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OLGA DONTCHEVA-NAVRATILOVA

STYLE MARKERS OF RESOLUTIONS: CLAUSE PATTERNS AND VERB COMPLEMENTATION

1. Introduction

In discourse studies, in spite of existing differences, it is generally agreed that genre is a class of communicative events defined in terms of a socially recognised communicative purpose, socio-cultural situation, content and linguistic form (e.g. Bhatia 1993, Swales 1990, 2004). Therefore, an investigation into the style markers of a genre should map the patterns of co-occurring features in a representative corpus of texts and correlate statistical findings with an interpretation of the motivation for the stylistically relevant choices of language patterns and discourse strategies used to achieve genre-specific communicative purposes. This inquiry into verb complementation in UNESCO resolutions is part of a larger study which analyses the genre of resolutions (see Dontcheva-Navratilova 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006). It draws on previous research into stylistic features of different types of professional discourses, in particular, bureaucratic discourse and legal English (e.g. Charrow 1982, Danet 1985, Donahue and Prosser 1997, Hiltunen 1990), and corpus-based research into register analysis (Biber 1999, Biber et al. 1998, 1999, Bhatia et al. 2004).

The primary aim of the present investigation is to describe stylistically relevant clause patterns and verb complementation in resolutions, a genre of formal written discourse in institutional settings. As resolutions are typically one-sentence texts of different lengths (e.g. R20 consists of 30 words, while R66 includes 4067 words), they are characterised by considerable structural complexity, which is motivated by the presence of embedded clauses, heavily modified noun phrases and nominalizations. Since processing condensed structures imposes greater demands on the reader, structural complexity is related to processing complexity; however, in the case of highly specialized professional discourses which are not intended for the general public, processing complexity is reduced as a result of the experience gathered in working with the genre. Therefore an awareness of the recurrent structural patterns used in the genre of resolutions may be seen as a factor facilitating discourse processing and thus reducing its complexity.

2. Methodology

The present research is performed on a specialised corpus of 114 resolutions (45,000 words) which form part of the ‘*Resolutions*’ volume of the Records of the General Conference of UNESCO adopted at the 30th session in 1999. Since the genre of resolutions is historically related to legislative “*frozen genres*, where form-function correlations are rather fixed [and therefore] it is often not necessary to base findings on large corpora” (Bhatia et al. 2004: 206–207), the size of the corpus is regarded as sufficiently representative.

Within the one-sentence text of resolutions, clause components correspond to text-structure components (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2005c). It is therefore reasonable to expect that structural patterns at the highest syntactic level, i.e. the level of main clauses, reflect strategic choices in discourse which typically motivate stylistically relevant choices of language patterns. Thus, the present research focuses on the analysis of main-clause patterns and the complementation of main-clause predicative verbs, without offering a detailed analysis of embedded clauses.

Drawing on Biber et al. (1999: 141), the present investigation uses a typology of clause patterns which relates the approach based on verb-valency to the traditional classification of verbs based on transitivity (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Huddleston and Pullum 2002), assuming that the one-place SV pattern corresponds to intransitive verbs, the two- and three-place SV patterns (SVO, SVOO, SVOC and SVOA) with objects correspond to transitive, and the two-place SV patterns with complement or adverbial correspond to copular verbs (SVC and SVA). Though the syntactic realization of major clause elements is not reflected in this clause typology, in agreement with Biber (1999) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 333) the variability of realization patterns of complements is regarded as a potential register- or genre-specific choice.

In the discussion of verb complementation the term ‘complement’ is restricted to non-subject elements. For verb complements which take the form of dependent clauses the term ‘complement clauses’ is preferred to ‘nominal clauses’ as used in Quirk et al. (1985), which implies a comparison with other potential realizations of the clause element, and to the term ‘content clauses’ as used as a default category in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), which fails to specify the function of the clausal element in the sentence.

The frequency counts reported in the paper have been performed manually and using the ‘*MicroConcord*’ concordancer. The frequency of occurrence of established stylistically relevant lexico-grammatical patterns is compared to the results reported in previous corpus-based research (e.g. Biber 1999, Biber et al. 1998, 1999). A functional interpretation of quantitative data is provided to explain the motivation for the stylistic choices facilitating the realization of genre-specific communicative purposes in formal institutional discourse.

