

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

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advanced Dutch EFL writing: A corpus-based study

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2

Abstract

This study looked into the syntactic development of advanced Dutch EFL writers, specifically their use of determiner-noun combinations. It addresses quantitative and qualitative differences in determiner-noun use between native and non-native English academic writing, and is designed in such a way that it highlights the Dutch student writers' individual development. It focuses on the non-native writers' grammatical competency and related features in their writing, such as structural complexity of noun phrases and mean sentence length. Based on previous research, the expected findings were an initial underuse of determiner-noun pairs and an overuse of personal pronouns (De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2014). This was confirmed by the quantitative and qualitative analyses of part-of-speech tagged data from two corpora, LONGDALE-NL and LOCNESS. Although the non-native writers' individual development was non-linear and varied extensively, the results did indicate a general move towards a more nativelike distribution of determiner-noun pairs. However, the study failed to show an unambiguous relation between grammatical competency and the nativelikeness of determiner-noun use, and found no correspondence to mean sentence length and structural complexity of noun phrases.

Keywords: EFL writing, syntactic development, determiner-noun pairs, qualitative analysis, LONGDALE, complex noun phrases, mean sentence length

Table of contents

1.	Introduction	5
2.	Background	8
	2.1 English in the Netherlands	8
	2.1.1 English teaching in Dutch education	8
	2.2 Previous research into determiner-noun pairs	9
	2.3 Learner corpus research	11
	2.3.1 Contrastive interlanguage analysis and the comparative fallacy	11
	2.4 BA English language and culture at Radboud University Nijmegen	12
3.	Method	13
	3.1 LONGDALE data	13
	3.1.1 Cohort 2012	13
	3.2 LOCNESS data	14
	3.3 Procedure	15
4.	Results	17
	4.1 Quantitative analysis	17
	4.2 Qualitative analysis	21
	4.2.1 RAD1210	21
	4.2.2 RAD1220	25
	4.2.3 RAD1253	27
	4.2.4 RAD1277	30
	4.2.5 RAD1280	33
	4.2.6 Summary	35
5.	Discussion	36
6.	Conclusion	52
	References	54
	Appendix I – LONGDALE yr1t1a (tagged)	57
	Appendix II – LONGDALE yr2t3 (tagged)	66
	Appendix III – LONGDALE yr3t2 (tagged)	81
	Appendix IV – LOCNESS ICLE-BR-SUR16-33 (tagged)	95
	Appendix V – Penn Treebank tag set	165

1. Introduction

Learner corpus research has provided many interesting insights into the linguistic behaviour of non-native writers. By compiling corpora and comparing the non-native data to native English writing, researchers have, for example, shown that non-native writing is less sophisticated than native writing, even if the non-native writers are very advanced (De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2013). Another study by De Haan (2015) shows that non-native writing becomes more complex in terms of noun phrase structure once the use of personal pronouns decreases, and in that way it becomes more similar to native academic writing. De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), too, found that the linguistic behaviour of non-native writers is different from native writers initially, although not in terms of ungrammaticality. They observed an initial underuse of determiner-noun and noun-noun pairs in non-native writing, but over time this became more similar to the native distribution.

The aim of this study is to find out if there is a relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs in EFL writing by advanced Dutch students of English. The hypothesis is that as the students' grammatical competency improves, they will use more complex noun phrases and the writing will become more academic in terms of quality. Since complex noun structures consist of smaller units such as nouns and determiner-noun pairs in, for example, prepositional complements, it is assumed that the percentage of determiner-noun pairs should increase over the course of the students' BA course. This is based on previous studies such as De Haan (2015) and De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014). The current study addresses the following research questions:

- 1. Are there any quantitative differences in determiner-noun combinations between native English and Dutch EFL writing?
- 2. Are there any qualitative differences in determiner-noun combinations between native English and Dutch EFL writing?
- 3. Does individual development show a move towards native writers' use of determinernoun combinations?
- 4. Is there a relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs in advanced Dutch EFL writing?
- 5. Is there a relation between the use of complex noun structures and the frequency of determiner-noun pairs?
- 6. Is there a relation between sentence length and the use of determiner-noun combinations?

Next, it is important to define some of the terminology used in this study, such as determiners and noun phrases. The Cambridge grammar of the English language makes a distinction between determiners and determinatives. Determiners are defined as a dependent function of an NP, and can be divided into three categories: basic determiners (determinatives and DPs), subject-determiners (genitive NPs), and minor determiners (plain NPs and PPs) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Determinatives, on the other hand, represent "a category of words (and certain larger expressions) whose distinctive syntactic property concerns their association with the determiner function" (p.355), such as the in the book. Examples of basic determiners are articles (the, a), demonstrative determinatives (this, that), personal determinatives (we, you), universal determinatives (all, both), distributive determinatives (each, every), existential determinatives (some, any), cardinal numerals (one, two, three), disjunctive determinatives (either, neither), the negative determinative no, the alternativeadditive determinative another, positive paucal determinatives (a few, a little, several), degree determinatives (many, much, few, little), sufficiency determinatives (enough, sufficient), and interrogative and relative determiners (which, what, whichever, whatever) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 356). The second class of determiners, subject-determiners, is made up of genitive NPs, such as Mark's in Mark's idea. According to Huddleston & Pullum (2002), the third class of determiners, so-called minor determiners, can be plain NPs (e.g. what size shoes, tomorrow morning) and PPs such as around ten thousand copies (p. 357). While it is true that around premodifies ten thousand and tomorrow premodifies morning, this study will not treat such phrases as determiners.

English noun phrases typically assume the function of argument in clause structure, as subject (*The student was tired*), object (*She needed <u>a break</u>*), predicative complement (*John is <u>a teacher</u>*), or prepositional complement (*Fiona's reliance on <u>public support</u>*) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). The noun phrase contains a noun as head, except in fused-head constructions, and can be pre- or post-modified by various dependents. Furthermore, English nouns typically can inflect for number (singular or plural, although there are non-count nouns as well) and case (plain or genitive) and can be referential or non-referential (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). The structure of NPs is quite rigid, i.e. the various pre-modifying dependents tend to occur in a fixed order. For example, if a noun phrase contains an article and an adjective, the adjective is always preceded by the article. In addition to that, it is possible to remove an adjective from an NP without interfering with the grammaticality of the constituent (Van de Velde, 2010).

The previous paragraphs have explained this study's aim and research questions, as well as some of the terminology that is used. The rest of the thesis is structured as follows.

Chapter 2 provides background information on English in the Netherlands and in Dutch education, and it discusses some of the previous studies into the use of determiner-noun pairs. It furthermore discusses learner corpora and describes the English department at Radboud University Nijmegen, where the non-native data collection took place. The third chapter describes the native and non-native data and the procedure for the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Chapter four consists of the results from the quantitative and qualitative analyses, in which the differences between the native and non-native writers are highlighted. The fifth chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the methods and results, and contains recommendations for future research. Finally, a conclusion to this study is provided in chapter six.

2. Background

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the possibility of a relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs in EFL writing by advanced Dutch students of English. The following sections will provide a theoretical background to the research questions. This chapter is divided into four sections. First, there is a brief introduction to English in the Netherlands and in Dutch secondary education, followed by a section that discusses a number of studies that have also looked into the syntactic development of EFL writers. The third section describes learner corpus research and contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA). The final section provides a characterisation of Radboud University Nijmegen's students of English Language and Culture and its BA programme, which gives an indication of how the university expects its students' writing competency to develop.

2.1 English in the Netherlands

English is the most important foreign language in the Netherlands, and it has been growing in popularity since the Second World War (Edwards, 2016). Although the Netherlands is still an Expanding Circle country within the World Englishes paradigm, McArthur (1993) argues that it is very much on the move towards attaining ESL-like status. Ammon & McConnell (2002), too, argue that English has almost become a second national language in the Netherlands. Edwards (2016) describes English in the Netherlands as "widespread throughout society, not restricted to elites, increasingly used internally as a symbol of prestige, an identity marker and an additional creative resource, and acquired not just at school but also in wider society" (p.157). These characteristics mean that English could qualify as the second language in the Netherlands. However, Dutch English (Dunglish) is not recognised as a valid hybrid variety of English, due to social stigma. There remains a clear preference for native models rather than Dutch English as a target model. It is therefore premature to consider English the official second language in the Netherlands.

2.1.1 English teaching in Dutch education

In 2017, the Netherlands is the leading country in the English Proficiency Index, a statistic based on the results of English tests taken by 950,000 adults worldwide (Education First, 2017). The country scored 72.16 ("very high proficiency"), which corresponds to Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) level B2, thereby surpassing Denmark (71.15) and Sweden (70.81). This score must at least in part be due to the position of English in Dutch education (Edwards, 2016). In primary education, English is taught in the final two grades

(ages 11-12), though more and more schools have started to offer English at an earlier stage, sometimes even in the first grade (age 4) (Kwakernaak, 2011). The introduction of English in primary education has been controversial, one of the reasons being that the increased amount of time spent on English education meant less time for Dutch (De Korte, 2006, cited in Edwards, 2016).

In secondary school, English is a compulsory subject for all. Pupils are streamed into one of three types of schooling: VMBO (*voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs*, prevocational secondary education), HAVO (*hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs*, senior general secondary education), or VWO (*voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs*, preuniversity education) (Edwards, 2016). English is taught for the full length of secondary education, which, depending on the stream, is four (VMBO), five (HAVO) or six (VWO) years. VWO-pupils, who are most relevant to this particular study, are subject to at least 513 hours of EFL (*Overzicht aantal uren onderwijstijd*), which is 9 per cent of the total number of hours of compulsory secondary education (Fontein, Prüfer, De Vos, & Vloet, 2016).

Finally, higher education in the Netherlands has been subject to "Englishisation" (Edwards, 2016, p.30), as increasingly more courses and degree programmes are now taught in English. According to Dybalska (2010), "there is hardly any chance to complete a university degree programme without demonstrating a high level of linguistic competence in English" (cited in Edwards, p.33). All in all, this shows the importance of English in Dutch education, now and in the future.

2.2 Previous research into determiner-noun pairs

The design of this study is based on other longitudinal studies such as De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014) and De Haan (2015), who also looked at the syntactic development of advanced Dutch students of English. De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014) found that Dutch students of English initially underuse determiner-noun combinations compared to native writers, but overuse them later. A possible explanation for this observation is that, as the non-native writers mature and learn more about English grammar, they are able to create sentences that are more complex, that is, sentences that consist of more 'building blocks'. These building blocks are likely to contain determiners and nouns. As De Haan (2015) shows, students' frequent use of personal pronouns at the beginning of their degree course decreases over time and makes way for an increased use of noun phrases, which can be premodified by a determiner and/or an adjective and postmodified by a preposition phrase. The non-native writing thus becomes more complex in terms of its noun phrase structure. This is a possible

explanation for the observed development in De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), and is reflected in the results of De Haan (1994).

Another study that shows that non-native writers' development is non-linear is De Haan & Van der Haagen (2012). Although they studied the use of adjectives in EFL writing rather than determiner-noun combinations, their findings are in line with this study's hypothesis. De Haan & Van der Haagen (2013a) found that Dutch EFL writing initially contains elements of spoken English, which is for example reflected in their use of intensifiers, but as the students learn more about academic writing, they gradually become more nativelike. It is expected that the present study will have pedagogic implications similar to those of De Haan & Van der Haagen (2013a). By making students aware of how particular constructions or constituents, determiner-noun combinations in this case, are used in native writing, their own writing is expected to become more nativelike.

Another study which is relevant to this research is De Haan (2015), which looked at the use of nouns and noun phrases by advanced Dutch students of English. Even though this study only followed two students over a relatively short period of time (September 2011 – January 2012), it showed that the individual students' development differed substantially. It furthermore provided an interesting analysis by linking the results to the students' grammar exam scores. The study shows an increased use of determiner-adjective-noun combinations in the less advanced student (RAD1102), although their use of determiner-noun pairs remained stable (RAD1102) or decreased (RAD1101) (De Haan, 2015). While this finding is in part contrary to the current study's hypothesis (i.e. it did not find an increased use of determinernoun combinations), it could be due to the fact that the period of observation is only five months, which may not be long enough to observe more syntactic development (Ortega, 2003). De Haan (2015) concludes that "grammatical control does not automatically imply grammatical and/or discourse competence" (p.139), since the students performed equally well on a grammar exam, but displayed varying degrees of grammatical control in their writing. The same conclusion is reported in De Haan (2016), who investigated the use of verbs and verb phrases rather than determiner-noun pairs, but is nevertheless relevant since it also uses data from Radboud University students and has a comparable set-up to this research. The findings indicate that, as non-native writers start to produce more academic and more mature texts, they switch from a more verbal to a nominal style of writing. Both De Haan (2015) and De Haan (2016) conclude that the increased use of nouns indicates that a text is more structurally complex, as students begin to use more complex noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

De Haan & Van Esch (2005), finally, note that there is a relation between a student's level of advancedness and the mean sentence length in their writing. Based on Grant & Ginther (2000), their study consisted of an analysis of argumentative essays by students of English and students of Spanish. They found that the more advanced students produce longer sentences, and, thanks to their longitudinal set-up, they found that the students' mean sentence length increases every year (De Haan & Van Esch, 2005). Based on these findings, it is expected that the students under observation in the current study will display a similar developmental trajectory, meaning that they will use longer sentences that are structurally more complex and contain more determiner-noun combinations in the third year compared to the first year.

2.3 Learner corpus research

Learner corpus research is probably one of the best ways to study the syntactic development of EFL writers. Having its origins in corpus linguistics, it began to develop in the late 1980s, when it became easier to store and process L2 data electronically (Granger, Gilquin, & Meunier, 2015). From then on, it was possible to analyse L2 data with a variety of software, such as part-of-speech taggers and concordance programs (Granger et al., 2015). Most learner corpus studies focus on (academic) writing, but recently the field has seen an increase in studies into L2 speech. There also exists a preference for cross-sectional research, although longitudinal studies and research into individual variability are on the rise (Granger et al., 2015). One of the aims of learner corpus research is to gain "a better understanding of the mechanisms of foreign or second language acquisition" (Granger et al., p.3), which is why the data are preferably as natural as possible and with a limited degree of monitoring or editing (Granger et al., 2015). Most learner corpora today have English as the target language, such as the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) and the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI). The same goes for the corpora used in this study, LOCNESS (Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays) and LONGDALE (Longitudinal Database of Learner English), on which more information can be found in the following chapter.

2.3.1 Contrastive interlanguage analysis and the comparative fallacy

Contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA) is a term coined by Granger in 1996, which represents one of the most popular methods in learner corpus research (Granger, 2015). It was designed in such a way that it allows for a comparison of learner language (or interlanguage)

with native language, as well as a comparison of learners with different L1 backgrounds. One of the reasons behind this design was that it would be beneficial to creators of "more efficient language teaching tools and methods" (Granger, 2015, p.9). Like other learner corpus studies, most CIA studies involve written L2 data, and they are characterised by research into advanced interlanguage (Granger, 2015).

The majority of CIA studies compare native data to learner data, and the present study is no exception. One should, however, at all times be aware of the so-called "comparative fallacy" (Granger, 2015), which implies that "by continuing to equate identity with idealized native speaker production as a definition of success, it is difficult to avoid seeing the learner's IL as anything but deficient" (Larsen-Freeman (2014), cited in Granger, 2015, p.13). In this case, however, the EFL writing that is analysed is by students of English language and culture, who are training to become EFL professionals, which should justify this comparison to the target language (Verheijen, Los, & De Haan, 2013).

2.4 BA English language and culture at Radboud University Nijmegen

The English department at Radboud University Nijmegen argue that they train their students to become EFL professionals, rather than EFL users (De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2013). According to De Haan & Van der Haagen (2013), EFL professionals are "non-native speakers of English who are employed as language teachers, language trainers, translators, or editors, usually in a non-native English environment...[who] should not merely have a very advanced proficiency of English (CEFR C2), but a native-like command" (p.18). Van Vuuren (2017), too, states that in contrast to other Dutch universities the English department in Nijmegen expect their BA students' exit level to be at C2, for writing, speaking, reading, and listening. However, as is also noted by Van Vuuren (2017), the C1 and C2 CEFR levels remain underspecified and apparently unable to differentiate on such high levels. In 2013, all firstyear students of English at Radboud University took the OOPT, a placement tool that corresponds to the CEFR (Van Vuuren, 2017). The results indicated that approximately 40 per cent of first-year students were already at C2, i.e. the level that third-year students are expected to attain (Van Vuuren, 2017). The C1 and C2 levels are clearly not specific enough to map the development of these future EFL professionals and cannot provide an answer to the question of how close to nativelike the students are at a certain point in their degree course. The CEFR is certainly a valuable framework for the classification of other EFL or ESL users, but for these budding EFL professionals there is a need for a more precise tool or framework. That, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

3. Method

While the previous chapter discussed the position of English in the Netherlands and in Dutch education, as well as a number of relevant studies in the area of corpus linguistics, the current chapter is dedicated to the methods used in this study, and explains which native and non-native data were used and what kind of analysis took place.

3.1 LONGDALE data

The Longitudinal Database of Learner English (LONGDALE) was founded in 2008 by the Centre for English Corpus Linguistics at the University of Louvain, Belgium (Granger et al., 2015). It aims to accumulate longitudinal data from students with different L1 backgrounds by following them over a three-year period. So far, data have been collected by teams at Radboud University Nijmegen (the Netherlands), University of Hannover (Germany), University of Louvain (Belgium), University of Padua (Italy), and University of Paris-Diderot (France), and two new teams from Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (Brazil) and University of Valencia (Spain) have recently joined the project (Meunier, 2015). The database also contains comprehensive learner profile information, including "age, gender, educational background, variables pertaining to the task, and when available, information on the proficiency levels of the students as measured by internationally recognized tests" (Meunier, 2015, p.124).

The Dutch part of the corpus, LONGDALE-NL, consists of data collected at Radboud University Nijmegen from 2009 onwards (De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2013a). LONGDALE-NL comprises a variety of text types, including personal statements, research proposals, and literature essays. The present study used material from cohort 2012, that is, students who started their degree course in September 2012 and who handed in written work over the following three years. More information on this particular cohort will follow in the section below.

3.1.1 Cohort 2012

Since one of the aims of this study is to characterise individual development in the use of determiner-noun pairs, the study analysed data from five advanced Dutch students of English that participated in the Dutch part of the LONGDALE project. They started their BA degree course in September 2012, and handed in seven pieces of writing during the first year, three in the second year and two in the final year. During this three-year period, the students took courses such as Writing English, Grammar & Translation, Academic Writing, Syntax I and II,

and various literature courses, which have helped them to become (more) nativelike in their writing. Not all students handed in their work at each data collection moment, which is why some of them were not eligible for this study. The five students that have been selected for analysis are referred to as RAD1210, RAD1220, RAD1253, RAD1277, and RAD1280. They are all students of British English. The data collection moments that were chosen for this study are September 2012 (yr1t1a), June 2014 (yr2t3), and December 2014 (yr3t2). Ortega (2003) found that, in order to be able to observe substantial changes in the syntactic development of non-native writers, one needs "an observation period of roughly a year of college-level instruction" (p. 492), which is why this study looks at three assignments, one from each year in the BA-programme. Admittedly, the time lapse between the second and third task is only six months instead of one year. This is due to the fact that assignment yr2t3 was the only academic piece of writing from the students' second year that was recorded in the LONGDALE-NL database. The question of whether this shorter time lapse affected the results will be addressed in Chapter 5. The first assignment, yr1t1a, was written in class and was timed, the other two assignments were untimed and were a literature take-home exam (yr2t3) and a research proposal (yr3t2). The non-native data consisted of 9,461 words in total.

3.2 LOCNESS data

LOCNESS, the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays, consists of argumentative essays written by both American and British university students (De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2013). Compiled in the 1990s, the essays feature a variety of topics and are both timed and untimed (De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2014). LOCNESS was designed to be used as a native reference corpus for comparison, which is why it is similar to learner corpora, in particular ICLE, on parameters such as task type and task length (Granger et al., 2015). The material selected for this study comes from brsur1, the first part of the corpus, which consists of 33 essays written by British undergraduate students in March 1991. Eighteen of these essays were selected for analysis (ICLE-BR-SUR-0016 to ICLE-BR-SUR-0033), because they were academic in nature and written by British English students, and therefore most comparable to the LONGDALE data. The native data amounts to a total of 18,129 words. The essays in question concerned French society and institutions, with topics ranging from French higher education to unionism in France. These texts are regarded as the norm in this study, because, again, the native writers' academic background is similar to that of the LONGDALE writers, which makes it perfectly suitable to serve as material for comparison.

3.3 Procedure

Once access to both corpora had been obtained, the first step was to have a part-of-speech tagger tag the data. The Stanford Natural Language Processing (NLP) Group offers a freely available part-of-speech tagger, which analyses a piece of text within a couple of seconds after it has been pasted into the program, and "assigns parts of speech to each word (and other token), such as noun, verb, adjective" (*Stanford log-linear part-of-speech tagger*). The tags correspond to the Penn Treebank tag set, which can be found in Appendix V (Santorini, 1990). Appendices I to IV contain the LONGDALE and LOCNESS data as tagged by the Stanford part-of-speech tagger.

A quick survey of the results revealed that the part-of-speech tagger had not always been consistent in its analysis. For example, the phrase *information-structure differences* had been tagged in two ways:

"the_DT information-structure_NN differences NNS" (RAD1253, yr2t3)

"the_DT many_JJ information-structure_JJ differences_NNS" (RAD1253, yr2t3)

Typing errors also caused the program to assign wrong tags to determiners, adjectives, and nouns, and cardinal numbers in determiner position were assigned a CD-tag rather than a DT-tag. This meant that the data were checked again, manually, in order to eliminate these inconsistencies and correct any errors. The discrepancies between the data as tagged by the Stanford tagger and the manually post-edited data are discussed in the fifth chapter. Post-editing the data consisted of colour-coding determiners, nouns, and attributive adjectives with markers and calculating how frequently these parts of speech and combinations of parts of speech occurred in each students' three texts, as well as in the native data. This made for an efficient quantitative analysis of the categories relevant to this research, the results of which can also be found in Chapter 4.

The second part of the analysis was based on the qualitative differences between native and non-native writing, with a focus on the Dutch EFL writers' individual development. This involved comparisons between L1 and L2 writers, between the Dutch EFL writers, and within-subject comparisons, for example RAD1253's performance at yr1t1a and at yr3t2, to show how the non-native writers developed over time. Chapter 4 shows the results from these quantitative and qualitative analyses.

The fifth research question required the analysis of complex noun phrase structures in selected texts. This consisted of converting the data to a Word-file, printing the texts and marking each complex noun phrase by hand. After they had all been marked, the complex noun phrases were further divided into four categories, based on the number of determiners

they contained (zero to three). The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 5, where they best fit into the discussion.

Finally, the data required in order to answer the sixth research question were processed by *Wordsmith Tools*, a program that can be used to analyse texts in a number of ways (Scott, 2017). It can, among other things, create key word lists and concordances, and provides the user with a list of statistics (Scott, 2008). The mean sentence length scores and standard deviations were obtained not by myself, but with the help of an expert. Since these results are not entirely my own, they are discussed in Chapter 5, instead of in Chapter 4.

4. Results

4.1 Quantitative analysis

The results of the quantitative analysis are given below in Tables 1 to 3, with the results from the LOCNESS corpus repeated in each table for comparison. The results are given as percentage scores, which means that, for example, RAD1210 used an average of 12 determiners per 100 words in the first assignment (yr1t1a). It should be noted that sometimes the results from, for example, DT|N and DT|JJ|N do not add up to the percentage of DTs, as is the case for RAD1220 at yr2t3. Such discrepancies are due to two reasons. Firstly, sometimes there was more than one determiner or more than one adjective per noun phrase. For example, in yr1t1a, RAD1220 uses the phrase one or two lectures, in which both one and two are counted as determiners, but count only once as a DT|N pair. The same goes for adjectives. For example in yr2t3, RAD1253 writes about "the DT beautiful JJ young JJ women NNS", where beautiful and young are counted separately as adjectives, but as one DTJJJN combination. Secondly, rounding errors can cause discrepancies. For example in yr1t1a, RAD1253 produced 17 attributive adjectives in a text of 481 words (3.53%), 8 of which were part of a DT|JJ|N combination (1.66%) and the other 9 (1.87%) were part of an JJ|N pair. However, the percentage scores are rounded off to one decimal, which leads to a 0.1% difference.

Table 1

Results of the quantitative analysis of LONGDALE yr1t1a, percentage scores

YR1T1A	Native	RAD1210	RAD1220	RAD1253	RAD1277	RAD1280
	N=18,129	N=535	N=404	N=481	N=330	N=433
DT	13.6	12	9.4	14.6	12.4	12.2
N (total)	24.9	20.2	16.1	19.8	21.5	17.6
Attr. adj.	6.9	7.3	4.7	3.5	5.2	6.2
DT N	9.7	7.1	6.2	12.9	8.5	8.3
DT JJ N	3.7	4.9	3	1.7	3.9	3.9
JJ N	2.4	1.9	1.5	1.9	1.2	1.6
N (compound or unmodified)	8.9	6.4	5.4	3.3	7.9	3.7

Table 2

Results of the quantitative analysis of LONGDALE yr2t3, percentage scores

YR2T3	Native	RAD1210	RAD1220	RAD1253	RAD1277	RAD1280
	N=18,129	N=827	N=795	N=728	N=684	N=730
DT	13.6	12.5	13.3	9.8	13.6	11.9
N (total)	24.9	17.2	24	13.7	24	16.6
Attr. adj.	6.9	3.7	6.8	2.5	5.7	6
DT N	9.7	10	9.3	8	9.1	7.3
DT JJ N	3.7	2.4	3.8	1.6	4.2	4.7
JJ N	2.4	0.5	1.8	0.7	0.4	0.7
N (compound	8.9	4.2	8.6	3.4	10.2	4
or unmodified)						

Table 3

Results of the quantitative analysis of LONGDALE yr3t2, percentage scores

YR3T2	Native	RAD1210	RAD1220	RAD1253	RAD1277	RAD1280
	N=18,129	N=470	N=1,024	N=717	N=422	N=881
DT	13.6	12.8	12.3	10.2	10.4	12.7
N (total)	24.9	26.6	22.5	25.1	24.6	26
Attr. adj.	6.9	10.4	6.1	7.9	8.3	5
DT N	9.7	8.9	8.3	6.7	7.3	9.6
DT JJ N	3.7	3.4	3.7	3.2	3.1	3
JJ N	2.4	4.9	1.8	3.9	4.7	1.9
N (compound	8.9	9.1	8.7	11.4	9.5	11.4
or unmodified)						

Tables 1 to 3 have been colour-coded. If a cell is green, it means that for that particular part of speech, the student's score was up to 10 per cent above or below the mean score of the native writers from the LOCNESS corpus. Blue cells represent the runners-up in their category, and are awarded when the score is no more than 15% away from the native writers' percentage. For example, RAD1210's percentage score for total number of nouns at yr3t2 is coloured green, because 26.6 is only 6.8 per cent removed from the native score of 24.9 nouns per 100 words.

The results from yr1t1a in Table 1 show that at this early stage in the BA programme, RAD1277 is already able to produce a text that has a nativelike distribution in terms of determiners, nouns, and adjectives. With two green cells and three blue cells, the student appears to be more nativelike than the other four in this respect. RAD1220 appears to have the least nativelike distribution, scoring consistently far below the native percentages. Examples (1a) and (1b) below are fragments taken from RAD1220's first text. An explanation of the tags used in (1b) can be found in Appendix V.

(1a) "Homework at university is not something you should take lightly, but not to worry. Just follow these steps and you will be successful in your first year. The first thing you have to make sure is that you are thoroughly organised. This means you need to get a diary and use it properly. Write down every single course you take. If you are not fond of paper diaries, use your phone to help remind you of your courses. By doing this you will never miss a class." (RAD1220, yr1t1a) (1b) "Homework_NN at_IN university_NN is_VBZ not_RB something_NN you_PRP should_MD take_VB lightly_RB ,_, but_CC not_RB to_TO worry_VB ._. Just_RB follow_VB these_DT steps_NNS and_CC you_PRP will_MD be_VB successful_JJ in_IN your_PRP\$ first_JJ year_NN ._. The_DT first_JJ thing_NN you_PRP have_VBP to_TO make_VB sure_JJ is_VBZ that_IN you_PRP are_VBP thoroughly_RB organised_VBN ._. This_DT means_VBZ you_PRP need_VBP to_TO get_VB a_DT diary_NN and_CC use_VB it_PRP properly_RB ._. Write_VB down_RP every_DT single_JJ course_NN you_PRP take_VBP ._. If_IN you_PRP are_VBP not_RB fond_JJ of_IN paper_NN diaries_NNS ,_, use_VB your_PRP\$ phone_NN to_TO help_VB remind_VB you_PRP of_IN your_PRP\$ courses_NNS ._. By_IN doing_VBG this_DT you_PRP will_MD never_RB miss_VB a_DT class_NN . ." (RAD1220, yr1t1a)

RAD1253's performance is striking as well, due to the large percentage of determiner-noun combinations compared to the relatively low score of nouns in total (19.8 compared to 24.9, see Table 1). The qualitative analysis below will further discuss possible reasons for RAD1220 and RAD1253's low scores compared to the other non-native writers and the native writers. Important to note, too, is RAD1220, RAD1253, and RAD1280's use of compound or unmodified nouns, or rather, a lack thereof. This difference will also be addressed in the qualitative analysis.

Table 2 shows that the percentage of compound and unmodified nouns does not change much for RAD1253 and RAD1280, but improves dramatically for RAD1220. In fact, RAD1220 has gone from being one of the least nativelike writers in yr1t1a to having the most nativelike distribution of determiners, adjectives, and nouns in yr2t3. This improvement is considerable, with the total number of nouns rising from 16.1 per cent to 24 per cent. At the same time, RAD1253 has become least nativelike in nearly all categories, but especially with respect to the total number of nouns. The excerpt in (2a) and the tagged version in (2b) below show that RAD1253 uses few nouns at this stage.

- (2a) "The queen and her fellow judges decide that he is to live, but then the old hag asks him to marry her. He finds this idea repulsive as she is old and ugly. She offers him a choice, she can either be young and probably unfaithful, or old and faithful." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (2b) "The_DT queen_NN and_CC her_PRP\$ fellow_JJ judges_NNS decide_VBP that_IN he_PRP is_VBZ to_TO live_VB ,_, but_CC then_RB the_DT old_JJ hag_NN asks_VBZ him_PRP to_TO marry_VB her_PRP ._. He_PRP finds_VBZ this_DT idea_NN repulsive_JJ as_IN she_PRP is_VBZ old_JJ and_CC ugly_JJ ._. She_PRP offers_VBZ him_PRP a_DT choice_NN ,_, she_PRP can_MD either_RB be_VB young_JJ and_CC probably_RB unfaithful_JJ ,_, or_CC old_JJ and_CC faithful_JJ ._." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

The fragment above contains only 5 nouns, and indicates that RAD1253 has not yet mastered an appropriate academic style. A more extensive discussion of RAD1253's writing style and the results of the other students follows in section 4.2.

The results from yr3t2 in Table 3 show that, in general, the students have become more nativelike than they were at the time of the first assignment. The percentage scores are not as far apart anymore, and there is not one student who is much more nativelike than the others. However, RAD1277 appears to have become less nativelike at yr3t2 compared to the year before, similar to RAD1280 at yr2t3. RAD1277's non-nativelike distribution at yr3t2 is due to a return to the use of personal pronouns. It is not immediately visible from the quantitative results, because the percentage score for nouns is comparable to the native score as a result of the use of many compound nouns. This issue will be addressed in more detail in section 4.2.4.

