, specific benefits; however, the text segment also refers to the higher-level benefit encompassing those three specific benefits (i.e., "Financial support was provided"), which contributes to the identification of the larger, shared benefactor category the single benefactors belong to (i.e., financial benefactors). Precisely because the three benefactors exemplify the same benefactor category and the three specific benefits instantiate the same type of benefit, the above text segment counts as one AM.[42]

In conclusion, the above examples show that a consideration of shared benefits and benefactor category membership may *also* be useful criteria for the identification of AMs (i.e., for the classification of given text segments as single, unified AMs) when dealing with complex text segments.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.3. Tagging procedure

In order to examine the structural organization and wording of the PhDASs making up my corpus, I decided first to scan the texts. After checking them against the originals for accuracy, I saved them as Word files so as to be able to look for specific words or text segments in them by using a simple word-processing search command. Then, I color-coded the functional components and sub-components of the PhDASs; this made it easy for me to see at a glance the distribution of the various moves and sub-moves of the texts. Finally, I tagged the texts' functional components and sub-components with taxonomic labels based on the coding scheme in section 3.4. (see sections 4.6.1., 4.6.2., 4.6.3., 4.6.4., 4.8., 4.8.1., 4.9., 4.9.1., 4.10.) so as to be able to quantitatively manipulate the data thus obtained with a concordancing program, called Conc.

Conc is a Mac-compatible program that makes it possible to search a file in simple text format for a pre-specified word or short text string, retrieve all of its occurrences with a few words to its left and its right, count all its occurrences and show on which specific lines they occur, show the extended (paragraph-long) co-text of a particular word or string, and also concordance the whole file alphabetically.

To make sure the tags used were not confused with any other original portion of the texts, I had them all start with the symbol § (which thus to me was going to mean 'beginning of tag'), which did not occur anywhere in any of the PhDASs. Thus, for example, having decided that the upper-case letter *B* was going to label text segments

[42] In addition, one may observe that the various benefactors and benefits are all part of the same sentence and linked by punctuation marks and conjunctions. Thus the syntactic organization of the text segment also

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

identifying benefactors, I always used the tag *§B* to signal the beginning of such segments; this way I ensured that other possible instances of *Bs* in the texts (e.g., first name initials) would not be confused with the tags themselves.

I also tagged each text segment I identified twice, once for its general functional role in the text, and a second time for its specific content, category and/or wording. Thus, for example, while the tag *§Y* identifies any type of 'benefit', the more specific *§Yfin* identifies the benefit category 'financial support'; similarly, while *§R* signals the beginning of a thanking expression, *§Rgratf* indicates that it contains the adjective *grateful*. Examples:

(268) "§Y §Yfin Financial support was provided by [...]"(Stat1; a benefit of a financial kind)

(269) "For their generous help, §R §Rgratf I am grateful [...]" (Phil2; a gratitude expression containing the word *grateful*).

Of course, applying two tags (like, e.g., §Y and §Yfin) to the same text segment makes it possible to use the concordancing program more efficiently, as one can thus count how often a certain functional component occurs in a text, but also how frequent its various, specific instantiations are.

Occasionally I tagged the same text segment more than twice, when I thought it important to signal specific structural features of it, like its repetition in the same move, or its realization as a discontinuous segment, or its organization as a macro functional component consisting of a few sub-components. Examples:

(270) "Furthermore, I would like to recognize §B §BLD §Bnamtitl *all my fellow students from the former [name of institution] (r.i.p.)* who took the time and trouble

---

contributes to viewing it as a unified AM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to visit me here in Berkeley, §BLU *listed in order of appearance*: [...]." (Stat1; discontinuous text segment identifying the benefactor; §B = 'beginning of segment encoding the benefactor'; §BLD: first part of a discontinuous segment encoding the benefactor; §BLU: second part of a discontinuous segment encoding the benefactor; emphases and tags added);

(271) §A §AGD "First and foremost, I would like to thank my two wonderful advisors, [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]. Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, [...]. §A §APU I also thank [first advisor's first name] for giving me the opportunity to live in [placename] for half a year. [...]. §A §APU [second advisor's first name] has not only been a supportive mentor but a good friend as well." (EECS1; §A: beginning of an AM; §AGD: beginning of an AM consisting of sub-AMs, which follow; §APU: beginning of an AM, which is a sub-AM of a larger AM, which precedes; tags added);

(272) "First, §R §Rthv I would like to thank the students who participated in these design studies. §R §Rrepet §Rapprev I appreciated their enthusiasm." (Edu3; §R: beginning of a thanking expression; §Rrepet: additional thanking expression; §Rthv: thanking expression containing the verb *to thank*; §Rapprev: thanking expression containing the verb *to appreciate*; tags added).

Both the identification of the various text segments and their classification according to functional, semantic and/or lexical criteria has obviously been influenced by my understanding of the texts and my readings of previous studies of ASs (see sections 3.3.2., 3.3.2.1., and 3.3.2.2), and therefore cannot be defined as objective. However, I tried to achieve intra-subject reliability by carrying out the tagging procedure twice and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

checking how consistent I was in my classification. When I failed to notice consistency, I re-examined the relevant text portion so as to evaluate why I had classified it differently on different occasions or if I had simply mis-classified it on one occasion. Despite this, I was not always able to classify all the text segments of the PhDASs as unambiguously as I would have liked to; that is, closer inspection revealed that certain text segments did instantiate ambiguous functional components of the AM, such that they could be classified differently according to which interpretive perspective I happened to choose. In these cases, I double-coded the relevant text portions.

In the sections where I quantitatively examine the various components and aspects of the wording of the texts (i.e., later in this chapter), I provide more details about the various types of tags I used and the problems encountered in applying them.

Below I present the quantitative analysis of the PhDASs. I start out from a consideration of their global characteristics and then proceed to examine the features of their components.

4.4. Size

The PhDASs examined are relatively elaborate texts. Their length itself is a sign of their structural and semantic richness. Obviously, this is because the more words make up a text, the more likely this is to convey a variety of units of meaning; in addition, a lengthy text that is not produced extemporaneously and is meant to count also as an official document is likely to have been accurately organized. (Naturally, this has to be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

confirmed with an analysis of the content and structure of the texts.) To start my quantitative analysis of the corpus, then, I want to consider the *formal* level of elaborateness of the PhDASs. Tables 2 through 5 summarize the data about the length of the texts in terms of paragraphs, lines, and words.

Table 2 shows that the PhDASs tend to be typographically elaborate. On average, they consist of about 3.5 paragraphs, 25 lines[43] of text, and 310 words, with an average paragraph length of about 8 lines and 104 words.

Table 2: Length of PhDASs in paragraphs

Length of PhDAS in paragraphs	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot	Average
Total paragraphs	24	8	21	23	22	18	18	9	143	
Mean no. of paragraphs	4.8	1.6	4.2	4.6	4.4	3.6	3.6	1.8		3.57
Min. no. of paragraphs	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1		1.5
Max. no. of paragraphs	10	2	6	8	9	5	6	4		6.25

Table 3 reports the range values of the above five kinds of measurements, which reveal a considerable degree of internal variation. Thus the PhDASs can consist of at least 1 and at most 10 paragraphs; they can be made up of a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 107 lines; they can include as few as 26 and as many as 1,025 words; and their paragraphs can be as short as 2 lines or as long as 15, while comprising only 17 or up to 177 words.

[43] Of course, not all the PhDAS are typed in the same font or size. Margins and spacing are not identical either. As a result, what counts as a line differs from text to text. Therefore, word count is a more reliable measure of the actual length of the PhDASs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, Table 4 reports average values for the shortest and longest PhDASs in the corpus. The mean values for the shortest texts appear to be 1.5 paragraphs, 25 lines and about 105 words; on the other hand, the mean values for the longest PhDASs turn out to be 6 paragraphs, 160 lines, and about 500 words.

Table 3: Length of PhDASs in lines

Length of PhDAS in lines	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot	Average
Total no. of lines	165	67	170	140	213	82	120	64	1,021	127.62
Mean no. of lines	33	13.4	34	28	42.6	16.4	24	12.8		25.52
Min. no. of lines	10	6	15	26	118	7	14	5		25.12
Max. no. of lines	68	23	50	30	1,025	23	41	20		160

Table 4: Length of PhDASs in words

Length of PhDAS: words	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot	Average
Total no. of words	2,047	830	2,048	1,842	2,365	809	1,602	861	12,404	
Mean no. of words	409.4	166	409.6	368.4	473	161.8	320.4	172.2		310.1
Min. no. of words	138	70	173	326	118	53	198	67		142.88
Max. no. of words	890	294	654	30	1,025	259	570	276		499.75

Finally, a comparison of the data about text length across disciplines, in Table 5, reveals that the PhDASs from B-Adm and Stat stand out from the rest because they are markedly shorter — typically 1.5 paragraphs, 13 lines, and 170 words long.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These first data show (a) that the PhDASs examined are "substantial" texts, at least from a formal point of view, (b) that their elaborateness is not standardized but subject to internal variation, (c) that their shortest exemplars are not as short as formulaic expressions, (d) that their longest exemplars are not exaggeratedly long, and (e) that the texts from two disciplines display average values that are different from those of the other PhDASs.

Table 5: Length of PhDASs: average values

Length of PhDAS: global	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Average
Mean no. of lines per paragraph (average)	7.84	9.63	8.45	6.98	9.5	4.95	10.36	9.4	8.38
Min. no of lines per paragraph (average)	2	2	3.6	3.8	5.8	3	8.8	8.6	4.7
Max. no. of lines per paragraph (average)	13	15	13.8	11.2	13.8	7.6	11.2	10.4	12
Mean paragraph length (word average)	92.25	119.13	102.79	92.54	109.67	46.07	141.5	129.5	104.18
Min. paragraph length (word average)	17	26	48.2	46.8	64.8	24.6	120.8	119.4	58.45
Max. paragraph length (word average)	168	177	170.2	146.8	156.8	74.2	158.4	143	149.3

Tables 6, 7 and 8 make it possible to better appreciate the distribution of values about the length of PhDASs across the corpus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6 shows that the highest number of PhDASs associated with a single length value are the 1-paragraph long ones (i.e., 27.5%). Table 6 also shows, however, that most PhDASs (i.e., the remaining 72.5%) are longer than 1 paragraph, and that the greatest subset in this group are clustered around the length values of 3-4 paragraphs (i.e., 32.5%), which corresponds to the average value for the corpus. In addition, Table 6 shows that length values adjacent to the average are similarly frequent (2-paragraph long PhDASs are 10% of the corpus, while 5-paragraph long ones make up 12.5% of it). Furthermore, it shows that the longer the PhDAS, the less frequently it is likely to occur: thus, 6-paragraph long ones are 7.5% of the corpus while 8- to 9-paragraph long ones make up 10%. Finally, Table 6 also shows, quite predictably, that the length value in paragraphs preferred in B-Adm and Stat — which have the shortest PhDASs — is 1, while the length of PhDASs in the other disciplines is characterized by a more equal distribution over intermediate values (especially 3 to 5).

Table 6: Distribution of values for length in paragraphs across PhDASs

Length of PhDASs: paragraphs	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
1 paragr.	1 (2.5%)	3 (7.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	2 (5%)	3 (7.5%)	11 (27.5%)
2 paragr.	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	4 (10%)
3 paragr.	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	7 (17.5%)
4 paragr.	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	6 (15%)
5 paragr.	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (12.5%)
6 paragr.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7 paragr.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
8 paragr.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)
9 paragr.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)
10 paragr.	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)
Tot paragr.	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	40 (100%)

Table 7 shows the distribution of values for the PhDASs' length in number of lines.

Table 7: Distribution of values for length in lines across PhDASs

Length of PhDASs: lines	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
1-10 lines	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	6 (15%)
11-20 lines	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	3 (7.5%)	14 (35%)
21-30 lines	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	5 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	11 (27.5%)
31-40 lines	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)
41-50 lines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)
51-60 lines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
61-70 lines	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)
71-80 lines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
81-90 lines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
91-100 lines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
101-110 lines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)
Tot lines	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	40 (100%)

Here, the largest group of PhDASs appear to be clustered around the values of 11-20 and 21-30 lines (relevant to 35% and 27.5% of the texts, respectively). Shorter and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

longer PhDASs are much less frequent, making up, respectively, the 15% and the 22.5% of the corpus. In particular, one can notice that PhDASs longer than 50 lines are quite rare, especially if one considers that certain values (i.e., 51-60 and 71-100 lines) are not instantiated at all in the corpus. Finally, in this table one can observe that the PhDASs from B-Adm and Stat behave very much like the rest of the corpus, in that most PhDASs (i.e., 77.5%) across all the disciplines considered range in length from 1 to 30 lines.

Table 8 shows the distribution of values for the PhDASs' length in number of words:

Table 8: Distribution of values for length in words across PhDASs

Length of PhDASs: words	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
1-10 words	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	5 (12.5%)
11-20 words	1 (2.5%)	3 (7.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	9 (22.5%)
21-30 words	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	3 (7.5%)	11 (27.5%)
31-40 words	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	5 (12.5%)
41-50 words	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)
51-60 words	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)
61-70 words	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)
71-80 words	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
81-90 words	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)
91-100 words	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
101-110 words	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)
Tot words	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	40 (100%)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

According to the data reported in Table 8, 50% of the PhDASs are between 101 and 300 words long, 25% are either up to 100 words long or between 301 and 400 words long, and another 25% are 401 words long or longer. The distribution of these values across the various disciplines represented does not reveal a clearly defined pattern. For example, very long PhDASs (501 words long or longer), which make up a small, but not insignificant part of the corpus (i.e., 17.5% or 7 out of 40), are not equally distributed across the corpus, as they are exemplified in 4 out of the 8 disciplines represented there, namely Arch, Edu, Engl, and P-Bio. Also, what counts as 'very long' tends to differ from discipline to discipline; thus, the longest PhDASs in Edu and P-Bio are about 600 words long, while those in Arch and Engl are around 1,000 words long. In addition, three disciplines appear to favor low or medium values, namely B-Adm and Stat (the two shortest subsets of the PhDASs), but also Phil. Finally, one discipline appears to favor only intermediate values, namely EECS, while another one selects only medium-low or high values, namely Engl.

Finally, I report the data about the length of paragraphs across disciplines.

Table 9: Distribution of values for length of paragraphs in lines across PhDASs

Length of paragraphs in lines	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
1-5 lines	9	2	6	12	6	13	8	6	62 (43.35%)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6-10 lines	9	2	10	6	7	5	8	1	48 (33.56%)
10-15 lines	6	4	2	5	5	0	1	1	24 (16.78%)
16-20 lines	0	0	2	0	4	0	1	1	8 (5.59%)
21-25 lines	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
26-30 lines	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (0.69%)
Tot paragr.	24	8	21	23	22	18	18	9	143

Table 10: Distribution of values for length of paragraphs in words across PhDASs

Length of paragraphs in words	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
1-10 words	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1 (0.69%)
11-20 words	1	0	2	0	0	4	0	1	8 (5.59%)
21-30 words	3	1	3	4	1	3	1	0	16 (11.18%)
31-40 words	1	1	0	4	1	2	3	2	14 (9.79%)
41-50 words	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	7 (4.89%)
51-60 words	3	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	8 (5.59%)
61-70 words	1	2	1	0	2	0	2	3	11 (7.69%)
71-80 words	1	0	1	3	2	3	2	0	12 (8.39%)
81-90 words	3	0	6	2	1	0	2	0	14 (9.79%)
91-100 words	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3 (2.09%)
101-110 words	1	0	1	3	3	0	0	1	9 (6.29%)
111-120 words	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3 (2.09%)
121-130 words	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3 (2.09%)
131-140 words	2	1	3	0	3	0	1	0	10 (6.99%)
141-150 words	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	4 (2.79%)
151-160 words	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3 (2.09%)
161-170 words	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	7 (4.89%)
171-180 words	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2 (1.39%)
181-190 words	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1 (0.69%)
191-200 words	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3 (2.09%)
201-210 words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (0.69%)
211-220 words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
271-280 words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (0.69%)
281-290 words	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1 (0.69%)
371-380 words	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (0.69%)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tot paragr.	24	8	21	23	22	18	18	9	143

Tables 9 and 10 show that most PhDAS (i.e., about 94%) paragraphs are 15 lines long or shorter and that many (i.e., about 63%) are between 11 and 90 words long. It also shows that the distribution of the paragraphs over these values tends to be homogeneous across disciplines. The data thus show that most PhDAS paragraphs are either short or moderately long and that they constitute similarly salient typographic units across disciplines.

Overall, the data reported in the above tables show that both the PhDASs and their paragraphs tend to be moderately lengthy. On the one hand, this suggests that PhDAS authors may consider the manifestation of thanks towards their benefactors not a mere formality that one can quickly carry out, but rather an important communicative act with requires an articulate kind of encoding; that is, it appears that the appropriate thanking of dissertation benefactors requires a gradual and elaborate textual realization; of course, length itself is not a clue to the richness of the content of the text; yet, as PhDASs are partly official and non-extemporaneous texts, it is likely that considerable length is indicative of the fact that formally thanking in writing requires the synergistic combination of various complementary meaning units, each of which contributes to the successful accomplishment of the text's overall purpose. On the other hand, the typically non-extraordinary size of such texts also suggests that their communicative purpose can be successfully achieved through relatively succinct messages. Thus, although a lengthier text suggests a more elaborate message, a relatively short text may nevertheless be adequate (i.e., communicatively effective and socially acceptable).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As both very short and very long PhDASs are to be found in the corpus, it also appears that PhDASs are not rigid and standardized, but rather flexible communicative acts, whose framework is adaptable to the needs and personal writing style of each author.

Finally, a comparison of the data across disciplines reveals that, while most texts tend to adhere to a certain standard — with regard to length appropriateness — those from two such disciplines are consistently shorter than the others. This seems to suggest that writing conventions exist not only for the larger discourse community that the authors belong to (i.e., academics), but also for the more specific community in which they more frequently interact. Whether this is done consciously-intentionally or not, then, it appears that norms for the production of PhDASs are sensitive to discipline-specific trends or preferences.

4.5. Titles

An important component of a PhDAS is its title. Indeed, the title contributes to the identifiability and definability of the text it is associated with: on the one hand, it indicates where the text in question begins; on the other hand, it signals what type of text it is (with regard to its content and/or purpose; see sections 2.2 and especially 2.5.). The conventional title of a PhDAS is *Acknowledgments* (or its British variant *Acknowledgements*). The singular form of that noun (i.e., *Acknowledg(e)ment*) is also possible, although less frequently used.[44] In theory at least, other synonyms could be used

[44] Of the 118 PhDASs I have (see section 1.4.) only 2 have the word *Acknowledgment*, in the singular, as their titles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in the same function (e.g., *Thanks*), but — being less conventionalized — they are seldom employed in ASs (see section 2.5.).

Table 11 shows the frequency of occurrence of titles in the corpus. It appears from the data reported there that a title is virtually always found at the beginning of the PhDASs; only 1 out of the 40 texts does not include one. The systematic presence of the title is a sign of conventionalized reader friendliness even more than a means to communicative effectiveness. Indeed, the title enables the reader to *quickly* identify which *typographic* part of the dissertation *tome* is not actually a *conceptual* part of the dissertation *text*; on the other hand, the occasional lack of the title is not likely to disorient the reader (especially an expert one), given that the co-text of the PhDAS (both its content and its wording) make it clear what the text is about.

Table 11: Distribution of titles (*Acknowledgments*) across PhDASs

Title of PhDASs	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
Acknowledgments	4	3	5	4	3	3	4	0	26 (65%)
Acknowledgements	1	2	0	1	1	2	1	5	13 (32.5%)
None	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1 (2.5%)
Total	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	40 (100%)

Table 11 also shows that the title always appears in its plural form in the corpus. This choice is motivated by the fact that PhDASs typically instantiate more than one act of thanking, each of which is relevant to distinct benefactors; at the same time it underlines the composite-repetitive nature of such texts, which recurrently recycle one basic type of move (i.e., the AM), rather than their functional unity (i.e., their similar relevance to the background circumstances of the writer's dissertation project). The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

choice of a title in the plural form may also be partly conventional, though, as the author of a PhDAS may decide to thank only one (group of) benefactor(s) in his text.[45]

Finally, Table 11 shows that the title can be spelled in two ways, often as *Acknowledgments*, but occasionally also as *Acknowledgements*. The preference for the first, American spelling is to be explained with reference to the US context of production of the texts.

One last observation is in order with regard to Engl3. This is the only PhDAS in the corpus that repeats the title word in the body of the text, once as *Acknowledgements* and three times as *Acknowledgments*. On all four occasions, the word is used to refer specifically to the AS genre (and it occurs post-modified by *page* twice) rather than the more generic concept of 'acts of acknowledging'. This shows that 'acknowledgments' can be used not only as a text label but also as a text topic, and that the communicative function of PhDASs may become cognitively salient to authors who decide to reflect on the social importance of thanking and to engage in meta-thanking.

4.6. Global structure

The textual structure of the PhDASs can be examined from several points of view, including (a) their organization as unified texts having an introduction, a main body, and a conclusion; (b) the sequence of topics addressed; (c) the order and typology of their main moves and move components; and (d) the number and length of their typographic building blocks.

[45] This indeed is the case with B-Adm6, which contains just one AM, but has a plural title, where a singular *Acknowledgment* would have been more appropriate.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Before analyzing micro-textual phenomena, I examine global aspects of the PhDASs. I first consider the occurrence of introductory and concluding moves relevant either to the whole texts or to parts of them; then I examine the order(s) in which different *types* of benefactors tend to be mentioned in the PhDASs; finally, I look for instances of one specific kind of textual cohesion. The data collected through these analyses will provide an overall outline of the most frequent macro-textual characteristics of the corpus.

4.6.1. Introductory and concluding moves

In this section, I examine an aspect of the macro-structure of PhDASs which has to do partly with their content and partly with their finctional arrangement, namely the occurrence of text segments providing conceptual boundaries to the global texts. Indeed, these text segments can be said to constitute optional introductions and conclusions to the PhDASs (see section 2.6.1.5.) on at least two grounds: from the point of view of content, they refer (or may refer) to circumstances and events that are more general than those reported in the body of the text, but are still relevant to the same domain of experience; from the point of view of function, they may help the reader orient herself in approaching the text, or help her make sense of the body of the text just read; in the former case, as introductory moves, they may signal what the body of the text is going to be about; in the latter case, as concluding moves, they may point out the gist of the message to the reader, signal that the text is about to end, or add a comment to the main part of the text.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I tagged the instances of introductory and concluding moves in the PhDASs by using the symbol *§AIn* for the former and *§ACo* for the latter and then counted their occurrence using Conc. I thus found that the corpus contains 18 introductory and 3 concluding moves, which correspond, respectively, to 45% and 3% of the total PhDASs. From the point of view of content, all the introductory moves in the corpus serve to announce the writer's intention to thank and/or express his indebtedness to or dependence on former benefactors. For this reason they count not only as introductory moves (which make generic and collective reference to benefactors and benefits) but also as regular AMs (which acknowledge help received and/or express the writer's reactive devotion to his helpers). Most of them (i.e., 14 out of 18) are one sentence long and include only the minimal information necessary to pave the way for the rest of the text. Examples:

(273) "I am deeply grateful to my family and my professors for their unwavering support of this degree." (Edu2; a one-sentence-long introductory AM with its three main functional constituents);

(274) "There are many people who I wish to acknowledge for their support of this dissertation and their support of my academic and professional development." (Edu4; a one-sentence-long introductory AM with its three main functional constituents).

Some introductory moves are not functionally complete as AMs, in the sense that they do not contain explicit thanking expressions. Example:

(275) "Many people have provided essential help to me in writing this dissertation." (Phil3; an introductory AM with no thanking expression).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Others are more elaborate and contain details about the authors' feelings or the benefits received or background circumstances, or a combination of the above. Examples:

(276) "*The joy I feel in having completed this dissertation is accompanied* by a deep sense of gratitude. Traces of the hard work and insight of professors, friends, and colleagues are legible to me on every page." (Engl4; an introductory AM with an expansion of the gratitude expression; emphasis added);

(277) "I was fortunate to work with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals throughout my Ph.D. study. *This research and its presentation today was only possible because of the quiet dedication and insight* of many friends and colleagues" (P-Bio3; an introductory AM with an expansion of benefits; emphasis added);

(278) "*I would never have been able to complete this study*, were it not for the persistent encouragement and the support of my professors, friends, and relatives." (Arch5; an introductory AM with an expansion of benefits; emphasis added);

(279) "*The completion of this thesis would not have been possible* without the many people who have supported me throughout my life and my graduate career at UC Berkeley" (EECS5; an introductory AM with an expansion of benefits; emphasis added);

(280) "*It has been a long journey* and there have been so many people who were encouraging and helpful along the way." (EECS1; an introductory AM with information about background circumstances of the dissertation project; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(281) *I came to Berkeley not because of great enthusiasm in engineering but because I wanted to find out how smart people can be!* At Berkeley, I found myself surrounded by top talents not only from the U.S. but also from the rest of the world. *It makes me feel smarter by learning, studying, and working with them. While brilliant people are all around and clever ideas are [sic] dime a dozen, I found the brightest scholars to be polite, humble, and open minded.* I feel very fortunate to come to know and work with many of them. *My graduate education and research would not be possible without their advice and encouragement*." (EECS2; an introductory AM with expansions of benefits and background information about the author's graduate student life; emphases added).

As the examples indirectly suggest, not all kinds of additional information occur with the same frequency; thus, expansions of benefits occur in 9 (i.e., 50%) of the 18 introductory moves; reference to background circumstances is made in 4 of the 18 moves; expansions of thanking expressions occur only twice; while expressions of personal opinions is limited to one instance. These data thus suggest that the focus of introductory moves is more often on their function as acknowledgments rather than prefaces, and the latter function, when instantiated, is realized in a text segment of the move rather than throughout the move (as in other AMs). The only exception is Engl3, which is mostly focused on the manifestation of the writer's opinion about the value of ASs:

(282) "I always read acknowledgments first. As perhaps befits my interest in communities of readers, virtual and otherwise, I want to know who a given scholar's friends and acquaintances are and how that scholar has dealt with his or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her own belatedness in the highly conventionalized genre of the acknowledgments page. After all, it would seem that there are only so many ways to express one's inability adequately to thank a spouse or partner, only so many ways to note that the project at hand has coincided with or paralleled the life of a child or the course of a career. I doubt I can provide much generic innovation, but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record the acknowledgements I have been impatiently saving up all these years" (Engl3; an introductory AM focused on meta-thanking).

From the point of view of function, it thus appears that most introductory moves serve to guide the reader in the interpretation of the text by announcing its topic. Only rarely do the authors take advantage of this textual opportunity to convey meanings that are less conventionally tied to the official communicative function of the PhDAS, like expressing opinions or reporting or commenting on past events. Examples:

(283) "*The writing of a dissertation is a long and sometimes lonely task*, and it is hard to recognize everybody who contributed to this work. However, some people stand out." (Stat1; an introductory AM which conveys an opinion of the author's; emphasis added);

(284) "*While in the midst of wrestling with this work*, I have often found solace and inspiration in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends who have nurtured my work" (Edu1; an introductory AM through which the author reports on past events; emphasis added).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The three[46] short concluding moves identified in the corpus are all different in function. One is an act of exultation, another one is an act of congratulating, and the third one is a generic act of thanking relevant to all the benefactors previously mentioned:

(285) "Mom, Dad — *I finished!*" (EECS1; a concluding AM that expresses exultation; emphasis added);

(286) "*I would also like to congratulate* my younger brother, who is getting Ph.D [sic] in Physics from the renowned [name of university] at about the same time as I do [sic]. *Job well done*, Brother!" (EECS2; a concluding AM that expresses congratulations; emphases added);

(287) "*I regret that I can offer*, in return for all this help, *no more impressive evidence of my gratitude*." (Phil1; a concluding AM that expresses gratitude; emphases added).

As a result of their differing communicative focus, no common interpretative pattern can be elaborated for these concluding moves: the first two emphasize the completeness of the dissertation project rather than that of the PhDAS itself as a text, while the third is more reader-oriented. Therefore, what makes the first two count as concluding moves is their contrast with the rest of the relevant texts in terms of their illocution and content (i.e., they are not linked to the notion of thanking and end up signaling the end of the acknowledging part of the texts). On the other hand, what makes the third one count as a concluding move is its recapitulating function: the notion of gratitude (already present in the text) is taken up again (see "gratitude") and presented as a responding act (see "offer"

[46] The final move in Engl3 contains a "background information" text segment (with relevant expansion) that could justify its classification as a concluding move. However, its gist is a dedication to the author's most significant family members and thus I have not classified it as a concluding move, as I have done for all the other dedicatee-oriented AMs in the corpus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and "in return for") relevant to benefits (see "help") that have been previously mentioned (see the anaphoric "this").

As already pointed out in section 2.6.1.5., introductory and concluding moves contribute, but do not, strictly speaking, determine the communicative effectiveness of PhDASs. On the one hand, they are useful in that they emphasize the purposive (i.e., acknowledging) function and textual elaboration (i.e., completeness and unified character) of the PhDAS. On the other hand, they are not essential to the understandability of the overall texts, as long as their building blocks (i.e., the AMs that constitute mini-texts in themselves) are coherent and cohesive. It is thus not surprising that introductory and concluding moves are not found in PhDASs on a regular basis.

The higher frequency of introductory moves is justifiable considering that PhDASs are *delayed* responding moves. As they realize "thanking *ex post*" (Held 1996: 378), PhDASs have to re-establish contact with the benefactors; in addition, PhDASs have to open contact for the first time with the readers. Both kinds of interaction-initiating acts constitute a form of intrusion into the interlocutors' space; therefore, an elucidatory introduction that explains what the message to be conveyed is all about may be an appropriate means of justifying the author's decision to take an interactional turn. On the other hand, a staged realization of the message — which conforms to a culturally expected frame in presenting acknowledgees in a typical order (see section 4.6.2.) — gradually leads the interaction between the participant to its "natural" end; as a result, it is not necessary to round off the text with a concluding move.[47]

[47] Occasionally, other optional moves may occur in the central part of the PhDAS; they provide the thanker with an opportunity to make a general comment about a subset of his thankees or about the possible effect

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 12 shows the distribution of introductory and concluding moves across the various disciplines represented in the corpus.

Table 12: Introductory and concluding moves

Intro. and concl. moves	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Total
Default intro. moves	3	0	3	3	2	1	1	3	16
Non-thanking intro. moves	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-initial intro. moves	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
(Discontinuous intro. moves)	0	0	0	0	0	(1)	0	0	(1)
Total intro. moves	3	0	4	3	2	1 or 2	1	3	17 or 18 (45%)
Default concl. moves	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-thanking concl. moves	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Non-final concl. moves	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(Discontinuous concl. moves)	0	0	0	0	0	(1)	0	0	(1)
Total concl. moves	0	0	0	0	0	(1)	0	0	2 or 3 (7.5%)

Table 12 also signals three other interesting, though marginal, characteristics of the corpus. One is that an introductory move may be so in function and content, but not in position. Indeed, the introductory move in Edu5 is the second one in the text, after an AM focused on specific, institutional benefactors that provided the author with financial assistance:

(288) "[beginning of the PhDAS-initial AM] This research was supported by funding from [name of institution] [placename] and the [name of institution] at

of his text on his readers; for example: (a) "In the end, its [sic] family that really counts" (EECS3); (b) "Lonely is a man who does not have friends upon which [sic] he can count on [sic] in times of crisis and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

University of California, Berkeley. [beginning of the introductory AM in second position in the text] The project could not have been brought to its present completion without the support and contributions of many people." (Edu5; an introductory AM not in text-initial position).

Another characteristic is the fact that introductory and concluding text segments may be interpreted as the constituents of a discontinuous, general move, as is the case in Phil1:

(289) "[beginning of the first part of a possibly discontinuous, introductory-and-concluding AM] Many people have helped me in the writing of this dissertation. [several benefactor-specific AMs] [beginning of the second part of a possibly discontinuous, introductory-and-concluding AM] I regret that I can offer, in return for all this help, no more impressive evidence of my gratitude" (Phil1; a possibly discontinuous introductory-and-concluding AM; but see section 4.6.3.).

The last feature is that a general, concluding move does not have to be focused on the notion of acknowledging, as is already clear from the examples reported in this section above.

In conclusion, it appears from their frequency of occurrence that introductory and concluding moves are conventionally useful but not essential communicative strategies in the PhDASs: they constitute acts of kindness towards the reader more than attempts at ensuring her understanding of the texts. An examination of their content too, reveals that they count more as (generic) AMs than as introductory or concluding statements. On the other hand, even if the data are limited, it appears that concluding moves may be more confidently used to achieve private intentions within the conventional communicative goal of the texts. The data have also occasionally revealed interesting organizational

---

need...or to chat while the copy machine warms up for that matter." (EECS3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aspects of these moves; for instance, they have shown that a distinction can be made between the first and the introductory move of a PhDAS, which *may* not coincide given that the former only identifies a position in the text while the latter a function of that text, and they have also shown that the first and final parts of a PhDAS may make up one conceptual move, with both introductory and concluding functions, which logically envelops the whole text.

4.6.1.1. Micro introductory and concluding moves

The architecture of PhDASs also includes embedded organizational structures, that is introductory and occasionally also concluding moves relevant to *sections* of the texts, rather than the whole texts. Such moves identify text segments that belong together because they are relevant to the same general type of benefactors and/or benefits. In the corpus, I tagged the more general AMs, whose scope is greater than the single AM, with the symbol *§AG*; I also tagged the more specific AMs, which can be subsumed under a more general one, with the symbol *§AP*. The tag-final letters *D* and *U* indicate whether the logical complement(s) of the AM in question follow(s) or precede(s) it, respectively. Here is a relevant example:

(290) "[beginning of a micro-introductory move] §AGD First, I want to start by thanking all the members of my dissertation committee and qualifying exam. [beginning of a series of benefactor-specific moves] §APU My deepest thanks are extended to [hyphenated first name and last name + last name], my academic advisor and dissertation Chairman, for all his valuable advice and support, both

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

academic and personal, since the beginning of this long journey. §APU I want to thank [first name + last name] for his inspiring teachings about daylight and positive encouragement. §APU I thank [first name + last name] for his valuable comments about energy. (Arch1; excerpt consisting of a micro-introductory move and a series of benefactor-specific moves).

The above excerpt begins with an AM (see "I want to start by thanking") general enough to apply to a group of similar benefactors ("members of my dissertation committee and qualifying exam") and that functions as an organizational statement announcing the three more specific benefactors mentioned in the following AMs (the three professors who guided the author in the progress of his academic life). For this reason it constitutes a conceptually unified text section held together by a general statement relevant to a series of conceptually subordinate moves.

The following excerpt includes an organizational introductory statement that also functions as an AM; it refers to a heterogeneous group of benefactors, who are, however, linked by a common benefit, and it introduces an AM that identifies a series of specific benefactors:

(291) "[beginning of micro-introductory AM] §AGD My work has benefited from conversations with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances. [beginning of a benefactor-specific AM] §APU For their generous help, I am grateful to [several names]." (Phil2).

This other excerpt, instead, is relevant to a homogeneous group of benefactors, who also share the same benefit:

(292) "[beginning of a micro-introductory AM] Above all, I thank my very dear

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

family for their support and kindness. [beginning of benefactor-specific AMs] §APU My parents, [first name] and [first name + last name], have shared their love of knowledge and curiosity about every aspect of life. §APU My daughters, [first name] and [first name], have been unwavering in their support for this endeavor. They have become bright, capable women in the process. §APU My gratitude and love for my dearest friend and husband, [first name], has no bounds. In our home, academics and occupations are truly integrated on a daily basis." (Edu2; a micro-introductory AM followed by benefactor-specific AMs relevant to the same kind of benefit).

The corpus contains only one instance of a text section consisting of a series of benefactor- and benefit-specific AMs, followed by a more generic one, which functions as a concluding statement:

(293) "§APD At UC Berkeley I had the opportunity to meet first [first name + last name]. He captivated my attention [...]. §APD [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name], first the chair of my doctoral exams and then the chair of this dissertation, was so kind as to accept to continue the work I had started with [last name]. [...]. §APD [first name + last name] was one of these persons to be remembered forever. He was a member of my doctoral exams and a member of my dissertation committee. [...]. He taught me a great deal [...]. §APD [first name + last name] guided my minor in Philosophy of Science and was a member of my dissertation committee. [...] [first name] helped me a great deal [...]. §APD [first name + last name] was my adviser [...]. With [first name + last name] I learned the importance of deliberating [...]. §APD [first name + last name] is also a stimulating

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

personality. [...]. §AGU [beginning of micro-concluding AM] These were the people who provided the stimulating academic environment which I very much enjoyed at UC Berkeley. To all of them my enduring gratitude" (Arch2; excerpt consisting of a series of benefactor-specific AMs followed by a micro-concluding one).

The last remark in the above excerpt is applicable to all the previous benefactors mentioned in the text segment; it thus shows to the reader how the benefactors are all similarly relevant to the thanker as a dissertation writer and thus makes it easier for the reader to make sense of the larger text section, that is, to reinterpret it as a unified whole.

The corpus also contains three instances of discontinuous organizational AMs which surround more specific AMs, in a way parallel to the combined introductory-and concluding-moves considered in section 4.6.1.. Here is an example, in which discontinuous moves are marked by the tag letter *L*:

(294) "§AGLD Not only of academia is [sic] possible to survive. Many friends at Berkeley helped me to conclude. §APUD [first name + last name] is an invaluable friend. He was always accessible to help my family, §APUD and me [sic] so was [sic] his wife and his daughters. §APUD §AGD2 [first name] and [first name + last name] were also the kind of friends one graciously find [sic] in life. §APUD §APU2 [first name] kindly shared along with my family many of the anxieties and troubles. §APUD [first name + last name]'s friendship is invaluable and unforgetable [sic]. §APUD He and [first name + last name] reviewed several versions of my dissertation. I discussed with them many ideas that helped me to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

understand and admire the English language. §AGLU These friends and their family provided the conditions for my family and me to spend unforgettable moments at Berkeley. My love and gratitude to them all." (Arch2; an excerpt with a discontinuous micro-introductory and micro-concluding move).

Together, the first two and the last two sentences of the above excerpt constitute an acknowledging remark applicable to all the benefactors and benefits included between them. They reinstate, clarify and emphasize the shared characteristics (general group membership and similar beneficial behavior) that determine in the author a similarly positive attitude. As one can see, I have tagged the conceptually subordinate moves with the tag-final letters *UD* combined, so as to show their relevance to the more general move that both precedes and follows them in the text. In addition, it is possible to see that the fourth and fifth AMs (i.e., "§APUD §AGD2 [first name] and [first name + last name] were also the kind of friends one graciously find [sic] in life." and "§APUD §APU2 [first name] kindly shared along with my family many of the anxieties and troubles") have been tagged twice because of their twofold function: the former not only is subsumed under the micro-introduction at the beginning of the paragraph, but also subsumes the latter; and the latter is subsumed both under the paragraph-initial introduction and the former; thus, the former plays two complementary roles, with relevance to two different parts of the text, while the latter plays the same function twice, with relevance to two text segments that stand in a hierarchical relation to each other.

Table 13 reports the frequency and distribution of micro-organizational moves in the corpus. It shows that micro-introductory moves are more frequent than concluding or incorporating moves, which confirms a pattern already identified for macro-moves of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

same kind in section 4.6.1.. The reason for this can also be similarly expressed: a micro-introductory move helps the reader build expectations about the portion of the text to follow and thus is likely to favor its comprehension; a micro-concluding move helps the reader identify the gist of a previous portion of the text, which, however, has already been processed and probably, therefore, understood; as a result, the former move is more likely to be useful to the reader than the latter.

Table 13: Micro-organizational moves

Micro organizational moves	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
Micro introductory moves	6	8	8	3	7	2	2	0	36
Micro concluding moves	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Micro introductory-concluding (incorporating)moves	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total moves (incorporating moves count as single moves)	10	8	8	3	7	2	2	0	40

A comparison of Table 13 and Table 12 reveals that micro-organizational statements are over twice as frequent as macro ones. This is justifiable on the basis of the fact that there are potentially more (groups of) benefactors to be acknowledged than whole texts in which they can be acknowledged; thus, every PhDAS author has more opportunities to produce micro-organizational statements than global organizational statement. In addition, given that the benefactors and benefits acknowledged in the texts are — or may be — heterogeneous, it may be easier for the author to identify *subsets* of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactors and/or benefits that can be conceptually grouped together than to formulate an overall remark applicable to *all* of his benefactors and/or benefits, as not all of them may have some specific benefit in common.

The presence of micro-organizational statements in the corpus reveals that PhDASs are more than simple sequences of benefactor-specific AMs. These texts are also structured as partially staged communicative acts that proceed in a step-wise fashion: their authors, apparently, conceive them as consisting of *conceptual* units relevant to given *groups* of (rather than individual) benefactors that have some characteristic in common (i.e., category membership and/or benefit); micro-organizational moves serve to signal the boundaries of these conceptual units. If indeed benefactors are conceptually grouped together in consideration of what they may have in common, the order in which they are mentioned in the text should also contribute to revealing the staged organization of the PhDAS.

4.6.2. Order of benefactors

An indication of the structural arrangement of a text comes from an examination of the sequence of topics it presents. Indeed, the order in which topics are dealt with reveals how a communicative act is conceptually organized; for example: the message may be presented as a narrative, in which events follow one another in a chronological-logical order; alternatively, it may be structured as a description moving from a consideration of general characteristics to an analysis of minute details; still differently, a text may consist

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in a report of a series of illustrative situations, actions or circumstances, from which the author makes general inferences about patterns of events. (Of course, other ways of organizing messages are possible too.)

In addition, when the text in question is not produced on the spot, but is possibly the result of several previous drafts, the order of its topics is likely to show what its writer considers most important, either because it is most directly relevant to the general topic of the text (and is thus mentioned first), or because it is what the author cares most about or should stick in the reader's mind (and is thus mentioned last).

In a PhDAS, as I have repeatedly pointed out, three main categories of topics tend to recur: the author's attitude-feelings (gratitude), people the author has interacted with (his benefactors), and goods and services he has received from them (benefits). Given that each of these topic categories is relevant to single interactional episodes (previous beneficial exchanges), they are bound to cluster together (thus producing AMs). Thus, recording the sequencing of topics in a PhDAS is likely to reveal a cyclical pattern of arrangement already predictable from the identification of AMs.[48] (Indeed, it would be illogical for a PhDAS author to list together in three macro-groups first all of his feelings, then all of his benefactors and finally all of his benefits, as the reader would then have to *guess* which text segments from the each of the groups should be matched with which text segments from the other two groups.) However, additional and more detailed information may come from an examination of the order in which benefactors are listed.[49]

---

[48] For the same reason, it may be interesting to keep track of the order of topics *within* AMs, to find out if there is a preferred order in which their three functional components occur.

[49] The same observation applies to benefits; however, since the criterion I have chosen for the identification of AMs (see section 4.2.) is the mention of a new benefactor (rather than of a new benefit), it seems to me logical and consistent to continue to consider benefactors also when examining the global conceptual arrangement of the PhDASs. (On the reason why credit allocation follows an acknowledgee-based division, see Giannoni 1998: 68).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As examples in previous sections have revealed, AMs may be relevant to two main types of benefactors, those relevant to the author as a dissertation writer, and those relevant to him as a private individual — either at a time when he was engaged in the dissertation project or in more general terms. Identifying the order in which benefactors are mentioned in PhDASs may help reveal which of the two benefactor categories is considered more relevant to the communicative purpose of the text and which one tends to be selected to leave a lasting impression on the reader.

To identify the order in which benefactors are mentioned in the PhDAS, first of all I tagged the text with labels (see below) identifying the specific category membership of each benefactor[50] mentioned therein. To assign category membership labels to the various benefactors I considered one or more of the following:

- the labels used by the authors themselves (e.g., *friend, advisor, cousin, individuals*) in given AMs;
- the referents of anaphoric expressions in neighboring AMs (e.g., if *these people* in a certain AM referred back to *friends* in a previous AM, then *these people* was labeled 'friend');
- the specification of the benefit (e.g., reference to 'guidance during the doctoral program' helped me identify an academic benefactor; reference to private acts of kindness like 'love' helped me identify a friend, family member or significant other; reference to 'typing' or 'the provision of seeds' helped me identify technical assistants);

[50] I also counted as instances of benefactors those text segments (in P-Bio3, EECS1 and EECS3) in which reference is made to benefactors as if they were benefits; e.g., the wording of "I have made many special friends, in [placename] and [placename], who have made grad school such a unique and exciting learning experience" (P-Bio3) is such that 'making friends' is encoded as the benefit, although the people responsible for it are also the benefactors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- other co(n)text (e.g., list of professors' names on the cover page, reports on past circumstances).

Most of the time I was thus able to identify the category membership of the various benefactors. On the few occasions when I could not unambiguously classify benefactors (due to vague or lack of information), I used the label *unclear*; in a few cases I used multiple labels for the same text segment, that is, when a given benefactor could be categorized from more than one points of view. The various labels I used, accompanied by their glosses, are the following (as in other cases, the symbol *§* signals the beginning of the tag; instead, the upper-case letter *B* stands for 'benefactor'; finally, the lower-case letters specify the labels assigned to given benefactors):

§Bacad: academic benefactor (e.g., advisor, professor)

§Bexpert: benefactor, expert in given academic field, but not a professor of the writer's

§Bfam: family as benefactor (collectively identified as a group)

§Bfam-mem: family member as benefactor (specific familial relation mentioned, e.g., *brother*)

§Bfin: financial benefactor (either an individual or an institution)

§Bfriend: friend as benefactor

§Bgen: generic benefactor, identified through a very general word

§Bset: set of various types of benefactors, as identified by the author's own labels

§Bset+: set of various types of benefactors, as identified by the author's own labels, in which academic benefactors are listed before family and/or friends

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Bset-: set of various benefactors, as identified by the author's own labels, in which family and/or friends are listed before academic benefactors

§Bintel assist: intellectual benefactor (not a professor or an expert)

§Binstit: institution as benefactor (e.g., university, foundation, research center)

§Bpartner: the author's significant other as benefactor

§Bpeer: peer as benefactor (fellow graduate student, fellow lab member, co-instructor; typically both a colleague and a friend)

§Bsubject: study participant, interviewee or subject as benefactor

§Btech assist: technical assistant (benefactor providing goods and/or services of a technical nature, e.g., running a lab, retrieving data)

§Bunclear: unclassifiable benefactor (lack of or vague information provided in the text)

§Bzero: no benefactor mentioned in the AM

To both illustrate some of the above categories and show how I labeled the text segments relevant to the benefactors, I provide a few relevant examples below.

(295) "I would like to thank §B §Bacad *[first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]* for their valuable suggestions, comments and time." (B-Adm1; an academic benefactor identified on the basis of the benefit mentioned and the list of the professors' names on the dissertation cover page; emphasis added);

(296) "I wish to express my sincere gratitude §B §Bgen *to many people* whose help, directly or indirectly, made this dissertation possible" (Arch1; a generic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactor identified on the basis of the author's own generic label; emphasis added);

(297) "While in the midst of wrestling with this work, I have often found solace and inspiration §B §Bset+ *in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends* who have nurtured my work."; (Edu1; group of benefactors identified through the author's own labels, which list them in the order 'academic + personal'; emphasis added);

(298) "B §Bpeer *All my colleagues throughout grad school* have been wonderful" (EECS1; peers-benefactors identified through an explicit label; emphasis added);

(299) "§B §Bzero My personal debts are too many to pay off here" (Engl1; a generic AM, which does not identify any benefactor);

(300) "I would also like to thank §B §Bintel-assist *the following people* who read and criticized portions of my dissertation: *[several names]*." (Phil1; benefactors providing intellectual assistance, who are identified through a generic label and a specific benefit; emphasis added);

(301) "Thank you very much §B §Bfam-mem *to my father, [first name]*, for all the encouragement and for teaching me that there were no limits to what I could be." (P-Bio1; a family member, who is also a benefactor, identified through a specific label; emphasis added);

(302) "Financial support was provided §B §Bfin-instit *by the [name of institution (abbreviated name of institution)] [...]* <u>through grant [...],</u> *by a [name of institution]* <u>Fellowship under program [...]</u> *and by the [name of institution]* <u>grant [...]</u>." (Stat1;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactors that are institutions [see italicized portions] that provided funding [see underlined portions]; emphases added).

After thus classifying all the benefactors in the texts, I recorded all the occurrences of the various benefactor tags in discipline-specific tables (see below) so as to be able to trace possible sequencing patterns. The tables do not list each benefactor tag (i.e., not one per benefactor), but rather all and only the tags that signal the beginning of a new benefactor category in the individual texts, independently of whether the category is instantiated by one or more benefactors; thus, for example, the tag *acad* after the tag *gen* under Arch1 in Table 14 only signals that academic benefactors are listed after generic benefactors in that PhDAS, but it does not specify how many generic or academic benefactors actually occur in that text.

In Tables 14 through 21 below I use the same benefactor-classifying tags listed and glossed above in order to show shifts from one benefactor category to another in a given PhDAS (hyphens link either multiple components of the same tag, as in *tech-assist* under Arch1, or multiple tags relevant to the same benefactor(s), as in *gen-acad* under Arch2, in Table 14). In addition, to classify the overall sequencing pattern of a PhDAS I use the following abbreviations:

- S = standard (academic benefactors are mentioned before friends and family);
- R = reverse (friends and family are mentioned before academic benefactors);
- P = partial (only one macro benefactor category is mentioned);
- O = other (a sequencing pattern other than S, R or P; e.g., S is repeated).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

An examination of Tables 14 through 21 reveals a few interesting textual trends.

First, benefactors tend to be mentioned in order of decreasing relevance to the thanker as a dissertation writer (i.e., as a budding professional/academic figure) and of increasing relevance to him as a social being (i.e., as a person in a network of relationships): indeed, over 67% of the PhDASs list academically important benefactors before personally important ones.

Table 14: Order of benefactors in Arch

	Arch1	Arch2	Arch3	Arch4	Arch5	Total S order
Sequence of benefactor categories in Arch	gen	set+	acad	acad	set+	
	acad	acad	fin-inst	peer	acad	
	expert	gen-acad	expert	tech-assist	peer	
	peer	instit	gen	friend	subject	
	tech-assist	peer	friend-fam	fin-inst	expert	
		instit		tech-assist	tech	
		fin-inst-acad		expert	fam-mem	
		fin-inst		unclear	friend	
		gen-inst-acad		peer	fam-mem	
		friend		tech		
		peer		fam		
		friend		fam-mem		
		fam				
		fam-mem				
		fam				
Type of order	P	S	S	O	S	3 (60%)

Table 15: Order of benefactors in B-Adm

Sequence of benefactor categories in	B-Adm1	B-Adm2	B-Adm3	B-Adm4	B-Adm5	Total S order
	acad	acad	acad	acad	fin-inst	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

B-Adm	fin-inst-tech-assist	peer	expert	friend	expert	
	set+	friend-partner	peer			
	acad-peer	fam-mem	intel-assist			
	fam	fam-mem	unclear			
	unspec		fin-inst			
			fam-mem			
Type of order	S	S	S	S	P	4 (80%)

Table 16: Order of benefactors in Edu

	Edu1	Edu2	Edu3	Edu4	Edu5	Total S order
Sequence of benefactor categories in Edu	set+	set+	subject	gen	fin-instit	
	subject	acad	expert	subject	gen	
	acad	fam	acad	instit-tech-assist	acad	
	peer	fam-mem	expert	subject	gen	
	unclear	partner-friend	acad	acad	tech-assist	
	tech		peer	gen	subject	
	fam-mem		set	friend	partner	
	friend		fam-mem	unclear	friend	
	partner-friend		friend	expert		
	partner		partner-peer	unclear		
				tech-assist		
				fam-mem		
				fam		
Type of order	S	S	S	O	S	4 (80%)

Table 17: Order of benefactors in EECS

Sequence of benefactor categories in EECS	EECS1	EECS2	EECS3	EECS4	EECS5	Total S order
	gen	expert	acad	acad	gen	
	acad	acad	peer	tech-assist	acad	
	peer	fin-instit	peer	gen	peer	
	expert	acad	peer	peer	tech-instit	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

	friend	expert	friend	fam-mem	friend	
	fam-mem	friend	fam-mem	fam	fam-mem	
		fam-mem				
Type of order	S	S	S	S	S	5 (100%)

Table 18: Order of benefactors in Engl

	Engl1	Engl2	Engl3	Engl4	Engl5	Total S order
Sequence of benefactor categories in Engl	acad	acad	zero	set+	acad	
	zero	intel-assist	fin-inst-fam	fin-instit	fam-mem	
	friend	friend	instit	peer		
	friend	acad	gen	acad		
	fam-mem	partner	peer	expert		
	partner		expert	intel-assist		
			peer	acad		
			acad	fin		
			instit			
			fam			
			fem-mem			
Type of order	S	O	S	P	S	3 (60%)

Table 19: Order of benefactors in Phil

Sequence of benefactor categories in Phil	Phil1	Phil2	Phil3	Phil4	Phil5	Total S order
	gen	acad	gen	acad	expert	
	acad	set-intell-assist	unclear	expert	acad	
	intel-assist	intel-assist		unclear	intel-assist	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

	expert-inst	tech-assist			fam	
	fam-mem-fin	expert-tech-assist			partner	
	partner					
	zero					
Type of order	S	P	P	P	S	2 (40%)

Table 20: Order of benefactors in P-Bio

	P-Bio1	P-Bio2	P-Bio3	P-Bio4	P-Bio5	Total S order
Sequence of benefactor categories in P-Bio	acad	acad	gen	unclear	partner	
	intel-assist	expert	set-	expert	acad	
	peer	acad	acad	partner	expert	
	fam-mem	peer	peer	acad	peer	
	friend-expert	expert	expert	peer		
	expert	tech-assist	instit	unclear		
		fam	acad	tech-assist		
		fam-mem	tech-assist	peer		
		partner	fin-instit	expert		
			friend	friend		
			peer	peer		
			friend	friend		
			fam-mem	expert-tech-assist		
				peer		
				acad		
				fam		
				fin-instit		
Type of order	R	S	S	R	P	2 (40%)

Table 21: Order of benefactors in Stat

Sequence of benefactor categories in Stat	Stat1	Stat2	Stat3	Stat4	Stat5	Total S order
	gen	set-intel	acad	gen	acad	
	acad	acad	peer	acad	fin-instit	
	peer	peer	friend	instit		
	fin-instit	expert	fin-instit	peer		
	fam-mem	acad		fam		
	partner	expert-tech-assist		fam-mem		
		instit-tech		partner		

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

		fam				
Type of order	S	S	S	S	P	4 (80%)

Second, and more specifically, there tends to be a gradual, rather than abrupt shift from the first to the second benefactor category: that is, first the author mentions the people considered indispensable for his meeting his final PhD requirement (e.g., his advisor, dissertation readers, department) and institutions and/or individuals instrumental in the management of his project (i.e., intellectual and/or technical assistants). Then the author mentions people that he considers important both academically and personally, that is benefactors that helped him *as* a researcher (due to their shared interests and experiences) and that sustained him, as understanding, supporting friends, *while* he was a dissertation writer (i.e., fellow graduate students, colleagues in the workplace, members of the same lab). Finally, the author lists individuals increasingly significant to him from an emotional point of view (i.e., friendly acquaintances, best friends, partners, and members of his nuclear family like his children, parents or spouse).

Third, besides being clearly exemplified in over 67% of the corpus, the order of appearance of acknowledgees outlined above is instantiated with minor variations in another 7.5% of the corpus (see order category *O* in the tables above); these non-disruptive variations are due to the actual *recurrence* of the typical order in the same PhDAS (see, e.g., Edu4).

Fourth, the standard order is not contradicted in another 20% of the corpus (see order category *P* in the tables above), that is, in those PhDASs in which no main sequencing can be identified given the lack of one of the two major benefactor categories (see, e.g., Stat5). In addition, even in those cases, however, the gradual (intra-)category

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shift can be perceived (see, e.g., Arch1, in which academic benefactors are mentioned before peers).

Fifth, the preferred order of appearance of the acknowledgees gives a circular structure to the PhDASs along the dimension of the benefactors' degree of involvement with the dissertation writer. The people mentioned first and last are the author's most significant academic and personal figures, respectively. Therefore, the further away from the first benefactor(s) a thankee is mentioned, the less salient she is academically (and maybe personally), while the further away from the last benefactor(s) an acknowledgee is mentioned, the less important she is personally (and possibly academically). Consequently, the benefactors mentioned in the middle of the PhDAS share an intermediate degree of relevance to the dissertation writer on academic and/or personal grounds.

Sixth, the acknowledgees that occupy the most variable position in the PhDASs are the institutions or individuals, if any, providing the writer with financial support (e.g., employment, grants, money).

Seventh, certain benefactors tend to be discipline-specific, like 'subject', most typically found in Edu; this reveals the specificity of the scientific sub-community the authors operate in.

There are occasional minor variations in the order in which a few benefactor categories appear in a few PhDAS; some are accountable with reference to the presence of micro-organizational statements (see section 4.6.1.) within the texts (as the presence of the two 'gen' in Edu5); others cannot be so motivated. For example, in Edu5, the author's partner is mentioned *before* the author's best friend; similarly, in EECS4, specific family

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

members are mentioned before making reference to the family as a whole. This simply shows that the genre is subject to the minor variations due individual authors' stylistic preferences.

Who to include in the list of thankees is not pre-determined in any fixed way. The people most likely to be excluded from the list of benefactors are those considered either not directly helpful in the realization of the dissertation or not very close to the dissertation writer. Occasionally, these individuals may nevertheless be mentioned, for instance because their behavior or presence during the carrying out of the project, or even simply the writer's memory of them, was perceived as beneficial and pleasant (for a conceptually different explanation, see Giannoni (1998: 68)). Examples:

(303) "Without the support §B §Binst-tech of the [name of institution], its staff, and the computers bilbo, pooh, and others, this work could not have been done." (Stat2)";

(304) "And I have been cheered time and time again §B §Bfam-mem by my wonderful mother-in-law, [first name + last name], [...]" (Engl3).

The non-random variability in the choice, sequence and/or recyclability of moves on the one hand reveals the existence of a common textual framework on which PhDASs tend to be built, and through which each text instantiates — and thus reproduces — a community's conventional ways of interacting; on the other hand, this variability shows that situation-specific interactional needs have to be met in the ever-changing constraints and opportunities of partially different contexts of production, which creates new discourse (cf. Giannoni 1998: 62).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.6.3. Syntax (and semantics) of AMs

The communicative goal of a PhDAS is achieved gradually: its acknowledging function is realized in stages, through a series of strategic moves, which give the text is sequential structural arrangement (see section 2.6.1.5.). As shown in part in section 4.6.2., the sequential organization of the PhDAS is due to its relevance to multiple benefactors (and benefits) that the writer does not typically feel like mentioning together in a global acknowledging statement. As a result, the author produces as many AMs as needed to give distinctive prominence to individual or groups of benefactors.

In this section I examine especially the syntactic, and in part, the semantic encoding of the AMs in the corpus. The goal is to determine, on the one hand, the level of formal complexity of the PhDASs, and on the other, the variety of speech functions that they realize.

To examine the *syntactic structure* of the AMs, I have only considered their overall formal organization (e.g., as sentences, clauses, phrases); thus I have disregarded the types of syntactic relationships (e.g., of coordination, subordination, embedding) holding between syntactic constituents of the AM, the specific syntactic category the constituents belong to (e.g., relative clause, cleft-sentence), and the types of logico-semantic relations holding between clauses (e.g., projection, expansion[51]).

I carried out my syntactic analysis of the corpus in two steps: first, I identified the various AMs making up the texts according to the criteria outlined in section 4.2.; second, I tagged the various AMs with labels specifying their degree of syntactic and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

typographic complexity (see this section below for the tags). To identify the syntactic category membership of the various AMs, I considered both the number of their main constituents (clausal and/or phrasal) and their final punctuation marks (e.g., period, question mark, exclamation point, comma, colon). Thus, for instance, I classified all the AMs containing one or more clauses, starting with an upper-case initial letter and ending with a period, question mark or exclamation point as one-sentence AMs. Examples:

(305) §A §AS "I am also indebted to [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name + last name] for their many helpful comments." (B-Adm4: a 1-clause, 1-sentence AM; §AS = 'AM realized as a sentence');

(306) §A §AS "Professor [first name + middle name initial + last name] always inspired me with his energetic pursuit of knowledge, and I was fortunate to have him on my committee: he not only helped me to reformulate the problem, but also continued to offer me much insightful guidance" (Arch5: a 4-clause, 1-sentence AM; §AS = 'AM realized as a sentence').

On the other hand, I classified the AMs (a) consisting of just one clause, (b) beginning with an upper- or lower-case letter, (c) ending with no punctuation mark, or ending with punctuation marks other than a period, question mark or exclamation point or ending with a period in sentence-final position as one-clause AMs. Examples:

(307) §A §AC "I would also like to thank [first name + last name] from [placename] Law School for his support of my graduate education," (Edu4; a 1-clause AM beginning with a lower-case letter and ending with a comma; §AC = 'AM realized as a clause);

[51] These terms are from Halliday (1994: 225-273).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(308) §A §AC "I would like to thank [first name + last name] for his artistic abilities, friendship, as well as a great apartment" (P-Bio4; a 1-clause AM not ending with any punctuation mark; §AC = 'AM realized as a clause');

(309) §A §AC "and thank the Department of Statistics for financial support throughout my graduate study and research." (Stat5; a 1-clause AM ending with a period; §AC = 'AM realized as a clause').

In addition to the syntactic structure of AMs, I also paid attention to their typographic arrangement, and thus tagged the AMs occupying whole paragraphs. I thought that this additional measure of formal textual organization could contribute to revealing the level of elaborateness of the PhDASs. The reason is that the typographic and syntactic arrangements of a text are independent of each other. Indeed, it turns out that AMs of varying syntactic complexity (i.e., 1-phrase-, 1-clause-, and 1-sentence-long AMs) can be one-paragraph long. Examples:

(310) §A §ASM "Finally, and most of all, I thank my best friend, my wife, [first name + last name], for being so very strange and wonderful, and for a love that has withstood even graduate school." (Stat4; a PhDAS-final, 1-sentence, 1-paragraph AM; §ASM = 'a 1-sentence AM occupying a paragraph');

(311) §A §ACIM "Thanks to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for providing me lots of valuable advice and guidance, for helping to keep the project on track, and for keeping academic life from getting too boring." (EECS5; a 1-paragraph AM consisting of an incomplete clause [see below]; §ACIM = 'a 1-paragraph AM consisting of an incomplete clause').

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Here follows the list of the tags I used to classify the syntactic and typographic encoding of the AMs, accompanied by their relevant glosses. I then quote PhDAS excerpts exemplifying the various categories identified (except for those already exemplified above in this section).

List of tags for classifying the syntactic and typographic arrangement of AMs:

§A: AM

§AC: AM realized as a clause (part of a sentence)

§ACI: AM realized as an incomplete clause, i.e., a clause with ellipsis of both subject and predicate or of predicate only

§ACIM: AM realized as an incomplete clause, i.e., a clause with ellipsis of both subject and predicate or of predicate only, which occupies one paragraph

§AF: AM realized as a phrase (part of a clause) optionally accompanied by an embedded phrase

§AFF: AM realized as 2 or more phrases

§ALD: first part of a discontinuous AM

§ALU: second or nth part of a discontinuous AM

§AS: AM realized as a sentence (one or more clauses), and occupying less than a paragraph

§ASM: AM realized as a sentence, and occupying a paragraph

§AZ: AM realized as 2 or more sentences, and occupying less than a paragraph

§AZM: AM realized as 2 or more sentences, and occupying a paragraph

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§AV: AM realized as something else (e.g., 1 or more phrases + 1 sentence; 1 phrase + 1 clause + 1 or more sentences; 1 or more phrases + 1 non-defining relative clause; 2 clauses, less than a sentence; 1 clause + 1 incomplete clause; 1 incomplete clause + 1 sentence; 1 sentence + 1 phrase)

§AVM: AM realized as something else that is also a paragraph

All the AMs in the corpus are marked by the generic label *§A*, which simply classifies them as AMs (see below about the moves classified as *§NRCo*). This tag is then followed by a more specific one, which specifies the degree of syntactic (and maybe typographic) complexity of the AM in question. Below I provide relevant exemplification of the AMs that instantiate different types of syntactic and/or typographic complexity.

The tag *§AC* signals that an AM is realized as a clause (i.e., part of a sentence). This kind of AM has already been exemplified in this section above.

The tag *§ACI* marks an AM realized as an incomplete clause, i.e., a clause with ellipsis of predicate and/or subject. Example:

(312) §A §ACI "Special thanks to the members of the [name of program] program at [name of institution], [...]" (Arch1; a clause with ellipsis of the predicate [e.g., "are due"] or of subject and predicate [e.g., "I want to give special thanks to"]).

The tag *§AF* marks an AM realized as a phrase (part of a clause), which may be accompanied by an embedded phrase; the optional embedded phrase does not count as another phrase, on a par with the first one, because it is rank-shifted with respect to it. Example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(313) §A §AF "[...] and [first name + last name] and colleagues with the [placename] Unified School District." (Edu4; a one-phrase AM with an embedded prepositional phrase: "with the [placename] Unified School District" restrictively modifies "[first name + last name] and colleagues"; it is not a distinct adjunct).

The tag *§AFF* signals the beginning of an AM consisting of two or more phrases, none of which is embedded under any of the others. Example:

(314) §A §AFF "[...] and to [first name + last name] for his invaluable guidance throughout my doctoral degree." (B-Adm3; a two-phrase-long AM).

The tags *§ALD* and *§ALU* mark, respectively, the first and second (or nth) parts of a discontinuous AM. Together they count as one AM. Example:

(315) §A §ALD "The graduate chair of the English Department once stopped me in the hallway simply to say, "you have a great committee." Indeed, my dissertation committee is indefatigable. [...] §ALU I hope that I can bring to my own dissertation students what I have learned from each member of my dissertation committee about the rewards of rigor, the pleasures of scholarship, and the spirit of intellectual community." (Engl4).

The tags *§AS* and *§ASM* have already been exemplified above.

The tags *§AZ* and *§AZM* characterize AMs consisting of two or more sentences; in addition, the second tag also indicates that a multi-sentence AM is one paragraph long. Examples:

(316) §A §AZ "I would also like to thank Professor [first name + last name] for his dedication and patience in advising my wireless project. It has been a privilege to work with him." (EECS2; a two-sentence AM occupying less than a paragraph);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(317) §A §AZM "Most of all, I am indebted to my wife and graduate school partner, [first name], for helping me maintain perspective, for walking with me to get coffee, and for generally making this manuscript possible in so many ways. My feet still dance because of you." (Edu3; a two-sentence AM occupying a whole paragraph).

The tags *§AV* and *§AVM* signal AMs realized with text segments other than those identified above; in addition, the tag §AVM also indicates that the relevant AM is one paragraph long. Examples:

(318) §A §AV "[...] and I owe a special debt of gratitude to my wife, [first name + last name], for the support — intellectual and otherwise — she has given me during the rather unusual process of writing a dissertation. It is to her that I dedicate this work." (Phil5; an AM consisting of one clause and one sentence);

(319) §A §AV "[...] and other [name of institution] researchers whom I had the luxury to work with. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name], Dr. [first name + last name], and Dr. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name]." (EECS2; an AM consisting of a phrase with an embedded prepositional phrase and an adposition).

Only two moves in the corpus are not AMs; they serve neither to thank given benefactors nor to acknowledge given circumstances; rather, they serve to perform other speech functions (i.e., expressing relief and congratulating; see section 4.6.1.). They are marked with tags indicating their pragmatic function and their syntactic-typographic structure:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

List of tags for classifying the syntactic-typographic structure of other moves:

§NRCo: non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding move

§NRCoSM: one-sentence non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding move occupying a paragraph

§NRCoZ: multi-sentence non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding move.

The three tags signal the beginning of non-thanking, non-acknowledging concluding moves; in addition, the second and third tags respectively indicate that the moves are either one sentence long and occupy one paragraph or that they are two or more sentences long. Example:

(320) §NRCo §NRCoZ "I would also like to congratulate my younger brother, who is getting Ph.D [sic] in Physics from the renowned [placename] University at about the same time as I do [sic]. Job well done, Brother!" (EECS2; a non-thanking, non-acknowledging move consisting of two sentences).

In applying the move-identifying criteria outlined in section 4.2., I occasionally encountered difficulties in segmenting and classifying given text segments. I will comment on a few such borderline cases.

Here is an excerpt that I classified as consisting of a single AM, but which could also be regarded as a combination of two moves:

(321) §A §AZ "I would also like to thank the [name of institution] for providing financial assistance and access to [abbreviated name of institution] data during my fellowship there. §BK *The comments and opinions in this dissertation are my own*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and do not necessarily reflect those of the directors, members, or officers of the [abbreviated name of institution]." (B-Adm1 ; a text segment classifiable as either one or two AMs; §BK = beginning of a text segment conveying background information; emphasis added).

If taken by itself, the italicized part in the above excerpt could be regarded as a non-thanking AM — it could be considered non-thanking because it does not identify any benefactor or benefit the author can be grateful to or for, respectively, but still it would have to be classified as an AM because it acknowledges (i.e., recognizes or admits) that something is the case (hence, the label *non-thanking AM* would be appropriate). As a result of this interpretation, the number of moves in B-Adm would increase. However, I decided to consider the italicized text segment as part of a larger, single move because the institution that it is relevant to is the same as the benefactor identified in the immediately preceding sentence. Thus, this text segment can be considered to be a supportive component of the preceding, gratitude-oriented text segment.

As indirectly hinted at in section 4.2., some text segments could be adequately interpreted either as complex, but single, AMs including expansions, or as sets of two or more AMs. Example:

(322) §A §AS "I would like to thank two great scientists, Professor [first name + last name] and Dr. [abbreviated first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of vision science. §A §AS Dr. [last name]'s dedication to scientific research is inspiring." (EECS2; a segment interpretable as consisting of one or two AMs).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I regard the above text segment as a sequence of two AMs, the first relevant to a group of benefactors (i.e., a professor and a doctor) and a general benefit (i.e., "for introducing me to the world of science"), and the second relevant to a member of that group (i.e., the doctor) and a distinct benefit (i.e., "is inspiring"). Note, however, that what I identify as the second benefit could be also classified as a complimentary expression (i.e., it could be interpreted as "is to be admired" rather than "he inspired me"), and that the noun phrase that precedes this second, presumed benefit is indeed a complimentary expansion of the segment relevant to second benefactor. Either interpretation is thus justifiable. However, all the text segments in the corpus making reference to the notion of 'inspiration' are classified as benefits rather than benefactor expansions; therefore, regarding *is inspiring* as a benefit, especially if in association with a subset of a previously mentioned group of benefactors, leads to the identification of a new AM.

Also, it may be hard to distinguish a pair of introductory and concluding moves from a combination of the first and second part of a discontinuous AM when the relevant text segments appear at the very beginning and end of a PhDAS, respectively. Example:

> (323) §A §AS "Many people have helped me in the writing of this dissertation. [...] §A §AS I regret that I can offer, in return for all this help, no more impressive evidence of my gratitude." (Phil1; a text segment classifiable as either a combination of an introductory and a concluding move or as a discontinuous move).