3. Results of the analysis

In the material under investigation, all sentences are declarative complete major sentences with the discourse function of statements, which is in conformity with the findings reported by Crystal and Davy (1969), Danet (1985), Hiltunen (1990) and Knittlová (1990) concerning legal language. The speech acts performed are declarations, directives, representatives and occasionally expressives. A tendency towards disambiguation in the genre of resolutions motivates a preference for explicit reference to the communicative intention of the speaker. Thus, most resolutions are realized by performative utterances, the illocutionary force of which is signalled by a performative verb in the active voice of the simple present tense of the indicative mood (Leech 1983: 184–185, Searle 1969: 30). Drawing on Austin (1962: 55–56) and Lyons (1977: 779), it is necessary to stress that in ritualized institutional acts the performer of the illocutionary act can use any pragmatically appropriate expression to refer to himself and to the addressee; in the case of UNESCO resolutions, the performer is referred to as '*The General Conference*', and the addressee most frequently as '*the Director-General*' or '*Member States*'. Except for declarations, performatives in resolutions take the form of illocutionary performative sentences, which, drawing on Leech (1983: 181–191), may be regarded as instances of '*oratio obliqua*', i.e. they take the syntactic form of complex sentences in which the main clause typically introduces the performative verb indicating the speech act, and the subordinate clause indicates the propositional content. Therefore, a high frequency of clausal complementation of performative verbs in resolutions is expected.

Previous research (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2005c) has evidenced that there are two sub-types of resolutions which show functional and structural differences: executive and preparatory resolutions. Executive resolutions state regulative facts and establish duties and obligations of executives and member-states using declarations, directives and occasionally expressive performative speech acts; they typically take the form of multiple sentences with coordinated main clauses which contain predicative verbs with different types of complementation. Preparatory resolutions state decisions concerning the composition of bodies, the establishment of procedures and the definition of rights which constitute the conditions for the work of the session of the General Conference and the bodies of the organization over a certain period. Preparatory resolutions may be further sub-divided into preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and preparatory resolutions dealing with elections: the former commonly realize non-performative representative speech acts and may occasionally include more than one sentence, the latter usually consist of one main clause realizing a performative declarative speech act. The present investigation tries to relate functional differences between the above-mentioned sub-types of resolutions to variation in their syntactic realization.

3.1 Distributions of main-clause patterns in different types of resolutions

Since each clause pattern is adapted for the expression of some characteristic meanings (Biber et al. 1999: 141), it is not surprising that the above-mentioned sub-types of resolutions show a strong preference for particular types of clause patterns, and that some verb patterns (i.e. copular verb patterns) are totally absent in the material under investigation. The distribution of main-clause patterns in the text of the 1999 ‘Resolutions’ volume is summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Distribution of main-clause patterns in the 1999 ‘Resolutions’ volume

Clause type	SV	SVO	SVOC	SVOO
Preparatory resolutions – administrative issues	0	15	1	6
Preparatory resolutions – dealing with elections	1	5	16	0
Executive resolutions	0	179	3	254
Total No	1	194	20	260
Total %	0.2	40.8	4.2	54.8

The findings suggest that resolutions use exclusively transitive clause patterns and that there is a tendency to associate each type of resolution with one or more clause types. Thus, preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues show a strong preference for the SVO clause pattern, preparatory resolutions dealing with elections use primarily the SVOC clause pattern and executive resolutions use the SVO and SVOO clause patterns.

The absence of intransitive and copular verb patterns is motivated by the presence of the agentive subject, invariably *the General Conference*, which is engaged in a process extended beyond the agentive participant, the processes being primarily communication, mental activity and causation. The single instance of SV clause pattern occurring in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections is the only case of passive voice clause pattern using an affected subject with non-realization of the context-dependent agentive participant, as illustrated in Example 1:

(1) *The following Members were thus elected: (...)* (R010. 11)

The patterns showing the highest frequency of occurrence are the monotransitive SVO pattern and the ditransitive SVOO pattern; this distribution of clause patterns may be regarded as genre-specific as it is motivated by the high frequency of declarative speech acts stating decisions, and directive speech acts stating duties and obligations assigned to member states and executives.