All students clearly follow very different developmental patterns, but RAD1253's development is most difficult to characterise. What RAD1253 does have in common with the other students, is that the number of unmodified nouns and compound nouns increases. In

RAD1253's case, this percentage has nearly quadrupled by the third year. This increase could be indicative of a more academic writing style, with more compound nouns and unmodified nouns in prepositional complements, which is in correspondence with the findings of De Haan (2015).

In conclusion, the colours allow for a quick (though limited) comparison of the native and non-native data. They suggest that, in terms of quantity, RAD1220 is most native-like out of the five students after three years, with four green cells and two blue cells at yr3t2. This is a remarkable achievement, given how far from nativelike RAD1220's performance is at yr1t1a. When it comes to the development of the use of determiner-noun pairs, it is difficult to establish a general tendency. RAD1210 and RAD1220 behave similarly, as they both produce more DT|N pairs at yr2t3 than at yr1t1a, but then fewer DT|N pairs at yr3t2 than at yr2t3. RAD1280 does the exact opposite, but is in the end most nativelike for this part of speech. RAD1277's distribution at yr1t1a is more nativelike than the others, but least nativelike in the third year. RAD1253, finally, uses increasingly fewer determiner-noun pairs in each of the assignments. The students' very different trajectories of individual development are discussed in more detail in section 4.2.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

The following qualitative analysis takes the quantitative analysis above as a starting point. It contains references to specific examples in the native and non-native texts to highlight some of the differences and similarities found in the L1 and L2 data. Given that the emphasis in this thesis is on the Dutch students' individual development, the five non-native writers are discussed separately below. Finally, a summary of the findings is given in section 4.2.6.

4.2.1 RAD1210

Table 1 shows that RAD1210's text at yr1t1a is not very nativelike in terms of quantity, except for the student's use of attributive adjectives. The total number of nouns in this text is relatively low, at only 20.2 per cent compared to the native score of 24.9 nouns per 100 words. This is due to RAD1210's frequent use of personal pronouns, as exemplified in (3) and (4).

(3) "Although elementary school probably gave you the opportunity to lay back once a while, university really does not have any room for that behaviour anymore. Before you were a member of a group, you were pretty much always told what to do. Perhaps one of the most important things to remember is that in university you are in fact an

individual. That means that you yourself are responsible for the success you have within your study." (RAD1210, yr1t1a)

(4) "There you are. You have made the transition from elementary school to university. There really is no way around it, you now are a member of the intellectual elite of your country, and that position is a small burden to bear. Not just because you are expected to perform exceptionally well at your specific subject of study, you are also obliged to reach that high level of success on your own." (RAD1210, yr1t1a)

All sentences in the two excerpts above contain a personal pronoun. This is in line with findings from De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), who also observed an initial overuse of personal pronouns paired with an underuse of nouns. Such use of personal pronouns is inappropriate in academic writing, and it means that the sentences are not very complex in terms of noun phrase structure. After all, for every instance of a personal pronoun, a noun could have been used, which could be premodified by a determiner and/or adjective, or postmodified by a prepositional complement. It should be noted that the prompt for this assignment was to write a personal statement, which is why first person singular *I* and second person singular and plural *you* occur so frequently. The relatively low number of nouns has as a consequence that the percentage of determiner-noun pairs is equally low in comparison to the native distribution.

RAD1210's first text contains some minor grammatical mistakes, but is otherwise well-written. One error would, however, lead to a slightly different percentage score upon correction, i.e. the use of a determiner in the phrase *other members of the staff*:

(4) "You can contact lecturers or other members of the staff to ensure you always know what is going on, what needs to be handed in and what is expected of you." (RAD1210, yr1t1a)

Native writers would omit the determiner from such a phrase, as can be seen in the following example from LOCNESS, which bears much resemblance to the example above.

(5) "The constitution of 1958 honoured this, by placing the President first among the members of parliament." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0025.1)

Without the determiner in (4), *staff* would fall into the category of unmodified noun. The percentage score would increase slightly, from 6.4 to 6.5, which means it is still not very close to the native score of 8.9 compound or unmodified nouns per 100 words.

At yr2t3, RAD1210 writes an essay on Middle English literature that contains a few grammatical errors, but is, again, well-written. This is, however, not entirely reflected in the quantitative analysis in section 4.1, as only the scores for determiners and determiner-noun

pairs are close to the native distribution. RAD1210's use of nouns has decreased, falling from 81.1 per cent (20.2, see Table 1) to only 69.1 per cent (17.2, see Table 2) of the native score. Once again, it appears that this is due to the fact that RAD1210 uses far more personal pronouns than the native writers of LOCNESS. Contrary to the first text, which contained mostly first and second person singular pronouns, the second text contains many instances of the third person singular pronouns *he* and *she*, as can be seen in the examples below.

(6) "This particular tale tells the story of a knight of the round table. **He** rapes a young girl in field of grain and that means that **he** is punishable by death." (RAD1210, yr2t3) (7) "If **he** fails to deliver the answer at the last day, **he** will still be executed. The knight travels through the country but **he** cannot discover the answer since all women tell him something different. On his way back to the castle, **he** runs into an old witch who promises him that **she** will safe him in exchange for the knight's promise that **he** will do anything **she** desires from him afterwards. It turns out that the old witch wants to marry with the knight and **he** has got no other choice than to comply." (RAD1210, yr2t3)

Examples (6) and (7) also show that RAD1210's yr2t3 text is not so much an argumentative essay as it is a recollection of the literature that was read in preparation for the assignment. Although this style of writing cannot be considered academic, RAD1210 has two green cells at yr2t3 (see Table 2). This is due to the student's frequent use of noun phrases such as *the knight*, *the queen*, and *the witch*. RAD1210 furthermore uses hardly any compound nouns at this stage, which explains the student's score of only 4.2 per cent in Table 2.

(8) "Upon seeing his sorrow, she presents him with a choice: either she changes herself into a beautiful, young wife but she will be unfaithful to him or she remains old and ugly and she will promise him to be faithful and obedient for eternity." (RAD1210, yr2t3)

The 44 words above contain only 4 nouns, i.e. *sorrow*, *choice*, *wife*, and *eternity*, whereas a sentence of similar length (40 words) from the LOCNESS corpus contains eleven nouns:

(9) "Perhaps due to the ideological extremism of the CGT, perhaps through fear of losing jobs, or of opposing a very authoritative patronat, union membership in France has always been weak, representing at the present time only 15% of the workforce." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0019.1)

Where RAD1210 favours the use of personal pronouns, the native writer prefers to use nouns and a compound noun (*union membership*). If RAD1210 wishes to become more nativelike in

academic writing, one of the first things they should do is use as few personal pronouns as possible and increase the total number of nouns and the number of compound nouns.

Finally, the second text contains one sentence that can be interpreted in two different ways due to its ungrammaticality, both of which would alter RAD1210's percentage scores.

(10a) "The king, however, chooses to let his wife, the queen, determine what faith is going to bestow on the knight." (RAD1210, yr2t3)

The Stanford part-of-speech-tagger tags this sentence as follows:

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(10b) "The_DT king_NN ,_, however_RB ,_, chooses_VBZ to_TO let_VB his_PRP$ wife_NN ,_, the_DT queen_NN ,_, determine_VB what_WP faith_NN is_VBZ going_VBG to_TO bestow_VB on_IN the_DT knight_NN ._." (RAD1210, yr2t3)
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First of all, RAD1210 probably meant *fate* instead of *faith*. However, as neither *fate* nor *faith* can bestow something upon someone in this scenario, it is impossible for *what* to be an interrogative pronoun. This leaves two interpretations:

- (11a) The king, however, chooses to let his wife, the queen, determine what fate she is going to bestow on the knight.
- (11b) The king, however, chooses to let his wife, the queen, determine what fate is to be bestowed on the knight.

In both (11a) and (11b), *what* is a determiner rather than an interrogative pronoun, and *what fate* would be regarded as a DT|N pair.

RAD1210's second text contains no other errors where determiners and nouns are concerned, except for an omitted determiner in the sentence *He rapes a young girl in field of grain*. It is likely that this is simply a typing error, and it should be noted that typing errors also occur in the native texts.

At yr3t2, RAD1210 produces slightly more nouns on average than a native writer, as can be seen in Table 3. This increase could be due to the prompt, i.e. a research proposal, which was more academic in nature than the previous two prompts. RAD1210's performance is very close to the native distribution, scoring within ten per cent of the native writers' percentages on all categories except for attributive adjectives and adjective-noun pairs (Table 3). Despite this nativelike performance in terms of quantity, the text still contains some sentences that sound distinctly non-native, such as:

(12) "There is a clear parallel noticeable between these novels and the developments in American mental health care." (RAD1210, yr3t2)

The third text also shows that RAD1210 has not fully mastered the distinction between count and non-count nouns. The following two examples demonstrate this:

- (13) "Next to literary criticism and close reading of novels this research also relies on a detailed literary research on American psychiatry in and around the 1960s." (RAD1210, yr3t2)
- (14) "Articles containing criticism on controversial treatments appeared as soon as lobotomies and electro-shock therapies were applied to human beings." (RAD1210, yr3t2)

In examples (13) and (14), *research* and *therapy* should both be viewed as non-count rather than count nouns, which means that the indefinite article in example (13) should have been omitted and *therapies* in (14) should have been singular. These two sentences, however, do not affect the results too much, as only the correction of example (13) would lead to a change in the percentage scores in Table 3.

All in all, RAD1210's development shows a move towards nativelikeness, especially in terms of noun production. By the third year, the initial overuse of personal pronouns has decreased and RAD1210 has adopted a style of writing that is clearly more academic.

4.2.2 RAD1220

RAD1220, like RAD1210, uses a large amount of personal pronouns in the first assignment, for example in the following excerpt:

(15) "The first thing you have to make sure is that you are thoroughly organised. This means you need to get a diary and use it properly. Write down every single course you take. If you are not fond of paper diaries, use your phone to help remind you of your courses. By doing this you will never miss a class. The workload at university will be a lot more than you were used to in secondary school. In order to not succumb under this, and to not get a nervous breakdown because of it, you need to carefully plan everything." (RAD1220, yr1t1a)

Again, this relatively high number of pronouns is related to the fact that the percentage of nouns is rather low in comparison to native writers. In all other respects, however, this text is well-written. It has a clear introduction and conclusion, and it contains hardly any grammatical errors. Although a first look at the results in Table 1 suggests that RAD1220 is least nativelike of the five students, this is not immediately reflected in the quality of RAD1220's writing. The overall low percentage scores are merely caused by the overuse of personal pronouns, which cannot be modified by determiners, adjectives or other nouns.

At yr2t3, RAD1220's distribution of determiners, nouns, and adjectives is nativelike (see Table 2). Some non-native features, however, persist, such as the frequent use of the

phrase *a lot*. RAD1220 uses *a lot* seven times in this text, sometimes even twice in one sentence (example (21)), and there is also one instance of *lots*:

- (15) "These characters incline to make lots of rash promises, which the trickster dutifully takes advantage of." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (16) "Due to the fabliaux's earlier existence in France, a lot had already been written about when the English picked up the genre (Canby 205)." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (17) "Consequently, a lot of fabliau literature was not written down and saved, which explains why there are so few surviving English fabliaux (Canby 207)." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (18) "Unlike nowadays, not a lot of people could read in the Middle Ages." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (19) "Manuscripts took a lot of tedious work, and too expensive to waste. It would take until the late thirteenth century for the English people to start using English as their language of choice in speaking and writing (245)." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (20) "Due to its French origin and big French tradition, there was a lot of material already available and England was quite late to the fabliaux craze." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (21) "Due to the amount of tedious labour that went into making these manuscripts, and the fact that not a lot of medieval people knew how to read, not a lot of manuscripts were made." (RAD1220, yr2t3)

The material from the LOCNESS corpus, 18,129 words in total, only contains six cases of *a lot*, and *lots* does not occur at all. Otherwise, the text is well-written and it contains no other mistakes that are relevant to this research.

RAD1220's third text, yr3t2, does not contain the phrase *a lot*. However, like RAD1210 at yr3t2, RAD1220 mistakenly uses *research* as a count noun, as in the following example.

(22) "I could not find any previous research relating this specific topic, because this is a brand-new research set up by Dr de Vries." (RAD1220, yr3t2)

RAD1220 furthermore omits an indefinite article (*a*) or cardinal number (*one*) before *more obscure poem* in the next sentence:

(23) "One assignment will be that they have to read two or three short poems, preferably one they have had in class and more obscure poem, and consequently having them analyse the poems in conversational manner." (RAD1220, yr3t2)

Correction of this phrase would lead to a slight increase of the DT|N percentage score in Table 3, which is currently 14.4 per cent under the native distribution (8.3 compared to 9.7).

Other than this, there are no errors concerning determiners or nouns in this text that would affect the results upon correction. All in all, RAD1220's third text is comparable to native writing. By using the appropriate academic register, RAD1220 produces a text that is nativelike both in terms of quantity and quality of determiner-noun use.

4.2.3 RAD1253

Table 1 shows that RAD1253 is not very close to a nativelike distribution at the time of the first assignment. In terms of quality of writing, too, RAD1253 performs relatively poorly in comparison to the other four students, and especially in comparison to native writers. RAD1253's yr1t1a text comes across as incoherent due to a lack of punctuation marks and an occasional lack of agreement between (possessive) pronoun and antecedent, as in the following examples.

- (24) "To become a successful student you have to take certain steps that will lead them to their goal of graduating college." (RAD1253, yr1t1a)
- (25) "The first step a student could take is to come to all of their classes." (RAD1253, yr1t1a)
- (26) "The third step a student should take is to simply do their assignments." (RAD1253, yr1t1a)
- (27) "Again there are more reasons why a student should make their assignments." (RAD1253, yr1t1a)

Example (24) is different from the others, because one could argue that in (25)-(27) RAD1253 used *their* as a gender-neutral pronoun to address both male and female students. This, however, is impossible to say of (24), where RAD1253, it seems, was unsure whether to use second person singular or third person plural, and ended up using both. If (25)-(27) are examples of the use of plural *their* in agreement with a singular noun (*student*), it would be interesting to see if this also occurs in native writing. In the LOCNESS data, *their* is used a couple of times in combination with a singular noun phrase, but in all cases the noun phrase refers to a group of people and it is therefore in agreement with *their* on the basis of plurality, rather than gender-neutrality. These NPs are *the bourgeoisie* in (28) and *the older generation* in (29):

(28) "It should be said here that earlier attempts at increasing the role of primary and secondary education and making it open to all frightened the bourgeoisie who then sent their children to schools linked to the Lycées so that they still had an advantage." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0016.1)

(29) "This is quite a problem in France as the older generation cost a great deal of money to support, and the fact that their support is seen as a past debt rather than a future investment in the case of children, makes such support be given rather begrudgingly." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0017.1)

Other than (28) and (29), there are no occurrences of singular noun phrases combined with *their* in the native data. In examples (25)-(27), RAD1253 would have been more nativelike by using plural *students* as antecedent of *their*. In addition to creating a more coherent text, it would also help lower the percentage of determiners in this text, which would make the student's distribution more nativelike.

Table 2 shows that RAD1253 uses relatively few nouns in the second text in comparison to the native writers. Like RAD1210, the student appears to have misunderstood the assignment and has written a text that resembles a short story, rather than an argumentative essay. That is why third person singular pronouns *he* and *she* occur frequently, as in (30) and (31) below.

- (30) "She breaks the spell, when he gives her what all women want, namely control over their husbands, she rewards him. The knight first meets the wife of bath, when he is desperate looking for the answer to what women most desire as the answer will save his life. She promises to tell him, if he does whatever she asks him to." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (31) "She offers him a choice, she can either be young and probably unfaithful, or old and faithful. To this he replies that she can choose as she will probably know what is best for them[...]." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

The use of these personal pronouns does not allow for as much structural complexity as the use of nouns, because they are not usually pre- or postmodified. It is therefore likely that the overuse of personal pronouns has led to such a non-nativelike distribution.

There is one particular construction that RAD1253 uses five times in the yr2t3 text, i.e. *the woman she is*, which occurs in a variety of ways:

- (32) "He was tested successfully and thus he is worthy to see the beautiful woman she really is." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (33) "She changes his mind set by giving him a lecture on gentilesse, which makes him able to see her for the beautiful young women she is." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (34) "He was tested and now he has proven himself, she breaks the spell, which makes him able to see the woman she already was." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

- (35) "She puts a spell on him, which makes him unable to see the beautiful woman she is." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (36) "But this is not only because he gives her what she wants, he also has proven himself worthy to see her as the woman she is." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

This structure is mentioned here because of its frequency of use, not because of ungrammaticality. What is, however, ungrammatical, is the use of *women* as singular in (33), which happens twice in this text, the other instance being the example below.

(37) "He told her that he was disgusted by her, because she was not a noble women, she was old and she was ugly." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

All in all, RAD1253 has not reached a nativelike distribution of determiners and nouns by the second year of the BA programme, which is visible from both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis.

Compared to the first and second text, RAD1253's third text comes across as more academic. It contains only a small number of personal pronouns and far more unmodified nouns and compound nouns than the earlier texts, as the quantitative analysis shows.

RAD1253 makes only one determiner-noun error in this last text, which is the omission of a determiner before *less advanced or basic learner of English* in the following sentence:

(38) "In that way I can compare less advanced or basic learner of English to a more advanced learner and draw my conclusions on whether or not the degree of English education helps the students to do better in translating difficult English constructions." (RAD1253, yr3t2)

This is similar to RAD1220's omission in example (23), and it is likely that both cases are merely typing errors. Table 3 also indicates RAD1253's limited use of determiners, i.e. only 75 per cent of the native percentage score (10.2 compared to 13.6 determiners per 100 words). This is unexpected, because the percentage of nouns is relatively high (see Table 3). There are several explanations for this, the most important of which is that the number of unmodified nouns is fairly high. Nouns such as *Dutch*, *English*, and *German*, here used as nouns referring to the languages rather than as adjectives, are very frequent, as in (39a) and (39b).

- (39a) "They conclude that the information-structure differences between *Dutch* and *English* are the final hurdle for Dutch learners of *English* as a foreign language [...]." (RAD1253, yr3t2)
- (39b) "They_PRP conclude_VBP that_IN the_DT information-structure_NN differences_NNS between_IN Dutch_NNP and_CC English_NNP are_VBP the_DT

final_JJ hurdle_NN for_IN Dutch_JJ learners_NNS of_IN English_NNP as_IN a_DT foreign_JJ language_NN [...]." (RAD1253, yr3t2)

The tags in example (39b) have been edited, as the tagger originally classified all instances of *Dutch* and *English* as adjectives. The cursive occurrences of *Dutch* and *English* in example (39a) are, however, unmodified nouns. Due to the high frequency of these forms, there relatively few determiners in RAD1253's third text.

To conclude, RAD1253's development can be characterised as a move toward nativelikeness, but not quite reaching the level of, for example, RAD1220. Compared to the other students, RAD1253's learning curve is the steepest. By the third year, RAD1253 produces a text that has more features of academic writing and contains fewer personal pronouns, which is at the same time indicative of the student's maturity as a writer.

4.2.4 RAD1277

The quantitative analysis in Table 1 indicated that RAD1277 was most nativelike out of the five students at yr1t1a. This result is reflected in the quality of writing, as RAD1277 produces a text that is grammatically sound, although the tone is far from academic. Like the other four students, RAD1277 uses many personal pronouns, for example in (40) and (41):

- (40) "How do you expect to pass those tests when you have not been to one single lecture? You may have excelled in English at secondary school, but university standards are much higher." (RAD1277, yr1t1a)
- (41) "That way, you will make your mother proud of you, and you won't have to take the resits, which saves you a lot of time." (RAD1277, yr1t1a)

Contrary to the other four students, however, RAD1277 manages to attain a relatively high percentage of nouns in the yr1t1a text. In fact, RAD1277's distribution of determiners and nouns at yr2t3 is quite close to the native distribution. One particular NP structure stands out in this text, because it does not occur in the other non-native texts: determiner – adjective – coordinating conjunction (or other) – determiner – adjective – noun. This type of noun phrase occurs twice in RAD1277's yr2t3 text, i.e. *the classical and the medieval versions* in (42) and *a British rather than a Greek king* in (43):

- (42) "Both in the classical and the medieval versions, Orpheus / Sir Orfeo wins back his beloved one by playing music [...]." (RAD1277, yr2t3)
- (43) "By making Sir Orfeo a British rather than a Greek king, and by placing the story in Britain, the author of the medieval text made the story more accessible to his, largely British, audience." (RAD1277, yr2t3)

This structure is slightly different from a more frequent structure, which is determiner – adjective – coordinating conjunction (or other) – adjective – noun, for example *the finite and non-finite form* in (44) and *many academic and scientific articles* in (45) below.

- (44) "A verb qualifies as an optional infinitive if both the finite and non-finite form occur in certain contexts." (RAD1277, yr3t2)
- (45) "In order to complete this, many academic and scientific articles concerning psychology and psychiatry have been accessed." (RAD1210, yr3t2)

The inclusion of a second determiner in such noun phrases as in (42) and (43) appears to be rare, because it occurs just once in the native corpus:

(46) "His finance minister was a personal as well as a political friend and hence was willing to execute D'Estaings wishes." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0027.1)

RAD1277's yr2t3 and yr3t2 texts contain no other unusual constructions or possible typing errors that would affect the results of the quantitative analysis upon correction. Finally, the relatively high percentage of adjectives in yr3t2 (8.3, see Table 3) can be explained by the fact that the text is a research proposal about the use of optional infinitives. The frequent repetition of this term caused these comparatively high percentage scores.

It is interesting to note that by the second year of their BA course, RAD1277 and RAD1220 appear to have learnt about register in academic writing. Their work contains hardly any personal pronouns, in contrast to the other three students:

- (47) "The queen gives him one year and one day to discover what it is that all women most desire. If he fails to deliver the answer at the last day, he will still be executed. The knight travels through the country but he cannot discover the answer since all women tell him something different. On his way back to the castle, he runs into an old witch who promises him that she will safe him in exchange for the knight's promise that he will do anything she desires from him afterwards." (RAD1210, yr2t3)

 (48) "In medieval times, it was not custom to document every single piece of literature that was made. Consequently, a lot of fabliau literature was not written down and saved, which explains why there are so few surviving English fabliaux (Canby 207). Unlike nowadays, not a lot of people could read in the Middle Ages. This sparked the oral tradition of telling stories and rendered it unnecessary to write every single story down. The stories needed to live on through the memories of the people, instead of on the skin of goat." (RAD1220, yr2t3)
- (49) "She puts a spell on him, which makes him unable to see the beautiful woman she is. He was to go on a quest to find out what women really want, and she lets him fulfil

the wish of women. Because when he gives her what all women want, namely dominating and controlling their husbands, he is rewarded and the spell is broken. But this is not only because he gives her what she wants, he also has proven himself worthy to see her as the woman she is." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

- (50) "The story takes place partly in Winchester, which is called Thrace in the narrative, and partly in the Otherworld. This is a magical place where fairies and a fairy king exist. The fairies are said to be a Celtic element, thus making the lay more appealing to its medieval audience. Sir Orfeo contains some of the popular themes in medieval literature, namely that of exile and return, and a happy ending. This truly shows that the narrative has been altered in such a way that it would suit the tastes of its medieval readership." (RAD1277, yr2t3)
- (51) "This tale speaks of a young knight who is set to find out what women most desire and he learns this answer from a woman better known as the loathly lady. Now, when they are about to get married the Loathly Lady puts the knight in a dilemma. She is either forever young, beautiful and unfaithful or she is an old hag who is loyal, true and humble. Although there are several opinions that the old hag is really an old hag, it is actually quite clear that the Loathly Lady was never an old hag, but always was and always will be a beautiful woman." (RAD1280, yr2t3)

The examples above show that RAD1220 and RAD1277 have appropriated the right academic register, with as few personal pronouns as possible. RAD1210, RAD1253, and RAD1280 have made this transition, too, by the time of the third assignment. When all is taken into account, RAD1277, like RAD1220, produces writing that is nativelike in terms of quality and quantity of determiners and nouns at a relatively early stage. However, RAD1277 seems to experience a relapse to the use of personal pronouns by the third year, as in example (52).

(52) "I intend to test my hypothesis by analysing as many transcripts in CHILDES as my schedule allows, and then comparing that to what I have found in previously written academic articles. My contribution to the field will probably be minimal, since I will not be aggregating child speech data of my own, but rather studying already published material. However, I do hope that by connecting loose ends and regrouping information, I will put together a coherent survey of what has been researched on this topic and thereby create something meaningful." (RAD1277, yr3t2)

The use of personal pronouns is not directly visible from Table 3, given that the possibility of a low percentage of nouns is balanced out by the relatively large number of compound nouns.

The percentage of determiners in RAD1277's third text does indicate that the distribution is not quite nativelike. It remains unclear why RAD1277 started to use personal pronouns again, having carefully avoided them in the second assignment. It is possible that the student underestimated the degree of formality. Overall, RAD1277 produces texts that are consistent in quality. It is likely that RAD1277 would have as many green cells in Table 3 as RAD1210 or RAD1220 had there been no personal pronouns in the student's third text.

4.2.5 RAD1280

At yr1t1a, RAD1280's writing is similar to that of RAD1220 in terms of quality. Although their percentage scores are slightly different, RAD1280 and RAD1220 both overuse personal pronouns and produce only few nouns in comparison to native writers. Table 1 shows that RAD1280's distribution is otherwise quite close to the native writers' distribution of determiner-noun pairs. RAD1280's yr1t1a text is grammatically correct, with the exception of the following two infelicitous sentences.

- (53) "However, if you are truly terrified by the idea of your first year in university, there are some few basic steps to make even your (worst imaginable) year to a successful one." (RAD1280, yr1t1a)
- (54) "Students can help each other when they are facing problems, this will make your year much easier." (RAD1280, yr1t1a)

The sentence in (53) actually contains two phrases whose grammaticality is questionable. Firstly, *some* does not usually premodify *few*. It is most likely that RAD1280 intended to write either *some basic steps* or *a few basic steps*. Secondly, *to* should be omitted or replaced by *into*, so that it is either *to make even your (worst imaginable) year a successful one* or *to make even your (worst imaginable) year into a successful one*. Example (54) is infelicitous due to a lack of agreement between the possessive pronoun *your* and its antecedent. This sentence can be corrected in a number of ways, an example of a version of (54) that has agreement is given below in (54a).

(54a) As students, you can help each other when you are facing problems. This will make your year much easier.

Though this sentence has agreement between the possessive pronoun and the antecedent, it is admittedly still not very nativelike due to the use of personal pronouns.

The quantitative analysis in Table 2 indicates that by yr2t3, RAD1280's distribution of determiners and nouns is not as close to nativelike as those of RAD1220 and RAD1277.

RAD1280 still produces large quantities of personal pronouns at this stage. This, together

with some non-punctuated run-on sentences, makes the text come across as less academic, which is illustrated by example (55).

(55) "With saying this, the knight gives the Loathly Lady maistrie and with doing so, he shows that he has respect for her and that she can make her own decisions and she becomes both fair and good." (RAD1280, yr2t3)

The overuse of personal pronouns is a likely cause of the comparatively low percentage of nouns in RAD1280's second text. In spite of this, the score of 4.7 determiner-adjective-noun combinations per 100 words is rather high. This can be explained by the frequent use of one of the characters' names in the literature that is described, i.e. *the Loathly Lady*, as well as by the highly descriptive language that RAD1280 uses.

(56a) "Although there are several opinions that the old hag is really an old hag, it is actually quite clear that the Loathly Lady was never an old hag, but always was and always will be a beautiful woman." (RAD1280, yr2t3)

(56b) "Although_IN there_EX are_VBP several_JJ opinions_NNS that_IN the_DT old_JJ hag_NN is_VBZ really_RB an_DT old_JJ hag_NN ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ actually_RB quite_RB clear_JJ that_IN the_DT Loathly_JJ Lady_NN was_VBD never_RB an_DT old_JJ hag_NN ,_, but_CC always_RB was_VBD and_CC always_RB will_MD be_VB a_DT beautiful_JJ woman_NN ._." (RAD1280, yr2t3)

Example (56a) and (56b) show that the combination DT|JJ|NN occurs frequently.

By the time of the third assignment, however, RAD1280 has learnt not to use personal pronouns in academic writing. The percentage score for nouns increases by 9.4 per cent and the average number of determiner-noun pairs resembles the numbers found in native writing. RAD1280's yr3t2 text contains only one determiner-related error, i.e. the use of the indefinite article in *a critical research* in (57) below.

(57) "This research paper aims to serve as a starting point for a critical research in which the CEFR is respected for its usefulness, but is thoroughly investigated and tested to become more efficient, reliable, transparent and easier to use not only by language teachers but also by language learners." (RAD1280, yr3t2)

This is the same error as RAD1210's *a detailed literary research* in example (13) and RAD1220's *a brand-new research* in example (22). Apart from this error, RAD1280's third text shows that, at least in terms of determiner-noun use, the student has become more nativelike.

4.2.6 Summary

The quantitative analysis in 4.1 showed that all students experienced a general move towards a more nativelike distribution of determiner-noun combinations. For the first assignment, the percentage scores for nouns in the non-native texts are still rather low in comparison to the native writers' mean score. This is also true for RAD1210, RAD1253, and RAD1280 in the second year. RAD1220 and RAD1277, however, have developed more quickly towards a nativelike distribution. The qualitative analysis revealed that this is due to the fact that they hardly produce any personal pronouns at this stage, which shows that RAD1220 and RAD1277 have mastered a sophisticated, academic style of writing. The other three students, on the other hand, start to use a similar style of writing only by the time of the third assignment.

In terms of quality, most progress is made by RAD1253. The examples in section 4.2.3 show that RAD1253 occasionally struggled with grammaticality and register in the first two assignments, but it also becomes clear that the student has improved considerably by the third year. RAD1210 and RAD1280, too, have become more nativelike at this stage, whereas RAD1220 and RAD1277 remain stable in their quality of writing. For RAD1277, this consistent quality does not show from Table 3, in which the percentage scores for determiners and determiner-noun pairs for this student appear to be rather low in comparison to the native writers of LOCNESS. The qualitative analysis revealed that this is due to an unexpected return to the use of personal pronouns, and that the text is otherwise well-written.

In conclusion, some findings from the quantitative analysis are confirmed by the qualitative analysis, but the qualitative analysis can also refute or contradict the numbers. The best supporting evidence of this claim is RAD1210's performance at yr1t1a, which appears quite far from nativelike in Table 1. A close inspection of the actual text, however, revealed that it is not inferior to RAD1210 or RAD1280's text. The numbers in Tables 1 to 3 should therefore be seen as a starting point, which is then complemented by in-depth scrutinisation of the written work.

5. Discussion

The previous chapter has outlined the results from the quantitative and qualitative analysis, which indicated that the non-native writers' development is non-linear and that there is a lot of individual variation. This chapter provides answers to the six research questions, discusses the method used in this study, and contains suggestions for future research.

The aim of this study was to find out if there is a relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs in EFL writing by advanced Dutch students of English, compared to native English writing. This comparison is justified and not an example of the comparative fallacy, because the students are training to become EFL professionals and the university requires them to achieve a nativelike command. The hypothesis was that the students would produce more complex noun phrase structures as they gained grammatical competency during their three-year BA programme, and that their use of determiner-noun combinations would thus come to resemble the distribution found in native academic writing.