The two sentences quoted above are the initial and final text segments of Phil1. The former identifies generic benefactors and benefits, the latter makes reference to the same kind of generic benefit (i.e., help) and contains a gratitude expression. Because they share

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a common benefit and functionally complement each other (i.e., one identifies the benefactor, the other expresses gratitude), these sentences could be considered part of the same, albeit discontinuous, AM. On the other hand, given their content and position in the text, and given that they are separated by nine AMs, which make reference to various benefactors and specific, dissertation-relevant benefits, they could also be considered separate, introductory and concluding AMs, which is how I choose to interpret them. My reason for considering them two AMs is to be found in two function words of the second text segment, namely "all this". *This* may refer either to "have helped me in the writing of this dissertation" in the first text segment of the PhDAS or to the set of specific benefits mentioned in the other AMs of the text (e.g., "read and criticized portions of my dissertation", "provided financial assistance", "put up with the long hours I spent working"); if the former interpretation is chosen, the two text segments in question would have to be classified as the components of one discontinuous AM; if the latter interpretation is preferred, they would count as two distinct AMs. Note, however, that the quantifier *all* that precedes *this* is liable to only one interpretation. To be correctly decoded, it has to be understood as referring to the whole amount, series or manifestation of something (in this case help), but at the end of the first text segment this 'whole amount, series or manifestation' has not been specified yet — the various forms of help received become clear only after reading the nine central moves of the PhDAS. At this point then it is easier for the reader to make sense of *all this*: *this* refers to help, while *all* refers to its various manifestations mentioned in the body of the text.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Besides the issue of AM identifiability, one may encounter problems in classifying the syntactic structure of the constituents of PhDASs. For instance, the dividing line between different types of AMs, like §AF, §AFF and §AV, may be a fine one sometimes. Consider the following excerpt:

> (324) §A §AV "To the students of [abbreviated course title] Group who allowed me to prod and probe the workings of their classroom, [...]" (Edu1; a variously classifiable AM).

Although the author's punctuation choices present the relative clause in the above move as a defining one, I consider it non-defining because of the content it conveys: for an observer "to prod and probe the workings of" a given classroom, all the members of that class have to be willing to let him/her do his/her work; if one or more do not want to be observed, the observer will actually have to refrain from observing the *whole* class; as a result, as the author observes that "the students of [...] group [...] allowed" him to observe their classroom, he must be referring to *all* the students in that group. The syntax-classifying consequences of this interpretation are as follows: the AM in question is not an §AF, because the phrase "To the students of [...] Group" is not followed by a restrictive, embedded relative clause that it can be considered part of; it is not an §AFF either, because it consists of one phrase plus one clause (i.e., not of two phrases identifying distinct entities or circumstances of an event or situation). Thus I consider the above AM as an §AV consisting of a phrase and an expanding clause relevant to the same benefactor (which is mainly recognizable in the head "students").

Finally, a word of caution is in order with regard to the correlation between syntactic complexity and length of moves. That is, one can expect a multi-clause AM to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be longer than a phrasal one, but this should not be taken for granted, as embedding and adpositions can make an apparently simple-structured AM quite elaborate nevertheless. Example:

> (325) §A §AS "I would like to thank [twelve people's full names], seminar participants at the University of California at Berkeley, [placename] University, [placename] Business School, The [placename] School, The University of [placename], [placename] University, [placename] University in [placename], The University of [placename] at [placename], The University of [placename], The [name of bank] Bank, [acronym], the Academy of [...]; the "[conference title]" conference organized by the Centers for [...] at the University of [placename] at [placename] and the University of [placename], and the Law School at the University of [placename] at [placename]; and the '[conference name]" organized by the [placename] Business School and The Journal [...] for their comments on previous drafts." (B-Adm5).

The above text excerpt exemplifies a one-clause, one-sentence AM consisting of 149 words. Its overall syntactic structure would not lead one to predict that it could be so long. The length of the move is due to the presence of numerous coordinated direct objects coming after the gratitude expression, several of which also contain embedded (sub-)phrases. In this case, then, the complexity of the AM depends on its sub-clausal syntax.

Table 22 shows the distribution of AMs across the various disciplines exemplified in the corpus, their average frequency of occurrence, and their average length in words; in parentheses, the values for their length in words are included as well.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

First of all, one can observe that all the PhDASs considered are longer than a single move. From the point of view of functional constituency, the shortest PhDASs are 2 moves long (i.e., B-Adm5 and Phil3), and the longest is 24 moves long (i.e., Engl4), although most PhDASs display intermediate AM length values (see Table 23 below). The AM-shortest and -longest PhDASs, i.e., B-Adm5 and Engl4, are also the shortest and longest genre exemplars, respectively, with regard to the number of words they consist of.

Table 22: Distribution of moves in the corpus

No. of moves	PhDAS no. 1 (no. of words)	PhDAS no. 2 (no. of words)	PhDAS no. 3 (no. of words)	PhDAS no. 4 (no. of words)	PhDAS no. 5 (no. of words)	Total moves (no. of words)	Average moves per PhDAS (no. of words)	Average words per PhDAS
Arch	15 (204)	22 (890)	5 (138)	17 (405)	14 (410)	73 (2,047)	14.6 (138.31)	409.4
B-Adm	6 (158)	5 (131)	10 (294)	3 (70)	2 (177)	26 (830)	5.2 (159.61)s	166
Edu	20 (654)	8 (173)	18 (502)	21 (502)	13 (217)	80 (2,048)	16 (128)	409
EECS	11 (438)	12 (390)	9 (346)	6 (325)	10 (343)	48 (1,842)	9.6 (191.87)	368.4
Engl	8 (118)	5 (165)	15 (848)	24 (1,025)	3 (209)	55 (2,365)	11 (215)	473
Phil	11 (259)	6 (178)	2 (53)	5 (99)	6 (220)	30 (809)	6 (134.83)	161.8
P-Bio	7 (198)	10 (321)	17 (570)	18 (285)	8 (228)	60 (1,602)	12 (133.5)	320.4
Stat	9 (276)	9 (207)	4 (79)	8 (232)	3 (67)	33 (861)	6.6 (130.45)	172.2
Total	87 (2,305)	77 (2,455)	80 (2,830)	102 (2,943)	59 (1,871)	405 (12,404)	10.125 (153.94)	310.1

The data confirm what was anticipated in section 2.6.1.5. about the organization of these texts: their strategic building blocks are functional units, the AMs, which are reinstantiated as many times as necessary to make them specifically relevant to individual or groups of benefactors; as the completion of a dissertation is a major task that calls for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the generous contribution of several helpers, every PhDAS is likely to consist of more than one AM; on the other hand, the PhDAS is mostly relevant to the writer's dissertation project (rather than all of the author's important accomplishments) and is not the main conceptual component of the tome it is part of (whose text focuses on the report on a research project); therefore, it is likely to selectively focus on a few important benefactors and thus to consist of a relatively restricted number of AMs.

Second, one can notice that the number of moves identifiable in PhDASs varies across disciplines. Thus Edu has the highest number of moves, namely 80, and B-Adm the lowest, namely 26. Overall, this appears to be a function of the length in words of the relevant sub-corpora; for instance, Edu is about twice as long as EECS in terms of both moves and words. Sometimes the correlation is not perfect, although a general trend can still be observed; thus, for example, Engl is almost twice as long as Phil with regard to moves, but over 7 times as long when considering it length in words. However, on other occasions no such correlation can be identified at all. Thus, B-Adm is a bit shorter than Phil with regard to moves (i.e., 26 vs. 30), but is almost four times as long as Phil with regard to words. Similarly, Phil and Stat are almost the same length with regard to moves, but the latter sub-corpus is almost four times as long as the former when considering their number of words. Overall, B-Adm, Phil and Stat are the shortest sub-corpora with regard to number of moves (each PhDAS has about 6 AMs); the longest are P-Bio, Arch, and especially Edu.

The data gathered about the length values of the PhDASs examined show that the PhDAS genre may be subject to internal variation, and that this may correlate with disciplinary subdivisions as attested in the corpus observed. Thus, it is possible that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exposure to or familiarity with genre exemplars within one's academic discipline directly or indirectly influences individual authors, who end up deliberately or unconsciously reproducing the communicative practices of their specific discourse community. In general, the data also suggest that the number of words of a PhDAS's is not a reliable predictor of its functional length: different authors may use the same number of words to either produce a relatively high number of moves relevant to several benefactors, which include only essential information about past beneficial exchanges, or to produce a relatively low number of elaborate moves relevant to a few benefactors, which provide detailed information about the benefits received from them.

Third, the number of moves varies also from one PhDAS to another within disciplines. The value ranges are as follows: Arch PhDASs can be 5 to 23 moves long, B-Adm can be 2 to 10 moves long, Edu can be 8 to 21 moves long, EECS can be 5 to 12 moves long, Engl can be 3 to 24 moves long, Phil can be 2 to 11 moves long, P-Bio can be 7 to 18 moves long, and Stat can be 3 to 9 moves long. These data show that certain disciplines (i.e., Arch, Edu and Engl) are characterized by greater internal variation than others (i.e., B-Adm, Phil and Stat) in terms of length values, and also that within most disciplines (EECS being an exception), the PhDASs tend to vary considerably in their length in moves from one exemplar to another. The table also shows that in most cases, the varying length of PhDASs in moves turns out to be a function of their length in words and of the length of subject-specific subcorpora. Thus, for instance, Edu4 is longer than Edu5 in terms of both number of moves and number of words, and the same applies to such PhDAS pairs as Phil1 and Phil2, and Stat2 and Stat3. The same pattern appears to emerge when comparing PhDASs from different disciplines, for example Arch1 and B-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Adm1, EECS5 and Engl5, and Engl4 and P-Bio4, although the correlation between the two measures should be described as a tendency more than as a rule. Thus, much as there are PhDASs consisting of the same number of moves and comparable in length in words (cf., e.g., Arch3 and B-Adm2, P-Bio5 and Stat4), there are also others that share the same number of moves but are very different in length in words (see, e.g., Arch1 and Engl3 or Engl1 and P-Bio5). Of course, the reason for this lack of a systematic correspondence between the PhDASs' and the their moves' length in words is due to the fact that one cannot predict, on the basis of word counts alone, how many interactional events given PhDASs will be relevant to, and thus whether they will consist of a few moves rich in details or of several moves conveying only minimal information.

Fourth, the penultimate column in Table 22 shows, on average, how many moves make up a PhDAS across the various disciplines. From this functional point of view, then, the longest PhDASs are typically those in Edu and Arch, those displaying intermediate values are EECS, Engl, and P-Bio, while the shortest are B-Adm, Phil, and Stat. These values mostly correlate with length values for words (except Phil), but are not good predictors, alone, of AMs' length in words.

Fifth, an examination of the data in the last column shows that the moves' average[52] length in words tend to be similar across most disciplines. Thus, on average, moves are about 26 words long, except for those in the EECS and Engl subcorpora, which are, on average, about 40 words long. Interestingly, the discipline specificity of the values for EECS and Engl can be accounted for only with *combined* reference to their total length in words and their average number of moves per PhDAS. A consideration of only one or the other value would not offer correct indications (cf., e.g., the values in the last three

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

columns for P-Bio and Stat). The average values of the moves with regard to length in words suggest that the building blocks of the PhDASs tend to be formally elaborate across the disciplines, and thus that they are not likely to be realized as standardized formulas.

Table 23 shows the distribution of PhDASs of different length in moves across the disciplines. It indicates that different disciplines tend to have different preferences with regard to number of moves. Thus B-Adm, Phil and Stat tend to include PhDASs with only a few moves; Arch and Edu tend to have PhDASs with a relatively high number of moves; EECS PhDASs prefer texts of medium move length values, while Engl and P-Bio are the least predictable from this point of view.

Table 23: Distribution of PhDASs of the same length in moves across disciplines

No. of moves per PhDAS	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Total
2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
5	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	5
6	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
8	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	4
9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
10	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
11	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
12	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
13	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
17	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
18	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
20	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
21	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
23	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

[52] I did not count the number of words of the various moves.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

24	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	40

Table 23 also signals where the various AM length values within a discipline are placed along the continuum whose endpoints are the shortest and longest PhDAS of that discipline. It appears that, apart from Engl and P-Bio, the AMs of the PhDASs in the other disciplines tend to cluster together around similar length values: for Arch they are 14-17, for B-Adm 2-6, for Edu 18-21, for EECS 9-12, for Phil 2-6, and for Stat 8-9. The last column of Table 23 also reveals that about half of the PhDASs (i.e., 19) are clustered around text length values of 5 to 10 AMs. (These values correspond in part to the average AM length value of PhDASs in Table 22, which is 10.12 AMs per PhDAS.) The data thus suggest that, on average, PhDASs are texts of appreciable, but not excessive length.

Table 24 shows the distribution of syntactically different types of moves across the corpus.

Table 24: Syntactic structure of moves

Macro-structure of moves	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Total
§AC	6	2	4	0	3	1	6	4	26
§ACI	2	1	0	0	3	2	4	2	14
§ACIM	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
§AF	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
§AFF	9	3	1	0	1	0	6	3	23
§AS	39	17	38	15	25	17	24	15	190
§ASM	2	1	4	4	1	6	1	2	21
§AV	2	0	18	5	1	1	4	0	29
§AVM	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
§AZ	7	1	10	12	14	0	10	6	60
§NRCZ	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
§NRCSM	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
§AZM	6	1	2	7	7	3	5	1	32
§A (total)	73	26	80	48	55	30	60	33	405
§ALD §ALU	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The data that strike one the most is the concentration of about half of the moves in the §AS category; if combined with §ASM, then it appears that over 52% of the moves in the corpus are one-sentence long. The second highest category is §AZ, which accounts for over 14% of the moves; if combined with §AZM, it covers over 23% of the moves. Next comes the §AV category, which accounts for over 7% of the moves. Two other relatively noticeable categories are §AC, relevant to about 6% of the moves, and §AFF, relevant to about 5% of the moves.

The distribution of the moves across syntactic (and typographic) categories shows that the PhDAS authors tend to prefer moves that are organized as whole units (sentences, clauses, combinations of sentences and/or clauses, and paragraphs), which allow the expression of complete events and situations, and occasionally their typographic visibility. It also shows that the preferred AM length is that of the sentence, which allows PhDAS writers to strike a balance between completeness and efficiency: a single sentence is structurally complex enough to enable its author to express all the information necessary to unambiguously characterize a given interactional episode, but not so complex as to hamper the reader's decoding efforts. In addition, the more frequent occurrence of §ASs rather than §ACs[53] signals that there tends to be a preference for the moves which are organized as complete units from the points of view of both syntax and punctuation. The occurrence of one-paragraph-long moves for about 13% of the corpus shows that authors may use typographic units to group together text segments relevant to similar benefactors and/or benefits. Finally, note that about 18% of the moves (thus, quite a few) are made up of less than syntactically complete constructions; this also shows, from the complementary point of view, that PhDAS authors may choose incomplete

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

constructions to refer to those beneficial exchanges that can be grouped together in a higher syntactic unit, maybe due to their similar relevance to certain types of benefactors and/or benefits.

The data reported in this section above suggest the following observations: the number of moves in a PhDAS varies both across and within disciplines, although discipline-specific value ranges are detectable. Also, on average, the moves are about 150 words long, although in two disciplines, EECS and Engl, they are much longer. In addition, the length of an AM often correlates with the word length of the PhDAS in which it occurs, but is not fully predictable from it (as an AM does not comprise a standard number of units of information; see sections 4.8., 4.9., and 4.10.). Furthermore, the data also show that the AMs can be syntactically organized in a number of ways, and that their various syntactic structures are distributed fairly equally across disciplines. Finally, the occasional cross-disciplinary differences in the range and/or distribution of values relative to various kinds of "length measurements" may be partly motivated with reference to the length in words of the various PhDASs.

Besides their basic *structure*, an additional facet of the syntactic encoding of AMs can be considered, namely their type (see section 3.4.). This refers to the *form* of the messages as determined by their mood structure (imperative, interrogative, subjunctive, declarative) or morphological shape (i.e., possible presence of nominalizations).

As the examples provided throughout the chapter may have already suggested, the vast majority of the AMs in the corpus are encoded as declaratives (in clauses),

[53] Note that Table 24 does not specify how many §AS moves are one clause long and how many are longer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

combinations of declaratives (in sentences), ellipted declaratives (in phrases) or combinations thereof. Only two prototypical questions are to be found in the PhDASs examined (i.e., ""What is new?"" and "Do you blatantly accept the notion of wicked problems?", both from Arch2), which are segments of larger AMs. They are not, however, questions that the author asks, but rather instances of reported speech. An additional, but less prototypical, interrogative occurs in Edu1 (i.e., "What would I have done without your generous spirit."), which is also part of a larger AM. It is not a prototypical interrogative simply because it lacks the expected clause-final question mark; however, its mood structure is unequivocally interrogative.

As is well known, declaratives are the default syntactic means for conveying information about states of affairs. As the communicative function of a PhDAS is indeed to *convey* information to the reader about benefits received by the writer and his current cognitive-mental state, it is not surprising that the corpus is characterized by a high number of declaratives. The form of the messages alone, however, cannot accurately predict their speech functions (as questions, commands, statements, exclamations or offers), which can be ascertained only by examining their overall encoding and their role in their co-text.

When considering the basic semantics of the AMs in the corpus (i.e., their speech functions), it is apparent that none of them globally counts as a question. That is, there is not a single move classifiable as a message eliciting a verbal response, which may trigger an answer or a disclaimer as a reaction. The only three interrogatives found in the corpus (see above) are part of larger AMs also containing declaratives; therefore their presence

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is not enough to characterize the AMs in which they occur as questions. In addition, the first two interrogatives are simply quoted, and thus their verbal response-soliciting function is not relevant to the PhDAS they belong to. Furthermore, the other interrogative is not typographically marked as such, which suggests it should be pronounced as if it were an exclamation; besides, even if phrased as an interrogative, that text segment functions more as a rhetorical than a real question: the author is reflecting on his own about the possible consequences of not receiving his benefactor's help, rather than truly expecting a response from the reader; finally, since the interrogative occurs in a monologic text that does not call for a concrete verbal reaction from the reader, its response-soliciting function is only conventionally associated with it, but not actually realized. Apart from the three interrogatives briefly discussed, no other AM in the corpus, independently of its formal encoding, has the function of a question.

There is only one instance of an imperative, namely "May his soul rest in peace" in P-Bio3. The presence of the modal *may*, however, gives it the flavor of a subjunctive-optative, and indeed the message expresses a desire-hope rather than an imposition-request.

As to be expected on the basis of the communicative function of PhDASs, no move in the corpus acts as a command, that is a message eliciting a physical, mental or verbal act, whose possible reaction is compliance or refusal. Not only are the authors in no authoritative position (as they still have to go through their final academic rite of passage), but more specifically, they are also focused on an interactional role (that of thankers) that communicatively clashes with the goal of imposing one's will on others.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

All the moves in the corpus count as statements, that is as messages conveying information, whose possible reaction is the acknowledgment or contradiction of the stated information. (The three containing interrogatives count as partial statements.) Indeed, the basic speech functions of the PhDAS is to inform the general reader about the background of the author's dissertation project, which might not be familiar to her otherwise (or about his future plans), and statements serve precisely this purpose. The author does not require the reader to provide an explicit reaction to his text, but simply expects her to conventionally accept it as truthful. Examples:

(326) "The two people who served as the outside members of my committee, Professors [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], also spent many hours reading and discussing my work with me." (Phil2; a statement about the author's past);

(327) "Our discussions on statistics and genetics will have a lasting effect on my views of both fields" (Stat2; a statement about the author's future);

(328) "He introduced me to the exciting and beautiful world of cell biology, and for that, I will be eternally grateful." (P-Bio2; a statement about the author's past and future).

A few statements are emphatic, that is exclamations, as can be understood from the punctuation marks accompanying them or their syntactic encoding. Examples:

(329) "You are the prize girl!" (Edu1; an exclamation or emphatic statement as part of an AM; marker of emphasis: exclamation point);

(330) "I wish he had lived to see me graduate" (EECS5; an exclamation or emphatic statement as part of an AM; marker of emphasis: *I wish*).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I found two exclamations in Edu, four in EECS, one in Engl and one in P-Bio. The limited number of emphatic statements in the corpus may be due to the partially formal nature of the PhDASs, which are attached to official, important documents (i.e., dissertations). On the other hand, the occasional presence of such exclamations also reveals the partially informal character of the PhDASs, which are texts not subject to strict editorial requirements.

The AMs in the corpus can also be considered offers, that is, messages suggesting or accompanying the provision of goods or services (or more generally signaling the intention to act in relation to others), which may trigger acceptance or rejection as possible reactions. This is because AMs express positive feelings meant to make the addressee feel good; they count, that is, as offers of "emotional" services which function as interactional-social lubricants. In addition, of the two non-thanking moves of the corpus (see sections 4.6.1. and this section above) one can also be regarded as an offer, because it is an act of congratulating that has a lubricating function similar to that of acts of thanking.

Of course, despite their similar semantic role, not all AMs or AM components make their speech function as offers equally explicit. Some directly manifest the intention to present the addressee with something, others "only" the intention or inclination to act. Examples:

(331) "I doubt I can provide much generic innovation, but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record the acknowledgements I have been impatiently saving up all these years" (Engl3: an explicit manifestation of the speech function of offer);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(332) "I can do no more than to refer the gentle reader to my dedication. My life is incalculably sweeter because of my girls; my every breath devoted to offering them more-of-the-same" (Engl3; an AM making its speech function as offer explicit);

(333) "I hope that I can bring to my own dissertation students what I have learned from each member of my dissertation committee about the rewards of rigor, the pleasures of scholarship, and the spirit of intellectual community." (Engl4; an AM making its speech function as offer explicit);

(334) "Thanks to [first name + last name] I now try to forget less this lesson" (Arch2; a statement expressing inclination to act, which is a type of offer);

(335) "The vast and impressive array of Development Planning Theory literature still remains something for me to be mastered in order to deliberate as much is [sic] I desire about many of the differences. [...]" (Arch2; a statement about a future state of affairs and a future intention);

(336) "[...] you have taught me more than you will ever know [...]. I will always look up to your enduring inner strength and beauty [...]" (Edu1; a statement expressing inclination to act in the future).

The above brief examination of an aspect of the semantics of the PhDASs has revealed, as was to be expected, that these texts are focused on the speech functions of statement and offer. The realization of these functions enables PhDAS writers to satisfy two of their communicative needs, namely inform the general reader about the circumstances of their dissertation projects and courteously reciprocate favors received

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by their benefactors in the past. The consistent orientation of the texts on these two functions also contributes to their coherence and cohesion.

4.6.4. Textual cohesion: linkers

An important indicator of the unity of a text is its cohesion. This is the surface linguistic manifestation of the underlying conceptual coherence (i.e., logic, relatedness, and relevance) of its parts. One manifestation of cohesion consists in the signaling of semantic ties between text segments, which relies on the use of linkers. Linkers are the conjunctions and adverbs that make explicit the connection between parts of a message: they both indicate that a connection exists and specify what type it is (e.g., adversative, temporal). Such signaling devices help the reader process the text, so that she does not have to work hard to notice the mutual (type of) relevance of different parts of a message; at the same time, they stress the unity of the whole text and the connectedness of its units of meaning. (Of course, semantic ties may exist between two or more parts of a text independently of whether they are signaled through explicit cohesive devices, such as linkers, as long as the text is internally coherent.)

I tagged *selected* linkers in the corpus by prefixing the symbol *§L* to them. I examined only those occurring in AM- and sentence-initial positions[54], that is, those signaling semantic ties between the conceptually most salient units of meaning or the functionally-syntactically complete units of the texts. This does not necessarily mean that linkers connecting shorter text segments are qualitatively different from those connecting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

larger text units. Indeed, tokens of the same linker may occur both at the beginning and in the middle of an AM or sentence. Examples:

(337) "§L Also, this endeavor would not have been nearly as pleasant nor as productive if not for my close collaborator and dear friend [first name + last name] who was always willing to provide feedback, have endless sub-group meetings, and even cover for me out in the classroom when the need arose." (Edu3; linker *also* in move- and sentence-initial position);

(338) "I also have to thank my brother for being a great friend and for passing along that first computer way back when, [sic]" (Edu3; linker *also* in non-initial position).

Both the above examples are from the same PhDAS and both contain the linker *also*; only the first one occurs in AM- and sentence-initial position and has been considered in the count. Note that the comma after the *also* in the first example clearly denotes its sentential scope. The same considerations apply to the following excerpts:

(339) "§L And, I have also appreciated the hours of enjoyment shared with the Hearts club, the camping contingent, and the book club members. Thank you all." (Edu3; linker *and* in initial position);

(340) "My mother and father each showed me the merits of hard work (and play) and supported me at each step along the way." (Edu3; linkers *and* in non-initial position).

In the first example above, the linker *and* introduces a new AM and sentence. In the second example, the first *and* connects two coordinated noun phrases ("My mother" and

---

[54] I did not consider clausal expressions that are functionally equivalent to sentence- or AM-initial linkers. Thus, for example, "I would like to begin by thanking" (Edu4) means the same as *First of all, I want to*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"father each") which constitute the subject of the sentence and encode the benefactors of the AM; the second *and* connects two embedded prepositional phrases, the second of which has an ellipted head (i.e., "of hard work" and "[of] play") which are parts of a segment encoding a benefit; and the third *and* connects two verb phrases (i.e., "showed me the merits of hard work (and play)" and "supported me at each step of the way") that encode the benefits of the AM.

Not only can tokens of the same linkers occur in various positions in AMs and sentences, but also more elaborate linkers may connect shorter text segments while less elaborate ones may connect larger text units. Examples:

(341) "§L Finally, my biggest debt is to my mother who made it all possible." (Arch4; a one-word linker in sentence-initial position);

(342) "With [first name + last name] I learned the importance of deliberating as much as possible not only the coincidences in ideas, but also, and most importantly, the differences." (Arch2; three coordinated two-word linkers in sentence-internal position).

The first excerpt above makes up a whole AM and begins with *finally*; this is a one-word linker whose scope is the whole AM and which occurs in sentence-initial position. It simply indicates what position in a list of AMs the given unit of meaning occupies, namely the last. The second excerpt is taken from the central part of a long AM; it contains three two-word linkers, namely *not only*, *but also*, and *most importantly*. These linkers are relevant to components of a benefit, and are thus functionally ranked lower than *finally* is in the previous example. However, these linkers are more informative because they signal (a) a given sequence of points (thus, e.g., *but also* indicates that a unit

---

thank, but I did not regarded *to begin by* as a mere synonym of *first of all*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of information is being added to one that has come before, introduced by *not only*), (b) that more points are being added on the same topic (i.e., that they are mutually relevant), and (c) what the author's opinion is on one of these points (*most importantly* conveys an evaluative meaning).

Two final methodological observations are in order with reference to my decision to consider only AM-initial and sentence-initial linkers. The first is that I included clause-initial linkers in the count only when these could be unambiguously classified as sentence- or AM-initial linkers too. Consider the following examples:

(343) "§L While in the midst of wrestling with this work, I have often found solace and inspiration in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends who have nurtured my work." (Edu1; linker *while* in clause-, sentence- and AM-initial position);

(344) "§L First and foremost, I would like to thank my two wonderful advisors, [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]. Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, they were often more friends than authoritative figures" (EECS1).

In the first excerpt above, from Edu4, the linker *while* has a clausal scope, but it also occurs at the beginning of a one-sentence AM. In the second excerpt, from EECS1, instead, *besides* in the second sentence is sentence- but not AM-initial and its scope is not the sentence in which it occurs. Therefore, although similar in function, the two linkers are treated differently. I included the former in the count, but not the latter.

The other methodological consequence of my choice to consider only sentence- or AM-initial linkers is that I did not include in my count linkers whose scope is the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sentence but that do not occur in sentence-initial position (i.e., after the subject and/or finite verb element). Consider:

(345) "My largest intellectual debts are, not surprisingly, to my teachers at Berkeley [...]" (Engl3; a two-word linker in sentence-internal position and whose scope is the sentence).

In the above excerpt, which is the beginning of a one-sentence AM, *not surprisingly* applies to the whole sentence, but since it appears as a parenthetical remark after the subject, I did not count it.

On the other hand, I did consider the two linkers whose scope is a whole sentence or AM, and which occur before the mood component of a clause (i.e., the subject and/or finite verb element, which signal the beginning of the representation of an event or experience). As a result, I included in my counting two linkers that occur in second position — one after a vocative (in Edu1), and another one after a parenthetical, modality-oriented comment (in Arch2). Example:

(346) "[first name], §L of course I owe you a special thanks [sic] for trusting me [...]" (Edu1; a linker in second position).

Table 25 shows the distribution of linkers across disciplines and individual texts. It reveals that AM- and sentence-initial linkers occur in most PhDASs, that is 35 (i.e., 87.5%) and that each discipline-specific sub-corpus has at least a few occurrences of such linkers. The minimum and maximum number of linkers per sub-corpus is 7 (for Phil) and 21 (for Edu).

A comparison between Table 25 and Table 22 reveals that the frequency of linkers within disciplines *tends* to correlate with the number of words and moves of the PhDASs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(e.g., the shortest and longest sub-corpora, in terms of moves and words, are the ones with the lowest and highest numbers of linkers, respectively); however, neither measurement is an accurate predictor of the frequency of occurrence of linkers (e.g., Engl and B-Adm have the same number of linkers, but the former is twice as long as the latter in terms moves and three times as long as the latter in terms of words). The average number of linkers per PhDAS is about 2.5, that is, about one every four moves. This not very high value suggests that sentence-initial linkers may be used to signal semantic ties between *groups* of AMs rather than single AMs. No sub-corpus stands out for a specific pattern of distribution of linkers: three sub-corpora contain PhDASs with no linkers (i.e., Arch, B-Adm, Phil), one contains the two PhDASs with the highest number of linkers (i.e., Edu), while PhDASs with four or more linkers occur in three disciplines (i.e., Arch, B-Adm, Edu, EECS, and P-Bio), and PhDASs with three or fewer linkers occur in all disciplines. Finally, the most common frequency values for linkers in the PhDAS are: (a) 3, in seven PhDASs, (b) 1, in eight PhDASs and (c) 2, in eleven PhDASs.

Table 25: Number of linkers

No. of linkers	PhDAs no. 1	PhDAs no. 2	PhDAs no. 3	PhDAs no. 4	PhDAs no. 5	Tot	Average
Arch	4	5	0	3	2	14	2.8
B-Adm	2	4	3	0	0	9	1.8
Edu	7	1	9	3	1	21	4.2
EECS	3	2	4	2	2	13	2.6
Engl	2	1	2	3	1	9	1.8
Phil	3	0	0	2	2	7	1.4
P-Bio	1	2	3	6	5	17	3.4
Stat	3	2	1	1	1	8	1.6
Tot	25	17	22	20	14	98	2.45

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 26 lists the specific linkers occurring in their corpus with their frequency values. It shows that the linkers occurring in the corpus are of five main types, namely additive (e.g., *additionally, finally*), which indicate that given units of information are being added to others and put in a sequence; attitudinal (e.g., *in particular, most importantly*), which signal the author's opinion about given units of information being introduced, typically their level of importance; adversative (i.e., *but, however*), which signal contrasts; temporal (i.e., *from then on, while*)[55], which signal chronological sequence of events; and generic (i.e., *generally*), which signal the scope of applicability of given statements. Such linkers may also occur in combinations (e.g., *finally and most importantly, but more important*), thus conveying various kinds of notions.

Additive and attitudinal linkers make up over 93% of the linkers in the corpus. Indeed, the two most frequent linkers are *and* (over 33%) and *finally* (over 15%), both of which are additive; they are also the only two linkers occurring in all disciplines. Much less frequent are adversative and temporal linkers while there is only one instance of *generally*. Apart from *and* and *finally*, no other linker shows an appreciable frequency of occurrence in the corpus. On the other hand, there are several linkers that appear to be discipline-specific (about 23%). This, however, does not indicate any *conceptual* specificity of the sub-corpora, as each of the various linkers conveys one or both of two basic kinds of cohesive notions, namely addition and/or opinion. The preference for additive and attitudinal linkers can be easily accounted for: they help PhDAS authors organize their texts as sequences of strategic moves and enable them to stress the expressive illocutionary nature of their messages.

[55] *After all* is an attitudinal linker.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 26: Distribution of types of linkers across PhDASs

Linker	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
above all	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
additionally	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
after all	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
also	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
and	5	2	7	2	4	4	7	2	33
and especially	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
and of course	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
and also	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
but	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
but more important	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
especially	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
finally	1	1	4	1	1	2	3	2	15
finally and most importantly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
finally and most of all	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
finally, but certainly not the least	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
first	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
first and foremost	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
first of all	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
fortunately	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
from then on	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
futhermore	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
generally	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
however	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
in addition	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
indeed	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
in the end	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
in particular	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
last but not least	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
lastly	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
most importantly	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
most of all	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
not only	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
of course	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
particularly	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
while	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	14	9	21	13	9	7	17	8	98

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In conclusion, Tables 25 and 26 together show that the corpus is fairly homogeneous with regard to one global manifestation of its textual cohesion. On the one hand, linkers whose scope is the sentence and/or the move are fairly equally distributed across the sub-corpora. On the other hand, the whole corpus is characterized by the overt manifestation of semantic ties of only two main kinds that serve the authors' organizational and functional communicative needs.

4.6.5. Conclusion

An examination of selected global features of the corpus (i.e., the presence of organizational moves, the favorite order of benefactors, the syntactic-semantic encoding of the AMs, and the frequency and types of cohesive devices signaling semantic ties among sentences and AMs) has revealed that the corpus is relatively homogeneous across disciplines in *macro*-aspects of its encoding. In the rest of the chapter I consider *micro*-facets of the encoding of the PhDASs, more specifically the organization and content of the AMs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.7. Head acts vs. supportive moves?

The model outlined in section 3.4. should enable a researcher to define, classify and describe patterns of realization of acts of thanking (including acts of acknowledging) in possibly elaborate stretches of discourse; however, it does not include watertight criteria for the identification of thanking head acts vs. supportive moves in complex communicative acts. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 200) too, in their analysis of requests and apologies, point out that "the issue of separating Head acts from Adjuncts [is] problematic since the same word [...] might in once case serve only to strengthen or support an act realized by other verbal means, while in another case, this utterance constitutes the act itself". I have encountered the same problem in examining PhDASs: what may count as a head act or as an expansion of it in such texts is not so obvious as it may seem at first.

In theory, a head act is the unit that minimally and most explicitly expresses the illocutionary intent relevant to a given speech act. But it is difficult to establish what counts as a unit. Should such a unit be identified on the basis of syntactic, semantic and/or typographic criteria? Consider the following examples:

(347) "I also thank [first name] for giving me the opportunity to live in [placename] for half a year." (EECS1; a text segment interpretable as an AM or an AM head act, characterized by internal unity).

The above excerpt may constitute either a complete AM, if it is not accompanied by any additional information, or the head act of an AM, if it does. It comprises a gratitude expression ("I also thank"), reference to a benefactor ("[first name]") and reference to a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefit ("for giving me the opportunity to live in [placename] for half a year"). Together, in the order in which they appear, these functional components of the AM (or AM head act) form a one-clause sentence. The sentence pivots on the main verb "thank" ("giving" is embedded under "for" and "to live" is embedded under "the opportunity"): "I" is the subject", "[first name]" is the direct object and the *for*-headed prepositional phrase is the indirect object. The use of punctuation marks in, before, and after this excerpt underlines the formal, semantic and structural completeness of the message unit. Thus, the various characteristics of this excerpt contribute to its interpretation as a unit, or better, as one unit (i.e., a mini-text).

The following excerpt, however, shows that a syntactic unit may not coincide with a semantic one:

> (348) "First and foremost, I would like to thank my two wonderful advisors, [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]. Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, they were often more friends than authoritative figures." (EECS1; a text segment interpretable as an AM or AM head act and consisting of one semantic unit but of two syntactic/typographic units).

The above excerpt consists of two sentences, the first made up of one clause, the second of two clauses in a relationship of subordination. The first sentence expresses gratitude ("I would like to thank") and mentions the benefactors ("my two wonderful advisors, [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]"), the second refers to two benefits ("Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, they were often more friends than authoritative figures"). From the point of view of content, both sentences together constitute the main move of an AM (or the whole AM, if no extra information is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

provided), but from the point of view of syntax and punctuation, they constitute *two* units.

The following excerpt shows that punctuation choices may not adhere to syntactic choices:

> (349) "There have been many people who supported me throughout this endeavor. Friends to whom I am indebted. [first name + last name], [first name + last name], [first name + middle name + last name] & [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and [first name] & [first name + last name] and their extended family." (Edu4; an AM consisting of one syntactic unit but also of three typographic segments).

From a syntactic point of view, the above excerpt combines a two-clause sentence ("There have been many people" and "who supported me throughout this endeavor") with two adpositions ("Friends to whom I am indebted" and "[several names] and their extended family") relevant to the direct object in the first clause ("people"); therefore, it can be said to realize one syntactic unit. From the point of view of punctuation, however, this AM apparently consists of 3 units, as signaled by the 3 periods that divide the AM up into 3 segments. The periods signal the falling intonation contours that are expected to be superimposed onto the excerpt when this is being read and thus are not syntactically motivated.

But things can get even more complicated, that is syntactic/typographic units can include both information relevant to the main move and information relevant to its supportives. Example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(350) "To my parents, [first name] and [first name], your love and support — both financial and emotional — are what have gotten me through these many many years of formal education. Thank you both for being my anchor." (Edu1; an AM in which semantic units of different hierarchical importance are grouped together under syntactic units).

In the above example, the first sentence includes reference to the benefactors ("To my parents, [first name] and [first name],"), the benefit ("your love and support — both financial and emotional —") and a consequence of that benefit ("are what have gotten me through these many many years of formal education"). It thus contains components that conceptually belong to the head act of an AM but also an element that functions as an expansion of one of those components. On the other hand, it is the second sentence that contains another main component (i.e., the gratitude expression) together with less explicit reference to both the benefactors (i.e., "both") and the benefit ("for being my anchor").

From the above examples it appears that it may be difficult to identify a stretch of writing that constitutes a single unit (from the point of view of content, punctuation, and syntax) and that functionally corresponds to the head act of a (thanking) speech act. Additional problems show up when considering the other two requirements for the identification of the head act, namely minimality and explicitness. For instance, how can the value of minimality be established — by counting words (including or excluding function words?), phrases, clauses or sentences? And how should ellipsis, repetition or embedding of given units of information be considered? Consider the following examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(351) "My advisor, [first name + last name], challenged my ideas thus promoting deeper levels of understanding." (Edu5; adposition (not necessarily) interpretable as part of the head act of the AM);

(352) "My deepest thanks are extended to [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name], my academic advisor and dissertation Chairman, for all his valuable advice and support, both academic and personal, since the beginning of this long journey." (Arch1; adposition (not necessarily) interpretable as part of the head act of the AM).

In the above excerpts, are the adpositions "[first name + last name]" in Edu5 and "my academic advisor and dissertation Chairman" in Arch1 to be regarded as part of the minimal units of the AMs because they syntactically belong to the same sentences in which the other basic units of information occur? Or should they be excluded from the head acts, since they constitute syntactically distinct sub-units within the larger sentences? (Note that the two adpositions include different types of information, with different levels of explicitness, although they are syntactically equivalent in function.)

In the following excerpt, should the *of*-headed prepositional phrase post-modifying the name of the benefactor be considered part of the head act of the AM? And what about the pronoun *who*?

(353) "[...] and also the devotion of Maestro [name] of [placename], [placename] who spent three days with me on my tour of [placename] in [placename] and [placename]." (Arch5; difficulties in assigning certain units of information to the head act vs. expansions of an AM).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The post-modifying prepositional phrase is embedded under the benefactor's name, and thus it is syntactically part of the same noun phrase; however, it provides information that is not essential for the identification of the benefactor. On the other hand, *who* occurs in a different clause, although its referent is the same as the above-mentioned noun phrase; in addition, from the point of view of punctuation, it is part of the same typographic unit, too.

When a given functional unit is instantiated more than once in an AM, should both of its occurrences considered part of the head act? And if not, on what grounds should one be selected and the other(s) excluded? Consider:

> (354) "I'd like to thank my advisor [abbreviated first name + last name] for his guiding hand and help over the last two years. "THANKS!"" (Stat3; repeated manifestations of gratitude in the same AM).

The above excerpt contains two thanking expressions: the first is *conventionally* used to perform an act of thanking (more precisely, to manifest the relevant illocution), although its hedged performative verb technically qualifies it as a statement (assertive) that informs the reader about a desire of the writer's rather than an expressive speech act. The second is a formulaic and colloquial thanking expression which literally counts as an act of thanking, if uttered sincerely and under other appropriate circumstances (such as the existence of a benefactor and benefit to refer to, both mentioned in the previous sentence). Needless to say, the formulaic *Thanks!* is syntactically more direct than *I'd like to thank* as an expression of gratitude; for this reason, only the former could be considered part of the head act. However, conventional usage of "I'd like to thank" as a thanking expression may lead ordinary speakers of English to regard both as equally

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

explicit; on these grounds, both expressions could be considered part of the head act. On the other hand, "THANKS!" is the *second* thanking expression in the AM, it is syntactically severed from the other functional components of the AM (the benefactor and benefit) and is stylistically less appropriate to the context (i.e., more informal); on these grounds, only "I'd like to thank" could be considered part of the head act. In conclusion, the above observations indicate that different interpretative criteria lead to different choices in the identification of functional segments within an AM.

A similar problem occurs when a text segment includes not only two thanking expressions, but also two benefits associated with them, as in the following example:

> (355) "First of all, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of plant development and providing me with the resources which made this project a reality. I am grateful for her advice, support (both scientific and financial) and, above all, her patience. The breadth of [first name]'s knowledge in the field of biology inspired me a great deal during my study of pollen development and will continue to inspire me throughout my career in science." (P-Bio3; an AM with gratitude expressions and two benefits).

Should one of the two thanking expressions and/or benefits be considered subordinate to the other, and if so on what grounds (e.g., first occurrence in the AM, degree of specificity, relevance to the author's dissertation project)?

Difficulties may also be encountered in trying to evaluate the level of semantic explicitness of the lexical resources through which gratitude (or other units of meaning) are expressed in an AM. Consider the following example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(356) "Finally, I would like to thank [abbreviated first name] for his constant enthusiasm and support. I greatly appreciated his sensitivity on a personal level which was a major source of comfort and inspiration to me. Under his guidance, I have developed my capacities to think widely and deeply. I am extremely grateful for this intellectual stimulation and his patient, constructive and unfailingly positive perspective on my ideas and writings." (P-Bio5; an AM with three explicit thanking expressions).

The above AM contains three thanking expressions. They are all *conventionally* used to manifest gratitude and actually *realize* acts of thanking, despite their partly different syntactic encoding (as mental, material and relational processes, respectively) and etymological bases (see section 3.2.1.). Also, they are all tied to different benefits and presented as relevant to the same benefactor. Given their conventional explicitness (or semantic transparency) and their parallel use in the sentences making up the AM, should they all be considered part of the head act? Alternatively, on what grounds should one be selected as the main thanking expression of the AM?

Furthermore, it is not clear how to treat tokens of the same expression (or similarly worded expressions) when these are accompanied by different co-text in different AMs. Consider:

(357) "I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of [first name + last name], without whose generosity it would have been a much more difficult endeavor." (Engl4; the notion of 'dedication' as a thanking expression equivalent);

(358) "and I owe a special debt of gratitude to my wife, [first name + last name], for the support — intellectual and otherwise — she has given me during the rather

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unusual process of writing a dissertation. It is to her that I dedicate this work." (Phil5; the notion of 'dedication' as an expansion of a more explicit thanking expression).

Apparently, the first AM has the notion of 'dedication' as part of the thanking expression equivalent, because no other text segment more explicitly represents the author's positive attitude toward his benefactor; on the other hand, the second AM presents that notion as an expansion of the more explicit gratitude expression "I owe a special debt of gratitude". However, if taken out of their co-texts, both text segments containing *dedicate* should be treated as semantically equivalent.

A final main problem has to do with the possibility of a lack of coincidence between the concepts of minimality and explicitness. That is, these properties may not be ascribable to one and the same stretch of writing. Consider the following excerpts:

(359) "I feel really lucky to have many wonderful friends at Berkeley. I wish to thank them for the help, encouragement and fun time together." (EECS2; lack of coincidence between minimal and most explicit units of meaning);

(360) "And, I have also appreciated the hours of enjoyment shared with the Hearts club, the camping contingent, and the book club members. Thank you all." (Edu3; lack of coincidence between minimal and most explicit units of meaning);

(361) "I would like to begin by thanking the people who made this dissertation possible. The families of the preschool children that I interviewed for this dissertation." (Edu4; lack of coincidence between minimal and most explicit units of meaning).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In all three excerpts, the syntactic units that minimally express gratitude (the second sentence in EECS2 and Edu3, and the first sentence in Edu4) are not the same as the ones that most explicitly identify the relevant benefactors. Thus, the text segments that would satisfy the criteria of minimality and explicitness would not make up units, but consist of syntactically incomplete stretches of text (e.g., in the example from Edu4 above, the head act would be "I would like to begin by thanking [...] who made this dissertation possible. The families of the preschool children that I interviewed for this dissertation."). In cases such as these it is not easy to decide which taxonomic criterion to give priority to in order to accurately identify the main semantic-functional unit of an AM.

The above exemplification has shown that the identification of the head act of an AM is not a straightforward process, and that it is difficult to base it on a consistent and logical set of criteria. For this reason, I have decided not to identify head acts in the PhDASs. The various facets of the complexity of the AMs (syntactic, semantic, typographic, and more generally structural) would make it difficult to rationally and satisfactorily motivate the choice of given text segments as the core units of the AMs. A consequence of this is that I do not examine one aspect of the arrangement of the AMs, namely the order in which their head acts and their supportives occur in them. On the other hand, I focus my attention on the various main and supportive functional components of the AMs in turn, without considering their sequencing in the AMs themselves.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.8. Benefactor units

I begin my analysis of micro-aspects of the encoding of the PhDASs by taking into consideration those functional units that serve for the identification of their strategic moves, namely the benefactor-identifying text segments. First, I list, gloss, and exemplify the tags used for classifying the various benefactor-identifying text segments to be found in the PhDASs. Then I outline the problems encountered in identifying and/or classifying given text segments. Finally, I present a summary of the benefactor-relevant data gathered from the corpus.

I mark all the benefactor-identifying text segments with at least (see below) two tags: the generic *§B*, which simply means 'benefactor', and another one, selected from a series of more specific tags, signaling the basic type of information conveyed about the various benefactors. In addition, I classify special types of benefactor-identifying segments (e.g., those characterized by the repetition or combination of certain units of information and/or discontinuity) with additional tags indicating their structural details. The specific benefactor tags used, accompanied by glosses, exemplifications, and clarifications about their assignment to given text segments, are the following, in alphabetical order:

§B: benefactor unit (reference to the general pragmatic role attributed to a person, group, institution or other entity mentioned or addressed in the AM); example:

(362) "[...] and §B §Bnamrol [first name + last name] for sharing his views about rules and delighting." (Arch1; an AM in which the tag *§B* signals the beginning of the text segment relevant to the benefactor);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Bcombo: benefactor unit which makes reference to benefactor(s) in more than one way; the tag is then followed by the more specific combination of benefactor tags; example:

(363) "§B §Bcombo §Btitl+group To the students of [course code] Group who allowed me to prod and probe the workings of their classroom" (Edu1; benefactors identified through a combination of two labels, one referring to their professional role and the other to their specific class);

certain *§B* tags like *§Bnamrol* and *§Bnamtitl* (see below) signal the presence of *two* types of benefactor-identifying labels in given text segments; however, they are not accompanied by the tag *§Bcombo*; this is because the relevant text segments actually contain only one unit of information that serves to *classify* the benefactor, the other simply conveys the information necessary to specifically identify the benefactors in question;

§Bdescr: a segment of a benefactor unit that offers a description of the benefactor through adjectives, adverbs, phrases, clauses or adpositions; this tag never occurs alone, as it specifies some characteristic of a benefactor already identified through other means; examples:

(364) "Many thanks go §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+namist+descr to the members of the [name of lab] lab, both *past* and *present* [...]" (P-Bio2; a benefactor unit with a descriptive segment encoded as a combination of adjectives; emphases added);

(365) "Thank you §B §Bnamtitl+descr to [first name + last name], my friend and first *real* science teacher, for always being close in spite of the distance" (P-Bio1; a benefactor unit including an adjectival description of the benefactor in an adposition to the benefactor's name; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(366) "I have had the great pleasure of regular conversations §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr with a *very thoughtful* geneticist, [first name + last name]. Our discussions on statistics and genetics will have a lasting effect on my views of both fields" (Stat2; description of a benefactor through an adverb and adjective; emphasis added);

(367) "§B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr Dr. [last name]'s *dedication to scientific research* is inspiring" (EECS2; description of a benefactor embedded under a genitive; emphasis added);

(368) "First, I would like to thank §B §Bcombo §Btitl+descr the students *who participated in these design studies*" (Edu3; benefactors described through a relative clause; emphasis added);

(369) "I would like to begin by thanking §B §BLD+ §BR §Bcombo §Bgen+titl+descr the people who made this dissertation possible. §BLU1 *The families of the preschool children that I interviewed for this dissertation.* [...]" (Edu4; description of a benefactor provided through a phrase with an embedded clause functioning as an adposition; emphasis added);

adjectives that do not describe characteristics of benefactors but rather indicate their specific category membership do not count as descriptive segments of benefactor units; examples:

(370) "[...] §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+isttitl the two internal members of my dissertation committee, [...], acted as my mentors [...]" (Phil2; the adjective *internal* helps narrow down the referents of the benefactor unit);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(371) "§B §Bcombo §Bnam+titl+namist+descr [...] and the rest of the exemplary administrative staff at the Berkeley Department of Philosophy have helped me more than they realize." (Phil2; a benefactor unit with a descriptive adjective, i.e., *exemplary*, and a non-descriptive one, i.e., *administrative*);

(372) "§B §Bcombo §Btitl+namrol+namtitl+gen+descr Our outstanding departmental staff, including [...] have all helped in very many ways" (Stat4; a benefactor unit including the descriptive adjective *outstanding* and the category-identifying adjective *departmental*);

(373) "I would like to thank §B §Bnamtitl my doctoral advisor, [...], for financial support and for his guidance [...]." (P-Bio1; a benefactor unit with a non-descriptive adjective);

§Bgen: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that refers to one or more benefactors only in very general terms); example:

(374) "I wish to express my sincere gratitude §B §Bgen to many people whose help, directly or indirectly, made this dissertation possible." (Arch1; reference to generic benefactors);

§Bgroup: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that refers to a group of benefactors that are identified through their proper names; the benefactors in question do not constitute an institution; example:

(375) "Finally I'd like to gratuitously acknowledge §B §Bgroup the [*name of group*] for accepting a softball novice into the fold." (Stat3; a group of benefactors identified through a collective proper name);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Bisttitl: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that identifies a group, institution or workplace through their generic title (not their proper name); example:

(376) "§B §Bisttitl To my dissertation committee, I give great thanks" (Edu1; an academic institution consisting of a group of people, identified through its generic title);

§BLD: the first part of a discontinuous benefactor unit, to be completed with a subsequent text segment; example:

(377) "§B §BLD §Bnamtitl [*abbreviated first name + last name*] has been unceasingly generous with his time, resources, and expertise §BLU1 as my advisor." (Stat4; the first part of a discontinuous benefactor unit; emphasis added);

§BLU#: the second (or other non-first) part of a discontinuous benefactor unit, appropriately numbered, relevant to an earlier text segment; example:

(378) "§B §BLD §Bcombo §Btitl+namrol+descr My fellow graduate students deserve recognition for their encouragement and good spirits, §BLU1 especially [*first name + last name*] and [*first name + last name*]." (Stat1; the second part of a discontinuous benefactor unit; emphasis added);

I consider two or more text segments contributing to identifying the benefactor(s) discontinuous if they are not adjacent to one another, because separated by other functional constituents of the AM (i.e., the benefit-relevant expression and/or the gratitude expression and/or their expansions), but not if they are "separated" by a benefactor expansion or if one of them is syntactically embedded under the other. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(379) "I would also like to thank §B §BLD §Bcombo §Bgen+nam the following people who read and criticized portions of my dissertation: §BLU1 [several names]" (Phil1; a benefit unit separates the two parts of a discontinuous benefactor unit);

(380) "§B §BLD §Bcombo §Bgen+nam In addition to those mentioned below I would like to give special thanks §BLU1 to [several names]" (Phil3; a discontinuous benefactor unit is interrupted by a gratitude expression);

(381) "Furthermore, I would like to recognize §B §BLD §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+namist+descr all my fellow students from the former [name of institute] who took the time and trouble to visit me here in Berkeley, listed in order of appearance: §BLU1 [first name + last name], [...]." (Stat1; an AM with a discontinuous benefactor unit, whose parts are separated by the benefit unit, a benefit expansion unit, and in theory also by a benefactor expansion unit);

§Bnam: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that refers to benefactor(s) through her/their name(s); example:

(382) "I would like to extend my appreciation §B §Bnam to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], whose work and efforts have made my years in the doctoral program all the more enjoyable" (B-Adm3; benefactors identified through their names);

§Bnamist: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that mentions the proper name(s) of institution(s) such as groups of people, organizations or workplaces; example:

(383) "§B §Bnamist At the [proper name of academic center] ([abbreviated name of academic center]) and at the [proper name of academic department] — where I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work as an Assistant Professor— I received the necessary support to conclude this dissertation" (Arch2; benefactive institutions identified through their proper names);

if the reference to an institution is embedded under a text segment referring to a person or people identified as benefactors, that text segment is considered part of the benefactor unit and is classified through a combination of tags (e.g., §Bnam+namist); example:

(384) "§B §Bcombo §Bnam+titl+namist+descr [names], and the rest of the exemplary administrative staff at the Berkeley Department of Philosophy have helped me more than they realize." (Phil2; an embedded prepositional phrase referring to a beneficial institution);

§Bnamrol: (a segment of a) benefactor unit that identifies benefactor(s) through explicit reference to their name(s) and implicit reference to the role(s) and/or titles recoverable elsewhere in the co-text (e.g., in the title page of the dissertation, a previous AM, a text segment other than the benefactor unit occurring in the same AM, the benefit unit of the same AM, which may contain reference to instances of behavior or events revealing of given roles and/or more explicitly indicate the benefactor's role or title; see also about the tag *§Brol* below); example:

(385) "Not only of academia is [sic] possible to survive. Many friends at Berkeley helped me to conclude. [two other AMs]. B §Bnamrol [first name] and [first + last name] were also the kind of friends one graciously find [sic] in life" (Arch2; benefactors identifiable both through their names and through their role, the latter being specified both in a previous AM and in the benefit unit of the same AM);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(386) "Not only of academia is [sic] possible to survive. Many friends at Berkeley helped me to conclude. [three other AMs]. [first name] kindly shared along with my family many of the anxieties and troubles." (Arch2; a benefactor identifiable through her name and the role specified in a previous AM);

(387) "Thanks also §B §Bnamrol to [abbreviated first name + last name] and [abbreviated first name + last name] for their *friendship*, for many discussions early on in the project, and for always being willing to help me find an answer to my questions"; P-Bio1; the emotional benefit being referred to (friendship) reveals the benefactor's role to the beneficiary; emphasis added);

(388) "I trace the beginnings of this dissertation §B §Bnamrol to [first name + middle name + last name], whose astonishing *graduate seminar*, "Emily Dickinson and the Cult of Sentimentality," confirmed my devotion to the poet and her culture. His *course*, scholarship, and stated faith that I could be an Emily Dickinson scholar have sustained me, and I thank him for being my "*preceptor*."" (Engl2; the source of inference about the benefactor's role is the benefit unit, which explicitly mentions the benefactor's role-relationship with the beneficiary and specifies some of the former's relevant beneficial performances; emphases added);

§Bnamtitl: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that specifies the names and role(s) and/or title(s) of benefactor(s); the specification relevant to the benefactor may be either an epithet-title that can be used as (part of) an address term or a label that indicates the benefactor's professional or other category membership; in either case, it may either "simply" categorize the benefactor or indicate the type of role-relationship holding between her and the thanker (see below about *§Btitl*); example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(389) "I am very grateful §B §Bnamtitl to my research advisor, Professor [first name + last name], for his guidance and support throughout my years at Berkeley." (EECS2; a specific benefactor identified through a label indicating his relationship to the thanker, a title and his full name);

§Bno: absence of a benefactor unit; occasional AMs do not indicate which specific benefactors they are relevant to; the tag *§Bno*, not preceded by the tag *§B*, marks AMs lacking an overt benefactor unit, that is, those AMs that do not specify who or what is responsible for the benefits being referred. Alternatively, the tag *§Bno* may occur in non-thanking or non-acknowledging moves, and in this case it signals that the people or entities being referred to in the move are not to be regarded as benefactors; it may be followed by other tags that specify characteristics of these people; examples:

(390) "§Bno I regret that I can offer, in return for all this help, no more impressive evidence of my gratitude" (Phil1; an AM with no overt benefactor unit);

(391) "I would also like to congratulate §Bno §Bno-combo §Bno-R §Bno-titl-descr my younger brother, [...] Job well done, §Bno-repet1 §Bno-voc Brother!" (EECS1; a person other than a benefactor repeatedly mentioned in a move, identified through a title and described through an adjective);

(392) "§Bno I always read acknowledgments first. [...] I want to know *who a given scholar's friends and acquaintances are* and how that scholar has dealt with his or her own belatedness in the highly conventionalized genre of the acknowledgments page. After all, it would seem that there are only so many ways to express one's inability adequately to thank a spouse or partner, [...]" (Engl3; reference to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hypothetical and generic benefactors; no acknowledgment of the author's benefactors);

§Bother: (a segment of) a benefactor unit not satisfactorily classifiable through any of the other benefactor tags (e.g., computers, meetings); example:

(393) "Not content with these face-to-face communities, however, I have also sought out virtual camaraderie §B §Bother in the [abbreviation-code] and [abbreviation-code] listservs, both of which have enriched my work in ways I am currently unable to catalog." (Engl3; a benefactor category not specifiable through other benefactor tags);

(394) " [...] my thinking on Spinoza owes a great deal §B §BR §Bcombo §Bnam+other to [first name + last name]'s work." (Phil5; a benefactor partly classifiable as §Bother);

§Bplace: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that merely identifies a place as the benefactor or that also contains the indication of the location of a benefactor; examples:

(395) "§B §Bcombo §Bnamist+place The University of California, Berkeley, and the Bay Area more generally, have given me ample intellectual community" (Engl3; a combination of benefactors; one contains reference to its location while the other is a place);

(396) "§B §Bcombo §Btitl+place The faculty, staff and students *here* have created a warm and exciting environment" (Stat2; a benefactor unit that includes reference to the location of the benefactor; emphasis added);

locative adjuncts, that is text segments encoded as prepositional phrases that refer to the location of an entity, count as benefactor units if no other text segment can be classified

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as a benefactor unit; however, are not necessarily classified as *§Bplace*, in the sense that other §B tags may be more appropriate, which help better specify the identity of the benefactor; examples:

(397) "§B §Bnamist At the Center for [name of center] and at the Department of [name of department] — where I work as an Assistant Professor — I received the necessary support to conclude this dissertation." (Arch 2; a benefactor unit encoded as a locative and referring to institutions);

(398) "I feel lucky to be able to work §B §Bnamist in the [name of center] Center and the Department of Plant Biology in UC Berkeley, §BE §BEeval which are two of the most dynamic and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology." (P-Bio3; a benefactor unit encoded as a locative and referring to institutions);

adverbials of place, however, do not count as (parts of) benefactor units if they are adjuncts to the predicate, but rather as parts of the benefit units; example:

(399) "As a foreign student in America, I was blessed to make §B §Bcombo §Btitl+descr many remarkable friends *in the I-House* who helped me to learn about the American culture and society" (P-Bio3; the prepositional phrase encoding a spatial circumstance is part of the benefit unit; emphasis added);

(400) "The completion of this thesis would not have been possible §B §Bgen without the many people who have supported me *throughout my life and my graduate career at UC Berkeley*." (EECS5; adverbials of time and place are part of the benefit (expansion) unit; emphasis added);

§Bpron: (a segment of) a benefactor unit which serves to identify one or more benefactors through a pronoun; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(401) "§B §Bcombo §Bpron+namrol He and [first name + last name] reviewed several versions of my dissertation." (Arch2; a combination of benefactors, the first of whom is identified through a pronoun);

§BR: a benefactor unit that contains repeated reference to the same benefactor(s), independently of whether this is realized through the literal reproduction of the same term or term combination or whether this involves the use of different terms; the tag precedes the first mention of the benefactor(s); examples:

(402) "I want to thank §B §BR §Bnamtitl *professors* [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for their guidance, friendship, encouragement and support. Throughout the last five years, §Brepet1 *these professors* have helped me to become a better researcher, always providing stimulating and critical thoughts, within and beyond their respective areas of expertise. But more important, with their friendship, §Brepet2 *these professors* have helped me to become a better person." (B-Adm2; repeated reference to the same benefactor in the same AM; emphases added);

(403) "I was fortunate to work §B §BR §Bcombo §Bgen+titl+descr with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals throughout my Ph.D. study. This research and its presentation today was [sic] only possible because of the quiet dedication and insight §Brepet1 of many friends and colleagues." (P-Bio3; repeated reference to the same benefactor through different expressions);

(404) "In addition, I have received an enormous amount of good advice and comments §B §BR §Bcombo §Btitl+namist+descr from past and present participants of the [name of lab] lab. §Brepet1 The lab group has been an especially

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important resource for me and I am very grateful §Brepet2 to each and every member." (P-Bio5; repeated reference to the same benefactor through differently worded expressions);

§Brepet#: numbered instances of the repeated reference to the same benefactor in the same AM; the tag marks segments of benefactor units that are neither parts nor adpositions of the text segments in which the benefactors are first mentioned (except for adpositions that are identical to the first mention of the benefactor), and that are neither pronouns (e.g., personal, relative) nor quantifiers; examples:

(405) "I would also like to thank §B §BR §Bnam [first name + last name] for his endless helpfulness, listening to practice talks, editing, providing technical advice, thanks §Brepet1 [first name]," (P-Bio4; repeated reference to the same benefactor in the same AM);

(406) "§B §BR §Bnamtitl [hyphenated first and middle name + last name], first the chair of my doctoral exams and then the chair of this dissertation, was so kind as to accept to continue the work I had started with [last name]. I remember §Brepet1 [first and middle name initials] not only guiding this journey with patience and wisdom to a successful ending" (Arch2; the second reference to the benefactor occurs in a sentence other than the one in which the first mention of the benefactor occurs);

(407) "I thank §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+isttitl all the members of my thesis committee, Prof. [first name + last name], Prof. [first name + last name] and Prof. [first name + last name] for their advice and support." (P-Bio3; the adposition "Prof. [first name + last name], Prof. [first name + last name] and Prof. [first name

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

+ last name]" counts as part of the first and only mention of the benefactor in the AM, and thus not as a second reference to the benefactor);

(408) "First of all, I would like to thank §B §BR §Bnamtitl my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name], for introducing me to the world of plant development and providing me with the resources which made this project a reality" (P-Bio3; the adposition "Dr. [first name + last name]" is part of the first and only mention of the benefactor, so it does not count as a repetition);

(409) "I would like to thank §B §Bnamtitl my advisor, [abbreviated first name + last name], for *his* support and for *his* boundless enthusiasm. *He* introduced me to the exciting and beautiful world of cell biology, and for that, I will be eternally grateful" (P-Bio2; the pronoun and possessives referring to the benefactor do not count as repetitions within the benefactor unit, but as part of the benefit and benefit expansion units; emphases added);

(410) "I would like to express my deepest appreciation §B §Bnamist to the [name of foundation] and the [name of institution] in UC Berkeley, *which* provided me with the support to continue my graduate studies." (P-Bio3; the pronoun *which* is considered part of the benefit unit, not a repetition of the reference to the benefactor; emphasis added);

§Bretriev: a benefactor unit that provides less explicit information about the identity of the benefactor than another part of the AM; thus, this tag only appears in association with others and signals that more specific information about the identity of the benefactor can be retrieved in the immediate co-text; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(411) "Portions of Chapters 7 and 8 were delivered *at Philosophy Department Colloquia at [name of university], [name of university], and the [name of university] at [placename]*. I would like to thank §B §Bcombo §Btitl+isttitl+retriev the audiences at each department for their warm reception and helpful comments." (Engl5; specific information relevant to the precise identification of the benefactor occurs in a supportive of the AM; emphasis added);

§Brol: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that does not specify the benefactor's social or professional role, which is, however, recoverable elsewhere in the move (i.e., outside the benefactor unit); examples:

(412) "I have made many special friends, in Berkeley and [placename], who have made grad school such a unique and exciting learning experience. §B §Bcombo §Bgen+rol You know who you are, [...] Fortunately, since most of us are *engineers* [...]" (EECS1; the benefactor's professional role is retrievable outside the text unit marked as §B; emphasis added);

(413) "While brilliant people are all around and clever ideas are [sic] dime a dozen, I found the brightest scholars to be polite, humble, and open minded. I feel very fortunate to come to know and work §B §Bcombo §Bgen+rol with many of them. My graduate education and research would not be possible without their advice and encouragement."; (EECS2; information about the benefactor's role is retrievable from a supportive that precedes the benefactor unit);

§Btime: a segment of a benefactor unit that makes reference to the time when (a) given benefactor(s) acted in favor of the thanker; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(414) "§B §Bcombo §Btitl+time All my colleagues *throughout grad school* have been wonderful" (EECS1; benefactors identified via reference to their professional role-relationship with the thanker and to the time during which they interacted with him; emphasis added);

expressions that specify temporal circumstances, however, do not count as (parts of) benefactor units if they are adjuncts to the predicate, but rather as parts of benefit expansion units; example:

(415) "I would also like to thank §B §Bnamrol [first name + last name], who I have enjoyed working with very much *during our tenure in the [name of lab] lab*." (P-Bio4; a temporal adjunct that specifies a circumstance of the benefit, not a characteristic of the benefactor);

§Btitl: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that explicitly refers to the benefactor's professional or other function and/or her role with regard to the beneficiary (see above about *§Bnamtitl*); occurrences of *Mr, Ms, Mrs* or *Miss* do not count as *§Btitl* text segments, however, because not informative enough to help the reader identify the benefactors in question: they signal the beneficiary's courteous respect towards the benefactors, but do not contribute to narrowing down the possible referents of the relevant benefactor units; I thus regard those generic titles as part of *§Bnam* text segments; examples:

(416) "I would finally like to thank §B §Btitl my friends and family for their patience during these past years" (Arch3; benefactors identified through expressions specifying their role-relationships);

(417) "§A §AS I especially appreciate the assistance §B §Bnamtitl of Dr. [first

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

name + last name], who not only proof-read the script meticulously, but also gave me ample perceptive advice." (Arch5; the academic title *Dr.* licenses a classification of the benefactor unit also as §Btitl);

(418) "I gratefully acknowledge §B §Bcombo §BLD §Bgen+namrol+place those who willingly participated in the surveys and interviews, §BLU1 including Mr. [last name], Mr. [last name], and Ms. [first name] of [placename], [placename], [...]" (Arch5; titles such as *Mr., Ms.* are coded as part of a §Bnamrol text segment);

the tag *§Btitl* only applies to the noun phrases that refer to individual benefactors; text segments that refer to groups, organizations or workplaces are classified as *§Bisttitl* (see above); thus, the tags *§Btitl* and *§Bisttitl* may co-occur to mark different segments of the same benefactor unit; example:

(419) "I wish to thank §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+isttitl the members *of my thesis committee*, [first name + last name] and [first name + last name] for all of their useful suggestions" (P-Bio2; a benefactor unit containing a §Bisttit-tagged text segment; emphasis added);

§Bvoc: (a segment of) a benefactor unit that identifies the benefactor and is used as an address term or vocative; example:

(420) "§B §Bnam §Bvoc [abbreviated first name], of course I owe you a special thanks [sic] for trusting me, and allowing me to put you and your students under the scrutiny of my watchful eye" (Edu1; a benefactor's name encoded as a vocative);

(421) "[...] I will always remember you, §Brepet2 §Bvoc Harry" (P-Bio3; a benefactor's name used as an address term).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I have not classified all the information conveyed through benefactor units; thus, for instance, quantifiers, linkers, and sentence adverbs are not coded with special tags; examples:

(422) "I am very grateful §B §Btitl to *many* professors and colleagues for interesting discussions" (B-Adm1; a benefactor segment including an uncoded quantifier; emphasis added);

(423) §B §Bcombo §Btitl+namtitl+namrol *Several* faculty and fisheries scientists (Stat4; a benefactor segment comprising an untagged quantifier; emphasis added);

(424) "[...] of *the hundreds of* subscribers to those lists [...]" (Engl3; a benefactor unit containing an untagged numeral; emphasis added);

(425) "It was a great pleasure to work §B §Btitl with *so many* undergraduate assistants" (P-Bio5; an untagged quantifier in the benefit unit of an AM; emphasis added);

(426) "Also, I would like to thank §B §Bcombo §Btitl+namtitl+descr my fellow doctoral students, and *especially* my friend [first name + last name], for making my staying a [sic] Berkeley a very enjoyable experience" (B-Adm2; an untagged adverb in a benefactor unit; emphasis added);

(427) "Finally, I want to thank §B §Bcombo §Btitl+namtitl+nam my family (*especially*, my father, my mother, Uncle [first name], [...]) for their love and support." (P-Bio2; a benefactor unit containing an untagged adverb; emphasis added).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Classifying given text segments involves imposing an interpretation on them, which has consequences on the understanding, appreciation, and categorization of the remaining units of the whole texts in which they occur. Applying the classification criteria outlined above for the description of benefactor units has led me to make certain semantic-structural distinctions within the moves analyzed. Above I have pointed out specific details about the assignment of benefactor tags to the relevant segments in the corpus. Below I point out a few problems encountered in the process of doing so and the decisions made as a result.

Certain benefactor units can be classified as both *§Bnamrol* and *§Bnamtitl*; that happens when relevant information for identifying the benefactor is to be found both in an explicit label next to the benefactor's name and in the surrounding co-text; in such cases I have used only the *§Bnamtitl* tag as it is the one that more explicitly specifies the benefactor's social and/or professional identity; example:

(428) "§B §Bnamtitl My advisor, Professor [first name + last name], encouraged and supported me" (Stat1; a benefactor unit classifiable as both *§Bnamrol*, on the basis of information provided on the title page of the dissertation, and as *§Bnamtitl* on the basis of the text unit "My advisor").

Other benefactor units specify the title or role of a *whole* group of benefactors but include the names of only a *subset* of those benefactors; in such cases the use of the tag *§Bnamtitl*, although technically beyond reproach, would be misleading: on the one hand it would correctly signal the presence of two complementary units of meaning, but on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

other hand, it would lead the reader to infer that both the *§Bnam* and the *§Btitl* segments of a given benefactor unit refer to exactly the same set of benefactors; I have thus chosen to classify such benefactor units as combinations of *§Btitl* and *§Bnamrol*; the former tag refers to the whole group, while the latter refers to the subset; example:

(429) "§B §BLD §Bcombo §Btitl+namrol+descr My fellow graduate students deserve recognition for their encouragement and good spirits, §BLU1 especially [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]" (Stat1; a benefactor unit that refers to a whole group of benefactors through a title and to a subset of the group through names).

Thus, the tag *§Bnamtitl* only marks those benefactor units in which the title(s) and name(s) mentioned refer exactly to the same benefactor(s); example:

(430) "Furthermore, I would like to recognize §B §BLD §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+namist+descr all my fellow students from the former [name of institute] who took the time and trouble to visit me here in Berkeley, listed in order of appearance: §BLU1 [several names]" (Stat1; the tag §Bnamtitl refers to a group of benefactors identified through a title and a series of names).

