

EXTENDING FURTHER AND REFINING PRINCE'S TAXONOMY OF GIVEN/NEW INFORMATION: A CASE STUDY OF NON-RESTRICTIVE, RELEVANCE- ORIENTED STRUCTURES¹

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to complement and refine Ellen Prince's well-known taxonomy of given/new information (Prince 1981, 1992), which distinguishes between discourse-related and assumed familiarity-related newness/givenness. What we suggest is that a new category should be added to the existing hearer new, hearer old, and inferrable information categories, so as to include cases where the informational status of an entity or a propositional content cannot be determined with certainty. We call this new category 'the (hearer) indeterminables', and we justify its existence through a case study on non-restrictive, relevance-oriented constructions (appositive relative clauses, non-restrictive pre-modifiers, apposition). We also argue that it is possible for speakers/writers to simulate informational statuses for politeness considerations, and that such simulation should be included in the definition of assumed familiarity.

Keywords: Given/new information; Prince's taxonomy; Non-restrictive; Relevance; Informational status; Foreground/background; Politeness; Apposition; Relative clauses.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to suggest both an extension of and a refinement to Prince's (1981, 1992) well-known taxonomy of given/new information. Her taxonomy, distinguishing between discourse-related and assumed familiarity-related newness/givenness, has proved crucial in determining the discourse constraints that account for the (in)felicity of some syntactic constructions, in connection with noncanonical word order in particular. Prince's taxonomy has already been both extended and refined by researchers (*e.g.* Birner & Ward 1998; Birner 2004, 2006), who tackled in particular the status of inferrable entities, which Prince had left unresolved. What this paper suggests is a further extension of this taxonomy by the addition of an extra subcategory, namely the category of the (hearer) indeterminables. In addition to assumed familiarity (hearer old status) and assumed unfamiliarity (hearer new status), we suggest that speakers facing multiple addressees or a single addressee whose state of knowledge cannot be determined assume an indeterminable familiarity, which represents a linguistic trigger for the use of certain syntactic constructions (*e.g.*

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appositive relative clauses, sentential parentheticals, nominal appositives, noun premodifiers). We also suggest that informational statuses can be simulated for politeness reasons, and that such simulation should be included in the definition of assumed familiarity.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we define and explain Prince's taxonomy for given/new information, as well as its exploitation in works based on the form-meaning relation. We also explain its limits and how these have been tackled and remedied in the literature. In section 3 we explain the kind of extension that we would like to apply to the taxonomy through the addition of an extra category, *viz* the indeterminables, and we illustrate the need for such an extension through various examples of linguistic triggers such as appositive relative clauses, non-restrictive premodifiers, sentential parentheticals, or nominal appositives. In section 4 we suggest that defining assumed familiarity should take into account simulated informational status as a politeness-oriented discourse strategy.

This paper is written in the wake of a ten-year research project on the pragmatics of appositive relative clauses and other non-restrictive, relevance-oriented structures. It is the corpus studies developed to determine the functions in discourse of these structures that have led us to extend and refine Prince's taxonomy. A lot of references are therefore made to our own work in this paper. The data used are either attested, in which case the source is systematically mentioned, or constructed for the purpose of the analysis when necessary.

2. Prince's taxonomy

2.1. Definitions

Ever since linguists have done research on discourse phenomena, they have established links between the givenness/newness of the information that speakers convey and their choices concerning the syntactic organization of their sentences, in particular relating to word order variation (see *e.g.* Chafe 1976, 1987, 1997). Unfortunately, the notions of givenness and newness have been used in many different ways by researchers and the different definitions are not always interchangeable, leading to blurry concepts that in time became nonoperational. Prince (1981, 1992) suggested a taxonomy of given/new information that distinguished between different types of newness/givenness. This was meant to remedy a fault in the simplistic binary vision that opposed given information on the one hand to new information on the other. As shown by Prince (1981: 225-232), at least three different definitions of givenness could (and still can) be found in the literature: Predictability/recoverability, saliency, and shared knowledge. Preferring the notion of "assumed familiarity", Prince (1981) distinguishes between new, inferrable and evoked information; in Prince (1992), she refines her analysis on the informational status of "entities" (mostly expressed by NPs) and distinguishes between three types of new/old information:

- *DISCOURSE NEW vs. DISCOURSE OLD INFORMATION*: has the entity been mentioned or not in the prior discourse?

“[A]n NP may refer to an entity that has already been evoked in the prior discourse-stretch, or it may evoke an entity which has not previously occurred in the prior discourse-stretch.” (Prince 1992: 7)

- *HEARER NEW vs. HEARER OLD INFORMATION*: is the information given/new depending on the speaker's assumption as to the state of knowledge of his/her addressee(s)?
“Information, by which is here generally meant 'entities'/referents, may be old/new with respect to (the speaker's beliefs about) the hearer's beliefs.” (Prince 1992: 6)
- *INFERRABLES*: information whose existence can be inferred by the addressee(s).
“[W]hen a speaker evokes some entity in the discourse, it is often the case that s/he assumes that the hearer can infer the (discourse) existence of certain other entities, based on the speaker's beliefs about the hearer's beliefs and reasoning ability.” (Prince 1992: 8)

If we consider examples (1) and (2) below, taken from Prince (1992), then in (1) *the Bastille* is discourse new but hearer old for the addressee(s) if the speaker assumes that the addressee(s) know(s) that the Bastille was a Parisian fortress-prison that was stormed during the French Revolution. In (1) the second occurrence of *the door* is discourse old (see *the door of the Bastille*) and therefore necessarily hearer old. However, in (2), *the door* is new in the discourse, and therefore not discourse old, although “*this door is treated as though it were already known to the hearer*” (Prince 1992: 8). The element *the door* in (2) is thus what Prince calls an inferrable entity. As far as *the door of the Bastille* is concerned, it is considered a containing inferrable (the trigger for the inference is in the NP itself).

- (1) He passed by **the door of the Bastille** and **the door** was painted purple.
- (2) He passed by **the Bastille** and **the door** was painted purple.