The non-native writers' determiner-noun distributions have been discussed in the previous chapter. Their grammatical competency is measured in terms of three test scores: the scores from the students' grammar exam in October 2012 and scores from two diagnostic grammar tests that the students took in September 2012 and June 2013. The results are given below in Table 4. Unfortunately, no scores were available for RAD1253 and RAD1280's performance on the second diagnostic grammar test.

Table 4
Students' scores on two diagnostic grammar tests and a grammar exam

	Diagnostic test 1	Diagnostic test 2	Grammar exam
	September 2012	June 2013	October 2012
RAD1210	32/50	35/50	6.3/10
RAD1220	40/50	42/50	6.8/10
RAD1253	29/50	-	5.3/10
RAD1277	38/50	45/50	8.1/10
RAD1280	27/50	-	3.4/10

The students took the first diagnostic grammar test and the grammar exam around the same time as assignment yr1t1a. Table 4 shows that the students had varying degrees of

grammatical knowledge. RAD1253 and RAD1280 had the lowest scores on the first diagnostic grammar test and on the grammar exam, and RAD1220 and RAD1277 had the highest scores overall. Compared to the quantitative analysis, the relation between grammatical competency and determiner-noun use is not immediately apparent. According to Table 1, for example, RAD1220 has the least nativelike distribution in September 2012, whereas Table 4 shows that the student outperforms RAD1210, RAD1253, and RAD1280 on the first diagnostic grammar test and the grammar exam. However, the qualitative analysis revealed that, except for the relatively large number of personal pronouns it contained, RAD1220's yr1t1a text was well-written and comparable to native writing. The relation between grammatical competency and the nativelikeness of determiner-noun use is most evident from the results of RAD1277 and RAD1253. RAD1277 is most nativelike in terms of quantity and quality at yr1t1a, which is reflected in the grammatical competency scores in Table 4. RAD1253, whose work was deemed least nativelike out of the five students at yr1t1a in terms of quality, also has one of the lowest scores on the first diagnostic test. For RAD1280, however, it is difficult to see the relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs. This student has the lowest grammatical competency scores overall, and a particularly low score on the grammar exam in October 2012, but the quantitative and qualitative analyses do not reflect this. As in De Haan (2015) and De Haan (2016), there does not seem to be a one-to-one correspondence between increased grammatical knowledge and grammatical control that is true for all students.

With the information above, it is now possible to answer the six research questions posed in the first chapter.

1. Are there any quantitative differences in determiner-noun combinations between native English and Dutch EFL writing?

The quantitative analysis showed that, especially in the first year of their BA programme, not all students' distributions of determiner-noun pairs are nativelike. Only RAD1277 and, to some extent, RAD1280 are close to nativelike at yr1t1a in terms of determiner-noun pairs. The percentage scores of RAD1210 and RAD1220 are much lower and RAD1253's is much higher than the native average of 9.7 determiner-noun pairs per 100 words. By the second year, RAD1210 and RAD1220 have reached nativelike levels, like RAD1277. It should be noted, however, that the qualitative analysis later indicated that RAD1210's writing style at yr2t3 was not academic, due to an overuse of personal pronouns. The determiner-noun percentage scores of RAD1253 and RAD1280 are relatively low at this point, i.e. 8 per cent

and 7.3 per cent compared to the native score of 9.7 per cent. Finally, at yr3t2, there are still some quantitative differences between the native and non-native writers' use of determiner-noun pairs, even though the average number of nouns the Dutch students produce has reached nativelike proportions. The increase of the percentage of nouns in non-native writing seems to be related to a decrease in the use of personal pronouns. According to De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), this move towards a more formal style of writing is due to first-year writing classes such as Writing English, where students are taught about academic register.

2. Are there any qualitative differences in determiner-noun combinations between native English and Dutch EFL writing?

The qualitative analysis in the previous chapter showed that there were only a few differences in the use of determiner-noun pairs between native and non-native writers. Some students used determiners that were not appropriate for the non-count nouns they premodified, such as a detailed literary research in RAD1210's yr3t2 text. Another qualitative difference that was found was RAD1253's use of a noble women and the beautiful young women she is, when clearly a native writer would have used woman in both cases. In general, however, the students' use of determiner-noun pairs was grammatically correct and comparable to native writing. This was to be expected based on De Haan & Van der Haagen (2012) and De Haan & Van der Haagen (2013a), who found that Dutch students of English made no serious grammatical errors. The quality of RAD1210, RAD1253, and RAD1280's texts improved considerably by the time of the third assignment, unlike RAD1220 and RAD1277 who started to produce formal writing free of personal pronouns before yr2t3.

3. Does individual development show a move towards native writers' use of determinernoun combinations?

The answer to this question is affirmative, although individual development varies extensively. RAD1210 and RAD1220 produce more determiner-noun pairs at yr2t3 than at yr1t1a. They then produce fewer determiner-noun pairs at yr3t2 than at yr2t3, but this is still more than at yr1t1a. Almost the same can be said of RAD1277, except that this student's yr3t2 percentage is lower than that of yr1t1a. RAD1280's development is almost the opposite, because the student produces fewer determiner-noun pairs at yr2t3 than at yr1t1a, but then reaches a nativelike distribution by yr3t2 because of a 2.3 per cent increase. RAD1253's development is rather special. This student's percentage of determiner-noun pairs is very high at yr1t1a, but steadily decreases over time, to one of the lowest percentage scores recorded for

this category. For all students but RAD1277 the scores at yr3t2 are closer to the nativelike percentage than at yr1t1a. These, however, are all findings based on numbers. In terms of quality, it appears that RAD1220 and RAD1277 reach an academically appropriate style by the second year of their BA course, whereas the other students seem to require more time to adapt their writing styles. All in all, this shows that the development of cohorts cannot and should not be generalised. It should be noted that the scope of this study did not allow for personal characteristics of the non-native writers to be taken into account, such as language aptitude and motivation, which could have an impact on their learning trajectory (Dörnyei, 2015; De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007).

4. Is there a relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs in advanced Dutch EFL writing?

The results of this study do not point to an unambiguous relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun pairs. Such a relation does seem to exist for RAD1277, who has one of the best scores on the first diagnostic test (September 2012), the best score on the grammar exam (October 2012), and the most nativelike distribution at yr1t1a (September 2012). It also holds for RAD1220, who has the best score on the first diagnostic test and whose first text is comparable to native writing in terms of quality. For a student such as RAD1280, however, the relation between grammatical competency and determiner-noun use is less clear. RAD1280's grammatical knowledge is below average and the student's writing style only becomes more academic by the third year, but RAD1280's written work is not equally poor in terms of quality and grammaticality.

The average number of nouns might be a better indicator of grammatical control than the number of determiner-noun pairs. The determiner-noun scores at yr3t2 do not reflect how much more academic the students' writing styles have become. They also do not show the early decrease in personal pronoun use by RAD1220 and RAD1277 at yr2t3. The percentage scores for nouns, however, do point towards RAD1220 and RAD1277's early adaptation of academically appropriate writing. This is in line with findings from De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), and it also corresponds to the findings of De Haan (2015), who found that a decrease of personal pronoun use co-occurred with an increase in complex noun phrase structures, such as noun phrases that are postmodified by a prepositional phrase. Given that not all complex noun phrase structures contain determiners, but all contain nouns by definition, it is obvious why such development is most clearly visible from the percentage scores of nouns.

5. Is there a relation between the use of complex noun structures and the frequency of determiner-noun pairs?

To find out if the hypothesis above (i.e. the use of more complex noun phrase structures means more nouns, but not necessarily more determiner-noun pairs) is true, an additional analysis of the data was executed. This analysis consisted of counting the total number of complex noun phrase structures and the number of such structures containing 0 to 3 determiners, to establish whether or not there is a relation between the use of complex noun phrase structures and the frequency of determiner-noun pairs. Two examples of such complex noun phrase structures are given below in example (58), in which the first complex noun phrase (in italics) contains one determiner and the second contains two determiners.

(58) "It has proved particularly difficult in France to change the education system because of *the successive changes in policies*, and due to *an apparent lack of national consensus over the role of education.*" (ICLE-BR-SUR-0021.1)

The sentence below gives an example of a complex noun phrase without a determiner and contains the only complex noun phrase with three determiners in this data set.

(59) "He envisaged an orientation cycle in the last two years of the first cycle, then for those carrying on, there was to be a general course of two years when the first half of the 'baccalauréat' would be taken, then the last year would involve more choice for students." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0021.1)

Due to time constraints it was only possible to analyse one text by a native writer (ICLE-BR-SUR-0021.1) and three texts by a non-native writer (RAD1280). ICLE-BR-SUR-0021.1 was chosen because this writer's distribution of determiners, nouns, and determiner-noun pairs was closest to the native mean percentage scores, and was therefore deemed most representative. RAD1280 was selected because this student used considerably more nouns by yr3t2 than in the first text at yr1t1a (i.e. 26 nouns per 100 words compared to 17.6 nouns in the first year), which could indicate an increased use of complex noun phrase structures.

The results of the analysis are given below in Table 5. They are presented as percentage scores, so, for example, RAD1280's score of 2.95 complex NP structures for the third assignment means that the student used 2.95 complex noun phrase structures per 100 words.

Table 5

Results from the additional analysis of complex noun phrase structures, percentage scores

	ICLE-BR-SUR-0021.1	RAD1280	RAD1280	RAD1280
	N=1,020	yr1t1a	yr2t3	yr3t2
		N=433	N=730	N=881
Complex NP structures	4.90	1.85	1.64	2.95
Complex NPs with 0	1.08	0	0	0.34
DT N pairs				
Complex NPs with 1	2.16	1.15	1.10	0.79
DT N pair				
Complex NPs with 2	1.57	0.69	0.55	1.82
DT N pairs				
Complex NPs with 3	0.10	0	0	0
DT N pairs				

These results indicate that RAD1280 uses far fewer complex noun phrase structures than the native writer in all three texts, but begins to use more by the third year. The table also shows that RAD1280's first and second text contain no complex noun phrase structures without determiners, whereas this structure occurs a number of times in the native text. This difference might be due to the fact that English requires no determiner, or "the zero article" (Aarts & Wekker, 1993, p.125), in a number of cases, for example before singular count nouns with generic reference that denote institutions (*hospital, university*), when Dutch would in fact use a determiner (Aarts & Wekker, 1993). At the same time, however, there are cases where an indefinite article is used in English while Dutch uses the zero article, for example before numerals such as *hundred* and *thousand* (Aarts & Wekker, 1993). Alternatively, the difference could lie in both writers' use of register, as the qualitative analysis showed that RAD1280 only started to use an academically appropriate style of writing by the third year. Further research of the data is necessary to determine whether this initial difference between the native writer and non-native writer is due to L1 interference, or whether use of complex noun phrase structures without determiners is a typical feature of academic writing.

Another question that can be asked in relation to this research question is whether determiner-noun combinations occur predominantly in larger (and therefore more complex) noun phrases. As Table 5 shows, the number of complex noun phrases in RAD1280's text is

rather low. RAD1280 uses 12.2 determiner-noun combinations per 100 words in the first assignment (8.3 and 3.9, see Table 1), but only 1.85 complex noun phrases. Although the numbers shift slightly, the results from the second and third assignment in Tables 2, 3, and 5 reflect this distribution. In the native text, too, the majority of determiner-noun combinations is found outside of complex noun phrase structures.

To conclude, the answer to the research question is not completely affirmative. There is no direct relation between the use of complex noun phrase structures and the frequency of determiner-noun combinations, because not all of these structures contain determiners. As noted earlier, the percentage of nouns used in a text is most likely a better indicator of structural complexity than the percentage of determiner-noun pairs.

6. Is there a relation between sentence length and the use of determiner-noun combinations?

This final research question was based on findings by De Haan & Van Esch (2005), who studied non-native writing by students of English and students of Spanish. They concluded that, on average, the more advanced students produced longer sentences. It would therefore be interesting to find out if there is a positive relation between sentence length and the use of determiner-noun combinations in non-native writing. That is, does an increased use of longer sentences mean that the writer also uses more determiner-noun combinations on average? Moreover, does the claim by De Haan & Van Esch (2005) hold for this particular group of non-native writers? Do the more advanced students (RAD1220 and RAD1277, according to Table 4) produce longer sentences at an earlier stage than the other students?

Tables 6 to 8 below contain the results from WordSmith Tools, i.e. the mean sentence length and standard deviation per student per assignment, with the scores from the native writers repeated in each table as a reference. A score of 17.87 for RAD1210 at yr1t1a means that the student's text contained sentences that were on average approximately 18 words long. The standard deviations are also given, as an indication of how much variation in sentence length there was in each student's text.

Table 6

Mean sentence length and standard deviations for the native writers of LOCNESS and the non-native writers of LONGDALE at yr1t1a

YR1T1A	Native	RAD1210	RAD1220	RAD1253	RAD1277	RAD1280
	N=18,129	N=535	N=404	N=481	N=330	N=433
Mean sentence	21.69	17.87	16.83	20.08	18.83	16.69
length						
Standard	11.22	8.58	7.10	14.04	5.63	5.97
deviation						

Table 6 shows that, in the first year of their studies, the students use sentences that are slightly shorter than those of native writers. Again, it is important to point out that this difference could be due to text type. It is likely that the texts written by the native writers are longer because they are argumentative essays, rather than personal statements on an informal topic, which the Dutch students were instructed to write. The results from Table 6 furthermore indicate that RAD1253 creates the longest sentences on average, thereby approaching the native score. It should, however, be noted that RAD1253 has a large standard deviation compared to the other students, which is indicative of substantial variation in sentence length in this text. Compare, for example, the following two sentences.

- (60) "The first step a student could take is to come to all of their classes." (RAD1253, yr1t1a)
- (61) "So in order for a student to graduate from college the student has to take the following steps; come to the classes so the student is allowed to take the exams and gets more detailed information and better explanation about the course material, understand and know the information in order to pass the exams and make the exercises to know whether or not the information has been understood and to give an example of what could be in an exam." (RAD1253, yr1t1a)

Example (60) is a relatively short sentence of 15 words, approximately 5 words below the student's average of 20.08 words per sentence. The sentence in (61) consists of 80 words, and is a rather lengthy summation that contains 13 determiner-noun combinations: *a student*, *the student*, *the following steps*, *the classes*, *the student*, *the exams*, *the course material*, *the information*, *the exams*, *the exercises*, *the information*, *an example*, and *an exam*. Given that the average number of determiner-noun pairs in native writing (see Table 1) is 9.7 (per 100 words) and the average number of determiner-adjective-noun combinations is 3.7 (per 100

words), this use of 13 determiner-noun combinations per 80 words by RAD1253 is not very nativelike. It is in line with the results from Table 1 in Chapter 4, which show that RAD1253 uses more determiner-noun pairs than any of the other writers at this stage. The results do not seem to correspond to the findings of De Haan & Van Esch (2005). RAD1253 is not the most advanced student of this group (see Table 4), but does produce the longest sentences on average in this first assignment. De Haan & Van Esch (2005), however, were also careful to note that occasionally the less advanced students would produce longer sentences due to comma splice errors. Example (61) falls into that category.

Table 7

Mean sentence length and standard deviations for the native writers of LOCNESS and the non-native writers of LONGDALE at yr2t3

YR2T3	Native	RAD1210	RAD1220	RAD1253	RAD1277	RAD1280
	N=18,129	N=827	N=795	N=728	N=684	N=730
Mean sentence	21.69	22.30	18.40	24.20	23.14	22.06
length						
Standard	11.22	8.83	6.22	11.86	10.18	11.18
deviation						

Eighteen months after the first assignment, the results are rather different. All nonnative writers now produce longer sentences, with an average increase of approximately four
words for all students except RAD1220. After adding up the percentage scores for the
categories DT|N and DT|JJ|N in Table 2 (Chapter 4) and comparing those to the results from
Table 1, it can be concluded that there is no unambiguous correspondence between the
production of longer sentences and an increased use of determiner-noun combinations.

RAD1280, for example, uses sentences that are on average 5.37 words longer at yr2t3 than at
yr1t1a, but the average number of determiner-noun combinations goes from 12.2 (8.3 and 3.9,
see Table 1) to 12 (7.3 and 4.7, see Table 2). This means that there is not necessarily a
positive relation between sentence length and the frequency of determiner-noun combinations.
Furthermore, although RAD1280's mean sentence length increases, the student uses fewer
complex noun phrase structures at yr2t3 than at yr1t1a (see Table 5). This is on the one hand
unexpected, because the text type for the second assignment is more academic than for the
first, and, according to De Haan (2015), an academic style of writing is characterised by the
production of more complex noun phrases. It is less surprising on the other hand, since the

qualitative analysis already showed that RAD1280 had not managed to fully adopt the appropriate academic register by the time of the second assignment. At this point, the results from Table 7 still do not correspond to the findings of De Haan & Van Esch (2005). The student who is most advanced in terms of grammatical competency, RAD1277, does not use the longest sentences on average. Instead, it is RAD1253, who had one of the lowest scores on the first diagnostic grammar test and the grammar exam in late 2012 (see Table 4). RAD1253's yr2t3 text still contains some comma splice errors, though, as in examples (62), (63), and (64) below.

- (62) "She breaks the spell, when he gives her what all women want, namely control over their husbands, she rewards him." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (63) "She offers him a choice, she can either be young and probably unfaithful, or old and faithful." (RAD1253, yr2t3)
- (64) "By giving him those two options she manipulates him, both options would lead to an unhappy marriage, either because of the cheating or because of the fact that she is old and ugly." (RAD1253, yr2t3)

The comma splice errors above, and particularly the one in example (64), cause RAD1253's mean sentence length in Table 7 to be higher than it actually would be without the errors. Even after factoring in the comma splice errors, it remains impossible to claim that the more advanced students produce longer sentences. RAD1220 was one of the best students according to the quantitative and qualitative analyses, as well as the grammar exam and diagnostic grammar tests, but produced the shortest sentences on average. Again, however, it is possible that the findings in this study are different from those in De Haan & Van Esch (2005) due to text type, or due to the limited amount of data that could be analysed.

Table 8

Mean sentence length and standard deviations for the native writers of LOCNESS and the non-native writers of LONGDALE at yr3t2

YR3T2	Native	RAD1210	RAD1220	RAD1253	RAD1277	RAD1280
	N=18,129	N=470	N=1,024	N=717	N=422	N=881
Mean sentence	21.69	21.68	22.09	28.96	24.88	28.00
length						
Standard	11.22	9.11	8.87	14.00	8.32	9.57
deviation						

The results in Table 8 show that there is considerable individual variation among the students, the difference between RAD1210 and RAD1253 being approximately 7 words per sentence on average. This difference is interesting, because RAD1253 uses 9.9 determiner-noun combinations on average (6.7 and 3.2, Table 3), whereas RAD1210, whose sentences are shorter, uses 12.3 determiner-noun combinations (8.9 and 3.4, Table 3). This, again, shows that the production of longer sentences does not equal the use of more determiner-noun combinations. The results also indicate that the students' development can be non-linear, since RAD1210's production of relatively shorter sentences at yr3t2 than at yr2t3 does not conform to the general trend of increased mean sentence length.

Table 8 also shows that RAD1220 and especially RAD1210 are incredibly close to the native writers' mean sentence length. RAD1253 and RAD1280, however, use considerably longer sentences, with averages of 28.96 and 28.00 words per sentence. For RAD1280, that means an increased sentence length of 5 words on average, nearly 6 (22.06 at yr2t3 and 28.00 at yr3t2). Although RAD1280's mean sentence length and number of complex noun phrase structures have increased between the second and third assignment, it was shown before that the use of longer sentences does not automatically mean more complex noun phrase structures. Shorter sentences can also contain complex NPs, such as examples (65) and (66) below, which both consist of 22 words yet contain two complex noun phrase structures each.

- (65) "The participants for this research proposal will be a group of 80 Dutch students of English in secondary school (age 12 18)." (RAD1280, yr3t2)
- (66) "Next to the students will be a group of 10 English language teachers and a group of 10 native speakers of English." (RAD1280, yr3t2)

In conclusion, on the basis of the current data it is impossible to say that there is an unambiguous relation between sentence length and the use of determiner-noun combinations. The tables and examples above show that an increased mean sentence length does not automatically imply the use of more determiner-noun combinations, even when taking into consideration the occurrence of comma splice errors. It also proved difficult to establish a connection between mean sentence length and the structural complexity of noun phrases, although it is possible that analysis of a larger amount of data might lead to slightly different results. Finally, there was no direct correspondence between grammatical competency and mean sentence length, as the most advanced students did not produce the longest sentences. The findings by De Haan & Van Esch (2005) could not be replicated with this particular data set, but, again, the analysis of more data could perhaps lead to different results.

There are still a number of problems related to this study. Firstly, the results from the native data differ from the native data in the quantitative analysis by De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), who also used LOCNESS essays as reference material. The native writers' results from both studies are given below in Table 9.

Table 9

Results from the quantitative analysis of LOCNESS data in two comparable studies,
percentage scores

	The current study	De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014)		
	N=18,129	N=47,850		
DT	13.6	11.6		
N	24.9	27.5		
DT N	9.7	7.2		

The results from the quantitative analysis in Chapter 4 would be slightly different if the native norms of De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014) had been used. It would mean that none of the students reach a nativelike distribution of nouns by the time of the third assignment and that they all overuse determiner-noun pairs, except for RAD1253. Due to time constraints, it was impossible for this study to analyse a larger number of native essays. Obviously, a larger data set means that the percentages become more reliable, and the results from De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014) are therefore more representative in general. However, they analysed native American English essays in addition to the British English essays also used for this study. These essays were both literary and non-literary and concerned a variety of topics, which means that they are in fact less representative of the native British English academic norm that is used for reference in this study.

Secondly, the relatively limited scale of this research also did not allow for the analysis of more non-native data. Further research is needed to find out, for example, what caused RAD1220 and RAD1277 to become more nativelike between the first and second assignment, and why the other three students only reached a more nativelike distribution after yr2t3. The analysis of two to three texts per student per year should be enough to track their development even more closely. It is true that the time lapses between the three tasks in this study are uneven, i.e. 18 months between yr1t1a and yr2t3 and 6 months between yr2t3 and yr3t2. According to Ortega (2003), having a smaller time lapse between tasks means that syntactic development is less likely to be visible. The qualitative results and certainly the

quantitative results, nonetheless, show great individual progress towards nativelikeness between the second and third assignment, perhaps even more than between the first and second assignment. The uneven time lapses between the tasks are therefore not considered to have affected the results, but the recommendation for future research remains to analyse more data per student per year.

Another issue that should be taken into account is the influence of text type and prompts on the results. The prompt for the first assignment was to write about the steps first-year students can take to become more successful in college. This led the students to assume an expert's point-of-view and address their readers in the second person singular or plural, which is at least one of the reasons why the non-native writers used such large quantities of personal pronouns at yrltla. It is likely that these numbers would be lower if the prompt for the first assignment was to write an academic essay. It should also be noted that the texts produced at yrltla were timed, in-class assignments. The other two assignments were untimed take-home exams and research proposals. If the aim is to have a fair comparison of advanced Dutch students of English to native English students, it would be ideal to control for text type and the time allowed for each task in future research.

One limitation of this study is that the data concerning the students' grammatical competency were incomplete. That is, the scores for RAD1253 and RAD1280 on the second diagnostic grammar test were missing from the LONGDALE-NL database, either because the students did not complete this test or because the data simply were not entered into the file. There were also no grammatical competency scores available from the students' third year. For a more thorough investigation of the relation between grammatical competency and the use of determiner-noun combinations, future studies should ideally report grammatical competency scores for all students. It would be best to have these grammar exams take place around the same time as every data collection moment, so that the results are most representative of the student's grammatical competency at that point in time.

Due to time constraints, it was unfortunately not possible to analyse the structural complexity of noun phrases in all the students' texts. The results from the analysis of RAD1280's texts did not confirm the hypothesis that the use of more structurally complex noun phrases corresponds directly with the production of determiner-noun pairs. It is possible that this hypothesis would have been confirmed if a larger data set had been used. Related to this is the category of compound or unmodified nouns, which remains a rather broad category. A recommendation for future research is that this category be split in two, compound nouns on the one hand and unmodified nouns on the other. That way, it becomes possible to

investigate, for example, if there is a relation between the increased use of compound nouns and the use of more complex noun phrase structures. Based on the results in Tables 2, 3, and 5, it is possible that these are related, because RAD1280's percentage of compound or unmodified nouns rises from 4 to 11.4 per 100 words between the second and third assignment, which is also when the student begins to use more noun phrases that have complex structures. More research is necessary to determine whether this is a common development also found in comparable advanced EFL writing.

Future research could also consist of a replication of the current study, but with advanced EFL writers (students of English, ideally) that have a first language that is not Dutch. Denmark and Sweden are in the top three of the 2017 English Proficiency Index, and are therefore ideal candidates (Education First, 2017). By using the same set-up as this study, but perhaps using a larger data set, it then becomes possible to compare the Dutch and Danish or Swedish EFL writers' developmental patterns. That is not to say that the current study's method is the best way to analyse EFL writing. It is mostly for comparative purposes that a replication of this study with another L2 is recommended. Such a study would also be more comprehensive, because it allows for an L2 vs. L2 comparison, in addition to L1 vs. L2, within-subject, and between-subject comparisons.

Finally, there were some issues with the part-of-speech tagger, which necessitated manual post-editing of the complete data set. Grant & Ginther (2000), who also studied learner essays that had been tagged by a computerised tagging program, ran into similar problems and they, too, resorted to re-editing their data by hand. Although the Stanford NLP studio tagger is efficient and user-friendly, the tagged output (see Appendices I-IV) still contained a large number of mistakes. For example, words like *English* and *French* that can be used either as adjectives or nouns were frequently assigned the wrong labels.

- (67a) "For a general comparison between the French & English systems we can start with the primary schools." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0016.1)
- (67b) "For_IN a_DT general_JJ comparison_NN between_IN the_DT French_NNP &_CC English_NNP systems_NNS we_PRP can_MD start_VB with_IN the_DT primary_JJ schools_NNS ._." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0016.1)
- (68a) "There is relatively little selection in French universities, especially when you compare it with the British system of required grades and interviews." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0016.1)
- (68b) "There_EX is_VBZ relatively_RB little_JJ selection_NN in_IN French_JJ universities_NNS ,_, especially_RB when_WRB you_PRP compare_VBP it_PRP

with_IN the_DT British_JJ system_NN of_IN required_JJ grades_NNS and_CC interviews_NNS ._." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0016.1)

In example (67a), *French* and *English* are attributive adjectives, but are tagged in (67b) as proper nouns (see Appendix V). This is in contrast with French and British in example (68a) and (68b), where the part-of-speech tagger did assign the right labels. However, *little*, which is a degree determinative in the sentence in (68a), is also tagged as an attributive adjective. A similar error occurred with *little*, which is correctly assigned a JJ-tag in example (69b), but incorrectly in example (70b) where it functions as a determiner.

- (69a) "Employers were wary of unions, so the state had to act as an intermediary between the two sides to develop a little dialogue between them."
 (ICLE-BR-SUR-0023.1)
- (69b) "Employers_NNS were_VBD wary_JJ of_IN unions_NNS ,_, so_IN the_DT state_NN had_VBD to_TO act_VB as_IN an_DT intermediary_JJ between_IN the_DT two_CD sides_NNS to_TO develop_VB a_DT little_JJ dialogue_NN between_IN them_PRP ._." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0023.1)
- (70a) "Most corpuses are based on advanced language learners or translators, but little research is focused on the translations of less advanced translators." (RAD1253, yr3t2) (70b) "Most_JJS corpuses_NNS are_VBP based_VBN on_IN advanced_JJ language_NN learners_NNS or_CC translators_NNS ,_, but_CC little_JJ research_NN is_VBZ focused_VBN on_IN the_DT translations_NNS of_IN less_JJR advanced_JJ translators_NNS ._." (RAD1253, yr3t2)

The tagged output also contained instances of demonstrative pronoun *this* tagged as a determiner, as in example (71) below.

- (71a) "I might have to get some help from the students to transcribe this accurately." (RAD1220, yr3t2)
- (71b) "I_PRP might_MD have_VB to_TO get_VB some_DT help_NN from_IN the_DT students_NNS to_TO transcribe_VB this_DT accurately_RB ._." (RAD1220, yr3t2)

Manual post-editing of the tagged data was necessary, because the part-of-speech tagger did not identify all determiners (e.g. *little* in (70)), and, conversely, identified words as determiners when they were not (e.g. *this* in (71)). The tagger also did not recognise subject-determiners as determiners, such as *Fouchet's* in example (72).

(72a) "There was not great reform of secondary education after the events of May 1968 but by the early 70's it was realized that Fouchet's reforms of 1963 were still not good enough." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0033.1)

(72b) "There_EX was_VBD not_RB great_JJ reform_NN of_IN secondary_JJ education_NN after_IN the_DT events_NNS of_IN May_NNP 1968_CD but_CC by_IN the_DT early_JJ 70_CD 's_POS it_PRP was_VBD realized_VBN that_IN Fouchet_NN 's_POS reforms_NNS of_IN 1963_CD were_VBD still_RB not_RB good_JJ enough_RB ._." (ICLE-BR-SUR-0033.1)

The final recommendation for future research is therefore to use a more sophisticated part-of-speech tagger, which makes it possible to analyse more data and makes the quantitative analysis more efficient.

The findings of this research have pedagogical implications. First-year writing courses should pay more attention to register and the appropriate use of personal pronouns in academic writing. If the advanced Dutch students of English are made aware of this at an early stage, it is likely that their first-year texts will become more nativelike in terms of quantity and quality of determiner-noun use. A replication of this study could then be used to show that the new cohorts are closer to native writing at an earlier stage.

6. Conclusion

This study investigated the relation between the use of determiner-noun pairs and grammatical competency in advanced Dutch EFL writing. Based on previous longitudinal studies into syntactic development in non-native writing, the hypothesis was that the Dutch students would use fewer determiner-noun pairs on average than native English writers in the first year. Then, as the students learnt more about grammar and academic writing, their distribution would gradually become more nativelike in terms of quantity and quality, and their writing would come to contain more complex noun phrase structures. This increase in structural complexity would involve the use of more determiners and nouns, as they are the building blocks of noun phrases. This was based on findings by De Haan & Van der Haagen (2014), De Haan (2015), and De Haan (2016).

The results from the quantitative analysis indicated that this hypothesis was true to some extent, i.e. most students produced fewer determiner-noun pairs than native writers at the time of the first assignment. However, the quantitative analysis failed to show that the students had a nativelike distribution of determiner-noun pairs by the time of the third assignment. In terms of quantity, the average number of nouns was a better indicator of grammatical competency than determiner-noun scores. This is because as students become more advanced, their writing becomes more sophisticated and starts to contain more structurally complex noun phrases, as shown in Table 5 for RAD1280. However, it was not possible on the basis of this study's findings to confirm a relation between mean sentence length and the use of determiner-noun combinations, or between mean sentence length and structural complexity of noun phrases.

The qualitative analysis consisted of comparisons between LONGDALE-NL and LOCNESS data, comparisons between students, and comparisons at the individual level to show a student's development over time. The results revealed a discrepancy between the quantitative and qualitative analysis. RAD1220, who had the least nativelike quantitative distribution at yr1t1a, produced a well-written, almost error-free text. RAD1253's yr1t1a text was more nativelike in terms of quantity than RAD1220's, but the qualitative analysis showed that this text contained more grammatical errors and was less coherent. The qualitative analysis furthermore revealed that RAD1220 and RAD1270 were comparable to native writers by year two in terms of personal pronoun use, whereas the other three students only reached that level by the final year of their BA degree course. The pedagogical implications of this research are therefore that first-year writing classes should pay more attention to the explanation of academic register and the appropriate use of personal pronouns. Once the

students' texts are free of personal pronouns, their distribution of determiners and nouns comes to resemble native academic writing.