The distribution of performative and non-performative sentences in the three sub-types of resolutions is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 Distribution of performative and non-performative sentences in resolutions

Text type	SVO		SVOO		SVOC	
	Perform.	Non-perform.	Perform.	Non-perform.	Perform.	Non-perform.
Preparatory resolutions – administrative	4	11	5	1	0	1
Preparatory resolutions –elections	4	1	0	0	16	0
Executive resolutions	180	2	254	0	2	0
Total No	188	14	254	1	18	1
Total %	93	7	99.6	0.4	94.7	5.3

The preference for performative sentences in resolutions is a stylistic choice reflecting a tendency towards explicitness and clarity in the genre, and the character of the macro-performative speech act of declaration conveyed by the ‘*Resolutions*’ volume. Performative sentences use a verb in the ‘instantaneous’ simple present tense of the indicative mood, which implies that the event described is non-habitual and punctual, and takes place at the very time of speaking, i.e. the coding time and the receiving time coincide. This use of the ‘instantaneous’ simple present tense in performatives endows them with a dramatic, ritualized effect often highlighted by the use of *hereby*, though this adverbial is never used in the material under investigation. Since numerous resolutions include series of speech acts related to a specific topic, their syntactic structure consists of multiple clauses with deletion of the subject, taking the form of numbered lists, as illustrated in Example 2:

(2) *The General Conference*

1. *Notes that, in preparing the Draft Programme and Budget for 2000–2001 (30 C/5), the Director-General complied with the budgeting techniques that it had recommended at its 29th session (29 C/Resolution 86);*

2. *Invites the Director-General to continue to apply the same budgeting techniques in the preparation of document 31 C/5, subject to any modification or improvements that may be recommended by the Executive Board or the Director-General at a future session of the Board. (R80. 123)*

Predicates form separate paragraphs and are coordinated asyndetically; this is in conformity with Hiltunen’s claim that asyndetic coordination is preferred in lists, typically made up of paragraphs (Hiltunen 1990: 71). It should be noted that the semi-colons used for marking the boundaries between predicates function as ‘integrators’ and designate a high level of formality (Tárnyiková 2002: 44).

In non-performative sentences, the verb is in the simple past tense of the unmarked indicative mood. The meaning of the past tense is the one most commonly used combining two semantic features: a) the event has taken place in the

past with a gap between its completion and the moment of text production, and b) the writer has in mind a definite time at which the event took place. The majority of non-performative sentences occur in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and perform representative speech acts; they are primarily informative, i.e. they report constitutive decisions taken by the General Conference. Since the events reported, often differing in the time of their happening, are seen as separate units of information, one resolution may consist of more than one sentence, as illustrated in Example 3.

- (3) *At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference, having considered the provisional agenda drawn up by the Executive Board (30 C/1 Rev.), adopted that document. At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, it decided to add to its agenda items 4.14 “Proclamation of 21 March as World Poetry Day” (30 C/82) and 13.4 “Admission of the Cayman Islands as an Associate Member of the Organization” (30 C/33), at its 7th plenary meeting, on 29 October 1999, item 4.15 “Arabia Plan” (30 C/83) and at its 9th plenary meeting, on 30 October 1999, item 5.5 “Definition of regions with a view to the execution by the Organization of regional activities” (30 C/80). (R03. 3)*

3.2 SVO main-clause pattern and the complementation of monotransitive verbs

The SVO clause pattern occurs in all types of resolutions; it is the most frequently used clause pattern in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues and the second in frequency in executive resolutions. Since clauses using performative and non-performative verbs express different speech acts, the differences in the structural realization of their complementation is expected to be stylistically relevant and therefore will be discussed separately.

3.2.1 Complementation of non-performative monotransitive verbs

Table 3 summarizes the syntactic types of complementation and the frequency of occurrence of monotransitive verbs used in non-performative sentences.

Table 3 Complementation of non-performative monotransitive verbs

Verb	Complementation	No of occurrences
<i>adopt</i>	NP	2
<i>announce</i>	NP	1
<i>approve</i>	NP	1
<i>decide</i>	<i>to</i> -infinitive clause	4
<i>elect</i>	NP	1
<i>set up</i>	NP	1

The findings show that the majority of non-performative monotransitive verbs occur only once in the text, and are typically complemented by a noun phrase. The two verbs which occur more than once, *decide* and *adopt*, may be regarded as semantically central to the genre of resolutions as they refer to the act of taking a decision and to the act of adopting a resolution, which overlap with the macro-performative function of the ‘*Resolutions*’ volume. The verb *decide* is the only one to take subjectless *to*-infinitive clause complementation with resultative meaning. It should be noted that *decide* is also used in performative sentences, where it takes *to*-infinitive and *that*-clause complementation. All the verbs require an animate subject and inanimate object except for *elect*, which allows for an animate and inanimate object and in the text takes the collective animate object ‘*its General Committee*’.