2.2. Prince's taxonomy and the form-meaning relation

Prince's taxonomy as defined in Prince (1992) has proved useful to many researchers in explaining the constraints that govern the felicity or infelicity of certain syntactic constructions, in particular speakers' use of noncanonical word order (*e.g.* preposing, topicalization, left and right dislocation, postposing) as defined in Birner & Ward (1998) among others, of extraposition (Miller 2001), or of the passive voice (Birner & Ward 1998; Birner *et al.* 2002). For instance, for a topicalization (3) or a focus preposing (4) to be felicitous, the referent of the preposed constituent must be anaphorically linked to the previous discourse (discourse-old link). An open proposition (OP) as defined by Prince (1986) must also exist.² For passive voice (5) to be felicitous,

²A presupposed OP is defined by Prince (1986) as a proposition which contains a variable (hence the term 'open') that represents the new information of the utterance, while the rest of the proposition is presupposed. For instance, in a context where we know that the teacher gave an identified/specific book to someone, the proposition *The teacher gave the book to X* is an open proposition, in which X is a

the syntactic subject in the passive sentence must not refer to information that is newer within the discourse than the NP in the *by*-phrase.

(3) Customer: Can I get a bagel?

Waitress: No, sorry. We're out of bagels. A bran muffin I can give you. (Birner & Ward 1998: 33)

(4) A: Where can I get the reading packet?

B: In Steinberg. [Gives directions]. Six dollars it costs. (Birner & Ward 1998: 36)

(5) The mayor's present term of office expires Jan. 1. He will be succeeded by Ivan Allen Jr. (Birner & Ward 1998: 194)

The use of the taxonomy has thus enabled definitions that are based on both absolute (focus preposing and topicalization) and relative (passive voice) assumed familiarity. In each case, one marked syntactic structure (noncanonical word order) is in competition with another unmarked syntactic structure (canonical, SVO word order).³ Although they are paraphrases with the same semantic content, they are not interchangeable in context and thus do not have the same interpretation. The differences in interpretation between such competing structures, or “allostructures” (Loock 2005, 2010a, 2010b), can then be accounted for by informational considerations.⁴

2.3. *The taxonomy's limits*

In her articles, Prince uses the term “entities” when referring to the denotations of NPs, that is, to use Lyons' (1977) terminology, first-order entities (persons, animals, things). It is not clear whether her taxonomy of given/new information can also be straightforwardly applied to second-order entities (events, states, processes of affairs located in time) or third-order entities (propositions). To define such information-packaging constraints as described in Section 2.2, researchers have had to extend Prince's taxonomy to the contents of clauses and other constituents, not simply of NPs as Prince does in her articles (*e.g.* Birner & Ward (1998) to adjective phrases and prepositional phrases; Miller (2001) to *that* clauses; Loock (2005, 2007, 2010a) and Loock & O'Connor (2011) to appositive relative clauses and appositive structures in general). In this article, although we are aware that NPs can refer to events or propositions, we shall use the term “entities” when discussing the referents of NPs and

variable that represents a specific beneficiary as opposed to other values that this variable could take. The fact that the teacher gave the book to someone is presupposed, while the identity of that someone represents the new information in the proposition.

³Canonical word order (SVO) and unmarked structure do not actually go hand in hand. For instance, extraposition (*It was a shock to me that a bloodthirsty, cruel capitalist should be such a graceful fellow*) does not correspond to the canonical SVO word order, but is actually unmarked, in that it requires less specific contexts to be felicitous than the non-extraposed, SVO version (*That a bloodthirsty, cruel capitalist should be such a graceful fellow was a shock to me*) (examples taken from Miller 2001: 2).

⁴This term is coined after the term “allosentences”, introduced by Daneš (1966) and Chafe (1976) and defined by Lambrecht (1994: 35) as “*semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs*”. Just as allophones represent the different phonetic realizations of the same phoneme or allomorphs the different realizations of the same morpheme, allosentences are defined as representing the different possible syntactic realizations of the same propositional content.

the term “propositional contents” when discussing the contents of clauses. We use the term “informational content” to cover both cases.

Perhaps the main problem that linguists using Prince's taxonomy have had to face so far is the question of the type of information corresponding to the inferrables, a question that Prince (1992: 19-21) admittedly left unresolved. Research by Birner & Ward has shown that inferrables actually behave like discourse old information but pattern like hearer new information in existential *there* sentences (Birner 2004). Moreover, Birner (2006) shows that three types of inferrables can be distinguished on the basis of whether the inference is an identity inference (6), a bridging inference (7) or an elaborating inference (8) – examples are taken from Birner (2006), underlining is ours.⁵ She concludes that while identity and elaborating inferences correspond to an inferrable that patterns like discourse old/hearer old information, only bridging inferences correspond to an inferrable that patterns like discourse old/hearer new information.

(6) I told the guy at the door to watch out, but the idiot wouldn't listen. (Birner 2006: 38, cited in Evans 1981)

(7) Mary took the picnic supplies out of the trunk. The beer was warm. (Birner 2006: 40, cited in Haviland & Clark 1974)

(8) She got married recently and at the wedding was the mother, the stepmother and Debbie. (Birner 2006: 40)

Birner (2006) suggests a new taxonomy, given in Table 1. Birner's new definition of inferrable information fills in Prince's “empty cell”, *i.e.*, the one for discourse old/hearer new information (an impossible combination according to Prince's taxonomy), with bridging inferrables. For such a combination to be possible, a redefinition of the “discourse old” category is required: Birner (2004, 2006) suggests that discourse old information is information that is mentioned in the preceding co-text OR *linked* to information in the preceding co-text. This discourse-old link ranges from identity to a series of inferences (part/whole, type/subtype, temporal precedence, entity/attribute, spatial proximity...).

⁵Identity inferences (6) are backward inferences that identify the inferred entity with some prior evocation of the same entity, the inferred entity being already in the hearer's knowledge store, while bridging inferences (7) are backward inferences that are not made until the utterance of the inferrable information itself, the inferred entity not being in the hearer's knowledge store yet. As for elaborating inferences (8), they are forward inferences “*in which the inferential relation is not one of identity, and yet the evocation of the trigger element immediately and saliently evokes the inferrable entity*” (Birner 2006: 42-43).