In general, the students became more nativelike over the three-year period and started to produce longer sentences, although individual development varied to a large extent. As mentioned earlier, some students proved to develop at a faster rate than others. This means that it is not right and in fact impossible to make generalising statements when reporting data from one or more cohorts, because every student has a unique developmental trajectory.

The results from this study failed to show an unambiguous correspondence between the students' grammatical competency and the nativelikeness of their determiner-noun use. For two students the hypothesis appeared to hold: RAD1220 and RAD1277 were considered most grammatically competent and produced texts that were nativelike in terms of quality and quantity of determiner-noun pairs. For other students, such as RAD1280, there was no such relation between grammatical competency and determiner-noun use. RAD1280 performed poorly on the measures for grammatical competency, but this was not reflected in the student's writing. More detailed research of within-subject development is required in order to explain the differences between the students' different rates of development.

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RAD1210

There_EX you_PRP are_VBP ... You_PRP have_VBP made_VBN the_DT transition_NN from IN elementary JJ school NN to TO university NN. . There EX really RB is VBZ no_DT way_NN around_IN it_PRP ,_, you_PRP now_RB are_VBP a_DT member_NN of IN the DT intellectual JJ elite NN of IN your PRP\$ country NN, , and CC that IN position_NN is_VBZ a_DT small_JJ burden_NN to_TO bear_VB ._. Not_RB just_RB because_IN you_PRP are_VBP expected_VBN to_TO perform_VB exceptionally_RB well_RB at_IN your_PRP\$ specific_JJ subject_NN of_IN study_NN ,_, you_PRP are_VBP also_RB obliged_VBN to_TO reach_VB that_DT high_JJ level_NN of_IN success_NN on_IN your_PRP\$ own_JJ ._. It_PRP is_VBZ understandable_JJ that_IN such_PDT a_DT task NN ahead RB may MD cause VB some DT stress NN and CC perhaps RB even RB panic_VB among_IN freshmen_NNS ._. Luckily_RB ,_, there_EX are_VBP a_DT few_JJ basic JJ steps NNS every DT new JJ student NN can MD take VB in RP order NN to_TO enlarge_VB the_DT chance_NN of_IN succeeding_VBG ._. This_DT short_JJ essay_NN argues_VBZ three_CD of_IN these_DT steps_NNS ,_, hoping_VBG to_TO provide_VB some_DT comfort_NN to_TO those_DT in_IN need_NN of_IN guidance_NN ._. Although_IN elementary_JJ school_NN probably_RB gave_VBD you_PRP the_DT opportunity_NN to_TO lay_VB back_RB once_RB a_DT while_NN ,_, university_NN really_RB does_VBZ not_RB have_VB any_DT room_NN for_IN that_DT behaviour_NN anymore_RB ._. Before_IN you_PRP were_VBD a_DT member_NN of_IN a_DT group_NN , , you PRP were VBD pretty RB much JJ always RB told VBD what WP to TO do VB ._. Perhaps_RB one_CD of_IN the_DT most_RBS important_JJ things_NNS to_TO remember_VB is_VBZ that_IN in_IN university_NN you_PRP are_VBP in_IN fact_NN an DT individual NN. . That DT means VBZ that IN you PRP yourself PRP are VBP responsible_JJ for_IN the_DT success_NN you_PRP have_VBP within_IN your_PRP\$ study_NN ._. You_PRP can_MD contact_VB lecturers_NNS or_CC other_JJ members_NNS of_IN the_DT staff_NN to_TO ensure_VB you_PRP always_RB know_VBP what_WP is_VBZ going_VBG on_RP ,_, what_WP needs_VBZ to_TO be_VB handed_VBN in_IN and_CC what_WP is_VBZ expected_VBN of_IN you_PRP ._. Do_VB not_RB wait_VB around_IN passively_RB for_IN things_NNS to_TO come_VB your_PRP\$ way_NN ,_, take VB matters NNS into IN your PRP\$ own JJ hands NNS and CC you PRP will MD find_VB things_NNS will_MD go_VB much_JJ smoother_JJR ._. Studying_VBG in_IN your PRP\$ spare JJ time NN is VBZ of IN the DT upmost NN importance NN...

Do_VB not_RB forget_VB though_RB ,_, relaxation_NN is_VBZ also_RB a_DT big_JJ part_NN of_IN your_PRP\$ everyday_JJ life_NN ._. Try_VB to_TO cooperate_VB some_DT spare_JJ time_NN into_IN your_PRP\$ planning_NN ._. Provide_VB yourself_PRP with_IN stress-free JJ periods NNS . . Plan NN to TO have VB a DT relaxing NN warm JJ bath_NN every_DT Friday_NNP ,_, get_VB yourself_PRP a_DT new_JJ magazine_NN every DT Thursday NNP and CC promise VBP yourself PRP Sunday NNP morning NN is_VBZ to_TO be_VB spend_VB with_IN friends_NNS ._. This_DT way_NN you_PRP will_MD ensure_VB you_PRP are_VBP not_RB overworking_VBG yourself_PRP ,_, you_PRP will_MD be_VB able_JJ to_TO keep_VB up_RP a_DT steady_JJ pace_NN of_IN studying_VBG for_IN a_DT longer_JJR period_NN of_IN time_NN ._. If_IN you_PRP neglect_NN spare_JJ time_NN ,_, you_PRP may_MD find_VB yourself_PRP used_VBN up RP before IN your PRP\$ freshmen NNS year NN has VBZ even RB started VBN... In_IN extend_VB to_TO the_DT first_JJ tip_NN about_IN active_JJ participation_NN;_: there_EX is_VBZ another_DT tip_NN to_TO keep_VB in_IN mind_NN ._. Do_VB never_RB procrastinate_VBP ._. It_PRP is_VBZ as_IN simple_JJ as_IN that_DT ._. If_IN you_PRP have_VBP the_DT time_NN to_TO get_VB some_DT work_NN done_VBN ,_, do_VBP get_VB some_DT work_NN done_VBN ,_, do_VBP not_RB indulge_VB yourself_PRP in_IN useless_JJ activities_NNS with_IN the_DT excuse_NN that_IN you_PRP have_VBP some_DT time_NN to_TO do_VB things_NNS later_RB ._. Procrastination NN will MD in IN the DT end NN always RB bring VBP forth RB more_RBR stress_NN and_CC more_JJR negative_JJ energy_NN ._. Again_RB ,_, take_VB matters NNS into IN your PRP\$ own JJ hands NNS,, and CC use VB time NN wisely_RB ._. The_DT transition_NN from_IN elementary_JJ school_NN to_TO university_NN is_VBZ a_DT huge_JJ one_CD ,_, frightening_JJ maybe_RB ._. Keep_VB in IN mind NN that WDT millions NNS of IN students NNS before IN you PRP have_VBP done_VBN ,_, why_WRB could_MD not_RB you_PRP do_VBP it_PRP too_RB ?_. Keep_VB these_DT basic_JJ steps_NNS in_IN the_DT back_NN of_IN your_PRP\$ head_NN:_: do_VB not_RB procrastinate_VB ,_, plan_VBP yourself_PRP some_DT spare_JJ time_NN and_CC most_JJS of_IN all_DT ,_, take_VB matters_NNS into_IN your_PRP\$ own_JJ hands_NNS ._. Those_DT steps_NNS combined_VBN with_IN a_DT healthy_JJ dose_NN of_IN curiosity_NN ,_, intelligence_NN and_CC motivation_NN will_MD get_VB you_PRP towards_IN a_DT successful_JJ study_NN ._.

RAD1220

University_NNP differs_VBZ a_DT lot_NN from_IN secondary_JJ school_NN and_CC because_IN of_IN that_IN it_PRP needs_VBZ a_DT whole_JJ new_JJ approach_NN on_IN how WRB to TO handle VB with IN schoolwork NN. . Homework NN at IN university_NN is_VBZ not_RB something_NN you_PRP should_MD take_VB lightly_RB , , but CC not RB to TO worry VB . . Just RB follow VB these DT steps NNS and CC you_PRP will_MD be_VB successful_JJ in_IN your_PRP\$ first_JJ year_NN ._. The_DT first_JJ thing_NN you_PRP have_VBP to_TO make_VB sure_JJ is_VBZ that_IN you_PRP are VBP thoroughly RB organised VBN.. This DT means VBZ you PRP need VBP to_TO get_VB a_DT diary_NN and_CC use_VB it_PRP properly_RB ._. Write_VB down_RP every_DT single_JJ course_NN you_PRP take_VBP ._. If_IN you_PRP are_VBP not_RB fond_JJ of_IN paper_NN diaries_NNS , _, use_VB your_PRP\$ phone_NN to_TO help_VB remind_VB you_PRP of_IN your_PRP\$ courses_NNS ._. By_IN doing_VBG this DT you PRP will MD never RB miss VB a DT class NN. . The DT workload NN at_IN university_NN will_MD be_VB a_DT lot_NN more_JJR than_IN you_PRP were_VBD used_VBN to_TO in_IN secondary_JJ school_NN ._. In_IN order_NN to_TO not_RB succumb_VB under_IN this_DT ,_, and_CC to_TO not_RB get_VB a_DT nervous_JJ breakdown_NN because_IN of_IN it_PRP ,_, you_PRP need_VBP to_TO carefully_RB plan_VB everything_NN ._. Do_VB not_RB do_VB everything_NN at_IN once RB but CC spread VB your PRP\$ workload NN over IN the DT entire JJ week NN ,_, and_CC alternate_JJ reading_NN with_IN making_VBG exercises_NNS ._. Your_PRP\$ brain NN needs VBZ some DT time NN to TO rest NN, , too RB, , every DT now RB and_CC then_RB ._. So_RB make_VB sure_JJ you_PRP schedule_VBP some_DT breaks NNS during IN your PRP\$ homework NN as RB well RB. . Attendance NN is VBZ very RB important JJ at IN university NN. . Every DT lecture NN is VBZ crucial_JJ and_CC you_PRP can_MD not_RB afford_VB to_TO miss_VB more_JJR than_IN one_CD or_CC two_CD lectures_VBZ during_IN one_CD period_NN ._. Just_RB being_VBG there_EX is_VBZ not_RB going_VBG to_TO get_VB you_PRP a_DT good_JJ grade_NN either_CC , _, you_PRP need_VBP to_TO be_VB active_JJ in_IN class_NN and CC come VB well RB prepared VBN. . It PRP is VBZ no DT use NN coming_VBG to_TO class_NN when_WRB you_PRP did_VBD not_RB read_VB the_DT texts NNS, , did VBD not RB do VB your PRP\$ homework NN or CC even RB did_VBD not_RB bring_VB the_DT right_JJ books_NNS with_IN you_PRP ._. Preparation NN and CC active JJ participation NN in IN class NN is VBZ key JJ...

Your_PRP\$ fellow_JJ students_NNS go_VBP through_IN the_DT same_JJ things_NNS as_IN you_PRP do_VBP and_CC it_PRP can_MD be_VB very_RB useful_JJ to_TO work_VB together_RB ._. You_PRP can_MD help_VB each_DT other_JJ with_IN exercises_NNS or_CC difficult_JJ texts_NNS ._. If_IN there_EX is_VBZ something_NN that_IN you_PRP could_MD not_RB get_VB your_PRP\$ head_NN around_IN ,_, they_PRP can_MD help_VB you_PRP ._. It_PRP is_VBZ also_RB a_DT lot_NN more_JJR fun_NN to_TO work_VB together_RB on_IN an_DT exercise_NN ,_, but_CC do_VBP make_VB sure_JJ it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB all_DT fun_NN and_CC games_NNS and_CC that_IN you_PRP get_VBP some_DT actual_JJ work_NN done_VBN ._. At_IN first_RB ,_, university_NN is_VBZ very_RB scary_JJ ,_, but_CC it_PRP all_PDT a_DT matter_NN of_IN getting_VBG used_VBN to_TO the_DT new_JJ regime_NN ._. It_PRP is_VBZ all_DT up_IN to_TO yourself_PRP if_IN you_PRP want_VBP to_TO be_VB successful_JJ at_IN university_NN ,_, but_CC if_IN you_PRP enjoy_VBP it_PRP ,_, it_PRP will_MD not RB be VB a DT problem NN to TO be VB successful JJ . .

RAD1253

When_WRB going_VBG to_TO college_NN there_EX is_VBZ one_CD thing_NN all_DT students_NNS want_VBP ,_, which_WDT is_VBZ to_TO graduate_VB ._. Though_IN not_RB all_DT students_NNS will_MD be_VB able_JJ to_TO graduate_VB ;_: might_MD be VB because IN they PRP have VBP a DT lack NN of IN discipline NN, might MD be_VB because_IN the_DT level_NN of_IN education_NN is_VBZ simply_RB too_RB high JJ. . In IN most JJS cases NNS the DT student NN can MD determine VB whether_IN or_CC not_RB he_PRP or_CC she_PRP will_MD graduate_VB ._. To_TO become_VB a_DT successful_JJ student_NN you_PRP have_VBP to_TO take_VB certain_JJ steps NNS that WDT will MD lead VB them PRP to TO their PRP\$ goal NN of IN graduating_VBG college_NN ._. The_DT first_JJ step_NN a_DT student_NN could_MD take_VB is_VBZ to_TO come_VB to_TO all_DT of_IN their_PRP\$ classes_NNS ._. Students_NNS have_VBP to_TO come_VB to_TO class_NN for_IN multiple_JJ reasons_NNS ._. The_DT first_JJ of_IN all_DT is_VBZ that_IN you_PRP have_VBP to_TO have_VB an_DT minimum_NN attendance_NN of_IN eighty_CD per_IN cent_NN ._. When_WRB students_NNS are_VBP les_FW attendant_JJ than_IN eight_CD per_IN cent_NN ,_, but_CC more_JJR than_IN fifty_CD per_IN cent_NN ,_, the_DT student_NN is_VBZ not_RB allowed_VBN to_TO have_VB a_DT second_JJ chance_NN of_IN doing_VBG the_DT examination_NN ._. When_WRB attendant_JJ less_JJR than_IN

fifty_CD per_IN cent_NN ,_, the_DT student_NN is_VBZ not_RB allowed_VBN to_TO do_VB the_DT examination_NN ._. Another_DT reason_NN is_VBZ that_IN in_IN class_NN the_DT teachers_NNS explain_VBP and_CC give_VBP more_JJR detailed_JJ information NN about IN what WP is VBZ in IN the DT books NNS.. This DT is_VBZ even_RB more_RBR important_JJ for_IN students_NNS who_WP are_VBP n't_RB that DT good JJ in IN studying VBG individually RB and CC for IN students NNS who_WP do_VBP not_RB really_RB understand_VB all_DT aspects_NNS of_IN the_DT subjects_NNS in_IN their_PRP\$ books_NNS ._. Students_NNS that_WDT do_VBP not_RB understand_VB the_DT topics_NNS of_IN their_PRP\$ classes_NNS will_MD not_RB be_VB able_JJ to_TO pass_VB their_PRP\$ exams_NNS ._. The_DT second_JJ step_NN is_VBZ to_TO know_VB and_CC understand_VB the_DT course_NN material_NN ._. It PRP is VBZ not RB possible JJ to TO pass VB an DT exam NN without IN even RB knowing_VBG anything_NN about_IN the_DT subject_NN ._. Therefor_RB it_PRP is_VBZ really RB important JJ to TO understand VB the DT information NN. . Read VB the_DT information_NN multiple_JJ times_NNS and_CC summarize_VB the_DT text_NN ,_, know_VBP what_WP is_VBZ important_JJ and_CC know_VB what_WP is_VBZ not_RB ._. The_DT more_JJR a_DT student_NN tries_VBZ to_TO understand_VB what_WP is_VBZ really_RB meant_VBN in_IN the_DT text_NN the_DT easier_JJR that_IN student_NN gets_VBZ a_DT high_JJ grade_NN ._. The_DT third_JJ step_NN a_DT student_NN should_MD take_VB is_VBZ to_TO simply_RB do_VB their_PRP\$ assignments_NNS ._. Again_RB there_EX are_VBP more_RBR reasons_NNS why_WRB a DT student NN should MD make VB their PRP\$ assignments NNS.. To TO start VB with_IN the_DT reason_NN that_IN an_DT assignment_NN shows_VBZ whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT course_NN material_NN has_VBZ been_VBN understood_VBN ._. And CC when WRB it PRP has VBZ not RB been VBN understood VBN a DT student_NN should_MD repeat_VB the_DT information_NN until_IN understood_VBN ._. Another_DT reason_NN is_VBZ that_IN repetition_NN helps_VBZ to_TO take_VB all_PDT the_DT information_NN to_TO you_PRP ._. Assignments_NNS are_VBP important_JJ preparations_NNS for_IN the_DT exams_NNS ,_, they_PRP give_VBP you_PRP an_DT example_NN of_IN what_WP to_TO expect_VB at_IN least_JJS in_IN an_DT exam_NN . . . So_RB in_IN order_NN for_IN a_DT student_NN to_TO graduate_VB from_IN college_NN the_DT student_NN has_VBZ to_TO take_VB the_DT following_VBG steps_NNS;_: come_VBN to_TO the_DT classes_NNS so_IN the_DT student_NN is_VBZ allowed VBN to TO take VB the DT exams NNS and CC gets VBZ more RBR

detailed_JJ information_NN and_CC better_JJR explanation_NN about_IN the_DT course_NN material_NN ,_, understand_VB and_CC know_VB the_DT information_NN in_IN order_NN to_TO pass_VB the_DT exams_NNS and_CC make_VB the_DT exercises_NNS to_TO know_VB whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT information_NN has_VBZ been_VBN understood_VBN and_CC to_TO give_VB an_DT example_NN of_IN what_WP could_MD be_VB in_IN an_DT exam_NN ._.

RAD1277

Being_VBG a_DT first-year_JJ student_NN myself_PRP ,_, I_PRP know_VBP the_DT first_JJ weeks_NNS in_IN college_NN can_MD be_VB difficult_JJ ._. Everything_NN on_IN campus_NN is_VBZ new_JJ to_TO you_PRP :_: the_DT fellow_JJ students_NNS ,_, professors_NNS,_, grand_JJ lecture-rooms_NNS,_, and_CC let_VB 's_PRP not_RB forget_VB the_DT vast_JJ amount_NN of_IN assignments_NNS for_IN every_DT class_NN ._. On_IN top_NN of_IN that_DT ,_, you_PRP need_VBP to_TO start_VB doing_VBG your_PRP\$ own_JJ grocery_NN shopping_NN ,_, laundry_NN ,_, dishes_NNS ,_, and_CC unfortunately_RB ,_, your_PRP\$ room_NN is_VBZ not_RB going_VBG to_TO tidy_VB itself_PRP ._. At_IN first_RB ,_, this_DT whole_JJ new_JJ life_NN can_MD be_VB tricky_JJ ._. Do_VB not_RB worry_VB ,_, though_RB ,_, my_PRP\$ dear_RB freshmen_NNS,_, because_IN first-year_JJ students_NNS can_MD take_VB specific_JJ steps NNS to TO make VB sure JJ that IN they PRP are VBP successful JJ in IN college_NN ._. First_NNP of_IN all_DT ,_, I_PRP would_MD like_VB to_TO emphasise VB the DT importance NN of IN lecture-attendance NN. . How WRB do_VBP you_PRP expect_VB to_TO pass_VB those_DT tests_NNS when_WRB you_PRP have_VBP not_RB been_VBN to_TO one_CD single_JJ lecture_NN ?_. You_PRP may_MD have VB excelled VBN in IN English NNP at IN secondary JJ school NN, , but CC university_NN standards_NNS are_VBP much_RB higher_JJR ._. So_RB please_VB ,_, do_VB yourself_PRP a_DT favour_NN and_CC listen_VB attentively_RB to_TO what_WP your_PRP\$ professors_NNS have_VBP to_TO say_VB ._. Secondly_RB ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB a_DT bad_JJ idea_NN to_TO complete_VB the_DT assignments_NNS you_PRP are VBP given VBN, , for IN they PRP often RB contain VBP a DT hint NN of IN test_NN subject-matter_NN ._. By_IN doing_VBG these_DT exercises_NNS ,_, you_PRP will MD get VB acquainted VBN with IN the DT peculiarities NNS of IN the DT subject_NN in_IN question_NN ._. This_DT will_MD save_VB you_PRP time_NN when_WRB in_IN the_DT process_NN of_IN cramming_VBG all_PDT the_DT need-toknow_JJ information_NN inside_IN your_PRP\$ head_NN ,_, a_DT phenomenon_NN also_RB known_VBN as_IN studying_VBG ._. In_IN the_DT third_JJ place_NN ,_, I_PRP would_MD like_VB to_TO warn_VB you_PRP against_IN the_DT consequences_NNS of_IN the_DT adage_NN `_`` Work_NN hard_RB ,_, play_VBP harder_JJR '_" ._. Although_IN partying_VBG is_VBZ a_DT lot_NN of_IN fun_NN ,_, and_CC definitely_RB part_NN of_IN the_DT university_NN life_NN experience_NN ,_, the_DT study_NN load_NN should_MD not_RB be_VB underestimated_VBN ._. To_TO go_VB out_RP the_DT night_NN before_IN an_DT important_JJ exam_NN is_VBZ never_RB a_DT wise_JJ decision_NN ,_, keep_VB that_DT in_IN mind_NN ._. In_IN conclusion_NN ,_, go_VB to_TO class_NN ,_, finish_VB your_PRP\$ assignments_NNS and_CC pass_VB the_DT tests_NNS by_IN studying_VBG diligently_RB ._. That_DT way_NN ,_, you_PRP will_MD make_VB your_PRP\$ mother_NN proud_NN of_IN you_PRP ,_, and_CC you_PRP wo_MD n't_RB have_VB to_TO take_VB the_DT resits_NNS ,_, which_WDT saves_VBZ you_PRP a_DT lot_NN of_IN time_NN ._. Congratulations_NNS ,_, you_PRP have_VBP just_RB killed_VBN two_CD birds_NNS with_IN one_CD stone_NN ._.

RAD1280

The_DT first_JJ year_NN of_IN going_VBG to_TO university_NN is_VBZ a_DT fun_NN and_CC most_JJS of_IN all_DT scary_JJ year_NN ._. All_PDT these_DT new_JJ impressions_NNS ,_, new_JJ friends_NNS ,_, new_JJ courses_NNS and_CC new_JJ teachers_NNS may_MD look_VB scary_JJ but_CC actually_RB they_PRP are_VBP not_RB that_IN bad_JJ ._. In_IN fact_NN ,_, making_VBG a_DT fresh_JJ start_NN is_VBZ an_DT opportunity_NN that_WDT must_MD be_VB taken_VBN seriously_RB ._. In_IN the_DT end_NN ,_, everybody_NN is_VBZ there_RB to_TO help_VB one_CD another_DT ._. However RB, , if IN you PRP are VBP truly RB terrified VBN by IN the DT idea NN of_IN your_PRP\$ first_JJ year_NN in_IN university_NN ,_, there_EX are_VBP some_DT few_JJ basic_JJ steps_NNS to_TO make_VB even_RB your_PRP\$ -LRB-_-LRB- worst_JJS imaginable_JJ -RRB-_-RRB- year_NN to_TO a_DT successful_JJ one_CD ._. Firstly_RB ,_, remember_VBP that_IN this_DT is_VBZ the_DT first_JJ year_NN of_IN all_DT of_IN your_PRP\$ classmates_NNS ._. Everybody_NN is_VBZ nervous_JJ about_IN making_VBG new_JJ friends_NNS and_CC hoping_VBG for_IN acceptance_NN within_IN the_DT class_NN ._. Be_VB aware_JJ of_IN your_PRP\$ classmates_NNS and_CC find_VB topics_NNS which_WDT relates_VBZ to_TO other_JJ classmates_NNS ._. This_DT will MD help VB you PRP to TO find VB a DT way NN to TO start VB a DT

conversation NN. . For IN example NN, , since IN this DT is VBZ all DT your PRP\$ first_JJ year_NN ,_, you_PRP could_MD talk_VB about_IN the_DT expectations_NNS of_IN the_DT courses_NNS you_PRP will_MD be_VB attending_VBG together_RB ._. Having VBG friends NNS within IN your PRP\$ class NN is VBZ one CD of IN the DT keys_NNS in_IN making_VBG your_PRP\$ year_NN successful_JJ ._. Students_NNS can MD help VB each DT other JJ when WRB they PRP are VBP facing VBG problems_NNS ,_, this_DT will_MD make_VB your_PRP\$ year_NN much_RB easier_JJR ._. Secondly_RB ,_, the_DT courses_NNS that_IN you_PRP will_MD be_VB attending_VBG ,_, are_VBP all_DT very_RB interesting_JJ ._. Think_VB about_IN those_DT courses_NNS in_IN a_DT positive_JJ way_NN and_CC make_VB sure_JJ that_IN you_PRP come_VBP well-prepared_JJ to_TO the_DT course_NN ._. Finish_VB your_PRP\$ homework NN in IN time NN and CC be VB active JJ when WRB you PRP are VBP discussing_VBG homework_NN ... You_PRP should_MD have_VB the_DT right_JJ books NNS and CC bring VB them PRP to TO class NN if IN necessary JJ. . You PRP are_VBP not_RB taking_VBG this_DT course_NN nor_CC the_DT teacher_NN seriously_RB when_WRB you_PRP come_VBP to_TO class_NN unprepared_JJ ._. Studying_VBG the_DT chapters_NNS and_CC making_VBG your_PRP\$ homework_NN makes_VBZ you_PRP understand_VBP the_DT courses_NNS better_JJR and_CC it_PRP will_MD improve_VB your_PRP\$ skills_NNS ._. Even_RB when_WRB you_PRP already_RB know_VBP something_NN ,_, more_JJR practice_NN will_MD only_RB make_VB you_PRP better_RBR ._. Thirdly_RB ,_, you_PRP have_VBP chosen_VBN to TO attend VB this DT course NN. . In IN a DT way NN you PRP are VBP saying_VBG that_IN this_DT is_VBZ where_WRB your_PRP\$ interest_NN is_VBZ in_IN ._. Normally_RB ,_, you_PRP should_MD be_VB interested_JJ in_IN most_JJS of_IN the DT subjects NNS you PRP will MD be VB following VBG and CC if IN this DT is_VBZ not_RB the_DT case_NN you_PRP should_MD ask_VB yourself_PRP whether IN you_PRP have_VBP chosen_VBN the_DT right_JJ educational_JJ programme_NN ._. When_WRB you_PRP find_VBP you_PRP are_VBP in_IN the_DT wrong_JJ courses_NNS ,_, please_VB contact_VB your_PRP\$ study_NN advisor_NN and_CC discuss_VB with_IN him PRP what WP the DT possibilities NNS are VBP. There EX are VBP a DT lot_NN of_IN ways_NNS to_TO come_VB to_TO a_DT solution_NN ,_, when_WRB you_PRP just_RB tell_VBP people_NNS what_WP is_VBZ on_IN your_PRP\$ mind_NN ._. To_TO sum_VB up_RP,_, there_EX are_VBP three_CD key_JJ elements_NNS in_IN making_VBG your_PRP\$ year_NN successful_JJ ._. Stick_NNP to_TO the_DT points_NNS

above_IN and_CC as_IN one_NN might_MD expect_VB ,_, your_PRP\$ first_JJ year_NN will_MD be_VB very_RB successful_JJ one_CD ._.