The present research draws on Biber et al.’s typology of verbs according to semantic domains (Biber et al. 1999: 360–364), which distinguishes the following seven major semantic domains based on the core meaning of the verbs: activity verbs, communication verbs, mental verbs, causative verbs, verbs of simple occurrence, verbs of existence or relationship, and aspectual verbs. According to this typology, the verbs *approve*, *adopt* and *decide* are mental verbs with dynamic meaning, *announce* is a communication verb, and *set up* and *elect* are activity verbs (though Quirk and Greenbaum (1985) classify *elect* as a causative verb). However, some verbs can be used with different meanings belonging to more than one semantic domain, the contextual factor being decisive in identification of the meaning of the verb. (On the problem of “blurring and overlap between speech-act and non-speech-act verbs” see Leech (1983: 204).) Thus, the verbs *approve*, *adopt* and *decide* may also be interpreted as speech-act assertive verbs referring to ‘representative declarations’ (Searle 1975: 361) performed by the agentive participant. This interpretation is motivated by the institutional character of the communication, where adopting a resolution is an act of doing which changes the *status quo* in the organization.

The direct objects refer to entities which are affected directly by the action denoted in the clause and are typically situated in final position in the sentence. As Table 3 suggests, the object may be realized by a noun phrase, typically with heavy prepositional post-modification (Example 4), or in the case of the verb *decide* by a *to*-infinitive clause, whose subject is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause (Example 5):

- (4) *At its 1st plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference, in accordance with Rules 26 and 33 of its Rules of Procedure, set up a Credentials Committee for its 30th session consisting of the following Member States: Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Georgia, Lebanon, Thailand, Turkey, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay and Yemen. (R01. 1)*
- (5) *At its 2nd plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference decided to admit as observers the representatives of the following non-governmental organizations: (...) (R06. 7)*

3.2.2 *Complementation of performative monotransitive verbs*

The performative verbs used in SVO clauses belong to the following categories:

- (i) assertive verbs – *accept, acknowledge, appreciate, approve, consider, decide, endorse, express, note, reaffirm, recall, reconfirm, recognize, reiterate, resolve, support, take note of, underline*
- (ii) directive verbs – *authorize, request*
- (iii) expressive verbs – *commend, thank, welcome*

It is evident that assertive verbs form the most numerous group. The performative sentences in which they are used perform ‘representative declarations’. It should be noted that not all assertive verbs are illocutionary performative verbs; a restricted number of them belong to the group of locutionary performative verbs (Bach and Harnish 1979: 209), e.g. *note, reiterate, express*, which, from the point of view of classification of verbs into semantic domains, are communication verbs. The rest of the assertive verbs are mental verbs. As mentioned in the discussion of non-performative verbs above, there is some blurring and overlap between speech-act and non-speech-act verbs, as verbs can be used with different meanings in different contexts. Drawing on the criteria suggested by Leech (1983: 223–225) for the semantic analysis of assertive verbs, the assertive verbs used in the resolutions are considered as making the proposition publicly known, (vs. making the proposition privately or obliquely known), expressing a confident assertion (vs. expressing a tentative assertion), and passing the information on unidirectionally (vs. the argumentative presentation of information where truth claims may be opposed and need to be justified and defended). It is interesting to note that there is an occurrence of the activity verb *receive* used performatively and in coordination with the verb *accept*, thus delimiting the physical act of receiving a report from the mental act of accepting it, as in:

- (6) *The General Conference, (...)*
 3. *Receives and accepts the report of the External Auditor and the audited financial statements on the accounts of UNESCO for the financial period ended 31 December 1997; (R63. 97)*

Directive verbs each have one occurrence as monotransitive verbs with the SVO clause type, while they are the most frequently used verbs with the ditransitive SVOO clause pattern, logically requiring the identification of the recipient. The monotransitive verb *authorize* is complemented by a direct object noun phrase with an abstract head which is a nominalized structure (Example 7), while the verb *request* occurs with *that*-clause complementation, in which the doer of the required action is indicated by the subject of the subordinate clause, whose verb is in the subjunctive mood (Example 8).