	Hearer-old	Hearer-new
Discourse-old	EVOKED: IDENTITY/ELABORATING INFERRABLE (inferentially linked, and known to hearer)	BRIDGING INFERRABLE (inferentially linked, but not known to hearer)
Discourse-new	UNUSED (not inferentially linked, but known to hearer)	BRAND-NEW (not inferentially linked, and not known to hearer)

Table 1. Birner's (2006: 45) taxonomy of given/new information, based on Prince (1981, 1992)

3. A further extension: The 'indeterminables' category

3.1. *The problem*

Prince's taxonomy reaches another limit if we consider the hearer new/old status of informational content. Prince has clearly shown that shared knowledge is a concept that does not exist, as speakers can only have assumptions about what their addressees know or do not know, and that the concept of assumed familiarity should be preferred. The hearer new/old status of information indeed concerns a decision that is made by the speaker: S/he is the one who assumes that the addressee(s) know(s) or do(es) not have access to the information in question. Of course, speakers can be wrong and assume wrongly that some information is (un)known by the addressee(s), but this does not invalidate the efficacy of Prince's conception of the informational status of entities or propositional contents: It is assumed to be either hearer new or hearer old.

The distinction that is offered is thus a binary distinction, as for the discourse new/old distinction for referents denoted by an NP or a clause. However, even though a binary distinction is satisfying for the discourse status of the information denoted by an NP or a clause,⁶ it is not appropriate for the hearer new/old distinction. Such a binary distinction does not suffice (i) if we consider the possibility that the speaker/writer does not always know and does not always want to choose between hearer new and hearer old status, but in particular (ii) if we consider the fact that a speaker/writer (a journalist, for instance) can have multiple addressees, whom he knows to be heterogeneous as far as the hearer new/old status of specific information is concerned. The binary possibility offered by Prince's taxonomy is then insufficient, because there is no middle way between hearer new and hearer old status. A third, intermediate possibility needs to be added to deal with information whose hearer new/old status cannot be determined precisely. The existence and the significance of this third category must then be recognized and it will be shown below that it can serve as a linguistic trigger for the use of certain syntactic constructions. This is what Sections 3.2 and 3.3 are dedicated to: In

⁶ Information that is not discourse old is necessarily discourse new, and vice versa; there is no information that is partially discourse new or partially discourse old, even though a propositional content *p* can contain both discourse old and discourse new information.

3.2 we define what is meant by indeterminable hearer-status and list the syntactic structures whose use is triggered by such informational status; in 3.3 we explain why the indeterminables should be seen as a separate category. Finally, in Section 3.4, we explain why this new category is not homogeneous, as once again the use of some syntactic constructions by speakers can be explained thanks to even finer-grained distinctions. We conclude with a discussion of the gradience of informational status.

3.2. Definitions

3.2.1. Indeterminable information status: Examples

Let us consider (9) below, which is the beginning of an article taken from an American national newspaper (bold and underlining are ours).⁷

(9) NASHVILLE — **Sarah Palin** said in an interview broadcast Sunday that she would consider a run for the White House in 2012 “if I believe that that is the right thing to do for our country and for the Palin family.” (...) While Ms. Palin told Fox News that she approved of President Obama’s strengthening of the American military force in Afghanistan, she was dismissive of his decision to try some high-profile terrorism suspects in civilian courtrooms in the United States. She called on Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr., who formally made that decision, to resign. (...)

For Ms. Palin, the weekend was filled with renewed speculation about her political future. She left Nashville for Texas, where she spent part of Sunday on the stump with Gov. Rick Perry. “I doubt there is another public figure in our country who gives liberals a bigger case of the hives than our special guest today,” said Mr. Perry, who is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison.

(<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/08/us/politics/08palin.html>)

Although the writer (the journalist) has complete control over the discourse new/old status of the information s/he provides the addressee(s) with, s/he has no control over what they know or what they do not know when reading the article; furthermore, s/he does not even know what they (do not) know. And yet, s/he has to make decisions between n possible syntactic constructions (or allostructures) to convey the intended information.

For instance, the writer has assumed here that *Sarah Palin* is part of the addressees’ knowledge store (*i.e.* hearer old information), since s/he provides the proper name without any supplementary information in subject position of the very first sentence of the article. *Sarah Palin* therefore occupies the position generally occupied by “old information”, as the informational flow in English sentences goes from old to new information (*e.g.* Firbas 1966; Chafe 1987, 1994; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Prince 1981). The propositional content of the subject-predicate relation [S. Palin/say in an interview broadcast Sunday that she would consider a run for the White House in 2012]

⁷A few elements that are not relevant to the present discussion have been removed from the text of the article for purposes of space and clarity. The missing parts can be retrieved on the *New York Times* website (cf. the address provided in brackets).

is discourse new information and is presented as hearer new information, as this is the discourse topic of the article, belonging to the informational foreground.⁸ On the other hand, *Eric H. Holder Jr.*, *Rick Perry*, and *Kay Bailey Hutchison* have received another kind of treatment. Like *Sarah Palin*, they represent discourse new entities, but their hearer informational status is problematic. In fact, some of the addressees – some American readers – are bound to know the referents for which these proper names stand (hearer old information), while other addressees are not (hearer new information). The addressees' states of knowledge are therefore necessarily heterogeneous.

The writer then has to find a linguistic vehicle to convey identifying information without which the presence of *Eric H. Holder Jr.*, *Rick Perry* or *Kay Bailey Hutchison* would seem irrelevant (in the sense of Sperber & Wilson 1986) although normally, the reference of proper names is stabilized independently and as such, proper names can function alone in discourse. Extra information is required to optimize the relevance of the three proper names, but this information necessarily belongs to the background, not to the foreground: It represents supplementary information whose informational status cannot be determined with precision. The writer needs to find a compromise between the informed readers and the uninformed readers; in other words, the shared cognitive space needs to be leveled for the utterance to be maximally relevant. In such cases, saying too little for the latter group of readers or too much for the former can both be seen as representing a violation of Grice's Maxim of Quantity and a violation of the Maxim of Relation/Relevance (the addressees might wonder who these people are and why they are mentioned in the article). Knowing that the information about the three entities represents peripheral information that is not at the core of the message, the writer has to choose between hierarchizing allostructures (e.g. a non-restrictive pre-modifier, an appositive relative clause, an appositive structure, a sentential parenthetical), whose use aims to make the proper name's referent more accessible for the addressees. If we refer to Ariel's (1988, 1990) accessibility hierarchy, proper names belong to low accessibility markers; the combination of a proper name and one of the non-restrictive, relevance-oriented structures under study here belongs to the "Full proper names + modifiers" category and actually corresponds to the least accessible or salient markers in Ariel's hierarchy (Ariel 1990: 73). As stated by Ariel (1988: 82), "*in conformity with the principle of Relevance, the lower the Accessibility marker, the more lexical information it normally incorporates.*" The lexical information corresponds here to relevance-oriented supplementary information, to be conveyed by one of the hierarchizing structures ("*modifiers*" in Ariel's terminology) described previously and which we turn to one by one now.