Certain text segments (restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, adpositions, predicates, and even whole clauses) may be ambiguous in interpretation, that is, liable to a classification as either benefactor or benefit units. For example, in this made-up AM: "I wish to thank the people who helped me while I was carrying out my study", the restrictive relative clause serves both to identify a specific group of benefactors and to refer to the specific benefit experienced by the thanker. This is because the clause in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

question successfully restricts the number of potential referents of *the people* and also indicates what those referents were responsible for that was advantageous to the writer. The relative clause can thus be interpreted as a component of either the benefactor unit or the benefit unit of the AM. Here are illustrative examples of ambiguous text segments from the corpus:

> (431) "In addition to spending many hours commenting on drafts of this dissertation, the two internal members of my dissertation committee, Professors [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], *acted as my mentors* throughout my time at Berkeley" (Phil2; a text unit, interpretable as conveying information about a benefactor and/or a benefit; emphasis added);

the predicate "acted as my mentors" can be regarded as an additional specification of the professional identity of benefactors already identified as professors or as an indication of a benefit received as a result of the benefactors' playing the role of mentors.

Similarly, in the following AM excerpt:

> (432) "I have been extremely fortunate *to have colleagues whose intellectual rigor is matched by their interest in fun*" (Engl4; a clause interpretable as giving information about both the benefactors and the benefit; emphasis added),

it is difficult to decide if "to have colleagues whose intellectual rigor is matched by their interest in fun" is a description of benefits or benefactors.

I have dealt with ambiguous text segments, interpretable as either benefactor- or benefit-oriented units, by following these complementary principles: (a) if the ambiguous text segment is accompanied by reference to something that can be more easily defined as a benefit (i.e., a text segment indicating what the benefactor did rather than what the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactor was or is like), then the text segment in question is to be regarded as (part of) the benefactor unit; otherwise, it is to be regarded as (part of) the benefit unit; (b) if the ambiguous text segment is accompanied by reference to something or someone that can be more easily defined as a benefactor (i.e., a text segment revealing the benefactor's identity or role rather than what she is to be given credit for), then the text segment in question is to be regarded as (part of) the benefit unit; otherwise, it is to be regarded as (part of) the benefactor units. To show how the principles work, I will apply them to the following made-up AMs, in which the parts italicized are to be considered benefit units (with possible expansions) and those underlined benefactor units (with possible expansions):

- I thank <u>my friends</u>, *who made this work possible*; the underlined text segment only identifies the benefactors, while the italicized one both refers to the benefit and contributes to identifying the subset of the benefactors the thanker wants to thank; the former is the benefactor unit and the latter the benefit unit;
- I thank <u>all those</u> *who made this work possible*; the underlined text segment only identifies the benefactors, while the italicized one both refers to the benefit and contributes to identifying the subset of the benefactors the thanker wants to thank; the former is the benefactor unit and the latter the benefit unit;
- I thank <u>Joan</u>, *who is my best friend*; the underlined text segment identifies the benefactor, while the italicized one describes her in a positive way; the positive evaluation of the benefactor is the unit of information that most closely resembles a benefit in this AM; this compliment is thus to be classified as the benefit unit;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- I thank my friends, *who made this work possible, for their generosity*; the underlined text segment identifies the benefactor; the italicized one contributes to identifying the subset of the benefactors the thanker wants to thank, describes their behavioral trait, and also refers to the benefit; the latter is the benefit unit;

- I thank all those *who made this work possible for their generosity*; the underlined text segment generically identifies the benefactor; the italicized one contributes to identifying the subset of the benefactors the thanker wants to thank, describes their behavioral trait, and also refers to the benefit; the latter is the benefit unit;

- I thank Joan, who is my best friend, *for her generosity*; the underlined text segment identifies and positively describes the benefactor, while the italicized one refers to the behavioral trait the benefactor is to be acknowledged for; the former is a combination of the benefactor unit and benefactor expansion unit; the latter is the benefit unit;

- I thank Joan. *She is my best friend*; the underlined text segment identifies the benefactor, while the italicized one describes her in a positive way; the positive evaluation of the benefactor is the unit of information that most closely resembles a benefit in this AM; this compliment is thus to be classified as the benefit unit;

- I thank Joan. She is my best friend. *She did a lot for me*; the underlined text segment identifies and positively describes the benefactor; it is a benefactor unit that refers to the benefactor's name, role, and characteristic; the italicized text segment specifies what the benefactor did to the thanker's advantage and is thus to be regarded as the benefit unit;

- My friends *made this work possible*; the underlined text segment only identifies the benefactors, while the italicized one both refers to the benefit and contributes to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

identifying the subset of the benefactors the thanker wants to thank; the former is the benefactor unit and the latter the benefit unit;

- A lot of people *made this work possible*; the underlined text segment generically identifies the benefactors, while the italicized one both refers to the benefit and more specifically identifies the subset of the benefactors the thanker wants to thank; the former is the benefactor unit and the latter the benefit unit;

- Joan is my friend. *She is wonderful*; the underlined text segment only identifies the benefactor, while the italicized one describes her in a positive way; the positive evaluation of the benefactor is the unit of information that most closely resembles a benefit in this AM; this compliment is thus to be classified as the benefit unit;

- Joan is my friend. She is wonderful *and did a lot for me*; the underlined text segment identifies and positively describes the benefactor; it consists of a combination of a benefactor unit and a benefactor expansion unit (not merely a descriptive component of the benefactor unit, as it is not embedded under it); the italicized text segment specifies what the benefactor did to the thanker's advantage and is thus to be regarded as the benefit unit;

- Joan *is my best friend*; the underlined text segment identifies the benefactor, while the italicized one describes her in a positive way; the positive evaluation of the benefactor is the unit of information that most closely resembles a benefit in this AM; this compliment is thus to be classified as the benefit unit;

- Joan is my best friend. I thank her *for her generosity*; the underlined text segment identifies and positively describes the benefactor, while the italicized one refers to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

behavioral trait the benefactor is to be acknowledged for; the former is the benefactor unit, characterized by a descriptive segment; the latter is the benefit unit;

- I thank Joan, *my best friend*; the underlined text segment identifies the benefactor, while the italicized one describes her in a positive way; the positive evaluation of the benefactor is the unit of information that most closely resembles a benefit in this AM; this compliment is thus to be classified as the benefit unit;

- I thank Joan, my best friend, *for always standing by my side*; the underlined text segment identifies and positively describes the benefactor; it is a benefactor unit with a descriptive component, encoded in the adposition; the italicized text segment specifies what the benefactor did to the thanker's advantage and is thus to be regarded as the benefit unit;

- I thank a lot of people *for being my closest friends*; the underlined text segment identifies the benefactors, while the italicized one describes them in a positive way; the positive evaluation of the benefactors is the unit of information that most closely resembles a benefit in this AM; this compliment is thus to be classified as the benefit unit;

- I thank a lot of people, very dear friends, *for always standing by my side*; the underlined text segment identifies and positively describes the benefactors; it is a benefactor unit that provides generic, specific and evaluative information about the benefactor; the italicized text segment specifies what the benefactors did to the thanker's advantage and is thus to be regarded as the benefit unit.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PhDAS writers organize the units of information of their AMs in ways similar to those exemplified above; here are some relevant examples from the corpus:

(433) "As a foreign student in America, I was blessed to make §B §Bcombo §Btitl+descr *many remarkable friends* in the I-House who helped me to learn about the American culture" (P-Bio3; positive evaluation and identification of the benefactors, in italics, accompanied by reference to the benefactors' beneficial act; emphasis added);

(434) "I want to thank §B §BR §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr *[first name + last name] Who [sic] was the greatest graduate student assistant ever*. When I could barely speak English and did not have a clue of what to do, §Brepet1 *[first name]* helped me to survive in the graduate program" (P-Bio3; positive evaluation and identification of the benefactor, in italics, followed by reference to the benefit; emphasis added);

(435) "All my colleagues throughout grad school *have been wonderful*." (EECS1; the positive evaluation of the benefactors, in italics, counts as the instantiation of the benefit unit as no other text segment can be interpreted as referring to a benefit; emphasis added);

(436) "I feel really lucky to have §B §Bcombo §Btitl+place many *wonderful* friends at Berkeley. I wish to thank them for the help, encouragement and fun time together." (EECS2; the reference to a quality of the benefactors', in italics, counts as the descriptive segment of the benefactor unit, as distinct from a more explicit benefit unit; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(437) §B §Bnam [first name + last name], a source of constant phone relief, buoyed me with her humor on a daily basis (Engl4; the adposition after the benefactor's name specifies in what way the benefactor was a beneficial agent for the thanker, and is thus part of the benefit unit);

(438) "I also have to thank §B §Btitl my brother for being a great friend and for passing along that first computer way back when, [sic]": (Edu3; the text segment "my brother" identifies a specific benefactor, while the rest of the AM describes a positive behavioral trait of his and mentions a beneficial act performed by him; reference to the positive behavioral trait and the beneficial act are both phrased as benefits, after *thank for*, and are syntactic constituents of the same rank in the clause);

(439) "I am also grateful §B §Btitl *for friends* who engaged the ideas of this dissertation." (Engl4; a benefactor unit, in italics, syntactically encoded as if it were a benefit, accompanied by reference to a more explicit benefit; emphasis added);

(440) "For two years I was supported by an §B §Bnamist [name of institution] Corporate Fellowship Award." (EECS2; instance of nesting: the benefactor unit, in italics, is surrounded by the benefit unit; emphasis added).

The above exemplification shows that benefactor units can be variously encoded in PhDASs, but also that the application of the classification principles outlined above helps distinguishing them from other functional components of the AM. Table 27 below summarizes the data about the distribution of different types of benefactor units across the corpus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 27: Distribution of types of benefactor units across PhDASs

Type of §B	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Total
§B	73	26	80	46	53	29	60	33	400
§Bcombo	27	6	34	19	17	10	18	12	143
§Bgen	2	0	3	4	0	2	0	2	13
§Bgroup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
§Bisttitl	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
§Bnam	3	5	9	5	9	7	15	2	55
§Bnamist	3	3	0	1	3	1	3	3	17
§Bnamrol	17	5	12	2	8	5	12	2	63
§Bnamtitl	14	4	13	10	8	2	8	8	67
§Bno	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	5
§Btitl	7	3	8	5	7	2	4	3	39
Total	73	26	80	48	55	30	60	33	405
(§BLD)	7	0	3	3	3	2	0	4	22
(§BLU)	8	0	3	3	3	2	0	5	24
(§BR)	8	1	3	2	6	1	5	0	26
(§Brepet)	11	2	3	3	8	1	7	0	35
(§Bvoc)	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3

NB: the first row reports all the §B tags which are followed by more specific benefactor-relevant tags; it thus does not include §Bno tags.

Table 27 shows the frequency values of various types of benefactor units in the corpus and their distribution across the subcorpora. It appears that most AMs include details useful for the identification of the benefactors. Lack of reference to benefactors is characteristic of only about 1% of the moves, while generic reference to benefactors is restricted to about 3% of them. All the other moves specify to some extent the identity of the benefactors. Of these, about 13% mention the benefactors' names only; these benefactor units are the least informative and thus the least useful to the general reader: they make it possible to precisely identify their referents but not to understand what their role-relationships with their thankers are. Basically, two are the preferred ways of mentioning the benefactors: with direct or indirect reference to their titles or roles (in about 42% of the moves) and through combinations of various types of definitions (in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about 35% of the moves). A comparison of the data in Table 27 with the list of tags given earlier also reveals, albeit indirectly, that certain benefactor tags only occur in combination with others (e.g., *§Bdescr, §Bother, §Bplace, §Bpron, §Brol, §Bretriev, §Btime*). This is understandable with regard to most of them, namely *descr, place, retriev, rol, time*: a description or a circumstance can only be relevant to an already identified benefactor, while the possibility to recover the role of the benefactor or other more specific information about her from the co-text necessarily means that something else has already been specified about the benefactor herself. Table 27 also shows that about 5% of the moves are characterized by discontinuous benefactor units, while about 6% contain instances of repeated reference to the benefactor; it also shows that the number of discontinuous and repeated segments (tagged as §BLU and §Brepet#, respectively) is higher than the number of moves in which discontinuity or repetition occurs (signaled by the tags §BR and §BLU, respectively). Both repetition and discontinuity indicate the structural complexity of the moves and hint at their semantic richness.

In general, the data show that most of the time, the PhDAS authors want to make sure the general reader is aware of their relationships with their benefactors and/or of their benefactors' social-professional identity; this is achieved by presenting specific identity-relevant data about them, and often of more than one kind. This focus on the identifiability of the benefactors reveals that the PhDASs are texts written for the communicative benefit of the general reader and not only for the social-cognitive benefit of the benefactors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.8.1. Benefactor expansion units

Benefactor expansion units are those text segments that, *in addition* to those identifying benefactors, *contribute* to describing the benefactors themselves. These are optional functional sub-constituents of the moves. It is not easy to distinguish core benefactor units from benefactor expansion units, that is, to determine whether a benefactor-oriented segment is part of the head act of an AM or if it is an adjunct external to it. Thus, for example, the same syntactic unit (e.g., a phrase) may contain both information that is necessary to identify the benefactor and information that helps describe her. To identify possible benefactor expansions in the corpus I followed these principles:

- a benefit expansion unit is not a syntactically embedded structure (so it can be a non-defining relative clause, an adposition, a subject or predicate of a clause, a whole clause, a sentence, a parenthetical remark); if a text segment that describes a benefactor is embedded under another that identifies her, then it is to be considered part of the core benefactor unit and classified as *§Bdescr* (see below about the list of tags used to classify benefactor expansions); examples:

(441) "And §BE §BEdescr although not de jure a member of my committee, §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr [first name + last name] was an active de facto member [...]" (Phil1; a benefactor expansion unit encoded as a subordinate clause with ellipsis of subject and verb; original emphases);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(442) "Dr. [...] §BE §BEeval *was kind* to be my mentor to make the award possible. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to him" (EECS2; a benefactor expansion unit encoded as a predicate; emphasis added);

- typically, a benefactor expansion unit is not the embedding "head" of an embedded structure either; independently of the meaning they convey, both text segments are classified as components of a benefactor unit; example:

(443) "Lastly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation §B §Bcombo §Bnam+other to the memory of [first name + last name]" (B-Adm1; a complex benefactor unit with an embedding structure);

(444) "And I have been cheered time and time again §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr by [...] those relations-in-law *I have come to think of as my Bay Area family* [...]." (Engl3; a noun phrase identifying the benefactors followed by an embedded clause describing them which together constitute a benefactor unit; emphasis added);

however, in cases of repeated reference to the benefactor, text segments that "incorporate" the repeated mention of the benefactor with details about her are to be considered benefit expansion units; no relevant examples are to be found in the corpus, in the sense that such text segments have been classified as benefit units or benefit expansion units (for an explanation see sections 4.8., 4.9. and this section below);

- a benefit expansion unit conveys new, non-identifying information about the benefactor: it is not a repetition, or paraphrase of the first mention of the benefactor in the core benefactor unit; rather, it describes, evaluates and/or reports on beneficial qualities and/or acts of the benefactor; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(445) "I would like to thank §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr my two wonderful advisors, [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]. Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, §BE §BEeval they were often more friends than authoritative figures." (EECS1; a benefit expansion unit that evaluates the benefactors' behavior);

- a text segment that provides new, non-identifying information about the benefactor is to be regarded as a benefit expansion unit if the AM in which it occurs *also* makes reference to some ("other", more explicit) benefit; else, the text segment in question is to be classified as a benefit unit (see sections 4.8. and 4.9.); examples:

(446) "I would also like to thank §B §Bnamtitl [first name + last name], my undergraduate research advisor. *She was like a mother to me.*" (P-Bio2; a positive description of a benefactor counting as a benefit; emphasis added);

(447) "§B §BLD §Bcombo §Btitl+namrol+descr My fellow graduate students deserve recognition *for their encouragement and good spirits*, §BLU especially [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]" (Stat1; a positive description of a benefactor counting as a benefit; emphasis added);

(448) "The writing of a dissertation is a long and sometimes lonely task, and it is hard to recognize §B §Bgen everybody who contributed to this work. However, §BE §BEeval some people stand out." (Stat1; a positive evaluation of the benefactor counting as a benefit expansion unit);

(449) "§B §Bcombo §Btitl+time+place [first name + last name], my colleague-mentor during my early years at Berkeley, brought me up to speed with my first

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

project, and §BE §BEeval was always very pleasant to be around" (EECS1; a positive evaluation of the benefactor counting as a benefit expansion unit);

(450) "§B §Bnamrol [first name] was an early supporter of my academic career at Berkeley §BE §BEeval who saw promise in my academic abilities where others saw none." (Edu4; reference to an opinion of the benefactor's, which counts as a benefit expansion unit);

in the first and second excerpts above, "She was like a mother to me" and "encouragement and good spirits" can be considered positive evaluations of the benefactors (i.e., both of their behavior and of their personality traits) which expand on the benefactors themselves, already identified through the text segments "[first name + last name] my undergraduate research advisor" and "My fellow graduate students", respectively; however, there are no other text segments in those AMs can be classified as benefits; as a result, the text units in question are to be considered benefit units; in the third excerpt, on the other hand, a benefit can be easily identified in the text unit specifying the positive behavior of the benefactors advantageous to the thanker (i.e., "who contributed to this work"), and this unit is syntactically-semantically relevant to the gratitude expression "it is hard to recognize"; so the text unit "some people stand out", which comments on how that behavior positively reflects on the benefactors, can be classified as a benefactor expansion unit; in the fourth excerpt, an act carried out by (or attributed to) the benefactor is accompanied by reference to a positive trait of hers; the former can count as a benefit unit, and the latter as a benefactor unit; in the fifth excerpt, the text segment "was an early supporter of my academic career at Berkeley" refers to the beneficial role played by the benefactor to the thanker's advantage and thus constitutes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the benefit unit, while the text segment "who saw promise in my academic abilities where others saw none" provides background information that motivates that beneficial behavior and is thus an expansion of the benefactor unit;

- a text segment that provides new, descriptive-evaluative information about the benefactor is not, however, classifiable as a benefit expansion, if it is presented as the cause or effect of an event or circumstance that counts as a benefit; examples:

(451) "I would like to extend my appreciation §B §Bnam to [first name + last name] and [first name + last name], *whose work and efforts* have made my years in the doctoral program all the more enjoyable" (B-Adm1; a text segment that both indicates a benefit received and reflects well on the benefactor; emphasis added);

in the above excerpt from B-Adm1, "whose work and efforts" signals something that the benefactosr did for the thanker's benefit and which had positive consequences for the latter (i.e., the enjoyability of the doctoral program); that text segment also reveals the benefactors' tenacity, their commitment to their beneficiary's success; this counts as a form of appraisal of the benefactor, more specifically as a manifestation of social esteem; however, precisely because that form of behavior is to be understood as the beneficial cause of an advantageous consequence, I regard the text segment that encodes it as the core benefit unit; reference to the advantageous consequence, instead, constitutes the benefit expansion unit;

(452) "First of all, I would like to thank §B §BR §Bnamtitl my advisor, Dr. [first name + last name, for introducing me to the world of plant development [...] *The breadth of* §Brepet1 [first name]'s *knowledge in the field of biology* inspired me a great deal during my study of pollen development and will continue to inspire me

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

throughout my career in science." (P-Bio3; a text segment that both indicates a benefit received and reflects well on the benefactor; emphasis added);

in the above excerpt from P-Bio3, the text segment "the breadth of [...] knowledge in the field of biology" functions as a sort of compliment to the benefactor, which refers to one of her accomplishments; yet, this accomplishment is presented as the cause of a beneficial effect, and for this reason the text segment in question is to be regarded as a benefit unit:

- a benefit expansion unit may be tied to a benefit unit or the expansion of a gratitude expression; examples:

(453) "I am very grateful §B §Bnamtitl to my research advisor, Professor [first name + last name], for his guidance and support throughout my years at Berkeley. §BE §BELD §BEeval Besides the wealth of his technical knowledge, *I truly admire* §BELU1 his profound business insights and superior management skills." (EECS2; a benefit expansion in the same syntactic unit as the gratitude expression expansion, in italics; emphasis added);

(454) "I owe a profound debt §B §Bnamtitl to my dissertation advisors [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]. Each of them has provided the right combination of timely encouragement and knowledgeable criticisms which have saved me from many blind alleys. *Time and time again I have been amazed* §BE §BEeval by their truly extraordinary dedication and by their incisive readings of Spinoza." (Phil5; a benefit expansion in the same syntactic unit as the gratitude expression expansion, in italics; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- a text segment that could qualify as a benefactor expansion due to its content, but is syntactically encoded as a benefit (e.g., as a *for*-headed prepositional phrase after the verb *thank*), is not classified as a benefactor expansion unit, but as a benefit (expansion) unit; examples:

(455) "Finally, and most of all, I thank §B §Bnamtitl my best friend, my wife, [first name + last name], *for being so very strange and wonderful*, and for a love that has withstood even graduate school" (Stat4; a segment of a benefit unit that describes the benefactor's good traits; emphasis added);

(456) "[...] and §B §Bnamrol [first name + last name] *for being a great thesis committee member*" (P-Bio4; a benefit unit that describes the benefactor's good traits; emphasis added);

(457) "I'm grateful §B §Bnamtitl to my advisors and mentors [first name] and [first name + last name] for their technical guidance and moral support, *and for being role models of what can be achieved with a sharp mind and a lot of hard work*" (EECS5; a segment of a benefit unit that describes the benefactor's good traits; emphasis added);

in the excerpts above "for being so very strange and wonderful", "for being a great thesis committee member," and "and for being role models of what can be achieved with a sharp mind and a lot of hard work" are encoded as benefit units; this is understandable from the fact that they are syntactically objects of *thank* (in the second excerpt this is recoverable through ellipsis from a previous AM) or *be grateful* preceded by the preposition *for*; at the same time, those benefits indicate positive qualities of the benefactors';

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- in cases of ambiguous interpretation (e.g., due to syntax), a given text segment is to be coded twice, both as a benefit expansion and as a benefit unit (for the tags classifying benefit units see section 4.9.); examples:

(458) "[first name + last name] was the epitome of a committee chair and a friend — §BE §BEeval/§Y *patient, persistent, encouraging, exacting*" (Edu2; double coding of text segment as both a benefactor expansion unit and as part of a benefit unit; emphasis added);

(459) "First, I would like to thank §B §Bcombo §Btitl+descr the students who participated in these design studies. I appreciated §BE §BELD §BEeval /§Y §YLD §Yqual *their enthusiasm* when science class became something unfamiliar to them §BELU/§YLU *and their patience* when our new software was revealing "unimplemented features" of various sorts" (Edu3; double coding of two text segments as both parts of a benefit unit and as parts of a benefit expansion unit; emphases added).

The above principles helped me identify benefactor expansion units. I used the following tags to classify them:

§BE: benefactor expansion unit, a text segment that helps better describe the benefactor identified in the §B-tagged text segment; the generic tag *§BE* is always followed by a more informative tag; example:

(460) "§B §Bnamrol [first name + last name] §BE §BEeval *is an invaluable friend.* He was always accessible to help my family," (Arch1; a benefit expansion unit; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§BEacc: (segment of) a benefactor expansion unit that mentions an accomplishment ascribable to the benefactor such that a compliment can be paid to her; no relevant examples are to be found in the corpus, in the sense that text segments referring to the benefactor's accomplishments have been classified as benefit units (see sections 4.8. and 4.9.); for instance:

(461) "I trace the beginnings of this dissertation §B §Bnamrol to [first name + middle name + last name], *whose astonishing graduate seminar, "Emily Dickinson and the Cult of Sentimentality,"* confirmed my devotion to the poet and her culture [...]" (Engl2; a text unit referring to the benefactor's accomplishment classified as part of the benefit unit; emphasis added);

§BEcirc: (segment of) a benefactor expansion unit that mentions circumstances (e.g., events, situations) relevant to the benefactor's background; example:

(462) "Suffice it to say that my work would be bibliographically thinner and my life as a scholar more alienated were it not for the generosity and warmth of the hundreds of subscribers to those lists, §BEcombo §BE §BEcirc+descr *most of whom I shall never meet. We too constitute an irrational public sphere.*" (Engl3; a benefit expansion unit containing reference to the circumstances relevant to the benefactor; emphasis added);

§BEcombo: a text segment that consists of a combination of benefactor expansions; it is followed by more specific tags; examples:

(463) "And §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+isttitl to my dissertation chair, [first name + last name]: you have taught me to be a teacher, you have taught me to be a learner. You opened up a world of ideas for me, and together we put them into practice!

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§BE §BEcombo §BEdescr+eval *You are my advisor on paper and my mentor in life. You are a dear dear friend.*" (Edu1; a combination of two units of information that form an elaborate benefactor expansion unit; emphasis added);

§BEdescr: (segment of) a benefactor expansion unit that describes some aspect of the benefactor's personality or life; examples:

(464) "Furthermore, I would like to recognize §B §BLD §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+namist+descr all my fellow students [...] who took the time and trouble to visit me here in Berkeley, §BE §BEdescr *listed in order of appearance*: §BLU1 [several names]" (Stat1; a benefactor expansion unit providing metalinguistic, descriptive information about the benefactors; emphasis added);

(465) "And §BE §BEdescr although not de jure a member of my committee, §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+descr [first name + last name] was an active de facto member whose philosophical and philological comments often forced me to rethink my analysis" (Phil1; a benefactor expansion unit that describes the role of the benefactor; original emphasis);

(466) "[first name + last name], a long lasting friend and colleague provided invaluable criticism to my work and the necessary encouragement. §BE §BEdescr *He as a former student of [last name]* knew perfectly my struggle with the world of Design Theories and Methods." (Arch2; a descriptive benefactor expansion unit; emphasis added);

(467) "I have also been heartened and tremendously moved by the encouragement and enthusiasm (as well as erudition) §B §BR §Bnamtitl of a host of friends, §BE §BEdescr *not all of whom are in the academy, much less part of eighteenth-century*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

studies. [...]" (Engl3; indication of the benefactors' non-category membership in a benefit expansion unit; emphasis added);

§BEeval: the writer's evaluation of the benefactor's behavior and/or traits; example:

(468) "I feel lucky to be able to work §B §Bnamist in the [name of center] Center and the Department of Plant Biology in UC Berkeley, §BE §BEeval *which are two of the most dynamic and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology*" (P-Bio3; an evaluative benefactor expansion unit; emphasis added);

(469) "Time and time again I have been amazed §BE §BEeval by their truly extraordinary dedication and by their incisive readings of Spinoza [...]" (Phil5; an evaluative benefactor expansion unit; emphasis added;

§BEno: expansion unit of a non-benefactor unit; if need be, the generic tag may be accompanied by more specific tags that provide further information about the non-benefactor; example:

(470) "I would also like to congratulate §Bno §Bno-combo §Bno-R §Bno-titl-descr my younger brother, §BEno §BEno-descr who is getting Ph.D [sic] in Physics from the renowned [placename] University at about the same time as I do. Job well done, §Bno-repet1 §Bno-voc Brother!" (EECS2; an expansion unit relevant to a non-benefactor);

§BEopin: (segment of) a benefactor expansion unit reporting the writer's opinion on the benefactor other than an explicit evaluation of her; example:

(471) "My largest intellectual debts are, not surprisingly, §B §Bcombo §Bnamtitl+place to my teachers at Berkeley, first and foremost my dissertation committee [...] §BE §BEopin (*who claims to have taught me nothing*), [...]"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Engl3; manifestation of the writer's opinion on the benefactor in a benefactor expansion unit; emphasis added);

§BEother: (segment of) a benefactor expansion unit not classifiable through other §BE tags; example:

(472) "I have made many special friends, in [placename] and [placename], who have made grad school such a unique and exciting learning experience. §B §Bcombo §Bgen+rol You know who you are, §BE §BEother *so I will not list your names here* because, well, it's just not my style." (EECS1; a §BEother benefactor expansion unit; emphasis added).

Table 28 shows the distribution of benefactor expansion units in the corpus.

Table 28: Distribution of types of benefactor expansion units across PhDASs

Type of §BE	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Total
BEcombo	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	4
BEdescr	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	9
BEeval	5	0	11	4	4	1	1	1	27
Beopin	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
BELD	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
BELU	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
Total	9	0	13	5	9	2	1	0	41
Double coding	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
BEno	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Several observations can be made on the basis of Table 28. First, it appears that benefactor expansion units are not very frequent in the corpus, as on average there is only one per PhDAS. The low frequency of such supportives, however, is the result of the application of the criteria outlined above for the classification of units of information in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the AMs. Indeed, descriptive and/or evaluative information about the benefactors is also to be found in benefactor units (see section 4.8. about the tag *§Bdescr*) and/or benefit (expansion) units (see section 4.9. about the tag *§Yqual* and section 4.9.1. about the tag *§YEcred*), where it is presented as connected to the cause or consequence of an act, event or situation advantageous to the thanker and ascribable to the benefactor.

Second, the benefactor expansion units are not equally distributed across the sub-corpora; thus, B-Adm has none while Phil, P-Bio, and Stat have only a few, namely less than one per PhDAS; only EECS has one per PhDAS, on average, and only three sub-corpora have about two per text, on average. These distribution patterns contribute to characterizing the discipline-specificity of the sub-corpora.

Third, a comparison of Table 28 with Table 4 reveals that there tends to be a correlation between the length of the sub-corpora in number of words and the number of benefactor expansion units occurring in them; however, the former sets of data are not absolutely reliable predictors of the latter; for example, the longest sub-corpora (Arch, Edu, EECS, and Engl) have the highest numbers of benefit expansion units, but the shortest, namely Phil, is not the one which totally lacks such units; this suggests that the frequency of occurrence of such expansions must also depend on the individual authors' stylistic preferences.

Fourth, the most frequent benefactor expansion units are those tagged §BEeval, which make up about 65% of the whole expansions; the second and third most frequent benefactor expansion units are those tagged §BEdescr and §BEcombo, respectively, which make up about 22% and 10% of the expansions, respectively. The high frequency of §BEeval-tagged expansion units can be justified with reference to the communicative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

purpose of the PhDASs: after the benefactors have been identified, additional information useful for characterizing them indeed as benefactors helps the PhDAS authors to motivate their gratitude to the general reader; all the §BEeval-tagged expansion units in the corpus convey positive information about the benefactors and qualify them as people responsible for good deeds, endowed with good traits and/or able to deliver creditable performances.

Fifth, discontinuous expansion units are only about 10% of the total, which means that they occur in less than 1% of the moves in the corpus; this indicates these functional sub-components of the AMs are not typically characterized by structural complexity.

Sixth, only three (i.e., about 7%) of the benefactor expansion units are co-coded as benefit units as well; this suggests that the criteria used for identifying benefactor-relevant units of meaning are appropriate for discriminating the two types of AM components most of the time.

Seventh, only one of the expansion units identified in the PhDASs is not about a *benefactor*, but another person acknowledged for a reason other than her generous behavior towards the thanker. This suggests two things: one, description and/or evaluation of people other than benefactors is infrequent in the PhDASs because these texts are gratitude-oriented; second, when non-benefactors are mentioned, though, reference is made to what they can be given credit for, that is, to an aspect of their behavior that they can be said to share with the benefactors.

In conclusion, benefactor expansion units, as I have identified them, appear to be semantically interesting, but quantitatively not very significant components of the corpus. They variously enrich only about 6.6% of the AMs by providing information that helps qualify the benefactors being acknowledged. An additional source of information about

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the benefactors' traits can come from an examination of the adjectives used to describe them in both core benefactor units and benefactor expansion units.

4.8.2. Appraisal in benefactor (expansion) units

As hinted at in section 3.4., speakers and writers can encode messages not only to convey their interpretation of events and situations but also to express their evaluation of these going-ons and the entities involved in them. More specifically, they can choose to manifest their emotional experiences with regard to given interactional circumstances (affect), their assessment of the qualities of given entities (appreciation), and their evaluation of the degree of appropriateness of people's behavior (judgment).

The lexico-grammatical resources through which these appraisal notions are conveyed are of various kinds. Thus, for example, to describe a child's emotional response to a birthday present, one can say any of the following:

- *She opened up the present and was a* <u>*happy*</u> *child the whole afternoon* (affect rendered through an attributive adjective);
- *She opened up the present and was* <u>*happy*</u> (affect rendered through an predicative adjective);
- *She opened up the present and played* <u>*happily*</u> *with the new toy the whole afternoon* (affect rendered through an adverb);
- *She* <u>*liked*</u> *the present* (affect rendered through a transitive verb; the subject represents the senser, or experiencer, of the emotion);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- *The present really* <u>*pleased*</u> *her* (affect rendered through a transitive verb with the phenomenon perceived rendered as the subject);

and other options are available too (see Martin 2000: 149-150).

Appraisal is conveyed through a variety of lexico-grammatical resources in PhDASs as well. Consider the following illustrative excerpts:

(473) "However, some people *stand out*." (Stat1; appraisal conveyed through a verb; emphasis added);

(474) "[...] (who *claims* to have taught me nothing) [...]" (Engl3; appraisal conveyed through a verb; emphasis added);

(475) "[...] the most *devoted, selfless* and *supportive* friend one could ask for, [...]" (EECS1; appraisal conveyed through adjectives; emphasis added);

(476) "I wish to thank [...] for *carefully* reading this dissertation" (Stat2; appraisal conveyed through an adverb; emphasis added);

(477) "[...] but as *an ideal* [...]" (Engl3; appraisal conveyed through a noun phrase; emphasis added);

(478) "During that spring and beyond, [first name + last name]'s *charisma, humor, and intellectual integrity* provided me with the example I needed to continue graduate study." (Engl4; appraisal conveyed through noun phrases; emphasis added);

(479) " [...] you are my *hero*. [...]. You are the *prize* girl!" (Edu1; appraisal conveyed through predicative and attributive nouns; emphasis added);

(480) "*Without their kindness and support*, this thesis most likely would not be." (Stat4; appraisal conveyed through a prepositional phrase; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(481) "*The breadth of* [first name]'s *knowledge* in the field of biology *inspired* me a great deal" (P-Bio3; appraisal conveyed through a noun phrase and a verb; emphasis added);

(482) "[...] who always strikes just the *right balance* between *wry wit* and *earnestness*), [...]" (Engl3; appraisal conveyed through adjectives and nouns; emphasis added);

(483) "I have had the *great pleasure* of *regular* conversations with a *very thoughtful* geneticist, [...]" (Stat2; appraisal conveyed through adjectives, an adverb and a noun; emphasis added);

(484) "[abbreviated first name + last name] has been *unceasingly generous* with his time, resources, and *expertise* as my advisor" Stat4; appraisal conveyed through an adverb, an adjective and a noun; emphasis added);

On the other hand, Martin (2000: 146-147) also points out that speakers and writers have preferred ways of signaling types of appraisal meanings. Thus, there is a tendency for affectual meanings to be conveyed through verbs encoding mental processes, for appreciation to be expressed through attributive adjectives, and for judgment to be manifested through predicative adjectives (i.e., in relational processes). To analyze the manifestation of evaluation in the benefactor units and benefactor expansion units I consider only attributive and predicative adjectives, that is, those linguistic means more likely to convey information about permanent and temporary qualities of the referents of the nouns they are relevant to.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Actually, not all the adjectives in such units encode qualities that serve to comment on given entities. Some specify the category membership, rather than properties, of certain people or things; others are merely descriptive, rather than evaluative, that is they mention properties not classifiable as either (relatively) good or bad (e.g., *additional, Caribbean, different* (in the sense of *other*), *doctoral, early, economic, ethnic, extended* (referred to *family*), *fellow, fourth, former, high* (referred to *school*), *intellectual, inner, internal, intramural, late, legible, long* (referred to *list*), *new* (opposed to *former*), *nondisabled, other, present, public, scholarly, various, younger*). To examine the encoding of appraisal in the text segments relevant to benefactors, I have considered only the adjectives that express (relatively) good or bad qualities of people or things.

Table 29 below lists the evaluative adjectives to be found in the benefactor units and benefactor expansion units. It shows their distribution in the corpus and the nouns they are relevant to (in parentheses); nouns joined by the symbol '+' occur in the same phrases in the text, while those separated by commas are modified by different tokens of the same adjective in different text segments. The abbreviation '[neg]' signals a negatively connoted adjective, as understandable from the co-text. The abbreviation '[pers]' signals that a given adjective (or adjective plus noun combination) is relevant to a person or group of people (referred to through names or pronouns in the original text).

Table 29 shows that all sub-corpora but B-Adm have evaluative adjectives in their benefactor units and benefactor expansion units and that these are not equally distributed. Three sub-corpora, i.e., B-Adm, Phil and Stat, have less than 1 evaluative adjective per PhDAS; two, namely Arch and P-Bio, have slightly over 1 per PhDAS; two, i.e., EECS and Engl, have more than 2 per PhDAS; and one, namely Edu, has over 4 per PhDAS.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 29: Types and distribution of evaluative adjectives in benefactor units and benefactor expansion units

Evaluative adjectives	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
abiding (friends)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
active (member)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
authoritative (figures) [neg]	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
best (friend)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
bright (women)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
capable (women)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
challenging (writings + lectures)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
close (collaborator)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
collaborative (individuals)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
committed (member)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
dear (family, friend)	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
dearest (friend)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
dedicated (partner)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
devoted (friend)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
dynamic (environments)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
elegant (teacher)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
encouraging (chair + friend)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
enduring (strength + beauty)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
exacting (chair + friend)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
exemplary (staff)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
extraordinaire (transcriber)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 29 *cont.*

Evaluative adjectives	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
extraordinary (dedication)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
fine (women)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
generous (mentor)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
good (friend)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
great (scientists, teacher)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
greatest (assistant)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
(it is) hard (to imagine)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
incisive (readings)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
indefatigable (committee)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
invaluable (friend)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
involved (mentor)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
irrational (public sphere) [pers]	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
kind [pers]	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
knowledgeable (individuals)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
long lasting (friend)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
organic (intellectual)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
outstanding (staff)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
patient (chair + friend)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
persistent (chair + friend)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
pleasant [pers]	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
profound (insights)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
remarkable (friends)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
renowned (university)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
right (balance)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
stimulating (environments, personality)	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 29 *cont.*

Evaluative adjectives	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
superior (skills)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
supportive (friend, individuals, mentor)	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
thoughtful (geneticist)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
true (delight [pers], *intellectual)*	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
wonderful (advisors, friends, individuals, mother-in-law)	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	5
wry (wit)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	6	0	22	13	12	4	8	3	68

Note: the symbol '+' means that a given adjective is relevant to two or more nouns; the abbreviation '[neg]' means that the adjective occurs in a negative context and is negatively connoted; the abbreviation '[pers]' indicates that a given adjective (or adjective plus noun combination) is relevant to one or more people.

This distribution of evaluative adjectives is partly due to the varying length values of the subcorpora, although not consistently; for instance, the shortest and longest PhDASs have the lowest and highest number of evaluative adjectives, respectively; however, for instance, Arch has half as many evaluative adjectives as Engl, although they are almost the same word length.

Table 29 also reveals that most of the adjectives (i.e., about 80%) explicitly refer to (groups of) people (e.g., *abiding (friends), capable (women), knowledgeable (individuals)*). This is easily understandable, as they occur in text units relevant to benefactors. Others, namely 14, refer to the benefactors somewhat indirectly, that is, to the products of their behavior (i.e., their performances or accomplishments; e.g., *challenging (writings + lectures), incisive (readings)*), to their cognitive-emotional characteristics (i.e., *profound (insights), stimulating (personality), enduring (strength +*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

beauty), extraordinary (dedication), superior (skills), wry (concepts)); alternatively, they may refer to entities *consisting* of people (i.e., *dynamic (environments), irrational (public sphere), renowned (university), stimulating (environments)*); finally, only one refers to a mental experience of the author (i.e., *hard (to imagine)*). Overall, therefore, these adjectives show that the focus of these text segments tends to be on the benefactors, who are the direct or indirect object of the authors' appraisal.

Table 29 indicates all adjectives but three are positively connoted, which ties in with the communicative goal of motivating the authors' gratitude with reference to beneficial circumstances experienced. One of the negatively connoted adjectives, namely *authoritative*, however, is also used to *positively* evaluate the benefactors, namely to *deny* that they were authoritative, and state that they behaved like friends, instead. The other, *irrational*, is used as a sign of solidarity or in-group identity. Finally, the third one, *exacting*, is interpretable as negatively or positively connoted out of context, but is intended positively in its original text.

In addition, Table 29 shows that, except for a few adjectives (i.e., *best, dear, extraordinary/extraordinaire, great, stimulating, supportive, wonderful*), most are discipline-specific, suggesting that individual authors cultivate individual lexical preferences in wording their evaluations their texts.

Finally, a comparison of Table 29 with Table 22 reveals that evaluative adjectives are not very frequent in the corpus, as on average there occurs only one every six moves.

The evaluative adjectives identified in the benefactor units and benefactor expansion units can be classified along the positive and negative dimensions identified by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Martin (2000) for the appraisal of people's behavior and of entities and phenomena (the relevant appraisal categories being judgment and appreciation, respectively; see section 3.4.). More specifically, judgments of people's behavior comprise social esteem (i.e., evaluation of people's normality, capacity, tenacity) and social sanction (i.e., evaluation of people's veracity and propriety), both of which involve positive and negative evaluations (admiration vs. criticism and praise vs. condemnation, respectively). Appreciation of entities and phenomena comprises three variables: reaction (noticeability and degree of likeability), composition (perception of proportionality, or balance, and detail, or complexity) and valuation (assessment of social significance).

Table 30 shows the classification of evaluative adjectives in benefactor units and benefactor expansion units. As most of them (i.e., 47) are relevant to people, they mostly instantiate the appraisal category 'judgment' (about 75%), and are equally distributed between the two dimensions of social esteem (22, i.e., about 47%) and social sanction (25, i.e., about 53%). Within these two broad groups, however, the adjectives are not homogeneously distributed across judgment sub-categories; thus, four are relevant to normality, nine to capacity and nine to tenacity, while one to veracity and 24 to propriety. It thus appears that the most important evaluative dimensions for the assessment of the benefactors' behavior are, first of all, their fairness in dealing with the beneficiaries (propriety); second, their dependability and commitment to the beneficiaries' success (tenacity); and third, their ability in providing academic guidance (capacity).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 30: Classification of evaluative adjectives in benefactor units and benefactor expansion units

Evaluative adjectives in §B- and §BE-tagged units	Appraisal categories
abiding (friends)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
active (member)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
authoritative (figures) [neg]	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: sanction: -propriety
best (friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
bright (women)	judgment: esteem: capacity
capable (women)	judgment: esteem: capacity
challenging (writings + lectures)	appreciation: valuation
close (collaborator)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
collaborative (individuals)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
committed (member)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
dear (family)	affect: happiness: affection / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
dear (friend)	affect: happiness: affection / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
dearest (friend)	affect: happiness: affection / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
dedicated (partner)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
devoted (friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
dynamic (environments)	appreciation: reaction: quality / t-judgment: esteem: capacity
elegant (teacher)	judgment: esteem: capacity
encouraging (chair + friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
enduring (strength + beauty)	appreciation: reaction: impact
exacting (chair + friend)	judgment: sanction: tenacity
exemplary (staff)	judgment: sanction: propriety / judgment: esteem: normality
extraordinaire (transcriber)	judgment: esteem: normality
extraordinary (dedication)	appreciation: reaction: quality
fine (women)	judgment: sanction: propriety
generous (mentor)	judgment: sanction: propriety
good (friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
great (scientists)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: esteem: capacity
great (teacher)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: esteem: capacity
greatest (assistant)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: esteem: capacity
(it is) hard (to imagine)	appreciation: composition: -complexity
incisive (readings)	appreciation: valuation
indefatigable (committee)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
invaluable (friend)	judgment: sanction: normality / t-judgment: esteem: propriety
involved (mentor)	judgment: esteem: tenacity

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 30 *cont.*

irrational (public sphere) [pers]	appreciation: composition: -balance / t-judgment: esteem: -tenacity
kind [pers]	judgment: sanction: propriety
knowledgeable (individuals)	judgment: esteem: capacity
long lasting (friend)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
organic (intellectual)	judgment: esteem: capacity
outstanding (staff)	judgment: esteem: normality
patient (chair +friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
persistent (chair + friend)	judgment: esteem: tenacity
pleasant [pers]	judgment: sanction: propriety
profound (insights)	appreciation: valuation
remarkable (friends)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: esteem: propriety
renowned (university)	appreciation: reaction: impact
right (balance)	appreciation: composition: complexity
selfless (friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
stimulating (environments)	appreciation: reaction: quality / t-judgment: esteem: capacity
stimulating (personality)	appreciation: reaction: quality
superior (skills)	appreciation: reaction: quality / t-judgment: esteem: normality
supportive (friend)	judgment: sanction: propriety
supportive (individuals)	judgment: sanction: propriety
supportive (mentor)	judgment: sanction: propriety
thoughtful (geneticist)	judgment: sanction: propriety
true (delight) [pers]	appreciation: reaction: quality / judgment: esteem: normality / affect: happiness: cheer
true (intellectual)	judgment: sanction: veracity
wonderful (advisors)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
wonderful (friends)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
wonderful (individuals)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
wonderful (mother-in-law)	judgment: esteem: normality / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
wry (wit)	appreciation: valuation / t-judgment: esteem: capacity

Note: (A) Adjective-noun pairs instantiated two or more times in the benefactor (expansion) units (e.g., *best friend*; cf. Table 29) are listed only once in Table 30. (B) The hyphen marks adjectives signaling negative evaluations. (C) The symbol 't-' signals a token of evoked (or implied) rather than inscribed (or explicit) appraisal. (D) Abbreviations used in Table 29 have the same functions in Table 30.

Most of the 62[56] adjectives in Table 30 are relevant to nouns referring to individuals; as a result, not surprisingly, they mainly instantiate the appraisal category

[56] Each instance of an adjective is counted; thus, for example, *wonderful* is counted four times.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'judgment'. Indeed, inscribed judgment (i.e., explicit manifestation of the assessment of the benefactors' behavior) is expressed through about 72% of the adjectives. Appreciation is instantiated in 14/62, or about 22% of, the adjectives. These are relevant to non-human entities (e.g., "balance") or, more frequently, to entities that consist of groups of individuals (e.g., "university") or that describe properties of given individuals or that are the products of their behavior (e.g., "personality," "lectures"). Therefore, a large part of these adjectives too are relevant to the benefactors, albeit indirectly. The least frequent appraisal category is 'affect', instantiated only through 4/62, or about 6%, of the adjectives, which describe the writers' emotions toward their benefactors.

Within each appraisal category, the various evaluative dimensions are not equally exemplified. Thus, with regard to judgment, social esteem is instantiated through 28/62, or about 45% of, the adjectives; instead, social sanction is inscribed through 18/62, or about 29% of, the adjectives. More specifically, the distribution of evaluative dimensions within social esteem is as follows: normality is instantiated in 14/62, or about 22% of, the adjectives, capacity in 5/62, or 8% of, the adjectives, tenacity in 11/62, or about 17% of, the adjectives. With regard to social sanction, veracity is instantiated only once, while propriety is realized in 15/62, or about 24% of, the adjectives. Thus, three evaluative dimensions (i.e., normality, tenacity, and propriety) appear to play an equally important role in the PhDASs, while the other two (i.e., capacity and veracity) are less salient. The former identify qualities of the benefactors' that adequately motivate the writers' gratitude: they signal they were no ordinary, but rather exceptional helpers, that they provided their help for a long time, as long as was presumably necessary to the dissertation writers, and that they acted as was morally right, by offering appropriate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

help. Veracity is probably less relevant as there is no reason to doubt the honesty, truthfulness or credibility of the benefactors, as friends or mentors. Their capacity too may be taken for granted, in the sense that presumably a dissertation writer would not have chosen inept helpers in the first place; also, with regard to academic helpers, it is possible that a PhD candidate does not feel authoritative enough to judge the quality of his superiors' work. On the other hand, such expressions of assessment reflect well on the benefactors. For these complementary reasons, therefore, capacity-oriented adjectives are chosen occasionally.

Of the various evaluative dimensions included in the appraisal category 'appreciation', only two are somewhat prominent, namely 'reaction: quality', instantiated in about 10% of the adjectives, and 'valuation', instantiated in about 6.5% of them. The others are fairly infrequent, as the following values reveal: 'reaction: impact' and 'composition: complexity' are each instantiated in about 3% of the adjectives, while 'composition: balance' in only about 1.5%. The greater visibility of the notions of 'quality' and 'valuation' within the category 'appreciation' reveals that the properties of the products of the benefactors' behavior salient to the beneficiaries are those revealing the causes and effects of beneficial circumstances, that is, the intrinsic merit of their work and their social significance. One can also observe that the evaluative dimensions mostly represented within the category 'appraisal', namely 'reaction' and 'valuation', are those that, according to Martin (2000: 165) are most similar in meaning to the appraisal sub-categories '(dis)satisfaction' (relevant to appraisal category 'affect') and 'capacity' (subsumed under the appraisal category 'judgment'). This appears to suggest that even evaluative terms that are *indirectly* relevant to the benefactors can nevertheless be aligned

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with those that are typically used to describe the behavior and feelings, respectively, of people, rather than aesthetic qualities of the entities themselves.

The appraisal category 'affect' is exemplified only through the evaluative dimensions 'cheer' (once) and 'affection' (three times), both belonging to the affect category 'happiness'. Its infrequent instantiation may be due to the fact that benefactor (expansion) units are indeed more focused on the description of benefactors than the reactive feelings experienced toward them. If anything, one might expect to find instances of the evaluative dimensions 'affect: satisfaction: interest' and 'affect: satisfaction: admiration', which are not attested, however.

Table 30 contains instances of double-coding, that is, adjectives classifiable along more than one evaluative dimension. In some cases, this may be due to the fact that a given adjective is interpretable in more than one way; for instance, *exemplary* may be taken to mean 'special, extremely good' and/or 'morally good such that the referent of the noun it refers to can serve as a model'. In Table 30 slashes separate the two or more classifications applied to individual evaluative adjectives. In other cases, instead, the adjective *per se* can only be classified according to one evaluative dimension, but in consideration of the wider co-text in which it occurs, it is interpretable as relevant to another, evoked rather than explicitly inscribed, dimension; thus, for instance, "a great teacher" is, first of all, a special one, but his/her being special is a function of his/her being good at teaching. In Table 30 instances of evoked appraisal are preceded by the symbol 't-'. As is clear from Table 30, 20/62, or about 32% of, the adjectives are multiply coded for appraisal, and most of them (i.e., 90%) contain instances of evoked appraisal, more specifically of 'evoked judgment'. These data emphasize the orientation of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relevant text segments toward the benefactors, in the sense that even those descriptive adjectives that do not prototypically evaluate behavior can indirectly be interpreted as such. Indeed, as Elisabeth Swain (personal communication) has pointed out to me, in a genre focused on the expression of gratitude one might be temped to expect the most often deployed resources to be those from 'judgment', since what is mostly being evaluated, usually positively, is the behavior of those to whom the author is beholden. But, if resources from 'appreciation' are deployed, as in this case, it would be mostly an indirect way of praising the behavior of those who are thanked; thus many of the 'appreciation' inscriptions could be read as tokens of evoked 'judgment' as well.

Finally, one can notice that, in keeping with the goal of *positively* describing benefactors, so as to justify one's gratitude, very few are the adjectives that denote negative qualities, and that even in these cases the global co-text is not negatively connoted. For instance, the text segment in which "authoritative" appears states that given academic helpers were more like friends than authoritative figures; thus, negation of negative evaluation is expressed. Where, indeed, negative evaluation is in fact intended, this is not relevant to the benefactors but rather expressed generically (e.g., "it is hard to imagine") or relevant to the beneficiaries (e.g., "we too constitute an irrational public sphere").

Together, Tables 29 and 30 show that adjectives are an occasionally useful resource for evaluating benefactors. Occurring in about 17% of the moves, on average, they serve to qualify the degree to which the benefactors' actions are presented as appropriate, dependable or competent, and the extent to which entities relevant to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefactors can be judged as socially significant and likeable. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of such adjectives denote positive qualities, which contributes to motivating the authors' gratitude to the generic reader.

4.8.3. Conclusion

Benefactor units and benefactor expansion units are the functional components of AMs that make not only *each* AM salient to (an) *individual* benefactor(s), but also the *whole* PhDAS in which they occur interpretable to the *generic* reader: on the one hand, they enable benefactors to recognize themselves in the text as acknowledgees and thus to realize that given acts thanking have been successfully performed; on the other hand, they clarify the role-relationships between the dissertation writer and his helpers and thus make the latter meaningfully relevant to the reader.

In the corpus, benefactors are clearly, or fairly clearly, identified in most AMs. This finding can be accounted for with reference to the context of situation: on the one hand, thanking is severed from the communicative events that it is causally related to, and on the other hand, the benefactors being referred to are not the addressees of the PhDASs; as a result, the identification of the acknowledgee(s) becomes important to ensure the understandability of the texts and their communicative goal. This concern for communicative effectiveness explains why the benefactors are often identified (also) through reference to their professional and/or social roles, rather than their names (alone): it is the former kind of information that renders them recognizable to the generic reader

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as the "instantiation", or "exemplar", of a social "type", while the latter would render them recognizable only to the few people acquainted with them. In addition, the identifiability of the benefactors helps ensure that PhDASs are indeed acknowledgments and not simply thanks, that is, it makes it possible to openly *recognize* who the beneficiary feels *grateful* to; as the result, the PhDASs count as *public* acts of thanking (see section 3.2.1. about the verbs *acknowledge* and *recognize*).

The corpus also occasionally contains complementary units of meaning enriching the gist the benefactor units. These supportive benefactor expansion units serve to describe the benefactors' behavior or qualities by ascribing merit to them, which further motivates the writers' (manifestation of) gratitude.

Both benefactor units and benefactor expansion units may additionally convey information that expands on the benefactor(s)' excellence, that is, praise for their behavior and/or admiration of their traits. These adjectives serve to positively evaluate the benefactors, and thus to stress their current communicative role as acknowledgees.

4.9. Benefit units

Once AMs have been identified and described with relevance to their benefactor units and their expansions, it is possible to explore their other important functional components, namely their benefit-specifying text segments and gratitude expressions. In this section, as well as in sections 4.9.1. and 4.9.2., I examine the content and wording of the benefit units and benefit expansion units in the corpus. My approach to the analysis of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

such text segments is partly similar to and partly different from that used in tackling benefactor (expansion) units. It is similar in the sense that in this case too I take into consideration the content of and one aspect of the encoding of the notion of appraisal in these functional components (cf. sections 4.6.2. and 4.8.2.); it is different in the sense that, apart from the examination of appraisal (see section 4.9.2.), no other aspect of the wording of these text segments is taken into consideration (cf. section 4.8.1.) and also in the sense that I use different criteria for the identification and classification of expansion units (see section 4.9.2.).

In this section, I outline the method applied for distinguishing benefit units from benefit expansion units, list the types of benefit categories used for classifying benefit units, and present the relevant data about the corpus. In section 4.9.1., I describe the types of categories used for classifying benefit expansion units and summarize the results of the application of such classification criteria to the corpus. Finally, in section 4.9.2., I explore the manifestation of the notion of appraisal in the evaluative adjectives occurring in both the benefit units and the benefit expansion units.

Just as it may be difficult to distinguish text segments referring to benefactors from those referring to benefits in AMs (see section 4.8.), so it may also be difficult to distinguish between the indication of benefits and the manifestation of gratitude in the same move. Consider the following made-up AMs: *I thank Joan for her comments* and *I benefited from Joan's comments.* The former contains the gratitude expression *I thank*, the benefactor unit *Joan*, and the benefit unit *for her comments*; the latter contains the gratitude expression equivalent *I benefited*, the benefactor unit *from Joan's*, and the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

benefit unit *comments*. The expression *I benefited* can be regarded as an equivalent of *I thank* because it is the text segment that reveals the thanker's awareness of the advantage received and thus signals his positive reactive attitude to his benefactor and benefit, even if it may not constitute a highly conventionalized, but rather a genre-specific, gratitude expression (see section 3.2.1.).

The interpretation of *to benefit* outlined above, though, is not necessarily valid in an AM like *My dissertation greatly benefited from Joan's comments*. In this sentence, the subject of *benefited* is an inanimate entity, not a sentient being. Thus, even if metonymically related to the benefactor, no cognitive-emotional state is attributable to it, and *benefited* cannot be understood as the expression of a person's attitude. Rather, the thanker's attitude is to be (easily) *inferred* from the use of *benefited*, and the sentence in question can be considered an ellipted version of a longer AM such as *I know my dissertation greatly benefited from Joan's comments* or *My dissertation greatly benefited from Joan's comments and I am grateful to her* (of course, other reconstructions are possible too). In this case, then, *My dissertation benefited* is to be understood as a consequence of the benefactor's generous act, which can thus be classified as an expansion of the benefactor unit.

Thus a verb like *to benefit* poses classificatory problems in AMs, since different interpretations can be assigned to it according to whether the referent of the subject it predicates something of is animate or inanimate. Similar considerations apply to other gratitude expression equivalents like *owe* as in the following made-up examples: *I owe a lot to Patricia for all her help* vs. *My work owes a lot to Patricia's help*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, just as certain text segments can be regarded simultaneously as benefactor expansion units and core benefit units (see section 4.8.1.), so can others be interpreted both as equivalents of gratitude expressions that reveal the authors' attitude and as benefit expansions that indicate the authors' intention to reciprocate the favors received by offering counter-benefits. Consider the following made-up AM: *Nancy supported me a lot while I was writing my dissertation. I wish her all the best now that she is going through the same ordeal.* This illustrative AM contains no explicit, direct gratitude expression such as *I feel indebted to...* or *My thanks go to....* However, *I wish her* is the text segment that indicates the beneficiary's positive attitude towards the benefactor. (*To wish* is a verb that carries positive connotations, as it is typically used to express the hope that something good will happen to someone.) The co-text also reveals that this is a *reactive* kind of attitude, developed after and as a result of the benefactor's behaving in a friendly way towards the beneficiary. On the other hand, this reactive attitude is oriented towards the present and future (of the benefactor's luck and happiness) rather than the past (of the beneficiary's advantages gained). In addition, the information it introduces is interpretable as an event that is a *consequence* of the benefit received, which justifies a classification of the relevant text segment as a benefit expansion unit. In a case like this, it is difficult to decide whether *I wish her*, a generic expression of good will, is to be considered a suitable gratitude expression equivalent followed by a benefit expansion or whether the whole *I wish her all the best now that she is going through the same ordeal* is to be considered a benefit expansion with an understood, ellipted gratitude expression. Here are a few examples from the corpus showing the inherent ambiguity of certain text segments:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(485) "I thank the U. C. Berkeley English Department for three years of fellowship awards that allowed me the time to develop these ideas. *The dissertation benefited immeasurably* from having the support of my department in these crucial years." (Engl4; a text segment interpretable as a benefit expansion unit or possibly as a gratitude expression equivalent; emphasis added);

(486) "Many thanks to [several names] for being not only fellow graduate students with many great and helpful ideas, but also good friends who have made my stay at Berkeley an experience to remember. *I know I have benefited* from both our technical and social discussions." (EECS5; a text segment interpretable as a gratitude expression equivalent or possibly as a benefit expansion unit; emphasis added);

(487) "[...] [first name] helped me to survive in the graduate program with a warm and caring heart. *May his soul rest in peace.* [...]" (P-Bio3; a text segment interpretable either as a gratitude expression equivalent or as a benefit expansion unit).

Even when benefit-relevant text segments have been identified, it is not clear how to distinguish the main benefit units from their expansions. This is because AMs can be variously phrased, that is, the events and situations that constitute (or are interpretable as) beneficial experiences and circumstances can be represented in more than one way. To illustrate what I mean, I present a few made-up illustrative AMs and point out why their units of information can be interpreted in complementary ways.

In *Christina Jones expertly guided my efforts*, the segment *expertly guided my efforts* encodes the generous act performed by the benefactor, Christina Jones; this text

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

segment refers to what the benefactor willingly and kindly did to the advantage of the beneficiary. It thus indicates what the benefit consists in.

In *Christina Jones expertly guided my efforts, which improved my dissertation*, the same segment, *expertly guided my efforts*, refers to the beneficial act consciously carried out by the benefactor which she can be positively acknowledged for, while the new text segment *which improved my dissertation* refers to the beneficial consequence of that act; the former event, having been deliberately realized by the benefactor, can be considered the gist of the benefit, while the latter, having happened as a result of the former, can be considered a secondary manifestation of it (i.e., its effect). On the other hand, one may argue that from the point of view of the benefactor, what is most relevant as a benefit is indeed what has been gained from an advantageous event or circumstance (in this case the improved quality of the beneficiary's dissertation) rather than the efforts made by someone else (in this case the expert guidance offered) that led to it. From this complementary perspective, it is the advantageous consequence of the benefactor's generous act that can be regarded as the gist of the benefit, while the benefactor's behavior is reinterpretable as a secondary aspect of it, namely its (deliberate) cause.

The second interpretation outlined above may appear more appropriate if the relevant beneficial events are rephrased as follows: *Christina Jones's expert guidance improved my dissertation*. In this other version of the same beneficial circumstances, the first event is encoded as if it were an entity through a process of nominalization (grammatical metaphor in Halliday's (1994) terms), which makes its event-like properties less salient and gives it the status of a participant to that event; as a result, *improved my dissertation* acquires more prominence as the benefit *that happens* as an event (because

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

congruently encoded through a verb phrase), while *expert guidance* (i.e., the cause that triggered it) turns out to be conceptually less salient because presented as an *element*, however important, of that event, that is, an entity involved in it.

Christina Jones improved my dissertation with her expert guidance is liable to two interpretations as well, namely as the encoding of a benefit (*Christina Jones improved my dissertation*) followed by the instrument that made it possible (*with her expert guidance*) or as the encoding of the advantageous consequence (*Christina Jones improved my dissertation*) of a beneficial act attributable to the benefactor (*with her expert guidance*). The syntactic phrasing of the AM (in which the cause of the beneficial consequence is rendered as an adjunct) makes the former interpretation more likely, but the latter is equally logical and satisfactory.

Laura's reassuring smile and charming personality increased my self-confidence can be similarly interpreted in two ways. *Laura's reassuring smile and charming personality* could be the benefit expansion unit encoding the involuntary positive cause (i.e., the benefactor's positive characteristics) of a benefit, while *increased my self-confidence* could be the text unit mentioning the cognitive salient benefit (which is determined by those positive characteristics). Alternatively, the former text segment could be said to encode the gist of the benefit (i.e., the advantageous situation the benefactor has to be given credit for) and the latter text segment could be said to encode an aspect of it (i.e., its advantageous side effect). The former interpretation might be preferred because *smile* and *personality* are not actions deliberately carried out by the benefactor, but rather behavorial traits; however, from a syntactic point of view, this AM is parallel to *Christina Jones's expert guidance improved my dissertation*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Laura's increased my self-confidence with her reassuring smile and charming personality is syntactically structured just like *Christina Jones improved my dissertation with her expert guidance*. It can be similarly interpreted as the encoding of a benefit (*Laura's increased my self-confidence*) and relevant instrument (*with her reassuring smile and charming personality*) or as the encoding of a consequence resulting from a benefit (*Laura's increased my self-confidence*) and the relevant benefit (*with her reassuring smile and charming personality*). Given that *smile* and *personality* encode characteristics rather than actions and that they are embedded under a preposition, the former interpretation may be favored, although the latter is not to be totally ruled out either. An AM from the corpus that can be likened to the above made-up AM is the following:

(488) " To [first name + last name], my tai'ji transcriber extraordinaire, thank you *for saving my hands and my mind with your skill, wit, and wisdom*." (Edu1; a text segment referring to the consequence and cause of a beneficial circumstance, rephrasable as "for your skill, wit and wisdom, which saved my hands and mind; emphasis added).

Very similar observations apply to AMs in which inanimate, but concrete, entities are mentioned as involved in the beneficial circumstances being reported. Here are a few illustrative made-up AMs:

- in *That grant supported my research*, *that grant* can be considered as encoding either the benefit or the cause of the benefit, while *supported my research* can be said to encode either the consequence of the benefit or the benefit itself;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- in *My research was supported by that grant*, *My research was supported* can be regarded as referring to the consequence of the benefit or the benefit itself, while *by that grant* can be viewed as the indication of the benefit or as the actor responsible for it, that is the benefactor;

- in *I thank UC Berkeley for supporting my research through a very generous grant*, *for supporting my research* can be interpreted as referring to either the benefit or a beneficial consequence of a benefit, while *through a very generous grant* can be interpreted as referring to the instrument through which the benefit was carried out or to the benefit itself; in either case, *UC Berkeley* refers to the benefactor (the agent responsible for the benefit);

- in *I was supported by UC Berkeley's generous grant*, *I was supported* may be interpreted as referring to the benefit or to the advantageous consequence of a benefit, while *generous grant* may be interpreted as referring to the means through which a benefit was determined or to the benefit itself; here too, *UC Berkeley* can be said to refer to the benefactor;

- in *UC Berkeley generously gave me a grant that enabled me to continue my research*, *generously gave me a grant* is interpretable as referring to a benefit or the cause of a benefit, and *that enabled me to continue my research* is interpretable as referring to the consequence of a benefit or a benefit in itself;

- in *I received a grant from UC Berkeley so that I could continue my research*, *I received a grant* could be said to encode the benefit or the cause of a benefit, while *so that I could continue my research* could be said to encode the consequence of a benefit or the benefit itself;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- in *Without that grant I wouldn't have completed my research*, *Without that grant* could refer to the benefit or the cause of a benefit or the instrument through which a benefit was brought about, while *I wouldn't have completed my research* could refer to the consequence of a benefit or the benefit itself.

Finally, it may be difficult to distinguish between causes and effects of benefits from core benefits because certain beneficial circumstances constitute unified concepts or events. This is especially evident in the case of benefit units that contain adjectives. For example, *I thank him for his helpful comments* appears to have *for his helpful comments* as the core and whole benefit unit which both identifies the benefit (i.e., comments) and describes it (as *helpful*) in one phrase. But the identification of the core benefit unit is more difficult in the following illustrative AM: *I thank him for his comments, which were very helpful*. The text segment *for his comments, which were very helpful* could be regarded as the whole benefit unit. Alternatively, the core benefit unit could be considered to be only *for his comments*, while *which were very helpful*, presented as a sort of an afterthought in a dependent clause, could be regarded as the benefit expansion unit encoding the consequence of the benefit. If the same beneficial event were to be rephrased as *His comments helped me a lot*, *his comments* could be understood as the cause of a benefit or the benefit itself, while *helped me a lot* could be interpreted as the consequence of the benefit or the benefit itself. Finally, in *His comments were very helpful*, the subject *his comments* can be described as the unit referring to the benefactor, while the segment *were very helpful* could be said to refer to the consequence of the benefit; the cause-effect relationship, however, is less evident in this AM than in *I thank him for his comments, which were very helpful* (see above) because here *both* text units

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are main syntactic constituents of the clause encoding the AM (i.e., the subject and the subject complement, respectively, of the clause).

It appears from the above exemplification that different interpretative choices, which give priority to syntactic vs. semantic considerations, produce different kinds of data and thus different understandings of the same texts. Bearing this limitation in mind, I have identified and classified benefit relevant text segment on the basis of the following criteria:

- I have considered core benefit units those text segments referring to causes of events (whether encoded as subjects or agentive complements) and as benefit expansion units those referring to other beneficial circumstances, like instruments or effects. This is not always a satisfactory choice; for example, when the above principle is applied to

(489) "[abbreviated first name + last name] has been unceasingly generous with his time, resources, and expertise as my advisor" (Stat4),

"has been unceasingly generous" is to be interpreted as the core benefit unit (describing the benefactor's behavior), while "with his time, resources, and expertise" is to be regarded as the benefit expansion unit (referring to the means through which the benefactor's beneficial behavior was realized); however, "has been unceasingly generous" describes a quality of the benefactor's, and could thus be better interpreted as a benefactor expansion unit, while "with his time, resources, and expertise" could be viewed as a description of an intellectual form of benefit.

Similarly, when the principle is applied to

(490) "He captivated my attention with his excellent sense of humor" (Arch2),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"He captivated my attention" is classified as the benefit, even if it only refers to a cognitive-emotional experience of the beneficiary's resulting from the benefactor's behavior rather than the behavior itself.

- I have regarded beneficial circumstances encoded as predicates or relative clauses as benefit expansion units relevant to core benefit units appearing in the subject constituents of the relevant (main) clause.

- I have regarded text segments that may signal the authors' cognitive-emotional attitudes as gratitude expressions if presented as relevant to people, and as benefit (expansion) units if associated with inanimate entities, even if these can be metonymically related to the benefactors.

- I have considered benefit expansion units those text segments encoding notions somehow conceptually relevant to, and dependent on, those of the core benefit units (see below), independently of their syntactic rank in the clause (e.g., independently of whether encoded as coordinated, subordinated or embedded structures with respect to the benefit units).

- I have not classified benefits into primary vs. secondary, the former to be regarded as part of the core benefit unit, the latter as part of its adjuncts; this is in keeping with my decision not to identify head acts as a opposed to supportives in AMs (see section 4.7.).

Following is the lst of tags used to classify benefit units and benefit expansion units; the former are classified in terms of the type of help they refer to, while the latter in terms of their logical relation to the event or situation classified as beneficial:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§Y: this tag that marks the beginning of a benefit unit; it is always followed by a more specific benefit tag that indicates the type of help the author has received; example:

(491) "I am particularly indebted to [...] §Y §Yint *for reading and commenting on numerous versions of the papers included in this dissertation*, [...]" (B-Adm3; a benefit unit; emphasis added);

§Ycombo: this tag signals the beginning of a unit in which reference is made to two or more types of benefits, as specified by the other tags that follow it; example:

(492) "I would like to thank my doctoral advisor, [first name + last name], §Y §Ycombo §Yfin+int *for financial support and for his guidance* during the completion of the research project" (P-Bio1; a §Ycombo-tagged text segment; emphasis added);

§Yem: the tag is applied to text segments that refer to emotional help (e.g., encouragement, friendship, support, fun); example:

(493) "I would like to thank [abbreviated first name], §Y §Yem for making this last year in Berkeley a wonderful time in my life" (P-Bio3; and §Yem-tagged benefit unit);

§Yend: this tag marks benefit units that refer to the benefactor's patience; example:

(494) "[first name], my wife, [first and second name] and [first name], my sons, §Y §Ycombo §Yem+end accepted, most of the time with serenity, the many absences, first from home, then from the country. However, they also shared with me the value of persistence and the cost of success." (Arch2; a benefit unit that also refers to the benefactor's endurance);

§Yfin: this tag marks text segments that refer to financial forms of support; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(495) "Financial Support by the [name of institution] [placename] (Award number [...]) is gratefully acknowledged." (B-Adm3; a benefit unit referring to financial support);

§Ygen: this tag marks benefit units that mention beneficial circumstances in generic terms; example:

(496) "While in the midst of wrestling with this work, I have often found solace and inspiration in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends §Y §Ygen who have nurtured my work." (Edu1; a §Ygen-tagged benefit unit);

§Yint: this tag signals that a benefit unit refers to intellectual support (e.g., academic guidance, critical comments, inspiration); example:

(497) "[first name + last name], my colleague-mentor during my early years at Berkeley, §Y §Yint *brought me up to speed with my first project*, and was always very pleasant to be around." (EECS1; a §Yint-tagged benefit unit; emphasis added);

§YLD: first part of a discontinuous benefit unit, not necessarily referring to combinations of benefits; example:

(498) "I have also been heartened and tremendously moved §Y §YLD §Ycombo §Yem+qual *by the encouragement and enthusiasm (as well as erudition)* of a host of friends, not all of whom are in the academy, much less part of eighteenth-century studies. Both my work and my life would be poorer §YLU *without the comfort and joy offered up* §Brepet1 by [several names]" (Engl3; the first and second part of a discontinuous benefit unit are separated by the benefit and benefit expansion units; emphases added);

§YLU: second or subsequent part of a discontinuous benefit unit; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(499) "§Y §YLD §Ycombo §Yend+int *In addition to spending many hours commenting on drafts of this dissertation*, the two internal members of my dissertation committee, Professors [...] and [...], §YLU *acted as my mentors* throughout my time at Berkeley." (Phil2; the first and second part of a discontinuous benefit unit separated by the benefactor unit; emphasis added);

§Yno: this tag indicates the absence of a benefit unit in an AM; example:

(500) "My best wishes to my office mates [several names] §Yno" (Stat1; an AM with no benefit unit);

§Yother: this tag marks a type of benefit not easily classifiable through the other benefit-specific tags; example:

(501) "[...] with a special note to Grandma [first name] and Grandpa [abbreviated first name] §Y §Yother for having a home on the river, where the salmon spawn" (Stat4; a §Yother-tagged benefit expansion unit);

§Yqual: this tag marks benefit units that refer to qualities or accomplishments that benefactors are being acknowledged for; such text units count as mini-acts of complimenting or praising and are comparable to §BEeval-tagged benefit expansion units; example:

(502) "I would first like to thank [abbreviated first name + last name] §Y §Yqual for his enthusiasm" (P-Bio4; a §Yqual-tagged benefit unit);

§Ytech: this tag marks text segments making reference to technical or administrative assistance; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(503) "I wish to thank [first name + last name] of [name of firm], Inc. and [first name + last name] of [name of firm], Inc. §Y §Ytech for all of their help with confocal microscopes." (P-Bio2; a §Ytech-tagged benefit unit).