RAD1210

Geoffrey NNP Chaucer NNP is VBZ perhaps RB the DT most RBS famous JJ Middle_NN English_NNP writer_NN we_PRP know_VBP ._. His_PRP\$ Canterbury_NNP Tales NNS are VBP still RB an DT academic JJ source NN of IN information NN about_IN Middle_NNP English_NNP and_CC about_IN Britain_NNP in_IN and_CC around_IN the_DT middle_JJ ages_NNS ._. Some_DT of_IN his_PRP\$ tales_NNS give_VBP the_DT people_NNS reason_NN for_IN discussion_NN ,_, one_CD of_IN those_DT is_VBZ The_DT Wife_NN of_IN Bath_NN ._. This_DT particular_JJ tale_NN tells_VBZ the_DT story_NN of_IN a_DT knight_NN of_IN the_DT round_NN table_NN ._. He PRP rapes VBZ a DT young JJ girl NN in IN field NN of IN grain NN and CC that_DT means_VBZ that_IN he_PRP is_VBZ punishable_JJ by_IN death_NN ._. The_DT king_NN,_, however_RB,_, chooses_VBZ to_TO let_VB his_PRP\$ wife_NN,_, the_DT queen_NN,_, determine_VB what_WP faith_NN is_VBZ going_VBG to_TO bestow_VB on_IN the_DT knight_NN ._. The_DT queen_NN gives_VBZ him_PRP one_CD year_NN and_CC one_CD day_NN to_TO discover_VB what_WP it_PRP is_VBZ that_IN all_DT women_NNS most_RBS desire_NN . . . If_IN he_PRP fails_VBZ to_TO deliver_VB the_DT answer_NN at_IN the_DT last_JJ day_NN , _, he_PRP will_MD still_RB be_VB executed VBN. . The DT knight NN travels VBZ through IN the DT country NN but_CC he_PRP can_MD not_RB discover_VB the_DT answer_NN since_IN all_DT women_NNS tell_VBP him_PRP something_NN different_JJ ._. On_IN his_PRP\$ way_NN back_RB to_TO the_DT castle_NN,_, he_PRP runs_VBZ into_IN an_DT old_JJ witch_NN who_WP promises_VBZ him_PRP that_IN she_PRP will_MD safe_JJ him_PRP in_IN exchange NN for IN the DT knight NN 's POS promise NN that IN he PRP will MD do_VB anything_NN she_PRP desires_NNS from_IN him_PRP afterwards_RB ._. It_PRP turns_VBZ out_RP that_IN the_DT old_JJ witch_NN wants_VBZ to_TO marry_VB with_IN the DT knight NN and CC he PRP has VBZ got VBN no DT other JJ choice NN than_IN to_TO comply_VB ._. Upon_IN seeing_VBG his_PRP\$ sorrow_NN ,_, she_PRP presents_VBZ him_PRP with_IN a_DT choice_NN :_: either_CC she_PRP changes_VBZ herself_PRP into_IN a_DT beautiful_JJ ,_, young_JJ wife_NN but_CC she_PRP will_MD be VB unfaithful JJ to TO him PRP or CC she PRP remains VBZ old JJ and CC ugly JJ and_CC she_PRP will_MD promise_VB him_PRP to_TO be_VB faithful_JJ and_CC obedient JJ for IN eternity NN. . The DT knight NN then RB lets VBZ her PRP

make_VB the_DT decision_NN and_CC she_PRP is_VBZ so_RB pleased_JJ with_IN that_IN she_PRP turns_VBZ into_IN a_DT beautiful_JJ young_JJ wife_NN ._. Or_CC at_IN least_JJS ,_, that_DT is_VBZ what_WP the_DT story_NN makes_VBZ its_PRP\$ audience NN think VBP initially RB. . The DT witch NN in IN The DT Wife NN of IN Bath_NN does_VBZ not_RB actually_RB change_VB her_PRP\$ appearance_NN since_IN it PRP is VBZ the DT knight NN who WP learns VBZ how WRB to TO look VB at IN her_PRP\$ differently_RB ._. The_DT knight_NN has_VBZ to_TO go_VB through_IN three_CD changes_NNS in_IN order_NN to_TO become_VB the_DT pure_JJ of_IN heart_NN that_IN the_DT witch_NN wants_VBZ him_PRP to_TO be_VB ._. He_PRP first_RB needs_VBZ to_TO change_VB his_PRP\$ understanding_NN of_IN nobility_NN ._. The_DT knight_NN is_VBZ a_DT man_NN born_VBN with_IN a_DT title_NN and_CC he PRP therefore RB thinks VBZ he PRP is VBZ noble JJ by IN birth NN right NN.. The_DT witch_NN,_, however_RB,_, teaches_VBZ him_PRP that_IN nobility_NN is_VBZ earned VBN through IN behaviour NN and CC not RB through IN birth NN right NN:: ``_`` Thanne_FW comth_FW oure_NN verray_NN gentillesse_NN of_IN grace_NN ;_: It_PRP was_VBD no_DT thyng_NN biquethe_NN us_PRP with_IN oure_NN place_NN "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Treharne_NN 773_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT knight_NN has_VBZ not_RB been_VBN behaving_VBG noble_JJ at_IN all_DT and_CC this_DT is_VBZ what_WP makes_VBZ him_PRP think_VB ._. Nobility_NN can_MD be_VB earned_VBN with IN the DT choices NNS he PRP makes VBZ and CC how WRB he PRP treats_VBZ other_JJ human_JJ beings_NNS and_CC from_IN the_DT moment_NN the_DT witch_NN tells_VBZ him_PRP this_DT ,_, he_PRP starts_VBZ to_TO transform_VB inside_RB ._. The_DT witch_NN has_VBZ found_VBN a_DT second_JJ fault_NN within_IN the_DT knight_NN ._. The_DT knight_NN tells_VBZ her_PRP\$:_: ``_`` Thou PRP art NN so RB loothly RB, , and CC so RB oold JJ also RB, , and CC therto_JJ comen_NN of_IN so_RB lough_JJ a_DT kynde_NN ,_, that_WDT litel_VBP wonder_NN is_VBZ thogh_IN I_PRP walwe_VBP and_CC wynde_VBP "_" -LRB-_-LRB-Treharne_NN 772_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. He_PRP does_VBZ not_RB concern_NN himself_PRP lucky_JJ or_CC rich_JJ with_IN the_DT witch_NN as_IN his_PRP\$ wife_NN . . She PRP then RB tells VBZ him PRP that IN wealth NN and CC richness NN is_VBZ not_RB found_VBN in_IN earthly_JJ possessions_NNS or_CC money_NN ._. It_PRP is_VBZ found_VBN in_IN acceptance_NN of_IN what_WP one_PRP has_VBZ :_: ``_`` Whoso_NNP that_IN halt_NN hym_NN payd_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ poverte_NN ,_, I_PRP holde_VBP hym_NN riche_NN ,_, al_NNP hadde_NNP he_PRP nat_VBD a_DT

sherte_NN "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Treharne_NN 774_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT knight_NN then_RB accepts_VBZ her_PRP words_NNS as_IN the_DT truth_NN and_CC this_DT is_VBZ the_DT second_JJ step_NN in_IN his_PRP\$ inner_JJ transformation_NN ._. The DT last JJ and CC most RBS important JJ part NN of IN his PRP\$ transformation_NN can_MD be_VB found_VBN in_IN the_DT way_NN he_PRP treats VBZ women NNS.. He PRP started VBD out RP as IN a DT knight NN who_WP raped_VBD women_NNS ,_, who_WP took_VBD form_NN women_NNS what_WP he_PRP wanted_VBD without_IN any_DT regard_NN for_IN their_PRP\$ feelings_NNS or_CC wishes_NNS ._. The_DT answer_NN to_TO the_DT question_NN was VBD :_: ``_`` Wommen_JJ desiren_NNS have_VBP sovereynetee_NN as_IN wel_NN over_IN hir_NN housbonde_NN as_IN hir_NN love_NN ,_, and_CC for_IN to_TO been VBN in IN maistrie NN hym NN above IN " "-LRB- -LRB- Treharne NN 771 CD -RRB-_-RRB- and_CC this_DT is_VBZ the_DT most_RBS important_JJ lesson_NN the_DT knight NN has VBZ to TO learn VB. . After IN the DT witch NN proposes VBZ the_DT deal_NN to_TO him_PRP he_PRP answers_VBZ with_IN the_DT following_NN :_: "\" My_PRP\$ lady_NN and_CC my_PRP\$ love_NN ,_, and_CC wyf_NN so_RB deere_JJ ,_, I_PRP put_VBP me_PRP in_IN youre_NN wise_JJ governance_NN ;_: Cheseth_NNP yourself_PRP which_WDT may_MD be_VB moost_JJ plesance_NN ,_, and_CC moost_NN honour_NN to_TO yow_VB and_CC me_PRP also_RB "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Treharne_NN 775 CD -RRB- -RRB- . . He PRP has VBZ understood VBN the DT lesson NN the DT witch_NN was_VBD trying_VBG to_TO teach_VB him_PRP and_CC his_PRP\$ transformation NN is VBZ complete JJ. . After IN the DT knight NN 's POS quest NN for_IN the_DT answer_NN to_TO the_DT queen_NN 's_POS question_NN ,_, it_PRP turns_VBZ out_RP that_IN he_PRP was_VBD being_VBG tested_VBN all_DT along_RB . . The DT witch NN proposed VBD him PRP with IN a DT choice NN: : either CC she_PRP would_MD change_VB into_IN a_DT beautiful_JJ and_CC unfaithful_JJ wife_NN or_CC she_PRP would_MD remain_VB old_JJ and_CC ugly_JJ and_CC would_MD stay VB with_IN him_PRP forever_RB ._. The_DT knight_NN then_RB passes_VBZ his_PRP\$ test_NN by_IN letting_VBG her_PRP\$ make_VB the_DT decision_NN :_: he_PRP is_VBZ the_DT one_NN who_WP changed_VBD ,_, not_RB the_DT witch_NN ._. All_PDT the_DT information_NN the_DT witch_NN has_VBZ given_VBN him_PRP has_VBZ opened_VBN his_PRP\$ eyes_NNS and_CC has_VBZ given_VBN him_PRP spiritual_JJ enlightment_NN ._. The_DT witch_NN never_RB changed_VBD ,_, the_DT

knight_NN is_VBZ just_RB able_JJ to_TO appreciate_VB her_PRP\$ for_IN the_DT beautiful_JJ human_JJ being_VBG that_IN she_PRP is_VBZ ._.

RAD1220

It_PRP is_VBZ a_DT known_JJ fact_NN that_IN there_EX are_VBP very_RB few_JJ fabliaux NN existing VBG in IN the DT Middle NNP English NNP language NN... Other JJ than IN the DT fabliau NN Dame NNP Sirib NNP and CC some DT stories_NNS written_VBN by_IN Chaucer_NNP ,_, there_EX are_VBP hardly_RB any_DT fabliaux_NN known_VBN to_TO be_VB written_VBN in_IN Middle_NNP English_NNP ._. The_DT fabliaux_NN are_VBP a_DT separate_JJ ,_, though_IN marginalised_VBN genre_NN in_IN literature_NN with_IN some_DT typical_JJ characteristics_NNS ._. Often RB written VBN in IN verse NN, , they PRP contain VBP octosyllabic JJ couplets_NNS -LRB-_-LRB- Burrow_NN 91_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Their_PRP\$ scope_NN is_VBZ around_IN fifty_CD to_TO approximately_RB 1,000_CD lines_NNS ._. As_IN a_DT theme_NN,_, deceit_NN is_VBZ at_IN the_DT fabliau_NN 's_POS core_NN ._. Thus_RB , _, the_DT fabliaux_NN genre_NN has_VBZ standard_JJ set_VBN character_NN roles_NNS,_, namely_RB:_: the_DT trickster_NN,_, the_DT dupe_NN,_, the_DT desirer_NN and_CC the_DT desired_VBN ._. These_DT characters_NNS incline VBP to_TO make_VB lots_NNS of_IN rash_JJ promises_NNS ,_, which_WDT the_DT trickster NN dutifully RB takes VBZ advantage NN of IN. . The DT trick NN played_VBN by_IN the_DT trickster_NN plays_VBZ is_VBZ also_RB named_VBN cointise_NN or_CC engin_NN ,_, terms_NNS that_WDT stem_VBP from_IN the_DT fabliaux_NN 's_POS French_JJ origins_NNS ._. The_DT fabliaux_NN feature_NN ordinary_JJ people_NNS ,_, such_JJ as_IN monks_NNS ,_, priests_NNS ,_, clerks_NNS ,_, merchants NNS and CC peasants NNS...It PRP has VBZ a DT concrete JJ setting NN ,_, mostly_RB urban_JJ or_CC rural_JJ ._. Even_RB though_IN the_DT fabliaux_NN were_VBD popular_JJ in_IN France_NNP ,_, they_PRP never_RB fully_RB got_VBD through_IN to_TO the_DT English_NNP literary_JJ tradition_NN because_IN of_IN its_PRP\$ French_JJ origin_NN ,_, and_CC the_DT manuscript_NN culture_NN and_CC oral_JJ traditions_NNS ._. The_DT fabliaux_NN are_VBP part_NN of_IN the_DT French_JJ literary_JJ tradition_NN,_, and_CC are_VBP thus_RB not_RB inherently_RB English_JJ ._. It_PRP is_VBZ a_DT genre_NN that_WDT came_VBD to_TO life_NN in_IN France_NNP in_IN the_DT twelfth_JJ century_NN , _, but_CC became_VBD popular_JJ in_IN the_DT thirteenth JJ century NN -LRB- -LRB- 91 CD -RRB- -RRB- . . Due JJ to TO the DT

fabliaux NN 's POS earlier JJR existence NN in IN France NNP, , a DT lot NN had_VBD already_RB been_VBN written_VBN about_IN when_WRB the_DT English_NNP picked_VBD up_RP the_DT genre_NN -LRB-_-LRB- Canby_NN 205_CD -RRB- -RRB- . . Another DT reason NN why WRB there EX are VBP hardly RB any_DT English_JJ fabliaux_NN is_VBZ because_IN when_WRB the_DT tradition_NN came VBD to TO England NNP, the DT popularity NN of IN the DT fabliaux NN had_VBD already_RB greatly_RB diminished_VBN in_IN France_NNP -LRB-_-LRB-Lewis_NNP 243_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. They_PRP were_VBD not_RB interesting_JJ anymore_RB to_TO the_DT public_JJ and_CC thus_RB the_DT part_NN that_WDT fabliaux_NN played_VBD in_IN literature_NN at_IN the_DT time_NN was_VBD marginal_JJ ._. In_IN medieval_JJ times_NNS ,_, it_PRP was_VBD not_RB custom_NN to TO document VB every DT single JJ piece NN of IN literature NN that WDT was_VBD made_VBN ._. Consequently_RB ,_, a_DT lot_NN of_IN fabliau_NN literature NN was VBD not RB written VBN down RP and CC saved VBN,, which_WDT explains_VBZ why_WRB there_EX are_VBP so_RB few_JJ surviving_VBG English_JJ fabliaux_NN -LRB-_-LRB- Canby_NN 207_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Unlike_IN nowadays_RB ,_, not_RB a_DT lot_NN of_IN people_NNS could_MD read_VB in_IN the_DT Middle_NNP Ages_NNPS ._. This_DT sparked_VBD the_DT oral_JJ tradition_NN of_IN telling_VBG stories_NNS and_CC rendered_VBD it_PRP unnecessary_JJ to_TO write_VB every_DT single_JJ story_NN down_RB ._. The_DT stories_NNS needed_VBN to_TO live_VB on_IN through_IN the_DT memories_NNS of_IN the_DT people_NNS ,_, instead_RB of_IN on_IN the_DT skin_NN of_IN goat_NN ._. Even_RB if_IN texts_NNS were_VBD written_VBN down_RP ,_, it_PRP was_VBD not_RB in_IN Middle_NNP English_NNP ._. The_DT people_NNS who_WP made_VBD the_DT manuscripts_NNS were VBD often RB monks NNS.. After IN the DT loss NN of IN Normandy NNP, French_NNP continued_VBD to_TO be_VB spoken_VBN ,_, especially_RB amongst_IN the_DT higher_JJR regions_NNS of_IN society_NN where_WRB French_NNP had_VBD taken_VBN over_RP completely_RB as_IN the_DT language_NN of_IN government_NN and_CC the_DT genteel_JJ ._. Consequently_RB ,_, the_DT monks_NNS that_WDT made VBD these DT manuscripts NNS, , would MD often RB write VB them PRP Anglo-Norman_JJ or_CC French_JJ ,_, and_CC not_RB Middle_NN English_JJ -LRB-_-LRB- Lewis_NNP 245_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. It_PRP were_VBD the_DT upper_JJ classes_NNS that_WDT could_MD read_VB and_CC used_VBD the_DT manuscripts_NNS , , not RB the DT common JJ folk NN . . It PRP was VBD no DT use NN writing VBG stories_NNS down_RB in_IN Middle_NNP English_NNP when_WRB no_DT soul_NN could_MD read_VB these_DT manuscripts_NNS ._. Manuscripts_NNS took_VBD a_DT lot_NN of_IN tedious_JJ work_NN ,_, and_CC too_RB expensive_JJ to_TO waste_NN ._. It_PRP would_MD take_VB until_IN the_DT late_JJ thirteenth_JJ century_NN for_IN the_DT English_JJ people_NNS to_TO start_VB using_VBG English_NNP as_IN their PRP\$ language NN of IN choice NN in IN speaking NN and CC writing NN -LRB-_-LRB- 245_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Eventually_RB ,_, Dame_NNP Sirib_NNP would_MD become_VB one_CD of_IN the_DT first_JJ Middle_NN English_NNP fabliaux_NN to_TO be_VB written_VBN down_RP ._. It_PRP is_VBZ safe_JJ to_TO say_VB ,_, that_IN English_NNP writers_NNS never_RB really_RB made_VBD the_DT fabliaux_NN genre_NN their_PRP\$ own_JJ ._. Chaucer_NNP may_MD be_VB an_DT exception_NN to TO this DT, , though IN some DT French JJ scholars NNS argue VBP that IN even_RB his_PRP\$ work_NN is_VBZ far_RB from_IN original_JJ -LRB-_-LRB- Canby_JJ 208 CD -RRB- -RRB- . . This DT lack NN of IN originality NN is VBZ due JJ to TO the_DT medieval_JJ mentality_NN of_IN preferring_VBG sentence_NN and_CC solace_NN over_IN originality_NN ._. It_PRP was_VBD frowned_VBN upon_IN to_TO write_VB an_DT original_JJ story_NN , _, which_WDT can_MD be_VB a_DT reason_NN as_IN to_TO why_WRB there_EX are_VBP hardly_RB any_DT English_JJ fabliaux_NN ._. In_IN conclusion_NN,_, there_EX are_VBP a_DT few_JJ reasons_NNS why_WRB there_EX are_VBP so_RB few_JJ fabliaux_NN in_IN Middle_NNP English_NNP ._. Due_JJ to_TO its_PRP\$ French_JJ origin_NN and_CC big_JJ French_JJ tradition_NN,_, there_EX was VBD a DT lot NN of IN material NN already RB available JJ and CC England_NNP was_VBD quite_RB late_JJ to_TO the_DT fabliaux_NN craze_NN ._. The_DT fabliaux_NN 's_POS popularity_NN had_VBD diminished_VBN greatly_RB and CC because RB of IN that DT, , writers NNS were VBD not RB sparked VBN to_TO write_VB them_PRP ._. It_PRP also_RB did_VBD not_RB help_VB that_IN during_IN that_DT time_NN ,_, Middle_NNP English_NNP was_VBD not_RB the_DT language_NN of_IN choice_NN ._. French_NNP was_VBD still_RB used_VBN as_IN a_DT language_NN and_CC thus_RB also_RB in_IN manuscripts_NNS ._. Due_JJ to_TO the_DT amount NN of IN tedious JJ labour NN that WDT went VBD into IN making VBG these_DT manuscripts_NNS,_, and_CC the_DT fact_NN that_IN not_RB a_DT lot_NN of_IN medieval_JJ people_NNS knew_VBD how_WRB to_TO read_VB ,_, not_RB a_DT lot_NN of_IN manuscripts_NNS were_VBD made_VBN ._. It_PRP would_MD take_VB some DT time NN for IN Middle NNP English NNP to TO sink VB into IN all DT

layers_NNS of_IN society_NN ,_, and_CC to_TO finally_RB replace_VB French_JJ as_IN the_DT main_JJ language_NN ._. When_WRB that_DT finally_RB happened_VBN ,_, the_DT fabliaux_NN were_VBD picked_VBN up_RP by_IN Chaucer_NNP ,_, who_WP gave_VBD us_PRP the_DT Canterbury_NNP Tales_NNS ._.

RAD1253

There_EX are_VBP many_JJ questions_NNS raised_VBD about_IN The_DT Wife_NN of_IN Bath_NNP 's_POS Tale_NNP ,_, such_JJ as_IN if_IN the_DT girl_NN he_PRP raped_VBD was_VBD a_DT peasant_NN ?_. Or_CC whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT knight_NN actually_RB belonged_VBD to_TO the_DT knights_NNS of_IN king_NN Arthur_NNP as_IN he_PRP does_VBZ not_RB show_VB a_DT very_RB courtliness_NN behaviour NN.. The DT one CD of IN most JJS controversy NN would MD be VB whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT wife_NN of_IN bath_NN actually_RB undergoes_VBZ a_DT physical_JJ transformation_NN ._. Some_DT say_VBP that_IN she_PRP transforms_VBZ herself_PRP,_, others_NNS say_VBP that_IN she_PRP puts_VBZ a_DT spell_NN on_IN her_PRP\$ husband_NN so_IN he_PRP perceives_VBZ her_PRP\$ differently_RB ._. But_CC even_RB though_IN many_JJ people_NNS claim_VBP that_IN she_PRP does_VBZ,_, the_DT old_JJ hag_NN does_VBZ not_RB transform_VB physically_RB in_IN the_DT transformation_NN scene_NN of_IN The_DT Wife_NN of_IN Bath NNP's POS Tale NNP, , because IN she PRP breaks VBZ the DT spell NN as_RB soon_RB as_IN he_PRP gives_VBZ her_PRP\$ what_WP she_PRP wants_VBZ and CC because IN she PRP transforms VBZ the DT knight NN by IN giving VBG him_PRP a_DT lecture_NN on_IN gentilesse_NN ._. She_PRP breaks_VBZ the_DT spell_NN,_, when_WRB he_PRP gives_VBZ her_PRP\$ what_WP all_DT women_NNS want VBP, , namely RB control NN over IN their PRP\$ husbands NNS, , she PRP rewards_VBZ him_PRP ._. The_DT knight_NN first_RB meets_VBZ the_DT wife_NN of_IN bath_NN ,_, when_WRB he_PRP is_VBZ desperate_JJ looking_VBG for_IN the_DT answer_NN to_TO what_WP women_NNS most_RBS desire_VBP as_IN the_DT answer_NN will_MD save_VB his_PRP\$ life_NN ._. She_PRP promises_VBZ to_TO tell_VB him_PRP , _, if_IN he_PRP does_VBZ whatever_WDT she_PRP asks_VBZ him_PRP to_TO ._. The_DT answer_NN to_TO the_DT question_NN is_VBZ that_IN all_DT women_NNS want_VBP to_TO be_VB in_IN control_NN over_IN their_PRP\$ husbands_NNS and_CC loved_VBD ones_NNS ._. The_DT queen_NN and_CC her_PRP\$ fellow JJ judges NNS decide VBP that IN he PRP is VBZ to TO live VB., but CC

then_RB the_DT old_JJ hag_NN asks_VBZ him_PRP to_TO marry_VB her_PRP ._. He_PRP finds_VBZ this_DT idea_NN repulsive_JJ as_IN she_PRP is_VBZ old_JJ and_CC ugly_JJ ._. She_PRP offers_VBZ him_PRP a_DT choice_NN ,_, she_PRP can_MD either RB be VB young JJ and CC probably RB unfaithful JJ,, or CC old JJ and CC faithful_NN ... To_TO this_DT he_PRP replies_VBZ that_IN she_PRP can_MD choose_VB as IN she PRP will MD probably RB know VB what WP is VBZ best JJS for IN them PRP -LRB-_-LRB- Chaucer_NNP 770-775_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. By_IN giving_VBG him_PRP those_DT two_CD options_NNS she_PRP manipulates_VBZ him_PRP ,_, both_DT options_NNS would_MD lead_VB to_TO an_DT unhappy_JJ marriage_NN ,_, either_CC because_IN of_IN the_DT cheating_NN or_CC because_IN of_IN the_DT fact_NN that_IN she_PRP is_VBZ old_JJ and_CC ugly_JJ ._. ``_`` when_WRB the_DT knight NN asks VBZ her PRP\$ to TO make VB the DT choice NN -- : when WRB he_PRP admits_VBZ himself_PRP from_IN within_IN himself_PRP to_TO the_DT sovereignty_NN of_IN women_NNS --_: then_RB and_CC only_RB then_RB he_PRP is_VBZ truly_RB blessed_VBN --_: and_CC the_DT lady_NN is_VBZ revealed_VBN in_IN all_DT her_PRP\$ charms_NNS "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Huppé_NNP 381_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. He_PRP was_VBD tested_VBN successfully_RB and_CC thus_RB he_PRP is_VBZ worthy_JJ to_TO see_VB the_DT beautiful_JJ woman_NN she_PRP really_RB is_VBZ ._. She_PRP changes_VBZ his_PRP\$ mind_NN set_VBN by_IN giving_VBG him_PRP a_DT lecture_NN on_IN gentilesse_NN ,_, which_WDT makes_VBZ him_PRP able_JJ to_TO see_VB her_PRP\$ for_IN the_DT beautiful_JJ young_JJ women_NNS she_PRP is_VBZ ._. He_PRP told_VBD her_PRP that_IN he_PRP was_VBD disgusted_VBN by_IN her_PRP ,_, because_IN she_PRP was_VBD not_RB a_DT noble_JJ women_NNS ,_, she_PRP was_VBD old_JJ and_CC she_PRP was_VBD ugly_JJ ._. In_IN her_PRP\$ lecture_NN she PRP explains VBZ that IN gentilesse NN comes VBZ from IN Christ NNP and CC that_IN it_PRP does_VBZ not_RB come_VB from_IN nobility_NN ._. She_PRP argues_VBZ that_IN poverty_NN might_MD even_RB give_VB her_PRP\$ better_JJR virtues_NNS . _ . She_PRP also_RB tells_VBZ him_PRP that_DT her_PRP\$ age_NN and_CC the_DT fact_NN that_IN she_PRP is_VBZ ugly_JJ might_MD be_VB because_IN those_DT protect_VB her_PRP as_IN she_PRP is_VBZ blessed_VBN -LRB-_-LRB- Chaucer_NNP 772-774_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. ``_`` Their_PRP\$ prime_JJ purpose_NN is_VBZ to_TO work_VB a_DT sort_NN of_IN magic_NN in_IN the_DT Knight_NNP ,_, to_TO transform_VB him_PRP; : and_CC the_DT magic_NN is_VBZ potent_JJ "_" -LRB-_-LRB-Roppolo NNP 267 CD -RRB- -RRB- . . With IN her PRP\$ words NNS she PRP

tries_VBZ to_TO transform_VB his_PRP\$ way_NN of_IN thinking_NN ,_, but_CC she_PRP will_MD not_RB let_VB him_PRP see_VB herself_PRP until_IN she_PRP is_VBZ completely_RB assured_VBN that_IN he_PRP has_VBZ changed_VBN completely_RB ._. As RB soon RB as IN he PRP makes VBZ her PRP\$ choose VB, , he PRP shows VBZ that_IN he_PRP does_VBZ not_RB matter_VB anymore_RB whether_IN she_PRP is_VBZ beautiful JJ or CC not RB and CC he PRP proves VBZ himself PRP a DT man NN of_IN true_JJ gentilesse_NN ._. He_PRP was_VBD tested_VBN and_CC now_RB he_PRP has_VBZ proven_VBN himself_PRP ,_, she_PRP breaks_VBZ the_DT spell_NN ,_, which_WDT makes_VBZ him_PRP able_JJ to_TO see_VB the_DT woman_NN she_PRP already_RB was_VBD ._. The_DT answer_NN to_TO the_DT question_NN whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT old_JJ hag_NN transforms_VBZ herself_PRP is_VBZ that_IN she_PRP does_VBZ not_RB ,_, in_IN fact_NN she_PRP transforms_VBZ the_DT knight_NN ._. She_PRP puts_VBZ a_DT spell_NN on_IN him_PRP ,_, which_WDT makes_VBZ him_PRP unable_JJ to_TO see_VB the_DT beautiful_JJ woman_NN she_PRP is_VBZ ._. He_PRP was_VBD to_TO go_VB on_IN a_DT quest_NN to_TO find_VB out_RP what_WP women_NNS really_RB want_VBP ,_, and_CC she_PRP lets_VBZ him_PRP fulfil_VB the_DT wish_NN of_IN women_NNS ._. Because_IN when_WRB he_PRP gives_VBZ her_PRP\$ what_WP all_DT women_NNS want_VBP , _, namely_RB dominating_VBG and_CC controlling_VBG their_PRP\$ husbands_NNS ,_, he_PRP is_VBZ rewarded_VBN and_CC the_DT spell_NN is_VBZ broken_VBN ._. But_CC this_DT is_VBZ not_RB only_RB because_IN he_PRP gives_VBZ her_PRP\$ what_WP she_PRP wants_VBZ ,_, he_PRP also_RB has_VBZ proven_VBN himself_PRP worthy_JJ to_TO see_VB her_PRP as_IN the_DT woman_NN she_PRP is_VBZ ._. At_IN first_RB he_PRP rejects_VBZ her_PRP\$ for_IN the_DT wrong_JJ reasons_NNS ,_, but_CC during_IN her PRP\$ lecture NN on IN gentilesse NN she PRP transforms VBZ his PRP\$ mind NN set_VBN into_IN that_DT of_IN a_DT man_NN of_IN true_JJ gentilesse_NN ._.

RAD1277

Based_VBN on_IN Ovid_NNP and_CC Virgil_NNP 's_POS versions_NNS of_IN the_DT story_NN ,_, the_DT lay_JJ of_IN Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP certainly_RB shows_VBZ some_DT similarities_NNS with_IN the_DT classic_JJ myth_NN -LRB-_-LRB-Kittredge_NN 176_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. At_IN the_DT time_NN in_IN which_WDT Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP was_VBD composed_VBN ,_, which_WDT is_VBZ the_DT late_JJ thirteenth_NN or_CC early_JJ fourteenth_JJ century_NN ,_, ``_`` imitation_NN ,_, not_RB

originality_NN ,_, was_VBD the_DT rule_NN in_IN English_NNP writing_VBG "_" -LRB-_-LRB- 176_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT text_NN is_VBZ not_RB completely_RB the_DT same_JJ ,_, however_RB ,_, as_IN it_PRP has_VBZ been_VBN altered_VBN extensively_RB in_IN order_NN to_TO suit_VB the_DT tastes_NNS of_IN its_PRP\$ medieval_JJ readership_NN ._. Thus_RB ,_, Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP is_VBZ a_DT retelling NN of IN the DT myth NN of IN Orpheus NNP and CC Eurydice NNP, , only_RB revised_VBN in_IN such_JJ a_DT way_NN that_IN it_PRP would_MD please_VB its_PRP\$ medieval_JJ audience_NN ._. Both_CC in_IN the_DT classical_JJ and_CC the_DT medieval_JJ versions_NNS ,_, Orpheus_NNP /_: Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP wins_VBZ back_RP his_PRP\$ beloved_JJ one_NN by_IN playing_VBG music_NN -LRB-_-LRB- Kittredge_NN 187_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. In_IN the_DT medieval_JJ adaptation_NN ,_, Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP is_VBZ a_DT ``_`` menstrel_NN "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP 430_CD,_, 3rd_CD ed_VBD ... -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, who_WP ``_`` charms_NNS the_DT court NN of IN the DT fairy NN king NN with IN his PRP\$ playing NN, and CC, on_IN being_VBG promised_VBN whatever_WDT boon_NN he_PRP may_MD ask_VB "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Kittredge_NNP 188_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, he_PRP requests_NNS :_: However_RB ,_, in_IN the_DT original_JJ myth_NN by_IN Ovid_NNP ,_, Orpheus_NNP went_VBD into_IN the_DT Underworld_NN and_CC stated_VBN beforehand_RB to_TO Pluto_NNP and_CC Proserpine_NNP what_WP his_PRP\$ mission_NN entailed_VBD ,_, i.e._FW retrieving_VBG his_PRP\$ Eurydice_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- Kittredge_NNP 187_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Elements_NNS such_JJ as_IN the_DT harp_NN ,_, which_WDT was_VBD an DT immensely RB popular JJ instrument NN among IN Celtic JJ people NNS -LRB-_-LRB- 186_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, and CC Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP being_VBG a_DT minstrel_NN made_VBD the_DT story_NN more_RBR relatable_JJ for_IN its_PRP\$ early JJ fourteenth JJ century NN audience NN . . Another DT difference NN between_IN the_DT older_JJR and_CC newer_JJR versions_NNS of_IN Orpheus_NNP '_POS story_NN is_VBZ the_DT location_NN ._. There_EX is_VBZ quite_RB an_DT extensive_JJ difference_NN between_IN the_DT stories_NNS ,_, as_IN ``_`` Orfeo_NNP 's_POS journey_NN takes_VBZ him_PRP not_RB to_TO Hades_NNP but_CC to_TO a_DT land_NN of_IN fairy_NN "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Burrow_NNP 86_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. This_DT Otherworld_NN ``_`` exhibits_VBZ certain_JJ Celtic_JJ features_NNS "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Burrow_NNP 86_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, such_JJ as_IN fairies_NNS ._. As_IN Treharne_JJ notes_NNS ,_, ``_`` Celtic_JJ sources_NNS may_MD have_VB played_VBN a DT formative JJ role NN in IN the DT narrative JJ composition NN, particularly RB

in IN the DT account NN of IN the DT fairies NNS and CC the DT Otherworld NNP " " -LRB-_-LRB- 551_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Besides_IN the_DT Otherworld_NNP ,_, the_DT story_NN takes_VBZ place_NN in_IN Winchester_NNP ,_, or_CC ``_`` Traciens_NNP "_" -LRB- -LRB- Sir NNP Orfeo NNP 50 CD -RRB- -RRB-, , which WDT was VBD where WRB the DT court NN -- : and CC therefore RB king NN Orfeo NNP -- : resided VBD at IN that DT time NN. . The DT original JJ Orpheus NNP, , however_RB ,_, was_VBD supposed_VBN to_TO be_VB the_DT son_NN of_IN the_DT Greek_JJ Oeagrus_NN ,_, king_NN of_IN Thrace_NNP ,_, according_VBG to_TO Apollodorus_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- Bowra_NNP 113_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. By_IN making_VBG Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP a_DT British_JJ rather_RB than_IN a_DT Greek_JJ king_NN,_, and_CC by_IN placing_VBG the_DT story_NN in_IN Britain_NNP,_, the_DT author NN of IN the DT medieval JJ text NN made VBD the DT story NN more RBR accessible_JJ to_TO his_PRP\$,_, largely_RB British_JJ,_, audience_NN ._. An_DT element NN frequently RB seen VBN in IN lais NN is VBZ exile NN and CC return NN ._. The_DT story_NN of_IN Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP is_VBZ no_DT exception_NN to_TO that_DT `_`` rule_NN '_" ... In_IN the_DT classical_JJ version_NN ,_, however_RB ,_, Orpheus_NNP does_VBZ not_RB really_RB go_VB into_IN exile_NN ._. After_IN having_VBG made_VBN the_DT gods_NNS and_CC nymphs_NNS cry_VBP ,_, they_PRP merely_RB advise_VBP him_PRP to_TO make_VB his_PRP\$ way_NN to_TO the_DT Underworld_NN to_TO get_VB back_RB Eurydice_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- Bowra_NNP 116_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. In_IN the_DT lay_JJ ,_, Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP goes_VBZ into_IN exile_NN after_IN having_VBG broken_VBN his_PRP\$ vow_NN to_TO keep_VB Heurodys_NNPS safe_JJ ._. He_PRP says_VBZ :_: ``_`` Into_NNP wildernes_VBZ Ichil_NNP te_FW /_: And_CC live_JJ ber_NN evermore_RB "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Sir_NNP Orfeo NNP 212-13 CD -RRB- -RRB-, , and CC advises VBZ his PRP\$ lords NNS to TO appoint_VB a_DT new_JJ king_NN if_IN they_PRP hear_VBP that_IN he_PRP has_VBZ passed_VBN away_RB ._. Later_RB ,_, of_IN course_NN ,_, he_PRP returns_VBZ with_IN his_PRP\$ Heurodys_NNS ,_, a_DT passage_NN which_WDT reminds_VBZ one_CD of_IN the_DT story_NN of_IN Odysseus_NNP and_CC Penelope_NNP,_, and_CC all_DT is_VBZ well_RB ._. The_DT fact_NN that_IN the_DT adaptation_NN features_VBZ the_DT element_NN of_IN exile_NN and_CC return_NN,_, and_CC also_RB a_DT happy_JJ ending_NN ,_, indicates_VBZ that_IN the_DT story_NN was_VBD moulded_VBN to_TO the_DT likes_NN of_IN medieval_JJ people_NNS ._. In_IN conclusion_NN ,_, Sir_NNP Orfeo_NNP is_VBZ an_DT adaptation_NN of_IN

the_DT classical_JJ myth_NN of_IN Orpheus_NNP and_CC Eurydice_NNP ,_, only_RB revised_VBN in_IN such_JJ a_DT way_NN that_IN it_PRP would_MD please_VB its_PRP\$ medieval_JJ audience_NN ._. The_DT author_NN of_IN the_DT story_NN has_VBZ given VBN Sir NNP Orfeo NNP some DT medieval JJ characteristics NNS, , e.g. FW he_PRP is_VBZ a_DT minstrel_NN who_WP plays_VBZ the_DT harp_NN ._. The_DT story NN takes VBZ place NN partly RB in IN Winchester NNP, , which WDT is VBZ called_VBN Thrace_NNP in_IN the_DT narrative_NN ,_, and_CC partly_RB in_IN the_DT Otherworld_NNP ._. This_DT is_VBZ a_DT magical_JJ place_NN where_WRB fairies_NNS and_CC a_DT fairy_NN king_NN exist_VBP ._. The_DT fairies_NNS are_VBP said_VBN to_TO be_VB a_DT Celtic_JJ element_NN ,_, thus_RB making_VBG the_DT lay_VBN more_RBR appealing_JJ to_TO its_PRP\$ medieval_JJ audience_NN ._. Sir_NNP Orfeo NNP contains VBZ some DT of IN the DT popular JJ themes NNS in IN medieval_JJ literature_NN,_, namely_RB that_IN of_IN exile_NN and_CC return_NN,_, and_CC a_DT happy_JJ ending_NN ._. This_DT truly_RB shows_VBZ that_IN the_DT narrative_NN has_VBZ been_VBN altered_VBN in_IN such_JJ a_DT way_NN that_IN it_PRP would_MD suit_VB the_DT tastes_NNS of_IN its_PRP\$ medieval_JJ readership_NN