3.2.2. Non-restrictive premodifiers (NPMs)

The first linguistic device to which the journalist has resorted in (9) is the insertion of non-restrictive premodifiers (NPMs), viz *Attorney General*, *Gov.*, and *Senator*. These

⁸The notions of foreground and background have been used differently by linguists. Here, these notions are to be understood in terms of informational considerations independently of any syntactic considerations. We refer to the notion of grounding, as developed in particular by Hopper & Thompson (1980), who define foregrounded clauses (or foreground) as "*compris[ing] the backbone or skeleton of the text, forming its basic structure*" while backgrounded clauses (or background) "*put flesh on the skeleton, but are extraneous to its structural coherence*" (Hopper & Thompson (1980: 281)).

devices convey non-restrictive, extra information about the referents, which can be identified independently of the insertion of such information. The insertion of NPMs establishes implicit identificational relationships (9a)-(9c), whose informational status is heterogeneous (hearer old for some addressees, hearer new for other addressees).

(9a) Eric H. Holder Jr is an Attorney General.

(9b) Rick Perry is a Governor.

(9c) Kay Bailey Hutchison is a Senator.

However, note that the use of such non-restrictive premodifiers is also conventional. It is conventional in press articles to refer to officials, especially for their first mention in discourse, with the sequence premodifier-proper name, even when the identificational relation is *hearer old*, as is the case in our extract for *President Obama* (9d). The NPM then serves as a title and is not used for relevance-oriented reasons.

(9d) Obama is President (of the United States).

It should also be noted that such premodifiers can convey hearer new information as in (10), where the propositional content *A. Raja is the Indian environment minister* is (very probably) hearer new for American addressees.

(10) Indian environment minister A. Raja said his country would accept help to reduce emissions but would not be forced into cuts. (adapted from "India ignores Kyoto demands", Reuters, 01/12/06)

To sum up, NPMs can provide hearer new, hearer old (convention/titles), or indeterminable information corresponding to implicit identificational relations 'A is B'. We will come back to the question of pre-modifiers in more detail in Section 3.3.2, where we show the significance of an indeterminable informational status in relation to the use of such pre-modifiers in discourse.

3.2.3. Appositive relative clauses

The use in (9) of the two non-restrictive premodifiers mentioned above does not provide enough information to make *Holder* and *Perry* relevant in the co-text. Knowing that they are respectively Attorney General and Governor is not sufficient to make the two entities relevant in the context of the article about Sarah Palin. Two appositive relative clauses (also called non-restrictive relative clauses, henceforth ARCs), *viz. who formally made that decision* and *who is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison*, are also inserted, adding the following information to the discourse as background information:

(9e) Eric H. Holder Jr. formally made that decision (*i.e.* try some high-profile terrorism suspects in civilian courtrooms in the United States).

(9f) R. Perry is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison.

These two predications represent discourse new information, but the hearer status of the informational content is again indeterminable: While some readers of *The New York Times* might be familiar with the information conveyed by the two ARCs (recent political developments), others may not. The propositional content conveyed by the first ARC, *who formally made that decision*, ensures the relevance of the predicative relation [S. Palin/ask Eric H. Holder Jr. to resign]. Without the ARC, the uninformed reader cannot understand the logical connection between the two sentences.⁹

(9g) #/??While Ms. Palin told Fox News that she approved of President Obama's strengthening of the American military force in Afghanistan, she was dismissive of his decision to try some high-profile terrorism suspects in civilian courtrooms in the United States. She called on Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. to resign.

Similarly, the propositional content of the second ARC, *who is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison*, ensures the relevance of the relation [S. Palin/be on the stump] for the uninformed reader: Palin was on the stump with Perry because he is running for an election. This information is hearer new or hearer old depending on the addressee, and the use of an ARC allows the speaker to find a compromise by conveying the information as background information that is not part of the main assertion.

The aim of the propositional content of the two ARCs corresponds to what Loock (2007, 2010a) has labeled relevance ARCs, defined as follows:

A relevance ARC is used to make relevant the antecedent or the predicate in which it appears. Though the antecedent has been identified from a purely referential point of view, it is judged to be not sufficiently determined to be used alone in discourse, at least for some of the targeted addressees. The relevance ARC is therefore a prevention strategy such that the ARC is prevented from being non-relevant for the uninformed reader, while at the same time it provides background information in a form which avoids its being non-relevant for the informed reader. In this, the relevance ARC represents a compromise.

Interestingly, in the corpus study of ARCs in Loock (2010a), relevance ARCs, as opposed to the other two types of ARCs, namely continuative and subjectivity ARCs,¹⁰ are found to convey information whose status is often problematic: About half of the relevance ARCs in the corpus (52%) convey information that is indeterminable, while

⁹ Throughout the article, the symbols used to show the degree of acceptability of the utterances are: '#' for a pragmatically unacceptable utterance, '?' for questionable pragmatic acceptability, '??' for very questionable pragmatic acceptability. The judgments were performed by the author of the article, as well as by a native speaker of English.

¹⁰Continuative ARCs (i) support the trajectory of the narrative by presenting two events in sequence; subjectivity ARCs (ii) convey information that is explicitly subjective, entailing a disruption between a referential level (the main clause) and the interpretative level (the ARC). See Loock (2010a: 95-103) and Loock (2010a: 120-134) for more specific definitions and examples.

(i) Robinson College asks candidates to complete a questionnaire on their education background, which is then used to help decide whether they are offered a place.