Table 31 shows the distribution of types of benefit units across the corpus. First of all, it reveals that most of the moves in the corpus (i.e., about 95%) make reference to the benefits exchanged between the benefactors and the beneficiaries. Also, it shows that the majority of the benefit units specify to some extent the *nature* of the benefits received: about 55% point out one specific type of beneficial circumstances, about 36% mention two or more types of benefits, only about 9% are worded in generic terms.

In addition, it appears that in the corpus as a whole, the largest sub-group of the benefit units consists of text segments which indicate two or more types of benefits; the second largest sub-group comprises those units making reference to intellectual help (i.e., about 21%), and the third largest one includes the text segments that mention instances of emotional help (about 18%). The distribution patterns of these benefit units are also similarly reproduced in the various sub-corpora; in all but B-Adm, §Ycombo-tagged units are more frequent than §Yint- or §Yem-tagged ones; also, in all sub-corpora but Edu and P-Bio, §Yint-tagged benefactor units are more frequent than §Yem-tagged ones; finally, only in Arch do these two benefit categories have exactly the same frequency of occurrence.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 31: Distribution of types of benefit units across PhDASs

Type of §Y	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot	% (over 403 moves)
§Ycombo	23	7	25	20	20	9	22	12	138	34.24
§Yem	12	5	16	6	10	1	15	4	69	17.12
§Yend	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	1.24
§Yfin	4	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	14	3.47
§Ygen	9	1	4	2	3	7	3	5	34	8.44
§Yint	11	10	15	9	13	8	6	7	79	19.60
§Yother	1	1	1	3	1	0	2	2	11	2.73
§Yqual	0	0	2	1	4	0	4	0	11	2.73
§Ytech	7	0	8	0	1	0	6	0	22	5.46
Tot	70	26	73	42	53	27	60	32	383	95.03
§YLD	12	0	8	11	10	2	5	3	51	12.65
§YLU	13	0	10	12	16	2	9	5	67	16.62
Yno	5	0	7	4	2	3	0	1	22	5.46
§NR	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	

Note: *§NR* is the symbol marking non-thanking moves in the corpus.

Table 31 also shows that all the benefit categories are individually exemplified in the corpus as a whole (unlike some of the benefactor units, which only occur in combination with others; see section 4.8.), but that not all occur in each sub-corpus. Thus, for instance, 'endurance' is exemplified in a minority of the sub-corpora, the categories called 'benefactor's qualities' and 'technical help' are instantiated in half the sub-corpora, while 'other benefits' is unattested only in Phil. 'Endurance,' 'benefactor's qualities,' 'technical help,' and 'other benefits' are also the benefit categories that are the least frequently exemplified in the corpus as a whole.

Moreover, it appears that about 12% of the benefit units are structurally complex, that is realized as discontinuous segments, and that they occur in all sub-corpora but B-Adm. As in the case of benefactor units (see section 4.8.), the number of discontinuous segments (marked as §YLU) is slightly higher than the number of benefit units in which discontinuity occurs (signaled by §YLD tags).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The data reported in Table 31 suggest the following observations:

- benefit units tend to provide the reader with specific information that can account for the writers' gratitude, namely reference to the generous actions or positive traits the authors benefited from;
- quite often, reference to the benefits received is quite detailed (i.e., when two or more benefits are mentioned), which *strongly* motivates the authors' manifestation of their gratitude;
- the two most frequently mentioned benefits (i.e., intellectual and emotional) are relatable to the two most salient categories of benefactors referred to in the AMs, namely academic figures and friends-and-family; both correlated notions thus turn out to be similarly important across disciplines;
- the least frequent benefit categories in the corpus are those encoding the least prototypical benefits: (a) §Yend-tagged benefit units refer to an *aspect* of given beneficial circumstances (i.e., the *cost* to the benefactor of the benefits provided) rather than benefits in themselves (e.g., academic guidance), which makes them conceptually comparable to a type of benefit expansion units (see section 4.9.1. about §YEcost-tagged benefit expansion units); (b) §Yqual-tagged benefit units refer to good, admirable qualities the benefactors are endowed with, rather acts deliberately performed denoting generosity; this could license an interpretation of them as benefactor expansion units that serve to positively describe or praise benefactors, and which thus makes them comparable to benefactor expansion units (see section 4.8.1. about §BEeval-tagged benefactor expansion units);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- no specific sub-corpus shows distinctive distribution patterns of given benefit units, which apparently indicates that the PhDASs authors tend to behave similarly across disciplines when describing their benefactors' positive behavior and traits;
- the occasional presence of discontinuous benefactor units suggests, first of all, that the PhDAS authors may need to refer to multiple benefits, or to repeatedly refer to the same benefit, in their AMs; it also suggests that when such functional components of the AMs are rich in information, authors prefer to break them down into information sub-units and intersperse them with text segments of other kinds, namely those expressing gratitude and/or referring to benefits; this in turn suggests that particularly complex units of meaning may be conveyed in stages within single moves.

In general, the data show that most of the time, the PhDAS authors want to make sure the reader is aware of the reasons for their gratitude. This is achieved by presenting specific information relevant to the benefits provided by the acknowledgees either deliberately through their behavior or indirectly as a result of their talents or other positive qualities. This focus on the rationale for the beneficiaries' gratitude is probably meant for the (communicative) benefit of both the generic reader and of the various benefactors: the former, who does not share the benefactors and beneficiaries' transactional background, can understand why the authors want to express their gratitude; the latter, who do know in what respects they were helpful to the beneficiaries, can find out which specific benefit(s) in particular the beneficiaries considered worth acknowledging them for. This way, by explicitly referring to previous interactions as positive exchanges, the thankers can sustain their relationships with the benefactors, that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is, they can stress the relevance of their complementary roles of givers and receivers of valuable commodities.

4.9.1. Benefit expansion units

Benefit expansion units are those text segments that provide *additional* information about benefits *already* identified in core benefit units. They serve to describe *aspects* of given beneficial events and situations such as their temporal and/or spatial circumstances, their causes and/or effects, and their relevance to the benefactors and beneficiaries involved in them. I have classified the benefit expansion units in the corpus using the tags glossed and exemplified below:

§YE: a benefit expansion unit, a text segment that refers to or describes one or more circumstances of a given beneficial event or situation; the generic tag *§YE* is always followed by a more specific one specifying the nature of the beneficial circumstance(s) in question; example:

> (504) "[...] and to [first name + last name] for his invaluable guidance §YE §YEcirc *throughout my doctoral degree*" (B-Adm3; a benefit expansion unit; emphasis added);

§YEadv: (segment of) a benefit expansion unit mentioning the past, present and/or future advantageous consequence(s) of a given beneficial event to the beneficiary; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(505) "Our discussions on statistics and genetics §YE §YEadv *will have a lasting effect on my views of both fields*." (Stat2; a benefit expansion unit referring to an advantage projected into the future; emphasis added);

(506) "I thank former postdocs [...] for their help and friendship §YE §YEadv *that made my life in the lab so pleasant and memorable*. (P-Bio3; a benefit expansion unit referring to a past advantageous consequence of a beneficial situation; emphasis added);

§YEavoid: (segment of) a benefit expansion unit that mentions dangers, disadvantages, pitfalls or failures avoided as a result of the benefactors' positive behavior and/or traits; example:

(507) "§YE §YEavoid *I could not have accomplished my research* without the assistance of [first name + last name] of the [name of institution], [placename]" (Arch4; a benefit expansion unit referring to a problem avoided as a result of a benefit received; emphasis added);

§YEcirc: (segment of) a benefit expansion unit that refers to one or more contextual elements of a beneficial event, for example its time or location, the benefactor's manner of acting, a concomitant event or situation; example:

(508) "I thank [first name + last name] for her enormous assistance in both science and life, her talent, her sense of humor and her warm friendship §YE §YEcirc *through the years in the lab*" (P-Bio3; a benefactor expansion unit referring to the temporal and spatial context of a beneficial event; emphasis added);

§YEcombo: a benefit expansion unit that makes reference to a combination of beneficial events and/or situations; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(509) "First and foremost, I would like to thank my two wonderful advisors, [...]. Besides providing invigorating technical discussions, they were often more friends than authoritative figures. It is this humanness §YE §YEcombo §YEadv+cost+other *that made the working rapport so enjoyable and endearing. Perhaps I have not always been easy to work with, and was at times wayward and spoiled, but I think we all got along pretty well.*" (EECS1; a benefit expansion unit that refers to a combination of beneficial circumstances of a beneficial event; emphasis added);

§YEcost: (segment of) a benefit expansion unit that specifies the cost of a given benefit to the benefactor, for instance the difficulties experienced or the time spent in trying to bring about a beneficial change; example:

(510) "Finally, and most of all, I thank my best friend, my wife, [first name + last name], for being so very strange and wonderful, and for a love §YE §YEcost *that has withstood even graduate school*" (Stat4; a benefit expansion unit that refers to the difficulties encountered in providing a benefit; emphasis added);

§YEcred: (segment of) a benefit expansion unit that signals that a given benefit is to be attributed to the benefactor's generosity or that indicates the magnitude of the benefit received, which the benefactor should be given credit for; example:

(511) "I owe a special thanks to [...] my high school English teacher, who first inspired me to pursue literary analysis. §YE §YEcred *It is by her example* that I discovered the thrills of close reading" (Engl4; a benefit expansion unit that gives credit to the benefactor for the benefit provided; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(512) "To my four living sisters [...], you have taught me §YE §YEcred *more than you will ever know* about positions of power," (Edu1; a benefactor expansion unit that recognizes the credit given benefactors deserve; emphasis added);

§YEgoal: (segment of a) benefit expansion unit that signals the beneficiary's and/or benefactor's objective in carrying out a given action; example:

(513) "At the [name of institution] and [name of institution] — where I work as an Assistant Professor — I received the necessary support §YE §YEgoal *to conclude this dissertation*" (Arch2; a benefit expansion unit mentioning the academic goal achieved as a result of having received financial support; emphasis added);

(514) "I am very grateful to my brother [...], who invited me to [...] §YE §YEgoal *so that I could see and visit various traditional and contemporary examples of earth-integrated houses*" (Arch5; a benefit expansion unit referring to the goal to be achieved as a result of the provision of a benefit; emphasis added);

§YEinstr: (segment of a) benefit expansion that indicates the instrument through which a benefit is provided; examples:

(515) "My work has benefited §YE §YEinstr *from conversations* with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances" (Phil2; a benefit expansion unit identifying the instrumental source of a benefit; emphasis added);

(516) "[abbreviated first name] has been unceasingly generous §YE §YEinstr *with his time, resources, and expertise* as my advisor" (Stat4; a benefit expansion unit specifying the ways in which a benefit was provided; emphasis added);

§YELD: first part of a discontinuous benefit expansion unit, interspersed with text segments of benefit units or other functional units of an AM; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(517) "Very many people §YE §YELD §YEcombo §YEavoid+circ+goal *over the past six years* have given me the help and encouragement §YELU *to finish my studies*. Without their kindness and support, §YELU *this thesis most likely would not be*." (Stat4; a discontinuous benefit expansion unit, interspersed with segments of a benefit unit; emphases added);

§YELU: second or other non-first part of a discontinuous benefit expansion segment; example:

(518) "Many thanks also to [...] for introducing me to a problem §YE §YELD §YEcombo §YEadv+circ *that will surely be with me for the rest of my life* — and for his help and guidance §YELU *every step of the way*." (Phil4; a discontinuous benefit expansion unit consisting of two segments; emphasis added);

§YEneed: (segment of a) benefit expansion unit referring to needs experienced or difficulties encountered by the beneficiary; example:

(519) "My fellow students, [...], have been of invaluable help §YE §YEneed *during my struggles*, [...]" (Stat2; a benefit expansion unit referring to problems encountered by the beneficiary; emphasis added);

§YEoffer: (segment of a) benefit expansion unit whose content is oriented towards the future; it may encode the author's desires, hopes, intentions about the future, including the choice to offer something in return for the benefit received (the manifestation of gratitude projected into the future, however, is to be considered (part of) the expression of gratitude); examples:

(520) "§YE §YEoffer *I hope that I can bring to my own dissertation student*s what I have learned from each member of my dissertation committee about the rewards of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rigor, the pleasures of scholarship, and the spirit of intellectual community" (Engl4; a benefit expansion unit referring to the beneficiary's future hopes and intention to reciprocate for the benefit received; emphasis added);

(521) "With [first name + last name] I learned the importance of deliberating as much as possible not only the coincidences in ideas, but also, and most importantly, the differences. §YE §YEoffer *The vast and impressive array of Development Planning Theory literature still remains something for me to be mastered in order to deliberate as much is [sic] I desire about many of the differences*" (Arch2; a benefit expansion unit referring to the beneficiary's future intention; emphasis added);

§YEother: (segment of) a benefit expansion unit not easily classifiable through other benefit expansion tags; example:

(522) "§YE §YEcombo §YELD §YEcred+other *As my numerous references to his book on Spinoza will attest,* my thinking on Spinoza owes a great deal to [first name + last name]'s work. §YELU *Although I have significant disagreements with* §Brepet1 [last name]'s *interpretation*, I have found his arguments extremely helpful in articulating many of the central interpretative issues in Spinoza" (Phil5; a benefit expansion unit containing a segment that makes reference to the benefactor's opinion not classifiable through other §YE tags; emphasis added).

Table 32 shows the distribution of types of benefit expansion units across the corpus. It shows, first of all, that such supportive components of the AMs are fairly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

frequent, occurring in about 44% of the moves in the corpus; thus, on average, there are about 4-5 such expansion units per PhDAS.

Table 32: Distribution of types of benefit expansion units across PhDASs

§YE	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
§YEadv	10	1	11	3	5	3	6	2	41
§YEavoid	2	2	3	0	1	2	2	2	14
§YEcirc	11	4	7	5	7	4	7	2	47
§YEcombo	4	1	3	10	17	2	8	3	48
§YEcost	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
§YEcred	0	0	2	1	3	1	2	0	9
§YEgoal	3	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	8
§YEinstr	1	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	7
§YEneed	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	5
§YEoffer	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
§YEother	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	33	8	31	22	37	15	27	13	186
§YELD	3	1	1	8	8	2	2	1	26
§YELU	3	2	1	10	16	2	2	2	38
double coding	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (YE/BK)	0	1

Note: *BK* means 'background information'; see section 4.12.

In addition, one can see that all sub-corpora have benefit expansion units, although some are richer in these functional components than others. The different frequencies of occurrence of such supportives across the corpus correlates with the different length values of the various sub-corpora in number of words (see Table 4).

The most frequent benefit expansion units are those marked with the tags §YEcombo, §YEcirc and §YEadv, which make up, respectively, about 26%, 25%, and 23% of the whole units. §YEadv-tagged units are those that mention aspects of the beneficial events referred to in the AMs that are most relevant from the thankers' point of view, as they specify in what respects they were advantageous to them. §YEcombo-tagged supportives are those that are most useful to the generic reader, as rich in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information about the circumstances of the beneficial events that the reader maybe did not have access to. §YEcirc-tagged supportives provide specific and circumscribed information about the beneficial events that serve to set them in context; they are helpful to the generic reader who can form a mental picture of the beneficial events she did not learn about directly. The least frequent benefit supportives are those tagged as §YEother and §YEcred, which together constitute 2% of the expansion units. The low frequency of the former suggests that most benefit expansion units are quite easily classifiable, while the low frequency of the latter may suggest that authors who want to provide details on their benefits prefer not to focus on those aspects that would partly turn their mini-texts/AMs into acts of praise for their benefactors.

It also appears from Table 32 that discontinuous benefit expansions are about 14% of the total, which means that they occur in about 6% of the AMs, on average. Thus a small, but not insignificant subset of the benefit expansion units is characterized by functional complexity. A comparison with Table 28 shows such units are six times as frequent as comparably structured benefactor expansion units. This suggests, then, that additional information about benefits is more frequent than additional information about benefactors and that authors may need to convey the full import of the benefits they experienced in stages more often than they need to do so for benefactors.

Moreover, only one (i.e., 0.5%) of the benefit expansion units are co-coded as something else as well; this suggests that the criteria used for identifying benefit-relevant units of meaning are appropriate for discriminating different types of AM components most of the time.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In conclusion, benefit expansion units, as I have identified them, appear to be both semantically varied and quantitatively prominent components of the corpus. They variously enrich about 44% of the AMs by providing information that helps motivate the authors' gratitude and make the PhDASs more communicatively effective for the reader. As with benefactor (expansion) units, additional information about benefit (expansion) units can be obtained by examining their linguistic resources for expressing appraisal.

4.9.2. Appraisal in benefit (expansion) units

In this section I examine the encoding of appraisal in text segments relevant to benefits. More specifically, I look at attributive and predicative adjectives occurring in the benefit units and benefit expansion units through which information is conveyed about characteristics of the referents of the nouns they are relevant to, that is, properties of the benefits. As I have done for the adjectives employed in benefactor units and benefactor expansion units, I consider only those that encode qualities through which (relatively) positive or negative comments are, or can be inferred to have been, made on given entities.

As was the case with evaluative adjectives occurring in benefactor (expansion) units, those relevant to benefactors too are mostly discipline-specific. This time, therefore, I do not provide a table is about their distribution across the corpus. I concentrate, instead, on the type of referents they are associated with, their connotations, and their classification in terms of appraisal categories.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33, therefore, reports all the evaluative adjectives found in benefit units and benefactor expansion units. It also includes the nouns they are relevant to (in parentheses). As in Tables 29 and 30, nouns joined by the symbol '+' occur in the same phrases in the text, while those separated by commas are modified by different tokens of the same adjective in different text segments. The abbreviation '[neg]' signals a negatively connoted adjective, as understandable from the co-text. The abbreviation '[pers]' signals that a given adjective (or adjective plus noun combination) is relevant to a person or group of people (referred to through names or pronouns in the original text).

Table 33 reveals that the benefit-relevant text units contain 171 types and 327 tokens of evaluative adjectives, that is, about four types of adjectives and eight tokens of adjectives per PhDAS, on average. Most of the tokens (i.e., 252 or about 77%) are relevant to noun (phrase)s (or occasionally verb phrases) that refer to circumstances (e.g., *semester, environment, place*), events (e.g., *graduate seminar, lectures, meetings*), actions (e.g., *collaboration, feedback, raising children, pursuit*), qualities (e.g., *enthusiasm, insights, sense of humor*) or entities (e.g., *mind, value, apartment*) that can typically be associated with people (i.e., as possessors of entities or qualities, as performers of actions, as participants involved in events or circumstances); only the remaining 23% are relevant to expressions that refer to people directly (e.g., *committee chair, friends, wife, professor, human being*). The stronger focus on entities rather than people found is easily understandable, as the adjectives identified occur in these text units that are relevant to *benefits* rather than *benefactors*, and the former tend to be objects (that can be exchanged and enjoyed as goods).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 shows that all adjectives but 19 (i.e., about less than 5%) are positively connoted, which contributes to justifying the authors' gratitude with reference to the benefits received. In addition, the global co-text in which they occur is either not negatively connoted anyway or not made relevant to the benefits (or benefactors). For instance, of one benefactor it is said that he prevented the thanker's life from getting too boring: while *boring* in and of itself qualifies the referent of the noun it is attached too negatively, the larger text reveals that the author meant to describe that referent as not boring (or not very boring at least), thus in relatively positive terms; put differently, a negative evaluation is negated in that context. Where, indeed, negative evaluation is in fact intended, this is expressed with reference to circumstances the benefactors were not responsible for (e.g., "saved me from many blind alleys") or that can be more directly associated with the beneficiaries (e.g., "my occasional ill humor"; "have been at times wayward and spoiled").

With regard to the appraisal dimensions for evaluating people and entities, Table 33 shows that most of the adjectives (as types) instantiate the appraisal category 'appreciation' (i.e., 114 or about 67%), and that they are not equally distributed between the three dimensions of reaction (i.e., 56 or about 49%), valuation (i.e., 45 or about 39%), and composition (i.e., 12 or about 10%).[57] Within these broad groups, in addition, the adjectives are not homogeneously distributed across sub-categories; thus, 73% of the reaction adjectives are relevant to the notion of quality (and the remaining to that impact) and over 66% of the composition adjectives are relevant to complexity (and the rest to balance). It thus appears that the most important evaluative dimensions for the

[57] Three types of adjectives have been double-coded and are not counted here.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

assessment of the benefits within appreciation are their emotional impact on the receiver and their degree of social significance as perceived by the receivers. The greater visibility of the notions of quality and valuation within the category 'appraisal' reveals that the properties of the benefits salient to the beneficiaries are those relevant to the beneficiaries' emotional well-being and cognitive usefulness.

With regard to judgment, this is instantiated in 32 types of adjectives. More specifically, social esteem is inscribed through 22 or about 69% of the adjectives, while social sanction is inscribed through the rest of the adjectives. Within social esteem, normality is instantiated in nine or about 41% of the adjectives, capacity in five or 23% of the adjectives, tenacity in eight or about 36% of the adjectives. As for social sanction, this is realized only through the sub-dimension of propriety. Thus, it appears that within the appraisal category of 'judgment,' three evaluative dimensions (i.e., normality, propriety, and tenacity) appear to play an equally important role in the PhDASs. They serve to describe the exceptional character, appropriate behavior, and reliability of the people who are given credit for their generously providing the candidates with a number of benefits.

The appraisal category 'affect' is instantiated only twice through the adjectives *exuberant* and *ill*, the former exemplifying the evaluative dimension 'happiness: cheer,' relevant to a benefactor, and the latter exemplifying the evaluative dimension 'unhappiness: misery,' relevant to the beneficiary. The infrequent instantiation of 'affect' is not surprising given that the focus of benefit-relevant text segments is on the value of the goods exchanged rather than the emotional experiences of the participants involved in the exchange. In addition, one can observe that the adjectives in question, especially if

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

considered in their co-text, serve less to describe feelings than to reveal their beneficial effects on the candidate: the benefactor's exuberant enthusiasm helped provide emotional support to the candidate, while the candidate's ill humor highlights the benefactor's patience in dealing with him.

Table 33 contains instances of two types of double-coding. On the one hand, there are adjectives classifiable along more than one evaluative dimension, that is, interpretable in more than one way (slashes separate the two or more classifications applied to individual evaluative adjectives). For instance, a "dazzling mind" is both an exceptional mind (not an ordinary one) and a mind that strikes you because exceptional (i.e., one that cannot but be noticed); thus, *dazzling* is to be classified as an instance of both 'appreciation: reaction: quality' and 'appreciation: reaction: impact'. On the other hand, there are also adjectives that *per se* can only be classified according to one evaluative dimension, but that, in consideration of the wider co-text in which they occur, are interpretable as relevant to another, evoked rather than explicitly inscribed, dimension (this second type of double-coding is listed under the third column in the table, and all instances of evoked appraisal are preceded by the symbol 't-'). Thus, for instance, if someone's teaching is described as terrific, it means, first of all, that it is of top-notch quality, but as this teaching is an action performed by a capable person, it also indirectly signals that person's ability as a teacher; as a result, *terrific teaching* can be coded both as an explicit manifestation of 'appreciation: reaction: quality' and as an implicit manifestation of 't-judgment: esteem: capacity'. As is clear from Table 33, only four of the adjectives (as types) are multiply coded for explicit appraisal, while there are 27 types of adjectives that are both explicitly and implicitly classified for appraisal categories.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition, there are also two types of adjectives that are classified for evoked appraisal, but not for inscribed appraisal. The first group consists of adjectives that are merely descriptive or experiential in meaning, that is, adjectives that refer to characteristics that cannot *per se* be defined as relatively good or bad (e.g., *early*, *uninvited*), but which are interpretable as indirectly conveying a positive evaluation if considered in their context. Thus, for example, *early support* refers to support provided in the early stages of the dissertation project, probably when help was most needed in order to direct the student's research efforts in the right direction; because receiving early support with regard to one's dissertation has important beneficial effects on the dissertation, *early* can be said to implicitly encode positive appraisal. Table 33 includes only six adjectives of this first type (e.g., *innate, unimplemented*).

The other group of adjectives consists of adjectives that serve to intensify (or reduce) the degree of intensity of a given quality (e.g., *tremendous*) or to sharpen (or blur) the distinction of a given category (e.g., *acute, keen*). Within appraisal, these two dimensions for grading or scaling values are called, respectively, *Force* and *Focus*, and belong to the area of 'graduation'. These types of adjectives can be said to encode implicit appraisal when they stress or specify a quality (or magnify or clarify a concept) that is considered positive (or negative) for the person to whom that quality or concept is relevant. For example, *enormous* technically indicates only the great amount or size of something; when applied to *assistance*, which is a positive, greatly appreciated other-directed form of behavior, it stresses the positivity of that concept, by indirectly revealing its impact on the receiver. In Table 33 there are 34 graduation-type adjectives, only 3 of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which belonging to the dimension of 'focus,' which significantly contribute to enriching the evaluative dimension of the PhDASs.

Tables 33 shows that adjectives are often exploited in PhDASs to enhance the value of the benefits received by the authors to the eyes of the reader. Occurring in about 80% of the moves, on average, they serve to qualify the degree to which the benefits exchanged were both adequately assessed (for their intrinsic value) and gladly received (as useful and likeable). Most of these adjectives denote positive qualities of the benefits, and thus serve to motivate the authors' gratitude to the reader: some do so by expressing direct evaluation, but others acquire an evaluative function in their co-text. The co-presence of explicit and implicit evaluative terms in the PhDASs contributes to the semantic richness of these texts.

Table 33: Classification of evaluative adjectives in benefit units and benefit expansion units

Evaluative adjectives in §Y- and §YE-tagged text segments	Inscribed (explicit) appraisal	Token (implicit) appraisal
A: 10 types, 11 tokens		
abiding (presence)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
accessible (to help [pers]*)*	judgment: esteem: tenacity	t- judgment: sanction: propriety
(less) active (role)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	t-judgment: esteem: -tenacity
acute (criticism)	graduation: focus	t-appreciation: valuation / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
alienated (life)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
ample (intellectual community)	graduation: force	t-judgment: esteem: normality
appropriate (environment)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
arcane (queries [neg]*)*	appreciation: composition: -complexity	
astonishing (graduate seminar)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
available [pers]	judgment: esteem: tenacity	t-judgment: sanction: propriety

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

B: 11 types, 14 tokens		
beautiful (friendship, world)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
best (thing [pers]*)*	appreciation: reaction: quality	
better (person, researcher)	judgment: sanction: propriety	
better (research project)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
biggest (supporter)	graduation: force	t-judgment: esteem: propriety
bitter-sweet (years)	appreciation: reaction: (-) quality	
blind (alleys)	appreciation: - valuation	
(life from getting too) boring	appreciation: reaction: - impact	t-judgment: esteem: capacity
boundless (enthusiasm)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
brief (semester, tenure)		t-appreciation: reaction: - impact
(notwithstanding his) busy (schedule)		t-appreciation: reaction: - quality
C: 14 types, 32 tokens		
caring (heart)	appreciation: reaction: quality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
central (arguments for the dissertation, issues)	appreciation: valuation	
challenging (lectures/writings, species of theory)	appreciation: valuation	
clear (impute [sic]*)*	appreciation: composition: balance	
close (collaboration, readings, readings)	appreciation: composition: complexity	
close [pers]	judgment: esteem: normality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
complicated (things)	appreciation: composition: complexity	
conceived [sic: meaning 'well-conceived'] *(writings)*		t-appreciation: valuation
constant (challenge, enthusiasm/support, love/support, phone relief, support, support, support/enthusiasm, source [pers]*)*	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
constructive (perspective)	appreciation: valuation	
continuous (help, support, support)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: valuation / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
countless (discussions, hours, hours, insights)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
critical (thoughts)	appreciation: valuation	
crucial (instruction, moments, years)	appreciation: valuation	
D: 7 types, 7 tokens		
(on a) daily (basis)	graduation: force	t-judgment: tenacity

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

dazzling (mind)	appreciation: reaction: impact / appreciation: reaction: quality	
deep (understanding)	appreciation: valuation	
deeper (levels of understanding)	appreciation: valuation	
detailed (feedback)	appreciation: composition: complexity	
difficult (times)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
disparate (close readings)	appreciation: composition: -balance	
E: 18 types, 35 tokens		
early (support, supporter)		t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
(not) easy (to work with) [pers]	appreciation: reaction: -quality	t-judgment: esteem: -capacity
(not) easy (being a PhD student, raising children)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
eccentric (pursuit)	appreciation: composition: -complexity	
elusive (insights)	appreciation: composition: -complexity	
encouraging (comments/advice, comments, phone calls)	appreciation: reaction: quality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
encouraging (committee chair, people)	judgment: sanction: propriety	
endearing (rapport)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
endless (helpfulness, meetings)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
energetic (pursuit)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
enjoyable (conversations, experience, process, rapport, working environment, years)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
enormous (amount, assistance, value)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
essential (help)	appreciation: valuation	
exacting (committee chair)	judgment: esteem: tenacity	
excellent (sense of humor)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
exciting (environment, learning experience, world)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
exuberant (enthusiasm)	affect: happiness: cheer	t-appreciation: reaction: quality
expert (answers, ways of questioning)	appreciation: valuation	
extraordinary (support)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
F: 2 types, 3 tokens		
focused [pers]	judgment: esteem: tenacity	
friendly (conversations, place)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
G: 5 types, 20 tokens		
generous (help, help, spirit, support)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: sanction: propriety

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

generous [pers], [pers]	judgment: sanction: propriety	
good (advice/comments, humor, spirits)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
good (friends)	judgment: sanction: propriety	
gratifying (place)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
great (alleles, apartment, ideas, place, place)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
great (committee member)	judgment: esteem: capacity	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
great (companion, friend)	judgment: esteem: normality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
guiding (hand)		t-appreciation: valuation
H: 4 types, 17 tokens		
hard (to discern ... progress, work)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
hard (work, work/play) {neg}	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
harmonious (completion)	appreciation: composition: balance	
helpful (arguments, conversations, conversations/comments, comments, comments, comments, comments, criticisms, discussions, ideas)	appreciation: valuation	
helpful (people)	judgment: sanction: propriety	
high (expectation/confidence/ encouragement)	graduation: force / affect: satisfaction: interest + affect: security: confidence	t-appreciation: reaction: quality
I: 18 types, 37 tokens		
ill (humor)	affect: unhappiness: misery	t- appreciation: reaction: -quality
immeasurable (inspiration)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
important (resource [lab])	appreciation: valuation	
impressive (array)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
incisive (comments, impute [sic]*)*	appreciation: valuation	
incredible (patience)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
independent (point of view)	appreciation: valuation	
ineffable (contributions)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
innate ([first name]ness)		t-appreciation: reaction: quality / t-judgment: sanction: veracity
insightful (comments, comments, conversations, guidance)	appreciation: valuation	
inspirational (discussions)	appreciation: valuation	
inspiring (teachings)	appreciation: valuation	
integral (insights)	appreciation: valuation	
integral (others [people])	judgment: esteem: capacity	
interesting (discussions, discussions, life, space, species of theory)	appreciation: reaction: impact	

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

intriguing (study)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
invaluable (advice, comments, comments, criticism, encouragement, energy/clarity, guidance, guidance/suggestions, guidance/suggestions, help, help/friendship)	appreciation: valuation	
invigorating (technical discussions)	appreciation: valuation	
irreparable (loss)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
K: 3 types, 4 tokens		
keen (editorial advice, insights)	graduation: focus	t-appreciation: valuation
kind [pers]	judgment: sanction: propriety	
knowledgeable (criticisms)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: capacity
L: 5 types, 9 tokens,		
largest (intellectual debts)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
lasting (effect)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
lifelong (support)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
long (conversations, hours, hours, hours, period)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
long-lasting (inspiration)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
M: 4 types, 5 tokens		
major (source of comfort + inspiration)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
meaningful (tenure)	appreciation: valuation	
memorable (life, time)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
mobilized [pers]	judgment: esteem: tenacity	
N: 4 types, 9 tokens		
never-ending (enthusiasm)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
new (ideas, enthusiasm, I find myself wondering what is...)	appreciation: valuation	
no-nonsense (style)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
numerous (hats, insights, references, versions)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
P: 12 types, 22 tokens		
patient (note-taking, perspective, proof-reading)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
patient (committee chair)	judgment: sanction: propriety	
perceptive (advice, comments)	appreciation: valuation	
perceptive (committee chair)	judgment: esteem: capacity	
perpetual (optimism)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

perpetual (source of inspiration [pers])	graduation: force	t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
persistent (encouragement, work ethic)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
pleasant (endeavor, life)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
pleasurable (graduate school)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
(would) poorer (life/work)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
positive (encouragement, perspective)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
precise (support/guidance)	appreciation: composition: complexity	
problematic (situations)	appreciation: composition: -complexity	
productive (conversations, endeavor)	appreciation: valuation	
prolific (contribution)	appreciation: valuation	
Q: 1 type, 1 tokens		
quiet (dedication/insight)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
R: 10, 12 tokens		
rare (privilege)	appreciation: valuation	
[pers] *ready (to help)*	judgment: esteem: tenacity	
regular (conversations)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
relaxing (times)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
reliable (support [pers])	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
remote (places)		t-appreciation: reaction: -quality
renegade (psychologist)	judgment: esteem: -normality	
rewarding (experiences, years)	appreciation: valuation	
right (combination, track)	appreciation: valuation	
rigorous (attention)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: esteem: capacity / t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
S: 15 types, 23 tokens		
several (metamorphoses, versions),	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
sharp (mind)	graduation: focus	t- appreciation: valuation
shrewd (insights)	appreciation: valuation	t-judgment: esteem: capacity
significant (disagreements)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
smart (questions)	appreciation: valuation	
(feel) smarter	judgment: esteem: capacity	
smoother (process)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
special (friends)	judgment: esteem: normality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
splendid (place)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
spoiled [pers]	judgment: sanction: -propriety	
stimulating (advice, arguments/discussions, comments, environment, ideas, thoughts)	appreciation: reaction: quality / appreciation: valuation	

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

strange (wife)	judgment: esteem: normality	
strong (support)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
successful (endeavor, ending)	appreciation: valuation	
supportive [pers]	judgment: sanction: propriety	
sweeter (life)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
T: 10 types, 13 tokens		
terrific (teaching)	appreciation: reaction: quality	t-judgment: esteem: capacity
(would be) thinner (work)	appreciation: reaction: -quality	
thorough (comments, readings)	appreciation: composition: complexity / appreciation: composition: balance	
thought-provoking (comments)	appreciation: valuation	
(very) thoughtful (genetist)	judgment: sanction: propriety	
timely (encouragement, support/guidance)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
top (talents)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
top (professor)	judgment: esteem: normality	t- judgment: esteem: capacity
transformative (intellectual events)	appreciation: valuation	
tremendous (resources)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: quality
true [it]	appreciation: valuation	
U: 8 types, 21 tokens		
unable [pers]	judgment: esteem: capacity	
unconditional (help, investment, support/love)	appreciation: reaction: impact	t-judgment: esteem: tenacity
unending (love/devotion)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
unfailing (support)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
unfamiliar (something)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
unforgetable [sic] *(moments)*	appreciation: reaction: impact	
unimplemented (features)		t-appreciation: reaction: -quality
uninvited (queries)		t-appreciation: reaction: -quality / t-judgment: sanction: propriety
unique (experience, learning experience)	appreciation: reaction: quality / appreciation: valuation	
unique (human being)	judgment: esteem: normality	
unusual (process, requests)	appreciation: reaction: impact	
unwavering (support, support)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
unwavering (in their support [people])	judgment: esteem: tenacity	
useful (contributions, suggestions, suggestions)	appreciation: valuation	

cont.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 33 *cont.*

V: 4 types, 16 tokens		
valuable (advice, advice/guidance, advice/support, comments, comments/advice, comments/encouragements, comments, data, discussions, feedback, insights, suggestions, time)	appreciation: valuation	
various (sorts)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
vast (array)	graduation: force	t-appreciation: reaction: impact
vital (moral support)	appreciation: valuation	
W: 6 types, 16 tokens		
warm (environment, friendship, heart, reception)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
watchful (eye)	appreciation: reaction: quality	t-judgment: esteem: capacity
wayward [pers]	judgment: esteem: -normality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
willing [pers, pers, pers]	judgment: esteem: tenacity	
wonderful (pragmatism, time)	appreciation: reaction: quality	
wonderful (colleagues, wife)	judgment: esteem: normality	t-judgment: sanction: propriety
worthwhile (endeavor, it all, it all)	appreciation: valuation	

4.9.3. Conclusion

Benefit units and benefit expansion units are the functional components of AMs through which the writer can account for his gratitude towards his benefactors and thus, more generally, motivate the writing of his PhDAS. By specifying the reasons why he feels — or wants to be perceived as — indebted and grateful, he lets his previous-current interactants know why they deserve to be recognized as his benefactors; at the same time, he is also able to explain to the general reader why he feels — or claims to feel — the way he does, so that his gratitude can be taken as sincere.

In the corpus, benefits are clearly identified in most AMs, although slightly less frequently than benefactor units are (see Tables 27 and 31). The frequent specification of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the types of benefits received appears to answer a need for communicative effectiveness: a PhDAS represents a form of delayed thanking (which is a reactive type of communicative act), and is addressed to a readership potentially wider than the benefactors; therefore, explicit reference to the benefits that the various acts of thanking are relevant to helps the reader understand why thanking occurs (i.e., what beneficial events it is a reaction to), even if she was not originally involved in — or a witness to — the original initiating communicative acts. In addition, reference to the benefits "reflects well" on the writer because it shows that he has good reasons to feel grateful, and thus that he can be trusted as a reliable, sincere communicator; at the same time, it helps him sustain his relationship with the benefactors, by stressing the relevance of their complementary roles of givers and receivers of valuable commodities. It is not surprising, then, that the most frequent type of benefit units instantiated to in the corpus are *combinations* of benefits: the more reasons are given for motivating the writer's gratitude, the more plausible and convincing that gratitude is likely to sound, and the more grateful (or aware of his indebtedness) the writer is likely to be perceived by the benefactors.

The corpus also contains frequent complementary units of meaning that enhance the content of the core benefit units (on average, they occur in about 45% of the moves). These supportive benefit expansion units mostly serve to explain on what grounds given benefits are to be intended as such (i.e., why indeed they count(ed) as beneficial events or situations; consider benefit expansion units tagged with *§YEavoid, §YEadv, §YEcost, §YEcred* or *§YEneed*); others serve to point out how they were brought about, when or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

where they took place, and what future beneficial events they may trigger (consider benefit expansion units tagged with *§YEinstr*, *§YEcirc*, and *§YEoffer*, respectively).

Both core benefit units and benefit expansion units may additionally convey information that specifies the nature and/or stresses the magnitude of the benefits received by means of evaluative adjectives that explicitly encode the notion of appraisal, especially appreciation, or by means of descriptive or intensifying adjectives that acquire an evaluative dimension only when examined in their co-text. Such adjectives, which qualify the benefits they are relevant to as very positive, contribute to motivating the writers' gratitude to the reader.

4.10. Gratitude expressions

The expression of the thanker's gratitude is the pivotal communicative goal in a PhDAS. In this section I explore the linguistic, especially lexical, resources employed in the corpus to manifest the authors' cognitive-emotional states with regard to the beneficial events mentioned in their texts. I start by presenting the tags I have used to classify the relevant text segments; then I summarize the results of the application of the tags to the corpus; finally I comment on the specific lexico-grammatical wording of the gratitude expressions.

I have regarded as gratitude expressions those text segments that either directly manifest the writer's grateful indebtedness, or that reveal some other type of positive, reactive cognitive-emotional state, towards the benefactors as a result of benefits

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

received. Thus, for example, in the following made-up AMs, *I thank John for letting me work on this problem* and *I am lucky John let me work on this problem*, the segments *I thank* and *I am lucky* are to be considered gratitude expressions.

As with benefactor units and benefit units, I have made a distinction between core gratitude expressions and gratitude expression expansions. The former are the (combinations of) text segments (one or more per AM) which convey gratitude through conventional lexico-grammatical ways (e.g., *I appreciate, I am grateful*) or which express other positive reactive cognitive-emotional states of the authors' towards benefactors-beneficiaries, in the *absence* of more conventional gratitude expressions (and thus count as gratitude expression equivalents; e.g., *I am lucky*). On the other hand, gratitude expression expansions are those text segments that express positive reactive cognitive-emotional states of the authors' other than gratitude *in addition to* those that more conventionally convey gratitude in the same AMs (e.g., *I am lucky*).

Unlike the tags employed for marking benefactor and benefit units, the tags used to mark gratitude expressions do not classify the types of meanings conveyed through those text segments. That is, rather than categorizing units of information (such as the thankers' broad classes of cognitive-emotional states), the tags explicitly signal the lexico-grammatical wording of the expressions of gratitude (see below). My choice to focus on the surface encoding of the gratitude expressions is motivated by the need to account for the preferred style of performance of the act of thanking (see section 3.2.1.) and by the goal of compiling a mini-grammar of thanking (see sections 4.11.1. and 4.11.4.).

The tags indicate first of all the lexemes (or lexeme combinations) through which gratitude (or an "equivalent" concept) is conveyed. This means that they provide a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

classification of gratitude expressions on the basis of their core, gratitude-oriented content words. The tags also specify the part-of-speech categories of these "gratitude" lexemes, unless this is already understandable from the shape of the content words themselves. When appropriate, the tags also provide marginal inflectional information about those lexemes (i.e., they specify whether verbs are used in a non-present tense or in the passive voice). Finally, when the gratitude expressions include additional content words, which are subsidiary to those encoding the notion of gratitude (or its equivalent), the tags also specify their relevant word class membership. Precisely because these words are conceptually subsidiary to the lexemes encoding gratitude, the tags do not make their content explicit.

The tags, however, do not classify everything that makes up the gratitude expressions. For instance, they do no make reference to the item, if any, encoding the thanker (thus, typically, the pronoun *I*). In addition, they do not typically refer to the element(s), if any, encoding the thankee(s) (thus, typically, pronouns like *her, him* or *them*); (see below for an exception). Finally they do not systematically specify the word class of the verbs included in the gratitude expressions, if these verbs cannot be confused with homographic nouns. Despite these limitations, most tags are quite elaborate nevertheless, because most gratitude expressions consist of a *cluster* of content and function words built around one or two lexemes conveying the notion of gratitude.

Following is the list of the tags used to classify the *main* lexemes of the gratitude expressions (i.e., those encoding the notion of gratitude or its equivalents); not all the combinations attested in the corpus are actually exemplified, though. (More specific

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information about the morphological-syntactic encoding of the gratitude expressions is given in section 4.11.1..)

§R: the tag indicates the beginning of a gratitude expression and is always followed by another that specifies its content words; example:

(523) "§R §Rthv+like *I would like to thank* [...] for their valuable suggestions, comments and time." (B-Adm1; a gratitude expression; emphasis added);

§Rackv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to acknowledge*; example:

(524) "§R §Rackv+wish *I wish to acknowledge* the extraordinary support I have received from the various members of my committee in planning and writing this dissertation." (Engl5; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to acknowledge*; emphasis added);

§Rappra: a gratitude expression containing the adjective *appreciative*; example:

(525) "§R §Rappra+adv *I am also appreciative* of the insightful conversations and relaxing times with the dissertation group: [...]" (Edu3; a gratitude expression containing the adjective *appreciative*; emphasis added);

§Rapprn: a gratitude expression containing the noun *appreciation*; example:

(526) "§R §Rapprn+extendpp+adv *My appreciation is also extended* to my friends" (Arch1; a gratitude expression containing the noun *appreciation*; emphasis added);

§Rapprpp: a gratitude expression containing the verb *appreciate* in the past participle in a passive clause; example:

(527) "And to my other "brothers" [abbreviated first name] and [abbreviated first name + last name] — your abiding presence is always felt §R §Rapprpp+adju *and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appreciated in so many ways." (Edu1; a gratitude expression containing the past participle of the verb *to appreciate* in a passive clause with an adjunct; emphasis added);

§Rapprv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to appreciate*; example:

(528) "[abbreviated first name + last name] has been a constant source of energy and inspiration for me. §R §Rapprv *I appreciate* all of the advice and encouragement he has given me." (Stat2; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to appreciate*; emphasis added);

§Rblesspp: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to bless* in the past participle form in a passive clause; example:

(529) "As a foreign student in America, §R §Rblesspp/past *I was blessed* to make many remarkable friends in the I-House who helped me to learn about the American culture and society." (P-Bio3; a gratitude expression containing the past participle *blessed*; emphasis added);

§Rcaptivate: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to captivate*; example:

(530) "§R §Rcaptivate/past+attn *He captivated my attention* with his excellent sense of humor [...]" (Arch2; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to captivate*; emphasis added);

§Rcombo: a gratitude expression containing a combination of lexemes encoding the notion of gratitude or its equivalents (the relevant lexemes may be etymologically related, like *thanks* and *thank you* or semantically close like *owe* and *debt*); example:

(531) "§R §Rcombo §Rowe_debt_thnp+adj *I owe a special debt of thanks* to [first name + last name] not only for his perceptive comments, but also for his kindness

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and support during the course of my writing and job seeking." (Phil1; a gratitude expression containing a combination of gratitude-relevant lexemes; emphasis added);

§Rdebt: a gratitude expression containing the noun *debt*; example:

(532) "§R §Rcombo §Rowe_debt+adj *I owe a special debt* to [first name + last name], who taught me to read Kant's German." (Phil2; a gratitude expression containing the noun *debt*; emphasis added);

§Rdediv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to dedicate*; example:

(533) "Finally, §R §Rdediv+like *I would like to dedicate* this dissertation to my parents, whose care and love supported me throughout my education." (EECS2; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to dedicate*; emphasis added);

§Rforget+cannot: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to forget* (with the negative modal *can't*); example:

(534) "Last but not least, §R §Rforget+cannot *I cannot forget* my intramural basketball buddies [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]" (EECS3; a gratitude expression containing the negated modal *can* and the verb *to forget*; emphasis added);

§Rforta: a gratitude expression containing the adjective *fortunate*; example:

(535) "§R §Rforta/past *I was fortunate* to work with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals throughout my Ph.D. study." (P-Bio3; a gratitude expression containing the adjective *fortunate*; emphasis added);

§Rgratd: a gratitude expression containing the noun *gratitude*; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(536) "§R §Rgratd+adj+poss *My eternal gratitude* to these people and institutions." (Arch2; a gratitude expression containing the noun *gratitude*; emphasis added);

§Rgratf: a gratitude expression containing the adjective *grateful*; example:

(537) "§R §Rgratf+adv *I am very grateful* to many professors and colleagues for interesting discussions and for guidance during the last few years." (B-Adm1; a gratitude expression containing the adjective *grateful*; emphasis added);

§Rindebted: a gratitude expression containing the adjective *indebted*; example:

(538) "§R §Rindebpp+adv *I am also indebted* to my parents for always having encouraged me in my studies." (Stat1; a gratitude expression containing the adjective *indebted*; emphasis added);

§Rleave-out+cannot: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to leave out* and the negated modal *cannot*; example:

(539) "§R §Rleave-out+cannot *I cannot leave out* my daughter, [first name] and my son, [abbreviated first name] whose moral support has been vital during the long period of my study." (Arch5; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to leave out* and the negated modal *cannot*; emphasis added);

§Rlucky: a gratitude expression containing the adjective *lucky*; example:

(540) "§R §Rlucky+feel *I feel lucky* to be able to work in the [name of institution] Center and the Department of Plant Biology in UC Berkeley, which are two of the most dynamic and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology." (P-Bio3; a gratitude expression containing the adjective *lucky*; emphasis added);

§Rlux: a gratitude expression containing the noun *luxury*; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(541) "and other [abbreviated name of institution] researchers whom §R §Rlux/past *I had the luxury* to work with. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name], Dr. [first name + last name], and Dr. [hyphenated first name and middle name + last name]." (EECS2; a gratitude expression containing the noun *luxury*; emphasis added);

§Rmarvelv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to marvel*; example:

(542) "§R §Rmarvelv+continue *I continue to marvel* at how many of my interests were formed and anticipated by my undergraduate mentors: [first name + last name], [first name + last name], and the late [first name + last name]." (Engl3: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to marvel*; emphasis added);

§Rno: an AM containing no explicit gratitude expression or gratitude expression equivalent; example:

(543) "To the students of [abbreviated course title] Group who allowed me to prod and probe the workings of their classroom §Rno," (Edu1; an AM containing no explicit gratitude expression or gratitude expression equivalent);

§Rnoten: a gratitude expression containing the noun *note*; example:

(544) "§R §Rnoten+adj *with a special note* to Grandma [first name] and Grandpa [abbreviated first name] for having a home on the river, where the salmon spawn." (Stat4; a gratitude expression containing the noun *note*; emphasis added);

§Rofferv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to offer*; example:

(545) "My life is incalculably sweeter because of my girls; §R §Rdevotepp/past+offerv+breath+poss+other *my every breath devoted to offering*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

them more-of-the-same." (Engl3; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to offer*; emphasis added);

§Rowe: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to owe*; example:

(546) "Mistakes in this study are my own, but the opportunity to do this work, along with many useful contributions, §R §Rowe *I owe* to others." (Arch3; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to owe*; emphasis added);

§Rpleasn: a gratitude expression containing the noun *pleasure*; example:

(547) "§R §Rpleasn+have/past+adj *I have had the great pleasure* of regular conversations with a very thoughtful geneticist, [first name + last name]." (Stat2; a gratitude expression containing the noun *pleasure*; emphasis added);

§Rrecogv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to recognize*; example:

(548) "The writing of a dissertation is a long and sometimes lonely task, §R §Rrecogv+hard *and it is hard to recognize* everybody who contributed to this work." (Stat1; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to recognize*; emphasis added);

§Rthnp: a gratitude expression containing the noun *thanks*; example:

(549) "In addition to those mentioned below §R §Rthnp+give+like+adj *I would like to give special thanks* to [abbreviated first name + last name] [...]" (Phil3; a gratitude expression containing the noun *thanks*; emphasis added);

§Rthnpr: a gratitude expression containing *thanks* as a formula; example:

(550) "§R §RR §Rcombo §Rthv+like_thnpr(u) *I'd like to thank* my advisor [abbreviated first name + last name] for his guiding hand and help over the last two

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

years. §Rrepet1 *"THANKS!""* (Stat3; a gratitude expression containing *thanks* as a formula; emphases added);

§Rthnpt: a gratitude expression containing the complex preposition *thanks to*; example:

(551) "Something I was supposed to know was revealed: I should also question my "certainties." §R §Rthnpt *Thanks to* [first name + last name] I now try to forget less this lesson." (Arch2; a gratitude expression containing the complex preposition *thanks to*; emphasis added);

§Rthu: a gratitude expression containing the expression *thank you*; example:

(552) "To the original [abbreviated name, probably of institution] Diaspora, [first name], [first name], [first name], [abbreviated first name], and [first name], §R §Rthu *thank you* for patiently introducing this renegade psychologist to a much more interesting and challenging species of theory." (Edu1; a gratitude expression containing the expression *thank you*; emphasis added);

§Rthu(u): a gratitude expression containing the expression *thank you* directly addressed to the benefactors; example:

(553) "It has been my good fortune to work with the supportive and collaborative individuals in the [abbreviated name of institution] and [abbreviated name of institution] research groups at Berkeley. §R §Rthu(u) *Thank you all.*" (Edu3; a gratitude expression containing the expression *thank you* directly addressed to the benefactors; emphasis added);

§Rthv: a gratitude expression containing the verb *to thank*; example:

(554) "§R §Rthv+want *I want to thank* professors [first name + last name], [abbreviated first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

name] for their guidance, friendship, encouragement and support." (B-Adm2; a gratitude expression containing the verb *to thank*; emphasis added);

§Rwishn: a gratitude expression containing the noun *wish*; example:

(555) "§R §Rwishn+adj *My best wishes* to my office mates [first name + last name] and [first name + middle name + last name] and to my fellow students [first name + last name], [first name + last name] and [first name + last name]" (Stat1; a gratitude expression containing the noun *wish*; emphasis added);

§RR: the first part of a gratitude expression containing repeated reference to the notion of gratitude; example:

(556) "First, §R §RR §Rcombo §Rthv+like_apprv/past *I would like to thank* the students who participated in these design studies. §Rrepet1 *I appreciated* their enthusiasm [...]." (Edu3; the first part of a gratitude expression containing repeated reference to the notion of gratitude; emphasis added);

§Rrepet#: the second or other non-first, numbered, part of a gratitude expression containing repeated reference to the notion of gratitude; example:

(557) "Finally, §R §RR §Rcombo §Rthv+like_apprv+adv/past_gratf+adv *I would like to thank* [abbreviated first name] for his constant enthusiasm and support. §Rrepet1 *I greatly appreciated* his sensitivity on a personal level which was a major source of comfort and inspiration to me. Under his guidance, I have developed my capacities to think widely and deeply. §Rrepet2 *I am extremely grateful* for this intellectual stimulation and his patient, constructive and unfailingly positive perspective on my ideas and writings." (P-Bio5; a gratitude expression containing two repetitions of the notion of gratitude; emphases added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§RLD: the first part of a discontinuous gratitude expression; expression:

(558) "§R §RLD §Rcombo §Rgratd_loven+no-bounds *My gratitude and love* for my dearest friend and husband, [first name], §RLU *has no bounds*. In our home, academics and occupations are truly integrated on a daily basis" (Edu2; a discontinuous gratitude expression; emphases added);

§RLU: the second or other non-first part of a discontinuous gratitude expression; example:

(559) "§R §RLD §Rgratd+offerv+evidence+regretv+adj+adv+poss *I regret that I can offer*, in return for all this help, §RLU *no more impressive evidence of my gratitude*." (Phil1; a discontinuous gratitude expression; emphases added);

§nR: an expression of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state which is neither gratitude- nor acknowledgment-oriented; example:

(560) "§nR §nRcongrv+like+adv *I would also like to congratulate* my younger brother, who is getting [sic] Ph.D in Physics from the renowned [placenamae] University at about the same time as I do [sic]. Job well done, Brother!" (EECS2; an expression of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state which is neither gratitude- nor acknowledgment-oriented; emphasis added);

§nRcongrv: an expression of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state, which is neither gratitude- nor acknowledgment-oriented, containing the verb *to congratulate*; see above for an example;

§nRno: no indication of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state in a non-thanking move; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(561) "Mom, Dad — I finished §nRno!" (EECS1; indication of the thanker's cognitive-emotional state in a non-thanking move);

§(u): a gratitude expression which is directly addressed to the benefactor (e.g., followed by a vocative and/or including a *you* that applies to the benefactor); example:

(562) "§R §Rthu(u) *Thank you* all" (EECS3; a gratitude expression which is directly addressed to the benefactor; emphasis added);

§/past: verb in a gratitude expression encoded in the simple past or present perfect; example:

(563) "§R §Rblesspp/past *I have been blessed* with a family which values higher education." (Engl3; a gratitude expression encoded in the past or present perfect; emphasis added).

The above exemplification shows that gratitude expressions can be variously encoded in PhDASs. Table 34 below summarizes the data about the distribution of different types of gratitude expressions across the corpus.

Table 34 shows, first of all, that the PhDASs writers most of the time reveal their gratitude implicitly: about 38% of the AMs contain no gratitude expressions, and in such cases the writers' experience of positive reactive feelings towards their benefactors can only be inferred from co(n)text (e.g., the indication of the specific benefits received, the title of the PhDAS). A comparison of Table 34 with Tables 27 and 31 shows that gratitude expressions are the least frequent of the main components of the PhDASs. This may come as a surprise, if one considers that a gratitude expression encodes the gist of, and minimally satisfies the communicative goal of, the AM it is relevant to. Indeed, it

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

serves to define an AM as such. On the other hand, it is also true that a PhDAS is a text known to be focused on an acknowledging function (because of the title that clarifies its communicative purpose, because it refers to benefactors and benefits, and also because the addresser and addressee may already have some familiarity with the genre); as a result, the writer's experience of gratitude and his intention to manifest it may be taken for granted. The deletability of the overt expression of gratitude does not mean that this may or may not play an important role in the AM, but rather that it is a conceptually inalienable part of the text, although obvious enough that it can be understood, and also that the rest of the text can be made sense of with reference to it (cf. Longacre (1992) for a similar phenomenon in hortatory discourse; see also the frequent practice in advertising not to openly express the directive that "commands" consumers to buy a given product). In addition, not mentioning gratitude does not cause problems of ambiguity or vagueness in the AM, as there is no other type of reactive feeling attributable to the writers that is applicable to such textual components; the same does not hold for benefits or benefactors, which/who can be of various types, and thus need to be specified to ensure the reader's understandability of the text.

Second, Table 34 shows that the PhDAS writers preferably express gratitude through the verb *to thank* (89 times, i.e., about 22%), the lexeme which by default serves to manifest one's favorable emotional-psychological attitude towards, or positive way of thinking about, given benefactors. Given that gratitude is a cognitive-emotional state or experience, it is not surprising that it is expressed through a verb appropriate for encoding a mental process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Less frequent are gratitude expressions containing the adjective *grateful* and those containing combinations of lexical resources for encoding gratitude. Each group makes up about 8% of the data. Although its etymological origin is different from that of *to thank*, *grateful* is the default adjective for expressing the notion of gratitude; *thankful*, not attested in the corpus, has acquired a more specialized meaning (i.e., 'happy, relieved, (and grateful)'), which makes it less suitable for conveying the notion of 'reactive good feeling directed towards a benefactor'. Gratitude expressions made up of combinations of lexical resources serve to stress the thanker's sincerity and the intensity of his gratitude; some of them reinforce a single notion through words of different etymological origin (e.g., *to gratefully thank, to owe a great/special debt*); others, instead, appear to make reference to complementary facets of the notion of gratitude (e.g., *to gratefully acknowledge, to owe thanks, to owe a special debt of thanks/gratitude, gratitude and love, thanks are due*).

The next most frequent group of gratitude expressions consists of text segments containing the word *thanks*, which count for about than 5% of the data. Together with the other words or expressions containing the stem *thank-* they make up slightly less than 10% of the gratitude expressions. From a denotational point of view, these words and expressions appear to encode the same broad notion as the verb *to thank*; the fact that they are less frequent than the verb may be attributable to the relative formality of the communicative situation, which a (hedged) performative tends to highlight.

Table 34 also shows that alternative expressions of gratitude (employing, e.g., *to acknowledge, to appreciate,*), including some original ones (e.g., consider such lexemes as *to bless, to dedicate, lucky, luxury, to owe, to recognize, to wish*) collectively make up

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about only 8% of the data. This reveals that the PhDAS writers tend to rely on conventional means of expression to encode their gratitude. Interestingly, among the infrequently used lexemes are the verbs that denotationally come closest to encapsulating the communicative essence of PhDASs, namely *to acknowledge* and *to recognize* (the former, however, also occurs in combination with other terms). This may suggest that PhDASs are pragmatically hybrid texts: although they have an acknowledging function, such texts fulfill this function through the means of thanking.

With regard to the distribution of the above-mentioned lexical resources for the encoding of gratitude, one can observe that, to the exclusion of implicit gratitude expressions, only those combining various lexical resources and those containing the verb *to thank* are exemplified in all the sub-corpora (the latter are particularly frequent in P-Bio). The adjective *grateful*, for instance, is not instantiated in Stat; the adjective *indebted* is not exemplified in Engl; the noun *appreciation* does not occur in Edu, Engl or Stat; and the noun *thanks* is not to be found in B-Adm. As for creative gratitude expressions, the use of each of them tends to be limited to only one or two disciplines (and more precisely to one or two PhDAS; this is the case, e.g., with *to offer, to note, to bless, to captivate, to marvel, pleasant, to wish*). So it appears that despite a large homogeneity in the encoding of gratitude, different authors manifest different lexical preferences when they decide to manifest their reactive feelings in less conventional ways. Finally, Table 34 shows that only the B-Adm and Phil sub-corpora do not totally conform to the others in terms of the rate of use of terms for gratitude: the former contains the highest number of instances of *thank you* used in direct address form, and the latter contains more instances of the adjective *grateful* than the verb *to thank*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 34: Main coding of gratitude expressions

Type of §R tag	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
§Rackv	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
§Rappra	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
§Rapprn	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	7
§Rapprpp	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
§Rapprv	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
§Rattn+ captivate	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
§Rblesspp	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
§Rcombo	2	1	6	4	5	4	7	3	32
§Rdediv	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
§Rforget+cannot	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
§Rforta	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	4
§Rgratd	4	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	8
§Rgratf	2	2	8	3	12	2	4	0	33
§Rindebted	2	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	8
§Rindebted(u)	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
§Rleave-out+cannot	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
§Rlucky	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
§Rlux	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
§Rmarvelv	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
§Rofferv	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
§Rno	42	5	33	10	25	14	12	13	154
§Rnoten	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
§Rowe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
§Rpleasn	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
§Rrecogv	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
§Rthnp	5	0	2	4	2	3	3	2	21
§Rthnpt	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
§Rthu	0	1	2	1	1	0	2	0	7
§Rthu(u)	0	0	8	2	0	0	0	0	10
§Rthv	8	12	15	13	3	5	26	7	89
§Rwishn	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	73	26	81	46	55	30	60	33	404
§RR	0	0	4	3	1	0	6	1	15
§Rrepet	0	0	4	3	1	0	7	1	16
§RLD	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
§RLU	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
§nR congrv	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
§nRno	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total moves	73	26	80	48	55	30	60	33	405

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As to be expected, given that the PhDASs are written for and to the general reader, only less than 3% of the gratitude expressions are directly addressed to the benefactors. All but one involve the use of the formulaic expression *Thank you*.

Finally, the corpus contains only a limited number of AMs in which the expression of gratitude is repeatedly instantiated (mostly to be found in the P-Bio, Edu, and EECS sub-corpora), corresponding to less than 4% of the data. Discontinuous gratitude expressions make up less and 0.5% of the data.

In conclusion, the expressions of thanks are conceptually important functional components of the AMs, because they are units of meaning that qualify the *interpersonal* dimension of the interaction between the writers and their benefactors as positive for both, that is valuable to the writers, who have received benefits, and to the benefactors, whose moral credit is being recognized. The data summarized in Table 34 indicate that explicit expressions of gratitude accompany about 62% of the moves in the corpus, while in the remaining cases they are to be inferred from the co-text.

The data show that, on the one hand, the authors *mostly* tend to conform to conventional formulations of gratitude to manifest their reactive attitudes towards the beneficial exchanges they were involved in. Thus the verb *to thank* and the adjective *grateful*, used frequently in the corpus, serve to encode the acceptance of what is offered, perceived as an intrinsically pleasant source of happiness or satisfaction, as well as the thanker's reactive, positive attitude to both the benefactor and the benefit resulting from the experience of a previous positive deed.

On the other hand, the data show that the writers appear to be aware of, and do use, quite a large number of gratitude expressions (and the range of formulations at their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

disposal is greater than Table 34 shows, as no details are given about the various encoding possibilities of the §Rcombo-tagged gratitude expressions); some of these are so creative that they can be interpreted as counting as gratitude expressions only when considered in their co-text. The variable, original encoding of the cognitive-emotional state of gratitude shows the multi-faceted ways in which it can be conceptualized. For example, *acknowledge* and *recognize*, which serve to officially give credit to others for the value of their qualities and/or actions that were beneficial to the authors, reveal the compliment-like nature of PhDASs, since they express the addressers' positive opinions of the benefactor(s); (cf. Wolfson 1989: 220). The fact that they occur infrequently may be ascribed to the largely informal tone of the PhDASs. Terms such as *to appreciate* and *appreciation* manifest the realization and positive estimate of the value of the benefit(s) received; they thus convey the notion of favorable evaluation of the goods exchanged. Words such as *debt, indebted*, and *to owe* indicate that the benefits received are still unreciprocated favors, and thus signal the thankers' awareness of their need to balance their moral budget by at least verbally paying back the benefits received; this awareness comes from the fact that when benefactors provide benefits, in a sense they "make deposits", which corresponds to building credit entitling them to claim some "refund"; and at the same time, when the thankers gain the beneficial actions, in a sense they "make withdrawals", which puts them under an obligation to re-establish the original situation in which credits equaled debits (see Lakoff 1996: 252); (see section 3.2.1.).

In addition, it is apparent that not all the lexical resources available in the English language for expressing gratitude are exploited by the writers. For example, terms such as *obligation* or *to oblige*, which indicate the *binding* engagement to undertake a given

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

course of action so as to extinguish one's debt, never occur in the corpus. These terms would focus the attention on the thanker's reduced or lack of freedom of action, and might lead the reader to infer that the thanker is able to *return* the favor, which is an unlikely event in the relationship between well-established professionals and a fledgling academic. The mismatch between the interactants' social status may account for the absence of such terms in the PhDASs.

Several other typical, formulaic expressions of gratitude are not attested in the corpus. These include *I really appreciate it*; *Thanks a lot*; *I owe you one*; *You shouldn't have*; *That's very kind of you*; *Thank you so much!*; *You've saved my life*; *You're a life saver!*; *What would I do without you?*; *I know I can always count on you* (see section 3.2.1.). They are ruled out for several reasons: they are appropriate in routine exchanges in which token gratitude is expressed as a form of interactional lubricant; they are produced on the spot in relation to events and situations that are costly to the benefactor and valuable to the beneficiary only to a limited extent; they are typical of an informal register; they are fit for short, single-turn utterances in a series of multiple exchanges in which discourse is jointly constructed by the participants; they are ready-made expressions produced automatically. A PhDAS, on the other hand, appears to require "tailor-made", monologic, extended, original expressions of gratitude through which the writer is able to show to their benefactors how special and unique what he feels is and how special and unique he perceives his interlocutors to be.

The above examples and summarized data show that the lexico-syntactic encoding of gratitude is often connoted for formality, which emphasizes the public value and non-extemporaneous creation of the texts. As reactive, delayed responses, PhDASs allow for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the opportunity to carefully think about what to write in anticipation of the specific, intended effects on the audience; therefore expressions can be selected and formulated which are typical of official contexts with a view to making the text sound more important.

4.10.1. Expansions of gratitude expressions

Core gratitude expressions may be accompanied by supportive sub-moves that specify aspects of or provide additional details about the writer's experience of gratitude. They may serve to restate the notion (and experience) of gratitude, already expressed in the core gratitude expressions, from another perspective (e.g., *It has been a privilege to work with her*), to refer to the causes or consequences of gratitude (e.g., *He has always impressed me*; *I will always look up to him*), or to express feelings associated with the experience of gratitude (e.g., *I miss them*; *I am happy I have completed this project with their help*).

The identification of the optional functional sub-constituents of gratitude expressions is of course possible only *after* it has been decided according to what criteria to identify *core* gratitude expressions (see unit 4.10.). The reason for this is that the lexico-syntactic encoding of both types of text segments may be quite similar (see section 4.10. and examples below) so that they might get confused at a superficial examination. It is thus necessary to discriminate between the two groups on the basis of functional principles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the corpus, I have regarded as expansions of gratitude expressions text segments of three types: (a) those that express the notion of gratitude in a lexically original way *and* accompany a more conventional gratitude expression in the same move (i.e., creative repetitions of the notion of gratitude);[58] (b) those that express a positive attitude of the writer's towards his benefactors, benefits or situation at large *other than* gratitude (e.g., admiration, happiness), and which *co-occur* with gratitude expressions in the same AM; and (c) those that express the writer's reflections on the notion or experience of gratitude.