RAD1280

The_DT Canterbury_NNP Tales_NNS is_VBZ a_DT set_NN of_IN tales_NNS written_VBN and_CC ,_, unfortunately_RB ,_, not_RB completely_RB finished_VBN ,_, by_IN Geoffrey_NNP Chaucer_NNP in_IN the_DT late_JJ 14th_JJ century_NN ._. The_DT tales_NNS are_VBP presented_VBN as_IN a_DT sort_NN of_IN story-telling_JJ contest_NN held_VBD amongst_IN pilgrims_NNS ._. One_CD of_IN these_DT tales_NNS is_VBZ called_VBN ``_`` The_DT Wife_NN of_IN Bath_NNP 's_POS Tale_NNP ''_" and_CC is_VBZ probably_RB amongst_IN the_DT best_JJS known_VBN tales_NNS of_IN Chaucer_NNP ,_, with_IN a_DT prologue_NN which_WDT is_VBZ almost_RB twice_RB as_RB long_JJ as_IN her_PRP\$ tale_NN ._. This_DT tale_NN speaks_VBZ of_IN a_DT young_JJ knight_NN who_WP is_VBZ set_VBN to_TO find_VB out_RP what_WP women_NNS most_RBS desire_NN and_CC he_PRP learns_VBZ this_DT answer_NN from_IN a_DT woman_NN better_RB known_VBN as_IN the_DT loathly_JJ lady_NN ._. Now_RB ,_, when_WRB they_PRP are_VBP about_IN to_TO get_VB married_VBN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NNP puts_VBZ the_DT knight_NN in_IN a_DT dilemma_NN ._. She_PRP is_VBZ either_RB forever_RB young_JJ ,_, beautiful_JJ and_CC unfaithful_JJ

or_CC she_PRP is_VBZ an_DT old_JJ hag_NN who_WP is_VBZ loyal_JJ ,_, true_JJ and_CC humble_JJ ._. Although_IN there_EX are_VBP several_JJ opinions_NNS that_IN the_DT old_JJ hag_NN is_VBZ really_RB an_DT old_JJ hag_NN ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ actually_RB quite_RB clear_JJ that_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN was_VBD never_RB an_DT old_JJ hag_NN ,_, but_CC always_RB was_VBD and_CC always_RB will MD be VB a DT beautiful JJ woman NN. . When WRB reading VBG the DT text_NN it_PRP becomes_VBZ clear_JJ that_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN is_VBZ actually_RB fair_JJ and_CC good_JJ ._. In_IN lines_NNS 1219_CD up_RP until_IN 1227_CD the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NNP asks_VBZ the_DT knight_NN to_TO choose_VB what_WP he_PRP prefers_VBZ ._. ``_`` Now_RB chese_JJ yourselven_NN ,_, wheither_NN that_WDT yow_VBP liketh_NN "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Chaucer_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT knight_NN responds_VBZ to_TO this_DT by_IN saying_VBG that_IN she_PRP must_MD choose_VB herself_PRP what_WP she_PRP wants_VBZ to_TO be_VB for IN him PRP and CC as IN an DT argument NN for IN this DT he PRP says VBZ ``_`` I_PRP do_VBP no_DT fors_NNS the_DT wheither_NN of_IN the_DT two_CD ;_: For_IN as_IN yow_NN liketh_NN ,_, it_PRP suffiseth_VBP me_PRP "_" -LRB-_-LRB-Chaucer_NNP 1234-1235_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. With_IN saying_VBG this_DT ,_, the_DT knight_NN gives_VBZ the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN maistrie_NN and_CC with_IN doing_VBG so_RB ,_, he_PRP shows_VBZ that_IN he_PRP has_VBZ respect_NN for_IN her PRP\$ and CC that IN she PRP can MD make VB her PRP\$ own JJ decisions NNS and_CC she_PRP becomes_VBZ both_DT fair_JJ and_CC good_JJ ._. There_EX are_VBP people_NNS such_JJ as_IN Theodore_NNP Silverstein_NNP ,_, who_WP suggest_VBP that_IN the_DT old_JJ hag_NN has_VBZ been_VBN put_VBN under_IN a_DT curse_NN and_CC that_IN this_DT spell_NN is_VBZ dissolved_VBN after_IN the_DT knight_NN has VBZ given VBN the DT Loathly NNP Lady NNP the DT maistrie NN she PRP needed_VBD ._. And_CC because_IN the_DT spell_NN is_VBZ lifted_VBN ,_, she_PRP is_VBZ now_RB fair_JJ and_CC good_JJ -LRB-_-LRB- p._NN 168_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Although_IN this_DT seems_VBZ an_DT adequate_JJ interpretation_NN of_IN the_DT text_NN ,_, there_EX is_VBZ a_DT quite_RB different_JJ and_CC far_RB more_RBR likely_JJ interpretation_NN to_TO be_VB found_VBN ._. One_CD without_IN miraculous_JJ spells_NNS or_CC curses_NNS but_CC with_IN virtue_NN and_CC the_DT true_JJ nature_NN of_IN somebody_NN ._. So_RB rather_RB than_IN a_DT curse_NN or_CC spell_NN that_WDT has_VBZ to_TO be_VB lifted_VBN ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ a_DT change_NN of_IN heart_NN which_WDT causes_VBZ the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN

to_TO actually_RB be_VB a_DT young_JJ ,_, beautiful_JJ and_CC truthful_JJ woman_NN ._. It_PRP all_DT starts_NNS with_IN the_DT knight_NN as_IN the_DT bad_JJ guy_NN because_IN he_PRP raped_VBD a_DT girl_NN and_CC is_VBZ therefore_RB a_DT sinner NN. . Because IN of IN viciousness NN the DT knight NN's POS vision NN is_VBZ impaired_JJ ._. He_PRP sees_VBZ true_JJ virtue_NN as_IN a_DT foul_JJ thing_NN and CC think VB that IN beauty NN is VBZ the DT most RBS important JJ thing NN in_IN the_DT world_NN ._. This_DT is_VBZ the_DT case_NN until_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN gives_VBZ him_PRP the_DT dilemma_NN ._. The_DT knight_NN could_MD have_VB chosen_VBN for_IN young_JJ and_CC beautiful_JJ because_IN that_DT is_VBZ what_WP he_PRP used_VBD to_TO desire_NN ._. But_CC instead_RB he_PRP gives_VBZ the_DT choice_NN to_TO Loathly_NNP Lady_NNP and_CC says_VBZ that IN whatever WDT she PRP chooses VBZ is VBZ fine JJ with IN him PRP. . This_DT shows_VBZ that_IN the_DT knight_NN has_VBZ changed_VBN from_IN being VBG vicious JJ to TO being VBG virtuous JJ.. This DT change NN,, and CC the_DT victory_NN over_IN the_DT temptation_NN to_TO sin_NN ,_, has_VBZ led_VBN to_TO a_DT purified_VBN vision_NN of_IN the_DT knight_NN ._. The_DT change_NN of_IN heart_NN , _, from_IN viciousness_NN to_TO virtuous_JJ makes_VBZ the_DT knight_NN see_VBP that_IN true_JJ virtue_NN is_VBZ actually_RB not_RB foul_JJ but_CC a_DT beautiful_JJ thing_NN ._. ``_`` The_DT transformation_NN -LSB-_-LRBof_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN -RSB-_-RRB- is_VBZ thus_RB the_DT natural_JJ consequence_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ own_JJ corrected_VBN vision_NN and_CC insight_NN rather RB than IN a DT miraculous JJ transformation NN of IN the DT Loathly NNP Lady_NNP,_, for_IN she_PRP has_VBZ been_VBN truly_RB beautiful_JJ and_CC truly_RB gentil_NN all_DT along_IN ._. "_" -LRB-_-LRB- Levy_NNP p._NN 109_CD -RRB--RRB-.. The DT Loathly NNP Lady NN was VBD not RB so RB loathly RB after_IN all_DT ._. It_PRP was_VBD because_IN of_IN the_DT knight_NN who_WP through_IN his_PRP\$ viciousness_NN did_VBD not_RB perceive_VB the_DT world_NN correctly_RB and_CC did_VBD not_RB perceive_VB true_JJ beauty_NN ... Despite_IN the_DT fact_NN that_IN some_DT people_NNS say_VBP the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN really RB did VBD transform VB because IN she PRP was VBD put VBN under IN a_DT spell_NN and_CC she_PRP needed_VBD maistrie_NN to_TO dissolve_VB this_DT spell_NN and_CC be_VB forever_RB young_JJ ,_, beautiful_JJ and_CC true_JJ ._. It_PRP can_MD also_RB be_VB argued_VBN that_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN did_VBD not RB transform VB at IN all DT, , but CC that IN the DT knight NN's POS

change_NN of_IN heart_NN made_VBD the_DT knight_NN recognise_VBP beauty_NN and_CC saw_VBD true_JJ beauty_NN in_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN who_WP he_PRP first_RB believed_VBD to_TO be_VB an_DT old_JJ hag_NN ._. Thus_RB ,_, it_PRP was_VBD the_DT knight_NN who_WP changed_VBD ,_, rather_RB than_IN the_DT Loathly_NNP Lady_NN ._.

RAD1210

Next JJ to TO literary JJ criticism NN and CC close JJ reading NN of IN novels NNS this_DT research_NN also_RB relies_VBZ on_IN a_DT detailed_JJ literary_JJ research_NN on IN American JJ psychiatry NN in IN and CC around IN the DT 1960s NNS . . In IN order_NN to_TO complete_VB this_DT ,_, many_JJ academic_JJ and_CC scientific_JJ articles_NNS concerning_VBG psychology_NN and_CC psychiatry_NN have_VBP been_VBN accessed_VBN ._. How_WRB do_VBP Anthony_NNP Burgess_NNP '_POS A_DT Clockwork_JJ Orange_NNP and CC Ken_NNP Kesey_NNP 's POS One_CD Flew_NN over_IN the_DT Cuckoo_NN 's_POS Nest_NNP criticize_VB American_JJ mental JJ health NN care NN around IN the DT 1960s NNS? . Mental JJ health NN care_NN in_IN the_DT United_NNP States_NNPS of_IN America_NNP saw_VBD significant_JJ changes_NNS in_IN treatments_NNS ,_, institutionalization_NN ,_, bureaucracy_NN and_CC both_DT professional_JJ and_CC unprofessional_JJ opinions_NNS ._. Controversial_JJ treatments_NNS like_IN electro-shock_JJ therapy_NN and_CC prefrontal_JJ lobotomies_NNS were_VBD applied_VBN to_TO human_JJ patients_NNS on_IN a_DT regular_JJ basis_NN . _. The_DT results_NNS of_IN these_DT varied_JJ drastically_RB per_IN patient_NN and_CC in_IN many_JJ cases_NNS ,_, the_DT patient NN was VBD clearly RB worse JJR off IN than IN before IN the DT therapy_NN or_CC operation_NN ._. A_DT Clockwork_NNP Orange_NNP and_CC One_CD Flew_NN over_IN the_DT Cuckoo_NN 's_POS Nest_NNP are_VBP both_DT novels_NNS that_WDT appeared_VBD in_IN the_DT 1960s_NNS and_CC are_VBP both_DT novels_NNS that_WDT carry_VBP psychological_JJ health_NN care_NN at_IN the DT centre NN of IN their PRP\$ narratives NNS. . There EX is VBZ a DT clear JJ parallel_NN noticeable_JJ between_IN these_DT novels_NNS and_CC the_DT developments_NNS in_IN American_JJ mental_JJ health_NN care_NN ._. The_DT question_NN remains_VBZ,_, how_WRB much_JJ of_IN a_DT parallel_NN is_VBZ there_EX ?_. Many_JJ literary_JJ reviews_NNS have_VBP been_VBN written_VBN of_IN both_DT One_CD Flew_NN over_IN the_DT Cuckoo_NN 's_POS Nest_NNP and_CC A_NNP Clockwork_NNP Orange_NNP ._. These_DT reviews_NNS do_VBP not_RB deal VB with IN the DT social JJ criticism NN that IN they PRP could MD have VB meant_VBN to_TO deliver_VB during_IN their_PRP\$ time_NN of_IN publication_NN ._. There EX is VBZ a DT widespread JJ variety NN of IN articles NNS and CC

books NNS on IN the DT developments NNS of IN mental JJ health NN care NN in IN the_DT United_NNP States_NNPS of_IN America_NNP around_IN the_DT 1960s_NNS ._. Some_DT date_NN as_IN early_JJ as_IN 1942_CD ,_, when_WRB the_DT first_JJ lobotomies NNS were VBD performed VBN on IN rats NNS and CC dogs NNS and CC contain_VBP detailed_JJ descriptions_NNS of_IN the_DT method_NN of_IN procedure_NN . . Articles NNPS containing VBG criticism NN on IN controversial JJ treatments NNS appeared_VBD as_RB soon_RB as_IN lobotomies_NNS and_CC electro-shock_JJ therapies_NNS were_VBD applied_VBN to_TO human_JJ beings_NNS ._. The_DT connection_NN between_IN A_DT Clockwork_JJ Orange_NNP and_CC One_CD Flew_NN over_IN the_DT Cuckoo_NN 's_POS Nest_NNP and_CC anti-psychiatry_JJ in_IN the_DT 1960s_NNS has_VBZ been_VBN made_VBN before_IN ;_: they_PRP even_RB both_DT have_VBP been_VBN labeled_VBN ``_`` anti-psychiatry_JJ "_" novels_NNS in_IN some_DT occasions_NNS ._. Still_RB ,_, detailed_JJ descriptions_NNS of_IN what_WP exactly RB makes VBZ these DT novels NNS anti-psychiatry JJ have VBP not RB yet_RB been_VBN created_VBN ... It_PRP is_VBZ expected_VBN that_IN a_DT clear_JJ parallel_NN between_IN the_DT novels_NNS and_CC anti-psychiatry_JJ will_MD show_VB ._. The_DT exact_JJ concrete_JJ establishment_NN of_IN these_DT parallels_NNS will_MD differ_VB ._. One_CD Flew_NN over_IN the_DT Cuckoo_NN 's_POS Nest_NNP focuses_VBZ its_PRP\$ negative_JJ behaviour_NN mainly_RB towards IN bureaucracy NN in IN American JJ mental JJ health NN care NN and CC not_RB as_RB much_JJ towards_IN the_DT controversial_JJ treatments_NNS in_IN themselves PRP. . A DT Clockwork NNP Orange NNP does VBZ offer VB criticism_NN on_IN these_DT treatments_NNS ._. This_DT research_NN will_MD analyse VB two CD American JJ classics NNS in IN great JJ detail NN for IN their PRP\$ -LRB- potential NN -RRB- -RRB- traces NNS of IN anti-psychiatry JJ ._. If_IN it_PRP does_VBZ turn_VB out_RP that_IN these_DT novels_NNS offered_VBD provocative_JJ criticism_NN ,_, one_PRP can_MD even_RB consider_VB conducting_VBG further_JJ research_NN to_TO find_VB out_RP how_WRB much_JJ of_IN an_DT impact_NN these_DT two_CD novels_NNS had_VBD on_IN the_DT social_JJ changes NNS that WDT were VBD made VBN to TO American JJ psychological JJ health_NN care_NN during_IN and_CC after_IN the_DT late_JJ 1960s_NNS ._.

RAD1220

The_DT broader_JJR context_NN of_IN my_PRP\$ research_NN is_VBZ second_JJ language_NN acquisition_NN ,_, spoken_VBN English_NNP and_CC the_DT CEFR_NN :_: The_DT Common_JJ European_JJ Framework_NN of_IN Reference_NNP for_IN Languages NNP. . The DT Common JJ European JJ Framework NN of IN Reference_NNP for_IN Languages_NNP,_, or_CC CEFR_NN for_IN short_JJ,_, was_VBD issued VBN by IN the DT council NN of IN Europe NNP in IN 2001 CD. . The DT CEFR_NNP has_VBZ been_VBN very_RB influential_JJ so_RB far_RB in_IN curriculum_NN ,_, planning_NN ,_, language_NN examinations_NNS and_CC testing_NN ._. Moreover_RB ,_, the_DT CEFR_NNP has_VBZ had_VBN a_DT positive_JJ effect_NN on_IN the_DT promotion_NN of_IN plurilingualism_NN since_IN the_DT CEFR_NN can_MD be_VB used_VBN for_IN many_JJ languages_NNS -LRB-_-LRB- Hulstijn_NN 663 CD -RRB- -RRB- . . It PRP is VBZ a DT descriptive JJ framework NN that WDT covers_VBZ reading_NN ,_, writing_VBG ,_, listening_VBG and_CC speaking_VBG set VBN out RP over IN six CD different JJ Common JJ Reference NNP Levels NNS,, starting_VBG at_IN A1_NN and_CC ending_VBG at_IN C2_NN ,_, which_WDT is_VBZ the DT highest_JJS level_NN -LRB-_-LRB- North_NN 9_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Each_DT level_NN and_CC scale_NN is_VBZ defined_VBN by_IN `_`` can_MD do_VB '_" statements_NNS involving_VBG tasks_NNS and_CC goals_NNS that_WDT language_NN learners_NNS can_MD learn_VB in_IN order_NN to_TO master_VB a_DT language_NN ._. Though_IN it_PRP needs_VBZ to_TO be_VB said_VBN that_IN being_VBG an_DT A2learner_NN or_CC a_DT B1-learner_NN does_VBZ not_RB mean_VB they_PRP are_VBP at_IN that_DT level_NN across_IN the_DT whole_JJ scale_NN ._. A_DT learner_NN may_MD be_VB B1-level_JJ in_IN oral_JJ communication_NN skills_NNS ,_, but_CC be_VB at_IN a_DT C1-level_NN in_IN reading_NN ._. As_IN a_DT result_NN ,_, the_DT Council NNP of IN Europe NNP has VBZ stated VBN that IN using VBG a DT general_JJ term_NN as_IN B1-level_NN may_MD be_VB too_RB restricting_VBG when_WRB assessing_VBG the_DT learner_NN 's_POS abilities_NNS -LRB-_-LRB-North_JJ 12_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. I_PRP will_MD thus_RB choose_VB only_RB one_CD fluency_NN scale_NN as_IN to_TO prevent_VB this_DT research_NN of_IN becoming VBG too RB elaborate JJ. . Despite IN the DT positives NNS effects NNS that_IN the_DT CEFR_NNP has_VBZ had_VBN ,_, many_JJ scholars_NNS criticise_VBP the_DT framework_NN ._. For_IN instance_NN ,_, there_EX has_VBZ not_RB been_VBN enough_JJ research_NN concerning_VBG the_DT descriptive_JJ scales_NNS and_CC L2 NN learners NNS. . For IN instance NN, , Hulstijn NNP argues VBZ that IN

teachers_NNS do_VBP not_RB have_VB enough_JJ support_NN from_IN the_DT CEFR_NN when_WRB they_PRP assess_VBP students_NNS -LRB-_-LRB- 666_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. After_IN all_DT ,_, the_DT CEFR_NN is_VBZ not_RB based_VBN on_IN empirical JJ research NN with IN L2 NN learners NNS data NNS . . It PRP is VBZ not_RB proven_VBN that_IN L2_NN learners_NNS ,_, after_IN attaining_VBG a_DT certain JJ level NN, , can MD indeed RB perform VB every DT descriptive JJ``` can_MD do_VB '_" statement_NN given_VBN in_IN that_DT specific_JJ scale_NN ._. Hulstijn_NNP argues_VBZ in_IN his_PRP\$ article_NN that_IN research_NN is_VBZ of_IN major_JJ importance_NN ``_`` it_PRP is_VBZ high_JJ time_NN that_WDT research_NN of_IN SLA_NNP,_, researchers_NNS of_IN language_NN assessment_NN,_, and_CC corpus_NN linguists_NNS paid_VBD attention_NN to_TO each_DT other_JJ 's_POS work NN and CC engaged VBN in IN collaborative JJ research NN, testing VBG the_DT linguistic_JJ ,_, psycholinguistic_JJ ,_, and_CC sociolinguistic_JJ assumptions_NNS on_IN which_WDT the_DT CEFR_NN rests_VBZ "_" -LRB-_-LRB- 666_CD -RRB-_-RRB-._. My_PRP\$ research_NN question_NN is_VBZ :_: How_WRB does_VBZ two_CD second-year_JJ students_NNS of_IN English_NNP differ_VBP in_IN fluency_NN level_NN and_CC how_WRB can_MD they_PRP be_VB placed_VBN in_IN the_DT Common_JJ European_JJ Framework_NN of IN Reference_NNP for IN Languages_NNPS ?_. It_PRP is_VBZ relevant_JJ because_IN it_PRP has_VBZ ties_NNS with_IN the_DT Oral_NNP Communication NNP Skills NNS classes NNS at IN our PRP\$ own JJ university NN and_CC second_JJ language_NN acquisition_NN in_IN general_JJ,_, which_WDT is_VBZ important_JJ to_TO us_PRP,_, the_DT students_NNS,_, as_IN L2_NN learners_NNS ._. As_IN I_PRP have_VBP mentioned_VBN before_RB ,_, there_EX is_VBZ also_RB a_DT lack_NN of_IN empirical_JJ research_NN on_IN L2_NN learners_NNS and_CC the_DT CEFR NNP. . I PRP could MD not RB find VB any DT previous JJ research NN relating_VBG this_DT specific_JJ topic_NN ,_, because_IN this_DT is_VBZ a_DT brandnew_JJ research_NN set_VBN up_RP by_IN Dr_NNP de_IN Vries_NNP ._. I_PRP will_MD answer_VB my_PRP\$ research_NN question_NN by_IN testing_VBG two_CD secondyear_JJ students_NNS and_CC their_PRP\$ fluency_NN ._. I_PRP would_MD like_VB to_TO have_VB them_PRP do_VB three_CD different_JJ assignments_NNS to_TO see_VB how_WRB fluent_JJ they_PRP are_VBP ,_, but_CC before_IN I_PRP have_VBP them_PRP do_VB these_DT assignments_NNS ,_, they_PRP need_VBP to_TO do_VB a_DT vocabulary_NN test_NN in_IN order_NN to_TO assess_VB their_PRP\$ level_NN ._. I_PRP am_VBP going_VBG to_TO record_VB their_PRP\$ speech_NN during_IN the_DT

sessions NNS so IN I PRP can MD transcribe VB and CC analyse VB the DT session_NN afterwards_RB ._. I_PRP aim_VBP to_TO get_VB 15_CD to_TO 30_CD minutes_NNS of_IN speech_NN recorded_VBN of_IN each_DT participating_VBG student NN. . The DT topics NNS of IN the DT assignments NNS are VBP both DT academic_JJ and_CC non-academic_JJ ._. Before_IN conducting_VBG the_DT assignments NNS I PRP will MD meet VB up RP with IN the DT students NNS to TO explain_VB the_DT aims_NNS of_IN this_DT research_NN project_NN and_CC what_WP is_VBZ expected_VBN of_IN them_PRP ._. They_PRP also_RB need_VBP to_TO sign_VB a_DT consent_NN form_NN so_IN I_PRP can_MD use_VB their_PRP\$ material_NN for_IN this_DT project_NN ._. One_CD assignment_NN will_MD be_VB that_IN they_PRP have_VBP to_TO read_VB two_CD or_CC three_CD short_JJ poems_NNS ,_, preferably RB one CD they PRP have VBP had VBN in IN class NN and CC more JJR obscure_JJ poem_NN ,_, and_CC consequently_RB having_VBG them_PRP analyse_VB the DT poems NNS in IN conversational JJ manner NN. . I PRP am VBP curious JJ to_TO see_VB if_IN their_PRP\$ fluency_NN is_VBZ impeded_VBN by_IN discussing_VBG an_DT unfamiliar_JJ poem_NN or_CC not_RB ._. The_DT first_JJ assignment_NN will_MD be_VB conducted_VBN individually_RB ._. The_DT second_JJ assignment_NN will_MD entail_VB some_DT `_`` Keep_VB Britain_NNP Tidy_NNP '_POS advertisements_NNS that_IN they_PRP have_VBP to_TO describe_VB and_CC analyse VB again RB.. This DT assignment NN will MD be VB done VBN in IN pairs_NNS,_, which_WDT will_MD hopefully_RB spark_VB some_DT lively_JJ discussion NN between IN the DT two CD students NNS. . The DT third JJ assignment_NN will_MD be_VB a_DT egg-wrapping_JJ assignment_NN and_CC will_MD also_RB be_VB done_VBN in_IN pairs_NNS ._. There_EX might_MD be_VB some_DT trouble NN transcribing VBG this DT assignment NN since IN it PRP is VBZ a DT group_NN activity_NN with_IN spontaneous_JJ speech_NN ._. I_PRP might_MD have_VB to_TO get_VB some_DT help_NN from_IN the_DT students_NNS to_TO transcribe_VB this_DT accurately_RB ._. Once_RB the_DT assignments_NNS are_VBP done_VBN and_CC I_PRP have_VBP processed_VBN the_DT materials_NNS ,_, I_PRP will_MD meet VB up RP with IN the DT students NNS to TO evaluate VB the DT assignments_NNS and_CC the_DT overall_JJ process_NN ._. The_DT recorded_JJ materials_NNS need_VBP to_TO be_VB transcribed_VBN first_RB ._. I_PRP am_VBP not_RB sure_JJ how_WRB to_TO go_VB about_RB this_DT as_IN of_IN yet_RB ,_, but CC I PRP will MD figure VB this DT out RB later RB on IN . . I PRP will MD

analyse VB the DT transcriptions NNS using VBG CorpusTool NNP, , which WDT is_VBZ a_DT programme_NN that_WDT can_MD analyse_VB sentences_NNS and_CC can_MD group_VB them_PRP in_IN specific_JJ categories_NNS like_IN linking_VBG words NNS, , subjects NNS or CC objects NNS etc. FW. . I PRP will MD compare_VB each_DT students_NNS '_POS statistics_NNS and_CC look_VB for_IN significant JJ differences NNS but CC also RB similarities NNS. . After IN this DT, , I_PRP will_MD check_VB with_IN the_DT first_JJ vocabulary_NN test_NN whether_IN or_CC not_RB they_PRP are_VBP comparable_JJ with_IN the_DT statistics_NNS found_VBN in_IN Corpustool_NNP , _, but_CC I_PRP will_MD also_RB assess_VB their_PRP\$ results_NNS with_IN the_DT help_NN of_IN one_CD of_IN the_DT fluency_NN CEFR_NN scales_NNS ._. Ultimately_RB ,_, my_PRP\$ hypothesis_NN will MD be VB that IN both DT students NNS will MD be VB C2-level JJ,, but CC that_IN one_CD may_MD be_VB a_DT lower_JJR C2-level_NN or_CC a_DT high_JJ C1level NN which WDT will MD also RB show VB in IN the DT statistics NNS in IN Corpustool_NNP ._. My_PRP\$ research_NN may_MD contribute_VB to_TO the_DT field_NN in_IN the_DT sense_NN that_IN it_PRP will_MD give_VB some_DT insights_NNS in_IN how_WRB the_DT students_NNS differ_VBP in_IN their_PRP\$ fluency_NN and_CC what_WP distinguishes_VBZ a_DT very_RB fluent_JJ student_NN from_IN a_DT less_JJR fluent_JJ student_NN ._. Once_RB we_PRP know_VBP what_WP distinguishes VBZ students NNS in IN their PRP\$ fluency NN, perhaps RB we PRP can_MD gear_VB certain_JJ courses_NNS like_IN Oral_NNP Communication_NNP skills NNS towards IN improvement NN and CC awareness NN. . We PRP might MD be_VB able_JJ to_TO make_VB students_NNS aware_JJ of_IN what_WP is_VBZ good_JJ spoken_VBN English_NNP and_CC how_WRB they_PRP may_MD improve_VB themselves PRP. . Moreover RB, , during IN this DT research NN project NN I PRP will_MD test_VB whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT CEFR_NN is_VBZ a_DT valuable_JJ scheme_NN in_IN assessing_VBG the_DT fluency_NN levels_NNS of_IN students_NNS or_CC that_IN the_DT CEFR_NNP needs_VBZ reviewing_VBG ._.