(ii) This incredible spirit – which Chelsea so clearly lack – is summed up beautifully by Gemmill, who has been unable to command a regular plane and has also been a target for some of the fans on his rare appearances.

the other half is hearer new (Loock 2010a: 119). Some relevance ARCs thus allow for a leveling of the shared cognitive space.

In a similar way to NPMs, ARCs can also convey information that is hearer new:

(11) Charges against a second nurse, **Vickilyn Galle**, who helped Mrs. Mitchell write the letter, were dismissed at the prosecutor's discretion last week.
(<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/07/us/07nurses.html>)

The article reports the story of a nurse, Mrs Mitchell, who is prosecuted for sending a letter to the Texas regulator board stating that a doctor at her rural hospital was practicing bad medicine. At that stage in the article, *Mrs Mitchell* is both discourse old/hearer old, but *Vickilyn Galle* is discourse new/hearer new. The role of the ARC is to convey information that ensures the relevance of *Vickilyn Galle* in the co-text: It is because she helped Mrs Mitchell write the letter that she is worth mentioning in the article. This information is hearer new, as Vickilyn Gale is unknown to the general public.

As far as hearer old information is concerned, however, this is only rarely conveyed by an ARC (0.75% of Loock's (2010a) corpus of ARCs). In (12), the relevance of the information on *heterosexual couples* is to be understood only in contrast with homosexual couples' inability to get married:

(12) Gay people are likely to acquire rights over the long term which would put them on a par with **heterosexual couples** – who can get married.
("Justice finally breaks the wedlock deadlock", *The Observer*, 01/10/00)

3.2.4. Other similar structures

According to our definitions, ARCs and NPMs represent linguistic devices conveying information that can be (i) hearer new, (ii) hearer old, or (iii) either hearer new or hearer old, depending on the identity of the addressee. Indeterminable hearer status therefore represents a trigger for the use of such non-restrictive, relevance-oriented constructions, although their use is not limited to conveying indeterminable information. Conversely, these are not the only two structures that serve such a leveling function of the addressees' states of knowledge. Appositive structures in general (13), but also sentential parentheticals (14) and the use of co-referential NPs (Birner's bridging inferrables) (15) serve similar functions and convey information whose informational status is problematic:

(13) **Richard Perry**, Governor of Texas, is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. (nominal appositive)

(14) **Richard Perry** – he is the Governor of Texas – is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. (sentential parenthetical)

(15) **Richard Perry**_i was accompanied by Sarah Palin. The Governor of Texas_i is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. (co-referential NP)¹¹

The use of such syntactic structures alongside NPMs (16) and ARCs (17) enables speakers to convey information that aims at optimizing the relevance of the proper name *Richard Perry*. This information can be hearer new or hearer old, depending on the identity (and the knowledge) of the addressees; it is, in other words, indeterminable:

(16) Texas Governor **Richard Perry** is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. (NPM)

(17) **Richard Perry**, who is the Governor of Texas, is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. (ARC)

All these non-restrictive, relevance-oriented structures convey the propositional content in (18), which is of indeterminable hearer status as we define it:

(18) Richard Perry is (the) Governor of Texas.

3.3. *The legitimization of a separate category*

3.3.1. *Indeterminable information status as a linguistic trigger*

One might wonder whether it is legitimate to propose the existence of a third category of indeterminables in addition to the hearer new and hearer old categories defined by Prince. After all, the definition that is provided here is that indeterminable information is either hearer old or hearer new, depending on the identity/knowledge of the addressee. This means we could collapse the indeterminables with either the former or the latter existing category. In addition, the syntactic structures mentioned above to convey information with indeterminable status can also convey hearer new or hearer old information (sometimes only marginally for ARCs, though; see example 12).

However, we reject this idea and claim that the indeterminability of the informational status represents a trigger for the use of such non-restrictive, relevance-oriented structures like ARCs or NPMs, which present the information neither as hearer old nor as hearer new. If we take the example of relevance ARCs (as in 11), they hardly ever convey hearer old information but they can convey hearer new information. In cases where the information is clearly hearer new, the propositional content can be just as readily conveyed by a separate sentence that puts the information in the foreground:

¹¹Birner (2006) considers such examples as identity inferrables, which have the same distribution as discourse old/hearer old entities, whereas we suggest that the hearer status is indeterminable. There is no contradiction here, as Birner refers to the informational status of the entity itself, while we are dealing with the informational status of the implicit identity relation 'A is B'. In our example, *the Governor of Texas* stands for a referent that is discourse old/hearer old (see *Richard Perry*, mentioned in the prior discourse), but the implicit identity relation 'Richard Perry is (the) Governor of Texas' is discourse new and indeterminable as far as its hearer status is concerned.

(11a) A second nurse, Vickilyn Galle, helped Mrs. Mitchell write the letter. Charges against her were dismissed at the prosecutor's discretion last week.

(19) and (20) present other examples where the propositional content conveyed by the relevance ARC is necessarily hearer new (Tony Sewell and the law firm Belmont Hodgson are unknown to the general public), in which case the utterances can be rephrased in the form of two independent coordinated clauses:

(19) **Tony Sewell**, who has just finished an inquiry into soaring levels of exclusions among black pupils from a London school, claimed that too much concern with money and consumer goods was almost as damaging to black pupils' chances as racism. (*Guardian Weekly* 163, 9)

(19a) Tony Sewell has just finished an inquiry into soaring levels of exclusions among black pupils from a London school and claimed that too much concern with money and consumer goods was almost as damaging to black pupils' chances as racism

(20) **Law firm Belmont Hodgson**, which specialises in gay issues, is planning to challenge the Inheritance Tax situation – under which gay couples miss out on the more favourable tax treatment for husbands and wives.

(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/money/2000/oct/01/gayfinance.observercashsection>)

(20a) Law firm Belmont Hodgson specialises in gay issues and is planning to challenge the Inheritance Tax situation – under which gay couples miss out on the more favourable tax treatment for husbands and wives.