To classify the expansions of gratitude expressions, identified according to the above-specified criteria, I have used tags that specify their main content words, that is, the words that most clearly and minimally express the writers' feelings and/or opinions (and, where applicable, also include minimal grammatical details about the whole expressions). The tags, with their glosses and exemplifications, are the following, in alphabetical order:

§RE: expansion of a gratitude expression, occurring in same move in which a lexically more conventional gratitude expression is to be found; the tag is always followed by a more precise tag specifying the main lexical encoding of the gratitude expression expansion;

§REadmv+adv: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to admire* and an adverb; example:

[58] Thus the *same* originally worded expressions of positive reactive feelings count as *core* gratitude expressions if *not* accompanied by more conventional verbal manifestations of gratitude in the same moves. For this reason, "I was fortunate" counts as core gratitude expression in P-Bio3, while "I have been extremely fortunate" counts as an expansion of a core gratitude expression in Engl4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(564) "Besides the wealth of his technical knowledge, §RE §REadmv+adv *I truly admire* his profound business insights and superior management skills" (EECS2; a gratitude expression expansion containing the verb *to admire*; emphasis added);

§REamazpp+adju: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to amaze* as a past participle and an adjunct; example:

(565) "§RE §REamazpp+adju *Time and time again I have been amazed* by their truly extraordinary dedication and by their incisive readings of Spinoza." (Phil5; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to amaze*; emphasis added);

§REbenefi+know/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verbs *to benefit* and *to know*; example:

(566) "§RE §REbenefv+know/past *I know I have benefited* from both our technical and social discussions." (EECS5; expansion of a gratitude expression with the verb *to benefit*; emphasis added);

§REdediv: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to dedicate*; example:

(567) "§RE §REdediv *It is to her that I dedicate* this work." (Phil 5; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to dedicate*; emphasis added);

§REenjoy/past: expansion of a gratitude expression with the verb *to enjoy* in the past tense; example:

(568) "§RE §REenjoy/past *I enjoyed* the company of them [...]" (EECS4; expansion of a gratitude expression with the verb *to enjoy*; emphasis added);

§REfann+adj+poss: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *fan*; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(569) "§RE §REfann+adj+poss *If I am your biggest fan*, you are my hero." (Edu1; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *fan*; emphasis added);

§REfeelpp+adv: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the past participle of the verb *to feel* and an adverb; example:

(570) "[...] your abiding presence §RE §REfeelpp+adv *is always felt* [...]" (Edu1; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the past participle of the verb *to feel* and an adverb; emphasis added);

§REfor+adv+adv: expansion of a gratitude expression with the preposition *for* and two adverbs; example:

(571) "This thesis §RE §REfor+adv+adv *is partly for you too* [...]" (EECS3; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the preposition *for*; emphasis added);

§REforta+adv/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the adjective *fortunate* and an adverb in a clause with a pre-present tense; example:

(572) "§REforta+adv/past *I have been extremely fortunate* to have colleagues whose intellectual rigor is matched by their interest in fun." (Engl4; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the adjective *fortunate*; emphasis added);

§REfortn+poss/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *fortune* and a possessive in a clause with a pre-present tense; example:

(573) "§RE §REfortn+poss/past *It has been my good fortune* to work with the supportive and collaborative individuals [...]" (Edu3, expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *fortune*; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§REhonorn_privil/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the nouns *honor* and *privilege* in a clause with a pre-present tense; example:

(574) "[...] §RE §REhonorn_privil/past *it was an honor and a privilege* to be a part of your lives for one brief semester." (Edu1; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the nouns *honor* and *privilege*; emphasis added);

§REimpressv+adv/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to impress* and an adverb in a clause with a pre-present tense; example:

(575) "[...] with their teacher, [abbreviated first name + last name], §RE §REimpressv+adv/past *who has always impressed me* with his readiness to try out new things in the classroom." (Edu3; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to impress*; emphasis added);

§RElook-up+adv/fut: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to look up* and an adverb in a clause with a post-present tense; example:

(576) "§RE §RElook-up+adv/fut *I will always look up* to your enduring inner strength and beauty." (Edu1; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to look up*; emphasis added);

§RElucky+feel+adv: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the adjective *lucky*, the verb *to feel* and an adverb; example:

(577) "§RE §RElucky+feel+adv *I feel really lucky* to have many wonderful friends at Berkeley." (EECS2; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the adjective *lucky*; emphasis added);

§REmiss(u): expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to miss* and directly addressed to the benefactors; example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(578) "[...] for their help and friendship [...] §RE §REmiss(u) *I really miss you all.* (P-Bio3; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to miss* and directly addressed to the benefactors; emphasis added);

§REmiss+adju/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to miss* and an adjunct in a clause with a pre-past tense; example:

(579) "[...] for their love and support. §RE §REmiss+adju/past *I have missed them over the past seven years*. (Edu4; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to miss* and an adjunct; emphasis added);

§REprivil/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *privilege* in a clause with a pre-present tense; example:

(580) "§RE §REprivil/past *It has been a privilege* to work with him." (EECS2; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *privilege* in a clause with a pre-present tense; emphasis added);

§REprivil+adj/past: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *privilege* and an adjective in a clause with a pre-present tense; example:

(581) "§RE §REprivil+adj/past *It has been a special privilege* to be his student." (EECS4, expansion of a gratitude expression containing the noun *privilege* and an adjective; emphasis added);

§REprovide+innovation: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to provide* and the noun *innovation*; example:

(582) "§RE §REprovide+innovation *I doubt I can provide much generic innovation*, but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the acknowledgements [...]" (Engl3; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to provide* and the noun *innovation*; emphasis added);

§REremem/fut(u): expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to remember* in a post-present tense and directly addressed to the benefactors; example:

(583) "§RE §REremem/fut(u) *I will always remember you*, [first name]." (P-Bio3; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to remember*; emphasis added);

§REwonder+find+adv+obj: expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to wonder* preceded by the verb *to find* and an adverb, and followed by a direct object; example:

(584) "His writings are as challenging as his lectures and §RE §REwonder+find+adv+obj *I still find myself wondering what is new*." (Arch2; expansion of a gratitude expression containing the verb *to wonder*; emphasis added);

§RELD: the first part of a discontinuous expansion of a gratitude expression;

§RELU: the second part of a discontinuous expansion of a gratitude expression; example:

(585)"§RE §RELD §REfeel+joy+accompp *The joy I feel in having completed* this dissertation §RELU *is accompanied* by a deep sense of gratitude." (Engl4; a discontinuous gratitude expression expansion).

The corpus also contains the expansion of a text segment that is not gratitude-oriented (and occurs in a non-thanking move), but still expresses the writer's attitude; to classify this, I have used these tags:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

§nRE: expansion of an expression manifesting the thanker's cognitive-emotional state other than gratitude or acknowledgment;

§nREjob+done+adv/past: expansion of an expression manifesting the thanker's cognitive-emotional state containing the noun *job*; example:

(586) "§nRE §nREjob+done+adv/past *Job well done*, Brother!" (EECS2; expansion of an expression manifesting the thanker's cognitive-emotional state other than gratitude or acknowledgment, and containing the noun *job*; emphasis added).

Table 35 shows the distribution and frequency of occurrence of the lexical items through which express the gist of the gratitude expression expansions in the corpus.

The exemplification provided above and Table 35 together shows several things. With regard to the frequency and distribution of gratitude expression expansions, it appears that these text segments occur infrequently in the corpus, that is, in about 5% of the moves and 14% of the gratitude expressions. In addition, such supportive moves are not equally distributed across the sub-corpora: B-Adm and Stat, the shortest sub-corpora, have none; Arch has one; Engl, Phil, and P-Bio have two each; and Edu and EECS (respectively, the second and third longest sub-corpora) have seven (i.e., about 32%) each.

When considering the lexical encoding of the gratitude expression expansions, it appears that almost all of them use lexical material not shared with the others; the only exceptions are three supportives of gratitude containing the noun *privilege* (one in Edu and two in EECS), and the two supportives that employ the verb *to miss* (one in Edu and the other in P-Bio). Moreover, only one supportive of gratitude occurring in Edu

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

combines two lexical resources to expand on the notion of gratitude, and the words in question are quite close in meaning (they are *honor* and *privilege*). However, the main lexical material making up gratitude expression expansions falls into two groups, namely verbs (about 54%), nouns (about 18%); adjectives and combinations make up about 9% of the data each.

Table 35: Main coding of expansions of gratitude expressions

§RE	Arch	B-Adm	Edu	EECS	Engl	Phil	P-Bio	Stat	Tot
to admire	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
to amaze	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
to benefit	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
to dedicate	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
to enjoy	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
fan	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
to feel	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
for	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
fortunate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
fortune	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
honor + privilege	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
to impress	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
joy	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
to look-up	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
lucky	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
to miss	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
privilege	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
to provide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
to remember	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
to wonder	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	1	0	7	7	3	2	2	0	22
RELD	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
RELU	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
§nRE *job*	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

About half of the gratitude expression expansions refer to experiences set in the past, and are thus mainly focused on the writers' awareness of the value of the benefits previously received, while the other half refer to events or situations of the present, and are thus mainly focused on the manifestation of the authors' current attitudes or current

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intention to act in the future. The future tense is used only once by a writer who makes a prediction about what he expects to cognitively experience in the future.

On the basis of the criteria outlined above for the identification of gratitude expression expansions, it appears that a large number (i.e., 50 %) serve to express a notion complementary to that of gratitude, that is the writers' positive attitudes towards the situations and events they have participated in; about 36%, instead, serve to manifest the notion of gratitude in a novel way in addition to what is stated in the core gratitude expressions; the remaining are used to express the writers' reflections on the concept and/or experience of gratitude.

A comparison of Table 35 with Tables 28 and 32 reveals that supportives of gratitude expressions are the least frequent types of functional sub-units expanding on the content of the core components of the AMs. This is not surprising, as gratitude expressions themselves occur in only 60% of the AMs. At the same time, the exemplification provided above also shows that such expansions are not very elaborate or detailed either, which may reinforce the idea (see section 4.10.) that the concept of gratitude is probably regarded as self-evident by PhDAS writers, and thus not worth expanding upon too much. As for core gratitude expressions, though, it is also clear that the writers choose to be original when elaborating on the notion of gratitude, by employing lexical material distinct from that used by their colleagues. Supportives of gratitude expressions appear to serve two main functions, namely manifesting the writers' positive cognitive-emotional states, other than that of gratitude, or restating their grateful attitude. In both cases, the positivity of the present or past interactional situation that those feelings or opinions are relevant to is underlined.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In general, the rich variety of supportives (of benefactor units, benefit units, and gratitude expressions) found in the AMs makes these texts extended and staged acts of thanking. Their presence signals that the PhDASs are meant not only to fulfill interactional expectations, but also to express the writers' social closeness to their benefactors: the elaborate, lengthy language units the authors produce enable them to prolong their involvement with the benefactors and thus to sustain a positive relationship with them (see Wolfson's (1989: 224) Bulge Theory).

4.10.2. Appraisal in (expansions of) gratitude expressions

Gratitude expressions and their expansions mostly serve to convey the writers' positive cognitive-emotional attitude towards the beneficial situations being referred to in the AMs. This attitude may comprise a variety of notions, including admiration (for the benefits and/or benefactors), happiness (for the benefits received), pleased acceptance (of the goods and services offered), affection (towards the benefactors for the help received from them) or satisfaction (due to the results achieved). Which of these notions in particular is highlighted in a given AM depends on the specific wording of its relevant gratitude expression, although a conventionalized thanking formula may be said to encode all of these notions.

In Martin's (2000) appraisal system, affect is the evaluative category that serves to classify the semantic resources for expressing feelings. Its various dimensions (i.e., (un)happiness, (in)security, (dis)satisfaction, and (dis)inclination) appear to lend

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

themselves well to an examination of thankers' emotional responses to beneficial events and situations.

Leaving aside etymological considerations (for which, see section 3.2.1.), it seems to me plausible to interpret conventionalized expressions of gratitude (independently of their degree of formality) as manifestations of two affectual categories, namely 'affect: happiness: affection' and 'affect: satisfaction: admiration'. The former refers to the writers' presumed experience of positive emotions, resulting from participating as receivers of goods or services in beneficial exchanges (hence happiness), directed to the benefactors (and thus directed to others, rather than felt as internal moods). The latter refers to the writers' recognition that the achievement of their goals (hence satisfaction) is also due to the ability and intervention of their helpers (hence admiration). These considerations thus appear to apply to the gratitude expressions — the majority (see Table 34 in section 4.10.) — whose main lexical items include *to appreciate, appreciation, to thank, thanks, thank you, indebted, to owe, grateful, gratitude, to acknowledge*. The other, less frequently used and more creative gratitude expressions may focus on a wider range of notions: 'affect: satisfaction: interest' (*captivate attention, cannot forget, note*), 'affect: happiness: cheer' (*blessed, pleasant*), 'affect: happiness: affection' (*dedicate, offer, wish*), 'affect: satisfaction: admiration' (*luxury, recognize*). Quite infrequent are those lexical choices relevant to the other two dimensions of appraisal, that is, judgment and appreciation. The former is instantiated through *fortunate* and *lucky*, which realize the concept of 'judgment: esteem: normality,' and *marvel*, which realizes that of 'appreciation: reaction: impact'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The main, content words of the gratitude expressions may be accompanied by lexical material that serves to better describe the notion of gratitude. This happens 11 times in Arch, three times in B-Adm, 13 times in Edu, nine times in EECS, 12 times in Engl, eight times in Phil, 16 times in P-Bio, and five times in Stat (i.e., about 19% of the AMs). These modifiers sometimes act as qualifiers of the concept of gratitude (in about 53% of the relevant 77 moves). Examples:

(587) "I would like to *sincerely* thank [...]" (B-Adm3; qualifier of the notion of gratitude; emphasis added);

(588) "For them my *everlasting* gratitude." (Arch2; qualifier of the notion of gratitude; emphasis added).

The adjectives and adverbs in this group may describe the intrinsic positive qualities of the gratitude manifested, thus instantiating the appraisal notion of 'appreciation: reaction: quality'; this is actually the case about 81% of the time (e.g., *special, great*). Alternatively, they may describe the reliability of the people expressing their gratitude, thus instantiating the appraisal notion of 'judgment: esteem: tenacity' (this is relevant to about 6% of the AMs; e.g., *eternally, enduring*) or their honesty, thus instantiating the appraisal notion 'judgment: sanction: veracity'; this is relevant to about 85 of the moves; e.g., *sincere, truly*). Qualifiers relevant to the appraisal notion of 'affect: happiness: affection' are only a few (e.g., *warmest*, *heartfelt*).

Modifying adverbs may also act as intensifiers of the concept of gratitude. Examples:

(589) "I am *very* grateful [...]" (P-Bio5; intensifier of the notion of gratitude; emphasis added);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(590) "I am *particularly* indebted [...]" (B-Adm3; intensifier of the notion of gratitude; emphasis added).

This second group of adjectives and adverbs literally serves to graduate the meaning of the lexical items they modify (cf. section 4.9.2.), by intensifying their force or specifying their focus. However, they implicitly serve to stress the social significance and validity of the manifestation of gratitude. Therefore, they can be said to count as indirect indications of the appraisal notion of 'appreciation: valuation'.

The expansions of gratitude expressions mostly convey information about the writers' feelings and/or opinions about the beneficial exchanges they participated in as receivers. Some of them encode the authors' cognitive-emotional attitude as oriented towards the benefactors; example:

(591) "It is to *her* that I dedicate this work" (Phil5; emphasis added);

others present it as directed to the benefactors' deeds, accomplishments or qualities; example:

(592) "Besides the wealth of his technical knowledge, I truly admire his profound business insights and superior management skills" (EECS2);

others still are focused on the writers' awareness of an internal mental-emotional experience; example:

(593) "The joy I feel in having completed this dissertation [...]" (Engl4).

Because they can be relevant to different aspects of the beneficial circumstances they report on, they can encode all three the main types of appraisal notions: affect (relevant to the emotions experienced by the writers), appreciation (relevant to the benefits received

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by the writers), and judgment (relevant to the benefactors that were the writers' previous co-interactants).

All but three gratitude expression expansions (i.e., those containing the verbs *to feel, to provide,* and *to wonder* as part of their lexical material) are codable in terms of appraisal notions. About 60% of them are relevant to the broad notion of affect, the dimension of appraisal relevant to the encoding of emotional experiences, and most of them are realized through verbs referring to mental states. More specifically, 'affect: satisfaction: admiration' (i.e., the manifestation of satisfaction in reaction to others) is realized in the text segments including the verbs *to admire, to benefit, to impress,* and *to look up to*; 'affect: happiness: cheer' (i.e., the manifestation of happiness as an undirected mood) is instantiated in the AM whose gratitude expression expansion contains the noun *joy*; 'affect: happiness: affection' (or the expression of happiness as directed towards others) is encoded in four text segments (i.e., those containing the words *to dedicate, to enjoy, fan,* and *for*); 'affect: unhappiness: misery' (or the manifestation of unhappiness as an undirected mood) is expressed in the two text units containing the verb *to miss*. The appraisal category of appreciation, and more precisely that of 'appreciation: reaction: impact', is realized only in the AM containing the verb *to amaze*. Finally, judgment is instantiated in six moves (about 27%), to signal the writers' awareness of their special, positive circumstances as determined by fate, rather than merit; the specific appraisal notion is thus 'judgment: esteem: normality', and the relevant keywords are *fortunate, fortune, lucky, privilege* (twice), and *honor* plus *privilege*.

As to be expected, given the communicative purpose of the PhDASs, most of the appraisal notions encoded in the gatitude expression expansions are positive; the only

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two that are technically negative (in the AMs containing the verb *to miss*) refer to a current, unhappy emotional state deriving from the separation from the object of one's affection, whose presence was previously enjoyed, and not to a current state of antipathy. The largest group of these notions have to do with affect, which is also not surprising in text segments relevant to the manifestation of the writers' cognitive-emotional states. The other main appraisal notion, that of judgment, is encoded as relevant to the writers' self-perception or their awareness of the positivity of their condition, as attributable to others' credit. This notion too, then, maintains the focus of the text units on the thankers. The infrequent number of gratitude expression expansions in the corpus (which parallels that of core gratitude expressions), however, suggests that the AMs are mostly oriented towards providing an account of the experience of gratitude than a report of the same experience.

4.10.3. Conclusion

Gratitude expressions and their expansions are conceptually important components of the AMs, as they help define and identify the latter's communicative function. Their goal is to make explicit, by mentioning and/or describing it, the thankers' positive cognitive-emotional state resulting from their participation in previous beneficial events as receivers. However, gratitude expressions and their sub-moves are the least frequent main and supportive, respectively, functional components of the AMs. This suggests that in texts explicitly oriented towards an acknowledging function, the manifestation of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gratitude may be taken for granted (maybe to avoid redundance), while it appears that providing information relevant to the background circumstances that have led to the experience of gratitude is deemed more useful to the reader (who may not know why the writers experience gratitude).

The encoding of the expressions of thanks examined reveals that gratitude is a multi-faceted notion and that thankers may choose to encode it by focusing on one or more aspects of it, for example publicly recognizing the benefactors' kindness, generosity, qualities, and accomplishments; favorably evaluating the importance of the benefactors' contributions to the writers' success; expressing respect, admiration and/or love; revealing one's indebtedness to the benefactors; and/or expressing pleased acceptance of the service or good provided. (Only rarely are reflections on the act of thanking itself (i.e., metathanking) provided.) All of these notions are conveyed mostly with conventionalized expressions (and the most frequent expressions are indeed also the most conventionalized), although original thanking formulas, peculiar to individual PhDAS, also occur. The thankers thus appear to be aware of the existence of a variety of means for encoding the notion of gratitude. At the same time, their use tends to conform a few general patterns.

The writers appear to be aware of the partly formal nature of the texts they write, given that, apart from the occasional *Thanks*, they do not use the formulaic thanking expressions that are typical of routine, low-cost exchanges uttered on the spot to manifest social courtesy.

The gratitude expression expansions are, by comparison, relatively more varied in content and wording than the core gratitude expressions. They serve, among other things,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to reveal the originality of the thanking episodes they are relevant to and contribute to the original wording of the texts. However, they are quite infrequent, and thus constitute a marginal component of the corpus.

In the following sections, I proceed to examine the specific lexico-syntactic wording of the main and supportive components of the AMs with a view to compiling a mini-grammar of the semantics of thanking.

4.11. Approach to a grammar of thanking

In the above sections I have repeatedly *exemplified* the lexico-grammatical encoding of acts of acknowledgments in PhDASs. At this point I want to present a *global outline* of the lexico-grammatical patterns instantiated in the functional (sub-)components of the AMs. To do so, I largely (see below) follow the methodology adopted by the compilers of the Cobuild dictionaries (as outlined in Hunston and Francis 2000), according to whom a linear grammar of text patterns can adequately represent and account for the interdependence between phraseologies (e.g., prepositions, groups, clauses) and individual (senses of) words.

These authors describe the behavior (or usage) both of structures (i.e., syntax) and words (both lexemes and word-forms) in a given language in terms of mutually relevant associations (or selective co-distribution patterns). "The patterns of a word can be defined as all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning. A pattern can be identified if a combination of words occurs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relatively frequently, if it is dependent on a particular word choice, and if there is a clear meaning associated with it" (p. 37). Put differently, there is said to be a mutual dependence between structures and lexis in the sense that "each pattern occurs with a restricted set of lexical items, and each lexical item occurs with a restricted set of patterns" (p. 3). In addition, it is claimed that there is an association between phraseologies and meaning, both in the sense that "different senses of a word" tend to be "distinguished by their typical occurrence in different patterns" and in the sense that, in many cases, "words which share a given pattern also to share an aspect of meaning" (p. 3). Within this approach then, grammar is understood as a series of phraseological constraints placed upon individual words, both function and content words. As a result, lexis and syntax are two complementary and inextricably intertwined components of grammar, which are to be described together.

The co-occurrences attested in the language occur around both content and function words, in the sense that both individual words (lexemes and word-form) are selective of the structures in which they occur, and that syntactic frameworks themselves do not occur freely with any words, but with particular groupings of words, sharing some general semantic traits. In Hunston and Francis's (2000) words: "certain patterns 'select' words of particular meanings" (p. 29) while "[p]articular syntactic structures tend to co-occur with particular lexical items" (p. 30).

The authors further point out that both *individual* words can be associated with *several* patterns and *a given pattern* can be associated with *a number of* different words (p. 43), so that to exhaustively describe the usage of a word or structure, it may be necessary to identify one-to-many or even many-to-many associations. In addition,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hunston and Francis argue (and show) that "when a word has more than one meaning, the meanings tend to be distinguished by having different patterns" in the sense of both different complementation patterns and different types of lexical items (p. 255). From a complementary point of view, this means that "words with the same pattern share aspects of meaning" (p. 256). According to the scholars, both kinds of evidence indicate that patterns and meaning are associated.

Hunston and Francis represent such associations of words and structures linearly, by stringing together in the appropriate order (i.e., as attested in corpus data) individual lexical items (i.e., content words) and labels specifying the part-of-speech membership of the words (or of the heads of groups (i.e., phrases)) co-occurring with them. This form of representation is supposed to reveal the surface formal relationships between neighboring words or groups of words, rather than the constituent structure of clauses and sentences (which Hunston and Francis call the "structural interpretation of those components"; p. 151).[59]

The metalanguage of this linear grammar is simple, consisting of a *string* of elements, and each element representing an actual word or a type of clause or group (p. 33). "The element that represents the word being exemplified is shown in capital letters, other elements are in lower-case letters. Actual words are shown in italics, group and clause types are shown in roman script." (p. 33). Thus, for instance, **N that** means 'noun followed by a that-clause' (e.g., "The fact that"), **verb *about* n-/ing** means 'verb followed by a prepositional phrase beginning with *about*' (e.g., "I fantasized about writing music"), **v-link ADJ** means 'adjective preceded by a copula verb' (i.e., a predicative

[59] However, Hunston and Francis (2000: 71) concede that patterns may not be self-evident, and thus state that it is possible that raw data needs to be interpreted for patterns to be correctly identified.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

adjective; e.g., "is asleep"), ***it* V n to-inf** means 'a verb preceded by *it* and followed by a noun (group) and a *to*-infinite clause' (i.e., a verb pattern; e.g., "It hurts me to think of that"), ***it* v-link N to-inf** means 'a noun (group) preceded by *it* and a link-verb and followed by a *to*-infinitive clause' (i.e., a noun pattern; e.g., "It would be a shame to lose touch").

This type of coding is described as "flexible, transparent, and consistent" (p. 33). First, it uses only the surface categories of clause and group type and actual words, which imposes no limit on "the kind of phraseology that can be represented" (p. 33). Second, the elements that make up the code are a limited set and relate only to the surface manifestations, not syntactic abstractions, of the language; thus, they iconically represent the language (p. 34). Third, it does not mix types of metalanguage (e.g., functional labels like *object* and word-class labels like *adjective* (p. 34).

Patterns describable using this approach may be of three main types: those that indicate which sequence of elements occur with a particular lexical item in a given text or texts (and are thus typical of the word and the text, or of the word and the genre the text belongs to; e.g., "fire wide" has the pattern 'V adj'); those that occur with a given lexical item in general (and are thus typical of the word only), which help distinguish this lexical item from others (e.g., *to plead* has the pattern 'V adj', as in "plead guilty"); and those that indicate the behavior of words that is typical of their word class (e.g., *from* has the pattern *PREP n*); (all the above examples are from pp. 202-203).

In texts, patterns follow one another in one of two ways or configurations: as flow (i.e., a pattern occurs as part of the pattern of another word that has a pattern of its own)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and as strings (a pattern follows from one another without overlapping); (see Hunston and Francis 2000: 211-224). Examples:

(594) "I am not very good at this sort of thing"

is characterized by pattern flow; its patterns flow configuration can be represented as follows, to show patterns overlapping:

I am not very good *at this sort* *of* *thing*

V ..... adj

ADJ *at* ..... n

N ..... *of* .... n.

Instead,

(595) "A friend of mine told me this amazing story"

is characterized by pattern strings; its patterns in string configuration are shown with vertical lines between them, as follows:

A friend of mine *told me* *this amazing story*

N ..... *of* ..... n |V ..... n ..... n.

The above complementary kinds of grammatical representations provide a dynamic analysis of language, in which speakers/writers gradually move from one clause into the next (p. 156), that is, both types of configurations show how a pattern is prospected "by the selection of a particular lexical item" (p. 208). In Hunston and Francis's (2000: 208) words: "[e]ach word that has a pattern might be said to prospect the elements of that pattern. A speaker or writer fulfills that prospection and in doing so may use another patterned word which sets up new prospections to be filled, and so on." Such representations also offer the possibility of showing patterns belonging to the different

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

elements of a message; an example could be the pattern belonging to a verb followed by an adjective and that of the adjective that comes after the verb but is also followed (or preceded) by its own complementation. For instance, "It is a matter of money" has the patterns '*it* V-link n *of*' but also 'N *of*'; similarly, "his book" can be analyzed as 'DET n' or as 'det N' according to whether the pattern being described is that belonging to "his" or to "book". With the pattern flow option, both can be represented, and they reveal which structures or patterns are dependent on lexical choices and which are not.

Besides representing lexico-grammatical patterns, linear grammar can also show how the main meaning units or roles (i.e., participants, processes, circumstances) conveyed through messages are mapped onto the patterns themselves (p. 124-125) and are relatable to individual lexical items (p. 129). Thus, utterances "with the same pattern may demand different role-mappings if the lexical items in them are different" (p. 125). For example: "The concert lasted two hours" and "You should allow two days" have the same pattern 'n V n', but the preverbal noun identifies an activity in the former sentence, and a person in the latter sentence. At the same time, utterances with different patterns may exemplify the same roles (p. 125). Representing mappings between roles and patterns helps reveal specific aspects of meaning related to lexical items. Here are a few examples from Hunston and Francis (2000: 132-135):

(596) "Some of it	is	really quite difficult"
	v-link	**ADJ**
Evaluated entity		Evaluative category

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(597) "The	most difficult	thing	is	to score a goal"	
the	**ADJ**	**general noun**	**v-link**	**to-inf**	
Evaluative category		Evaluation carrier		evaluated entity	
(598) "It	's	quite difficult	for us	to do"	
	v-link	**ADJ**	***for* n**	**to-inf**	
Evaluated entity		Evaluative category	Affected Entity	Evaluation Limiter.	

In general, a linear grammar can be said to help reveal which sequences of words co-occur often enough that *local* grammatical generalizations can be abstracted from them: the actual instances of the language are supposed to construe the system of the language itself (pp. 16-17). Pattern grammar, as outlined above, appears to provide the means through which an account can be provided of the surface lexico-grammatical encoding of texts.

In sections 4.11.1. through 4.11.4. I intend to apply the principles and methods of pattern grammar to an analysis of the PhDASs. More specifically, my purpose is twofold: first, to describe the patterns associated with the lexemes that encode the main notions conveyed in AMs (i.e., gratitude, benefactors, and benefits), and second to identify the associations between the grammatical patterns and the main meaning units of the PhDASs. In the former case, I use grammatical labels (see below) to specify the word class (and possibly other grammatical information) of the single[60] words making up the patterns (the '*to* infinitive' is treated as one unit, though); in the latter case, I use the same labels to identify whole phrases (or *groups* in Hunston and Francis's terms), whether consisting of one or more words. (In pattern grammar, for example, the symbol *N* can be

[60] Occasionally, a word class label may be applied to two words if they function together as a unit; e.g., *as well* are classified together as 'Adv', while *put up* are classified together as 'V'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

used to refer to a single noun, as in "brother," or to a group of words whose main component is a noun, as in "my new neighbor"). Thus, the examination of the encoding of the functional components of the AMs considers every single lexical item occurring in their patterns; instead, the examination of the mappings between patterns and roles shows configurations of meanings relatable to *groups* of words identifying entities, events or circumstances. In either case, where applicable, both the elements that precede and those that follow the words that minimally serve to refer to the notions of 'gratitude,' 'benefactors,' and 'benefits' are taken into consideration, as they all may be relevant to a full description of their phraseologies (see Hunston and Francis 2000: 51); thus the boundaries of the patterns are the same as the beginning and end of the PhDASs' functional units. No attempt is made, however, to describe the flow or string configurations of the patterns identified.

Each grammatical label begins with, or consists in, an upper-case letter (e.g., *V* for 'verb' and *Adv* for 'adverb') simply to ensure its visibility in a pattern (thus no decision is made in advance as to which specific word's pattern is to be described).

Here is the list of word-class labels, with glosses, used in the following sections:

Adj: adjective

Adj-cp: comparative form of an adjective

Adj-sp:superlative form of an adjective

Adv: adverb

Adv-cp: adverb functioning as a marker of the comparative degree of an adjective

Adv-sp: adverb functioning as a marker of the superlative degree of an adjective

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Art:	article
Aux:	auxiliary verb
Conj:	conjunction
Dem:	demonstrative adjective
Dem-pr:	demonstrative pronoun
Mod:	modal verb
N:	noun
Neg:	negation
Num:	number
Poss:	possessive
Prep:	preposition
Pron:	pronoun
Pron-p:	personal or reflexive pronoun
Quant:	quantifier
Rel-pr:	relative pronoun
To-inf:	verb in the *to*-infinitive form
To(-inf):	the *to* of an infinitive
(To)-inf:	the bare infinitive part of a *to*-infinitive
V:	verb
V-ing:	verb in the *-ing* form (not used for adjectives or nouns ending in *-ing*)
V-link:	linking (or copula) verb
V-pp:	past participle of a verb used in a passive clause
+:	co-presence of two morphemes in the same word

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

():	optional presence of a word
0:	absence of an element (zero option)

4.11.1. Mini-grammar of gratitude expressions and their expansions

In this section I exemplify and comment on the surface syntactic structures through which gratitude expressions and gratitude expression expansions are encoded. I do not systematically make reference to the frequency of occurrence of given patterns, as a quantitative account of the distribution patterns of various lexical resources for expressing gratitude has already been provided in section 4.10.. The patterns are presented as relevant to the main lexical items through which the notion of gratitude is conveyed, which are listed in alphabetical order. Where applicable, the grammatical labels listed in section 4.11. are also appended to these words, which are shown in italics. Although some gratitude expressions in the PhDASs include reference to benefactors, if these are encoded as pronouns (see sections 4.8 for explanations and 4.10. for examples), here only the patterns are described which are relevant to the manifestation of gratitude. All of these include, where explicitly signaled, also the encoding of the thanker (typically in the form of the pronoun *I*).

The verb *to acknowledge* occurs in the corpus accompanied by clausal pre-modification expressing a desire (this type of introductory clause would be classified as a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

want statement by Blum-Kulka and her group). The specific patterns and relevant exemplification are as follows:

- Pron-p Aux V To(-inf) Adv *acknowledge*(-To)-inf:

(599) "I'd like to gratuitously acknowledge" (Stat3);

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Dem N *acknowledge*-To-inf:

(600) "I would like to take this moment to acknowledge" (EECS3);

- Pron-p V *acknowledge*-To-inf:

(601) "I wish to acknowledge" (Edu4; Engl5).

The above examples show that the verb *to acknowledge* is accompanied by pre-modification in the form of a verb having a modal function (i.e., that of expressing inclination to act; e.g., *to like, to wish*). In addition, the expressions containing *to like* are syntactically pre-modified by the auxiliary marking the present conditional. *Gratuitously*, which the author of (599) possibly confused with *gratefully*, is the only adverb that specifically qualifies the action of 'thanking'. The expression *this moment* in (600) is part and parcel of the phraseology for indicating the opportunity offered by a given situation; it is not directly relevant to the gratitude expression, but acts as an introduction to it.

The verb *to appreciate* is used as a transitive verb, mostly in the active voice before the relevant benefits and benefactors are mentioned. However, it is used once in the passive voice, and not accompanied by an agentive complement, which obscures the presence of the thanker in the event being represented. Also, the verb is typically encoded in the present tense, to signal a current cognitive-emotional state, but occasionally it

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

occurs in a pre-present form, which highlights a previously experienced mental condition. The relevant patterns and examples follow:

- Pron-p *appreciate*:

(602) "I appreciate" (EECS4, Stat2);

(603) "I appreciated" (Edu2);

- Pron-p Adv *appreciate*:

(604) "I especially appreciate" (Arch5);

(605) "I really appreciate" (P-Bio2);

(606) "I greatly appreciated" (P-Bio5);

(607) "I truly appreciate" (Arch5);

- Pron-p Aux Adv *appreciate*:

(608) "I have also appreciated" (Edu3);

- Conj *appreciated*-pp Prep Adv Quant N:

(609) "and appreciated in so many ways" (Edu1).

The noun *appreciation* is also used accompanied by verbal modification, typically pre-modification, that is, by a verb signaling the intention to communicate (e.g., *to convey*), which is in turn pre-modified by a modal expression of want. The noun may also be qualified by a possessive identifying the experiencer of appreciation (i.e., the writer) and an attribute signaling the writer's sincerity. Only once does *appreciation* appear in a passive construction, characterized by lexical modification of the same type as the active structures. Here are the relevant patterns and examples:

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Poss *appreciation*:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(610) "I would like to extend my appreciation" (B-Adm3);

- Pron-p Aux Adv V To-inf Poss *appreciation*:

(611) "I would also like to extend my appreciation" (B-Adm4);

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Poss (Adv-sp) Adj(-sp) *appreciation*:

(612) "I would like to express my most heartfelt appreciation" (EECS3);

(613) "I would like to express my sincere appreciation" (EECS4);

(614) "I would like to express my deepest appreciation" (P-Bio3);

- Pron-p V To-inf Poss Adj-sp *appreciation*:

(615) "I wish to convey my warmest appreciation" (Phil4);

- Poss *appreciation* Aux Adv V-pp:

(616) "My appreciation is also extended" (Arch1).

The adjective *appreciative* occurs only once, and its adverbial pre-modification is not relevant to its meaning *per se*, but rather to the position of the AM it is part of in the PhDAS:

- Pron-p V-link Adv *appreciative*:

(617) "I am also appreciative" (Edu3).

The verb *to bless* is only used twice, in the pre-present and passive forms, which signal, on the one hand, that the positivity of a beneficial experience is relevant to previous interactions, rather than the current one, and on the other hand, that the actor responsible for causing that positivity is not the thanker. The relevant patterns and examples follow:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Pron-p Aux *blessed*-pp:

(618) "I was blessed" (P-Bio3);

- Pron-p Aux Aux *blessed*-pp:

(619) "I have been blessed" (Engl3).

The verb *to captivate* occurs only once, in the past tense, followed by the noun *attention*. Together, the verb and the noun encode a mental state experienced by the writer, but presented as attributable to the intervention of another (human) entity, encoded as a pronoun that occurs right before the verb:

- Pron-p *captivate* Poss N:

(620) "He captivated my attention" (Arch2).

The verb *to dedicate*, occurring in four PhDASs, is used in the present, optionally modified by a want statement, always accompanied by reference to the entity affected by the action encoded in the verb; this entity is the thanker's academic accomplishment, namely his dissertation; the relevant text segment is part of the gratitude expression as it constitutes an expansion of the thanker-identifying expression. Examples:

- Pron-p Aux V *dedicate*-To-inf Dem N;

(621) "I would like to dedicate this dissertation" (B-Adm1);

- Pron-p *dedicate* Dem N:

(622) "I dedicate this dissertation" (Engl4).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The expression *not to forget* occurs only once to introduce relevant benefactors and express a current and future cognitive state, encoded in the following pattern:

- Pron-p Mod++Neg *forget*:

(623) "I cannot forget" (EECS3).

The adjective *fortunate* can be used with a present or past linking verb, that is, to make reference to a present or past positive mental state experienced by the thanker; adverbial pre-modification is optional and generic (*very*). Patterns and examples follow:

- Pron-p V-link *fortunate*:

(624) "I was fortunate" (Edu3);

- Conj Pron-p V-link *fortunate*:

(625) "and I was fortunate" (Arch5);

- Pron-p V-link Adv *fortunate*:

(626) "I feel very fortunate" (EECS2).

The adjective *grateful* is used as the subject complement, after a linking verb, to express a current — and only on one occasion a future — mental state of the thanker. It is often premodified by an intensifying adverb. Occasionally, two adverbs co-occur, the first of which, however, does not qualify the adjective, but rather suggests that the AM in which it occurs is not the first one in the PhDAS. Only once does an adverb occur after the adjective, and it simply signals the sequencing of a given AM in the PhDAS. The patterns and exemplification follow:

- Pron-p V-link *grateful*:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(627) "I am grateful" (Phil2);

(628) "I'm grateful" (EECS5);

- Pron-p V-link *grateful* Adv:

(629) "I am grateful as well" (Engl4);

- Pron-p V-link Adv *grateful*:

(630) "I am extremely grateful" (P-Bio5);

(631) "I am particularly grateful" (Engl3);

(632) "I am especially grateful" (Engl5);

(633) "I am most grateful" (Edu4);

- Pron-p V-link Adv Adv *grateful*:

(634) "I am also very grateful" (Edu4);

(635) "I am also deeply grateful" Engl4;

(636) "I am also eternally grateful" (Engl4);

- Pron-p Aux V-link Adv *grateful*:

(637) "I will be eternally grateful" (P-Bio2).

The abstract noun *gratitude* is used in a variety of structures: after a verb as part of a noun group, after a preposition or as part of a noun group in a verbless gratitude expression. It is always accompanied by a possessive and most of the time also by an adjective expressing the magnitude of the feeling experienced. In one case, it is not immediately qualified by an adjective, but rather introduced by a sequence of an adjective, a noun, and a preposition. As for *appreciation* (see above), *gratitude* is sometimes to be interpreted as an emotion experienced (e.g., after a preposition) and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sometimes as the content of the message conveyed by the writers to the reader (especially after a verb); in verbless clauses both interpretations are possible. Here are the relevant patterns and examples:

- Pron-p V Poss Adj *gratitude*:

(638) "I give my immense gratitude" (Engl2);

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Poss Adj *gratitude*:

(639) "I would like to express my sincere gratitude" (EECS2);

- Pron-p V To-inf Poss Adj *gratitude*:

(640) "I wish to express my sincere gratitude" (Arch1);

- Pron-p V *that* Pron-p Mod V [...] Quant Adv-cp Adj N Prep Poss *gratitude*:

(641) "I regret that I can offer [...] no more impressive evidence of my gratitude" (Phil1);

- Prep Art Adj N Prep *gratitude*:

(642) "by a deep sense of gratitude" (Engl4);

- Prep Quant Prep Pron-p Poss Adj *gratitude*:

(643) "To all of them my enduring gratitude" (Arch2);

- Poss Adj *gratitude*:

(644) "My eternal gratitude" (Arch2);

- Prep Pron-p Poss Adj *gratitude*:

(645) "For them my everlasting gratitude" (Arch2).

The adjective *indebted* is used after a linking verb, occasionally preceded by an intensifying adverb or associated with an adverb that indicates the sequencing of the AM

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it belongs to in the relevant PhDAS. It is not further elaborated upon, as the following patterns and examples show:

- Pron-p V-link *indebted*:

(646) "I am indebted" (Edu3);

- Pron-p V-link *indebted* Adv:

(647) "I am indebted also" (P-Bio1);

- Pron-p V-link Adv *indebted*:

(648) "I am particularly indebted" (Arch3);

(649) "I am deeply indebted" (Arch5);

(650) "I am also indebted" (B-Adm4);

(651) "I am further indebted" (EECS4).

Only once does the original thanking expression *not leave out* occur in the corpus; it is used in the present tense preceded by the modal *can*:

Pron-p Mod++Neg *leave out*:

(652) "I cannot leave out" (Arch5).

The adjective *lucky* is used once in the corpus; it occurs after a linking verb in the present tense to express a current mental state experienced by the thanker:

- Pron-p V-link *lucky*:

(653) "I feel lucky" (P-Bio3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other gratitude expressions are also employed only once. Among these are: *luxury*, used to refer to a past interaction after a relational verb; *to marvel*, which occurs in the *to*-infinitive form after another verb to express a timeless present cognitive experience; *to offer*, in the *V-ing* form, after a preposition, in its turn occurring after the verb *to devote* as part of an expression encoding the intention to reciprocate; the noun *note*, preceded by an adjective and after a preposition to signal the special mention that a given benefactor deserves; the verb *to owe* in the present tense to denote current indebtedness; the verb *to pay* in the *to*-infinitive form after another verb denoting inclination to act, and followed by a noun phrase; and the noun *wish*, in the plural, preceded by an adjective and possessive. Here are the relevant patterns and examples:

- Pron-p V Art *luxury*:

(654) "I had the luxury" (EECS2);

- Pron-p V *marvel*-To-inf:

(655) "I continue to marvel" (Engl3);

- Poss Quant N V-pp Prep *offer*-V-ing Pron-p Quant Prep Art N Pron:

(656) "my every breath devoted to offering them more-of-the-same" (Engl3);

- Prep Art Adj *note*:

(657) "with a special note" (Stat4);

- Pron-p *owe*:

(658) "I owe" (Arch3);

- Pron-p Aux V *pay*-To-inf Adj N:

(659) "I would like to pay special respect" (EECS4);

- Poss Adj-sp *wishes*:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(660) "My best wishes" (Stat1).

Not very frequent are also *pleasure* and *to recognize*. The former, like *luxury*, is used after the relational verb *to have* in the past or present perfect tense to refer to a past beneficial experience, while the latter occurs in the *to*-infinitive form after another verb or an attributive adjective:

- Pron-p Aux V Art Adj *pleasure*:

(661) "I have had the great pleasure" (Stat2);

- Pron-p V-link Art Adj *pleasure*:

(662) "It was a great pleasure" (P-Bio5);

- Pron-p Aux V *recognize*-To-inf:

(663) "I would like to recognize" (Stat1);

- Pron-p V-link Adj *recognize*-To-inf:

(664) "It is hard to recognize" (Stat1).

Very frequent is the verb *to thank*; it can be used in the simple present tense, or in the *to*-infinitive form preceded by another verb expressing inclination to act; it is optionally accompanied by adverbs emphasizing the intensity of gratitude or signaling the particular importance of the benefactor(s) to be mentioned later. Twice the verb occurs in the *V-ing* form after a preposition to denote the instrument through which another action, encoded by a preceding verb form, is realized. The relevant patterns and examples are:

- Pron-p *thank*:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(665) "I thank" (Stat5);

- Pron-p Adv *thank*:

(666) "I also thank" (EECS1);

- Pron-p V *thank*-To-inf:

(667) "I wish to thank" (Arch4, P-Bio2);

(668) "I want to thank" (EECS4);

- Pron-p Adv V *thank*-To-inf:

(669) "I also wish to thank" (Edu3);

(670) "I also have to thank" (Edu3);

- Pron-p Aux V *thank*-To-inf:

(671) "I would like to thank" (Phil1);

(672) "I'd like to thank" (Stat3);

- Pron-p Aux Adv V *thank*-To-inf:

(673) "I would finally like to thank" (Arch3);

(674) "I would also like to thank" (P-Bio2);

(675) "I should also like to thank" (Arch5);

(676) "I would especially like to thank"(P-Bio2);

(677) "I would first like to thank" (P-Bio4);

- Pron-p V To(-inf) Adv *thank*(-To-)inf:

(678) "I want to especially thank" (P-Bio4);

- Pron-p Aux V To(-inf) Adv *thank*-(To-)inf:

(679) "I would like to sincerely thank" (B-Adm3);

- Pron-p V To-inf Prep *thanking*-V-ing:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(680) "I want to start by thanking" (Arch1).

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Prep *thanking*-V-ing:

(681) "I would like to begin by thanking" (Edu4);

Thanks is also frequently used, either alone, or pre-modified by a quantifier or an intensifying adjective. Not infrequently, *thanks* is used as part of a clause, and thus either followed, or more frequently, preceded by a verb group denoting the intention to communicate. In these cases, *to thank* is used only in the active voice. As a thanking formula, it occurs unmodified, and not very frequently. The relevant patterns and examples are the following:

- *Thanks*:

(682) "Thanks" (EECS5);

(683) ""THANKS!"" (Stat3; routine formula);

- *Thanks* Adv:

(684) "Thanks also" (P-Bio1);

(685) "Thanks, also" (Engl1);

- Adj *thanks*:

(686) "Special thanks" (Phil4);

- Art Adj *thanks*:

(687) "A special thanks" (Arch4);

- Quant *thanks*:

(688) "Many thanks" (EECS5);

- Quant *thanks* Adv:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(689) "Many thanks also" (Phil4);

- Adj *thanks* V:

(690) "Particular thanks goes [sic] out" (EECS3);

- Quant *thanks* V:

(691) "Many thanks go" (P-Bio2);

- Poss *thanks* Adv V:

(692) "My thanks also go" (Arch1);

- Poss Adj-sp *thanks* Aux V-pp:

(693) "My deepest thanks are extended" (Arch1);

- Pron-p V Adj *thanks*:

(694) "I give great thanks" (Edu1);

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Adj *thanks*:

(695) "I would like to give special thanks" (Phil3);

- Pron-p Aux V To-inf Poss Adj *thanks*:

(696) "I would like to express my sincere thanks" (Stat5);

- Pron-p V To-inf Art Adj *thanks*:

(697) "I want to give a special thanks" (P-Bio3);

- *there* V Quant N To-inf Poss *thanks*:

(698) "There are no words to express my thanks" (Edu1);

- *Thanks to* [...] (Arch2)

(699) "Thanks to [name]" (Arch2; compound preposition).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Less frequent in the corpus are instances of *thank you*, whether used as a routine formula or as not; unlike *thanks*, it is hardly ever accompanied by quantifiers or other modification, as the following patterns and examples reveal:

- *Thank you*:

(700) "Thank you" (EECS5);

- *Thank you* (Adv) Adv:

(701) "Thank you also" (B-Adm3);

(702) "Thank you very much" (P-Bio1);

- *Thank you* (routine formula):

(703) "Thank you" (EECS3; routine formula);

- *Thank you* Quant (routine formula):

(704) "Thank you both" (Edu1; routine formula);

(705) "Thank you all" (Edu3; routine formula).

Gratitude expressions that contain more than one lexical item relevant to the expression of gratitude are semantically and structurally elaborate: they both present two or more facets of the notion of gratitude and consist of words belonging to different word classes through which syntactically complex constructions are produced. Some of these elaborate gratitude expressions contain the same words (or groups of words) as the "simple" thanking expressions (e.g., *owe, thanks*). Others, instead, contain lexical items that do not otherwise occur on their own (e.g., *gratefully, acknowledge, pleasure*). The relevant patterns and examples are the following:

- Pron-p *gratefully acknowledge*:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(706) "I gratefully acknowledge" (Arch5);

- Aux *gratefully acknowledge*-V-pp:

(707) "is gratefully acknowledged" (B-Adm3);

- Pron-p Adv *gratefully thank*:

(708) "I also gratefully thank" (Stat5);

- Poss *gratitude* Conj *love* [...] V Quant N:

(709) "My gratitude and love [...] has no bounds" (Edu2);

- Poss *love* Conj *gratitude*:

(710) "My love and gratitude" (Arch2);

- Adj *love* Conj *thanks*:

(711) "endless love and thanks" (P-Bio3);

- Pron-p *owe* Art Adj *debt*:

(712) "I owe a special debt" (Phil2);

(713) "I owe a profound debt" (Phil5);

- Pron-p *owe* Art Adj *debt* Adv:

(714) "I owe a great debt as well" (Engl5);

- Pron-p *owe* Art Adj *thanks*:

(715) "I owe a special thanks" (Engl4);

- Pron-p *owe* Pron-p Art Adj *thanks*:

(716) "I owe you a special thanks" (Edu1);

- Pron-p *owe* Art Adj *debt* Prep *gratitude*:

(717) "I owe a special debt of gratitude" (Phil5);

- Pron-p *owe* Art Adj *debt* Prep *thanks*:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(718) "I owe a special debt of thanks" (Phil1);

- *thanks* V-link *due*:

(719) "Thanks are due" (Engl1);

- *deserve recognition*:

(720) "deserve recognition" (Stat2);

- Conj Pron-p V Quant Prep Art Adj *pleasures* Prep Poss N Prep Det N Adv To-inf Det *acknowledgments* Pron-p Aux Aux Adv V-ing Quant Dem N:

(721) "but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record the acknowledgements I have been impatiently saving up all these years" (Engl3).

The above combinations and patterns show that from a semantic point of view, combinations of gratitude expressions can be divided into four main groups: one group consists of expressions that combine terms each of which encodes the notion of gratitude (i.e., *gratefully* + *acknowledge* or *gratefully* + *thank*); a second set includes expressions that combine a word encoding the notion of gratitude (i.e., *gratitude* or *thanks*) and another referring to a different emotional experience (i.e., *love*); a third group comprises expressions whose two main content words encode the notion of indebtedness (i.e., *to owe* and *debt*); the fourth group is made up of expressions that encode the notions of indebtedness (through such words as *to owe, debt, due*) and gratitude (through such words as *gratitude, thanks*). The remaining two expressions stand out from the rest for opposite reasons: *to deserve recognition* combines words that form a recurrent collocation in English through which praise or admiration is expressed; its originality is only due to the fact that it is used a gratitude expression substitute in a PhDAS; the other,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

much longer expression is an elaborate clause complex pivoting on the noun *acknowledgements* through which the writer creatively shows his intention to manifest his gratitude.

Gratitude expression expansions are less numerous but more varied than core gratitude expressions, in the sense that virtually each of them exploits different lexical resources for expanding on the notion of gratitude (only two pairs of such supportives employ the same content words, namely *to miss* and *privilege*; see section 4.10.1.).

Most gratitude expression expansions encode the manifestation of positive emotional reactions to the benefactors or the benefits received. The writers' attitudes, experiences or acts are encoded through verbs, nouns or adjectives. The largest group of gratitude expression expansions employs verbs as its main lexical resource, as is clear from the following patterns and examples:

- Pron-p *enjoy*:

(722) "I enjoyed" (EECS4);

- Pron-p Adv *admire*:

(723) "I truly admire" (EECS2);

- Pron-p Aux Adv *look up*:

(724) "I will always look up" (Edu1);

- Pron-p Adv *miss* Pron-p Quant:

(725) "I really miss you all" (P-Bio3);

- Pron-p Aux Adv *remember* Pron-p:

(726) "I will always remember you" (P-Bio3);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Conj Pron-p Adv V Pron-p *wondering*-V-ing Pron V-link Adj:

(727) "and I still find myself wondering what is new" (Arch2);

- [...] Aux Adv *feel*-pp:

(728) "[...] is always felt" (Edu1);

- Rel-pr Aux Adv *impress* N:

(729) "who has always impressed me" (Edu3);

- Adv Pron-p Aux Aux *amazed*-pp [...]:

(730) "Time and again I have been amazed [...] (Phil5);

- Pron-p V Pron-p Aux *benefit*:

(731) "I know I have benefited" (EECS5);

- Pron-p V Pron-p Mod *provide* Quant Adj N:

(732) "I doubt I can provide much generic innovation" (Engl3);

- Pron-p V-link Prep Pron-p Rel-pr Pron-p *dedicate* Dem N:

(733) "It is to her that I dedicate this work" (Phil5);

- Dem N V-link Adv *for* Pron-p Adv:

(734) "This thesis is partly for you too" (EECS3).

When verbs are used as the main lexical resource in gratitude expression expansions, they identify the internal states experienced or the actions performed by the thankers; these verbs tend to be preceded by adverbs of time or adverbs acting as intensifiers of the events or situations represented. Most of the time, the verbs employed occur in the active voice; as a result, the thankers represented as involved in the emotional experiences or activities being referred to through those verbs are encoded

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

through personal pronouns that precede the verb (or verb group). Alternative patterns are quite limited: only in two text segments are the thankers not represented at all; only in another one is the thanker encoded as a pronoun occurring after the verb; only in another one does the pronoun identifying the thanker occur before a verb in the passive voice; finally, only in one text segment does a linking verb occur preceded by a noun group that identifies a product of the thanker's actions (i.e., his dissertation) rather than the writer himself. All but three gratitude expression expansions consist of single clauses. The exceptions reveal subordination phenomena: two introductory clauses expressing opinions followed *that*-clauses signaling those opinions, and an instance of a cleft-sentence.

The group of gratitude expression expansions built around nouns is less numerous, as the following excerpts and relevant patterns show:

- Pron-p Aux V-link Art Adj *privilege* [...]:

(735) "It has been a special privilege [...]" (EECS2);

- Pron-p Aux V-link Poss Adj *fortune*:

(736) "It has been my good fortune" (Edu3);

- Pron-p V-link Art *honor* Conj Art *privilege*:

(737) "It was an honor and a privilege" (Edu1);

- Art *joy* Pron-p V Prep Aux V [...] Aux V-pp:

(738) "The joy I feel in having completed [...] is accompanied" (Engl4);

- Conj Pron V Poss Adj-sp *fan*:

(739) "If I am your biggest fan" (Edu1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The above examples and patterns show that all but one of the nouns used in these expressions denote abstract concepts; most of these nouns identify the thankers' conceptualizations of benefits received, while one denotes an emotional experience not directly relatable to the previous participation in a beneficial exchange. There is one text segment, however, in which a noun is used to classify the thanker (i.e., *fan*) as the experiencer of a good emotional state, who behaves positively towards his benefactor. Also, all but one of the expressions include the linking verb *to be* (in the present, past or present perfect tense) which precedes the above-mentioned nouns (or noun groups) and follows personal pronouns; in all but one case the pronouns in question are tokens of the dummy *it*, which, in clause-initial position, cataphorically refers to the text units mentioning benefits later in the AMs; in another case, instead, the pronoun identifies the thanker. The gratitude expression expansion not containing the linking verb *to be* contains instead the verbs *to feel* and *to accompany*, the former of which is embedded under a noun group that denotes the thanker's positive internal state. That same gratitude expression expansion contains a verb that is encoded in the passive voice and that introduces the gratitude expression rather than benefit (expansion) units. All but two expressions contain supportive lexical material, that is, adjectives that describe and emphasize the concepts denoted by the nouns; in one of the two exceptional text units two main lexical resources are used in combination (i.e., the nouns *honor* and *privilege*), while the other contains a clausal expansion.

Gratitude expression expansions pivoting on adjectives are only two and they are similarly structured:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Pron-p V-link Adv *lucky*:

(740) "I feel really lucky" (EECS2);

- Pron-p Aux V-link Adv *fortunate*:

(741) "I have been extremely fortunate" (Engl4).

In both, a personal pronoun denoting the thanker precedes a linking verb which introduces the adjective revealing the thanker's view on his participation in a beneficial exchange; the adjective is preceded by an intensifying adverb.

The patterns exemplified above reveal some similarities in the encoding strategies of the gratitude expressions and gratitude expression expansions attested in the corpus. It appears that most gratitude expressions occupy the beginning parts of clausal messages and typically consist of personal pronouns (in subject form) denoting the thankers and verb groups denoting the thankers' internal states, characteristics or behavior. The pronouns are not further elaborated upon with adjectives or adpositions of any sort, and thus have only a referential function (i.e., they do not describe the act of thanking in any particular way); however, the verb groups may be realized in a variety of ways, which make it possible to encode the notion of gratitude from various perspectives. First of all, the verbs are mostly encoded in the simple present tense, but the simple past, the present perfect, and less frequently, the *will* future are also instantiated; this suggests that the experience of gratitude may be perceived as relevant to the previous beneficial exchanges that determined it, or to its positive effects still currently perceivable, or to the intention to reciprocate the benefits received projected into the future. Second, the verb groups may occur in the indicative mood signaling events or situations perceived as factual or,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

less frequently, in the conditional mood meant to technically refer to hypothetical situations. Third, most of the verbs appear in the active voice, and given that the pre-verbal pronouns refer to the thankers, these are represented as the experiencers or doers of the events and situations being referred to. Fourth, the main verbs in the verb groups tend to be qualified by modals (infrequently), verbs having a modal-like meaning (e.g., *to wish, to want, to continue, to start*; more frequently) or adverbs (quite frequently), which have a sequencing or intensifying function (e.g.,*further, really*). Fifth, the verb groups in the core gratitude expressions that are followed by a noun group mostly express acts of saying, such that the verb groups signal the intention to communicate (e.g., *to express*), while the post-verbal noun groups encode the content of what is being said (e.g., *gratitude*); these noun groups typically include adjectival modification which serves to emphasize the meaning of the referents of the nouns, and optionally comprise possessives that refer to the thankers; in the expansions, post-verbal noun groups more frequently refer to the benefactors. On the other hand, in core gratitude expressions, verbs of the linking type are typically followed by adjectives describing characteristics of the thankers' grateful behavior or attitude; the meaning of these adjectives tend to be emphasized by adverbs (e.g., *deeply, most*); in gratitude expression expansions, instead, linking verbs are frequently preceded by cataphoric tokens of *it* and followed by noun groups in which adjectives pre-modify abstract nouns. Verbless gratitude expressions contain noun groups that refer to the notion of gratitude; these too tend to be qualified by adjectives, quantifiers and/or adverbs; alternatively, they may be combined with other nouns referring to other emotional states (e.g., *love*). Alternative patterns (e.g, verb groups in the passive voice, pre-verbal noun groups not referring to the thankers, post-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

verbal pronouns in the object form referring to the thankers, introductory clauses preceding the gist of the manifestation of gratitude) are also attested, but not very common.

In general, the exemplification shows that most gratitude expressions and their expansions are not encoded as complete messages, but as "truncated" clauses, that is, they tend to realize the first part of clauses including other pieces of information (i.e., benefits and/or benefactors), and typically comprise the text segments identifying the thankers and those expressing the notion of gratitude.

4.11.2. Mini-grammar of benefactor (expansion) units

The lexico-grammatic encoding of benefactor units is quite varied in the corpus. This means not only that several types of lexemes and structures are used to identify and describe benefactors, but also that such text segments can be endowed with various types of internal expansions. The corpus contains literally hundreds of different word combinations and syntactic structures for the encoding of benefactor units, such that it would take a whole chapter to describe them all. Therefore, in this section I will not thoroughly comment on all of them. Rather, I will list them all, by grouping similar ones together; then I will provide a *general* description of the features *common* to the encoding formulas belonging to the *same* group, and finally I will exemplify a *limited* sub-set of the lexico-syntactic formulas of each group.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

My first major distinction is between the benefactor units employing only one vs. two or more main lexical encoding resources (e.g., proper names vs. nouns vs. proper names and nouns). Then, within each major group thus identified, another distinction is made between those benefactor units referring to one vs. two or more benefactors (or groups of benefactors)[61]. Finally, further sub-distinctions are made regarding the syntactic resources employed to refer to the benefactors (e.g., noun phrases vs. verb phrases vs. clauses).

To classify the linguistic resources used in the corpus I use both easily interpretable abbreviations of traditional part-of-speech labels as already employed in section 4.11. (e.g., *Adj* for 'adjective', *To-inf* for 'to-infinitive of a verb') and other symbols necessary to account for the specific data gathered. The latter are presented and glossed below:

Symbol:	gloss
Date:	year
F:	first name (initial)
Inst:	name of an institution or event (consisting of one or more words, possibly abbreviated)
L:	last name

[61] To identify the number of benefactors being referred to in a given benefactor unit, I take into consideration the number of noun (or noun phrases) included in the unit itself and whether they make repeated reference to the same benefactors or new reference to new benefactors. Thus, for example, "My two brothers and my best friend" would be considered a benefactor unit making reference to two benefactors (or benefactor groups) because it includes only two noun phrases, namely *my two brothers* and *my best friend*, even if it actually makes reference to three people (i.e., two brothers and one friend). Similarly, "my two brothers, Paul and Fred, and my best friends" would be considered a benefactor unit making reference to two benefactors (or benefactor groups) even if it comprises four nouns (or nouns groups), namely *my two brothers*, *Paul*, *Fred*, and *my best friend*, because the second and third are adpositions to the first and make reference to the same benefactors, although through different lexical resources.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

M:	middle name (initial)
N:	noun or non-professional title (e.g., *Mr*)
Name:	proper name neither of a person nor of an institution
N-N(-N):	compound noun (consisting of as many nouns as are listed)
Place:	placename
(X):	optionality of the word or structure included in parentheses
[X]:	occurrence of one or more instances of the word or structure included in brackets
++:	punctuation mark
^:	beginning of an alternative word or structure
*:	end of an alternative word or structure
/:	alternation between given words or structures
__:	visual separation between neighboring grammatical slots in a given structure

In the examples presented in this section, made up names replace the original names[62] in order not to reveal the identity of the people, groups, institutions or locations mentioned in the texts. First I consider core benefactor units and then their expansions.

[62] To preserve the anonymity of the people mentioned in the corpus, I use the made up names "John (Alan or Willis) Brown," "Mark (Philip or Evans) Morrison," "Bruce (Roger or Russell) Oden," "Mary (Anne or Turner) Smith," "Jane (Ellen or Hale) Osborne," and "Shelly (Lisa or Vine) Long" (reproduced in italics) as substitutes for the real names occurring in the benefactor units. Similarly, original names of institutions, groups, places, and dates are replaced by "UC Berkeley (or UCB, Berkeley School, Central Berkeley Institute or CBI or National Berkeley Foundation or Euphoric Studies Department or Berkeley Library),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Core benefit units.

Names only. The first major group of benefactor units consists of text segments that contain the benefactors' names (first, middle and/or last), even in abbreviated form, optionally (a) accompanied by non-professional titles, (b) embedded under prepositions or (c) linked by conjunctions. Their patterns are presented below, together with appropriate exemplification, and are divided into sets relevant to benefactor groups of different sizes, as explained above.

Names only: one benefactor. When reference to single benefactors is made, all the main encoding options listed above (i.e., use of proper names, nouns and/or names and nouns) may be employed, except, of course, for the one that would include the presence of a linker. In addition, when the proper name of a group is mentioned, this is preceded by an article. Here are the patterns and examples:

- ^F*/ ^F L*/ ^F M L*

(742) "*John*" (Arch2);

(743) "*Mary*" (B-Adm2);

(744) "*John Brown*" (Edu2);

(745) "*Mary Smith*" (Engl2);

(746) "*Mary Turner-Smith*" (P-Bio4);

- ^F's*/ ^L*/ ^F L's*

Berkeleyan Club, or Berkeleyan Lab, Berkeley (or California)" and "1996" (reproduced in italics), respectively.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(747) "*Mary*'s" (P-Bio3);

(748) "*Brown*'s" (Phil5);

(749) "*Mary Smith*'s" (Engl4);

(750) "*John Brown*'s" (Phil1);

- Art Name

(751) "the *Berkeleyan Club*" (Stat3);

- Prep ^F*/ ^F L*/ ^F M L*

(752) "to *Mary*" (Engl1);

(753) "to *John Brown*" (Phil1);

(754) "of *Mary Turner Smith*" (Engl5);

(755) "to *John Willis Brown*" (P-Bio1).

Names only: two benefactors. When reference is made to two benefactors, the text segments identifying them are always joined by a conjunction; most of the time both benefactors are identified by first and last names; only one benefactor unit contains also an adverb, acting as an emphasizer. Relevant patterns and examples follow:

- (Adv) ^F*/ ^F L*/ ^N* __ Conj __ ^F L*/ ^N F L*

(756) "*Mary and John Brown*" (Arch2);

(757) "*John Brown and Mark Morrison*" (Stat2);

(758) "especially Mr. and Mrs. *John Brown*" (Arch5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Prep ^F*/ ^F L* __ Conj __ ^F*/ ^F L*

(759) "to *John* and *Mark*" (B-Adm3);

(760) "to *John Brown* and *Mary Smith*" (Engl4).

Names only: three or more benefactors. Benefactor units referring to three or more benefactors are of two main types: those listing names of benefactors as noun groups, and those embedding names of benefactors under prepositions; in both cases, the names are linked by punctuation marks and/or conjunctions. Only one text unit in this group combines both options and includes an adverbial expansion specifying the geographical origin of the benefactors. Following are the patterns and examples:

- F L [++ F L] ^Conj*/ ^++*/ ^++ Conj* ^F L*/ ^F M L*

(761) "*Mary Smith, Jane Hale Osborne, and Shelly Long*" (Arch4);

(762) "*John Brown, Mary Smith, Jane Osborne*, and *Shelly Vine-Long*" (Edu5);

- Prep F L [++ ^F L* / ^F*] ^Conj* / ^++* / ^Conj ++* F L

(763) "to *John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, and *Bruce Oden*" (B-Adm4);

(764) "to *Mary Smith*, *John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, and *Bruce Oden*" (EECS5);

- Dem-pr … Prep N L ++ N L ++ Conj N L Prep Place ++ Place

(765) "those … including Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Morrison*, and Ms. *Smith* of *Berkeley*, *California*" (Arch5).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Institutions only. Another important group of benefactor units makes reference to given institutions (e.g., universities, departments, research centers, libraries). Their names are typically preceded by the definite article and optionally embedded under prepositions (units referring to two institutions always appear after prepositions). Adverbials specifying their location may accompany such names, but not if the names of the institutions themselves include placenames.[63]

Institutions only: one institution. In this sub-group, the article often precedes the name of the institution, and reference to the location of the institution may appear in the name itself and/or in an adjunct. Examples:

- (Art) Inst (++ Place ++ Conj Art Place)

(766) "*Central Berkeley Institute*" (EECS2);

(767) "the *National Berkeley Foundation*" (B-Adm1);

(768) "The *UC Berkeley*, *Berkeley*, and *California*" (Engl3);

(769) "the *Euphoric Studies Department*" (Stat5);

- Prep (Art) Inst (Prep Place)

[63] To count institutions, I have paid attention to the number of noun groups referring to institutions occurring in given benefactor units but also to their rank in the phrase or clause. Thus, for example, the benefactor unit "UC Berkeley, the National Berkeley Foundation and the Euphoric Studies Department" contain three noun groups at the same syntactic level (they are paratactically linked to one another) identifying as many benefactors. On the other hand, "the Euphoric Studies Department at UC Berkeley and the Berkeley School" contain two noun groups at the same syntactic level; the former also includes an embedded prepositional phrase which specifies the location of the first benefactor; strictly speaking, the unit identifies three benefactors, but the second has an ancillary function, as it serves to provide additional

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(770) "At the *UC Berkeley* of *California* (*UBC*)" (Arch2);

(771) "by *UC Berkeley*" (Stat3).

Institutions only: two institutions. Text units relevant to two institutions all contain reference to the location of those institutions; the first institution's name is preceded by a preposition and an article, while the second by the conjunction *and* and an article. Examples:

- Prep Art Inst (Place) __ Conj (Prep) Art Inst (Prep Inst) (++ Place)

(772) "from the *Central Berkeley Institute* and the *National Berkeley Foundation*" (P-Bio4);

(773) "by the *Berkeley School* in *Berkeley* and the *Central Berkeley Institute* in *Berkeley*." (Arch3);

(774) "in the *Central Berkeley Institute* and the *Euphoric Studies Department* in *UC Berkeley*," (P-Bio3).

Institutions only: three or more institutions. When several institutions are listed together, their names are coordinated by punctuation marks; the last institution's name, though, is typically preceded by the additive conjunction *and*. As in the previous sub-groups, the institutions' names tend to be preceded by articles. Examples:

- Art Inst Prep Inst [++ Inst] Conj Art Inst

---

information about the first one; therefore, such a unit is to be regarded as making reference to only two benefactors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(775) "The *Euphoric Studies Department* of *UC Berkeley*, the *UC Berkeley, Berkeley School, Central Berkeley Institute* and the *Berkeleyan Club*" (Phil1);

- Prep Art Inst (Conj Inst) ++ (Prep) (Art) Inst … (Conj) (Prep) Art Inst (Prep Place)

(776) "by the *Central Berkeley Institute* (*CBI*) […], by a *Berkeley School* […] and by the *National Berkeley Foundation*" (Stat1).

Nouns only. A third group of benefactor units identify benefactors through words or word combinations referring to their class or group membership. As these lexical resources comprise common nouns rather than proper names, they are often accompanied by some form of determiner (e.g., possessive, article, demonstrative, quantifier) and/or combined with other nouns so as to form compounds (except, occasionally, for those nouns indicating familial relationships usable as vocatives, such as *Brother!*). They may be optionally accompanied by post-modifications indicating spatial and/or temporal circumstances relevant to them or occur in clauses beginning with presentative constructions.

Nouns only: one benefactor. Individual benefactors are encoded in all the above-mentioned structures. Benefactor units may be realized as single- or multi-word noun groups (e.g., pronouns, quantifiers, vocatives, descriptive phrases). Multi-word noun groups often contain one or more determiners and occasionally attributive adjectives too, which modify the nouns minimally identifying the benefactors. Noun phrases may also

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be followed by post-modification in the form of prepositional phrases[64] or relative clauses. Examples:

- ^N*/ ^Art N*/ ^Art Adj N*/ ^Art N-N*/ ^Dem N*/ ^Pron*

(777) "Friends" (Edu4);

(778) "Brother!" (EECS2);

(779) "The people" (Edu4);

(780) "the academic supervisors" (Edu4);

(781) "The lab group" (P-Bio5);

(782) "these professors" (B-Adm2);

(783) "all" (EECS3);

(784) "everybody" (Stat1);

- Poss __ ((Adv) Adj(-cp/-sp) __ ^N*/ ^N-N*

(785) "my family" (Stat4);

(786) "my friends" (Arch5);

(787) "my dissertation committee" (Engl4);

(788) "my younger brother" (EECS2);

(789) "my very dear family" (Edu2);

- ^Quant N*/ ^Quant Adj N*/ ^Quant Prep Art N-N*/ ^Adv Quant N*

[64] The prepositional phrases may be embedded under the noun heads and specify information necessary to identify the benefactors or they may be adverbial adjuncts relevant to the events specified in the verb groups that precede these noun groups. Of course, only an examination of the global encoding of the whole relevant AMs makes it possible to understand the function of the prepositional phrases.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(790) "Many people" (EECS4, Phil1, Phil3);

(791) "many remarkable friends" (P-Bio3);

(792) "all of the preschool teachers" (Edu4);

(793) "so many people" (EECS1);

(794) "Very many people" (Stat4);

- (Art) N __ Prep __ ^N* /^Adj N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Quant N*/ ^Pron*/ ^N- ++ N- ++ Conj N-N*

(795) "the members of my committee" (Phil1);

(796) "the audiences at each department" (Phil5);

(797) "parents of disabled children" (Edu4);

- Poss (Adj) ^N*/ ^N-N-N* __ Prep Place (Conj Place)

(798) "my colleagues at Berkeley" (Arch4);

(799) "my family in *California* and U.S." (Arch4);

Quant (^Adj*/ ^Art*/ ^Poss*) N __ Prep ^Place*/ ^N-N*/ ^Poss N-N Conj Adj N*

(800) "many wonderful friends at Berkeley" (EECS2);

(801) "All my colleagues throughout grad school" (EECS1);

(802) "all the members of my dissertation committee and qualifying exam" (Arch1);

- Art N (Prep Art N-N) Rel-pr (Pron-p) V __ Prep ^Art*/ ^Dem* ^N*/ ^N-N*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(803) "the children who participated in the study" (Edu5);

(804) "the students who participated in these design studies" (Edu3);

(805) "The families of the preschool children that I interviewed for this dissertation" (Edu4).

Single benefactor units expressed through prepositional groups show the same variety of realizations as those realized as noun groups. In addition, there is one benefactor unit with adjectival post-modification (functioning as an adposition) and another one that contains both a pronoun and a noun (the latter interpretable as an adposition). Examples:

- Prep __ ^N*/ ^Art N*

(806) "for friends" (Engl4);

(807) "with a family" (Engl3);

- Prep __ ^Quant N*/ ^Quant Adj N*/ ^Quant Quant Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^Adv Quant N-N*/ ^Quant Conj Quant N*

(808) "of many people" (Edu5);

(809) "with many other faculty" (P-Bio5);

(810) "with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals" (P-Bio3);

(811) "with so many undergraduate assistants" (P-Bio5);

(812) "to each and every member" (P-Bio5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Prep __ ^Art Quant N*

(813) "without the many people" (EECS5);

- Prep __ ^Art Adj N*/ ^Quant*/ ^Quant N*/ ^Art Quant*/ __ Prep ^Pron-p*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Poss N-N*/ ^N*/ ^N Prep Dem N*

(814) "with many of them" (EECS2);

(815) "from each member of my dissertation committee" (Engl4);

(816) "of a host of friends" (Engl3);

(817) "from the various members of my committee" (Engl5);

(818) "of the hundreds of subscribers to those lists," (Engl3);

- Prep Art N Prep Adj N Rel-pr V Adv N-N

(819) "to the parents of nondisabled children who served as comparison families" (Edu4);

^Prep Poss* __ ^N*/ ^N-N*/ ^Adj N-N*/ ^Poss Adj Name- Conj Name-N ++ Adj Conj Adj*

(820) "to my friends" (Arch1);

(821) "to my parents" (Stat1);

(822) "to my mother" (Arch4, EECS5);

(823) "because of my girls" (Engl3);

(824) "to my committee members" (Arch5);

(825) "of my fellow graduate students" (Engl4);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(826) "To my own [course title] and [course title] students, past and present" (Edu1);

^Prep* __ ^Dem (Adj) N*/ ^Pron*/ ^Pron-p N*

(827) "from these musicians" (Engl4);

(828) "to those young women" (Edu1);

(829) "to others" (Arch3);

(830) "with you folks" (Edu1).