- (7) *The General Conference, (...)*
 2. *Authorizes further allocations in 2000–2001 of UNESCO Coupons payable in local currencies, up to a maximum of US \$2,000,000, (R68. 107)*
- (8) *The General Conference, (...)*
Requests that its President take the necessary steps to enable the Legal Committee to review, as soon as possible and before its next ordinary session, Part XIV of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, in particular to ensure that this Part contains objective and verifiable admissibility criteria for such draft resolutions. (R87. 127)

Expressive verbs are relatively rare and typically complemented by a heavily post-modified noun phrase functioning as direct object (Example 9). The directive and expressive speech-act verbs used in the material belong to the semantic domain of mental verbs; since they typically occur within the SVOO clause type, they will be discussed in greater detail below (Section 3.3).

- (9) *The General Conference, (...)*
 2. *Thanks the Director-General, who has spared no effort to increase the participation of Palestine in UNESCO's programme and activities; (R52. 87)*

Table 4 summarizes the syntactic realizations of complementation and their frequency of co-occurrence with verbs used in SVO performative sentences. Since not all verbs in the list can control both types of clausal complementation, the options which are not available are indicated by a dash.

The findings suggest that there are three types of performative monotransitive verb complementation. In addition, most verbs take noun-phrase complementation, while only the verb *decide* is complemented by a *to*-infinitive clause.

Table 4 Complementation of performative monotransitive verbs

Verb	Complementation			Total No
	Noun phrase	<i>that</i> -clause	<i>to</i> -infinitive clause	
<i>accept</i>	1	0	-	1
<i>acknowledge</i>	1	0	-	1
<i>appreciate</i>	3	0	-	3
<i>approve</i>	10	-	-	10
<i>authorize</i>	1	-	0	1
<i>commend</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>consider</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>decide</i>	0	38	14	52
<i>endorse</i>	9	-	-	9
<i>express</i>	3	-	-	3
<i>note</i>	8	13	-	21
<i>reaffirm</i>	4	1	-	5

Verb	Complementation			Total No
	Noun phrase	<i>that</i> -clause	<i>to</i> -infinitive clause	
<i>recall</i>	1	5	-	6
<i>recognize</i>	0	1	-	1
<i>recommend</i>	0	7	-	7
<i>reconfirm</i>	1	0	-	1
<i>reiterate</i>	3	0	-	3
<i>request</i>	0	1	-	1
<i>resolve</i>	0	7	0	7
<i>support</i>	2	-	-	2
<i>thank</i>	3	-	-	3
<i>take note of</i>	6	1	-	7
<i>underline</i>	0	1	-	1
<i>welcome</i>	6	-	-	6
Total No	63	82	14	159
Total %	39.6	51.6	8.8	100

The occurrence of noun phrases as objects is very common in the SVO clause type. The majority of the noun phrases contain as heads abstract nouns, which may be regarded as instances of nominalization used to condense the sentence structure, as in:

(10) *The General Conference, (...)*

7. *Welcomes the support given by Norway and Italy to the Slave Route project, in particular through substantial extrabudgetary contributions; (...)*

9. *Welcomes the cooperation of the World Tourism Organization in the implementation of the cultural tourism programme on the Slave Route in Africa and the Caribbean; (R34. 70)*

The use of nominalization structures is a stylistic choice reflecting the fact that performatives are not genuine instances of indirect speech paraphrasing actual original wordings; therefore, language means are selected so as to match the overall style of the text, which in the case of the genre of resolutions bears the features of highly formal written language.

That-clauses and *to*-infinitive clauses differ in their patterns of use as complement clauses. While *that*-clauses combine with a restricted number of verbs from a few semantic domains, i.e. mostly mental/perceptual or communication verbs, *to*-infinitive clauses can be controlled by numerous verbs from a wider range of semantic domains, e.g. mental and communication verbs, verbs of desire, decision, facilitation (Biber 1999: 138). The register patterns of post-predicate *that*-clauses and *to*-infinitive clauses also differ: *that*-clauses are most common in conversation, fairly common in fiction and news and rather rare in academic prose, while *to*-infinitive clauses are moderately common in fiction, news and academic prose and less common in conversation (Biber et al. 1998).