RAD1253

The_DT article_NN ``_`` Information_NNP Structure_NN :_: The_DT final_JJ hurdle_NN ?_. :_: The_DT development_NN of_IN syntactic_JJ structures_NNS in_IN -LRB-_-LRB-

very RB -RRB- -RRB- advanced VBD Dutch JJ EFL NN writing VBG " "explains VBZ that_IN the_DT underuse_NN of_IN constructions_NNS such_JJ as_IN the_DT it-cleft_NN makes_VBZ English_JJ text_NN written_VBN by_IN native_JJ speakers_NNS of_IN Dutch JJ perceived VBN as IN L2 NN texts NNS. . They PRP conclude VBP that IN the_DT information-structure_NN differences_NNS between_IN Dutch_JJ and_CC English JJ are VBP the DT final JJ hurdle NN for IN Dutch JJ learners NNS of IN English_NNP as_IN a_DT foreign_JJ language_NN -LRB-_-LRB- Verheijen_NNP ,_, Los_NNP and_CC de_IN Haan_NNP 92-107_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. These_DT constructions_NNS are_VBP probably_RB underused_JJ because_IN of_IN the_DT differences NNS in IN Dutch JJ and CC English JJ grammar NN . . . This DT might MD be_VB due_JJ to_TO the_DT fact_NN that_IN , _, as_IN van_NN der_FW Beek_FW states_NNS in_IN her_PRP\$ thesis_NN ``_`` Topics_NNS in_IN Corpus-Based_JJ Dutch_JJ Syntax_NN,_, "_" it-clefts_NNS have_VBP a_DT low_JJ frequency_NN in_IN Dutch_NNP . . In IN the DT course NN Pragmatics NNS in IN Translation NN we PRP have VBP learned_VBN about_IN the_DT many_JJ information-structure_JJ differences_NNS between_IN Dutch_JJ and_CC English_JJ,_, which_WDT have_VBP to_TO do_VB with_IN the_DT SVO-structure_NN in_IN English_NNP and_CC the_DT SOVstructure_NN or_CC V2_NN structure_NN in_IN Dutch_NNP ._. In_IN this_DT course_NN we_PRP had_VBD to_TO read_VB chapter_NN nine_CD of_IN The_DT Cambridge_NNP Grammar_NN of_IN the_DT English_NNP Language_NN ,_, which_WDT describes_VBZ all_PDT the_DT properties_NNS of_IN clefts_NNS and_CC the_DT form_NN of_IN clefts NNS.. By IN using VBG his PRP\$ article NN to TO explain VB how WRB these_DT clefts_NNS work_VBP in_IN English_NNP ,_, we_PRP were_VBD taught_VBN how_WRB to_TO translate_VB those_DT into_IN felicitous_JJ Dutch_JJ sentences_NNS ._. The DT element NN that WDT is VBZ foregrounded VBN in IN the DT English NNP itcleft_NN can_MD in_IN Dutch_NNP either_CC be_VB in_IN first_JJ position_NN or_CC be_VB foregrounded_VBN in_IN the_DT middle_JJ field_NN ,_, a_DT solution_NN that WDT is VBZ only RB learned VBN by IN advanced JJ language NN learners NNS ._. Research_NNP has_VBZ been_VBN done_VBN by_IN many_JJ different_JJ researchers NNS such JJ as IN Ahlemeyer NNP and CC Kohlhof NNP, , Doherty NNP and_CC Fischer_NNP on_IN the_DT translation_NN of_IN clefts_NNS from_IN English_NNP to_TO German_NNP ._. Ahlemeyer_NNP and_CC Kohlhof_NNP show_VBP in_IN their_PRP\$ article_NN ``_`` Bridging_VBG the_DT Cleft_NNP :_: The_DT Analysis NN of IN the DT Translation NN of IN English NNP It-Clefts NNPS into IN

German_NNP ._. "_" that_IN in_IN German_JJ clefts_NNS are_VBP not_RB only_RB translated_VBN with_IN a_DT Spaltsatz_NNP,_, a_DT similar_JJ construction_NN in_IN German_JJ ,_, but_CC that_IN they_PRP also_RB use_VBP specific_JJ word_NN orders NNS, , so RB that IN the DT cleft NN can MD be VB dropped VBN as IN it_PRP is_VBZ infelicitous_JJ in_IN German_JJ -LRB-_-LRB- 1-25_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. They PRP based VBD their PRP\$ research NN on IN a DT corpus NN of IN English-German_NNP translations_NNS ,_, and_CC Doherty_NNP supports_VBZ their_PRP\$ conclusion_NN;_: she_PRP states_VBZ that_IN clefts_NNS are_VBP only_RB used_VBN in_IN German_JJ if_IN no_DT other_JJ options_NNS are_VBP options_NNS are_VBP not_RB possible_JJ -LRB-_-LRB- 273-293_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Most_JJS corpuses_NNS are_VBP based_VBN on_IN advanced_JJ language_NN learners_NNS or_CC translators NNS, , but CC little JJ research NN is VBZ focused VBN on IN the DT translations_NNS of_IN less_JJR advanced_JJ translators_NNS ._. My_PRP\$ research_NN will MD focus VB on IN the DT difference NN between IN those DT more JJR advanced_JJ learners_NNS and_CC the_DT less_JJR advanced_JJ translators_NNS ,_, and_CC my_PRP\$ research_NN question_NN will_MD be_VB ;_: will_MD the DT degree_NN of_IN English_NNP education_NN help_NN university_NN students_NNS to_TO become_VB better_RBR in_IN the_DT translation_NN of_IN it-clefts_NNS than_IN students_NNS in_IN their_PRP\$ last_JJ year_NN of_IN secondary_JJ school_NN ?_. In_IN secondary JJ school NN Dutch JJ students NNS become VBP more RBR educated VBN in_IN grammar_NN ,_, reading_NN ,_, writing_VBG and_CC communication_NN skills_NNS;_: however_RB translation_NN is_VBZ not_RB the_DT main_JJ focus_NN of_IN English_NNP education_NN . _. The_DT students_NNS become_VBP more_RBR familiar_JJ with_IN the_DT English_NNP language_NN in_IN those_DT five_CD years NNS of IN English NNP education NN and CC my PRP\$ hypothesis NN is VBZ that_IN the_DT more_RBR familiar_JJ a_DT student_NN becomes_VBZ with_IN the_DT English_NNP language_NN ,_, the_DT better_JJR he_PRP or_CC she_PRP will_MD be_VB able_JJ to_TO deal_VB with_IN translating_VBG difficult_JJ English_JJ constructions_NNS such_JJ as_IN the_DT it-cleft_NN ._. My_PRP\$ research_NN will_MD be_VB based_VBN on_IN secondary_JJ school_NN pupils_NNS ,_, but_CC it_PRP will_MD also_RB be_VB based_VBN on_IN students_NNS of_IN English_NNP at_IN University_NNP ._. I_PRP will_MD use_VB secondary_JJ school_NN pupils_NNS because_IN they_PRP are_VBP the_DT ones_NNS that_WDT start_VBP to_TO get_VB educated_VBN in_IN English_NNP . . The DT ones NNS that WDT enter VBP secondary JJ school NN have VBP just RB

enough_RB knowledge_NN to_TO be_VB able_JJ to_TO translate_VB basic_JJ sentences_NNS,_, but_CC are_VBP far_RB from_IN experts_NNS yet_RB ._. They_PRP are_VBP beginners_NNS when_WRB it_PRP comes_VBZ to_TO translation_NN ._. The DT ones NNS that WDT are VBP about IN to TO go VB to TO the DT final JJ year_NN should_MD have_VB had_VBN enough_JJ education_NN to_TO be_VB able_JJ to TO translate VB more RBR difficult JJ English JJ sentences NNS . . As IN the DT article_NN ``_`` Information_NNP Structure_NN :_: The_DT final_JJ hurdle_NN ?_. :_: The DT development_NN of_IN syntactic_JJ structures_NNS in_IN -LRB-_-LRB- very_RB -RRB-_-RRB- advanced_VBD Dutch_JJ EFL_NN writing_VBG "_" explains_VBZ that_IN the_DT it-cleft_NN is_VBZ one_CD of_IN the_DT final_JJ hurdles_NNS for_IN learners_NNS of_IN English_NNP as_IN a_DT second_JJ language_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 92-107_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, testing_VBG the_DT group_NN that_WDT has_VBZ just_RB entered_VBN secondary_JJ school_NN will_MD be_VB too_RB difficult_JJ for_IN them_PRP as_IN they_PRP will_MD not_RB have_VB had_VBN enough_JJ language_NN education_NN ._. Therefore_RB I_PRP will_MD be_VB testing_VBG the_DT following_VBG two_CD groups_NNS; :: a_DT fifth_JJ year_NN student_NN of_IN VWO_NN and_CC a_DT second_JJ year_NN student_NN of_IN English_NNP ._. In_IN that_DT way_NN I_PRP can_MD compare_VB less_JJR advanced_JJ or_CC basic_JJ learner_NN of_IN English_NNP to_TO a_DT more_RBR advanced_JJ learner_NN and_CC draw_VB my_PRP\$ conclusions_NNS on_IN whether_IN or_CC not_RB the_DT degree_NN of_IN English_NNP education_NN helps_VBZ the_DT students_NNS to_TO do VB better JJR in IN translating VBG difficult JJ English JJ constructions NNS...

RAD1277

Many_JJ articles_NNS have_VBP been_VBN written_VBN on_IN children_NNS 's_POS use_NN of_IN optional_JJ infinitives_NNS ,_, or_CC root_NN infinitives_NNS as_IN they_PRP are_VBP sometimes_RB called_VBN ._. Optional_JJ infinitives_NNS are_VBP a_DT remarkable_JJ phenomenon_NN of_IN child_NN speech_NN ,_, of_IN which_WDT all_DT children_NNS at_IN an_DT early_JJ stage_NN of_IN language_NN acquisition_NN make_VBP use_NN ._. A_DT verb_VBP qualifies_VBZ as_IN an_DT optional_JJ infinitive_JJ if_IN both_CC the_DT finite_JJ and_CC non-finite_JJ form_NN occur_VBP in_IN certain_JJ contexts_NNS ._. I_PRP find_VBP this_DT flexibility_NN incredibly_RB fascinating_JJ ,_, and_CC I_PRP would_MD love_VB to_TO discover_VB more_JJR about_IN its_PRP\$ origins_NNS and_CC implications_NNS for_IN other_JJ speech_NN

aspects NNS, , such JJ as IN the DT mean NN length NN of IN utterance NN -LRB- -LRB- MLU_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT majority_NN of_IN previously_RB published_VBN articles_NNS on_IN this_DT subject_JJ focus_NN on_IN children_NNS with IN Specific JJ Language NN Impairment NN -LRB- -LRB- SLI NN -RRB- -RRB-,_, and_CC how_WRB they_PRP often_RB experience_VBP an_DT extended_JJ stage_NN of IN optional JJ infinitive JJ production NN. . I PRP intend VBP to TO focus VB, , however_RB ,_, on_IN children_NNS without_IN any_DT impairments_NNS ,_, although_IN I_PRP might_MD make_VB some_DT comparisons_NNS occasionally_RB ._. The_DT possible_JJ presence_NN of_IN a_DT correlation_NN between_IN the_DT size_NN of_IN a_DT child_NN 's_POS MLU_NNP and_CC the_DT extent_NN to_TO which_WDT they_PRP use_VBP optional_JJ infinitives_NNS will_MD be_VB my_PRP\$ main_JJ point_NN of_IN focus_NN ._. In_IN ``_`` The_DT acquisition_NN of_IN Dutch_JJ syntax_NN "_",_, Wijnen_NN and_CC Verrips_NNS have_VBP done_VBN extensive_JJ research NN into IN the DT use NN of IN optional JJ infinitives NNS, and CC its_PRP\$ potential_JJ relation_NN to_TO the_DT mean_NN length_NN of_IN utterance_NN ._. I_PRP expect_VBP to_TO derive_VB a_DT great_JJ deal_NN of_IN information_NN from_IN their_PRP\$ work_NN ._. Schaerlaekens_NNS '_POS textbook_NN on_IN children_NNS 's_POS language_NN development_NN includes_VBZ a_DT couple_NN of_IN sections_NNS in_IN which_WDT she_PRP explains_VBZ in_IN basic_JJ terms_NNS how WRB optional JJ infinitives NNS function NN and CC what WP their PRP\$ purpose_NN is_VBZ ... I_PRP will_MD study_VB her_PRP\$ work_NN for_IN essential_JJ background NN information NN. . Furthermore RB., , I PRP intend VBP to TO analyse_VB the_DT works_NNS of_IN Haegeman_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 1995_CD -RRB-_-RRB-,_, Krämer_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 1993_CD -RRB-_-RRB-,_, Wexler_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- 1994 CD -RRB- -RRB-, , and CC Freudenthal NNP et FW al. FW -LRB- -LRB-2006_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. My_PRP\$ hypothesis_NN is_VBZ that_DT children_NNS that_WDT use_VBP finite_JJ verbs_NNS are_VBP capable_JJ of_IN producing_VBG longer_JJR sentences_NNS than_IN when_WRB they_PRP were_VBD still_RB using_VBG non-finite_JJ verbs_NNS in_IN places_NNS where_WRB grammar_NN dictates_VBZ that IN they PRP should MD use VB finite JJ verbs NNS...It PRP seems VBZ only_RB logical_JJ that_IN a_DT child_NN that_WDT knows_VBZ how_WRB and_CC when_WRB to_TO apply_VB finiteness_NN will_MD also_RB be_VB able_JJ to_TO incorporate_VB objects_NNS and_CC perhaps_RB even_RB adjectives_NNS and_CC adverbs NNS into IN the DT sentence NN, , thus RB extending VBG the DT mean NN

length_NN of_IN utterance_NN ... I_PRP intend_VBP to_TO test_VB my_PRP\$ hypothesis_NN by_IN analysing_VBG as_RB many_JJ transcripts_NNS in_IN CHILDES_NNP as_IN my_PRP\$ schedule_NN allows_VBZ ,_, and_CC then_RB comparing_VBG that_IN to_TO what_WP I_PRP have_VBP found_VBN in_IN previously_RB written_VBN academic_JJ articles_NNS ... My_PRP\$ contribution_NN to_TO the_DT field_NN will_MD probably_RB be_VB minimal_JJ ,_, since_IN I_PRP will_MD not_RB be_VB aggregating_VBG child_NN speech_NN data_NNS of_IN my_PRP\$ own_JJ ,_, but_CC rather_RB studying_VBG already_RB published_VBN material_NN ... However_RB ,_, I_PRP do_VBP hope_VB that_IN by_IN connecting_VBG loose_JJ ends_NNS and_CC regrouping_VBG information_NN ,_, I_PRP will_MD put_VB together_RB a_DT coherent_JJ survey_NN of_IN what_WP has_VBZ been_VBN researched_VBN on_IN this_DT topic_NN and_CC thereby_RB create_VB something_NN meaningful_JJ ._.

RAD1280

The_DT Common_JJ European_JJ Framework_NN for_IN Reference_NNP for_IN language_NN -LRB-_-LRB- CEFR_NN -RRB-_-RRB- is_VBZ a_DT guideline_NN which_WDT is_VBZ used_VBN to_TO describe_VB students_NNS '_POS proficiency_NN during_IN the_DT process_NN and_CC eventual_JJ end_NN result_NN -LRB-_-LRBor CC fossilization NN-RRB--RRB- when WRB acquiring VBG a DT foreign JJ language_NN ._. The_DT CEFR_NN levels_NNS range_VBP from_IN A1_NN to_TO C2_NN,_, with_IN A1_NN being_VBG a_DT beginner_NN and_CC C2_NN being_VBG the_DT highest_JJS level_NN possible_JJ ._. CEFR_NN is_VBZ often_RB used_VBN in_IN educational_JJ contexts_NNS ,_, and_CC learners_NNS ,_, language_NN teachers_NNS ,_, and CC employers NNS will MD find VB the DT framework NN very RB helpful JJ in_IN setting_VBG the_DT curricular_JJ system_NN in_IN various_JJ countries_NNS and_CC regions_NNS ._. It_PRP is_VBZ also_RB helps_VBZ people_NNS to_TO be_VB more_RBR specific_JJ about_IN what_WP language_NN students_NNS can_MD and_CC can_MD not_RB do_VB in_IN the_DT language_NN they_PRP are_VBP acquiring_VBG -LRB-_-LRB- Hulstijn_NN 663_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Hulstijn_NNP is_VBZ a_DT professor_NN from_IN the_DT university_NN of_IN Amsterdam_NNP and_CC claims_VBZ that_IN ``_`` -LSB-_-LRB- the_DT CEFR_NN -RSB-_-RRB- is_VBZ ,_, of_IN course_NN,_, not_RB perfect_JJ,_, but_CC it_PRP is_VBZ good_JJ enough_RB to_TO be VB improved VBN upon IN and CC developed VBD further RB " "-LRB--LRB-

Hulstijn NNP 663 CD -RRB- -RRB- . . In IN order NN to TO find VB out RP what WP $exactly_RB\ can_MD\ be_VB\ improved_VBN\ ,_,\ the_DT\ main_JJ\ research_NN\ question_NN$ will_MD try_VB to_TO find_VB an_DT answer_NN to_TO in_IN which_WDT ways_NNS CEFR NN is VBZ used VBN in IN evaluating VBG second JJ language NN learners_NNS and_CC how_WRB this_DT framework_NN can_MD be_VB improved_VBN . . Hulstijn NNP, , Anderson NNP and CC others NNS have VBP suggested VBN that_IN the_DT CEFR_NN is_VBZ a_DT good_JJ initiative_NN ,_, but_CC is_VBZ not_RB yet_RB perfect_JJ and_CC needs_VBZ improvement_NN ._. This_DT research_NN question_NN will_MD look_VB at_IN how_WRB the_DT CEFR_NN framework_NN is_VBZ used_VBN by_IN language_NN learners_NNS and_CC teachers_NNS and_CC might_MD show_VB what_WP aspects_NNS of_IN the_DT framework_NN work_NN as IN hoped VBN and CC what WP can MD be VB improved VBN. . After IN finding_VBG what_WP can_MD be_VB improved_VBN about_IN the_DT framework_NN , , a DT proposal NN to TO certain JJ changes NNS can MD be VB made VBN , , which_WDT in_IN turn_NN ,_, may_MD lead_VB to_TO a_DT better_JJR functioning_VBG CEFR_NN ._. Previous_JJ research_NN has_VBZ shown_VBN that_IN the_DT CEFR_NN is_VBZ a_DT good_JJ starting_VBG point_NN ._. Some_DT say_VBP it_PRP is_VBZ far_RB from_IN perfect_JJ and_CC needs_VBZ more_RBR improvement_NN whilst_IN others_NNS say_VBP ,_, including_VBG CEFR_NN itself PRP say VBP, , that IN this DT is VBZ a DT good JJ framework NN in IN itself_PRP and_CC should_MD be_VB used_VBN as_IN guidelines_NNS rather_RB than IN as IN strict JJ scales NNS. . Some DT critics NNS of IN the DT framework_NN,_, such_JJ as_IN Little_JJ,_, find_VB it_PRP problematic_JJ that_IN the_DT CEFR_NN scales_NNS have_VBP no_DT reference_NN to_TO a_DT specific_JJ language NN-LRB--LRB- Alderson NNP 660 CD-RRB--RRB-. . However RB, , quite_RB recently_RB ,_, a_DT project_NN has_VBZ been_VBN set_VBN up_RP to_TO develop_VB Reference_NNP Level_NNP Descriptions_NNPS specifically_RB for_IN English_NNP,_, but_CC Alderson_NNP claims_VBZ that_IN this_DT project_NN was_VBD flawed_VBN from_IN the_DT beginning_NN because_IN of_IN its_PRP\$ narrow JJ focus NN on IN students NNS who WP have VBP taken VBN a DT Cambridge_NNP ESOL_NNP exam_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 660_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Another DT study NN which WDT is VBZ conducted VBN is VBZ all DT about IN Anchor_NNP Items_NNS for_IN Foreign_JJ Language_NN Skills_NNS -LRB-_-LRB-EBAFLS NN-RRB--RRB-, , it PRP aims VBZ to TO be VB more RBR transparent JJ

and_CC reliable_JJ so_RB that_IN diplomas_NNS across_IN borders_NNS really_RB do_VBP have_VB the_DT same_JJ value_NN ._. Bonnet_NN states_NNS that_WDT with_IN the_DT CEFR_NN this_DT is_VBZ still_RB not_RB the_DT case_NN ._. Although IN there EX is VBZ some DT research NN done VBN on IN trying VBG to_TO improve_VB the_DT CEFR_NN or_CC come_VB up_RP with_IN a_DT variant_NN on IN it PRP, Hulstijn NNP argues VBZ that IN the DT task NN to TO develop VB and_CC test_VB a_DT theory_NN of_IN language_NN proficiency_NN will_MD remain_VB on_IN the_DT agenda_NN forever_RB -LRB-_-LRB- 664_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT hypothesis_NN that_WDT will_MD be_VB explored_VBN in_IN this_DT research_NN paper_NN is_VBZ that_IN the_DT CEFR_NN scales_NNS , , which_WDT are_VBP often_RB used_VBN in_IN educational_JJ contexts_NNS ,_, are_VBP in_IN need_NN of_IN improvement_NN ._. This_DT hypothesis_NN will_MD be_VB attested_VBN by_IN the_DT means_NNS of_IN two_CD sub-hypotheses_NNS ._. One_CD ,_, Language_NN learners_NNS as_RB well_RB as_IN language_NN teachers_NNS and_CC native_JJ speakers_NNS find_VBP the_DT CEFR_NN scales_NNS vaguely_RB defined_VBN and_CC two_CD ,_, There_EX is_VBZ no_DT consensus_NN amongst_IN teachers_NNS and_CC native_JJ speakers_NNS about_IN the_DT CEFR_NN level_NN of_IN the_DT students_NNS ._. This_DT research_NN paper_NN aims_VBZ to_TO serve_VB as_IN a_DT starting_VBG point_NN for_IN a_DT critical_JJ research_NN in_IN which_WDT the_DT CEFR_NN is_VBZ respected_VBN for_IN its_PRP\$ usefulness_NN ,_, but_CC is_VBZ thoroughly_RB investigated_VBN and_CC tested_VBN to_TO become VB more RBR efficient JJ, , reliable JJ, , transparent JJ and CC easier JJR to_TO use_VB not_RB only_RB by_IN language_NN teachers_NNS but_CC also_RB by_IN language_NN learners_NNS ._. These_DT improvements_NNS on_IN the_DT CEFR NN scales NNS will MD allow VB language NN teachers NNS to TO reach VB consensus_NN on_IN students_NNS '_POS levels_NNS and_CC language_NN students_NNS will_MD have_VB a_DT better_JJR understanding_NN of_IN why_WRB they_PRP have_VBP achieved_VBN a_DT certain_JJ level_NN and_CC not_RB the_DT other_JJ ._. The_DT participants_NNS for_IN this_DT research_NN proposal_NN will_MD be VB a DT group NN of IN 80 CD Dutch JJ students NNS of IN English NNP in IN secondary_JJ school_NN -LRB-_-LRB- age_NN 12_CD --_: 18_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Next_JJ to_TO the_DT students_NNS will_MD be_VB a_DT group_NN of_IN 10_CD English_JJ language_NN teachers_NNS and_CC a_DT group_NN of_IN 10_CD native_JJ speakers NNS of IN English NNP. . The DT students NNS will MD be VB shown VBN a DT clip NN and CC afterwards RB they PRP have VBP to TO describe VB what WP they_PRP saw_VBD in_IN the_DT clip_NN ._. After_IN that_DT ,_, the_DT experimenter_NN will_MD ask_VB a_DT set_NN of_IN five_CD questions_NNS in_IN order NN to TO get VB some DT spontaneous JJ speech NN produced VBN by IN the_DT students_NNS ._. To_TO round_VB off_RP the_DT experiment_NN there_EX will MD be VB a DT short JJ questionnaire NN in IN which WDT there EX will MD be_VB questions_NNS about_IN what_WP they_PRP thought_VBD about_IN the_DT experiment_NN,_, about_IN CEFR_NN and_CC what_WP they_PRP find_VBP difficult_JJ whilst IN using VBG CEFR NN as IN a DT framework NN. . The DT oral JJ experiments_NNS -LRB-_-LRB- short_JJ story_NN and_CC spontaneous_JJ speech_NN -RRB-_-RRB- will_MD be_VB recorded_VBN and_CC the_DT students_NNS ,_, the_DT teachers NNS, , and CC the DT native JJ speakers NNS of IN English NNP will MD be_VB asked_VBN to_TO assign_VB a_DT CEFR_NN level_NN to_TO each_DT student NN. . After IN all PDT the DT data NNS has VBZ been VBN collected VBN ,_, I_PRP will_MD analyze_VB the_DT data_NNS and_CC see_VB whether_IN there_EX are_VBP any_DT differences_NNS between_IN the_DT assigned_VBN CEFR_NN levels_NNS ._. Through_IN the_DT motivation_NN which_WDT students_NNS ,_, teachers_NNS and_CC native_JJ speakers_NNS gave_VBD ,_, I_PRP will_MD try_VB to_TO find_VB out_RP what_WP the_DT choice_NN was_VBD for_IN that_DT specific_JJ level NN. . Ideally RB for IN this DT research NN. , students NNS, , teachers NNS ,_, and_CC native_JJ speakers_NNS will_MD think_VB that_IN a_DT student_NN could MD be VB assigned VBN two CD different JJ levels NNS . . Based VBN on IN this_DT information_NN,_, combined_VBN with_IN the_DT teachers_NNS '_POS and_CC native_JJ speakers_NNS '_POS motivation_NN for_IN a_DT specific_JJ level_NN ,_, and CC the DT questionnaires NNS about IN the DT functionality NN of IN CEFR NN ,_, I_PRP will_MD try_VB to_TO redefine_VB or_CC improve_VB the_DT descriptions_NNS of_IN the_DT CEFR_NN levels_NNS ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0016.1

Before IN we PRP can MD discuss VB the DT situation NN of IN French JJ education_NN today_NN and_CC in_IN the_DT recent_JJ past_NN we_PRP should_MD look VB at IN its PRP\$ history NN as IN this DT helps VBZ to TO explain VB the DT elitisme_NN in_IN the_DT system_NN ._. We_PRP need_VBP to_TO go_VB back_RB to_TO the_DT late_JJ 18th_JJ century_NN when_WRB Napoleon_NNP put_VBD forward_RB his_PRP\$ views_NNS on_IN education_NN ._. He_PRP believed_VBD that_IN people_NNS should_MD be_VB educated_VBN in_IN order_NN for_IN the_DT state_NN to_TO run_VB smoothly_RB ._. ie_FW :_: he_PRP did_VBD not_RB really_RB believe_VB in IN the DT right NN of IN people NNS to TO be VB educated VBN just RB in IN the_DT need_NN of_IN the_DT state_NN for_IN people_NNS to_TO be_VB educated_VBN ._. As_IN most_JJS of_IN the_DT population_NN were_VBD involved_VBN in_IN agriculture_NN at_IN that_DT time_NN ,_, there_EX was_VBD only_RB need_VB for_IN a_DT very_RB basic_JJ primary_JJ education_NN for_IN the_DT majority_NN of_IN people_NNS ._. This_DT he_PRP left_VBD mainly_RB up_RB to_TO the DT church NN as IN he PRP believed VBD the DT church NN would MD promote_VB social_JJ cooperation_NN ._. Secondary_JJ and_CC Higher_JJR education_NN were VBD more RBR important JJ as IN the DT would MD train VB the DT professionals_NNS which_WDT the_DT country_NN needed_VBD ,_, and_CC this_DT section_NN of_IN education_NN was_VBD therefore_RB run_VBN by_IN the_DT state_NN ._. At_IN this_DT stage_NN we_PRP can_MD already_RB see_VB the_DT opportunity_NN for_IN a_DT gap_NN between_IN primary_JJ &_CC secondary_JJ education NN which WDT remained VBD in IN fact NN until IN relatively RB recently_RB ,_, despite_IN attempts_NNS at_IN reforms_NNS which_WDT I_PRP will_MD go_VB into_IN later_RB ._. This_DT system_NN of_IN education_NN did_VBD not_RB lead_VB to_TO much_JJ social_JJ mobility_NN as_IN the_DT children_NNS from_IN poorer_JJR social_JJ backrounds_NNS left_VBD school_NN after_IN primary_JJ ,_, ``_`` ecole_FW primaire_FW "_" ,_, with_IN a_DT very_RB basic_JJ education_NN ,_, whereas_IN the_DT children_NNS from_IN richer_JJR backgrounds_NNS could_MD go_VB on_IN to_TO secondary_JJ and_CC higher_JJR education_NN ._. These_DT ``_`` bourgeois_FW "_" children_NNS would_MD then_RB go_VB on_IN to_TO Lycée_NNP and_CC either_RB to_TO University_NNP or_CC ``_`` Les_NNP Grandes_NNP