Clausal benefactor units are not frequent, at least when single benefactors are mentioned. They all contain verbs exemplifying relational processes. Examples:

- ^Adv*/ ^Dem-pr* (Aux) V-link __ ^Quant*/ ^Art* N

(831) "There have been many people" (Edu4);

(832) "These were the people" (Arch2);

- Pron-p V-link __ Art N Prep Poss Adj N Conj Art N Prep Poss N-N

(833) "He was a member of my doctoral exams and a member of my dissertation committee" (Arch2);

- Pron-p V Rel-pr Pron-p V-link

(834) "you know who you are" (EECS1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nouns only: two benefactors. Benefactor units that contain two common nouns or noun groups referring to two benefactors are less frequent than those referring to only one benefactor. Their encoding is also less varied: there is only one instance of adjectival pre-modification (and the adjective in question has an anaphoric, not a descriptive, function), and there are no instances of post-modification or clausal benefactor units. As to be expected, the nouns or noun phrases in question are linked by punctuation marks or conjunctions. Examples:

- ^N*/ ^Dem N* __^++*/ ^Conj* __ ^N*/ ^Poss N*

(835) "Mom, Dad" (EECS1);

(836) "Mom and Dad" (EECS3);

(837) "These friends and their family" (Arch2);

- Poss N __ Conj __ (Poss) N (Quant)

(838) "my friends and family" (Arch3);

(839) "My mother and father each" (Edu3);

(840) "his wife and his daughters" (Arch2);

- Prep ^Dem N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Quant N* __ Conj __ ^N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Quant Adj N Prep Poss N*

(841) "to these people and institutions" (Arch2);

(842) "to my family and friends" (Edu3);

(843) "to my family and my professors" (Edu2);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(844) "of many friends and colleagues" (P-Bio3);

(845) "to my parents and all other members in my family" (EECS4).

Nouns only: three or more benefactors. Benefactor units relevant to three or more benefactors are even less frequent and varied that those referring to two. The largest set consists of text segments encoded as prepositional groups optionally including attributive adjectival modification, but there is also a unit realized as a noun group and one as a clause. Examples:

- Art N __ ++ N __Conj N Adv

(846) "The faculty, staff and students here" (Stat2);

- Prep __ ^N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Art Name N* __^++ N*/ ^Adj N*/ ^Quant Poss N*/ ^Art N-N* __ ^++ Conj N*/ ^++ Conj N*/ ^Conj Poss N*/ ^++ Conj Art N-N-N*

(847) "of professors, friends, and colleagues" (Engl4);

(848) "of my professors, friends, and relatives" (Arch5);

(849) "with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances" (Phil2);

(850) "to my parents, all my sisters and my brother" (P-Bio3);

(851) "with the *Berkeleyan Club*, the camping contingent, and the book club members." (Edu3);

- Prep __ Art Adj N Prep N __ ++ N __ ++ N ++ Conj N

(852) "in the long list of students, colleagues, family, and friends" (Edu1);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Quant V-link __ Art N __ ++ N __ ++ N __++ Conj N

(853) "Many are the professors, colleagues, friends, and family" (Arch2).

Names and nouns. A very large group of benefactor units contain both proper names and nouns, the former specifying the benefactors' identity, the latter clarifying their role-relationships with the thankers. Basically, such benefactor units reproduce the same varied encoding patterns as those containing only nouns. In addition, they are characterized by a form of internal expansion impossible in benefactor units containing only names or only nouns, namely adposition.

Names and nouns: one benefactor. Single-benefactor, name-and-noun benefactor units may be encoded as noun groups, prepositional groups or clauses. When characterized by adposition (most of the time), the order of their 'name' and 'noun' parts is not predictable: proper names can precede common nouns as easily as they can follow them. (The two components of the benefactor unit are typically separated by punctuation marks). Only a few are the instances of benefactor units that contain (also or exclusively) nouns not referring to the benefactors themselves, but to entities relevant to them (e.g., characteristics or products of their work; see section 4.8. for an explanation) or alternatively to other benefactors mentioned in embedded expressions post-modifying the main benefactors. Examples:

Names and nouns: one benefactor: no adposition:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^Prep N F L*/ ^ Prep N L Prep Place ++ Place*

(854) "of Dr. *Mary Smith*" (Arch5);

(855) "to Mr. *John Brown*" (EECS4);

(856) "to Prof. *Mark Morisson*" (P-Bio3);

(857) "of Maestro *Bruce* of *Berkeley*, *California*" (Arch5);

- ^F*/ ^F L*/ ^F M L* __ ++ ^Poss N*/ ^Poss N-N-N*/ ^Art Adv Adj N Conj N*/ ^Adv Art N Prep Poss Adj N Conj Adv Art N Prep Dem N*/ ^Poss N-N Prep Place*/ ^Poss N-N Prep Poss Adj N Prep Place*/ ^Art Adv-sp Adj ++ Adj Conj Adj N Pron Mod V Prep*/ ^Adv Poss N*

(858) "*Mary*, my mother" (Arch2);

(859) "*Jane Osborne*, my undergraduate research advisor" (P-Bio2);

(860) "*John Brown*, a long lasting friend and colleague" (Arch2);

(861) "*Shelly Long* my training director at Berkeley" (Edu4);

(862) "*Mark-Philip Morrison*, first the chair of my doctoral exams and then the chair of this dissertation" (Arch2);

(863) "*Bruce Oden*, my colleague-mentor during my early years at Berkeley," (EECS1);

(864) "*John Brown*, the most devoted, selfless and supportive friend one could ask for," (EECS1);

(865) "*Mark Morrison* [...] as my advisor" (Stat4);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Prep __ ^F L*/ ^F M L* __ ^Adj N*/ ^++ Poss Adj N-N*/ ^++ Poss N Conj Adi Adj N-N*/ ^++ Poss N-N-N-N*/ ^++ Poss N-N Adj*/ ^++ Poss Adj N Conj N-N*

(866) "to *Mary Smith* elegant teacher" (Edu4);

(867) "To *Jane Osborne*, my dedicated writing partner" (Edu1);

(868) "to *Shelly Long*, my friend and first real science teacher" (P-Bio1);

(869) "to *Mary Smith*, my high school English teacher," (Engl4);

(870) "To *Jane Osborne*, my tai'ji transcriber extraordinaire" (Edu1);

(871) "to *John-Alan Brown*, my academic advisor and dissertation Chairman" (Arch1);

F L Rel-pr V-link Art Adj-sp N-N-N Adv

(872) "Harry Koga Who was the greatest graduate student assistant ever." (P-Bio3);

- ^N*/ ^Art N Prep Art Inst* __ ^N F L*/ ^F L*/ ^F M L*

(873) "Professor *Mark Morrison*" (EECS2);

(874) "Professor *Bruce R. Oden*" (Arch5);

(875) "Professor *Mark-Philip Morrison*" (Arch5);

(876) "Dr. *John Willis-Brown*" (EECS2);

(877) "the chair of the Statistics Department, Professor *John Brown*," (Stat1);

^Poss N*/ ^Poss Adj N*/ ^Poss N-N*/ ^Poss Adj(-sp) N ++ Poss N*/ ^Poss Adj N Conj Adj N*/__ ^F*/ (++) ^F L*/ ^N F L*/ ^F M L*

(878) "my wife *Mary*" (Arch5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(879) " my wonderful husband *John*" (P-Bio2);

(880) "my advisor *John Brown*" (Stat3);

(881) "My advisor, *Mark Morrison*" (Edu5);

(882) "my first professor, *Bruce Oden*" (Edu2);

(883) "My advisor, Dr. *Jane Osborne*" (P-Bio3);

(884) "My dear friend, Professor *John-Alan Brown*" (Arch5);

(885) "my best friend, my wife, *Shelly Long*," (Stat4);

(886) "my close collaborator and dear friend *Mary Smith*" (Edu3);

- Prep __ ^Art N*/ ^Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep Poss N-N*/ ^Prep Art Adv Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj(-sp) N Conj N*/ ^Prep Poss N Conj N-N-N* __ (++) ^F*/ ^(++) F L*/ ^++ N F L*

(887) "to the architect *John Brown*," (Arch3);

(888) "to my brother *Mark*" (Arch5);

(889) "to my father, *Bruce*" (P-Bio1);

(890) "with their teacher, *John Brown*" (Edu3);

(891) "to my dissertation chair, *Mark Morrison*" (Edu1);

(892) "to my research advisor, Professor *Bruce Oden*" (EECS2);

(893) "with a very thoughtful geneticist, *John Brown*" (Stat2);

(894) "to my best friend Dr. *Mary Turner Smith*" (P-Bio3);

(895) "to my wife and graduate school partner, *Jane*" (Edu3).

<u>Names and nouns: one benefactor: one clause</u>:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^F L*/ ^F*/ ^Pron-p* __ ^V-link*/ ^Adv V-link*/ ^Aux Neg Adv V-link* __ ^Dem Adj N*/ ^Art Adj Adv N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Art N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Art Adj N Conj Art Adj N* __ ^Prep Art Inst*/ ^Adv*

(896) "*John Brown* was that great teacher" (Engl1);

(897) "*Mark Morrison* was an active *de facto* member" (Phil1);

(898) "*Bruce Oden* was my adviser in the Department of Planning" (Arch2);

(899) "He also was a member of my qualifying exams" (Arch2);

(900) "*John* has not only been a supportive mentor but a good friend as well" (EECS1);

<u>Names and nouns: one benefactor: two clauses</u>:

- ^F L V Poss N Prep N Prep N Conj V-link Art N Prep Poss N-N

(901) "*John Brown* guided my minor in Philosophy of Science and was a member of my dissertation committee" (Arch2);

<u>Names and nouns: one benefactor: no co-referentiality</u>:

- ^F L's*/ ^Prep F L's* __ ^N Prep Adj N*/ ^N Adv Adj N*

(902) "Dr. *Oden*'s dedication to scientific research" (EECS2);

(903) "*Mark Morrison*'s role as third reader" (Engl4);

- Prep F L's N

(904) "to *John Brown*'s work" (Phil5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Prep Art N Prep F L

(905) "to the memory of *Bruce Oden*" (B-Adm1);

(906) "to the memory of *Mark Morrison*" (Engl4);

- ^Prep Poss*/ ^Prep Art N*__ ^Prep Name N*/ ^N Prep Art Place Prep Place*

(907) "To the students of [course title] Group" (Edu1);

(908) "to my friends at the *Berkeley School* in *Berkeley*" (Edu3).

Names and nouns: two benefactors. Name-and-noun benefactor units are less numerous than those identifying single benefactors, but similarly structured, in the sense that most of them refer to given benefactors by combining phrases containing names and phrases containing nouns juxtaposed to one another. These noun- and name-text segments are typically linked by punctuation marks or conjunctions. The order of the segmenst may vary, in the sense that name-text segments may completely precede, complete follow, or alternate with noun-text segments. Internal expansions (i.e., adjectival pre-modification, post-modification by means of prepositional phrases or relative clauses) occur, but infrequently. Examples:

- ^N*/ ^N F L */ ^Poss N ++ F*/ ^Poss N F L*/ ^Pron-p*/ ^Rel-pr*__ ^Conj*/ ^++* __ ^F L*/ ^Conj N F M L*/ ^Conj Poss N*/ ^Poss N ++ F*/ ^Conj N F L*

(909) "Professor *John Brown* and my colleagues" (Arch5);

(910) "Professor *Mark Morrison* and Professor *B. Roger Oden*" (EECS2);

(911) "my daughter, *Mary* and my son, *John*" (Arch5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(912) "my partner *Mark Morrison* and friend *Jane Osborne*." (Edu5);

(913) "He and *John Brown*" (Arch2);

(914) "who along with *Mark Morrison*" (Arch4);

- Prep N F ___ Conj N F

(915) "to Grandma *Mary* and Grandpa *John*" (Stat5);

- ^Art Adj N Prep Art N*/ ^Art N Prep Poss N(-N)*/ ^Art Quant Adj N Prep Poss N-N*/ ^Art Quant N Rel-pr V Adv Art Adv N Prep Poss N*/ ^Quant Adj N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Poss Adj N-N*/ ^Poss Adj Adj N*/ ^Poss Quant Adj N* ___ (^++*)/ ^Conj* F*/ ^++ Adv F L*/ ^(++) F L*/ ^N F L* ___ Conj __ ^F*/ ^F M L*/ ^F L*/ ^Adv Poss N F L*/ ^N F L*

(916) "the present members in the lab, especially *Mary Smith* and *John-Alan Brown*" (P-Bio3);

(917) "The two people who served as the outside members of my committee, Professors *Mark Morrison* and *Jane Osborne*" (Phil2);

(918) "two great scientists, Professor *Bruce Oden* and Dr. *John Brown*" (EECS2);

(919) "My daughters, *Mary* and *Jane*" (Edu2);

(920) "My parents, *Shelley* and *Mark Morrison*" (Edu2);

(921) "my intramural basketball buddies *John Brown* and *Mark Morrison*" (EECS3);

(922) "my fellow doctoral students, and especially my friend [first name + last name]," (B-Adm2);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Prep N*/ ^Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep Poss N-N* __ (++) ^F*/ ^F L* ___ Conj __ ^F*/ ^F L*/ ^N F*

(923) "to my other "brothers" *John* and *Mark Brown*" (Edu1);

(924) "to Professors *Bruce Oden* and *John Brown*" (Stat5);

(925) "To my parents, *Mark* and *Mary*" (Edu1);

(926) "to my co-directors, *Shelly Long* and *Jane Osborne*" (Engl4);

- F L Conj F M L ++ Poss N Conj N-N

(927) "*John Brown* and *Mary Anne Smith*, my brother and sister-in-law," (Engl3);

- Prep Art Name Conj Name N

(928) "in the [abbreviated name] and [abbreviated name] listservs" (Engl3).

<u>Names and nouns: three or more benefactors</u>. Benefactor units consisting of names and nouns referring to three or more benefactors do not differ significantly from a structural point of view from those referring to only two benefactors. However, they are necessarily more elaborate because they consist of more noun groups. Examples:

- ^N F L*/ ^Adj N F L*/ ^Art Adj N F L*/ ^Art N Prep Poss N-N ++ N F L*/ ^Adv Art N Prep Poss Name N ++ F L*/ ^Quant N Conj N-N Prep N F L*/ ^Quant Poss Adj N Prep Art Adj Inst … F L* ___ [^++ (Adv) (N) F L/ ^++ F*] __ ^Conj F*/ ^Conj (N) F L*

(929) "the rest of my committee members, Professors *John Smith*, *Mark Morrison*, and *Bruce Oden*" (EECS3);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(930) "particularly the members of the *Berkeleyan club*: *Mary Smith*, *John Smith*, and *Mark Morrison*" (Arch4);

(931) "Several faculty and fisheries scientists including Prof. *John Smith*, Prof. *Mark Morrison*, *Bruce Oden*, and *Alan Brown*" (Stat4);

(932) "Additional colleagues ... include [several names], and *John Brown*" (EECS3).

^Poss Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Poss N-N-N*/ ^Poss Adj N-N Adv F L*/ ^Poss Adj N*/ ^Poss Adj Adj N*/ ^Poss N Prep Place* ___ [^++ (N) F L/ ^++ F*/ ^++ Prep F L*/ ^N F*/ ^Poss N*/ ^++ Adv ++ Poss N*] __ ^Conj F*/ ^Conj (N) F L/ ^++ Conj N*/ ^F M L*

(933) "my brothers, *John*, *Mark* and *Bruce*" (B-Adm2);

(934) "my family (especially, my father, my mother, Uncle *Alan*, *Anne*, *Philip*, *Roger*, *Lisa*, *John*, and *Mary*)" (P-Bio2);

(935) "My fellow graduate students [...] especially *John Smith* and *Mark Morrison*" (Stat1);

(936) "my advisors at Berkeley: Professors *John Smith*, *Mark Morrison* and *Bruce R. Oden*" (Arch4);

- F + Poss N ++ F M Conj F + Poss N

(937) "*Jane*, my wife, *Mark Philip* and *Bruce*, my sons" (Arch2);

- F L (+ F L) ++ Conj F Conj F L Conf Poss Adj N

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(938) "[several names] and their extended family" (Edu4);

- F L's … Prep Art Adj N Prep Poss Adj N-N ++ F L (+ F L) ++ Conj F L

(939) "*John Brown*'s … of the other members of my vital dissertation group: *John Smith*, *Mary Smith*, *Mark Morrison*, *Jane Osborne*, and *Shelley Long*" (Engl4);

- ^Prep N*/ ^Prep Poss N-N*/ ^Prep Poss N-N*/ ^Prep Art N-N*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep Art Adj N-N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N-N*/ ^Prep Art Adj Adj N-N Prep Place*/ ^Prep Poss Quant Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss N Conj*/ ^Prep Poss N Prep N ++ Art N Prep Name*/ ^Prep Poss N Prep Place ++ Adv Conj Adv Poss N-N*/ ^Prep N V-pp Adv* __ [(++) (^Conj*/ ^Adv*/ ^Conj Adv*) ^F* / ^++ F L*/ ^N F M L*] __ (++) Conj __ ^F*/ ^F L*/ ^N F L*/ ^N*/ ^Art Adj F L*

(940) "to Professor *John Brown*, Professor *Mary A. Smith*, Professor *B. Roger Oden*, and Professor *Alan Brown*" (EECS4);

(941) "with the dissertation group: *Mary Smith*, *Mark Morrison*, *Jane Osborne*, and *Shelly*" (Edu3);

(942) "To my four living sisters—*Mary*, *Jane*, *Anne*, and *Ellen*" (Edu1);

(943) "by my undergraduate mentors: *John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, and the late *Bruce Oden*." (Engl3);

- ^Prep Poss N-N F L Conj F M L*/ ^Prep Poss N ++ F M L* __ ^Conj Prep Poss Adj N F L (++ F L) Conj F L*/ ^++ Conj Prep Poss Quant N Conj N … F (+ F) + Conj F*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(944) "to my office mates *John Brown* and *Mark Philip Morrison* and to my fellow students *Bruce Oden*, *Mary Smith* and *Jane Osborne*" (Stat1);

- ^Prep Poss Adj N-N ++ F L*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Poss N ++ Adv F L (+ F L)* __ ^++ Poss N-N ++ F L [...]*/ ^++ Quant Art Adj N Prep N-N* __ ^Conj Dem N-N N Aux V To-inf Adv Poss Place N ++ F L ++ F L ++ Conj Art L*/ ^++ Conj Poss N V Quant Art N*

(945) "by my wonderful mother-in-law, *Mary Smith*, my brother-in-law, *John Brown* ... and those relations-in-law I have come to think of as my Bay Area family: *Jane Osborne*, *Anne Turner*, and the *Longs*" (Engl3).

Names and institutions. The combination 'names and names of institutions' is not one of the most common in the corpus. Indeed, it is instantiated once with reference to a single benefactor, twice with reference to two benefactors, and four times with reference to three or more benefactors. Names of institutions may occur embedded under noun groups, and thus function as post-modification of benefactors identified through names, or as independent noun groups. Examples:

Names and institutions: one benefactor:

- F L Prep Inst

(946) "*John Brown* from *Berkeley School*" (Edu4);

Names and institutions: two benefactors:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- F L (Prep Inst) __ Conj __ ^F L (Adv) Prep Inst*/ ^F L Prep Art Inst Prep Place*/ ^Inst Prep Inst*

(947) "*John Brown* of *Central Berkeley Institute*, Inc. and *Mark Morrison* of *National Berkeley Foundation*, Inc." (P-Bio2);

<u>Names and institutions: three or more benefactors</u>:

- FL [++ ^F L*/ ^Art Inst*/ ^Inst*/ ^Art Inst (++ Art Inst)*/ ^Art Inst Prep Art Inst*/ ^N N Prep Art Inst (+ Inst)*/ ^Art Inst N V-pp Prep Art Inst Conj Art Inst*] ++ Conj ^F L Prep Inst*/ ^Art Inst V-pp Prep Art Inst Conj Inst

(948) "*John Brown, Mary Smith*, and *Jane Osborne* in The *Central Berkeley Institute*" (P-Bio2);

- Prep F L ++ F N (++ F L) Conj N N Prep Inst ++ Inst (++ Inst) ++ Art Inst ++ Inst ++ Art Inst ++ Art Inst ++ Art Inst ++ Inst ++ Art Inst ++ Conj Art Date N Prep Art Inst Conj Inst

(949) "to *John Brown, Alan Brown, Mark Morrison, Philip Morrison, Bruce Oden, Roger Oden, Mark Brown* and seminar participants at [name of university], UC Berkeley, [placename] University, the University of [placename], [placename] University, the [name of school] School, the University of [placename], the University of [placename], *UCB*, the *Berkeley School*, and the [year] meetings of the [name of association] Association and the [name of association] Association" (B-Adm3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nouns and institutions. Combinations of nouns and names of institutions are not very frequent, but more frequent than combinations of names and names of institutions. The benefactor units that contain them are typically noun groups and prepositional groups, or noun groups with embedded prepositional groups, occasionally including adjectival pre-modification; juxtaposed structures are also instantiated.

Nouns and institutions: one benefactor. The patterns and examples below show that nouns and names of institutions may occur as part of co-ordinated, adpositional structures, or alternatively that they can combine to form internally elaborate noun or prepositional groups. Examples:

- Adv Art N ++ Art Inst

(950) "As an institution, the *Berkeley Library*" (Engl3);

- ^Quant Art N*/ ^Prep Adj Conj Adj N* __ ^Prep Art N*/ ^Prep Art Inst*/ ^Prep Art Inst Prep Inst*/ ^Prep Art Inst Conj Inst N-N Prep Place*/ ^Conj Inst N-N Prep Place*

(951) "from past and present participants of the *Berkeleyan* lab" (P-Bio5);

- Prep Art Inst (N) (++ Poss N ++ Conj Art N F ++ F ++ Conj N)

(952) "for [sic] the Berkeley *Berkeleyan Lab* staff" (EECS5).

Nouns and institutions: two benefactors. As the patterns and examples below show, when nouns and names of institutions are used to mention two benefactors, the former

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

serve to identify people that belong to, or that benefit from the services provided by, the institutions themselves:

- ^Art N Prep Art Inst Prep Place*/ ^Prep Art Adj Conj Adj N Prep Art Inst*/ ^Art N Prep Art Inst [++ (Art) Inst (Prep Place)]*/ ^Art Place ++ Place Inst*/ __ ^Conj Inst Prep Inst*/ ^Conj Inst N-N Prep Place*/ ^Adv Art Prep Inst Prep Place*/ ^Conj Inst Rel-pr V N Prep Adj N-N*

(953) "with the supportive and collaborative individuals in the *UCB* and *CBI* research groups at Berkeley" (Edu3);

(954) "the *California*, *Berkeley* School Districts and County Offices of Education that provide services to disabled preschool students" (Edu4).

Names, institutions, and nouns. The final main group of benefactor units consists of text segments that include all three main types of lexical resources, namely names, names of institutions, and common nouns. Given that they contain multiple units of information, they are structurally elaborate. However, they are not very frequent in the corpus. Examples:

Names, institutions, and nouns: one benefactor. In this sub-group, nouns mostly specify the professional role played by people belonging to given institutions. Examples:

- ^F L*/ ^N F L* ... __ ^Adv Art N-N Prep Art Inst*/ ^Adv Poss Adj N-N Prep Inst, Place*/ ^Prep Art Inst ++ Inst*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(955) "Professor *John Brown* … as my first research advisor at the University of California, Berkeley" (EECS2);

(956) "*Mary Smith* of the University of California, Department of *Euphoric Studies*" (Edu4);

- Prep Inst's Adj N ++ F L

(957) "of *UCB*'s Academic vice-chancellor, *Bruce Oden*" (Arch2).

Names, institutions, and nouns: two benefactors. This group is made up of only two benefactor units. In these, nouns refer to collaborators of benefactors specifically identified through their names:

- F L __ Conj __ N Prep (Art) Inst

(958) "*Jane Osborne* and colleagues with the *Berkeley* Unified School District" (Edu4).

Names, institutions, and nouns: three benefactors. This is a more numerous sub-group. In it nouns can serve to generically label given institutions (e.g., through *lab, library*) or benefactors working for them (e.g., through *staff, member*). They can be qualified by adjectives, occasionally functioning as adpositions. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^Adj Inst N [...]*/ ^Quant Art N Prep Poss N-N*/ ^Prep Poss N Prep Art Inst*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Art Inst ++ Conj Adv Adj Conj Adj* __ [^F L*/ ^F M L ++ N F L*/ ^++ N F L*] __ (++) ^Conj F L*/ ^Conj N F M L*/ ^Conj N F L*

(959) "other *CBI* researchers [...] *John-Willis Brown*, Dr. *Mark Morrison*, and Dr. *Bruce Oden*" (EECS2);

(960) "to my colleagues at the *Berkeleyan* lab, *John Brown*, *Mary Turner-Smith*, *Jane Osborne* and *Shelly Long*" (P-Bio1);

- ^Art N ++ F M L*/ ^Prep F L* __ ^++ F L*/ ^++ Art Adj N-N Prep Art Inst* __ ^++ Prep Art N Prep Art Inst Prep Place*/ ^++ Conj Art Prep Inst ++ Inst ++ Inst ++ Inst ++ Inst ++ Conj Inst*

(961) "to *John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, ... and the staffs of the Bancroft, *Berkeleyan*, [name of library], [name of library], [name of library], and [name of library] Libraries" (Engl3);

- ^FL*/ ^Prep Art Inst ++ Place* __^++ F L*/ ^++ Art Inst* __ ^F L*/ ^++ Art Inst* __ ^++ Conj ++ Adv ++ Poss N ++ F Conj F L*/ ^Conj Art N Prep Art Adj Adj N Prep Art Inst*

(962) "*John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, *Bruce Oden*, and the rest of the exemplary administrative staff at the Berkeley *Euphoric Studies Department*" (Phil2);

- Prep F L Prep Art Inst ++ Place ++ F L ++ Art N Prep Art Inst ++ F M L ++ F L Conj F L Prep Inst ++ F-in M-in L Conj F L Prep Inst ++ F L Conj F L Prep Art Inst ++ F L ++

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F M L ++ F-in M-in L ++ Conj Art N Prep Art L N Prep Place ++ Adv F L ++ F L Conj F L

(963) "of *John Brown* of the *Central Berkeley Institute, Berkeley*; *Mark Morrison*, the Commissioner of the *National Berkeley Foundation*; *Bruce Roger Oden*, *Alan Brown* and *Philip Morrison* of *CBI* Ltd.; *J. A. Brown* and *Mark Morrison* of *CBI* Ltd.; *Ellen Osborne* and *Shelly Long* of the *Central Berkeley Institute*; *Alan Brown*, *Bruce Russell Oden*, *J. H. Osborne*, and the members of the *Smith* family of *Berkeley*, especially *Jane Smith*, *John Smith* and *Lisa Smith*" (Arch4).

The above patterns and exemplification of core benefactor units show that the identification of benefactors in the PhDASs is both lexically and structurally elaborate: proper names and common nouns that serve to identify individuals, groups, and institutions are used as part of noun groups, prepositional groups, verb groups, and clauses to enable the reader to identify benefactors. Such basic lexical resources are often used in combinations (most typically names of individuals and nouns) characterized by juxtaposition. Benefactor-identifying nouns are sometimes accompanied by pre-modification (in the form of attributive adjectives) and/or post-modification (in the form of embedded prepositional groups), which increases their informativity. The words and word combinations available to refer to benefactors thus appear to be structurally flexible enough to allow PhDAS writers to variously define their benefactors.

Benefactor expansion units.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The encoding of benefactor expansion units differs from that of core benefactor units in the sense that it appears to be more fragmented: every encoding pattern is instantiated only by one or a few text segments; the only exceptions are the 'verb group' and 'clause' patterns, which are realized in a higher number of benefactor expansion units. Given also that there are fewer benefactor expansion units than core benefactor units, there seems to be more variety in the encoding of the former than the latter.

From a semantic point of view, the benefactor expansion units refer to characteristics and/or accomplishments of the benefactors or identify their roles and/or role-relationships with the thankers in a more global perspective. From a structural point of view, they can be realized as adjectival groups, noun groups, prepositional groups, adverbial adjuncts, verb groups, and clauses (in the last two cases, relational verbs are quite frequent). No distinction is made between text units relevant to single vs. multiple benefactors, as they all constitute unified conceptual constructs (i.e., there are no multiple-benefactor expansions that comment on each of the various benefactors separately from the others).

Adjectival group. The only instance occurs as an adposition after the subject complement:

- Adj ++ Adj ++ Adj ++ Adj

(964) "patient, persistent, encouraging, exacting" (Edu2).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Noun groups. The nouns in this group contribute to characterizing the benefactors, either because they specify their professional roles or because they mention one or more of their characteristics; they may be qualified by adjectival pre-modification:

- ^Art Adj Adj N*/ ^Poss N*/ ^Art N Prep Poss Adj N ++ … Poss Adj N-N Conj Adj N-N*

(965) "a true organic intellectual" (Edu1);

(966) "their enthusiasm" (Edu3);

(967) "the wealth of his technical knowledge, … his profound business insights and superior management skills" (EECS2).

Prepositional groups. The two expansions in this group mention benefactors' qualities and accomplishments, pre-modified by possessive and adjectives:

- ^Prep Poss Adj Adj N Conj N*/ ^Prep Poss Adv Adj N Conj Prep Poss Adj N Prep L*

(968) "to your enduring inner strength and beauty" (Edu1);

(969) "by their truly extraordinary dedication and by their incisive readings of Spinoza" (Phil5).

Adverbial adjuncts. These expansions function as mini-introductions to core benefit and/or benefactor units; they specify the roles played by the benefactors that had a bearing on the benefits experienced by the thankers:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^Adv Adj N*/ ^Conj Adv Art N*/ ^Adv Pron Rel-pr Adj N V-link Adj Prep Poss-Poss N*/ ^Conj Neg Adv Art N Prep Poss N*/ ^Pron-p Adv Art Adj N Prep L*

(970) "as Associate Dean" (Arch5);

(971) "but as an ideal" (Engl3);

(972) "as someone whose major field is different from my own discipline" (Arch5);

(973) "although not *de jure* a member of my committee" (Phil1; original emphasis);

(974) "He as a former student of *Brown*" (Arch2).

Verb groups. These benefactor expansion units realize the rhemes of clauses whose themes identify benefactors. They consist of linking verbs followed by nouns and/or adjectives that describe positive qualities of the benefactors:

- ^V-link (Adv) Adj*/ ^V-link Adv Adv Adj To-inf Adv*/ ^V-link Art Adj N*/ ^V-link Adv Art Adj N*/ ^V-link Quant Prep Dem N To-inf V-pp Adv*/ ^Aux V-link Art Adj N To-inf Prep*

(975) "is indefatigable" (Engl4);

(976) "was so kind" (Arch2);

(977) "was always very pleasant to be around" (EECS1);

(978) "is an invaluable friend" (Arch2);

(979) "was one of these persons to be remembered forever." (Arch2);

(980) "has been a true delight to study with" (Edu4).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clauses: incomplete clauses. Benefactor expansion units can be encoded as mini-messages that describe whole events or situations, that is, clauses. Two such clauses do not appear to express "complete" messages in the sense that they function very much like adverbial adjuncts or adpositions: they post-modify noun groups identifying benefactors and mention those benefactors' characteristics. However, they are realized as (incomplete) clauses: one of them contains a linking verb, in a non-finite form, which is preceded and followed by noun groups; the other is interpretable as the reduced form of a relative clause, in which the relative pronoun and auxiliary have been deleted. Both are subordinate to main clauses occurring before in the text:

- ^Art N-N V-link-ing ... ++ Pron-p ++ Adj Prep Art N*/ ^V-pp Prep N Prep N*

(981) "the "pecking order" being: ... [Me, fourth from the bottom]," (Engl5);

(982) "listed in order of appearance" (Stat1).

Clauses: relative clauses. Another group of clausal benefactor expansion units are realized as non-restrictive relative clauses. They report on acts performed by given benefactors or make reference to some of their qualities:

- (++) ^Rel-pr V*/ ^Rel-pr Adv V*/ ^Rel-pr Aux V* __ ^N*/ ^Art N ++ Name*/ ^Adv Art Adj N Prep Adj Conj N Conj N*/ ^N Prep N* __ ^Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Prep Art Adj Inst* __ ^Adv N V Adv*/ ^Prep Adv Art Adj N Adv Pron-p Aux*/ ^To-inf V Pron-p Pron*

(983) "who coined the term "Dissertators Anonymous" (Arch4);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(984) "(who always strikes just the right balance between wry wit and earnestness)," (Engl3);

(985) "who saw promise in my academic abilities where others saw none" (Edu4);

(986) "(who claims to have taught me nothing)" (Engl3);

- ^Rel-pr*/ ^Neg Quant Prep Rel-pr* __ V-link __ (Num Prep Art Adj Conj Adj N) __ ^Prep Art N Prep N-N*/ ^ Prep Art N* __ (++ Quant Adv N Prep Adj N)

(987) "which are two of the most dynamic and stimulating environments in the field of plant biology" (P-Bio3);

(988) "not all of whom are in the academy, much less part of eighteenth-century studies" (Engl3).

Clauses: single clauses. Benefactor expansion units may also be realized as "independent" messages, that is, as co-ordinated clauses part of larger sentences or as one-clause sentences. Most of these single clauses start with pronouns followed by linking verbs, which are followed by noun groups, optionally modified by adjectives, describing the roles played or the characteristics exhibited by given benefactors. Only two describe benefactors through verbs other than *to be*, not followed by any nouns. Finally, one reports on an act the beneficiary decides not to carry out:

- ^Pron-p*/ ^Conj Pron-p*/ ^Poss N* __ ^V-link Adv*/ ^(Aux) V-link* __ ^Art N*/ ^Art N Conj N*/ ^Adv N Adv Adj N*/ ^Adj ++ Adj N*/ ^Art Adj ++ Art ++ Conj Adj N*/ ^Adv Adj Adv Poss N* __ (^Prep Art N*/ ^Prep Art Quant N Rel-pr Pron-p V Prep

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pron-p*/ ^Prep Poss N-N Prep Place*/ ^Prep Art Adj N Prep Poss N-N Prep Poss N Prep Art N*

(989) "and he has become a friend and mentor over the seven years that I studied with him" (Edu4);

(990) "He has been a friend throughout my graduate education at Berkeley" (Edu4);

(991) "they were often more friends than authoritative figures" (EECS1);

(992) "She has remained a committed, generous, and involved mentor from the early stages of my graduate study through my introduction into the profession." (Engl4);

(993) "They have become bright, capable women in the process" (Edu2);

(994) "His writings are as challenging as his lectures" (Arch2);

- ^Pron-p*/ ^Quant N* __ V

(995) "you rule!" (Edu1);

(996) "some people stand out" (Stat1);

- Pron-p Aux Neg V Poss N Adv

(997) "I will not list your names here" (EECS1).

Clauses: multiple clauses. Limited are the instances of multiple clauses that encode benefactor expansion units. They express the writers' opinions on the benefactors'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

multiple positive qualities; two of them also refer to circumstances in which the benefactors acted or might act:

- ^Pron-p V-link Poss N ...*/ ^Pron-p V-link Poss N Prep N Conj Poss N Prep N ++*___ ^Pron-p V-link Art N-N*/ ^Pron-p V-link Art Adj Adj N*

(998) "you are my hero ... You are the prize girl!" (Edu1);

(999) "You are my advisor on paper and my mentor in life. You are a dear dear friend" (Edu1);

- N V-link Adj To-inf Adv Pron-p V Art N To-inf Adv Quant Prep Poss N Adv Pron-p Aux ... Pron-p Aux Adv Adv V Art N Prep N Prep Pron-p

(1,000) "It is hard to imagine how she has the time to do as much for her students as she does, ... She will certainly always remain a model of pedagogy for me." (Engl4);

- Quant Prep Rel-pr Pron-p Aux Adv V ++ Pron-p Adv V Art Adj Adj N

(1,001) "most of whom I shall never meet. We too constitute an irrational public sphere" (Engl3).

In conclusion, the encoding of benefactor expansion units, like that of core benefactor units, is varied and flexible, both lexically and syntactically. These functional sub-units may consist of noun or verb groups that are part of larger (clausal) messages or they can be less rigidly linked to the syntactic organization of the AMs as organic units

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(i.e., they can be autonomous, parenthetical units severable from the rest of the text). Because they are realized mostly as parts of clauses or as single clauses, they reveal a moderate level of internal elaboration; this is typically apparent in the adjectival modification of nouns. When the benefactor expansion units are realized as verb groups or clauses, they tend to include linking verbs in their patterns, which are suitable for introducing mini-descriptions of the benefactors' characteristics (through nouns and adjectives), rather than accomplishments. Only occasionally are the benefactors' *actions* actually reported. The most prominent components of such text units are the nouns and the adjectives, which enable the authors to favorably identify and comment on the benefactors' positive qualities.

4.11.3. Mini-grammar of benefit (expansion) units

The encoding of benefit (expansion) units in the corpus is similar to that of benefactor (expansion units): these can be realized as noun groups, prepositional groups or verb groups; alternatively, they can constitute the first (i.e., subject + predicate) part of clauses; finally, they can consist of whole clauses. These syntactic structures may also occur more than once in given benefit (expansion) units if reference is being made to more than one benefit (or beneficial circumstance).

The main types of structures employed to encode benefit (expansion) units may in turn be characterized by variable forms of internal expansions; in addition, their lexical realization is quite varied. Given the great variety of encoding options instantiated in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

corpus (greater than that of benefactor (expansion) units), in this section I "only" include the patterns of the text units relevant to one, two or three benefits or beneficial circumstances, thus disregarding the minority relevant to four or more benefits or beneficial circumstances. First, I give a general description of the encoding features common to the majority of them. Then I list them, by dividing them into groups (on the basis of their content) and sub-groups (on the basis of their structural similarities); that is, I make a distinction between those mentioning one vs. two vs. three benefits (or beneficial circumstances),[65] and then I make sub-distinctions with regard to the syntactic means through which benefits (or beneficial circumstances) are expressed (e.g., noun groups vs. clauses). Finally, I list the specific encoding features of the various patterns, and exemplify a sub-set of their lexico-syntactic formulas. To categorize the linguistic resources employed in the various text segments, I use the labels listed in sections 4.11. and 4.11.2..

Benefit units.

Single benefits can be identified in a variety of ways: through noun groups, prepositional groups, verb groups, parts of clauses, whole clauses or combinations of these resources.

[65] To identify the number of benefits (or beneficial circumstances) being referred to in a given text unit, I count the number of the "main" components included in the unit itself that denote entities, circumstances or events classifiable as beneficial (e.g., nouns in noun groups and prepositional groups, verbs in verb groups, non-embedded clauses in clause complexes) and consider whether they make reference to the same or different benefits (or beneficial circumstances). Pre- or post-modification, whether in the form of embedding or subordination, is thus not enough for the identification of new benefits (or beneficial circumstances). Main clauses introducing declaratives and having a modalizing function (e.g., *I think that*) count as a form of pre-modification. Examples: "(for) her (constant and) generous) support(, which kept me going)" indicates one benefit; "gave me her love and her support" counts as the expression of one benefit; "have helped me to conclude and put up with my foul mood" counts as an expression of two benefits; "they supported me, encouraged me, and helped me keep my sanity" encodes three benefits.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the text units realized as noun groups or prepositional groups, the main nouns are often pre-modified by adjectives; some of these help narrow down the referents of the nouns; others, instead, serve to qualify them. They can also co-occur with articles, possessives, relative pronouns, demonstratives and/or quantifiers, which can be variously combined (especially frequent are the combinations of articles or possessive with adjectives). Post-modification is also instantiated, especially in prepositional groups; it is realized in the form of embedded prepositional groups, with their own modifications, and, much less frequently, in the form of relative clauses with optional adjectival adpositions. In prepositional groups, prepositions may be followed not only by nouns, but also by verbs in the *V-ing* form; linking verbs may be followed by nouns, adjectives of adverbs; non-linking verbs, which are more frequent, are typically followed by noun groups.

When realized as verb groups, benefit units may include linking verbs followed by adjectival or noun groups, or non-linking verbs followed by noun groups and/or prepositional groups (the latter optionally embedded under the former) or by non-finite clauses.

Clauses, too, can encode benefits, and can be of various types: infinitival, relative, full clauses (with either linking or non-linking verbs) or incomplete clauses (i.e., whose post-verbal complementation is part of another functional component of the AM).

Combinations of clauses or of other encoding options are attested, but not frequent.

Benefit units relevant to multiple benefits are basically realized in the same ways as those making reference to single benefits. There are only two main differences: the encoding options are instantiated twice or three times (i.e., as many are the referents

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

being identified), and combinations of encoding options of different types are much more frequent.

The relevant patterns and examples follow.

Benefit units relevant to single benefits.

One-benefit units: noun groups:

- ^(Adj) N* / ^Adj Adj N*/ ^Adj N ... ++ N-N Num ++*/ ^Art (Adj ++ Adj) N*/ ^Poss Adj N*/ ^Rel-pr (Adj) N*/ ^Rel-pr Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^Art N Prep N V-pp*/ ^N Prep L Conj Adj N*/ ^Pron Pron-p Aux V-pp ... Prep Art N Prep N ++ Art N Prep N ++ Conj Art N Prep Adj N*/ ^N Prep Art Adj N Conj N*

(1,002) "friendship" (Arch2);

(1,003) "Generous material support" (Engl3);

(1,004) "your abiding presence" (Edu1);

(1,005) "whose philosophical and philological comments" (Phil1);

(1,006) "the hours of enjoyment shared" (Edu3).

One-benefit units: prepositional groups: prepositions followed by nouns:

- Prep __ ^(Art) N*/ ^Prep (Art Adj) Adj N*/ ^Art Adj N Rel-pr Pron-p Adv V Prep Pron-p*/ ^Art Adj N V-pp*/ ^Prep Art ... Inst N*/ ^Art N ++ Conj Adj Conj Adv ++ Pron-p Aux V Pron-p*/ ^N Prep V-ing N-N Prep Dem N*/ ^Art N ++ V-ing N Pron-p Aux V Prep Poss N*/ ^N Prep V-ing N Rel-p V Adj N-N-N*/ ^Prep N Quant Dem N*/ ^Prep Poss (Quant (Adj)) N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N Prep

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Dem) N*/ ^Poss N Prep Adj N*/ ^Poss N Prep Art (Place) N*/ ^Poss N Prep Poss N(-N)*/ ^Pron + Conj Adj __ Conj Adj*/ ^Prep Quant Poss N*/ ^Quant Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Quant Prep Poss N Prep Adj N*/ ^Rel-pr (N)*

(1,007) "by grants" (P-Bio4);

(1,008) "without whose generosity" (Engl4);

(1,009) "in return for all this help" (Phil1);

(1,010) "for the financial support provided" (Arch3);

(1,011) "for assistance in recruiting comparison families for this project." (Edu4);

(1,012) "for the long hours which I thoroughly enjoyed with them" (P-Bio5);

(1,012) "for the support — intellectual and otherwise — she has given me" (Phil5).

<u>One-benefit units: prepositional groups: prepositions followed by verbs in the *V-ing* form: linking verbs</u>:

- Prep __ ^(Adv) V-link-ing* __ ^0*/ ^Adv Prep Pron-p*/ ^Art Adj N-N-N*/ ^Adj Prep Art N*/ ^Adj To-inf Art N*

(1,013) "for being there for me" (P-Bio3);

(1,014) "for being a great thesis committee member" (P-Bio4);

(1,015) "for always being willing to lend an ear" (P-Bio4).

<u>One-benefit units: prepositional groups: prepositions followed by verbs in the *V-ing* form: non-linking verbs</u>:

- Prep __ ^(Adv) V-ing* __ ^Adj N Conj N Prep Inst N*/ ^Art Adj N (Prep N To-inf Quant N)*/ ^Art N-N Prep Art N*/ ^Dem Adj N Prep Place Art Adj N Prep Poss N*/

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

^Dem N*/ ^Dem N-N Prep Art Adv Adv Adj Conj Adj N Prep N*/ ^N Prep Prep Poss N Conj N-N*/ ^Poss Adv Adj ++ Conj Adv Adj ++ N*/ ^Poss ++ Adj N ++*/ ^Poss N Adv Adv Adj*/ ^Poss N Conj Poss N*/ ^Poss N Prep N Conj V-ing*/ ^Poss V-ing Art Place Art Adv Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss N ++ Adj N Conj Adj N Prep ++V-ing Adv++*/ ^Pron-p*/ ^Pron-p Prep Art N Conj Art N Prep N-N V Neg To-inf Adj N ++ Conj Adv To-inf Adj N Prep V-ing*/ ^Pron-p Prep Art N Prep N-N*/ ^V Pron-p Prep Poss N*/ ^Pron-p To-inf Prep Place Adv Pron-p V*/ ^Pron-p V Adj-cp Conj Pron-p V*

(1,016) "for always having encouraged me in my studies" (Stat1);

(1,017) "for saving my hands and my mind" (Edu1);

(1,018) "for listening to my musings, rhetorical questions and other types of 'thinking aloud'." (Stat3);

(1,019) "for accepting a softball novice into the fold" (Stat3);

(1,020) "for introducing me to the world of vision science" (EECS2);

(1,021) "for creating an interesting place for hybrids to spend some time" (Edu3);

(1,022) "for making this last year in Berkeley a wonderful time in my life" (P-Bio3);

(1,023) "for teaching me from the onset that the purpose of graduate school was not to impart expert answers, but rather to teach expert ways of questioning" (Edu2).

<u>One-benefit units: verb groups: linking verbs, typically followed by adjectives (or adjectival groups)</u>:

- Pron-p Adv __ ^(Aux) V-link* __ ^0*/ ^(Adv) Adj*/ ^Adj Prep Dem N*/ ^Adj Prep Poss N Prep Dem N*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,024) "is inspiring" (EECS2);

(1,025) "has been unceasingly generous" (Stat4);

(1,026) "have been unwavering in their support for this endeavor" (Edu2).

<u>One-benefit units: verb groups: linking verbs followed by noun (group)s</u>:

- (Aux) V-link __ ^Art Adj N (Prep Poss Adj N)*/ ^Adv Art N Prep N Pron Adv N Prep N*/ ^Art N Prep Art N-N Conj Art N ++ Adj ++ Adj ++ Adj ++ Adj*/ ^Prep Pron-p Art Adj Conj Adj N*

(1,027) "were an unfailing support" (Engl1);

(1,028) "was an early supporter of my academic career" (Edu4).

<u>One-benefit units: verb groups: non-linking verbs followed by noun (group)s (pronouns, nouns, nouns with pre-modification)</u>:

- ^Adv V*/ ^(Aux) V*/ ^Aux V-pp* __ ^Pron-p*/ ^(Art) N*/ ^Adj (Adj) N*/ ^Prep Adj N*/ ^Poss N (Conj N)*/ ^Art Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^Quant N V-ing Conj V-ing Poss N Prep Pron-p*

(1,029) "have encouraged me" (Arch4);

(1,030) "provided financial assistance" (Phil1);

(1,031) "challenged my ideas" (Edu5);

(1,032) "have created a warm and exciting environment" (Stat2).

<u>One-benefit units: verb groups: non-linking verbs followed by prepositional groups</u>:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- (Aux Quant) V* __ Prep __ ^Art N (Prep N)*/ ^Dem N*/ ^Adv Quant N*/ ^Art Adj N Pron-p V V-ing Conj Poss Adj Adj N-N*/ ^N-N ++ V-ing ++ Conj N-N*

(1,033) "helped with the drawings" (Arch4);

(1,034) "contributed to this research" (Edu3).

<u>One-benefit units: verb groups: non-linking verbs followed by noun groups and prepositional groups</u>:

- ^Adv V*/ ^(Aux) V*/ ^Aux V-pp* __ ^Adj N Prep Adj N Prep Dem N*/ ^Adj N Prep Art N*/ ^Adj N Prep Poss N (Conj Art Adj N)*/ ^Adj N Prep Pron-p Prep V-ing Dem N*/ ^Art V-ing Prep Art Adj Num N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^N Prep Adj N-V-ing*/ ^(Poss) Adj N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Poss N Prep N Conj N Prep Quant N Prep N*/ ^Poss V-ing N Adv Adj*/ ^N Prep Art Adj N Prep N*/ ^Pron-p Prep Art V-ing Prep Dem N*/ ^Pron-p Prep Prep N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Pron-p Adj Adj N*/ ^Pron-p V Prep N*/ ^Pron-p Quant Adj*/ ^Pron-p Prep N ++ N ++ Conj Art N To-inf*/ ^Pron-p Art N To-inf N Prep Art N Prep Pron-p Conj To-inf Prep Poss N*/ ^... Quant Prep Art N Conj N*

(1,035) "opened doors to the intriguing study of organizations" (Edu2);

(1,036) "shared weekly dinners with me" (Engl4);

(1,037) "have made valuable comments on my work" (Stat4);

(1,038) "have given me ample intellectual community" (Engl3);

(1,039) "have made my working environment very enjoyable" (EECS1).

<u>One-benefit units: verb groups followed by non-finite clauses</u>:

- V Pron-p To-inf (Prep Art N-N)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,040) "helped me to conclude" (Arch2);

(1,041) "helped me to survive in the graduate program" (P-Bio3).

<u>One-benefit units: single clauses: infinitival clauses</u>:

- ^To-inf*/ ^To-inf Poss N*/ ^To-inf Adj To-inf*/ ^Rel-pr ... To-inf Prep*

(1,042) "to be my mentor" (EECS);

(1,043) "to be able to work" (P-Bio3).

<u>One-benefit units: single clauses: relative clauses in which verbs are followed by noun groups</u>:

- Rel-pr __ ^V*/ ^Aux (Adv) V* __ ^Poss N*/ ^Art N V-pp N*/ ^Adj-cp N*/ ^Art Adj Adj N* / ^Art N Adj N*/ ^Pron-p (Adv)*/ ^Rel-pr V Art N Conj N*

(1,044) "who provided the EMS-mutagenized population" (P-Bio3);

(1,045) "which values higher education" (Engl3);

(1,046) "who donated their time" (Edu4).

<u>One-benefit units: single clauses: relative clauses in which verbs are followed by noun groups followed by (embedded) prepositional expansions or accompanied by subordinate minor clauses</u>:

- (Conj) Rel-pr __ ^Aux V-ing*/ ^(Adv) V*/ ^Pron-p Aux V*__ ^Art N*/ ^Poss V-ing*/ ^Pron-p*/ ^Poss (Adj Conj Adj) N*/ ^Poss N Prep Conj N Prep Adj-N N*/ ^Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep V-ing Adj N (Prep Pron-p)*/ ^Prep Art N To-inf Poss N-N*/ ^Prep Art N Prep

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

N Conj N*/ ^Pron-p Prep Place Conj Place*/ ^Quant Adj N*/ ^V-ing Prep Pron-p Prep Art Place*/ ^V-ing Prep Adv Quant*

(1,047) "who engaged the ideas of this dissertation" (Engl4);

(1,048) "and who enriched my understanding of parenting young children" (Edu4);

(1,049) "who shared his enthusiasm towards investigating new ideas with me." (B-Adm1);

(1,050) "who I have enjoyed working with very much" (P-Bio4).

<u>One-benefit units: single clauses: relative clauses in which verbs are followed by prepositional groups</u>:

- Rel-pr __ (Aux) V __ ^Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep Poss N Adv Art N ++ N ++ Conj N*/ ^Rel-pr Adv V Prep Art N Conj N*

(1,051) "whom [sic] have contributed to my development as a student, scholar, and person" (EECS3).

<u>One-benefit units: single clauses: relative clauses followed by non-finite clause expansions</u>:

- Rel-pr __ (Aux) V Pron-p __ ^V Dem N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^V Pron-p To-inf Dem N*/ ^V Art N-N V-pp N*/ ^To-inf Prep Art Adj N Conj N*/ ^... To-inf Prep Prep N Rel-pr V*/ ^To-inf L's N*/ ^V-ing*/ ^Rel-pr V Pron-p To-inf Conj V Art N Prep Poss N*

(1,052) "who helped me set myself to finish this endeavor." (Arch2);

(1,053) "who has taught me ... to stand up for things that matter" (EECS5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,054) "who kept me smiling" (Engl1).

One-benefit units: single clauses: incomplete clauses (i.e., noun groups followed by non-linking verb groups not accompanied by other noun groups or prepositional groups):

- ^Pron-p*/ ^Poss (Adj Adj) N*/ ^Quant Prep Art Adj N Prep Art N*/ ^V-ing Prep Dem N* __ ^V*/ ^Aux Adv V Adv*/ ^Aux V*/ ^(Aux) Aux V-pp*/ ^Aux Adv V-pp*

(1,055) "My work has benefited" (Phil2);

(1,056) "Some of the early ideas of the project were shaped" (Arch4);

(1,057) "I have been cheered" (Engl3);

(1,058) "Funding for this paper was generously provided" (B-Adm5).

One-benefit units: single clauses: clauses with linking verbs:

- ^Poss N*/ ^Pron-p*/ ^V-ing Pron-p* __ V-link __ ^Adv Adj (To-inf Poss N)*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Art Adj N Rel-pr V Prep Pron-p*/ ^Adj Prep Quant Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^V Pron-p Neg Prep Art Adj N Conj Art N*/ ^Pron-P V Art Adj To-inf Pron-p N Prep N Conj To-inf Pron-p Prep N's N*

(1,059) "He was always accessible to help my family" (Arch2);

(1,060) "Meeting him was the best thing that happened to me" (P-Bio2);

(1,061) "it remains present in all of my scholarly endeavors" (Engl3).

One-benefit units: single clauses: complete clauses: clauses containing non-linking verbs:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Pron-p __ (Aux) V __ ^Quant (Adj N)*/ ^Adv Prep Pron-p*/ ^Adv Art Adj N* / ^Art N Prep V-ing Adv Quant Adv Adj Neg Adv Art N Prep N ++ Conj Adv ++ Conj Adv Adv ++ Art N*/ ^Adj N Aux V ... Prep N Num ++ ... N Prep N Num ... N Num*/ ^Quant Prep Pron-p Aux V Art Adj N Prep Adj N Adj N*

(1,062) "I have made many special friends" (EECS1);

(1,063) "I learned the importance of deliberating as much as possible not only the coincidences in ideas, but also, and most importantly, the differences" (Arch2).

<u>One-benefit units: multiple clauses</u>:

- Pron Pron-p Aux V-pp To-inf Aux V-pp ++ Pron-p Mod Adv V Poss ++ N ++

(1,064) "Something I was supposed to know was revealed: I should also question my "certainties" (Arch2).

<u>One-benefit units: combinations of encoding options</u>:

- ^Prep V-ing Art N Prep Art N*/ ^Prep V-ing Pron-p Art N To-inf Prep Place Prep Quant Art N*/ ^Poss Adj-sp N V-link* __ ^++ Adv Art N V*/ ^++ Dem N*/ ^... Rel-pr V Pron-p Quant Adj*

(1,065) "for giving me the opportunity to live in Lausanne for half a year. This experience" (EECS1);

(1,066) "my biggest debt is ... who made it all possible" (Arch4).

<u>Benefit units relevant to two benefits</u>.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Two-benefit units: noun groups:[66]

- ^Rel-pr N*/ ^Conj Rel-pr Adj N*/ ^Poss N (Prep Dem N ...)*/ ^Art N To-inf Dem N*/ ^Quant Prep Poss N*

__ ^Conj*/ ^++*/ ^++ Conj*

__ ^(Poss (Adj)) N*/ ^N Prep Art N Prep N Pron-p Aux V-ing To-inf Poss N*/ ^Prep Quant Adj N*

(1,067) "Their comments on this project [...]; their scholarly works" (Engl1);

(1,068) "the opportunity to do this work, along with many useful contributions" (Arch3);

(1,069) "all of their help and kindness" (P-Bio2).

Two-benefit units: prepositional groups: prepositions followed by noun (group)s:

- ^Prep Art N*/ ^Prep (Art) Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss (Adj) N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N-V-ing*/ ^Prep Poss Adj Conj Adj Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss Adv Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss N Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N Prep N*/ ^Prep Quant (Poss Adj) N*/ ^Prep Quant N-V-ing N*

__ Conj

__ ^(Adj) N*/ ^Prep (Poss) N*/ ^N ++ Conj Adj Conj Adj*/ ^N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Poss Adj N Prep Art N*/ ^Poss N Prep Poss Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^N Prep Det N Prep N Adj Conj Adv*

(1,070) "for invaluable guidance and suggestions." (B-Adm4);

(1,071) "of the insightful conversations and relaxing times" (Edu3);

(1,072) "for many comments and feedback" (EECS2);

[66] Here and elsewhere, to make it easier to visually identify the main components of multiple-benefit units (especially when the encoding options are numerous), the patterns of the second and subsequent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,073) "without the support and contributions" (Edu5);

(1,074) "for all his valuable advice and support, both academic and personal" (Arch1);

(1,075) "for their encouragement and good spirits" (Stat1).

Two-benefit units: prepositional groups: prepositions followed by noun (group)s and verbs in the *V-ing* form:

- ^Prep Poss N ...*/ ^Prep Adv V-ing Art N Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep V-ing Adj ... */ ^Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss N Prep V-ing N Prep Poss N ...*/ ^Prep Quant Art N*/ ^Prep Adj N Prep N*

__ ^Conj*/ ^++ Conj*

__ ^0*/ (Conj) Prep*/

__ *V-ing Quant Adj N Prep Pron-p To-inf Prep*/ ^Poss N Prep V-ing Pron-p Prep Name ++ Art Adj N Prep Dem N*/ ^Poss Adj N Prep Conj Adj N Conj N V-ing*/ ^V-ing Prep Prep Pron-p Art Adj N Prep Inst*/ ^V-ing Art N Art Adj N To-inf*/ ^V-ing Pron-p Conj Adv V Det N Prep Pron Pron-p Mod V-link*/ ^V-ing To-inf Conj Pron-p V To-inf Num N Prep Poss N V-ing N's N Prep Adv Adv N V*

(1,076) "for all the encouragement and for teaching me that there were no limits to what I could be" (P-Bio1);

---

components are shown on new, indented lines.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,077) "for countless hours of community and for pretending to understand why I needed to spend five years of my life studying kid's [sic] ideas about how far light goes" (Edu3);

(1,078) "for carefully reviewing the draft of this dissertation, and for his invaluable comments on both technical contents and English writing" (EECS3).

Two-benefit units: prepositional groups: prepositions followed by verbs in the *V-ing* form:

- Prep V(-link)-ing

__ ^0*/ ^Art Adj Adj N Pron-p V*/ ^(Art Adj) N*/ ^Art N V-pp Prep N Num*/ ^Pron-p (Prep Art Adj N Prep N)*/ ^Pron-p Prep Dem N*/ ^Pron-p Art N Prep N*/ ^Quant Adj N Conj Adj N Prep Art N*

__ ^Conj* /^Conj Adv*/ ^++*

__ ^V-ing Poss N-N*/ ^V-ing Poss Pron To-inf Pron-p Adv*/ ^V-ing Prep Adj N Prep Art N V-pp Prep Dem N*/ ^V-ing Pron-p To-inf Pron-p Conj Poss N Prep Art N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Prep Adv V-ing Poss Adj N*/ ^Prep V-ing Adv Adv Prep Pron*/ ^Prep V-ing Adv Dem Adj N Adv Adv Conj*/ ^Prep V-ing Conj To-inf Pron-p (To-)inf Pron-p*/ ^Prep V-ing Poss N Adj*/ ^Prep V-ing Poss N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Prep V-ing Pron-p V Poss N*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,079) "for reading and commenting on numerous versions of the papers included in this dissertation" (B-Adm3);

(1,080) "for being the unique human being she is and for waiting relatively patiently for me" (Stat1);

(1,081) "for being a great friend and for passing along that first computer way back when" (Edu3);

(1,082) "for bringing many new ideas and new enthusiasm to the project and for keeping my life interesting" (EECS5).

Two-benefit units: verb groups:

- ^Adv V Prep Pron-p Art N Prep V-ing Prep Art N*/ ^Adv V Dem N*/ ^Adv V Pron-p Prep Adj N*/ ^Aux V Adj N*/ ^Aux V Prep Poss N Prep N Conj N*/ ^Aux V Pron-p*/ ^Aux V Pron-p Art Adj N*/ ^V N Conj N ...*/ ^V Prep N-N*/ ^V Pron-p Adv To-inf Prep Art N Prep Adj N Prep N*/ ^V Pron-p Art N Prep Adj N ++ Conj N ++*

__ ^Conj (Conj)*/ ^++Conj*/ ^++... Conj*

__ ^Aux Conj*/ ^Aux V Art N Conj N Prep N-N*/ ^V Adj N Prep Poss V-ing*/ ^V Adv Adj N*/ ^V-link Adv Art Adj N*/ ^Adv V Art Adj N Prep Pron-p*/ ^V Art Adj N Prep N*/ ^V Art Adj N To-inf Prep Place*/ ^V Poss N (Prep Art N Prep Poss Quant N)*/ ^V Pron-p*

(1,083) "have asked smart questions and provided a splendid place to stay in [placename]" (Engl3);

(1,084) "showed me the merits of hard work (and play) and supported me" (Edu3);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,085) "continuously provided me with valuable data, and also conducted the third survey for me" (Arch5);

(1,086) "have taught me a great deal, and have shared the peaks and valleys of graduate school" (Stat4);

(1,087) "has listened to my cries of joy and pain [...]. [...] is also a walking encyclopedia" (EECS1);

(1,088) "originally suggested to me the idea of working on the Laws and offered valuable comments during my writing" (Phil1; original emphasis).

Two-benefit units: incomplete clauses:

- Prep Adv Quant Prep Poss N Aux V-pp Conj V-pp

(1,089) "at how many of my interests were formed and anticipated" (Engl3).

Two-benefit units: clauses: relative clauses:

- ^Rel-pr Adv V Pron-p To-inf Adj N ++*/ ^Rel-pr Neg Adv V Art N Adv +*/ ^Rel-pr V*/ ^Rel-pr V-link Adj*/ ^Rel-pr V Art N V-ing ...*/ ^Rel-pr V Pron-p Prep Art N Prep Adj N*

__ ^Conj*/ ^++ Conj*

__ ^Adj Prep Art N*/ ^Adv V Pron-p Adj Adj N*/ ^Rel-pr V Art Adj N Prep Poss N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Rel-pr V Pron-p Prep N Prep N Prep Pron Prep N-N Prep N-N*/ ^V Art N Prep ++ Quant Prep Poss N*/ ^V N Prep Poss N*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,090) "who introduced me to the field of behavioral finance, and who co-authored the last essay of this dissertation with me" (B-Adm3);

(1,091) "who support, and show an interest in, all of my efforts" (Stat2);

(1,092) "who were encouraging and helpful along the way" (EECS1);

(1,093) "who not only proof-read the script meticulously, but also gave me ample perceptive advice" (Arch5).

Two-benefit units: clauses: complete clauses:

- ^Poss V-ing Prep L V Art Adj N ...*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Art Adj N Prep Adj N Conj N*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Quant Adj N ...* / ^Pron-p V Art N ... * / ^Quant Prep Rel-pr Aux V Poss N*

__ ^0*/ ^++* / ^Conj*

__ ^Aux V Art Adv Adj N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Poss N Adv Adj Prep V-ing Quant Prep Art Adj Adj N Prep L*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Quant Adj N Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Pron-p V Pron-p Art Adj N Prep Pron Mod-Neg Aux V-pp Adv Prep Art N*/ ^V Pron-p Neg Prep Art N Conj N*

(1,094) "my thinking on Spinoza owes a great deal [...] I have found his arguments extremely helpful in articulating many of the central interpretative issues in Spinoza" (Phil5);

(1,095) "we developed a relationship [...]. He taught me a great deal about what cannot be learned exclusively at the university" (Arch2).

Two-benefit units: combinations of encoding options:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^Art N Prep Adj N-N ++*/ ^Aux V Pron-p Art N Prep N + N + Conj V-ing Adv To-inf Adj N ++ ...*/ ^Poss N Conj N ++ Conj Adj Conj Adj ...*/ ^Prep Adj N*/ ^ Prep Art N ...*/ ^Prep Num N Prep N-N ... ++*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N ++ ...*/ ^Prep V-ing Quant N V-ing Prep N Prep Dem N ++ ...*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Pron-p ... Prep N Prep N ++ Adj N ++ Conj Pron Pron-p V To-inf N*/ ^Pron-p V Art Adj N To-inf L's Adj N +*/ ^Pron-p V Dem N*/ ^Rel-pr Adv V Pron-p To-inf Adj N ++*/ ^Rel-pr Adv Conj Adv V Poss N Prep Pron-p ++*/ ^Rel-pr V Art Adj N Prep Adv Conj Poss N ++ ...*/ ^V Pron-p Prep Dem N*/ ^V-ing Adj Adj N ++ ...*/ ^V Adj N Prep Dem N ++*/ ^V Adv Adj*/ ^V Pron-p To-inf Art Adj N ...*/ ^V Quant N Prep Poss N ++*/ ^V ++ Quant Prep Art N Prep N ++ Art Quant N ++ Adv Prep N ++ Adv Prep Art N ++*

__ ^0*/ ^Conj*

__ ^Art N V Adv*/ ^Conj + Pron-p Adv V Prep Pron-p Art N Prep N Conj Art N Prep N*/ ^Poss N (Prep N Conj N)*/ ^Prep Adj N-N*/ ^Prep Art N*/ ^Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep V-ing Art N Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep V-ing Poss N*/ ^Pron-p V Art N (Prep Adj N)*/ ^Pron-p V Poss N Prep N Conj N-N*/ ^Pron-p V Prep Pron-p Quant N*/ ^Pron-p V Quant Prep Dem N*/ ^To-inf Art N Prep Poss N Prep Num Adj N*/ ^V Adv Poss N*/ ^V Pron-p*/ ^... V Pron-p Art Adj N To-inf Art N Conj N Prep N Conj N*/ ^++ V-ing Pron-p N ++ N ++ Conj Adv N*

(1,096) "accepted, most of the time with serenity, the many absences, first from home, then from the country. However, they also shared with me the value of persistence and the cost of success" (Arch2);

(1,097) "your love and support—both financial and emotional [...] for being my anchor" (Edu1);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,098) "providing invigorating technical discussions, [...]. It is this humanness" (EECS1);

(1,099) "who oversaw the harmonious completion of more than my dissertation. [...] and without her vigilance" (Engl4);

(1,100) "of regular conversations [...] Our discussions on statistics and genetics" (Stat2).

Benefit units relevant to three benefits.

Three-benefit units: noun groups:

- ^Art N Prep Pron-p Conj ...*/ ^Poss Adj N*/ ^Poss N Prep N ++*

__ ^N (... ++)*/ ^Poss (Adj) N (++)*

__ Conj (Poss) N

(1,101) "your words of encouragement, your honesty, and your sincerity" (Edu1);

(1,102) "Their high expectation, confidence, and encouragement" (EECS4);

(1,103) "the company of them and [...] their inspirational discussions and friendship" (EECS4).

Three-benefit units: prepositional groups:

- ^Neg Adv Prep Poss Adj N ++*/ ^Prep Art Name N ... ++*/ ^Prep Art Pron ++__*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N (++)*/ ^Prep Quant Adj Adj N*/ ^Prep V-ing (Adv Poss Adj N Conj N-N ++)*/ ^Prep V-ing Pron-p Prep Art N*/ ^Prep Poss N (++)*/ ^Prep V-ing Adv Adv

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Adj*/ ^Prep V-ing Art N Adv Art Adj N-N Conj Art Adv Adj N*/ ^Prep V-ing Pron-p N Prep Adj N Conj N ++*/ ^Prep V-ing Pron-p Prep Art N Prep N*

__ ^Adj N*/ ^Art ... N-N +*/ ^Conj Adj*/ ^Conj Adv Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Conj Adv Prep Poss N*/ ^(Conj) N (++)*/ ^Prep N Prep V-ing Dem N Conj V-ing N ++*/ ^Prep Poss (Adj) N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N Conj Adj N Prep Art Adj N Prep Art N*/ ^Prep Quant N Adv Prep Art N*/ ^Prep V-ing To-inf Art N Prep N +*/ ^V-ing*

__ ^Conj Adj N Prep Poss N*/ ^Conj Adv ++ Prep Poss N*/ ^Conj (Art Adj) N*/ ^Conj N ++ Prep Rel-pr*/ ^Conj Poss N-N*/ ^Conj Prep Adj N*/ ^Conj Prep Adv V-ing Adj To-inf Pron-p V Art N Prep Poss N*/ ^Conj Prep Art N*/ ^Conj Prep Poss N*/ ^Conj Prep V-ing Adj N Prep V-ing Adv Adj*/ ^Conj Prep V-ing Prep Pron-p Poss Adj N Prep N*/ ^Conj Prep V-ing N-N Prep Pron Mod (To-)inf V-pp Prep Art Adj N Conj Art N Prep Adj N*/ ^Conj V-ing (Adj N)*/ ^Conj V-ing (Dem) N*/ ^... Prep Pron-p*

(1,104) "for their advice, patience, and most of all, for their encouragement" (Arch5);

(1,105) "for their guidance, love and unconditional investment in my education" (B-Adm2);

(1,106) "for listening, understanding, and providing emotional support" (Edu5);

(1,107) "for providing me lots of valuable advice and guidance, for helping to keep the project on track, and for keeping academic life from getting too boring" (EECS5);

(1,108) "for their constant support, for help in reading this work and making suggestions, and for long conversations" (Engl2);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,109) "not only for his perceptive comments, but also for his kindness and support" (Phil1);

(1,110) "for their friendship, for many discussions early on in the project, and for always being willing to help me find an answer to my questions" (P-Bio1);

(1,111) "for being so very strange and wonderful, and for a love" (Stat4).

Three-benefit units: verb groups:

- Aux V Prep N … __ Aux V Quant Adj N Conj N ++ __ Conj Aux V Adj N-N Prep N

(1,112) "have been of invaluable help ... have provided many stimulating arguments and discussions, and have filled any excess time with fun" (Stat2).

Three-benefit units: clauses:

- Rel-pr V-link Adv Adj To-inf N + __ V Adj N-N + __ Conj Adv V Prep Pron-p Prep Prep Art N Conj Art N V

(1,113) "who was always willing to provide feedback, have endless sub-group meetings, and even cover for me out in the classroom when the need arose" (Edu3).