Since the common function of post-predicate *that*-clauses is to report the speech, thoughts, attitudes or emotions of human participants, in mental, speech-act and other communication verb complementation it is not surprising that complementation by *that*-clauses shows the highest frequency of occurrence (46% of the instances being complementation of the verb *decide*). From a syntactic point of view, these typically take the form of complex sentences including a main clause to introduce the performative speech-act verb and a subordinate content clause to perform the function of direct object, as in:

(11) *The General Conference, (...)*

1. *Notes the strategies developed to support personnel policy;*
 2. *Considers that there have been too many exceptions in the application of personnel policy and the personnel management system which should be strictly applied inter alia in the interest of maintaining staff morale;*
 3. *Underlines that implementation of personnel policy is primarily aimed at the effective execution of the Organization's programmes;*
 4. *Considers that the personnel policy has to be reviewed taking fully into account the need for competitiveness, expertise, efficiency and universality;*
- (R72. 110)

The verb in the subordinate clause is in the indicative mood, as assertive verbs are factual and introduce propositions. It should be noted that the conjunction *that* is never zero, which is a stylistic choice conforming to the formality of the written genre and its tendency towards explicitness and disambiguation.

To-infinitive clause complementation in the performative SVO clause pattern occurs exclusively in post-predicate position with the verb *decide* (Example 12). *Decide* is a mental verb of intention and decision and in this group is reported by Biber et al. (1999) to be the most common verb controlling *to*-infinitive clauses.

(12) *The General Conference, (...)*

- Decides to add a third paragraph to Rule 37 of its Rules of Procedure reading as follows: (R78.115)*

As mentioned above, the complementation of *decide* in non-performative sentences is restricted to *to*-infinitive clauses. The *to*-infinitive clause complementing the performative and non-performative uses of *decide* expresses constitutive actions concerning amendments to texts or changes in the constitution of bodies; when complementing a performative use of *decide* the *to*-infinitive clause may also indicate the decisions to consider an issue on a future occasion. *That*-clause complementation of the verb *decide* occurs exclusively in resolutions on financial questions and expresses decisions concerning payments of contributions (Example 13). This pattern of complementation reflects the fact that *that*-clauses allow the expression of meanings that are not available with non-finite clauses, i.e. "their verbs have tense or modality, and the subject of the *that*-clause does not

have to be co-referential with the subject of the main clause” (Biber et al. 1999: 757). The findings of the analysis have proved that in all *that*-clauses controlled by *decide* the verb of the subordinate clause is marked for modality (typically the modal verb *shall* “used to express what is to be the obligatory consequence of a legal decision” (Crystal & Davy 1969: 2006)) and the subject of the subordinate clause is not co-referential with the subject of the main clause.

(13) *The General Conference, (...)*

Decides that the contributions remaining due for the financial periods 1996–1997 and 1998–1999, totalling \$139,104, shall be paid in six equal instalments of \$23,184 from 2000 to 2005, on or before 30 June of each year; (R66. 104)

3.3 SVOO main-clause pattern and the complementation of ditransitive verbs

The SVOO clause pattern occurs in executive resolutions. (The five instances of this SVOO clause type in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues are motivated by the fact that the structure of these resolutions resembles the structure of executive resolutions.) There are no instances of the SVOO clause type in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections. The strikingly high proportion of performative SVOO clauses in executive resolutions reflects their executive character, i.e. they record directive and commissive speech acts regulating the relationship between participants in the act of communication. All resolutions using the SVOO clause type are one-sentence texts, typically including coordinate clauses with subject deletion. It should be noted that the addressees indicated in multiple predicates within one resolution may vary.

The performative verbs used in SVO clauses are all illocutionary verbs, which belong to the following categories:

directive verbs – appeal, authorize, call upon, invite, request, urge

expressive verbs – *congratulate, convey (gratitude), express (gratitude), pay (tribute), thank*

Since the verbs used in the SVOO clause type are illocutionary verbs, they belong to the semantic domain of communication verbs. The performative sentences in which they are used express directive and expressive speech acts respectively. It is evident that the set of verbs occurring in the SVOO clause pattern in the material is considerably less numerous than the set of verbs used with the SVO pattern. Nevertheless the overall frequency of occurrence of directive and expressive verbs used in SVOO patterns is higher, which reflects one of the main functions of resolutions, i.e. to state duties and obligations in the organization.

A semantic analysis of directive and expressive verbs drawing on Leech (1983: 218), Bach and Harnish (1979: 47–49, 51–55) and Searle (1969: 66–67, 1975: 344–350), suggests that the meanings of directive verbs used in resolutions vary primarily in the desirability of the event for the addressor and ad-

dressee, in the implied attitude of the addressor, and in the force of imposition of the verb, which reflects differences in the status of participants in the communication; the meanings of expressive verbs vary in the desirability of the event for the addressor and addressee and in the implied attitude of the addressor. Therefore the choice of verbs reflects politeness considerations and the character of the relationship between the participants in the communication. (For a detailed semantic analysis of directive and expressive verbs, see Dontcheva-Navratilova 2005a).