In (19), taken from an article dedicated to the link between black youth culture and academic achievement, Tony Sewell is a discourse new/hearer new entity, unknown to the general public. Without the ARC, which conveys completely hearer new information, the sequence from which the sentence has been extracted becomes infelicitous due to the lack of relevance (why is T. Sewell's claim interesting or valuable?). The insertion of extra information about Tony Sewell ensures its relevance, more specifically its legitimacy as the agent of the verb *claimed*. This is quite a frequent strategy in journalistic prose, where the opinion, declaration, analysis or assessment of someone who is unknown to the general public, a witness or an expert, is provided. By mentioning some properties of the referent of the antecedent, the journalist stresses the referent's privileged position within the following subject-predicate relation. The use of a coordinated clause is felicitous in such cases. In (20), it is because the law firm B. Hodgson is a specialist in gay issues that it is in a privileged position to plan a challenge of the Inheritance Tax, making its mention relevant in an article dealing with tax-related gay issues. Once again, removing the propositional content of the ARC could cause relevance-related damage to the felicity of the sentence. The use of coordinated clauses is felicitous.

The same, however, cannot be done with examples where the information conveyed by the ARCs is of indeterminable hearer status, even if we re-order the clauses when necessary:

(9h) #While Ms. Palin told Fox News that she approved of President Obama's strengthening of the American military force in Afghanistan, she was dismissive

of his decision to try some high-profile terrorism suspects in civilian courtrooms in the United States. Attorney-General Eric H. Holder Jr. formally made that decision and she called on him to resign.

(9i) #Mr. Perry is facing a March 2 primary challenge from Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison and said: “I doubt there is another public figure in our country who gives liberals a bigger case of the hives than our special guest today.”

A disjunction from the main clause (discourse topic) seems to be necessary when the information is of indeterminable status; hence the need for a hierarchizing structure that will put the indeterminable information in the background.¹² The hierarchizing structure appears as a compromise between addressing informed and uninformed addressees. Treating the information as hearer old (no mention) is infelicitous, as is treating the information as hearer new (use of an independent clause, possibly in the foreground). Hearer indeterminable information is not marginal. As already mentioned above, relevance ARCs convey information of indeterminable hearer status half of the times (52%). As for appositive structures in general, *i.e.* an NP, an AdjP or a PP juxtaposed to a first unit, Loock & O’Connor (2011) have found that relevance appositives in press texts convey information of indeterminable status in about a third of their corpus (29%).

3.3.2. *The finer evaluation of hearer status and its consequences on the choice of structure*

Another reason why the indeterminables category is a necessary category in a taxonomy of given/new information is that this new category itself requires further graining if we want to explain speakers’ choices between the different structures mentioned above. The choice between these different possible structures to convey relevance-oriented information seems to be governed, among other constraints, by what we call the “fame effect” (see below). In Loock (2005, 2007, 2010a), the category of indeterminables is divided into three subcategories:

- *hearer new+*: the information is likely to be unknown by the addressee(s)
- *hearer old+*: the information is likely to be known by the addressee(s)
- *hearer new/old*: cases for which it is impossible to decide whether the addressee(s) know(s) the information or not

Although the three subcategories can be collapsed to one single category for corpus studies with a more global approach of informational status, the existence of such finer-grained distinctions is crucial to account for speakers’ choices between the different non-restrictive relevance-oriented structures mentioned above. Loock (2005, 2010a, 2010b) has shown that the choice between such competitive structures (or allostructures) as illustrated in (13)-(17) is not random but governed by specific constraints, which range from traditional syntactic constraints and antecedent-retrieval

¹²Note that an independent clause within a parenthetical construction can be felicitous. In speech, this requires a specific intonation, and the use of an independent clause, juxtaposed or coordinated, does not mean that the propositional content is brought to the foreground (as with the dash in writing or the hierarchizing function of intonation in speech).

phenomena to pragmatic constraints such as the existence of a presupposed open proposition as defined by Prince (1986), the existence of an inter-clausal link, or the existence of a specificational reading vs. an identificational reading for identificational relationships (Higgins 1979; Mikkelsen 2004).¹³

But all these constraints do not explain the (in)felicity of the following examples, where a nominal appositive is systematically felicitous but the use of an ARC sometimes felicitous, sometimes infelicitous:

(21) Some expected **Barack Obama**, the president of the United States, to appoint a completely new economic team so as to implement another New Deal. (adapted from <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=11253>)

(21a) #Some expected Barack Obama, who is the president of the United States, to appoint a completely new economic team so as to implement another New Deal.

(22) **Bill Clinton**, the former president of the United States, will attend an international seminar on AIDS and SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) and deliver a lecture on global AIDS prevention and control efforts, a seminar official said Friday. (adapted from

http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200311/08/eng20031108_127857.shtml)

(22a) #/?/?Bill Clinton, who is a former president of the United States, will attend an international seminar on AIDS and SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) and deliver a lecture on global AIDS prevention and control efforts, a seminar official said Friday.

(23) **Angela Merkel**, the German chancellor, on Friday described Barack Obama's presidency as a "unique opportunity" to revive the Middle East peace process as the US leader continued his international tour with a stop in the historic eastern city of Dresden.

(<http://www.euro2day.gr/article/521514/ArticleDetails.aspx>)

(23a) #/?/?Angela Merkel, who is the German chancellor, on Friday described Barack Obama's presidency as a "unique opportunity" to revive the Middle East peace process as the US leader continued his international tour with a stop in the historic eastern city of Dresden.

(24) **Nancy Pelosi**, the Speaker of the House (...), is among those on the Left now seeking to find common ground with the conservative populism that is sweeping across the United States.

¹³Higgins (1979) distinguished between specificational copular clauses and identificational copular clauses. In (i), taken from Mikkelsen (2004), two readings are possible: (a) in a situation where two nurses know Dr Jones and work in his unit, *Dr Jones* does not identify the doctor but specifies who the doctor on call is among *n* other possible doctors (the doctor on call is Dr Jones, not Dr Smith or Dr Wilcockson for instance), (b) in a situation where a nurse provides the name of the doctor on call to a patient.

(i) *The doctor on call, Dr Jones, is to arrive at 9 p.m.*

In such cases where a proper name is used in apposition, reformulation with an ARC is possible for a specificational reading but impossible for an identificational reading. See Look (2010a: 170-173) and Look (2010b) for more details.

(<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/barackobama/7354180/Democrats-including-Nancy-Pelosi-jump-on-Tea-Party-bandwagon.html>)
 (24a) ?Nancy Pelosi, who is the Speaker of the House, is among those on the Left now seeking to find common ground with the conservative populism that is sweeping across the United States.