Three-benefit units: combinations of encoding options:

- ^Art N Rel-pr … Aux V-pp Pron-p ++*/ ^Aux V Art Adj N Prep N (Conj N Prep Pron-p)*/ ^Prep (Art Adj) N*/ ^Prep Poss (Adj) N (...)*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N Prep N*/ ^Prep V-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ing Neg Adv Adj N-N Prep Quant Adj Conj Adj N ++*/ ^To-inf ...*/ ^V Pron-p Adv V Art Adj N V-pp Prep V-ing Art Adj N*

__ ^Art N Prep +*/ ^Conj Adv Adj N Rel-pr Aux V Poss N Prep Place Art N To-inf*/ ^Conj Art N ...*/ ^Conj N Prep V-ing Poss Adj N + ...*/ ^Conj Poss Adj N*/ ^Conj Poss Adj N ++ Pron V Adj ++ ...*/ ^Prep Art Adj N*/ ^Prep V-ing Pron-p To-inf Poss N-N*/ ^Pron-p Adv Aux V-pp Adv Poss N +*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Prep Pron-p Prep Dem N* / ^Quant Prep Art N*/ ^Rel-pr V Num N Prep Pron-p ... *

__ ^Conj Aux V Art Adj N*/ ^Conj Aux V Pron-p To-inf Poss N*/ ^Conj N (Pron-p Aux V Pron-p)*/ ^Conj Prep V-ing Adj N Prep Quant N Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep Conj Poss Adj Conj Adj N*/ ^Prep Pron-p*/ ^Prep Rel-pr Art N Prep ++ N ++ Conj ++ N ++ V Adv V-pp Prep Art N ++ Adj +*/ ^Pron-p V Pron-p Prep Art Adj Conj Adj N Prep N-N ++ Conj Prep Dem-pr*/ ^Rel-pr Adv V Pron-p*/ ^To-inf Prep Pron-p*/ ^V-ing Prep Pron-p Adv Art N-N Prep Poss N-N Conj N-N*

(1,114) "for her continuous support [...]. She has traveled with me along this journey and has been a great companion" (P-Bio5);

(1,115) "the support that [...] have given me. [...] the steadfastness of [...] for whom the words of "devotion" and "love" were always preceded by the word "unending"," (EECS3);

(1,116) "helped me truly comprehend the numerous hats involved with being an educational researcher. [...] for allowing me to join her research team and for providing countless insights into all aspects of this work" (Edu3);

(1,117) "the devotion [...] who spent three days with me [...]. Without him" (Arch5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,118) "without the deep understanding and the sacrifice [...] who constantly encouraged me" (Arch5).

Benefit expansion units.

As outlined at the beginning of this section, benefit expansion units too are classified on the basis of their content and formal organization. Therefore, to classify them, I first distinguish between those referring to one vs. two vs. three beneficial circumstances. Within these major divisions, I make further distinctions regarding the syntactic encoding of the various text segments. The numerous expansions relevant to single beneficial circumstances and realized as noun groups or prepositional groups or adverbials are the only set that is further classified according to content; for them I specify whether they refer to circumstances of time, place, means and/or manner.

Benefit expansion units relevant to single beneficial circumstances.

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: noun groups or prepositional groups or adverbials: manner:

- ^Quant Art N*/ ^Prep Adv Quant N*/ ^Prep Quant N*

(1,119) "without much complaint" (Phil1).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: noun groups or prepositional groups or adverbials: place:

- Prep __ ^Place*/ ^Inst*/ ^Art N-N*/ ^Prep Art N Prep N Num*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,120) "in *Berkeley*" (Arch5);

(1,121) "At *UC Berkeley*" (Edu4).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: noun groups or prepositional groups or adverbials: time</u>:

- ^Adv Prep*/ ^N Conj N Adv*/ ^Dem Adj N*/ ^Prep Adj N*/ ^Prep Art Adj Quant N*/ ^Prep Art (Adj Num) N*/ ^Prep Adj Conj Adj*/ ^Prep Dem (Adj) N*/ ^Prep + Prep + Conj Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss (Adj) N*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Art N(-N)*/ ^Prep Art N Prep Dem (Adj) N*/ ^Prep Quant N Pron-p V*/ ^Prep Art Quant N Prep Pron-p V Adv Prep Place*/ ^Prep Art Adv Adj N Prep V-ing Art N*

(1,122) "from the start" (B-Adm1);

(1,123) "at crucial moments" (Engl4);

(1,124) "throughout this endeavor" (Edu4);

(1,125) "before, during, and after my qualifying examination." (EECS);

(1,126) "during my struggles" (Stat2);

(1,127) "since the beginning of this long journey" (Arch1);

(1,128) "during the rather unusual process of writing a dissertation." (Phil5).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: noun groups or prepositional groups or adverbials: means</u>:

- ^Art N Pron-p Adv V Conj Prep Rel-pr Pron-p Aux V Adv*/ ^Prep N* /^ Prep Poss N Prep Art N-N-N* / ^Prep Poss Adj N Prep N*/ ^Prep Rel-pr Adj N*

(1,129) "in discussions" (Arch4);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,130) "through her work on the subject matter tests" (Edu3);

(1,131) "from whose philosophical influence" (Phil4).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: noun groups or prepositional groups or adverbials: time and place</u>:

- ^Adv Art N*/ ^Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N Prep N-N* __ ^Prep Place*/ ^Prep Art Name N*/ ^Adv*

(1,132) "as an undergraduate at *Central Berkeley Institute*" (Engl4);

(1,133) "throughout my years at Berkeley" (EECS2);

(1,134) "during my fellowship there" (B-Adm1).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: linking verbs</u>:

- ^(Aux) V-link*/ ^Aux Adv V-link*

__ ^(Adv) Adj (Conj Adj)*/ ^Adj Prep Art Adj N Prep Poss N*/ ^Adv Adj Prep Pron-p Prep Adj N Prep Art N*/ ^Adj Prep V-ing + N Prep N +*/ ^Adj Prep Pron-p Prep Quant N*/ ^Adv Quant To-inf Prep Adv*/ ^Prep Adj N*/ ^Pron Aux V Pron-p Prep Dem Quant Quant N Prep Adj N*

(1,135) "has been invaluable" (Phil5);

(1,136) "were of enormous value" (Edu1);

(1,137) "are what have gotten me through these many many years of formal education" (Edu1);

(1,138) "have been very productive and enjoyable" (Phil5);

(1,139) "were very helpful to me at different stages of the dissertation" (Engl1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: verbs followed by noun groups:

- (Aux) V __ ^Dem N Adv*/ ^Dem N Conj Poss N Prep Art Inst*/ ^Poss N Prep Art Adv Adj N*/ ^Poss N Prep N Adv Adv Conj Det Adj N Pron-p Aux V Prep N-N*

(1,140) "hold these pages together" (Arch4);

(1,141) "has changed my perspective in life perhaps more than any other thing I have learned in grad school" (EECS1).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: verbs followed by noun groups and prepositional groups:

- (Aux) V __ ^Pron-p*/ ^Art Adj N* __ (Prep Poss N) Prep Quant N

(1,142) "saved me from many mistakes" (Phil1).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: verbs followed by prepositional groups:

- V Adv Prep Art N Prep Dem N

(1,143) "contributed significantly to the development of this dissertation." (Engl4).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: verbs followed by two noun groups or a noun group and an adjectival group:

- ^(Aux) V*/ ^Adv Conj Adv + V* __ ^Dem N*/ ^Poss N Prep Art Adj N* __ (Adv Art Adv) Adj

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,144) "have made my years in the doctoral program all the more enjoyable." (B-Adm3).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups followed by non-finite clauses:

- Adv V Pron-p __ ^To-inf Poss N*/ ^To-inf Prep V-ing Prep*

(1,145) "often forced me to rethink my analysis" (Phil1).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: clauses: incomplete clauses:

- ^Dem N*/ ^Pron-p* __ Aux Adv V N __^Conj N*/ ^Aux V-pp*

(1,146) "This work was supported" (P-Bio4);

(1,147) "I have often found solace and inspiration" (EECS5).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: clauses: non-finite, gerundive clauses:

- Conj V-ing __ ^Adj-cp N Prep V-ing* / ^N-N Prep Place*

(1,148) "thus promoting deeper levels of understanding" (Edu5).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: clauses: non-finite, infinitival clauses:

- (Prep Poss N Conj Pron-p) To-inf __ ^Pron-p*/ ^(Art V-ing Prep) Dem N*/ ^Adj N* __ ^Prep Place*/ ^Adj N Prep Place*

(1,149) "to finish the writing of this dissertation" (Arch2);

(1,150) "for my family and me to spend unforgettable moments at Berkeley" (Arch2).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: clauses: infinitival, non-finite, infinitival clauses followed by two noun groups or by a noun group and an adjectival group:

- To-inf __ ^Art N*/^ Dem-pr* __ ^Adj*/ ^Art Adj N-N*

(1,151) "to make the award possible" (EECS2).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: clauses: complete clauses: subordinate clauses:

- ^Conj*/ ^Quant Conj*/ ^Pron*

__ ^(Adv Quant) N*/ ^(Aux) Pron-p*

__ ^Aux (Adv) V*/ ^Mod Adv V To-inf Pron-p*/ ^Mod V Poss N*/ ^V Adj*/ ^V (Poss N)*/ ^V Pron-p*

(1,152) "when things went wrong" (P-Bio1);

(1,153) "more than they realize" (Phil2);

(1,154) "as I wrote" (Engl2);

(1,155) "so I could finish my project" (EECS5).

One-circumstance benefit expansion units: complete clauses: main clauses: linking verbs:

- ^Dem N*/ ^Poss N Prep Place*/ ^Pron-p*

__ ^Aux (Adv) V-link*/ ^Aux Aux V-link*/ ^Aux Neg Aux V-link*

__ ^(Adv) Adj*/ ^Art Pron*

(1,156) "I will never be the same" (EECS5);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,157) "My years at Berkeley have been very rewarding" (Stat2);

(1,158) "this dissertation would not have been possible" (B-Adm3).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: main clauses: non-linking verbs: active voice</u>:

- ^Poss N*/ ^Pron-p*

__ ^(Adv) V*/ ^Adv Aux Neg Aux V Adj To-inf*/ ^Mod Neg Aux V*

__ ^(Art N Art Adj ++ Adv Adj Pron) Prep Pron-p*/ ^Poss N*

(1,159) "My feet still dance because of you" (Edu3);

(1,160) "I could not have accomplished my research" (Arch4).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: complete clauses: main clauses: non-linking verbs: passive voice</u>:

- ^Art N*/ ^Dem N*/ ^Pron-p*/__ ^Adv Aux Neg Aux V Art N*/ ^Aux Adv Aux V Adj To-inf Dem N*/ ^Aux Aux V Art Adv Quant Adj N*/ ^Mod Neg Aux Aux V-pp (Prep Poss Adj N)*

(1,161) "it would have been a much more difficult endeavor." (Engl4);

(1,162) "I probably would not have been a scientist" (P-Bio4).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: single clauses: relative clauses</u>:

- Rel-pr

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

__ ^Adv V*/ ^(Aux) V*/ ^Mod (To-)inf V-pp*/ ^Pron-p Adv Quant V*/ ^Pron-p Aux Neg V*

__ ^Adv N-N*/ ^Adv Quant Conj Adj N*/ ^Adj Prep Art N*/ ^Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep Inst*/ ^Pron-p Adv*/ ^Pron-p Conj Pron-p Adv Aux Art N To-inf Prep*/ ^Pron-p Prep Quant Adj N */ ^Pron-p To-inf Adv Art N Prep Art N Prep Art Place*/ ^Pron-p V-ing Prep Art N*/ ^Pron-p V-pp Conj V-pp*/ ^To-inf N*

(1,163) "that has withstood even graduate school" (Stat4);

(1,164) "which helped me to understand better the struggles of the peoples of the USA" (Arch2);

(1,165) "which ensures me that I always have a place to turn to" (P-Bio3);

(1,166) "which I did not imagine possible with an advisor" (EECS1);

(1,167) "that propelled me forward" (Edu5);

(1,168) "that can be gleaned in these pages" (Engl4).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: single clauses: complete clauses</u>:

- ^Art N Prep N*/ ^Pron Pron-p V Prep Dem Adj N*/ ^Pron-p*

__ ^(Aux) Adv V*/ ^(Aux) V*

__ ^Art N Prep N*/ ^Conj Pron-p Mod Adv V N Prep Art N*/ ^Conj Pron-p V Neg Adv Adj V-ing N-N-N*/ ^To-inf Adv Dem N*/ ^Prep Poss N*

(1,169) "What I sought in these close readings was a kind of harmony" (Engl4);

(1,170) "I now try to forget less this lesson" (Arch2).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: incomplete clauses</u>:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^0*/ ^Prep Num N* __ ^Art N Prep Dem N*/ ^(Conj) Pron-p* __ ^Aux (Adv) V-pp*/ ^V*/ ^V Conj Pron-p Mod V*/ __ ^0*/ ^Prep Art Inst*/ ^Prep Poss Poss N-N*/

(1,171) "The research in this thesis was partially supported" (Stat3);

(1,172) "I hope that I can bring to my own dissertation students" (Engl4).

<u>One-circumstance benefit expansion units: combinations of encoding options</u>:

- Prep Place Conj Pron-p V Adj N V-ing Prep Dem N Rel-pr Mod Aux Aux V-pp Prep Pron-p Adv

(1,173) "in Norway while I spent countless hours working on this dissertation which could have been spent with her instead" (Stat1).

<u>Benefit expansion units relevant to two beneficial circumstances</u>.

<u>Two-circumstance benefit expansion units: prepositional groups</u>:

- Prep __ ^Art N Prep Poss V-ing*/ ^Poss (N-)N* __ ^Conj N (Conj N V-ing)*/ ^Prep Art Adj N*

(1,174) "during the course of my writing and job seeking" (Phil1);

(1,175) "with her humor on a daily basis" (Engl4).

<u>Two-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: linking verbs</u>:

- V Adv Adj ++ __ N-V-ing ++ __ Conj Adj ++ __ V N __ Conj N Prep Pron-p

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,176) "were unfailingly incisive, thought-provoking, and encouraging; their scholarly works were models and inspirations to me." (Engl1).

Two-circumstance benefit expansion units: verb groups: non-linking verbs:

- ^Adv V*/ ^V Poss N Adv*/ ^V Poss N Prep Art N Conj Poss N ++*/ ^V Pron-p Prep Poss N ++*

__ ^0*/ ^Conj*

__ ^Aux*/ ^... Aux V Pron-p*/ ^V Pron-p Prep V-ing Art N*/ ^V Pron-p V Adv Adv Prep N*

(1,177) "confirmed my devotion to the poet and her culture. [...] have sustained me" (Engl2);

(1,178) "supported me throughout my education. [...] helped me work more diligently toward graduation" (EECS2).

Two-circumstance benefit expansion units: clauses:

- ^Art Adj Conj Adj N Prep N-N-N-N Adv V Pron Prep Pron-p To-inf V-pp*/ ^Conj Conj Pron-p Mod V*/ ^Conj N-N V Pron Adj Prep Pron-p ...*/ ^Conj Poss Adj N Prep Poss N Prep L Aux V ++*/ ^Conj Pron-p V (N Prep Poss N)*/ ^Dem N Aux Neg Aux V Adv Adv Adj*/ ^Pron-p Aux Adv Aux V-pp Conj Adv V-pp ...*/ ^Pron-p V Pron-p V Prep Art N Prep Poss Adj N ++ ...*/ ^Rel-pr V Pron-p To-inf*/ ^To-inf Prep Pron-p*

__ ^Art N Rel-pr V Pron-p To-inf Dem N Prep Dem N Aux Adv Aux V Adj*/ ^Conj Adv Adj Conj Neg Prep*/ ^Conj Poss Adj N Aux V-ing ++ Adj N ++ Prep Adj N*/ ^Conj Poss N Conj Poss N Aux V Adj-cp*/ ^Conj Pron-p Aux Adj N Prep ... N*/ ^...

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conj Pron-p V To-inf*/ ^Conj To-inf Adv Quant V Pron-p V Prep Quant Prep Art N*/ ^Conj To-inf Pron-p Prep Poss N*/ ^Conj V Adj Adj Conj Adj N Prep N-V-pp N*/ ^Conj V Art Adj N*/ ^Conj V N Prep Art N*

(1,179) "As I neared completion of my dissertation, [...] when I forgot to eat" (P-Bio2);

(1,180) "to meet with us and to teach us about their experience" (Edu5);

(1,181) "She kept me attuned to the music in my scholarly work, [...], the insights that allowed me to read these texts in this way would certainly have remained elusive." (Engl4).

<u>Two-circumstance benefit expansion units: combinations of encoding options</u>:

- ^Art N Prep Dem N Aux Neg Aux V-pp Adj ...*/ ^Aux V Pron-p To-inf Dem N Prep Adj Poss Adj N Prep N Conj N Mod (To-)inf*/ ^Prep Adj N ++*/ ^Prep Art (Adj Conj Adj) N ++*/ ^Prep Art Adj N Prep Dem N*/ ^Prep Dem Adj N ++*/ ^Prep N Prep Adj Conj Adj ++*/ ^Prep Place Conj Place ++*/ ^Prep Poss N*/ ^Prep Quant Prep Art Adv Adj N Prep Poss N ++*/ ^Rel-pr Aux Adv (To-)Inf Prep Pron-p Prep Art N Prep Poss N*/ ^Rel-pr V Art Adj N Prep N Conj N Prep Pron-p ++*/ ^Rel-pr V Pron-p Art N To-inf Dem N ++* / ^V Pron Prep Art Adv Adj N Prep Poss N ++*

__ ^Adv Conj Poss N V Adj To-inf*/ ^... Aux Adv V Pron-p Pron To-inf Prep Prep Poss Poss Adj N ++ Conj Adv Conj Adv Adj N*/ ^Conj Pron-p Aux Aux V-pp Adj To-inf Dem N*/ ^Mod Poss N (To-)inf Prep N*/ ^Poss N Prep Poss N V Adv Prep Poss N ++ Art Adj N*/ ^Prep Poss (Adj) N (++)*/ ^Prep Poss N Conj Poss N-N Prep Inst*/ ^... Prep Rel-pr Pron-p Mod Adv (To-)inf Quant Prep Adj N ++ N-N ++ N-N ++ Conj

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

++ Adv Adv ++ Inst N*/ ^Prep Quant N ++*/ ^... Prep V-ing Art N Prep Poss N Prep Dem Adj N*/ ^Pron-p Aux Adv V Pron-p Prep Art Adj N Prep V-ing Adv Quant N To-inf*/ ^Pron-p Aux V Art Adj-Adj Num N Prep Poss N Prep Quant Prep N ++ N Conj Adj-N N-N*/ ^Pron-p V Dem N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Pron-p V N-N Adv Adv Adj*/ ^Pron-p V Pron-p Aux V To-inf Pron-p V*/ ^Pron-p V Pron-p Quant Adj*/ ^Quant N Prep Art N*/ ^Rel-pr Aux V N-N Adj Art Adj Conj Adj N-N*/ ^Rel-pr V Prep To-inf Adj Prep Art N*/ ^Rel-pr V Pron-p To-inf Quant N Prep V-ing*/ ^... V Pron-p Conj V-ing Art N Prep Art N V Art Adj N Adv*

(1,182) "The completion of this thesis would not have been possible [...] throughout my life and my graduate career at UC Berkeley" (EECS5);

(1,183) "in graduate school. He makes it all worthwhile" (P-Bio2);

(1,184) "that allowed me the time to develop these ideas. [...] from having the support of my department in these crucial years" (Engl4);

(1,185) "throughout my doctoral program. [...] has always given me something to strive for in my own daily pursuits — both inside and outside academic circles" (EECS3);

(1,186) "was one of the most rewarding experiences in my life. His influence in my work continues even after his death, an irreparable loss" (Arch2).

<u>Benefit expansion units relevant to three beneficial circumstances</u>.

<u>Three-circumstance benefit expansion units: prepositional groups</u>:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- ^Prep Art Adj Num N*/ ^Prep Poss N* __ ^(++) N*/ ^... Prep Conj Prep Poss Adj N Prep N ++* __ ^(++) Conj N*/ ^... Prep Poss N*

(1,187) "Throughout the last five years, [...] within and beyond their respective areas of expertise. [...] with their friendship," (B-Adm2).

Two-circumstance benefit expansion units: combinations of encoding options:

- ^Mod Aux V Pron-p Art N To-inf Art Adv Adv Adj N Conj Pron-p Aux ++*/ ^Poss Neg Adj V-ing Art N-N-N*/ ^Prep Art Adj Num N*/ ^Prep N Pron-p V Adv Adj To-inf ...*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N ...*/ ^Prep Poss N (Prep Place (Prep Place Conj Place ++))*/ ^Prep Quant N ++ Prep Pron-p Place Aux V Art Adv Adj N To-inf Art N ++*/ ^Pron-p Mod Neg Aux V Poss N ...*/ ^To-inf V*

__ ^... Aux V-pp Prep Poss N's N Prep Art Place Conj N Prep Art Adj N ++*/ ^Aux V Pron-p Pron Art N-N Mod (To-)inf ++*/ ^Conj Poss N Aux (To-)inf Adv Adj*/ ^Conj Prep N N Mod V Art N Adj ++*/ ^Conj V Quant Prep Art N ++*/ ^Prep Poss Adj N*/ ^... Pron-p Aux Neg Aux V Adj To-inf Dem N V-pp Prep Art N*/ ^Pron-p V Pron-p V Adj-cp Prep V-ing ++ V-ing ++ Conj V-ing Prep Pron-p ++*/ ^... Quant N Pron-p V Poss N ++*/ ^... To-inf Poss N*/ ^To-inf Prep Art N*

__ ^Adv V Pron-p N To-inf Art N Adj*/ ^Aux (To-)inf Art N Prep Adj N Prep Pron-p*/ ^Conj Adj N*/ ^Conj Poss N Adv Art N Adv Adj*/ ^Conj To-inf Art Adj N*/ ^Conj V Art Adj N*/ ^Conj V Pron-p Prep Adj N*/ ^... Dem N Adv Adj Aux Neg V*/ ^... Poss N-N Conj N Aux Neg V Adj*/ ^... ++ Pron-p Conj Pron-p V Pron-p Prep Place Prep Art Adj N ++*/ ^V Adv Adj ++ Neg Adv Prep Art Adj N Prep Art N ++ Conj Adv Prep Poss Adj N Adv Art N*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1,188) "throughout my study in Berkeley. [...] have shown me what a top professor should be. [...] will be a source of long lasting inspiration to me" (EECS3);

(1,189) "notwithstanding his busy schedule [...] to go over the problems and to discuss the different methodologies" (Arch5);

(1,190) "over the past six years [...] to finish my studies., [...] this thesis most likely would not be" (Stat4);

(1,191) "might have afforded him the leniency to take a far less active role than he did. [...] every time I left his office. [...] was absolutely crucial, not only to the legal arguments in the dissertation, but also to my general development as a scholar" (Engl4).

The patterns listed in this section and the PhDAS excerpts exemplifying them show that benefit (expansion) units tend to be structurally complex. When encoded as noun groups or prepositional groups, they are characterized by various forms of internal elaboration: attributive adjectives, embedded prepositional groups, embedded relative clauses and/or subordinate non-finite clauses often accompany the head nouns that minimally refer to the benefits. These forms of elaboration serve a twofold communicative goal: on the one hand, they help precisely identify the benefits the writers have in mind (i.e., they have an identifying and classificatory function); on the other hand, they help specify in detail the characteristics that make those benefits valuable to the thankers (i.e., they have a descriptive and evaluative function). Adposition is not an encoding option used as frequently as in benefactor (expansion) units, though; this can be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

easily accounted for with the fact that benefits (or beneficial circumstances) are not (indeed, most of the time, cannot be) first referred to through their names and then identified through nouns specifying their category membership. Benefit (expansion) units can also be encoded as non-embedded clauses, whose main constituents display the same type of internal elaboration as outlined above. In this case the writers choose to represent benefits as processes, rather than entities involved in them. Such mini-messages, much more frequent than in the benefactor (expansion) units, suggest that the thankers may view benefits as events that (are made to) happen or situations that (are made to) hold, and not simply as goods or services exchanged in the interactions represented. They also enable the writers to refer to the agents or participants (i.e., the benefactors) responsible for those events or situations. The various encoding options available to the writers can be freely combined to produce benefit (expansion) units relevant to multiple benefits or beneficial circumstances. However, most of the time, when multiple benefits or beneficial circumstances are being referred to, they are encoded through the same types of syntactic structures. Core benefit units are more numerous, and their encoding more varied, than their expansions; this is especially evident in clausal text segments and in text units referring to multiple benefits (or beneficial circumstances) and employing different types of encoding formulas. Both types of units, though, appear to be flexible enough to enable authors to unambiguously refer to and positively describe the various aspects of the beneficial exchanges they want to report on.

4.11.4. Mini-grammar of thanking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the previous sections, I have illustrated how the main and supportive components of the AMs in my corpus are syntactically encoded. I have described their surface realizations by providing part-of-speech labeling of the words making up the various text segments, and included relevant exemplification. However, I have presented the grammatical patterns separately for each of the functional components and sub-components of the AMs. In this section I provide a more global description of the syntactic encoding of whole AMs by focusing my attention on the core components of the AMs. The patterns and examples given below will thus illustrate how the main and most frequent notions conveyed through AMs are realized.

In order to represent the syntactic patterns of entire AMs, I choose a different level of delicacy than in the previous sections. Rather than coding each single word, I use labels applicable to either single words or groups of words that can be said to function (together) as semantic-syntactic units; for example, noun groups referring to participants involved in the events represented, prepositional groups or adverbials referring to entities or circumstances, verb groups identifying processes. If the semantic-syntactic units are internally elaborate, that is, characterized by forms of expansion (e.g., adverbs, quantifiers, modalizing modifiers, embedded pre- or post-modification), these are not overtly represented, although they will be identifiable in the examples, where applicable.

The symbols that I use for representing the patterns of the AMs consist of two groups: in part they are the same as the ones used in the previous sections, and in part they are new ones, but very similar, which better serve the need of describing broader syntactic patterns. More specifically, in order to show that I am representing groups of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

words functioning as units, I reduplicate the symbols previously used for representing single words. Thus, for example, *NN* stands for 'noun group', *AdjAdj* for 'adjectival group', and *Prep NN* for 'prepositional group'. In addition, the symbol representing a given semantic-syntactic unit may correspond, in the AMs, either to one such unit, or to a series of units of the same type, coordinated by punctuation marks and/or by conjunctions. Thus, for example, text segments such as (a) *her kindness*, (b) *her kindness and love*, and (c) *her kindness, support and love* but also (d) *Bob* and (e) *Bob, my best friend* would all be represented by the symbol *NN*; while (a) *I thank*, (b) *I sincerely thank*, (c) *I begin by thanking*, and (d) *I would like to thank* would all be represented as *NN VV*. The new symbols for outlining the major syntactic structures making up AMs are listed and glossed below, before reporting and describing the various patterns.

The patterns are not only exemplified, but also matched with the main functional units of the AMs. This way it is possible to show the correspondences between the formal (syntactic) encoding of the AMs and the notions conveyed through them.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I start out by considering the AMs not containing gratitude expressions. Then I present the patterns of the AMs in which gratitude is encoded; these are divided into groups as relevant to the main lexical resources through which gratitude is conveyed (the lexical resources are given in alphabetical order). Finally, I examine the AMs containing more than one expression of gratitude and/or consisting of text units belonging to different sentences. Thus, the patterns are presented in order of increasing complexity.

Here is the list of new tags used in this section:

AdjAdj:	adjectival group
AuxAux:	(group of) auxiliary verb(s)
Cl:	clause
ClCl:	clause complex
Cl-inc:	incomplete clause (with no or partial complementation after the verb group)
Cl-inf:	infinitival clause
Cl-ing:	gerundive clause
Compl:	complementation of verb group (e.g., AdjAdj, NN, Prep NN, AdvAdv)
Interj:	interjection
NN:	noun group
Rel-cl:	relative clause
VV:	verb group
...:	separation between discontinuous text segments

As in previous sections, made-up names replace the original ones.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Patterns of AMs with no gratitude expressions and not larger than the sentence. Most of the AMs with no gratitude expressions contain, however, both a benefactor unit and a benefit unit. Rare are those consisting of just one main core component. An example is from Edu4, in which only the benefactor unit is instantiated, and this is realized through a noun group:

Benefactor	PhDAS
NN	
Mary Smith my training director at Berkeley	Edu4

Another is from Engl1, in which it is the benefit unit that is presented as a noun group:

Benefit	PhDAS
NN	
My personal debts	Engl1

AMs containing both benefactor units and benefit units, may (re)present them in different ways. First of all, the benefactor unit may precede or follow the benefit unit; secondly, either or both units may be realized discontinuously; thirdly, they can be syntactically encoded in various forms.

Starting from the AMs in which benefactor units precede benefit units and in which benefactors are represented through text segments that are less than a clause, one can notice various encoding patterns. When benefactors are encoded as noun groups, benefits are encoded as prepositional groups, relative clauses or, more rarely, noun groups. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN	^Prep NN*/ ^Prep VV-ing (Compl)*/ ^Rel-cl*/ ^NN*	
my parents, *John and Mary*	for their guidance, love, and unconditional investment in my education	B-Adm2
my cousin *Bruce*	for helping me feel younger than I am	Edu3
Mark Morrison and *Bruce Oden*	for their guidance … and for providing some great alleles for me to work with	P-Bio4
so many people	who were encouraging and helpful along the way	EECS1
Shelly Long	a source of constant phone relief, buoyed me	Engl4

When benefactor units are realized as noun groups in the genitive form, then the benefit units are realized as noun groups following them. Examples:

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN's	NN	
John Brown's	friendship	Arch2
Mary Smith's	thorough readings	Engl4
Bruce Oden's	acute criticism	Phil1

When benefactor units are realized as prepositional groups, they are typically headed by the preposition *to*, and may be followed by benefit units realized as other prepositional groups, relative clauses or, more rarely, noun groups. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
Prep NN	^Prep NN*/ ^Rel-cl*/ ^NN*	
to *Mark Morrison*	for his invaluable guidance	B-Adm3
without the many people	who have supported me	EECS5
To *Mary Smith*, my dedicated writing partner,	your words of encouragement, your honesty, and your sincerity	Edu1
by *CBI*	grants [numbers]	Stat3

Benefactor units encoded as noun groups may also be followed by verb groups, and optional complementation, which together form clausal messages. They may contain verbs referring to actions or states and thus be accompanied by nominal or adjectival complementation. Examples:

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN	VV (Compl) (Cl-ing)	
Professor *Mark P. Morrison*	showed me how to look at the problems from other points of view, and provided very helpful criticisms	Arch5
Mary	was especially kind, giving me advice, solace, and even food	P-Bio2
The faculty, staff and students here	have created a warm and exciting environment	Stat2
The two people who served as the outside members of my committee, Professors *John Brown* and *Mary Smith*	also spent many hours reading and discussing my work with me	Phil2

Alternatively, benefactor units encoded as prepositional groups may be followed by benefit units encoded as clauses. Example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
Prep NN	Cl	
with *Mary Smith*	I learned much	Engl4

Finally, those encoded as clauses containing relational verbs may be followed by benefit units realized as noun groups or relative clauses. Examples:

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
Cl	^NN*/ ^Rel-cl*	
John Brown was that great teacher	who first inspired my interest in and love of eighteenth-century literature	Engl1
Mark Morrison was an active *de facto* member	whose philosophical and philological comments	Phil1

The AMs with no gratitude expressions in which benefit units precede benefactor units can also be variously encoded. Thus, benefit units encoded as noun groups or incomplete clauses are followed by benefactor units encoded as prepositional groups. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
^NN*/ ^Cl-inc*	Prep NN	
the encouragement	of my family	Phil5
Discussions	with many other faculty	P-Bio5
The thorough, insightful comments	of *Mary Turner Smith*	Edu1
I have been cheered	by my wonderful mother-in-law, *Mary Smith*, my brother-in-law, *Mark Morrison* … and those relations-in-law I have come to think of as my Bay Area family: *Jane Osborne*, *Shelly Long*, and the *Turners*	Engl3
My work has benefited […]	[…] with colleagues, former teachers, and new acquaintances	Phil2

When benefit units are encoded as complete clauses, the benefactor units may be encoded as prepositional groups or clauses. Examples:

Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
Cl	^Prep NN*/ ^Cl*	
were it not for the persistent encouragement and the support	of my professors, friends, and relatives	Arch5
I have made many special friends	You know who you are	EECS1

When benefit units are realized as prepositional groups, so are their accompanying benefactor units. Examples:

Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep NN	Prep NN	
without the presence	of my colleagues and friends [several names]	B-Adm3
by grants	from the *Central Berkeley Institute* and the *National Berkeley Foundation*	P-Bio4

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AMs containing no gratitude expressions may have their benefactor units and benefit units realized as discontinuous text segments. Thus the former may constitute textual "circumfixes" of the latter. Examples:

Benefactor	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
^NN*/ ^NN's*	^Rel-cl*/ ^VV Compl … Conj VV*/ ^NN … NN*	^NN*/ ^Prep NN*/ ^VV NN*	
Additional colleagues	whom [sic] have contributed to my development as a student, scholar, and person	include [names]	EECS3
My abiding friends [names]	provided inspiration and support … as did	[names]	Engl4
John Brown' [sic]	shrewd insights … those	of the other members of my vital dissertation group [several names]	Engl4

But benefit units too may surround benefactor units. Examples:

Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
^Prep NN*/ ^Prep VV-ing Compl*/ ^NN VV-link*	^NN*/ ^Prep NN*	^VV Compl*/ ^Rel-cl*	
my biggest debt is	to my mother	who made it all possible	Arch4
without the deep understanding and the sacrifice	of my wife *Mary*,	who constantly encouraged me	Arch5
In addition to spending many hours commenting on drafts of this dissertation	the two internal members of my dissertation committee, Professors *Mary Smith* and *John Brown*	acted as my mentors	Phil2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Additionally, the benefit and benefactor units may alternate in series of four text segments. Examples:

Benefactor	Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
^NN*/ ^Prep NN*	^Prep NN*/ ^Prep VV-ing Compl*/ ^VV*/	(Rel-pr) Prep NN	^Cl*/ ^NN*/ ^VV Compl*	EECS3
The *Central Berkeley Institute*	at the request	of *CBI*'s Academic vice-chancellor, *John Brown*	I received the scholarship	Arch2
Mary	kindly shared	along with my family	many of the anxieties and troubles	Arch2
to *John Brown*	for reading the preliminary drafts	who along with *Mark Morrison*	helped with the drawings	Arch4

Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep NN	Prep NN	NN	Prep NN	Arch4
by a Junior Fellowship	from the *Central Berkeley Institute*, a *National Berkeley Foundation*	Dissertation Grant, as well as funding	from the University of California at Berkeley	Arch4

Discontinuous text segments are realized through the same encoding options as single ones, as the examples above reveal.

Patterns of AMs containing single gratitude expressions. The AMs containing gratitude expressions employ varying lexical means for expressing gratitude.

When the verb *to acknowledge* is used, it occurs preceded by a want statement and optionally modified by an adverb. The relevant benefactor units occupy the post-verbal *syntactic* position and are encoded as noun groups; more complex units may, however,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

technically precede the verb group; they are encoded through presentative clauses including linking verbs, whose post-verbal noun groups are then referred back to through relative pronouns in the gratitude expressions. The benefit units, instead, come after the benefactor units and are realized as *for*-headed prepositional groups. Examples:

to ACKNOWLEDGE

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Prep VV-ing Compl	
I'd like to gratuitously acknowledge	the [name of group]	for accepting a softball novice into the fold	Stat3

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
Cl	Rel-cl	Prep NN	
There are many people	who I wish to acknowledge	for their support of this dissertation and their support of my academic and professional development.	Edu4

The noun *acknowledgments* is part of just one gratitude expression, which makes up the whole of an AM. The gratitude expression is realized as a clause complex in which *acknowledgments* occurs after the verb of the subordinate clause and is part of a noun group characterized by embedded post-modification:

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Gratitude	PhDAS
ClCl	
but it is one of the great pleasures of my life as a writer finally to record the acknowledgements I have been impatiently saving up all these years	Engl3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In gratitude expressions containing the verb *to appreciate* benefactor units are encoded as prepositional groups and benefit units as noun groups. They may occur before or after the verb groups according to whether these are encoded in the passive or active orientation, respectively. Once, the benefit unit is realized discontinuously, that is, as a combination of a noun group preceding and a non-defining relative clause following the prepositional group encoding the benefactor unit. Example:

TO APPRECIATE

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	PhDAS
Prep NN	NN	Conj VV-pp Prep NN	
to my other "brothers" *John* and *Mark Brown*	your abiding presence	and appreciated in so many ways.	Edu1

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Prep NN	Rel-cl	
I especially appreciate	the assistance	of Dr. *Mary Smith*,	who not only proof-read the script meticulously, but also gave me ample perceptive advice	Arch5

The noun *appreciation* is found in clausal gratitude expressions whose verbs express the notion of saying; preceded by a possessive referring to the thanker, it encapsulates the content of what is being said. It occurs in pre- or post-verbal position according to whether the verb group of the relevant AM is encoded in the passive or active orientation, respectively. The benefactor units accompanying these gratitude expressions are encoded as prepositional groups, while (occasionally optional) benefit units are realized as noun groups, prepositional groups or relative clauses. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPRECIATION

Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN AuxAux VV-pp	Prep NN	
My appreciation is also extended	to my friends	Arch1

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV NN	Prep NN	^NN*/ ^Prep NN*/ ^Prep VV-ing Compl*/ ^Rel-cl*	
I would like to extend my appreciation	to *Mary Smith* and *Jane Osborne*	whose work and efforts	B-Adm3
I would also like to extend my appreciation	to [names]	for making my time here so memorable	B-Adm4
I wish to convey my warmest appreciation	to *Shelly Long*	for her time, patience, support, guidance, and invaluable philosophical energy and clarity	Phil4
I would like to express my deepest appreciation	to the *National Berkeley Foundation* and the *Central Berkeley Institute* in UC Berkeley	which provided me with the support to continue my graduate studies.	P-Bio3

The adjective *appreciative* occurs after linking verbs and serves to describe a characteristic of the thankers, who are referred to through personal pronouns. It is followed by benefit units and benefactor units realized as prepositional groups. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPRECIATIVE

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	Prep NN	
I am also appreciative	of the insightful conversations and relaxing times	with the dissertation group: [names]	Edu3

The verb *to bless* appears only in the passive orientation preceded by a pronoun referring to the thanker. It is followed by prepositional groups or infinitival clauses encoding benefactor units, and (noun groups followed by) relative clauses encoding benefit units. Examples:

to BLESS

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN AuxAux VV-pp	Prep NN	Rel-cl*	
I have been blessed	with a family	which values higher education	Engl3

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN AuxAux VV-pp	To-inf	NN	Rel-cl	
I was blessed	to make …	many remarkable friends	… who helped me to learn about the American culture and society	P-Bio3

The verb *to dedicate* is used in the active orientation, possibly pre-modified by a want statement, preceded by a noun group identifying the thanker and another one specifying the object of dedication, which metonymically refers back to the thanker. Benefactor units accompanying gratitude expressions containing *to dedicate* are encoded

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as prepositional groups, while benefit units may be realized either as prepositional groups or as relative clauses. Both types of units follow the gratitude expressions. Examples:

to DEDICATE

Gratitude	(Thanker)	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Prep NN	^Rel-cl*/ ^Prep NN*/	
I dedicate	this dissertation	to the memory of *Mark Morrison*,	without whose generosity	Engl4
I would like to dedicate	this dissertation	to the memory of *John Brown*	who shared his enthusiasm towards investigating new ideas with me	B-Adm1

The verb *to devote* occurs only once, in a gratitude expression that is realized as a clause, with the ellipsis of the auxiliary, and that is part of a clause complex encoding a whole AM. As the verb is realized in the passive orientation, the object of devotion is encoded in the noun group preceding it, while the goal of the action itself is encoded as a prepositional group following it. The benefit unit and benefactor unit together form a coordinated clause that precedes the gratitude expression; the former is realized as a noun group followed by a linking verb and adjectival complementation, and the latter as a prepositional group:

to DEVOTE

Benefit	Benefactor	Gratitude	PhDAS
NN VV AdjAdj	Prep NN	NN VV-pp Prep VV-ing Compl	
My life is incalculably sweeter	because of my girls	my every breath devoted to offering them more-of-the-same	Engl3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The verb *to forget* occurs in one gratitude expression, preceded by the negative form of the modal *can*. It is accompanied only by a benefactor unit, realized as a noun group, in post-verbal position:

NOT to FORGET

Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	
I cannot forget	my intramural basketball buddies *John Brown* and *Mark Morrison*	EECS3

The adjective *fortunate* occurs after a linking verb as part of a gratitude expression followed by an infinitival clause. The infinitival clause comprises both the benefit unit (consisting of the to-infinitive and a prepositional group) and the benefactor unit (realized as a prepositional group embedded under the benefit unit). In addition, another text segment realized as a prepositional group encodes other benefits; this prepositional group is one of the complements of a relative clause encoding the gratitude expression expansion:

FORTUNATE

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV-link Compl	To-inf Compl	Prep NN	Prep NN	
I was fortunate	to be in close collaboration	with their teacher, *John Brown*	… with his readiness to try out new things in the classroom	Edu3

The adjective *grateful*, optionally pre-modified by adverbs, occurs after linking verbs, and is part of gratitude expressions found in AMs realized as clauses. Typically,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the gratitude expression constitutes an incomplete clause, followed by two complements realized as prepositional groups, which encode the benefit and benefactor units. The prepositional groups encoding the benefits are often headed by the preposition *for*, while those encoding the benefactors are frequently headed by the preposition *to*. (However, other prepositions are possible too, especially if the benefit unit precedes the benefactor unit.) Occasionally, either the benefit unit or the benefactor unit may occur before the gratitude expression in clause-initial, thematic position. Alternatively, only the benefactor unit may be encoded. Finally, benefit units may be encoded also as non-defining relative clauses. Examples:

GRATEFUL

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	Prep NN	
I am very grateful	to many professors and colleagues	for interesting discussions and for guidance	B-Adm1
I am deeply grateful	to my family and my professors	for their unwavering support of this degree	Edu2

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	Prep NN	
I am grateful	for the discipline-crossing friendships I have made through my work	with the *Berkeleyan Club*	Engl2
I am also grateful	for the keen editorial advice	of my fellow graduate students	Engl4

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep NN	NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	
For their generous help	I am grateful	to [names]	Phil2

Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV AdjAdj	Prep NN	
I am deeply grateful	to my family and friends	Edu3
I am also eternally grateful	to my co-directors, *Mary Smith* and *Shelly Long*	Engl4

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	Rel-cl	
I am very grateful	to my brother *John*	who invited me to [placename] and [placename]	Arch5
I am most grateful	to *Mary Smith* elegant teacher	who first directed my academic and professional interests towards the study of children and families.	Edu4
I am also grateful	for friends	who engaged the ideas of this dissertation	Engl4
I am grateful	to *John Brown*	who let me screen the Ac/Ds-mutagenized population	P-Bio3

The adverb *gratefully* may accompany the verb *to acknowledge* in gratitude expressions. When these are encoded in the passive orientation, the benefit units, realized as noun groups and containing embedded prepositional groups encoding the benefactor units, precede the verb groups. When they are encoded in the active orientation, the benefactor units are realized as noun groups that follow the verb groups. The benefit units may be realized as prepositional groups, which may precede the gratitude expressions, or as relative clauses that follow the benefactor unit. The corpus includes only one AM

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

containing the expression *to gratefully acknowledge* that has a discontinuous benefactor unit. Examples:

to GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE

Benefit	Benefactor	Gratitude	PhDAS
NN	Prep NN	AuxAux VV-pp	
Financial support … Award number […]	by the *Central Berkeley Institute*	is gratefully acknowledged	B-Adm3

Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep VV-ing Compl	NN VV	NN	
for listening, understanding, and providing emotional support	I gratefully acknowledge	my partner *John Brown* and friend *Mary Smith*	Edu5

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Rel-cl	Prep NN	
I gratefully acknowledge	those	who willingly participated in the surveys and interviews	including [names] of [placename]	Arch5

The word *gratitude* appears in gratitude expressions that are realized as, or are part of larger text units realized as, clauses. The clauses in question are encoded in the active orientation, and *gratitude* is (part of) the noun groups following their verb groups. It refers to the goods (i.e., the counter-gifts) that the thankers want to give to the benefactors. Gratitude expressions containing the word *gratitude* may be accompanied by benefit units and/or benefactor units; the former may be realized as prepositional groups, or less frequently, as relative clauses, while the latter only as prepositional groups. Occasionally, they may be realized as discontinuous text segments enclosing the benefit

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or benefactor units. In one gratitude expression, *gratitude* appears as part of the noun group *preceding* the verb group; in this case the verb group and its complement serve to describe the magnitude of the thanker's gratitude. Examples:

GRATITUDE

Gratitude	Benefit	Gratitude	PhDAS
NN VV Conj NN VV	Prep NN	NN	
I regret that I can offer …	in return for all this help	… no more impressive evidence of my gratitude	Phil1

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV NN	Prep NN	(Prep) NN	
I give my immense gratitude	to *John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, and *Mary Smith*	for their constant support, for help in reading this work and making suggestions, and for long conversations	Engl2
I wish to express my sincere gratitude	to many people	whose help	Arch1

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN	Prep NN	VV NN	
My gratitude and love	for my dearest friend and husband, *John*	has no bounds	Edu2

The adjective *indebted* occurs after the verb *to be* in incomplete clauses that encode gratitude expressions. These gratitude expressions are accompanied by benefactor units realized as *to*-headed prepositional groups, optionally followed by benefit units also realized as prepositional groups, or alternatively as relative clauses. Once *indebted* occurs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in a defining relative clause embedded under the head of the noun group encoding the benefactors; the AM in which it occurs contains a benefactor unit realized in a three-part, discontinuous text segment. Examples:

INDEBTED

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	^Prep VV-ing Compl*/ Prep NN*	
I am also indebted	to *John Brown, Mark Morrison,* and *Bruce Oden*	for their many helpful comments	B-Adm4
I am deeply indebted	to my committee members	for their advice, patience, and most of all, for their encouragement,	Arch5
I am also indebted	to my parents	for always having encouraged me in my studies	Stat1

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	Prep NN	Rel-cl	
I am particularly indebted	to the architect *John Brown*	who spent many long hours working with me on the [placename]	Arch3

Benefactor	Benefit	Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
Cl	Rel-cl	NN	Rel-cl	NN	
There have been many people	who supported me	Friends	to whom I am indebted.	[names] and their extended family.	Edu4

As a gratitude expression, *not to leave out* occurs once in the corpus; it is followed by a noun group identifying the benefactor and another one identifying the benefit, which is the beginning of a relative clause introducing a benefit expansion unit:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

NOT to LEAVE OUT

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	NN	
I cannot leave out	my daughter, *Mary* and my son, *John*	whose moral support	Arch5

The noun *luxury* appears once after the verb *to have* as part of a gratitude expression which is followed by a subordinate infinitival clause encoding the benefit unit. The gratitude expression is part of a defining relative clause embedded under the noun group identifying the benefactors. The noun group appears before the gratitude expression, although it is also accompanied by a nominal adposition, occurring after the benefit unit, which contributes to identifying the benefactors:

LUXURY

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	Benefit	PhDAS
NN Rel-pr	NN VV NN	Cl-inf	NN	
other *CBI* researchers whom	I had the luxury	to work with	[names]	EECS2

The verb *to marvel* is used once in the *to* infinitive form as part of a gratitude expression; this is followed by an incomplete clause that encodes the benefit unit and a prepositional group encoding the benefactor unit:

to MARVEL

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV	Prep NN AuxAux VV-pp	Prep NN	
I continue to marvel	at how many of my interests were formed and anticipated	by my undergraduate mentors: *John Brown*, *Mark Morrrison*, and the late *Bruce Oden*	Engl3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The verb *to owe* tends to occur followed by words such as *debt, thanks* and/or *gratitude* in gratitude expressions encoded as incomplete clauses; these are followed by prepositional groups realizing benefit units and then by prepositional groups or relative clauses encoding benefactor units. One benefactor unit is encoded as a vocative adjunct (i.e., a noun group) before the gratitude expression. Finally, in another AM, the verb *to owe* is not accompanied by other words encoding the notion of gratitude, but by a noun group identifying the benefit; this occurs in thematic position. Examples:

to OWE (A DEBT/THANKS/GRATITUDE)

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV NN	Prep NN	^NN*/ ^Prep NN*/ ^Rel-cl*	
I owe a special debt of thanks	to *John Brown*	not only for his perceptive comments, but also for his kindness and support	Phil1
I owe a special debt	to *Mary Smith*	who taught me to read Kant's German	Phil2
I owe a special debt of gratitude	to my wife, *Lisa Osborne*	for the support — intellectual and otherwise — she has given me	Phil5

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
NN	Cl	Prep VV-ing Compl	
John,	I owe you a special thanks	for trusting me, and allowing me to put you and your students under the scrutiny of my watchful eye	Edu1

Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN ++ Prep NN	NN VV	Prep NN	
the opportunity to do this work, along with many useful contributions	I owe	to others	Arch3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The noun *pleasure* may occur in a gratitude expression encoded from an impersonal perspective after a linking verb; it introduces an infinitival clause that encodes the benefit unit (realized as the *to*-infinitive) and the benefactor unit (realized as a prepositional group):

PLEASURE

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
Cl	To-inf	Prep NN	
It was a great pleasure	to work	with so many undergraduate assistants.	P-Bio5

The verb *to recognize* can introduce benefactor units realized as noun groups and benefit units realized as relative clauses; it can be encoded from both a personal perspective, preceded by a pronoun identifying the thanker, or from an impersonal one, preceded by an introductory clause whose subject is the pronoun *it*. Examples:

to RECOGNIZE

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
^Conj NN AuxAux AdjAdj To-inf*/ ^NN VV*	NN	Rel-cl	
and it is hard to recognize	everybody	who contributed to this work	Stat1
I would like to recognize	all my fellow students from the former *Berkeley Central Institute* (r.i.p.) … [names]	who took the time and trouble	Stat1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The expression *to deserve recognition* realizes one gratitude expression instantiated in the corpus; it is preceded by a noun group encoding the benefactor and a prepositional group encoding the benefit unit:

to DESERVE RECOGNITION

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
NN … Adv NN	VV NN	Prep NN	
My fellow graduate students … especially *John Brown* and *Mark Morrison*	deserve recognition	for their encouragement and good spirits	Stat1

The verb *to thank* is used very frequently in the corpus, always in the active orientation (unlike *to acknowledge*) and always from the perspective of the thanker, encoded as a personal pronoun occurring before the verb. In most cases, the verb occurs pre-modified by a hedged want statement, an adverb or both. The gratitude expression containing the verb *to thank* is typically followed by a noun group which encodes the benefactor unit and then by a prepositional group encoding the benefit unit; the benefit unit, however, may also be encoded as a noun group, incomplete clause, or relative clause, but less frequently so. A gratitude expression containing the verb *to thank* may occur only accompanied by the benefactor unit, but not only by the benefit unit. Variations to the structures outlined above may come from the thematization of the benefit unit, or from the discontinuous realization of the benefactor unit or the benefit unit, and/or from the encoding of the AM as a clause complex. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to THANK

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	^Prep NN*/ ^Prep VV-ing Compl*	
I would like to thank	*John Brown, Mark Morrison, Bruce Oden*	for their valuable suggestions, comments and time	B-Adm1
I also have to thank	my brother	for being a great friend and for passing along that first computer way back when [sic]	Edu3
I want to especially thank	my bay-mate *Mary Smith,*	for her advice and discussion of any number of things scientific or otherwise	P-Bio
I also gratefully thank	Professor *John Willis Brown*	for making suggestions and reviewing my dissertation manuscript	Stat4
I thank	my best friend, my wife, *Mary Smith*	for being so very strange and wonderful, and for a love	Stat4

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Prep NN	
I would also like to thank	*Shelly Long,*	without whom	P-Bio4

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Conj NN	
I thank	*Mark Morrison*	[…] and whose constant support and enthusiasm	Arch4

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Cl-inc	
I wish to thank	*John Brown*	[…] I have greatly benefited as well	Phil4

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	Rel-cl	
I would like to thank	all of the preschool teachers	who donated their time	Edu4
I would also like to thank	*John Brown*	who I have enjoyed working with	P-Bio4
I wish to thank	*Bruce Oden*	who introduced me to the field of behavioral finance, and who co-authored the last essay of this dissertation with me	B-Adm3

Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	
I want to start by thanking	all the members of my dissertation committee and qualifying exam	Arch1
I would like to thank	my fellow device group colleagues in [room numbers] in [name of building].	EECS3

Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep NN	NN VV	NN	
for his knowing when to put a hand on my shoulder … and then leave me alone, for his support, and for his love and fire	I thank	my husband, *John Brown*	Engl2

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
Prep NN	Cl	NN VV NN	Prep VV-link-ing NN	
To my four living sisters—*Mary, Lisa, Shelly*, and *Jane*	you have taught me … about positions of power, hybridic identities, and what it means to negotiate conflict,	I thank you	for being the roots of this dissertation.	Edu1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV	NN	^Prep NN*/ ^Rel-cl*	^Prep NN*/ ^Adv NN*	
I would like to thank	Professor *John Brown*	for his brief but meaningful tenure	as my first research advisor at the University of California, Berkeley.	EECS3
I should also like to thank	my friends	who gave me much moral support	especially Mr. and Mrs. *Bruce Oden*	Arch5

The word *thanks* may be found in gratitude expressions other than those containing the verb *to owe* (for which see above). For example, it may occur in a noun group before or after the verb group of an incomplete clause conveying the notion of exchange or expressing the idea of saying; alternatively, it may occur without any verb group, as an absolute construction, so that it is not clear whether it functions as the subject or complement of the verb that is left understood. In either case, it may be accompanied by adjectival pre-modification. Gratitude expressions containing *thanks* are always accompanied by *to*-headed prepositional phrases that encode benefactor units and often also by *for*-headed prepositional groups, noun groups or relative clauses encoding benefit units. Occasionally, benefactor units may be fronted to thematic position or realized as circumfixed text segments around the gratitude expressions. Examples:

THANKS

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV	Prep NN	Prep VV-ing Compl	
I want to give a special thanks	to my best friend Dr. *Mary Turner Smith*	for being there for me	P-Bio3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
^NN VV*/ ^NN AuxAux VV-pp*	Prep NN	^Prep NN*/ ^Rel-cl*	
My thanks also go	to *Lisa Long*,	who helped me produce this manuscript in its final form	Arch1
My deepest thanks are extended	to *John-Alan Brown*, my academic advisor and dissertation Chairman,	for all his valuable advice and support, both academic and personal	Arch1

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN	Prep NN	^Prep VV-ing Compl*/ ^Prep NN*	
A special thanks [sic]	to *Mary Smith*	for her patient proof-reading and useful suggestions	Arch4
Thanks	to *Jane Osborne*, *Mark Morrison*, *Bruce Oden*, and *John Brown*	for bringing many new ideas and new enthusiasm to the project and for keeping my life interesting.	EECS5
Many thanks also	to *Roger Oden*	for introducing me to a problem [...] and for his help and guidance	Phil4

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN Adv	Prep NN	NN	
Thanks, also	to *Bruce Oden* and *Mark Morrison*	whose comments	Engl1

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN	Prep NN	Rel-cl	
Thanks	to my father	who has taught me ... to stand up for things that matter	EECS5

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
^NN*/ ^NN VV*	Prep NN	
Particular thanks goes [sic] out	to [names]	EECS3
special thanks	to *John Brown*, *Jane Osborne*, and *Shelly Long*	Phil4
Special thanks	to the members of the [name of program] program at *Berkeleyan Lab*	Arch1

Benefactor	Gratitude	PhDAS
Prep NN	NN VV Compl	
To my dissertation committee,	I give great thanks	Edu1

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep NN	NN VV NN	Prep NN	
In addition to those mentioned below	I would like to give special thanks	to [several names]	Phil3

The interjection, or minor clause, *thank you* also occurs in the corpus as a gratitude expression. It can be accompanied by only a benefactor unit or both a benefactor unit and a benefit unit. The benefactor unit, realizable as a noun group or, much more frequently, as a prepositional group, may precede or follow the gratitude expression, while the benefit unit, realizable as a prepositional group or, much less frequently, as a clause, can only follow it. Examples:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

THANK YOU

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
Prep NN	Interj	Prep VV-ing Compl	
To *Jane Osborne*, my tai'ji transcriber extraordinaire	thank you	for saving my hands and my mind	Edu1
to my mother	thank you	for teaching me the value of kindness and for always being my biggest supporter	EECS5

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
Interj (Adv)	Prep NN	^Prep VV-ing Compl*/ ^Prep NN*	
Thank you also	to *John* and *Mark*	for constantly inspiring me	B-Adm3
Thank you	to my committee, *John Brown*, *Mark Morrison*, and *Shelly Long*	for their most helpful comments and stimulating ideas	Engl2
Thank you very much	to my father, *Alan*	for all the encouragement and for teaching me that there were no limits to what I could be	P-Bio1
Thank you	to *Jane Osborne*, my friend and first real science teacher	for always being close in spite of the distance	P-Bio1

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	PhDAS
Prep NN	Cl	Interj	
To my brother *Mark*	you were the first to give me lessons in peace and to protect me from harm's way	thank you	Edu1

Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Interj	NN	
Thank you	all	EECS3

Finally, the noun *wishes* occurs once in the corpus as part of a gratitude expression. This is realized as a noun group functioning as an absolute construction, and is followed by the benefactor unit encoded as a prepositional group:

WISHES

Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN	Prep NN	
My best wishes	to my office mates [names] and to my fellow students [names]	Stat1

Patterns of AMs containing multiple gratitude expressions and/or consisting of (text segments belonging to) different sentences. The above patterns and examples represent and describe the grammatical organization of AMs not larger than a sentence. Many AMs in the corpus, though, are encoded as groups of sentences, or at least as groups of text segments belonging to different sentences. The lexico-grammar of multi-segment/sentence[67] AMs is partly similar to and partly different from that of single-sentence AMs. It is similar in the sense that the most frequent gratitude expressions are similarly encoded in all AMs and accompanied by similar types of complements. It is different in the sense that the employment of (text segments from) more than one sentence opens up the possibility of encoding given functional components repeatedly and in various ways.

[67] From now on only the term *multi-sentence AM* will be used for short.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Certain multi-sentence AMs are very similar to single-sentence AMs from a functional and structural point of view, but less so syntactically. That is, each of the main constituents is instantiated only once, and their order of occurrence is the same as in single-sentence AMs. However, one of the constituents occurs in a distinct sentence, and it is encoded differently from the way it would be if it were one of the complements of the verb of the other sentence (e.g., as a clause rather than a prepositional group or as a noun group preceding a verb group). Examples:

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV (NN)	(Prep) NN	Cl	
I owe a profound debt	to my dissertation advisors *Shelly Long* and *Bruce Oden*.	Each of them has provided the right combination of timely encouragement and knowledgeable criticisms	Phil5
I would also like to thank	*Mary Smith*, my undergraduate research advisor.	She was like a mother to me.	P-Bio2
I want to thank	my wonderful husband *John*.	Meeting him was the best thing that happened to me.	P-Bio2

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	NN	
I am especially grateful	to my mother, *Mary Turner Smith*, and to my eight brothers and sisters, … [names] … [names]	Their faith—and disbelief about the length of time it was taking to earn my doctorate	Engl5

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other multi-sentence AMs employ the same main lexical resources for encoding the notion of gratitude as single-sentence AMs, but place them in different syntactic structures. For example, it is only in a multi-sentence AM that *gratitude* occurs in a *by*-headed prepositional group encoding a gratitude expression:

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
Prep NN	NN	Prep NN	
by a deep sense of gratitude	Traces of the hard work and insight	of professors, friends, and colleagues	Engl4

Other multi-sentence AMs, instead, employ lexical resources for encoding the notion of gratitude that do not occur in single-sentence ones, for example *to captivate someone's attention*,[68] or not in combination with the same words (e.g., *love* and *thanks*, *thanks* and *due*):

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN	--	--	
2) --	Cl-inc	Prep NN	Arch2
3) --	--	Cl-ing	
1) *Bruce Oden.*	--	--	
2) --	He captivated my attention	with his excellent sense of humor and his constant challenge, "What is new?"	Arch2
3) --	--	Working with him as a T .A. in his Design Theories and Methods course	

[68] In this and the following examples, the symbol '--' signals the lack of a given functional component, while the numbers identify the (texts segments belonging to) different sentences.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefactors	Benefits	PhDAS
1) NN 2) --	Prep NN --	Prep NN Cl	P-Bio3
1) endless love and thanks 2) --	to my parents, all my sisters and my brother --	for their encouragement, unconditional support and love Their love is the source of power	P-Bio3

Gratitude	Benefactors	Benefit	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj	Prep NN	NN	
Thanks are due	to the members of my committee: *John Brown*, *Jane Osborne*, and *Shelly Long*.	Their comments on this project; … their scholarly works	Engl1

Multi-sentence AMs may also combine different types of lexical resources for expressing gratitude. Example:

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) NN VV	NN --	-- NN	Edu3
1) I would like to thank 2) I appreciated	the students who participated in these design studies. --	-- their enthusiasm … and their patience	Edu3

Multiple-sentence AMs give writers the opportunity to recurrently instantiate one or more of the main functional components of their mini-texts; thus, authors can

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

repeatedly refer to the benefactors, mention several benefits (or different aspects of the same benefits) and/or express their gratitude more than once. Examples:

- multiple reference to the same benefactors

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
1) NN 2) -- 3) --	-- ClCl --	-- -- Prep	-- -- NN	Arch2
1) *John Brown* 2) -- 3) --	-- Something I was supposed to know was revealed: I should also question my "certainties." --	-- -- Thanks to	-- -- *John Brown*	Arch2

- multiple reference to benefits (or reference to multiple benefits)

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV-link AdjAdj --	To-inf Prep NN	Prep NN Prep NN	P-Bio3
I was fortunate --	to work because of the quiet dedication and insight	with many many wonderful and knowledgeable individuals … of many friends and colleagues.	P-Bio3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	PhDAS
NN VV NN --	Prep NN NN	Prep NN --	Stat2
I have had the great pleasure --	of regular conversations Our discussions on statistics and genetics	with a very thoughtful genetist, *Mark Morrison* --	Stat2

- multiple reference to benefactors and benefits

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) -- 3) --	NN NN NN	Prep NN VV NN Cl-inf Cl-ing VV NN Cl-inf	B-Adm2
I want to thank -- --	professors [names] These professors these professors	for their guidance, friendship, encouragement, and support have helped me become a better researcher, always providing stimulating and critical thoughts have helped me to become a better person	B-Adm2

- multiple reference to the experience of gratitude

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) Interj	NN --	Prep NN Conj N --	Stat3
I'd like to thank "Thanks!"	my advisor, *John Brown*, --	for his guiding hand and help --	Stat3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- multiple reference to the experience of gratitude and benefactors

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) Interj	NN NN	Prep NN ++ VV-ing (Compl) --	P-Bio4
1) I would also like to thank 2) thanks	*Mark Morrison* *Mark*	for his endless helpfulness, listening to practice talks, editing, providing technical advice --	P-Bio4

- multiple reference to the experience of gratitude and benefits

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) NN VV 3) -- 4) NN VV-link AdjAdj	NN --- --- ---	Prep NN NN Cl Prep NN	P-Bio5
I would like to thank I greatly appreciate -- I am extremely grateful	*John* -- -- --	for his constant enthusiasm and support. his sensitivity on a personal level. I have developed my capacities to think widely and deeply. for this intellectual stimulation and his patient, constructive and unfailingly positive perspective on my ideas and writings.	P-Bio5

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- multiple reference to the experience of gratitude, benefactors and benefits

Gratitude	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV	NN	Rel-cl ++ Prep VV-ing Compl	Engl4
2) --	--	Cl	
3) --	NN's	NN	
4) Cl	--	Prep NN … Prep NN	
1) I thank	*Mary Smith*	who has been there from the beginning, for seeing me and this project through several personal and professional metamorphoses	Engl4
2) --	--	I have gained immeasurable inspiration … by discussions she directed	
3) --	*Mary Smith*'s	charisma, humor, and intellectual integrity	
4) I am indebted to her	--	for my commitment to scholarship, … without her.	

Multi-sentence AMs, in addition, more frequently than single-sentence AMs, represent benefit units and benefactor units as events rather than entities involved in them or circumstances characterizing them. In single-sentence AMs it is gratitude expressions that tend to be encoded as verb groups, incomplete clauses or clauses; benefit units and benefactor units, instead, are very often realized as noun groups, prepositional groups or relative clauses that act as complements to the syntactic structures encoding the gratitude expressions. In extended AMs, it is possible to devote entire sentences (or at least verb

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

groups with their complements) to the encoding of just one of their main components.

Examples:

- benefit units only represented as events (whole sentences)

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN 2)	-- Cl	Arch2
1) *Mark Morrison* 2) --	-- He was always accessible to help my family	Arch2
1) Prep NN 2) --	ClCl ClCl	Edu1
1) to my dissertation chair, *John Brown*: 2) --	you have taught me to be a teacher, you have taught me to be a learner. You opened up a world of ideas for me, and together we put them into practice!	Edu1

- benefit units only represented as events (verb groups)

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	PhDAS
1) NN 2) NN 3) --	VV Cl-inf VV NN --	-- -- Cl-inc	Arch2
1) Many friends at Berkeley 2) These friends and their family 3) --	helped me to conclude provided the conditions --	-- -- My love and gratitude to them all.	Arch2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- benefit units only represented as events (verb groups and sentences)

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN 2) --	VV Compl Cl	Arch2
1) *Mary*, my wife, *John Alan* and *Mark*, my sons, 2) --	accepted, most of the time with serenity, the many absences, first from home, then from the country. they also shared with me the value of persistence and the cost of success	Arch2

- both benefit units and benefactor units represented as events

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN 2) Cl 3) -- 4) --	-- -- Cl Cl	Arch2
1) *John Brown* 2) He was a member of my doctoral exams and a member of my dissertation committee. 3) -- 4) --	-- -- we developed a relationship He taught me a great deal about what cannot be learned exclusively at the university	Arch2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) Cl 2) --	Cl Cl	EECS1
1) *Jane* has not only been a supportive mentor but a good friend as well. 2) --	We have had many personal conversations and she has given many [sic] invaluable advice on my personal life	EECS1

Multi-sentence AMs can be syntactically repetitive or varied. The various mini-messages making them up, through which writers repeatedly refer to their experience of gratitude, benefactors and/or benefits, may be encoded through the same grammatical resources or alternatively be realized through a combination of structures. Examples:

- repetition of the same structures

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	PhDAS
1) Cl 2) Cl 3) --	Rel-cl Rel-cl --	-- -- Cl-inc	Arch2
1) Many are the professors, colleagues, friends, and family 2) These were the people 3) --	who helped me set myself to finish this endeavor. who provided the stimulating academic environment --	-- -- To all of them my enduring gratitude.	Arch2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
1) Prep NN Conj Cl 2) --	Interj Interj	Prep VV-ing Compl Prep VV-ing Compl	Edu1
1) To las mujeres en me vida, particularly [names], all the fine women at the dog pound, y mis amigas son de Las Diablitas, 2) --	thank you thank you	for embracing me with your warmth and affection, for feeding me, dancing with me, and for making me have the fun that I very much needed for teaching me what it means to be a member of a community	Edu1

- combinations of different structures

Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN 2) --	VV NN Prep NN	Stat4
1) Very many people 2) --	have given me the help and encouragement Without their kindness and support	Stat4

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	Gratitude	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) --	NN VV-pp --	Prep NN --	-- Interj Quant	Edu3
1) I have also appreciated 2) --	the hours of enjoyment shared --	with the *Berkeleyan* club, the camping contingent, and the book club members --	-- Thank you all.	Edu3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN VV 2) -- 3) --	NN … NN… --	NN Prep NN NN	VV Compl Prep NN Cl --	EECS3
1) I would like to take this moment to acknowledge 2) -- 3) --	the support that the steadfastness --	my parents of Mom and Dad Mom and Dad	have given me for whom the words of "devotion" and "love" were always preceded by the word "unending", --	EECS3

Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
1) NN VV NN 2) --	Prep NN NN	-- VV-link AdjAdj	-- NN VV-link AdjAdj	-- Prep NN	P-Bio5
1) I have received an enormous amount of good advice and comments 2) --	from past and present participants of the *Berkeleyan* lab The lab group	-- has been an especially important resource for me	-- I am very grateful	-- to each and every member.	P-Bio5

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Finally, because structured as series of mini-messages, multi-sentence AMs may interleave their functional components; that is, not only can these be expanded upon, but also different chunks of them can occur at different points in the AMs. Examples:

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefactor	PhDAS
1) Prep NN 2) --	Cl --	-- NN	-- Prep NN	Arch2
1) At *UC Berkeley* (*UCB*) 2) --	I found also the required support. --	-- My eternal gratitude	-- to these people and institutions.	Arch2

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN 2) --	VV NN --	-- Cl	-- Cl-inf ++ Cl	Arch5
1) Professor *Bruce R. Oden* 2) --	always inspired me --	-- and I was fortunate	to have him on my committee: he not only helped me to reformulate the problem, but also continued to offer me much insightful guidance.	Arch5

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
1) NN 2) --	VV NN Cl-inf --	-- NN VV	-- NN	Arch5
1) Professor *Mark Morrison* and my colleagues 2) --	helped me to conduct the second survey --	-- I truly appreciate	--- their help.	Arch5

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benefactor	Gratitude	Benefit	Benefactor	Benefit	PhDAS
1) Prep NN [Benefactor] 2) Cl [Gratitude]		VV-ing Prep NN	Prep NN --	VV Compl --	Edu1
1) To my partners in crime—the instructors of [course number], especially [names], 2) There are no words to express my thanks		working for such life lessons.	with you folks --	has taught me the meaning of collaboration, democracy, and struggling together to resist dominant discourses. --	Edu1

Benefactor	Benefit	Gratitude	Benefit	PhDAS
1) Prep NN 2) --	NN --	-- Interj Pron	-- Prep VV-ing Compl	Edu1
1) To my parents, *Bruce* and *Jane* 2) --	your love and support—both financial and emotional—. --	-- Thank you both	-- for being my anchor.	Edu1

On the basis of the above patterns and exemplification, it is possible to make some general observations about the grammatical organization of the AMs in the corpus. First, AMs can vary in their degree of syntactic elaborateness: the text segments that make them up may correspond to constituents of clauses, entire clauses or clause complexes, which can also be combined in various ways. Second, independently of their degree of syntactic elaborateness, AMs can always encode all three of their main constituents;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

however, AMs not realized as full clauses typically lack a gratitude expression. Third, in AMs realized as clauses, gratitude expressions are typically encoded as verb groups, while benefit units and benefactor units are typically encoded as noun groups and prepositional groups; therefore, experiences of gratitude tend to be represented as processes, while benefactors and benefits as entities involved in or circumstances characterizing those processes. Fourth, in AMs realized as clauses but containing no gratitude expressions, the benefactor unitsand benefit units may be variously realized: if the former are encoded as noun groups, the latter may be encoded as verb groups or prepositional groups; if the former are encoded as prepositional groups, the latter may be encoded as noun groups, prepositional groups or relative clauses; and if the former are encoded as incomplete clauses, the latter are typically encoded as prepositional groups. Fifth, AMs containing gratitude expressions tend to be syntactically organized in the way required by the argument structure of the main lexical resources for expressing gratitude; if these are adjectives, they tend to be used after linking verbs and followed by prepositional groups; if they are verbs, optionally modified by adverbs, they are preceded by noun groups functioning as subjects and frequently followed by noun groups and prepositional groups functioning as objects and indirect objects, respectively; and if they are nouns, optionally modified by adjectives, they can occur in absolute constructions or in pre- or post-verbal position. Sixth, when their main lexical resources are non-linking verbs, gratitude expressions tend to be realized in the active orientation, with the thankers thus represented as the main actors involved in the events being referred to. These expressions, therefore, present gratitude fom the thankers' perspective. Occasionally, however (e.g., with the verbs *to acknowledge* and *to recognize*) passive orientation may

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be instantiated, and the perspective from which gratitude is presented may be that of the benefactor or an impersonal one. Seventh, benefit units realized as verb groups or (incomplete) clauses are typically encoded in the active orientation and from the perspective of the benefactor, the segments identifying the benefactors tending to precede the relevant verbs. Eighth, in AMs containing all three main functional components, gratitude expressions tend to occur before benefactor units, which in turn precede benefit units; in those lacking a gratitude expression, benefactor units tend to precede benefit units. Thus, where applicable, the thanker is made more prominent in the discourse than the benefactor, and the latter tends to be more cognitively salient than the benefit. Ninth, thematization of units that do not typically occupy first position in the messages encoding acts of thanking occasionally occurs, but it is never a characteristic of entire PhDASs; it is a source of stylistic variation in those texts. Finally, AMs of varying degrees of syntactic elaborateness may be textually organized in complex ways: functional constituents may be encoded in discontinuous text segments that surround other constituents; in addition, in multi-sentence AMs, they may be instantiated more than once and even interleaved with other constituents.