Verbs of the directive and expressive groups show different patterns of complementation. While directive verbs in SVOO clauses are commonly complemented by a noun phrase referring to the addressee and a *to*-infinitive clause, expressive verbs are commonly complemented by a noun phrase indicating the addressee and a prepositional phrase referring to the act performed (Leech 1983: 205–206).

Table 5 summarizes the syntactic types of complementation and their frequency of co-occurrence with the verbs used in SVOO clauses, accounting separately for directive and expressive verbs.

Table 5 Complementation of ditransitive verbs

Verb	Complementation		
	Oi (NP) + <i>to-inf.</i> clause	Oi (NP) + Op (PP)	Od (NP) + Op (PP)
Directive verbs			
<i>appeal</i>	9	0	0
<i>authorize</i>	61	0	0
<i>call upon</i>	22	0	0
<i>invite</i>	96	0	0
<i>request</i>	42	0	0
<i>urge</i>	8	0	0
Expressive verbs			
<i>congratulate</i>	0	1	0
<i>convey (gratitude)</i>	0	0	1
<i>express (gratitude)</i>	0	0	10
<i>pay (tribute)</i>	0	0	2
<i>thank</i>	0	5	0
Total No	236	6	13
Total %	92.5	2.5	5.0

The pattern of complementation of directive verbs including an indirect object with the semantic role of recipient realized by a noun phrase and a *to*-infinitive clause coincides with the pattern of complementation reported by Leech (1983: 205) and Biber et al. (1999: 696) as typical of many speech-act and directive verbs. In this pattern, the noun phrase functioning as direct object in the main clause performs the function of subject of the *to*-infinitive clause, as the addressee of the speech act is the agent responsible for the future action, as in:

(14) *The General Conference, (...)*

1. *Invites the Director-General to submit additional information on the proposal contained in these documents at the 159th session of the Executive Board, in particular, regarding the repercussions of such a proposal on the current system of split-level assessment of contributions of Member States;* (R69. 107)

Expressive verbs occur with two patterns of complementation. The verb *thank* and the verb *congratulate*, whose single appearance is in coordination with *thank* (Example 15), occur with an indirect object with the semantic role of recipient realized by a noun phrase signalling the addressee and a prepositional object introduced by the preposition *for* indicating the action beneficial for the addressor.

(15) *The General Conference, (...)*

1. *Congratulates and thanks the Director-General for his great efforts to ensure the full implementation of the Executive Board's decisions and the General Conference's resolutions;* (R54. 88)

Convey/express one's gratitude (which may be regarded as formal paraphrases of *thank*) and the expression *pay tribute*, occur in the pattern verb plus direct object realized by a noun phrase referring to the action beneficial for the addressor and a prepositional object indicating the addressee:

(16) *The General Conference, (...)*

3. *Expresses its gratitude to the Member States and organizations that have supported the Institute's programme through voluntary contributions or contractual agreements,* (R4. 29)

3.3 SVOC main-clause pattern and the complementation of complex-transitive verbs

The complex-transitive SVOC clause pattern occurs primarily in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections, where the performative sentences function as declarations. The high proportion of performative SVOC clauses in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections reflects their specific character, which oscillates between the preparatory nature of decisions concerning the status of participants involved in the communication and the executive character of the declarations that they perform. All resolutions using the SVOC clause type are one-sentence texts, typically including one predicate.

The verb phrase of the SVOC clause type invariably uses the 'instantaneous' simple present tense of the unmarked indicative mood. The most frequently used verb is *elect*, which is semantically central to this sub-type of resolution, as it ex-

presses an action that causes the attribution of a resultant quality to a participant in the communication. Except for the verb *consider*, which is a mental verb, the performative verbs used in SVOC clauses are verbs typically occurring in declarations; *elect* and *appoint* belong in the semantic domain of activity and *proclaim* is a communication verb. The verbs used in declarations explicitly name the act which is performed by uttering the sentence, thus performing an institutional speech act which achieves an extralinguistic goal, i.e. it brings about a change in the state of affairs in the organization. Conditions for the felicitous performance of such a declaration are stated beforehand in UNESCO documents, referred to in the text of the resolutions.