(25) According to **Arne Duncan**, the Secretary of Education, the president will discuss the importance of hard work, educational goals and other topics.
 (<http://www.myfox8.com/topic/wghp-obama-schools-speech-090903,0,1505064.story>)

(25a) ?According to Arne Duncan, who is the Secretary of Education, the president will discuss the importance of hard work, educational goals and other topics.

(26) **Martin Townsend**, editor of the Sunday Express, has made a personal appeal for her safe return, and said the paper had given its full support to her decision to enter the country illegally. (*The Guardian Europe* 10/01/01)

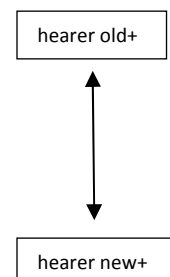
(26a) Martin Townsend, who is the editor of the Sunday Express, has made a personal appeal for her safe return, and said the paper had given its full support to her decision to enter the country illegally.

(27) **Edgar Griffin**, the father of the BNP leader Nick Griffin, was sacked as a vice-president of the Duncan Smith campaign in Wales after he admitted answering a BNP telephone inquiry line. (*The Guardian Europe* 10/01/01)

(27a) Edgar Griffin, who is the father of the BNP leader Nick Griffin, was sacked as a vice-president of the Duncan Smith campaign in Wales after he admitted answering a BNP telephone inquiry line.

Interestingly, if we consider the hearer new/old status of the implicit relations established between the proper names and the contents of the non-restrictive modifiers, there appears to be a link between the (in)acceptability of (21a)-(27a) and the assumed familiarity of (21b)-(27b):

- (21b) Barack Obama is the president of the United States.
- (22b) Bill Clinton is a former president of the United States.
- (23b) Angela Merkel is the German chancellor.
- (24b) Nancy Pelosi is the Speaker of the House.
- (25b) Arne Duncan is the Secretary of Education.
- (26b) Martin Townsend is the editor of the Sunday Express.
- (27b) Edgar Griffin is the father of the BNP leader Nick Griffin.



What we are calling “the fame effect” involves the following: Among other constraints, there seems to be a link between the assumed familiarity (*i.e.* hearer old informational status) and the use of some of the relevance-oriented syntactic structures. The speaker’s assumptions about the addressees’ knowledge have a direct influence on the choices made by the speaker between *n* possible syntactic vehicles. (For a more thorough analysis of the data in (21)-(27), see Loock 2010b.)

Loock (2010b) also shows that the same kind of familiarity constraint governs speakers' choices between NPMs (*Texas Governor Richard Perry*) and nominal appositives (*Richard Perry, (the) Governor of Texas*): The more familiar the A is B relation, the more an NPM is favored, whereas in cases where the A is B relation is brand-new, nominal appositives are favored.

This means that the existence of the indeterminables category as a gradable category from hearer new+ to hearer old+ is required to account for such alternation in discourse. Predictions for the distribution of the non-restrictive, relevance-oriented allostructures discussed here are not based on the hearer new or hearer old status of a specific referent, but on its *more or less* hearer new/hearer old status.

3.4. Conclusion on the indeterminables category

The study of the distribution of non-restrictive relevance-oriented structures such as appositive relative clauses has shown that informational content is not always either hearer new or hearer old. In the case of multiple addressees in particular, informational status can be indeterminate. Even in the case of one addressee, it is not always possible to know whether a specific informational content is hearer new or hearer old. Hence the use of specific syntactic structures that can level the shared cognitive space, representing a compromise between informed and uninformed addressees. Interestingly, this category is to be defined in terms of a gradient, with information being more or less hearer new or more or less hearer old. Depending on the degree of hearer newness/oldness, the use of some syntactic structures will be felicitous, while that of others will not. We thus suggest a complement to Birner's table for the informational status of entities and propositional contents (see Table 2).

	Hearer-old+	Indeterminables	Hearer-new+
Discourse-old	EVOKED: IDENTITY / ELABORATING INFERRABLE (inferentially linked, and known to hearer)		BRIDGING INFERRABLE (inferentially linked, but not known to hearer)
Discourse-new	UNUSED (not inferentially linked, but known to hearer)		BRAND-NEW (not inferentially linked, and not known to hearer)

Table 2. Birner's (2006: 45) taxonomy, completed with the indeterminables category

We now turn, in Section 4, to a refinement that we would like to suggest for Prince's definitions, already refined by Birner & Ward (1998) and Birner (2004, 2006) among others.

4. Simulated assumption and politeness

Prince has made it clear, rightfully, that there is no such thing as shared knowledge: speakers have intuitions, assumptions about what their addressees know or do not know. Naturally, as mentioned above, speakers can assume such knowledge rightly or wrongly. But we posit that speakers can also simulate an informational status, based on their correct or incorrect assumptions about their addressees' states of knowledge. In other words, the informational status of entities or propositions can be manipulated for specific discourse-strategic reasons. Linguistic choices, whether lexical or grammatical, are then not necessarily based only on what speakers assume about their addressees' knowledge states. Politeness considerations may also intervene and make the correlation between hearer assumption and linguistic choices more complex. Specifically, we explore in this section how conveying hearer new information can represent an act of impoliteness, the redressing of which requires specific linguistic choices. In other words, informational status can be manipulated by the speaker, departing from the links established between assumed familiarity and structural choices as illustrated in Sections 2 and 3, for reasons of politeness.

4.1. Theoretical framework: Brown & Levinson

The most "famous" theoretical framework to study politeness within a linguistic approach is probably Brown & Levinson's (1978, 1987) model, where politeness is perceived as the preservation of face, as defined originally in Goffman (1967), and defined by Brown & Levinson (1978: 66) as "*the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself*". Everyone has a face want, that is a territory that s/he wants to preserve, and each utterance is potentially threatening the face of the addressee(s) (face-threatening acts or FTAs). Politeness is then defined as the speaker's intention to limit or even cancel such FTAs by the use of specific linguistic expressions (redressive action).