In conclusion, it appears that PhDAS writers know how to handle a variety of lexico-syntactic resources in order to encode their AMs in original ways and thus have their texts acquire a distinct, personalized flavor distinguishing them from the rest. At the same time, their encoding patterns reveal certain shared preferences, especially with regard to the ordering options of the their AMs' functional constituents.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.12. Other text units

In the previous sections in this chapter I have examined the most important and frequent functional components of the AMs that make up the PhDASs. However, I have excluded from my analysis three types of AM (sub-)components that occasionally show up in the corpus: expansions of thanker-identifying expressions, expressions of opinions not directly relevant to beneficial exchanges, and reports of background information.

In the corpus, reference to the thankers is made mostly by means of first-person pronouns and possessives; these deictics are often part of gratitude expressions, in which they identify the experiencers of given cognitive-emotional states, but they may also occur in benefactor units or benefit units, in which they identify the receivers of benefits or show the relevance of given benefactors and benefits to the writers. Reference to the writers through nouns (e.g., *student*, *undergraduate*) is exemplified in the corpus, but never in core benefit expressions. However, there are six AMs (one in B-Adm1, one in EECS2, one in EECS3, two in Engl4, and one in Phil5) in which reference is made to the writers indirectly, that is, via metonymy. Those AMs mention the products of the writers' work (i.e, their dissertations) in the vicinity of a gratitude expression or an expansion of a gratitude expression. The specific expressions used to refer to the authors' accomplishments are *this dissertation*, *this thesis* or *this work*, and four times out of six they occur after the verb *to dedicate*; in one case, reference to the writer's latest accomplishment is made near an expression that is equivalent in function to *to dedicate*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(i.e., *to be for*); and in another AM *this dissertation* accompanies an expression of the writer's emotions. Here is an example:

(1,192) "I dedicate §TE §TEacc *this dissertation* to the memory of [first name + last name], without whose generosity it would have been a much more difficult endeavor." (Engl4; metonymic reference to the writer in a gratitude expression; emphasis added);

(1,193) "§TE §TEacc This thesis is partly for you too, Mom and Dad." (EECS3; metonymic reference to the writer in the expansion of a gratitude expression; emphasis added).

As the above examples show, I have coded such text segments with the tags §TE (for 'expansion of thanker unit' and §TEacc for 'expansion of thanker unit referring to the writer's accomplishment'). I have not considered such text units part of the relevant gratitude expressions or their expansions because they do not encode the thankers' feelings or opinions. Rather, they refer to a form of tangible counter-benefit offered to the benefactors that helps assess the type and intensity of the feelings experienced by the writers. Because they refer to entities produced by the writers, which help qualify the latter as PhD candidates, I have regarded them as expansions of the overt or implicit pronouns identifying the beneficiaries in the thanking expressions or their supportives.

When referring to, and especially when describing, benefactors and/or benefits, the PhDAS writers often manifest their opinions on the beneficial circumstances they were involved in. There are six AMs (one in Arch2, one in EECS1, two in EECS3, one in Engl3, and one in P-Bio3) in which writers express opinions about circumstances they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were involved in, distinct from their benefits, or general considerations about life or social relationships. Examples:

(1,194) "§O If of making books there is no end, there is also no end to the friendships (and Homeric catalogues of friendships) which book-making can create" (Engl3; an expression of opinions);

(1,195) "In the end, §O *its* [sic] *family that really counts.*"(EECS3; an expression of opinions; emphasis added);

(1,196) "Not only of academia is [sic] possible to survive." (Arch2; an expression of opinions).

The tag §O signals that a given text segment encodes a general opinion of the writer's. Such text segments serve as mini-introductions or conclusions to given AMs and underline the importance of the benefits received or the value of the benefactors' behavior; indeed, these are classifiable as supportive evidence for the opinions expressed.

Finally, the corpus contains text segments in 29 AMs (nine in Arch, one in B-Adm, two in Edu, five in EECS, six in Engl, one in Phil, four in P-Bio, one in Stat) through which the writers report on background circumstances of their academic lives or, in particular, of their dissertation research and writing experience. Examples:

(1,197) "§BK My first encounter with [...] was as a student in his classes about the logic that admits conditionals" (Arch2; background information about the writer's academic life);

(1,198) "§BK I remember one of his first comments on one of my term papers: Do you blatantly accept the notion of wicked problems? Coming from the person who

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

co-authored the paper "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning" left me astonished." (Arch2; background information about the writer's academic life);

(1,199) "§BK At the Center [...] — where I work as an Assistant Professor [...]" (Arch2; background information about the writer's academic life);

(1,200) "§BK Mistakes in this study are my own" (Arch3; background information about the writer's dissertation writing experience);

(1,201) "The comments and opinions in this dissertation are my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the directors, members, or officers of the [abbreviated name of institution]" (B-Adm1; background information about the writer's dissertation writing experience);

(1,202) "§BK When I could barely speak English and did not have a clue of what to do, [...]" (P-Bio3; background information about the writer's academic life);

(1,203) "§BK Portions of Chapters 7 and 8 were delivered at Philosophy Department Colloquia at [names of three universities]" (Phil5; background information about the writer's academic life);

(1,204) "§BK Not content with these face-to-face communities, however, I have also sought out virtual camaraderie" (Engl3; background information about the writer's academic life);

(1,205) "§BK The graduate chair of the English Department once stopped me in the hallway simply to say, "you have a great committee."" (Engl4; background information about the writer's academic life).

Most of these text segments, tagged with §BK (for 'background information'), refer to the past of the writers' academic lives, and constitute mini-narratives that help the reader

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reconstruct the events the writers where involved in when busy with their dissertation projects. Only a few are relevant to the present, in which case they may either refer to circumstances the writers are involved in or function as apologetic acknowledgments for possible oversights in the dissertations. In both cases, these text units help the reader situate the writers and their work, because they contain the information that explains how and why the authors have produced the work they are finally submitting.

4.13. Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined macro and micro textual aspects of the organization and lexico-grammatical encoding of (AMs in) PhDASs.

I have first provided detailed analyses of five stylistically different PhDASs. On the one hand, their examination has revealed the typical organization of whole texts and their moves, as well as how expressions of gratitude may be worded. On the other hand, it has shown how the structure and phrasing of genre exemplars may be adapted to suit and reflect the individual writers' personalities, private goals and/or specific discourse community membership. Indeed, PhDASs may be more or less long, more or less effective in achieving their communicative purpose, more or less elaborate in their overall organization or that of their AMs, more or less specific in identifying benefactors and describing benefits, more or less varied in encoding the notion of gratitude, more or less detailed in providing background information about given dissertation projects, and more or less formal in tone.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Next, I have tackled the issue of the identification of AMs in PhDASs. I have proposed a main semantic criterion (i.e., the noticeability or mention of new benefactors) as a suitable method for the recognizability of AMs, pointing out the degree of its validity and showing, through examples from the corpus, that a strict application of it may be problematic when dealing with authentic data. The application of this criterion has represented the first methodological step in the analysis of the corpus and has influenced the rest of the analysis itself. Indeed, it has made it possible for me to tag the functional components and sub-components of the PhDASs.

I have started my analysis of the corpus by looking at macro features of the PhDASs. I have thus considered their size, that is, their length in words, lines, and paragraphs. This has revealed that, on average, these texts are moderately elaborate from a typographic point of view, although very long ones and very short ones occur too (very short PhDASs appear to be typical of two disciplines, namely B-Adm and Stat). Also, it has revealed that it is often, but not always, possible to find correlations among the four above-mentioned types of measurements of PhDASs (e.g., a PhDASs consisting of a high number of words may or may not also be made up of a high number of paragraphs). In general, the examination of the length of PhDASs has revealed that these texts tend to adhere to a standard, that the specificities of the standard vary across disciplines, and that the standard is adaptable to the writing preferences of individual authors.

I have also considered the titles that accompany PhDASs as important textual components that serve to identify and define PhDASs (i.e., to show their initial textual boundaries and to signal what types of texts they are). Titles are virtually always present in the corpus. They are realized through the noun *Acknowled(e)gments* in the plural form,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which indicates their relevance to multiple AMs. They appear in two variant spellings, namely *Acknowledgments* and *Acknowledgements*; the former, American variant is the more frequent, as is to be expected in texts produced in the USA. The titles of PhDASs appear to be a sign of conventionalized reader friendliness as much as they are a means to ensure communicative effectiveness. On the one hand, they make it *easier* (not *possible*) for the reader to recognize PhDASs in the tomes that mainly contain dissertations. On the other hand, they neatly and succinctly specify the communicative purpose of the texts, which are to be interpreted not merely as 'thanks,' but more specifically as acts of grateful recognition of other peoples' qualities and achievements.

Next, I have examined an aspect of the global structure of PhDASs, namely their organization as unified texts having an introduction, a main body, and a conclusion. I have reported on the optional occurrence of introductory and concluding moves that may constitute the conceptual boundaries of the texts. The former, more frequent, act as "ice-breakers": they typically announce the main topic of the texts and help the reader in approaching them; the latter are not characterized by a common content or function, although they all express the writers' cognitive-emotional states. The data have shown, among other things, that introductory moves occasionally do not occur in text-initial position; that introductory and concluding text segments may be part of discontinuous moves; that concluding moves, unlike introductory ones, do not have to be focused on the notion of gratitude; and that PhDASs may include mini-introductory and concluding moves (more frequent than macro introductions and conclusions) that apply to *portions* of their texts, that is, relevant to sets of benefactors that the writers group together because

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of their shared relevance to a given type of benefit or because of their similar role-relationships with the writers.

Another global aspect of the structural organization of the PhDASs that I have considered has been their ordering of topics, more specifically the order in which different *types* of benefactors are mentioned in the PhDASs. I have observed that, in general, benefactors relevant to the writers from the academic point of view are mentioned before colleagues (i.e., fellow graduate students), and that these in turn are mentioned before friends and family members. I have also noticed that not all the PhDASs mention the three main types of benefactor categories, that certain acknowledgees are not, in fact, benefactors, and finally that of all benefactors possibly helpful to the writers, only those are mentioned that are supposed to have made *considerable* contributions to the authors' academic success. The PhDAS writers thus appear to represent themselves as set in a network of select professional and personal relationships.

I have also examined the distribution, and global syntactic and semantic features of the AMs in the corpus. All the PhDASs have turned out to be longer than the single move; on average they are 10 moves long, although some can be much shorter or much longer; their length in moves tends to correlate with their lengths in words, although not perfectly, both within and across disciplines (thus discipline-specific ranges of length values *are* detectable). The moves have an average length of about 150 words and most are realized as whole syntactic-typographic units, that is, often as single sentences, but also as clauses and paragraphs. Finally, an examination of the mood structures and speech functions of the AMs has revealed that these mini-texts are mostly encoded as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

declaratives, and that they are focused on the speech functions of statement and offer, which enables the writers to inform the general reader about the circumstances of their dissertation projects and courteously reciprocate favors received by their benefactors in the past.

The final global textual aspect of the PhDASs that I have examined has been a manifestation of their cohesion, namely the occurrence of sentence- and move-initial linkers signaling semantic ties between their main units of information. Most PhDASs, in all disciplines, have sentential linkers, whose frequency of occurrence tends to correlate with the number of words and moves making them up. Occurring, on average, once about every four moves, they are mostly additive and attitudinal, although adversative, temporal, and generic ones are also to be found. Such linkers help PhDAS authors organize their texts as sequences of strategic moves and to underline the expressive illocutionary nature of their messages.

I have then analyzed micro aspects of the PhDASs by considering the functional components and sub-components of their AMs: benefactor units, benefit units, gratitude expressions, and their optional expansions. For each type of these text units, I have listed, glossed, and exemplified the tags used for classifying them, but also explained the interpretive criteria adopted for using them, as well as pointed out the problems encountered in applying them to the corpus.

With regard to benefactor units, the corpus has revealed that most AMs include information useful for the identification of the benefactors in three respects: as specific individuals (whose names are mentioned), as social figures playing given roles (whose professional-familial identities are revealed), and/or as previous interlocutors of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

writers' (whose interactional relevance to the writers is specified); combinations of different means of referring to benefactors are also quite frequent. The writers' concern about the identifiability of benefactors suggests that PhDASs are written for the communicative benefit of the general reader, who may not know who certain benefactors are or what kinds of relationships hold between them and the thankers.

Unlike benefactor units, benefactor expansion units have turned out to be infrequent in the corpus, there being only one per PhDAS, on average. Most of them are used to describe and evaluate benefactors: they convey positive information about the acknowledgees, that is, they represent them as people who performed well and/or kindly in certain circumstances and/or who are endowed with good qualities.

The analysis of benefit units has shown that these text units are very frequent in the corpus. In most cases, they are very specific in pointing out the nature of the benefits received by the benefactors, which helps motivate the writers' gratitude to the general reader. The two most frequently mentioned kinds of help are intellectual and emotional, relatable to the two most salient categories of benefactors referred to in the AMs, namely academic figures and friends-and-family.

The corpus has also been examined with regard to its benefit expansion units. These text units provide additional, descriptive-evaluative information about the benefits, for example their temporal and/or spatial circumstances, their causes and/or effects, and their relevance to the benefactors and beneficiaries involved in them. They occur in about 44% of the moves and are present in all the sub-corpora, although not with the same frequency. The three most frequent types of such text units refer to advantageous aspects

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the benefits, from the beneficiaries' point of view, situational circumstances of the beneficial exchanges, or combinations of various types of information.

I have examined in detail the encoding of gratitude expressions (and their expansions), which are pivotal to the communicative definability of the PhDASs. I have examined all the text segments describable as encoding the thankers' positive, reactive cognitive-emotional states towards the benefactors as a result of benefits received. As a result, I have identified not only classic thanking expressions, but also creative ones, used less frequently than the former. About 62% of the moves in the corpus contain gratitude expressions, which means that they are the least frequently instantiated of the three functional components of AMs. Their relatively low frequency of occurrence may be explained in consideration of the fact their co(n)text contributes to unambiguously revealing to the reader what the communicative purpose of the PhDASs is. Among the main lexical resources employed for conveying the notion of gratitude are *to thank* (used much more frequently than the rest), *grateful, owe debts, gratitude, thank you, thanks, to acknowledge,* but also *to appreciate, to bless, to dedicate, lucky, luxury, to owe, to recognize, to wish*. The data have shown that, despite the variety of lexical resources for expressing gratitude employed in the corpus, most authors conform to conventional formulations of gratitude to manifest their reactive attitude towards the beneficial exchanges they were involved in, and these tend to be phrased in a formal way. Indeed, apart from the occasional interjection *thanks*, no other formulaic or colloquial gratitude expression, maybe typical or oral interaction, occurs in the corpus.

The examination of the expansions of gratitude expressions has revealed that these text units occasionally occur in the corpus (i.e., in about 5% of the moves and with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relevance to 14% of the gratitude expressions) and that they are not equally distributed across the disciplines. They may be used to restate the notion of gratitude, to refer to the causes or consequences of gratitude, or to express feelings associated with the experience of gratitude. Virtually all of them are characterized by different lexical resources for conveying these notions.

I have also examined forms of the encoding of appraisal in the main and supportive components of AMs. The benefactor (expansion) units appear to have evaluative adjectives, although these are not equally distributed across the sub-corpora, and one sub-corpus, namely B-Adm, has none. Most of the adjectives are positively connoted, but at the same time they are discipline-specific; thus each of them typically occurs only once. As to be expected, they are relevant to people (i.e., the benefactors), either directly or indirectly (in the latter case, e.g., they may describe the benefactors' achievements or cognitive-emotional characteristics). They mostly instantiate the appraisal category 'judgment', which is equally distributed between the two dimensions of 'social esteem' and 'social sanction'. On the basis of the adjectives examined, it appears that the most important evaluative dimensions for the assessment of the benefactors' behavior are their fairness in dealing with the beneficiaries (i.e., 'propriety'), their dependability and commitment to the beneficiaries' success (i.e., 'tenacity'), and their ability in providing academic guidance (i.e., 'capacity'). The analysis has also revealed that several adjectives are classifiable according to more than one appraisal category, and also that adjectives that do not intrinsically have an evaluative dimension may acquire an evoked evaluative role in their co-text, which considerably enlarges the PhDASs' means of expressing appraisal notions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The evaluative adjectives examined in benefactor (expansion) units are mostly relevant to nouns referring to non-human entities (e.g., events, circumstances, qualities), which can be accounted for with the fact that the text units in which they occur are relevant to benefits, that is, *entities* that can be exchanged as goods. These adjectives too are positively connoted, and quite often instantiate the appraisal category 'appreciation' (mostly in the dimensions of 'reaction' and 'valuation'). Thus, the most important evaluative dimensions for the assessment of the benefits within 'appreciation' appear to be their impact on the receivers' emotional well-being and their degree of social significance, or cognitive usefulness. Finally, in benefit (expansion) units, too, one can find adjectives classifiable in terms of evoked, or implicit, appraisal; they are of two types: experiential ones, which technically narrow down the potential range of referents of the nouns they are relevant to, and intensifiers or focusers, which technically stress the intensity of given qualities or sharpen the distinctions of given categories, respectively. These adjectives enhance the value of the benefits received by the authors to the eyes of the reader. Occurring in about 80% of the moves, on average, they qualify the degree to which the benefits exchanged were both adequately assessed and gladly received. Because they denote positive qualities of the benefits, they contribute to motivating the authors' gratitude to the reader.

In gratitude expressions and their expansions it is mostly the appraisal category 'affect,' especially in its dimensions of 'happiness' and 'satisfaction' that is instantiated. The former refers to the writers' presumed experience of positive emotions, directed towards the benefactors, resulting from having received given benefits. The latter refers to the writers' recognition of the achievement of their goals also thanks to the ability and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intervention of their helpers. These notions are realized mostly through verbs and adjectives referring to actions performed by or, much more frequently, states characterizing the thankers. The appraisal notions in gratitude expressions and their expansions, too, appear to be mostly positive.

I have devoted a large part of the chapter to an analysis of the specific lexico-syntactic wording of the main and supportive components of the AMs with a view to compiling a mini-grammar of the semantics of thanking. Following the methodology devised by the compilers of the Collins Cobuild dictionaries, I have described the surface, linear patterns characterizing first the main and supportive functional components of the AMs, and then the AMs as whole mini-texts. In the former case, I have looked at each word making up the text segments, in the latter case only at the major syntactic components of the moves. Thus, the analysis has been more thorough and detailed in the former case, and more general and holistic in the latter.

The analysis of the lexico-syntactic encoding of the gratitude expressions and their expansions has shown that these text segments tend to be encoded as the first parts of clauses, that is, noun groups and verb groups. The former are realized as personal pronouns referring to the thankers, and the latter as verb groups describing the thankers' internal states, characteristics or behavior. The verbs tend to occur in the present tense, in the active orientation, accompanied by words having a modalizing function, and are typically followed by nouns pre-modified by adjectives or adjectives pre-modified by adverbs.

Benefactor units have turned out to be structurally varied: they may be realized as noun groups, prepositional groups, verb groups, and clauses, and most contain both

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

proper names and common nouns. Pre-modification, by means of attributive adjectives, and post-modification, by means of embedded prepositional groups are quite frequent. Benefactor expansion units may be realized as noun groups or verb groups that are part of clausal messages, or they may be parenthetical or adpositional units severable from the rest of the text. Their most prominent components are nouns and adjectives (part of pre-verbal noun groups or following linking verbs), through which the authors provide mini-descriptions of the benefactors.

Benefit (expansion) units too have turned out to be structurally elaborate. When encoded as noun groups or prepositional groups, these may comprise attributive adjectives, embedded prepositional groups, embedded relative clauses and/or subordinate non-finite clauses. When encoded as non-embedded clauses, their main constituents display the same type of internal elaboration as outlined above. These syntactic structures, which may also be combined, for instance when referring to multiple benefits, enable writers to encode benefits as entities involved in events, or circumstances characterizing them, or as events in themselves, in which thankers and benefactors play the roles of the main participants.

I have examined the syntactic structures of AMs in comparison to their main functional components. I have first considered the AMs containing no gratitude expressions and not larger than the sentence, then those containing one gratitude expression, and finally those containing multiple gratitude expressions and/or realized as multiple sentences (or text segments belonging to multiple sentences). The analysis has revealed, among other things: that AMs can be made up of text segments corresponding to constituents of clauses, entire clauses or clause complexes, which can also be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

combined in various ways; that in AMs realized as clauses, gratitude expressions tend to be realized as verb groups, while benefit units and benefactor units as noun groups and prepositional groups (i.e., "satellites" of the gratitude expressions); that the active orientation is frequently instantiated in verb groups encoding gratitude expressions and benefit units and that the events they represent are expressed from the perspectives of the thankers and the benefactors, respectively; that gratitude expressions tend to precede benefactor units, and these in turn tend to precede benefit units; and that AMs may be textually organized in complex ways: functional constituents may be encoded in discontinuous text segments that surround other constituents; also, in multi-sentence AMs, they may be instantiated more than once or interleaved with other constituents. In general, the analysis of the global syntactic encoding of the AMs has revealed that the PhDAS writers tend to structure their AMs according to a few common organizational patterns, but also that they can expertly combine a variety of lexico-syntactic resources to produce originally worded AMs set apart from those of other writers.

Finally, I have briefly commented on infrequently occurring text units: expansions of thanker-identifying expressions, expressions of opinions not directly relevant to beneficial exchanges, and reports of background information. The first group of text units refer to the writers' academic accomplishments offered as a form of counter-gift to the benefactors. The second group of text units convey the writers' comments on the general social significance of beneficial events similar to those experienced by the writers themselves. The third set of text units provide anecdotal information about the circumstances of the authors' dissertation projects or academic lives that set the scene for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the manifestation of their gratitude and for their reporting on past beneficial exchanges. These text units all enrich given AMs from different perspectives.

The analysis provided in this chapter, together with the relevant exemplification, has shown, I think, that the PhDASs taken into consideration and their components, the AMs, are elaborate textual products in several respects. I have examined them from more than one perspective in an attempt to throw light on various aspects of their elaborateness (pragmatic, lexical, syntactic). This has revealed, I hope, that, on the one hand, the PhDASs tend to conform to conventionalized patterns of encoding gratitude and its concomitant notions of 'benefactors' and 'benefits', but on the other hand, that these patterns are flexible enough to allow authors to appropriately fit their texts to the specific needs of their communicative circumstances. The PhDASs thus appear to be exemplars of the same genre, which they instantiate, however, to different degrees of prototypicality.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.0. General conclusions

In this section I summarize and evaluate the study carried out. I draw (methodological) conclusions from the characteristics of PhDASs outlined in chapter 2, the model of analysis presented in chapter 3, and the findings reported in chapter 4. I thus first sum up the most salient features of PhDASs and point out how their elaborateness may account for their ideological-cultural significance. Then I assess the suitability of the analytical tool employed for the examination of the PhDASs, pointing out the problems encountered in applying it. Finally, I consider the limitations of the study and mention what further aspects of PhDASs would be worth studying.

5.1. Summary of main characteristics

A PhDAS can be defined as an *attachment* to a dissertation for two reasons: from a technical point of view, it is not meant to lead an "independent" existence, but rather intended to accompany the dissertation; indeed, it would not be totally understandable if detached from its co-text. In addition, from the point of view of content, it reports on the *background* circumstances that led to the production of the dissertation, which signals

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that the latter is the more important text: it provides professional, technical, and personal information about a research project, the writing up of the relevant findings, and the researcher mainly responsible for it in his network of social and professional relationships. This information helps the reader understand how the dissertation was accomplished, and in particular with whose help, but is not central to the *scientific* contents of that study.

Indeed, the PhDAS is not as relevant to the dissertation as it is to the dissertation writer. This is presented as an interactant involved in multiple positive exchanges with several people, who aims, through his text, to manage important social relationships. In his PhDAS, the writer comments on the benefactors' previous role as givers of goods and/or services beneficial to him; he also represents himself as a beneficiary enacting the current and/or future role of a giver of comparably valuable goods or services to the benefactors (or possibly to other future beneficiaries of his).

The interactional-transactional exchanges the dissertation writer and his helpers participated in, which are reported and partly carried out in the PhDAS, reveal the double-edged quality of the interlocutors' role-relationship. On the one hand, the dissertation writer benefits in the short and long term from the benefactors' help: he succeeds in meeting an important academic requirement, which opens up to him the possibility to apply for a well-paid job, and more generally to get on with his life. At the same time, these benefits place short- and long-term restrictions on his freedom of action in order to save his face and his interlocutors': the beneficiary is expected to accept the benefits offered to him and acknowledge them, to have and/or show a well-disposed attitude towards the benefactors, and (to appear) to be willing to give something in return.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Indeed, if the author fails to reciprocate the benefits received, he is destined to remain socially indebted (see Lakoff 1996: 253). The PhDAS partly satisfies such social requirements: manifesting pleased acceptance of benefits through thanking is a form of "giving back": it signals awareness of indebtedness and the intention to cancel, or reduce, it by means of words, if not (yet) through material action.

The building block of the PhDAS, the AM, serves to perform the action of thanking, as many times as deemed necessary, so as to pay off one's social, dissertation-related debts. It is the text unit that clusters together all the information relevant to each benefactor's act of kindness. Typically and minimally, it expresses (1) the PhDAS writer's gratitude (2) to given benefactors (3) for certain benefits. But each of its semantic-functional components may be elaborated upon with additional information about the beneficiary's attitude to the benefactors, the benefactors' qualities and accomplishments, and the value and/or effects of the benefits on the beneficiary. These enriching details, which constitute the supportives of the main components of the AM, serve a twofold purpose: (i) they ensure that the dissertation reader, who might not be familiar with the general circumstances of the dissertation project, understands why thanking occurs and who specifically it is directed to; and (ii) they enhance the value of the AM as a gift for the benefactor, which may be the only form of repayment the thanker can offer. The semantic richness of the AM shows that the writer remembers, values, and likes what he has received and who he has received it from; its original, accurate, and articulate encoding reveals that the PhDAS is not considered a mere formality through which to fulfill interactional expectations, but that time and care are devoted to it so that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it can be tailored to a unique set of individuals the writer wants to feel (or appear to be) socially involved with (see Wolfson's (1989: 224) Bulge Theory).

As new benefactors are mentioned in the PhDAS, new AMs are realized; this determines the cyclical arrangement of the text. At the same time, a sequential arrangement of the content of the PhDAS can be detected when one considers the order in which acknowledgees usually appear: the first helpers to be mentioned are those that were the most relevant to the writer from an academic point of view; next, one typically finds those that were somewhat relevant to him both academically and personally; and finally, those holding a very important place in the authors' affections occur towards the end of the text. This sequence, however, is not rigid, in the sense that, occasionally, additional (e.g., discipline-specific) benefactors may be named, while others, whom one would expect to be mentioned, are not referred to at all. Such variations, however, do not usually disrupt the typical order in which benefactors are listed.

Besides AMs, which are its main constituents, a PhDAS may contain optional introductory and concluding moves that constitute its conceptual boundaries. In the introductory move, the writer may mention the purpose of the text, reflect on the social practice of thanking, and/or voice opinions on his academic career, while in the concluding move the writer may present a final, important, and memorable remark applicable to the whole text or the most important benefactor(s).

The recurrence of AMs in a PhDAS necessarily determines the recurrence of expressions of thanks. These can be encoded through the repetition of certain lexemes and/or the combination of near synonyms; either choice creates cohesion in the text. In addition, original, genre-specific forms of encoding gratitude are also possible, which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

innovate the genre, but occasionally make it difficult to distinguish the core components of an AM from its supportives. These numerous and varied manifestations of gratitude found in the corpus signal the specific communicative essence of PhDASs.

The title of the PhDASs, *Acknowledgments*, gives insight into the nature of these texts (cf. Swales 1990: 54): it encapsulates their conventional communicative purpose, which is to give credit to others for work *they* have done. In fact, authors sometimes refer to certain benefactors as co-authors of given chapters of the dissertation, and/or stress their intellectual indebtedness to them (e.g., as co-researchers responsible for certain experiments/surveys reported in the dissertation).[69] This may help explain why PhDASs are addressed to the general public rather than the author's benefactors: the dissertation writer may be judged unfavorably if he takes credit for what somebody else has accomplished and that was useful to him; but thanks to a text that is publicly accessible, anybody can check that precautions have been taken against plagiarism. The act of recognizing the importance of given benefactors' contributions, neatly summed up in the title *Acknowledgments*, both emphasizes the official goal of the PhDAS and constitutes one form of thanking — especially when the credit being recognized was beneficial to the addresser — and can thus be associated with other acts of thanking. In fact, the PhDAS provides the writer with the opportunity to publicly thank all the people he feels indebted to for help received *in addition to* the opportunity to make claims of authenticity about the authorship of his dissertation. At the same time, as the PhDASs is the text through which the writer can *recognize* benefits received, it can also be employed to admit, as

[69] Cronin (1991: 228) attributes the same function, but different currency value, to acknowledgments and citations. Giannoni (1998: 65, 77) writes about the continuum between authorship and PhDAS-status "within the academic reward system."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

true rather than beneficial, possible negative events or situations the writer feels responsible for in relation to his dissertation (e.g., mistakes made in his research project).

Notwithstanding their functional similarity, due to a common rationale, PhDASs may exhibit intertextual variation for two reasons: on a general level, discourse patterns (i.e., choices about content and style) tend to vary across different research communities, but also to be shared within the same research community. (The corpus bears this out: for example, structurally and stylistically similar PhDAS beginnings are to be found within the same discipline, while PhDASs from different disciplines do not refer to exactly the same types of benefits and/or benefactors.) On a specific level, the PhDAS is not subject to strict university requirements (except for, e.g., its position in the dissertation, spacing or margins); thus it may be used to achieve private intentions in addition to its officially public communicative purpose (cf. Bhatia 1993: 19), such as voice opinions, manifest feelings, hint at problematic relationships (see Ben-Ari 1987: 70) and/or more generally reveal aspects of the writer's non-academic self (see sections 3.3.2.1., 3.3.3., 4.2., and 4.4. for examples of generic creativity). PhDASs may thus display variable prototypicality in their instantiation of the genre: the topics (e.g., graduate school, trips, research topic) and style (e.g., journalistic, ironic) of any given PhDAS (or of sections of it) are not totally predictable from contextual elements likely to be shared by all PhDASs.

At this point, it may be worth considering why PhDASs come about and how effective they are in conveying gratitude.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

First, not every dissertation author writes a PhDAS. This indicates that, however socially useful this type of text may be, it is neither a compulsory nor a necessary communicative act.

Second, the real reason(s) for writing a PhDAS may be inaccessible to the dissertation reader,[70] since the official reasons expressed in the text may be incomplete or insincere. For example, the dissertation writer may (un)consciously want to please academically powerful benefactors, show that he has connections with important people (see Ben-Ari 1987), let the public know that he has a life outside academia or convince the reader that he is friendly and fun to be with.

Third, thanking in a PhDAS is selective: for example, some of the dissertation writer's previous or future interlocutors, who could qualify as benefactors, never appear to be thanked. These could be, for instance, the personnel at the copy center who printed out and xeroxed the author's dissertation by the required deadline; the bus drivers who took the author to the university library on a daily basis for months; the interested researchers who will read the writer's dissertation. Conversely, some acknowledgees may be mentioned and praised more because this is a good public relations practice than because they have helped (e.g., professors or family members). This may occur when the author is planning to (or needs to) to ask favors of them in future or simply does not want to be ostracized.[71]

---

[70] However, see Giannoni (1998: 64) about readers' shrewd perception of journal ASs and the motives behind them.

[71] Giannoni (1998: 61, 64) comments on the AS author's need not to endanger his scholarly or personal reputation and about the possible interference between contributors' relative status and actual merits. Ben-Ari (1987: 68-71) describes the dynamics of debts and obligations and the tension between hostility/rebellion and integration/solidarity in ethnographic ASs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fourth, thanking in a PhDAS may be ineffective unless the intended acknowledgees are also thanked in person. For instance, benefactors may not know if they are mentioned in PhDASs (e.g., a grandparent living far away, a study participant unable to read the language the dissertation is written in or a colleague who read the first four drafts of the dissertation and is not willing to re-read it in its final version). Indeed, typically, a copy of the PhDAS is not sent to the benefactors mentioned in it.

Despite such drawbacks, the PhDAS accomplishes two socially useful goals, and thus has interactional appeal:

(A) as a public text, the PhDAS makes thanking official, permanent, and thus socially important:

(i) as a document available to the public and not subject to changes, the PhDAS is valuable as a social and "stable" communicative act: its content is considered worth encoding, preserving, and conveying to others (see Ehlich 1984);

(ii) as delayed, reentry thanks, the PhDAS shows that the benefits received by the writer were too valuable to be appropriately recognized only on the spot through an immediate (and formulaic) reaction. The fact that the PhDAS is encoded as a written text reveals that the beneficiary spent time and energy reflecting on the value of the benefit; it also manifests his awareness of his considerable indebtedness and his consideration for the benefactors; as a result, the PhDAS counts as a gift, a tangible act of thanking (see Ben-Ari 1987: 76).

(B) The PhDAS also sustains and balances social relationships:

(i) it classifies given interactions as truly beneficial exchanges between mutually well-disposed individuals, who are represented as willing both to give and to accept;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(ii) it manifests current strong cognitive and/or emotional ties between the interactants and hints at the commitment to similar ties in the future (see Ben-Ari 1987: 68);

(iii) it signals a (temporary) disruption of the social equilibrium, in the sense that the benefits being acknowledged have created creditors and a debtor;

(iv) it serves to start restoring the balance of social relationships: showing appropriate and sufficient appreciation (e.g., eloquently encoded love and respect) does not even things up, but at least shows that the benefactors are perceived as special and that their generous behavior needs to be reciprocated (even if by simply manifesting good feelings and/or willingness to repay).

This last observation may help provide answers to the questions as to why PhDASs come about and whether they are effective in manifesting gratitude. The PhDAS is meant to convey gratitude, but is typically *reserved* for benefactors who have not yet been adequately repaid, because the beneficiary still feels responsible for imposing on them (see Coulmas 1981) and/or because they have given him a lot of what he needed. The PhDAS may thus be said to come about precisely to pay off debts incurred with creditors whose help was so great that it cannot be taken for granted, as part of expected routine behavior, and thus "must" be made explicit. At the same time, while the PhDAS may be appropriately elaborated so as be to effective in expressing the *depth* of the writer's gratitude towards those special benefactors, it is not necessarily adequate in covering the whole *breadth* of the possible applicability of that gratitude: gratitude is manifested only towards those people, real or hypothetical benefactors, that the writers strongly cares about.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In conclusion, the PhDAS includes *selective* acts of thanking; the number and type of acknowledgment acts that the PhDAS encodes reveals that this text is a socially valued ritual, but only for the management of *non*-perfectly *balanced* interactions within either symmetrical or asymmetrical relationships that the dissertation writer *values* so much that he does not want to risk undermining.

5.2. Suitability of the model

The model for the analysis of acts of thanking outlined in chapter 3 and applied to a small corpus of PhDASs in chapter 4 can be defined as multi-dimensional. It comprises a set of linguistic features (structural, functional, pragmatic, semantic, and lexico-grammatical) whose various realizations in different settings offer complementary sources of understanding into the nature and properties of gratitude-oriented communicative acts. It is thus meant to help predict, categorize, and account for the variability in the realization of (written) acts of thanking, especially elaborate ones, which may be realized in the context of culturally important interactions.

The model, which draws on insights from works in the fields of text analysis, speech act theory, and genre studies, develops from the twofold assumption that variation is an inevitable, but not random feature of language users' interactional behavior. Variation in language products is determined by the intrinsic richness of the language system and the ever-changing circumstances in which communication takes place. On the one hand, the language system offers speakers alternative means for expressing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meanings. Speakers can thus choose from a range of encoding options (at the different levels of the system) and creatively combine them to realize their communicative goals in ever-new ways. On the other hand, speakers' linguistic choices are affected by the cultural and situational contexts in which they interact, whose variables are instantiated differently, at least in part, in each new speech event and for each speech event participant, and which thus impose different constraints on and provide different opportunities for the encoding of communicative acts.

The encoding options available to language users are not boundless (e.g., only a limited number of speech sounds, intonation contours, and types of morphological inflection, derivation, and word order are available in any given language), nor are they all at the same level of generality or delicacy: once a choice has been made at a given stage in the interaction (or at a given point in the realization of a message), a sub-set of more specific options opens up, but these are relevant only to that earlier choice, and thus exclude the sub-sets of more specific choices relevant to the higher-ranking options that were disregarded. (For example, having chosen to use language in order to exchange information, a speaker has to decide whether she wants to convey it or to request it; in the former case, she has to decide whether to convey it in the present, past or future and whether to state it or negate it; if she wants to state it in the present, she has to decide whether to express it in the neutral or contrastive form (i.e., with an auxiliary); in the latter case, she also has to decide whether the information is relevant to a third-person singular subject or not; and so on). In addition, different encoding options are meaningful in different ways, and thus never completely interchangeable: choosing one involves saying something different, however slightly, from choosing another; therefore each of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

them fits different configurations of social, cultural, situational variables, and personal purposes. At the same time, when similar variable configurations recur, the participants involved in them will be likely to make similar choices. That is, similar recurrent combinations and instantiations of given social, cultural, and situational variables determine similar verbal manifestations of the interlocutors' interactional roles.

The model outlined in section 3.4. is largely based on the presumed, likely characteristics of one such variable configuration (discussed in sections 2.6. through 2.6.3.3.) and on a prediction of its verbal manifestations, as can be plausibly derived from previous research in the fields of expressive speech acts and genre analysis. The linguistic variables taken into consideration and their possible variants are determined in part by the constraints imposed and the options offered by the linguistic system of English (e.g., the possibility of having passive orientation in a clause); some are due to the complex nature of the communicative event (i.e., the ordering of the functional components of texts); others are relatable to people's general interactional behavior, needs, and goals (e.g., their conceptualization of gratitude and the types of reactions they expect from their addressees); and finally, there are others that hint at cultural preferences (e.g., the content of supportive moves). The combination of the various variables in the model is meant to constitute a useful integrated tool for the analysis of elaborate, multi-faceted, gratitude-oriented language acts.

The model includes a set of variables expected to affect and thus account for the understandability, effectiveness, and appropriateness of acts of thanking (in particular of grateful acknowledgments). These variables are meant to help identify components and features of gratitude-oriented texts. The model also comprises a list of possible variant

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

realizations of those variables, which are meant to help classify and describe the components and features of the texts, and more generally trace their most frequent encoding patterns.

On the whole, the model suitably accounts for the characteristics of (acts of thanking in) PhDASs, as it comprises criteria for their definition and identifiability, and offers the means for classifying their content and form. However, it does not contain an exhaustive list of the encoding options instantiated in the corpus, it does not provide criteria for the identifiability of the main components of AMs, and it is not as comprehensive as to permit a classification of the encoding options of extemporaneous or non-monologic acts of thanking.

First, the model allows one to recognize acts of thanking on the basis of its definition of such acts from three points of view: in terms of their role in the "turn-taking" system of communication, i.e., as reactive, rather than initiating, acts; in terms of their content, namely their reference to and description of given benefits; and in terms of the internal cognitive-emotional state supposed to be affecting their utterers, namely their experience of gratitude. The model also makes it possible to classify acts of thanking on the basis of several types of distinctions: their sequential arrangement in the discourse, the number and types of beneficial exchanges they are relevant to, and the degree of their interpersonal importance according to whether they are motivated by a genuine feeling of indebtedness and reactive kindness or whether they are social lubricants with a perfunctory function. When applied to my corpus, these distinctions have made it possible to reveal the specific communicative nature of PhDASs as delayed, genuine thanks, which are relevant to multiple exchanges in which benefits were provided partly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

spontaneously, partly after solicitation, which sustain the benefactors' positive and negative faces, and which imply the writers' indebtedness.

Second, the subdivision of gratitude-oriented communicative acts into three main functional components (i.e., optional introduction, optional conclusion, and one or more acts of thanking relevant to given benefactors and benefits) presented in the model fits the textual organization of PhDASs, which are elaborate written texts. However, it fails to consider alternative (or additional) structural possibilities more appropriate for describing oral, or at least non-monologic gratitude-oriented messages, especially extemporaneous ones, produced through the joint co-management of the interaction by speakers and listeners (cf. Held 1996). These other components could include: alerters or attention-getters, greetings or pre-sequences, interruptions and repetitions, mini-exchanges relevant to topics and communicative purposes other than benefits and gratitude, respectively. Thus the model appears to provide adequate means for an understanding of the structural organization of gratitude-oriented texts that are elaborate, planned, and (meant to be) stable, but less so for communicative acts that are unrehearsed, dialogic, ephemeral, and may thus contain "extraneous" material. The limitations of the model (or its specific suitability to permanent and complex texts (almost completely) focused on gratitude), reveals that it has been prepared on the basis of and in order to account for the material collected for analysis. However, the model seems to be adaptable to other types of gratitude-oriented messages in the sense that it offers the tool for the identification of acts of thanking independently of the interactional context in which they are carried out (i.e., through the recognition in the text either of new benefactors or of previously mentioned benefactors associated with new benefits). This should make it possible to discriminate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

between new acts of thanking on the one hand, which may co-occur in a long or elaborate message exchange, and repetitions or expansions of "old" acts of thanking on the other hand, which may be characterized by interruptions, insertion sequences, false starts and the like in a jointly managed interaction.

Third, the model considers two complementary ways in which gratitude-oriented texts containing multiple acts of thanking may be globally arranged: the position of the acts of thanking in the texts with respect to optional introductions and conclusions (i.e., the structural organization of the texts), and the order in which benefactors and/or benefits are mentioned in the texts (i.e. the sequencing of the topics mentioned or discussed). The former type of arrangement is relevant to all gratitude-oriented texts, whether consisting of one or more acts of thanking, that also contain optional introductory and concluding material; thus, it is appropriate not only to texts that are planned, like PhDASs, which are realized in stages and may purposely include preparatory and/or recapitulating moves, but also unplanned texts, which may include pre-sequences and closings. The model has two drawbacks, though: one is that it does not allow for the possibility of the occurrence of material other than gratitude-oriented that has no introductory or concluding function, but that may nevertheless interrupt the manifestation of gratitude; the other is that it does not envisage the possibility, attested in my corpus, that what counts as introductory and/or concluding material from a functional point of view, may not be so from a sequential point of view, in the sense that introductions and conclusions may or may not appear in text-initial and text-final positions, respectively, but may themselves be preceded or followed by other textual material. With regard to the global arrangement of the content of gratitude-oriented texts,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the model proposes two ordering possibilities, one relevant to the benefactors and the other to the benefits. In my texts, the two types of ordering are correlated, such that after identifying one, you can automatically determine the other (i.e., the professional and social roles played by the benefactors are reliable predictors of the benefits provided by them). However, this may not be the case in other texts, so that two parallel, possibly non-overlapping, ordering sequences may be necessary to fully account for the presentation of content in the texts.

Fourth, the model also more specifically considers (the organization of) the content of individual acts of thanking to be found in gratitude-oriented messages: the components of the head acts, their optional supportive sub-moves, the order of the components within the head acts (both functional and syntactic-typographic), and of the head act as a whole with respect to the supportive sub-moves (again from a functional and syntactic-typographic point of view).

The distinction between head act and supportive moves raises the question of their identification. The head act is not easy to pin down when two or more text segments are comparably explicit and concise in conveying the notion and/or experience of gratitude. In particular, the task of identifying head acts in PhDASs is complicated by several factors: a number of conventional and original expressions are available to encode gratitude; the most explicit text segments are not necessarily also the shortest ones; units that may be more explicit from a lexical point of view, may not be so from a syntactic one; units at a similar level of explicitness may recur in the same AM (due to the repetition of the expression of gratitude or repeated reference to benefits and benefactors); not all the three main functional components of AMs are actually

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instantiated in every AM; the three main components of the head act are not necessarily contiguous or part of the same syntactic structure (e.g., the most explicit gratitude expression may occur in one clause, next to the expansion of the benefactor unit, while the core benefactor unit may occur in a different clause); (see section 4.7.). The model is thus useful when dealing with gratitude-oriented texts in which acts of thanking are encoded through whole, single clauses or through clause complexes (as may happen when collecting data by means of discourse-completion tasks). But in my corpus it has been impossible to systematically and consistently identify whole head acts, and my analysis has concentrated on the various components of the head acts in turn.

The definition of the head act as the unit that minimally and most explicitly manifests the addresser's intention to thank has an effect on the analysis of the structural arrangement of the text, but at the same time determines an inconsistency in the coding scheme. Given the above definition, the head act is a relative concept or rather a textual entity identified on the basis of relative criteria: it is that unit that is *more* explicit than the remaining portion of the AM in signaling the intent to thank and/or in identifying the benefactor and/or in identifying benefits. Consequently, as long as something is verbally expressed, there is always going to be a text segment to which the role of (main components of the) head act can be assigned (by comparison with other text segments). The model in section 3.4., however, considers the possibility that no head act is in fact found in a given AM (a possibility not attested in the corpus), which, strictly speaking, contradicts the above criteria for identifying core components of acts of thanking. The analysis of the corpus has shown that the expression of gratitude is the least frequent of the three core components of the AMs, even if it is the text unit that conceptually defines

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the AMs themselves. It is possible that other gratitude-oriented texts too, in which the context is informative enough that the motivating rationale of the messages can be taken for granted, the notion of gratitude is left understood, while the speakers/writers may focus on other related topics, like compliments to the benefactors and/or the value of the benefits received. Therefore, it would seem more appropriate for the model to only envisage the possibility for head acts to occur without the core components that define them — which it does — rather than for acts of thanking to occur completely without any core component.

Fifth, the model considers the variable syntactic encoding of the AMs (i.e., as imperatives, declaratives, interrogatives, nominalizations and combinations thereof) and the possible mismatch between this formal representation of acts of gratitude and the relevant speech functions realized through them (i.e., offers, statements, commands, questions). These distinctions are relevant to most AMs, but are based on the assumption that acts of thanking are always realized as clausal messages, while, at least in the corpus, they may be realized as clause complexes, as phrases, as combinations of phrases or clauses, or through (sometimes discontinuous) text segments that together do not make up complete syntactic structures, but are rather fragments of two or more syntactic structures.

Sixth, the model considers the main types of notions relevant to the manifestation of gratitude in PhDASs (i.e., cognitive-emotional states experienced and/or actions performed by the thankers), but it disregards other notions possibly fit for other types of texts (e.g., descriptions of benefactors' traits, like kindness). Similarly, the model lists the possible encoding options of the manifestation of gratitude (both lexical and syntactic),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

but does not list specific encoding formulas (i.e., categories, other than concrete examples are mentioned). On the one hand, this may make it difficult to recognize thanking expressions, but on the other hand, it does not a priori limit the set of possible thanking expressions, which can be enlarged and realized in lexico-grammatical different ways according to the varying overall aim and contextual circumstances of the communicative situations (and are thus not totally predictable in advance). Finally, no attempt is made to classify the level of formality of the thanking expressions. Thus, the model is not very helpful in the enumeration and classification of specific encoding strategies; however, it is consistent and systematic in offering criteria according to which to categorize them.

Seventh, the model devotes equal attention to the other two main components of the head acts, the benefactor units and the benefit units. It is possible to classify the former according to the type of their relevance to the beneficiary, the type of information used to identify them, and the type of syntactic resources through which they are encoded. Similarly, benefit units are classifiable according to the type of benefits they refer to and the types of processes (e.g., material, mental) that they express, if they are encoded through verbs,[72] and in terms of their syntactic encoding.

Eighth, with regard to the supportives of the core components of acts of thanking, the model offers tools for classifying both the content that they refer to and the formal syntactic means of their encoding, which have been useful in my analysis of the PhDASs. However, it does not contain a heuristic tool for distinguishing core components from supportives. The criteria according to which I have kept core components of the AMs

[72] I did not consider these main semantic categories in my analysis because not all benefits were expressed through verbs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

distinct from their supportives, and the problems encountered in applying them, are presented in sections 4.8., 4.9., and 4.10..

Ninth, my analysis has also taken into consideration the encoding of the notion of appraisal in selected text segments of the components of the acts of thanking. The relevant, main appraisal categories are only occasionally mentioned in the model as relevant to given components of the AMs, but not exhaustively listed or horoughly described. The reason for this is that they are meaning-encoding resources not specific to the act of thanking, or other speech acts for that matter, but relevant to all kinds of communicative behavior.

Finally, the model takes into consideration a formal characteristic of gratitude-oriented texts and their acts of thanking, namely the length in words, lines, paragraphs and moves of the former, and the length in paragraphs, sentences, clauses, phrases or combinations thereof of the latter; however, it does not make provision for the analysis of the same property in the functional components and sub-components of acts of thanking. Similarly, the model offers means for syntactically categorizing the various components and sub-components of the acts of thanking in general terms, but it does not include instructions on how to provide a detailed, morpho-syntactic account of the encoding of the main and supportive components of the acts of thanking. As my analysis in chapter 4 has revealed (especially the setting up of systematic correspondences between the functional components and the syntactic units of the AMs in sections 4.11. through 4.11.4.), both of these analytic dimension are useful in revealing the elaborate, and sometimes discontinuous, realization of the acts of thanking.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In conclusion, the model shows that as the language system offers speakers and writers a network of options to choose from to encode meanings, the behavior of language users that exploit that system may reveal a parallel network of probably unconscious, non-random, interlocking acts of selection, and that the choices made produce different kinds and patterns of meanings. The model appears to include an adequate, though perfectible, list of tools for the identification and classification of acts of thanking (in gratitude-oriented texts). It is particularly suitable to an analysis of elaborate, stable, planned messages, and less so of formulaic, non-permanent, spontaneously produced communicative acts. But it can be expanded upon and enhanced once other types of thanking acts and/or gratitude-oriented texts are examined. It offers a multi-perspective approach to a description of complex speech act sets of thanking, and because of the range of dimensions it takes into consideration it is also appropriate for an examination of micro-textual phenomena. When applied to my corpus, it has helped to adequately reveal several manifestations of the elaborateness of PhDASs, although it has been possible to provide a more thorough account of the peculiarities of the texts after analyzing aspects of them not listed in the model itself.

5.3. Limitations of the study and future perspectives

My conceptualization of PhDASs as macro acts of thanking has made it possible, I think, to understand in part their communicative essence (i.e., as instances of grateful acknowledgments). The analysis provided in chapter 4 has shown, I hope, how that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

communicative essence is realized from both a macro- and a micro-perspective (e.g., in terms of textual structure and of lexico-grammatical encoding). However, my choice to interpret all the features of the PhDASs in the corpus in relation to their communicative rationale has meant that the analysis has focused on the various manifestations and aspects of those texts' illocutionary force, to the partial detriment of other components or aspects of those texts.

First of all, my definition of PhDASs as speech acts has ruled out alternative interpretations (and analyses) of them: for instance, as narratives (or sequences of mini-narratives), as mini-autobiographies, as self-introductions, as textual devices for bonding with the reader.

Also, I have described in some detail the core and supportive components of the AMs that make up the PhDASs, but only briefly commented upon other, less frequent components of the PhDASs, namely the text segments that provide anecdotal, background information on the writer's academic lives or those that express the authors' opinions on the advantages that friendship brings.

Besides that, I have disregarded aspects of the PhDASs that would have been useful for their characterization as a genre, but that are not directly relevant to an account of them as acts of *thanking*. For instance, I have not described their thematic development, examined their strategies of focalization, illustrated their cohesive chains, analyzed their narrative structure, or identified their keywords (see Stubbs 1996). More importantly, I have chosen not to fully apply to my corpus the model presented in section 3.4., that is, I have not considered the sequential arrangements of head acts vs. supportive moves, I have not systematically classified the types of events or states referred to in the AMs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(e.g., as material, mental, verbal processes), I have not examined in detail the orientation, perspective or upgraders and downgraders of the gratitude expressions.

Furthermore, although I have examined the lexical choices made by the authors in encoding their texts, which have revealed their various conceptualizations of the notion of gratitude, their role-relationships with their benefactors, and their preferences in highlighting benefits received, I have not examined what correlations, if any, hold between the different ways of wording gratitude and the types of benefits mentioned in the same AMs or, more generally, what words tend to collocate with the various gratitude expressions. Along the same lines, it would have been interesting to trace a comparative semantic profile of the various lexemes encoding the notion of gratitude by examining their collocations in my corpus and in a larger, general reference corpus (e.g., the Bank of English or the British National Corpus).

Additionally, the corpus would have lent itself to an examination of a form of possible semantic and formal variation relatable to an aspect of its authors' social group affiliation, namely their gender identity. Given that several other contextual variables are constant across the sample, it would have been possible to explore possible gender-linked differences in self-presentation, argumentative strategies, and expressive behavior between female and male PhD candidates.

Finally, and most importantly, the corpus examined is quite limited (in terms of number of texts), partly heterogeneous (in terms of the disciplines it represents), and partly not classifiable (e.g., the linguistic background of the authors is not known), so that generalizations from the data to the genre as a whole are not possible.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are several ways in which an analysis of the PhDAS genre could be enhanced. For one thing, the PhDAS genre could be better understood if examined in partially different contexts so as to identify the variables affecting the realization of its instances, more accurately assess its variability, and in general determine to what extent recurrent characteristics are to be ascribed to the general properties of the genre or, instead, to the specific subject-matter and circumstances of their writing, and to the different, conventional ways of talking about research experience that may hold in various disciplines and academic communities. To this end, it would be appropriate to collect a larger sample of PhDASs, gathered from a wider range of academic disciplines; to keep track of how often PhDASs accompany PhD dissertations in those various disciplines; to take into consideration PhDASs written in different time periods; to compare PhDASs elaborated by both native and non-native speakers of English in different countries in which English is the official language of education. Ideally, of course, the more and the more varied the data, the better, because (a) generalizations from a corpus to the genre it represents are more reliable; (b) unexpected features have a chance of being exemplified; (c) "marginal" features do not blow out of proportion within the sample; (d) it is easier to characterize prototypical representatives of the given genre, and to distinguish the core and common properties of the genre from those that belong to only a subset of it.

Moreover, an appropriate characterization of the genre would involve an accurate definition of it, both functional and formal, in the literal sense of an identification of its boundaries. A possible way to do this would be to compare the PhDAS genre to other communicative events that fulfill mainly a thanking function (e.g., pre-printed thank-you

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cards, thank-you letters). Equally relevant would also be other types of texts that, like PhDASs, may be strongly focused on a positive description of aspects of the behavior and characteristics of people that the speaker or writer interacts with (such as acts of congratulating, praising, complimenting or dedications). From a complementary perspective, texts likely to be focused on negative aspects of the speaker/writer's behavior (e.g., apologies, admissions, confessions) would contribute to a better understanding of the communicatve act of acknowledging.

It would be particularly useful to compare the PhDAS genre with the genres that it is (supposed to be) very similar to it, namely, MA thesis ASs, book ASs, and journal article ASs. The PhDAS and the AS cover the same general topic (i.e., the successful completion of a research and writing project), perform the same kind of expressive speech act (i.e., a grateful acknowledgment, or an acknowledgment accompanied by thanks), and are realized by the same type of participants (i.e., the authors of the successfully accomplished texts), but these enjoy different status (with respect to their examiners, readers and/or publishers), are likely to be at different stages of their career, and may have to observe different types of conventions in preparing their texts. To satisfactorily describe the PhDAS genre, then, it would be useful to identify the features that are peculiar to it alone and to discriminate them from those shared with genres developing in similar contexts.

Finally, a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the functions, value, and effectiveness of PhDASs can be achieved if members of the community of practice in which they are produced are interviewed. PhDAS authors could reveal for what reason(s) and for what purposes they write PhDASs; explain if they are completely sincere in what

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

they write, and if not, why; report on how they go about producing these texts (e.g., totally on their own or after looking at others' PhDASs; with care or in a hurry); mention when they write their acknowledgments: before, after or during the writing of their dissertations; say who they think will read their acknowledgments and why; and point out how they expect their benefactors and general readers to react to their texts. Similarly, likely readers of the PhDASs (e.g., the writers' professors and family members) could also be consulted for information about their expectations about and their cognitive-emotional reactions to such texts; this could help reveal which type of realization of which combinations of textual features determines the acceptability and effectiveness of genre members. Both groups of informants could consist of the actual authors and intended recipients of the texts gathered for examination and/or of the authors and recipients of other genre exemplars.

The limited sample size of my corpus has made it possible to analyze in detail several aspects of the content, structure, and lexico-grammatical encoding of the PhDASs. However, it reduces the generalizability of the data presented here to the PhDAS genre as a whole. But indirect confirmation of the plausibility of my analysis comes from a study by Hyland (2004).

Hyland has examined the structure of ASs taken from 240 dissertations and MA theses written by non-native speakers of English in several disciplines at five universities in Hong Kong. Although his terminology and his way of presenting data are different from mine, what he has noticed in his large corpus is very similar to the features I have identified in mine. First of all, he has observed that ASs are not a necessary

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accompaniment of dissertations or theses, his experience being thus similar to that of my friend who collected my corpus for me (see section 1.4.). Then, he has pointed out that the length of ASs varies across disciplines, with the Humanities being generally characterized by longer texts than the hard sciences. (The cross-disciplinary differences in length I have identified in my corpus do not parallel Hyland's then.) With regard to the macro structure of ASs, he has observed that the texts can be divided into three main sections (or macro moves): introductions, acknowledgments, and conclusions (corresponding to my introductory moves, AMs, and concluding moves). In his corpus, differently from mine, though, the introductions and conclusions are always present. Further, he has noticed that the macro acknowledgment move (corresponding to my series of AMs), which takes up most the texts, repeatedly expresses the notion of gratitude as relevant to various benefactors, and that these benefactors tend to be mentioned in a preferred order: those that are important to the writers from an academic point of view are mentioned before peers, and these are followed by reference to friends and family. In addition, he has revealed that sometimes acknowledgees are mentioned that are not actual benefactors, but nevertheless people who are important to the writers. Moreover, he has described the internal structure of the macro move of acknowledging, and pointed out how writers elaborate on their acts of thanking by providing detailed information about their benefactors, benefits, and the more general circumstances in which beneficial exchanges occurred. On a more general level, Hyland has shown that ASs serve several purposes: they enable graduate students to manifest their gratitude to the people who helped them intellectually and/or personally, to display modesty and self-effacement (as expected of them as subordinate participants in their community of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

practice), and to reveal their disciplinary membership by mentioning which academics they are associated with.

Hyland has also interviewed students who write ASs, although these are not the authors of the texts he has analyzed, and has thus been able to learn from them that they read other students' ASs in order to learn how to write their own (this may explain why all of the ASs in his corpus have exactly the same tripartite structure); that they may choose to write their ASs when they are at a standstill with their research or dissertation writing (i.e., so as not to be totally unproductive); that they may write not only what is true (i.e., refer to actual benefits received), but also what is plausible (i.e., mention benefits that they or the reader might expect to have been provided given the type of relationship holding between the writers and the acknowledgees); and more generally that they consider it important to highlight the background circumstances of their dissertation projects.

My study and the study by Hyland (2004) apparently suggest a common concluding interpretation of (PhD)ASs. These are sophisticated texts, linking the personal and private domains of graduate students' lives. Although not (yet) directly meant to establish academic reputations, they play an important role in the scientific community as a form of social repayment (or reciprocal gift giving in Hyland's terms). They place several demands on the writers: showing social-academic competence, displaying awareness of subordinate academic status, and manifesting gratitude in an articulate and plausible way for help received on a work carried out mostly by themselves. At the same time, they offer writers an opportunity to publicly promote themselves to the (non-)academic community as competent scholars and likeable individuals, whose identities are in large

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

part shaped by the vast network of professional and personal relationships in which they interact.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

REFERENCES

ABIODUN Michael A. (2000) "Acknowledgement and the use of proverbs in Yoruba: a sociolinguistic overview", in: *Proverbium*, vol. 17, pp. 23-26.

APTE Mahadev L. (1974) ""Thank you" and South Asian languages: a comparative sociolinguistic study", in: *Linguistics*, vol. 136, no. 1, pp. 67-90.

ASTON Guy (1995) "Say 'Thank you': Some pragmatic constraints in conversational closings", in: *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 57-86.

BAKALEJNIKOVA G. Ja. (1990) "Rechevoi akt blagodarnosti v sovremennon russkom jazyke", in: Frohne G., Ermakova O. (eds.), *Ausgewahlte Beitrage zur kommunikations linguistik*. Potsdam: Padagogisce Hochschule "Karl Liebknecht", pp. 85-101.

BAZERMAN Charles (1984) "Modern Evolution of the Experimental Report in Physics: Spectroscopic Articles in Physical Review, 1893-1980", in: *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 163-196.

BECKER Judith A., SMENNER Patricia C. (1986) "The spontaneous use of *thank you* by preschoolers as a function of sex, socioeconomic status, and listener status", in: *Language in Society*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 537-545.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BEN-ARI Eyal (1987) "On Acknowledgements in Ethnographies", in: *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 63-84.

BHATIA Vijay K. (1993) *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*, London and New York: Longman.

BHATIA Vijay K. (1994) "Dynamics of genre manipulation", in: *CIEFL Bulletin*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 25-42.

BLUM-KULKA Shoshana, HOUSE Juliane, KASPER Gabriele (eds.) (1989) *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

BLUM-KULKA Shoshana, OLSHTAIN Elite (1984) "Requests and apologies: A cross-cultural study of speech act realization patterns (CCSARP)", in: *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 196-213.

BOWKER L., PEARSON J. (2002) *Working with Specialized Language. A practical guide to using corpora*, London: Routledge.

BROWN Penelope, LEVINSON Stephen (1987) *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*, Cambridge: CUP.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHUBIN Daryl E. (1975) "Trusted Assessorship in Science. A Relation in Need of Data", in: *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 362-367.

COHEN A., OLSHTAIN E. (1981) "Developing a measure of sociocultural competence: The case of apology", in: *Language Learning*, vol. 31, pp. 113-134.

COULMAS F. (1981) ""Poison to Your Soul". Thanks and Apologies Contrastively Viewed", in: F. Coulmas (ed.), *Conversational Routine. Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*, The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton, pp. 69-91.

CRONIN Blaise (1991) "Let the credits roll: a preliminary examination of the role played by mentors and trusted assessors in disciplinary formation", in: *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 227-239.

CRONIN Blaise, McKENZIE Gail, RUBIO Lourdes (1993) "The norms of acknowledgement in four humanities and social sciences disciplines", in: *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 29-43.

CRONIN Blaise, McKENZIE Gail, RUBIO Lourdes, WEAVER-WOZNIAK Sherrill (1993) "Accounting for influence: Acknowledgments in Contemporary Sociology", in: *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, vol. 44, no. 7, pp. 406-412.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CRONIN Blaise, McKENZIE Gail, STIFFLER Michael (1992) "Patterns of Acknowledgement", in: *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 107-122.

CRONIN Blaise, OVERFELT Kara (1994) "The scholar's courtesy: a survey of acknowledgement behaviour", in: *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 164-196.

DALZIEL Fiona, HELM Francesca (2002) "Two Islands: Australia and Crete. A Communicative Teaching Unit for the Multimedia Language Laboratory", in: Taylor Torsello Carol, Guerini Rosalba (eds.) *Innovazioni nell'apprendimento linguistico con il supporto del C.L.A.*, Padua, Italy: CLEUP, pp. 23-32.

DAVIS Charles H., CRONIN Blaise (1993) "Acknowledgments and Intellectual Indebtedness: A Bibliometric Conjecture", in: *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, vol. 44, no. 10, pp. 590-592.

DOWNING Angela, LOCKE Philip (2002) *A University Course in English Grammar*, London and New York: Routledge.

EGGINS Suzanne (1994) *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*, London: Pinter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

EHLICH Konrad (1983) "Text und sprachliches Handeln, Die Entstehung von Texten aus dem Bedürfnis nach Überlieferung", in: ASSMANN Aleida, ASSMANN Jan (eds.) *Schrift und Gedächtnis, Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, Munich: Fink, pp. 24-43.

EHLICH Konrad (1984) "Zum Textbegriff", in: ROTHKEGEL, Annely, SANDIG Barbara (eds.) *Text — Textsorten — Semantik*, Hamburg: Buske Verlag, pp. 9-25.

EISENSTEIN Miriam, BODMAN Jean W. (1986) "'I very appreciate': expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of American English", in: *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 167-185.

EISENSTEIN Miriam, BODMAN Jean (1993) "Expressing Gratitude in American English", in: Kasper Gabriele, Blum-Kulka Shoshana (eds.), *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, New York, Oxford: OUP, pp. 64-81.

FERGUSON Charles A. (1976) "The structure and use of politeness formulas", in: *Language in Society*, vol. 5, pp. 137-151.

FREEDMAN Aviva, MEDWAY Peter (1994), *Genre and the New Rhetoric*, London, Bristol, Pennsylvania: Taylor & Francis.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

GIANNONI Davide (1998), "The Genre of Journal Acknowledgements: Findings of a Cross-Disciplinary Investigation", in: *Linguistica e Filologia*, vol. 6, pp. 61-84.

GIFFORD Robert (1988) "Book dedications: a new measure of scholarly indebtedness", in: *Scholarly Publishing*, July 1988, pp. 221-226.

GREIF Esther B., GLEASON Jean B. (1980) "Hi, thanks, and goodbye: More routine information", in: *Language in Society*, vol. 9, pp. 159-166.

HALLIDAY M.A.K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotics*, London: Edward Arnold.

HALLIDAY M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edition), London, New York, Sydney, Auckland: Edward Arnold.

HAMILTON J. M. (1990) "The Mistakes in this Essay Are My Own", in: *New York Times Book Review*, 15, April 15, pp. 25-26.

HELD Gudrun (1996) "Two polite speech acts in contrastive view: Aspects of the realization of requesting and thanking in French and Italian", in: Hellinger M., Ammon U. (eds.) *Contrastive Sociolinguistics*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 363-384.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

HERBERT Robert (1986) "Say "Thank you" — or something", in: *American Speech*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 71-87.

HESS Natalie (2001) *Teaching Large Multilevel Classes*, Cambridge: CUP.

HINKEL Eli (1994) "Pragmatics of Interaction: Expressing Thanks in a Second Language", in: *Applied Language Learning*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 73-91.

HUNSTON Susan, FRANCIS Gill (2000) *Pattern Grammar. A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

HYLAND Ken (2004) "Graduates' gratitude: the structure of dissertation acknowledgements", paper presented at the *Second Conference of Inter-Varietal Applied Corpus Studies (IVACS2)*, University of Belfast, Belfast, 25-26 June, 2004.

KACHRU Yamuna (1995) "Lexical Exponents of Cultural Contact: Speech Act Verbs in Hindi-English Dictionaries", in: Kachru B. B., Kahane H. (eds.) *Cultures, Ideologies, and the Dictionary*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 261-274.

KASSIRER Jerome P., ANGELL Marcia (1991) "On authorship and acknowledgments", in: *New England Journal of Medicine*, vol. 325, no. 21, pp. 1510-1512.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

KENNEDY Graeme (1998) *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*, London and New York: Longman.

KUMATORIDANI Tetsuo (1999) "Alternation and co-occurrence in Japanese thanks", in: *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 31, pp. 623-642.

LAKOFF, George (1996) "The metaphor system for morality", in: Goldberg, Adele (ed.) *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, pp. 249-266.

LUCKMANN Thomas (2001) "Remarks on the methodological implications of (oral) genre theory", paper presented at the International Conference *Genre 2001: Genres and Discourses in Education, Work and Cultural Life: Encounters of Academic Disciplines on Theories and Practices*, Oslo, Norway, May 13-16, 2001.

MARTIN, J. R. (1992) *English text. System and structure*, Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

MARTIN J. R. (2000) "Beyond Exchange. APPRAISAL Systems in English", in: Hunston Susan, Thompson Geoff (eds.), *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 142-175.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

McCAIN Katherine W. (1991) "Communication, Competition, and Secrecy: The Production and Dissemination of Research-Related Information in Genetics", in: *Science, Technology and Human Values*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 491-516.

MEIER H. (1989) "Zur sprachlichen Gestaltung von Danksagungen in der Presse", in: *Sprachpflege*, vol. 3, pp. 34-36.

OKAMOTO Shinichiro, ROBINSON W. Peter (1997) "Determinants of gratitude expressions in England", in: *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 411-433.

POPPE Nicholas (1978) "Expressions of gratitude in Mongolian", in: Ulmen G. L. (ed.), *Society and History. Essays in Honor of Karl August Wittfogel*, The Hague/Paris/New York: Mouton, pp. 399-401.

ROSCH Elineor (1973) "Natural categories", in: *Cognitive Psychology*, vol. 4, pp. 328-350.

ROSCH Elineor (1975) "Cognitive representations of semantic categories", in: *Journal of Experimental Psychology (General)*, vol. 104, pp. 192-233.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ROSCH Elineor (1978) "Principles of categorization", in: ROSCH Elineor, LLOYD Barbara (eds.) *Cognition and Categorization*, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Laurence Erlbaum, pp. 27-48.

SEARLE John (1969), *Speech Acts. An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge: CUP.

SEARLE John (1976) "A taxonomy of illocutionary acts", in: *Language in Society*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 1-23.

SEARLE John (1979) "A Taxonomy of illocutionary acts", in: Searle John (ed.) *Expression and* meaning. Studies in the theory of speech acts, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 1-29.

SIMPSON J. A., WEINER E. S. C. (1989) (eds.) *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

SPIEGEL Don, KEITH-SPIEGEL Patricia (1970) "Assignment of publication credits: ethics and practices of psychologists", in: *American Psychologist*, vol. 25, no. 8, pp. 738-747.

STUBBS Michael (1996) *Text and Corpus Analysis*, Oxford, England; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SWALES John (1990) *Genre Analysis. English in academic and research settings*, Cambridge: CUP.

TSUI A. (1989) "Systemic choices and discourse processes", in: *Word*, vol. 40, nos. 1-2, pp. 163-187.

VAN HECKE Tine (2003) "Cultural scripts for French and Romanian thanking behaviour", in: Jaszczolt K. M., Turner Ken (eds.), *Meaning Through Language Contrasts. Volume 2*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, pp. 237-250.

WATKINS Calvert (ed.) (1985) *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

WOLFSON, Nessa (1989) "The social dynamics of native and nonnative variation in complementing behavior", in: Eisenstein, M. (ed.) *The dynamic interlanguage: Empirical studies in SL variation*. New York: Plenum, pp. 219-236.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.