The frequency of occurrence of performative verbs used in the SVOC clause type and the syntactic types of their complementation are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Complementation of complex-transitive verbs

Verb	Complementation				
	Od (NP) + C (<i>to</i> -inf. clause)	Od (NP) + C (NP)	Od(extraposed <i>to</i> -inf. clause) + C (Adj.P)	Od (NP) + C (Adj.P)	Od (NP) + C (PP)
<i>appoint</i>	0	1	0	0	0
<i>consider</i>	0	0	1	0	0
<i>elect</i>	15	0	0	0	0
<i>proclaim</i>	0	0	0	0	1
<i>recognize</i>	0	0	0	1	0
Total No	15	1	1	1	1
Total %	78.8	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3

The specificity of complex transitive complementation is that “the two elements following the verb (e.g. the object and the object complement) are notionally equated with the subject and predication of a nominal clause” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1195). Occurrences of the SVOC clause type containing a complex-transitive verb and an object complement with the semantic role of attribute, vary in the sub-types of the semantic roles of the attributes. The object complements occurring with the verbs *appoint*, *elect* and *proclaim* have the function of attributes identifying a resulting state, while the object complements occurring with the verbs *consider* and *recognize* have the function of attributes identifying a current state.

There is a strong tendency for the direct object to be realized by a noun phrase referring to a participant in the communication (typically *Member States*, occasionally *experts*). The object complement usually takes the form of a *to*-infinitive clause, which reflects the fact that the only verb with multiple occurrences is the verb *elect*. In the complementation of the verb *elect*, the *to*-infinitive clause identifies the resultant state of the implied subject, which is the object of the main clause, as in:

(17) *The General Conference, (...)*

Elects the following Member States to be members of the Intergovernmental Council until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: [list of states]

4. Conclusion

Since genre is a text type defined in terms of a socially recognised communicative purpose, socio-cultural situation, content and linguistic form, an investigation into the style markers of genre is likely to find a close correlation between language means and their functional value in discourse. The analysis of clause-type patterns in UNESCO resolutions has evidenced that there is a tendency to associate each type of resolution with one or more clause types. Preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, which have an informative function, show a preference for the SVO clause-type pattern; preparatory resolutions dealing with elections, which are declarations attributing roles to the participants in the institutional communication, use primarily the SVOC clause-type pattern; and executive resolutions, which have a regulative function, use the SVO and SVOO clause patterns. The tendency towards explicitness in the genre of resolutions motivates a strong preference for the use of performative utterances stating explicitly the communicative intention of the addressor. Thus, all clause types take the form of performative sentences; the SVO clause type in informative preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues is the only one to allow for non-performative speech acts.

Verbal complementation in resolutions is restricted to a limited number of patterns. In SVO clauses, which occur in all types of resolutions, the complementation of mental and communication verbs is typically realized by noun phrases and *that*-clauses; *to*-infinitive clause complementation is used exclusively with the mental verb of intention and decision *decide*. The preference for *that*-clause complementation reflects the potential of this clause type to express meanings that are not available with non-finite clauses. The frequent occurrence of noun phrase complementation, which is typically represented by instances of nominalization, is a stylistic choice which reflects the high level of formality in written institutional discourse. The SVOO clause pattern uses performative, directive and expressive illocutionary verbs chosen from a restricted set; nevertheless their overall frequency of occurrence is high, which reflects the main functions of resolutions, i.e. the stating of duties and obligations in the organization. The directive verbs display a single pattern of complementation consisting of a noun phrase and *to*-infinitive clause; the noun phrase indicates the addressee of the speech act and functions both as the indirect object of the main clause and the subject of the complement *to*-infinitive clause. The expressive verbs occur with two patterns of complementation, i.e. a noun phrase signalling the addressee and a prepositional phrase indicating the action beneficial for the addressor, and a noun phrase referring to the action beneficial for the addressor and a prepositional phrase indicating

the addressee. Within the SVOC clause pattern, which occurs primarily in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections, verbal complementation is typically realized by a noun phrase with the function of object and a *to*-infinitive clause with the function of object complement.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the findings of the present research suggest that the restricted range of main-clause patterns and patterns of verb complementation may be regarded as a stylistic marker of the genre of resolutions. Furthermore, since the patterns of verb complementation include clausal complementation, heavily modified noun phrases, the heads of which frequently take the form of nominalizations post-modified by an embedded clause, and complex prepositional phrases, structural complexity may also be considered as a stylistic feature of the genre.

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