In Loock (2010c), it is argued that, under certain circumstances, conveying information as brand-new (*i.e.* discourse new/hearer new) can potentially represent an FTA, all the more so if (i) there is a certain social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer and (ii) the power (P) that the speaker has over the hearer is important, and depending on (iii) the importance of the absolute ranking of impositions of the speech act in the particular culture where the exchange takes place (R), which "*reflects the right of the speaker to perform the act and the degree to which the hearer welcomes the imposition*" (Hudson *et al.* 1992: 7). The sum of these parameters gives a specific weightiness (W) to the FTA x : $W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$. It is this weightiness that will guide the speaker's linguistic choices to redress the FTA, should s/he choose to do so. In the next sub-section, we explain how conveying hearer new information can represent a potential FTA.

4.2. Hearer new information as a face-threatening act

Consider the following example, taken from Loock (2010c):

- (28) [Situational context: A informs B, his superior, that Shirin Ebadi is in town. A knows that B has no idea who she is.]
A: Shirin Ebadi, who won the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize, has just arrived in town.

In this example, both the information conveyed by the main clause and the information conveyed by the ARC are discourse new/hearer new. The use of a hierarchizing structure that establishes a disjunction between a foreground (main clause) and a background (ARC, here a relevance ARC) gives a specific status to the informational content *Shirin Ebadi won the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize*. Contrary to the content of the main clause, this propositional content is taken to the informational background where it is possible to find hearer old, indeterminable or hearer new information (see previous section). The hearer new information is thus presented as indeterminable, not necessarily hearer new, which redresses the FTA of providing information about the identity of Shirin Ebadi.¹⁴ There is in the end a simulated hierarchization and the information is conveyed as having no particular informational status.

In comparison, utterances (28a) and (28b) seem less polite in the same situational context, as the two propositional contents are presented on the same informational level. With such utterances, the speaker seems to presuppose the hearer new status of the information, *i.e.* the ignorance of the addressee, hence the potential FTA:

- (28a) #Shirin Ebadi has just arrived in town. She is the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner.
(28b) #Shirin Ebadi is the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner. She has just arrived in town.

The choice of an ARC, on the other hand, saves the addressee's face by not presupposing his/her ignorance, by leaving uncertain the question of the status of the information conveyed by it. Such a strategy corresponds to negative politeness as defined by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005: 198): Avoid producing an FTA; soften/mitigate the FTA.¹⁵ The potential FTA that consists in bringing new information is mitigated by the choice of syntactic structure and can also be further mitigated by the use of softeners like *you know*, *as you know*, or hesitation markers, as illustrated in (29)-(30) (see Looock 2010c: 103-107; examples taken from the ICE-GB corpus¹⁶):

¹⁴Note that we are not saying that any hierarchization between two clauses is due to differences in hearer-related information status. In fiction texts, for instance, where all information is both discourse new and hearer new (with only few exceptions in the case of repetitions, since writers of fiction have total control over what the readers know and do not know), ARCs and other hierarchizing structures do exist to separate foreground and background information.

¹⁵Positive politeness consists in producing a FFA (Face-Flattering Act, see Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005), also called face-enhancing (Sifianou 1995) or face-boosting (Bayraktaroglu 1991). Such definitions of positive and negative politeness do not exactly correspond to the original definitions of Brown & Levinson, but their definitions have often been considered confusing (see Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005).

¹⁶The ICE-GB corpus (International Corpus of English, British Component) consists of 1 million words of spoken and written English from the 1990s (<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/ice-gb/>). Our examples are taken from the spoken section.

(29) A: I mean I'm going to see a play next week with an actress friend of mine in it who is now who's doing very well now thank you very much whether

B: oh who's that?

A: Jo Jo Lumley who's you know doing the Revenger's Tragedy

B: oh yes oh yes (ICE-GB s1a-067 184)

(30) and I think it's dismaying to hear the kinds of things which strike Hilary Steadman who is part as you know of the National Institute which has the unit which has perhaps done the most profound work on comparisons between this country and European countries and indeed other countries uh in this field (ICE-GB s2a-031 062)

4.3. *Implications for Prince's definitions of given/new information*

The implications for the definitions of given/new information are important, as politeness-related phenomena need to be taken into account in the predictions that are made regarding the form-function relationship between syntactic choices and informational status. Prince's original definitions of hearer new/old information and the correlations that have been made between hearer-related information status and specific syntactic choices must be enriched. In particular, it is possible to treat hearer new information as though it were hearer old information. In any case, the speaker always assumes a specific informational status and then uses this assumption to select a contextually appropriate form that may or may not reflect the relevant assumption. The definitions of hearer new/old information thus need to be enriched with the possibility that informational status can be genuine or simulated. We therefore need to modify the definition given in Section 2, repeated here for the sake of convenience:

HEARER NEW vs. HEARER OLD INFORMATION: is the information given/new depending on the speaker's assumption as to the state of knowledge of his/her addressee(s)?

We suggest that it is enriched in the following way: Does the assumed hearer-related information status potentially involve a face-threatening act for the addressee(s)?

This second question is crucial if linguists want to formulate correct predictions about the (in)felicity of specific syntactic constructions, based on the informational status of the entities or propositional contents. If the answer to this second question is positive, then one must take into account that there can be some *deviation* from the direct relationship between informational status and structural choices and that any correlation will thus also reflect politeness considerations. The idea of a deviation is in line with Brown & Levinson's very definition of politeness: "*Politeness is then a major source of deviation from [the] rational efficiency [of speaking in accordance with Grice's Maxims], and it is communicated precisely by that deviation*" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 95).

5. Conclusion

With this article we have suggested further modifications to Prince's taxonomy of given/new information, which allowed for a crucial distinction between newness/oldness from a discourse point of view and from a hearer point of view, and has paved the way for finer-grained studies on the form-meaning relation. Following Birner & Ward (1998) and Birner (2006), who have refined the taxonomy by solving the question of the inferrables, we have suggested both an extension, with the category of the hearer indeterminables, and a refinement of the definition of hearer status (hearer new, old, inferrable). We have also referred to politeness considerations that have an influence on the structural choices made by speakers and which therefore might allow for an even more fine-grained approach to the phenomena at hand. The relevance of the indeterminables as a gradable category and of potential face-threatening acts in selecting a referential strategy has been demonstrated through the study of non-restrictive, relevance-oriented structures.

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