Ecoles_NNP "_" so_IN joining_VBG the_DT class_NN of_IN the_DT élite_NN ._. This_DT elitism_NN has_VBZ survived_VBN to_TO a_DT certain_JJ degree_NN up_IN to_TO today_NN ._. The_DT gap_NN between_IN primary_JJ and_CC secondary_JJ education_NN became VBD a DT major JJ concern NN for IN the DT later JJ governments NNS... Under_IN the_DT second_JJ and_CC third_JJ republics_NNS not_RB much_RB advance NN was VBD made VBN on IN the DT education NN question NN as IN this_DT did_VBD not_RB appear_VB to_TO be_VB a_DT priority_NN ._. Under_IN the_DT forth_RB republic_NN reforms_NNS were_VBD proposed_VBN but_CC because_IN of_IN the_DT multi-party_JJ governments_NNS who_WP had_VBD to_TO face_VB internal_JJ struggles_NNS all_PDT the_DT time_NN ,_, they_PRP failed_VBD in_IN most_JJS cases_NNS to_TO be_VB passed_VBN ._. The_DT main_JJ proposal_NN for IN reform NN put VBD forward RB by IN Jean NNP Zay NNP & CC later RB the_DT Languin-Wallon_NNP plan_NN which_WDT formed_VBD the_DT basis_NN for_IN the_DT eventual_JJ reforms_NNS ,_, concerned_JJ what_WP was_VBD called_VBN ``_`` orientation_NN "_" ._. This_DT was_VBD an_DT attempt_NN to_TO bring_VB primary_JJ and_CC secondary_JJ edcuatin_NN together_RB ._. It_PRP should_MD be_VB said_VBN here_RB that_IN earlier_JJR attempts_NNS at_IN increasing_VBG the_DT role_NN of_IN primary_JJ and_CC secondary_JJ education_NN and_CC making_VBG it_PRP open_JJ to_TO all_DT frightened_VBD the_DT bourgeoisie_NN who_WP then_RB sent VBD their PRP\$ children NNS to TO schools NNS linked VBN to TO the DT Lycées_NNPS so_IN that_IN they_PRP still_RB had_VBD an_DT advantage_NN ._. Longuin-Wallon NNP plan NN proposed VBD an DT orientation NN period NN from IN the_DT age_NN of_IN 11_CD to_TO 15_CD which_WDT would_MD be_VB compulsory_JJ for_IN all_DT children_NNS and_CC would_MD provide_VB a_DT more RBR coherent JJ link NN between IN primary JJ and CC secondary JJ education_NN ._. Two_CD years_NNS of_IN this_DT orientation_NN would_MD be_VB a_DT set_NN syllabus_NN for_IN all_DT pupils_NNS of_IN all_DT abilities_NNS giving_VBG everyone_NN an_DT equal_JJ chance_NN ._. After_IN these_DT two_CD years_NNS the_DT pupils_NNS would_MD choose_VB options_NNS according_VBG their PRP\$ interests NNS and CC their PRP\$ abilities NNS. . This DT system NN was_VBD the_DT basis_NN for_IN the_DT CES_NN -LRB-_-LRB- collège_NN d'enseignement_NN secondaires_NNS -RRB-_-RRB- These_DT proposals_NNS were_VBD thwarted_VBN twice_RB by_IN the_DT two_CD world_NN wars_NNS but_CC are_VBP now RB in IN operation NN...I PRP will MD now RB explain VB how WRB the DT

system_NN works_VBZ today_NN ,_, how_WRB it_PRP compares_VBZ to_TO England_NNP and_CC why_WRB , _, despite_IN attempts_NNS by_IN the_DT government_NN,_, the_DT system_NN is_VBZ still_RB prone_JJ to_TO elitism_NN ._. We PRP have VBP already RB seen VBN how WRB the DT CES NN works VBZ so_RB now_RB we_PRP can_MD discuss_VB what_WP happens_VBZ next_JJ ._. Pupils NNS can MD either RB stay VB on IN in IN secondary JJ education NN ie FW CES_FW until_IN they_PRP are_VBP 16_CD and_CC then_RB leave_VBP school_NN or_CC they_PRP can_MD go_VB to_TO a_DT Lycée_NNP where_WRB they_PRP will_MD take_VB the_DT bacalauréat_NN in_IN either_CC Science_NN or_CC Arts_NNS ._. The_DT third_JJ option_NN ,_, which_WDT was_VBD not_RB always_RB available_JJ ,_, is_VBZ the_DT Lycée_NNP technique_NN where_WRB the_DT courses_NNS are_VBP more_RBR vocational_JJ ._. You_PRP study_NN for_IN 1_CD ,_, 2_CD or_CC 3_CD years_NNS at_IN the_DT Lycée_NNP technique_NN ._. After_IN the_DT first_JJ year_NN you PRP receive VBP a DT PEP NN - : prévé NN d'études NNS professionelles NNS . . After_IN two_CD years_NNS you_PRP receive_VBP a_DT CEP_NN -_: certificat_NN d'enseignements_NNS professionelles_NNS and_CC after_IN 3_CD years_NNS a_DT CAP_NN -_: certificat_NN d'aptitude_NN professionelles_NNS ._. Most_JJS of_IN the_DT pupils_NNS leaving_VBG the_DT Lycée_NNP technique_NN will_MD go_VB to_TO work_VB ,_, although_IN they_PRP can_MD take_VB other_JJ exams_NNS if_IN they_PRP wish_VBP to_TO go_VB on_IN to_TO higher_JJR education_NN ._. It_PRP is_VBZ rather_RB like_IN a_DT technical_JJ college_NN in_IN England_NNP ._. Lycée NNP is VBZ more RBR like IN a DT sixth JJ form NN college NN although IN the_DT bacalauréat_NN is_VBZ not_RB the_DT same_JJ as_IN A_DT levels_NNS,_, as_IN you_PRP study_VB more_RBR subjects_NNS for_IN one_CD exam_NN ._. After_IN attaining VBG the DT bacalauréat NN you PRP can MD go VB to TO university NN... There_EX is_VBZ relatively_RB little_JJ selection_NN in_IN French_JJ universities_NNS ,_, especially_RB when_WRB you_PRP compare_VBP it_PRP with_IN the_DT British_JJ system_NN of_IN required_JJ grades_NNS and_CC interviews_NNS ._. This_DT may_MD appear_VB to_TO evade_VB elitism_NN but_CC unfortunately_RB it_PRP does_VBZ not RB as IN children NNS from IN lower JJR classes NNS will MD be VB guided_VBN towards_IN more_JJR practical_JJ subjects_NNS in_IN the_DT orientation_NN period_NN and_CC so_IN the_DT Lycée_NNP technique_NN because_IN their_PRP\$ parents_NNS would_MD be_VB able_JJ to_TO afford_VB to_TO put_VB them PRP through IN university NN. . A DT system NN of IN grants NNS for IN

the_DT first_JJ two_CD years_NNS was_VBD proposed_VBN to_TO try_VB and_CC avoid_VB this_DT ... So_RB by_IN the_DT time_NN the_DT student_NN reaches_VBZ university_NN,_, there_EX is_VBZ already_RB a_DT marked_JJ case_NN of_IN elitism NN. . There EX is VBZ one CD more JJR extreme JJ case NN of IN elitism NN however_RB and_CC that_DT is_VBZ the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP ._. To_TO get VB into IN one CD of IN these DT highly RB prestigious JJ colleges NNS you PRP have_VBP to_TO take_VB another_DT exam_NN as_RB well_RB as_IN having_VBG the_DT bac_NN ,_, rather_RB like_IN oxford_NN and_CC Cambridge_NNP ._. They_PRP are_VBP highly_RB selective_JJ and_CC elitist_JJ ._. The_DT three_CD main_JJ schools_NNS are_VBP Ecole_NNP Polytechnique_NNP ,_, Ecole_NNP Normale_NNP superieure_NN and_CC Ecole_NNP National_NNP d'Administration_NNP ._. From_IN these_DT schools_NNS people_NNS go_VBP on_IN to_TO occupy_VB the_DT highest_JJS paid_VBN jobs_NNS in_IN the_DT private_JJ and_CC public_JJ sector_NN ._. As_IN an_DT example_NN of_IN their_PRP\$ power_NN and_CC prestige_NN we_PRP can_MD look_VB at_IN Giscard_NNP D'Estaign_NNP first_RB cabinet_NN ._. Out_IN 16_CD members_NNS 7_CD were_VBD from_IN the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP ._. For_IN a_DT general_JJ comparison_NN between_IN the_DT French_NNP &_CC English_NNP systems_NNS we_PRP can_MD start_VB with_IN the_DT primary_JJ schools_NNS ._. In_IN short_JJ the_DT French_NNP is_VBZ moving_VBG towards_IN the_DT old_JJ English_JJ system_NN of_IN teaching_VBG a_DT wider_JJR range_NN of_IN subjects_NNS and_CC giving_VBG teachers_NNS more_RBR autonomy_NN to_TO decide VB on IN what WP and CC how WRB to TO teach VB whereas IN England_NNP is_VBZ reverting_VBG to_TO the_DT French_JJ method_NN of_IN a_DT cour-curricula_JJ set_VBN out_RP by_IN a_DT centralized_JJ body_NN ._. There_EX is VBZ always RB going VBG to TO be VB a DT problem NN with IN university NN being_VBG associated_VBN with_IN elitism_NN because_IN of_IN the_DT fact_NN that_IN poorer_JJR families_NNS would_MD rather_RB see_VB their_PRP\$ children_NNS going_VBG out_RP to_TO work_VB than_IN being_VBG a_DT drain_NN on_IN their_PRP\$ resorces_NNS ,_, even_RB though_IN the_DT selection_NN process_NN in_IN itself_PRP is_VBZ not_RB classist_JJ ._. The_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP are_VBP exceptional_JJ cases_NNS ,_, and_CC as_IN with_IN Oxford_NNP and_CC Cambridge_NNP,_, you_PRP will_MD find_VB that_IN most_JJS of_IN its_PRP\$ entrants_NNS are_VBP upper_JJ class_NN ,_, public_JJ school_NN boys_NNS who_WP will MD come VB out RP and CC work NN in IN the DT highest JJS jobs NNS - :

wages_NNS wise_JJ and_CC prestige_NN wise_JJ -_: and_CC perpetuate_VB the_DT cycle_NN by_IN sending_VBG their_PRP\$ children_NNS to_TO the_DT best_JJS schools_NNS money_NN can_MD buy_VB ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0017.1

Studies NNS in IN demography NN have VBP shown VBN that IN the DT growth NN of_IN a_DT nation_NN is_VBZ closely_RB linked_VBN to_TO its_PRP\$ economic_JJ development_NN ,_, social_JJ structure_NN ,_, and_CC also_RB cultural_JJ trends_NNS ._. On_IN studying_VBG France_NNP throughout_IN the_DT twentieth_JJ century_NN we_PRP can_MD see_VB that_IN this_DT is_VBZ indeed_RB true_JJ ._. If_IN we_PRP start_VBP at_IN the_DT beginning_NN of_IN the_DT century_NN we_PRP see_VBP that IN the DT growth NN of IN the DT population NN was VBD inhibited VBN greatly_RB by_IN the_DT first_JJ world_NN war_NN ,_, where_WRB France_NNP suffered_VBD many_JJ losses_NNS ._. The_DT fact_NN that_IN the_DT men_NNS in_IN the_DT society_NN left_VBD to_TO fight_VB meant_VBN that_IN the_DT number_NN of_IN births_NNS was_VBD reduced_VBN greatly_RB ._. This_DT was_VBD also_RB the_DT case_NN on_IN the_DT return_NN of_IN the_DT men_NNS ,_, when_WRB many_JJ did_VBD not_RB come_VB back_RB having_VBG been_VBN killed_VBN ._. Therefore_RB after_IN the_DT first_JJ world_NN war_NN the_DT population_NN of_IN France NNP decreased VBD greatly RB. . Immigration NNP was VBD already RB present_JJ at_IN this_DT time_NN ,_, and_CC helped_VBD to_TO make_VB up_RP for_IN the_DT large_JJ number_NN of_IN losses_NNS in_IN the_DT war_NN ._. Slowly_RB the_DT population_NN began_VBD to_TO build_VB itself_PRP up_RP again_RB until_IN the_DT beginning_NN of_IN the_DT Second_JJ World_NNP War_NNP ._. In_IN this_DT war NN France NNP did VBD not RB suffer VB as RB many JJ casualties NNS and CC deaths_NNS as_IN in_IN the_DT first_JJ world_NN war_NN ,_, but_CC the_DT fact_NN that_IN there_EX had_VBD already_RB been_VBN losses_NNS made_VBD the_DT situation_NN grave_NN for_IN France_NNP ._. The_DT economy_NN needed_VBD rebuilding_NN,_, as_IN did_VBD the_DT whole_JJ country_NN,_, and_CC the_DT work_NN force_NN was_VBD very_RB depleated_JJ ._. There_EX was_VBD an_DT urgent_JJ call_NN for_IN immigrant_JJ workers_NNS to_TO come_VB to_TO France_NNP ,_, and_CC indeed_RB they_PRP did_VBD come_VB -LRB-_-LRB- about_IN 4_CD million_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. When_WRB the_DT troops_NNS came_VBD home_NN ,_, and_CC families_NNS were_VBD reunited_VBN there_EX was_VBD a_DT great_JJ

increase_NN in_IN births_NNS ._. The_DT previous_JJ Malthusian_JJ attitude_NN that_WDT less_JJR children_NNS meant_VBD a_DT better_JJR life_NN and_CC greater_JJR security_NN was_VBD replaced_VBN by_IN a_DT new_JJ attitude_NN that WDT in IN order NN to TO create VB and CC rebuild VB France NNP a DT strong_JJ workforce_NN was_VBD needed_VBN ._. Having_VBG a_DT child_NN was VBD regarded VBN as IN an DT` `` investment NN in IN the DT future NN ' "... The_DT french_JJ realised_VBN that_IN a_DT defeat_NN was_VBD due_JJ to_TO the_DT fact_NN that_IN they_PRP were_VBD not_RB a_DT strong_JJ nation_NN ,_, and_CC they_PRP wanted_VBD to_TO build_VB such_PDT a_DT nation_NN ._. The_DT gouvernement_NN also_RB adopted_VBD various_JJ policies_NNS to_TO try_VB and_CC increase_VB births_NNS in_IN the_DT society_NN ._. It_PRP was_VBD suggested_VBN in IN the DT 1920s NNS that WDT contraception NN should MD be VB made VBN illegal_JJ , _, but_CC in_IN the_DT end_NN this_DT was_VBD restricted_JJ ._. Family NNP allowances NNS were VBD increased VBN, , and CC medical JJ costs_NNS were_VBD paid_VBN for_IN in_IN order_NN to_TO try_VB and_CC encourage_VB births_NNS ... Also_RB leave_VB from_IN work_NN was_VBD increased_VBN ._. The_DT main_JJ incentive_NN was_VBD however_RB that_IN the_DT economy_NN was_VBD improving_VBG all_PDT the_DT time_NN ,_, there_EX was_VBD full_JJ employment_NN which_WDT generated_VBD security_NN and_CC therefore_RB created VBD the DT right JJ sort NN of IN environment NN to TO favour VB birth NN ._. There_EX was_VBD therefore_RB a_DT baby_NN boom_NN in_IN the_DT after_IN war NN period NN, , during IN " " les FW trente FW glorieuses NNS " ". . This DT lasted_VBD until_IN the_DT 1970s_NNS when_WRB a_DT slight_JJ decrease_NN in_IN births_NNS was_VBD recorded_VBN ._. It_PRP was_VBD decided_VBN that_IN this_DT decrease NN was VBD due JJ to TO changes NNS in IN attitudes NNS in IN society_NN ._. Firstly_RB ,_, education_NN possibilities_NNS had_VBD been_VBN improved_VBN ,_, and_CC therefore_RB more_JJR people_NNS stayed_VBD in_IN further_JJ education_NN which_WDT delayed_VBD marriages_NNS which_WDT had_VBD become_VBN rarer_RBR ._. Women_NNS also_RB tended_VBD more_JJR to_TO want_VB to_TO be_VB educated_VBN ,_, and_CC to_TO continue_VB in_IN further_JJ education_NN,_, as_IN more_JJR opportunities_NNS became_VBD available_JJ for_IN them_PRP on_IN the_DT job_NN market_NN as_IN industries_NNS boomed_VBD and_CC office_NN jobs_NNS were_VBD in_IN their_PRP\$ plenty_NN ._. As_IN more_JJR women NNS began VBD to TO work VB births NNS dropped VBD as IN work NN

was VBD not RB compatible JJ with IN a DT family NN, , although IN more JJR facilities_NNS for_IN looking_VBG after_IN children_NNS were_VBD created_VBN such_JJ as_IN crèches_NNS ._. Women_NNS even_RB if_IN they_PRP did_VBD not_RB particularly RB want VB a DT career NN still RB tended VBD to TO stay VB in IN education_NN as_IN it_PRP was_VBD regarded_VBN as_IN giving_VBG them_PRP a_DT cultural JJ background NN considered VBN necessary JJ in IN french JJ society NN... As_IN the_DT economy_NN developed_VBD society_NN became_VBD a_DT consumer_NN society_NN ,_, and_CC couples_NNS began_VBD to_TO favour_VB having_VBG material_NN things_NNS rather_RB than_IN say_VB a_DT second_JJ child_NN ._. Couples_NNS preferred_VBN having_VBG a_DT car_NN ,_, or_CC annual_JJ holidays_NNS to_TO a_DT child_NN , _, and_CC thus_RB the_DT birth_NN rate_NN decreased VBD. . Also RB attitudes NNS of IN young JJ people NNS helped VBD to_TO decrease_VB the_DT birth_NN rate_NN ,_, as_IN more_JJR co-habitation_NN was_VBD seen_VBN ,_, and_CC fewer_JJR marriages_NNS ._. With_IN the_DT reintroduction_NN of_IN contraception_NN readily_RB available_JJ and_CC also_RB the_DT IVG_NNP programme_NN in_IN 1974_CD this_DT helped_VBD to_TO decrease_VB the_DT number_NN in_IN births_NNS ._. At_IN the_DT moment_NN the_DT french_JJ population_NN is_VBZ not_RB even_RB actually_RB renewing_VBG itself_PRP ,_, as_IN each_DT family_NN needs_VBZ to_TO have_VB 2_CD children_NNS which_WDT it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB having_VBG ._. If_IN it_PRP had_VBD not_RB been_VBN for_IN immigration_NN ,_, the_DT population_NN would_MD have_VB been_VBN around_IN 36_CD million_CD instead_RB of_IN the_DT 56_CD million_CD it_PRP is_VBZ today_NN ._. With_IN the_DT decrease_NN in_IN births_NNS ,_, there_EX is_VBZ therefore_RB an_DT increase_NN in_IN the_DT number_NN of_IN old_JJ people NNS in IN french JJ society NN as IN medecine NN and CC healthy JJ eating_NN provides_VBZ a_DT longer_RBR life_NN expectancy_NN ._. This_DT is_VBZ quite_RB a_DT problem_NN in_IN France_NNP as_IN the_DT older_JJR generation_NN cost_VBD a_DT great_JJ deal_NN of_IN money_NN to_TO support_VB ,_, and_CC the_DT fact_NN that_IN their_PRP\$ support_NN is_VBZ seen_VBN as_IN a_DT past_JJ debt_NN rather_RB than_IN a_DT future_JJ investment_NN in_IN the_DT case_NN of_IN children_NNS,_, makes_VBZ such_JJ support_NN be_VB given_VBN rather_RB begrudgingly_RB ._. There_EX have_VBP been_VBN further_JJ recent_JJ attempts_NNS to_TO try_VB and_CC encourage_VB the_DT birth_NN of_IN children_NNS ,_, such_JJ as IN leave NN being VBG increased VBN to TO six CD months NNS, , and CC

cash_NN payments_NNS being_VBG made_VBN for_IN third_JJ children_NNS ,_, other_JJ payments_NNS being_VBG greatly_RB increased_VBN also_RB ._. This_DT however_RB does_VBZ not_RB seem_VB to_TO have_VB won_VBN over_IN the_DT current_JJ materialism NN of IN the DT society NN of IN today NN. . If IN the DT graph NN below_IN is_VBZ studied_VBN than_IN we_PRP can_MD see_VB that_IN demography NN is VBZ definitely RB related JJ to TO the DT economic JJ, cultural_JJ and_CC social_JJ trends_NNS of_IN a_DT country_NN ._. <graph>_JJ The_DT current_JJ situation_NN of_IN the_DT population_NN today_NN is_VBZ that_IN there_EX are_VBP more_RBR old_JJ people_NNS in_IN society_NN than_IN young_JJ ,_, and_CC that_IN when_WRB the_DT children_NNS born_VBN during_IN the_DT baby_NN boom_NN reach_VBP old_JJ age_NN ,_, there_EX will_MD be_VB more_RBR old_JJ people_NNS than_IN young_JJ ,_, which_WDT may_MD lead_VB to_TO an_DT ``_`` immobilisme_NN "_" of_IN society_NN where_WRB there_EX are_VBP no_DT new_JJ ideas NNS and CC fresh JJ blood NN. . Recent JJ studies NNS show VBP however RB that_IN marriage_NN is_VBZ now_RB being_VBG favoured_VBN again_RB ,_, and_CC not_RB being_VBG delayed_VBN as_IN it_PRP was_VBD earlier_RBR ,_, although_IN there_EX are_VBP no_DT signs_NNS that_IN materialism_NN is_VBZ decreasing_VBG ,_, and_CC with_IN the_DT current_JJ economic_JJ situation_NN ,_, where_WRB there_EX is_VBZ great_JJ job_NN instability_NN and_CC high_JJ unemployment_NN there_EX is_VBZ not_RB ,_, today_NN ,_, a_DT very_RB favourable_JJ environment_NN to_TO encourage_VB birth_NN ,_, even_RB though_IN all_DT possible_JJ is_VBZ being_VBG done VBN to TO encourage VB it PRP as IN regards VBZ allowances NNS., lodging_NN ,_, job_NN security_NN ,_, and_CC child-minding_NN ._. France_NNP is_VBZ again_RB in_IN difficulty_NN ,_, and_CC it_PRP remains_VBZ to_TO be_VB seen VBN when WRB it PRP will MD be VB able JJ to TO remedy VB the DT situation_NN,_, as_IN mainly_RB the_DT economic_JJ situation_NN is_VBZ the_DT problem_NN -_: a_DT secure_JJ environment_NN is_VBZ needed_VBN in_IN order_NN for_IN births_NNS to_TO be_VB favoured_VBN ._.

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The_DT roots_NNS of_IN the_DT problems_NNS in_IN higher_JJR education_NN lie_NN with_IN Napoleon_NNP 's_POS policy_NN on_IN education_NN which_WDT was_VBD to_TO educate_VB a_DT well-trained_JJ small_JJ elite_NN to_TO run_VB the_DT country_NN ,_, while_IN guaranteeing_VBG that_IN the_DT country_NN remained_VBD

stable JJ by IN ensuring VBG that IN the DT majority NN of IN the DT population NN was_VBD not_RB over-educated_JJ ._. Although_IN any_DT French_JJ citizen_NN with_IN the_DT baccaleauréat_NN is_VBZ entitled_VBN through_IN the_DT constitution NN to TO a DT university NN education NN, , the DT system NN is VBZ still_RB characterised_VBN by_IN major_JJ inequalities_NNS ._. The_DT system_NN of IN non-selection JJ for IN all DT university JJ courses NNS -LRB- -LRB- with IN a_DT few_JJ exceptions_NNS such_JJ as_IN dentistry_NN and_CC medecine_NN had_VBD led_VBN to_TO the_DT impoverishment_NN of_IN the_DT quality_NN of_IN instruction_NN and_CC the_DT status_NN of_IN the_DT universities_NNS ._. Trying_VBG to_TO appear_VB to_TO be_VB democratic_JJ ,_, the_DT system_NN allows_VBZ any_DT bachelier_NN to_TO enter_VB the_DT first_JJ year_NN of_IN a_DT university_NN course_NN ._. However_RB ,_, the_DT drop_NN out_RP rate_NN is_VBZ incredibly_RB high_JJ,_, about_IN 57_CD %_NN,_, so_RB many_JJ waste_NN a_DT year_NN and_CC undergo_VBP a_DT great_JJ deal_NN of_IN stress_NN ,_, both_CC emotional_JJ and_CC financial_JJ in_IN this_DT manner_NN ._. Before_IN the_DT Evènements_NNS of_IN 1968_CD ,_, many_JJ argued_VBD that_IN the_DT universities_NNS were_VBD overcrowded_JJ,_, dirty_JJ,_, and_CC ruled_VBD to_TO closely_RB from_IN Paris_NNP ._. After_IN 1968_CD ,_, Edgar_NNP Faure_NNP tried_VBD to_TO allow_VB for_IN more_JJR autonomy_NN and_CC less_JJR direct_JJ rule_NN from_IN Paris_NNP ._. Although IN the DT Ministry NNP was VBD still RB to TO be VB responsible JJ for_IN Building_NN costs_NNS ,_, the_DT universities_NNS were_VBD to_TO be_VB allowed_VBN to_TO divide_VB into_IN Unités_NNP d'Enseignement_NNP et_NNP de_FW Recherche_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- UER_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- and CC given_VBN more_RBR freedom_NN in_IN chosing_VBG accademic_JJ staff_NN ._. However_RB ,_, universities NNS were VBD often RB divided VBN into IN new JJ universities NNS according_VBG to_TO the_DT political_JJ leanings_NNS of_IN its_PRP\$ professors_NNS ,_, and_CC have_VBP been_VBN held_VBN back_RP by_IN political_JJ squabbles_NNS ._. The_DT university_NN graduate_NN does_VBZ not_RB enjoy_VB the_DT same_JJ prestigue_NN as_IN his_PRP\$ European_JJ counterparts_NNS ._. The_DT Universities NNS have VBP little JJ contact NN with IN the DT outside JJ business NN world_NN and_CC the_DT divided_VBN nature_NN of_IN the_DT UERs_NNS allows_VBZ little_JJ scope_NN for_IN cross_JJ fertilization_NN of_IN disciplines_NNS ._. A_DT licence_NN,_, does_VBZ not_RB automatically_RB guarantee_VB a_DT good_JJ job_NN ,_, and_CC a_DT ``_`` jeune_NN diplomé_NN "_" could_MD quite_RB easily_RB

find VB himself PRP working VBG in IN a DT supermarket NN check-out NN... Many_JJ students_NNS ,_, therefore_RB wonder_VB if_IN it_PRP is_VBZ worth_IN the_DT strain_NN of_IN the_DT French_JJ university_NN which_WDT does_VBZ not_RB guarantee VB any DT future NN. . When WRB it PRP comes VBZ to TO the DT top_JJ jobs_NNS ,_, the_DT ex-students_NNS of_IN the_DT ``_`` Grandes_NNP Ecoles NNP " " will MD always RB be VB top JJ priority NN. . Described VBN by IN ``_`` The_DT Guardian_NNP "_" as_IN ``_`` The_DT Cram_NNP de_FW la_FW Cream_NN "_",_, these_DT schools_NNS train_VBP an_DT elite_NN for_IN future_JJ top_JJ careers_NNS in_IN administration_NN ,_, industry_NN and_CC government_NN ._. Twothirds_NNS of_IN the_DT top_JJ hundred_CD french_JJ firms_NNS have_VBP directors_NNS who_WP are_VBP ex_FW graduates_NNS of_IN these_DT schools_NNS ._. The DT privileged JJ graduates NNS of IN these DT schools NNS can MD guarantee_VB a_DT high-ranking_JJ career_NN and_CC and_CC accelerated_VBD promotion_NN ._. Entry_NN to_TO these_DT schools_NNS is_VBZ via_IN highly_RB competetive_JJ exams_NNS ,_, requiring_VBG two_CD of_IN three_CD years_NNS of_IN intensive_JJ studying_VBG in_IN ``_`` classe_JJ préparatoires_NNS "_" after_IN the_DT baccalauréat_NN in_IN lycées_NNS ,_, far_RB superior_JJ to_TO anything_NN studied_VBN in_IN the_DT first_JJ two_CD years_NNS at_IN university_NN ._. Only_RB one_CD in_IN twenty_CD candidates_NNS is_VBZ successful_JJ and_CC once_RB enroled_VBD in_IN a_DT Grande_NNP Ecole_NNP ,_, the_DT work_NN will_MD be_VB nowhere_RB near_IN so_RB intense_JJ as_IN it_PRP was_VBD in_IN these_DT preparatory JJ classes NNS.. The DT status NN of IN these DT schools NNS is VBZ not_RB necessarily_RB due_JJ to_TO the_DT quality_NN of_IN the_DT teaching_NN they_PRP offer_VBP ,_, but_CC is_VBZ based_VBN on_IN the_DT calibre_NN of_IN its PRP\$ students NNS, , and CC the DT quality NN of IN the DT various JJ figures_NNS associated_VBN with_IN it_PRP ._. These_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP ,_, with_IN their_PRP\$ selective_JJ entry_NN processes_NNS are_VBP the_DT inverse_NN of_IN the_DT universities_NNS ._. Where_WRB the_DT universities_NNS are_VBP poorly_RB equipped_VBN ,_, the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP have_VBP more_RBR generous_JJ allowances_NNS ._. The_DT select_JJ and_CC small_JJ number_NN of_IN the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP contrasts_VBZ with_IN the_DT overcrowding_NN in IN the DT university NN lecture NN theatres NNS. . Whereas IN the DT university_NN courses_NNS tend_VBP to_TO be_VB narrow_JJ in_IN perspective_NN and CC the DT universities NNS are VBP cut VBN off RP from IN the DT external JJ

world_NN , _, courses_NNS in_IN the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP are_VBP far_RB more_RBR general_JJ in_IN nature_NN and_CC they_PRP have_VBP en_IN established_JJ network_NN of_IN links_NNS in_IN industry_NN and_CC with_IN the_DT business_NN world NN. . A DT graduate NN of IN a DT Grande NNP Ecole NNP will MD be VB set_VBN up_RP for_IN life_NN ,_, not_RB only_RB by_IN the_DT guarantee_NN of_IN a DT good JJ job NN but CC also RB through IN the DT `` `` old-boys JJ " " network_NN ,_, through_IN which_WDT graduates_VBZ from_IN the_DT same_JJ school_NN will_MD always_RB do_VB each_DT other_JJ favours_NNS ._. Higher_JJR education_NN is_VBZ still_RB the_DT privilege_NN of_IN the_DT middle_JJ and_CC upperclasses_NNS ,_, with_IN only_RB about_RB 6_CD %_NN of_IN the_DT university_NN population_NN coming_VBG from_IN working_VBG class_NN backgrounds_NNS,_, compared_VBN to_TO 30_CD %_NN in_IN British_JJ Universities_NNS ._. This_DT is_VBZ even_RB more_RBR accentuated_VBN in_IN the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP,_, which_WDT are_VBP largely_RB the_DT domaine_NN of_IN the_DT children_NNS of_IN ``_`` cadres_NNS supérieurs_NNS "_" and_CC have_VBP proportionally_RB more_RBR men_NNS then_RB female_JJ ... In_IN 1945_CD ,_, Debré_NNP established_VBD the_DT Grande_NNP Ecole_NNP for_IN Administration_NNP,_, with_IN the_DT aim_NN of_IN democratising_VBG or_CC depariscarising_VBG the_DT Civil_NNP Service_NNP via_IN this_DT school_NN ._. However_RB ,_, it_PRP remains_VBZ that_IN the_DT majority_NN of_IN these_DT pupils_NNS are_VBP children_NNS of_IN ``_`` cadres_NNS Superieures_NNS "_",_, male NN, , and CC from IN the DT Parisian JJ region NN. . Attempts NNS have VBP been_VBN made_VBN to_TO make_VB higher_JJR education_NN more_RBR accessible_JJ ,_, for_IN example_NN the_DT establishment_NN of_IN the_DT University NNP of IN Vincennes NNP for IN non-bacheliers NNS and CC through IN the_DT introduction_NN of_IN ``_`` Instituts_NNP Universitaires_NNP de_IN Technologie_NNP "_" -LRB-_-LRB- IUTS_NN -RRB-_-RRB- which_WDT lead_VBP to_TO diplomas_NNS with_IN a_DT technical_JJ and_CC vocational_JJ bias_NN ._. However_RB ,_, the_DT snobbery_NN within_IN the_DT French_JJ system_NN meant_VBD that_IN these_DT qualifications_NNS were_VBD accredited_VBN with_IN low_JJ prestigue_NN ._. However_RB ,_, employers_NNS are_VBP now_RB beginning_VBG to_TO accept_VB them_PRP ._. It_PRP has_VBZ been_VBN argued_VBN that_IN the_DT Universityes_NNP are_VBP the_DT ``_`` car-parks_JJ "_",_, for_IN the_DT student_NN proletariat_NN ,_, while_IN ``_`` Les_NNP Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP "_"

provide_VB the_DT nurseries_NNS for_IN the_DT nations_NNS future_JJ leaders_NNS and_CC that_IN the_DT IUTs_NNS are_VBP factories_NNS to_TO churn_VB out_RP the_DT workforce_NN to_TO keep_VB industry_NN and_CC the_DT economy_NN running_VBG smoothly_RB and_CC that_IN the_DT Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP are_VBP to_TO train_VB the_DT nations_NNS future_JJ leaders_NNS to_TO run_VB the_DT country_NN ._. The_DT French_NNP higher_JJR education_NN system_NN remains_VBZ embued_JJ with_IN snobbery_NN ._. It_PRP is_VBZ entranched_VBN with_IN out-dated_JJ conceptions_NNS and_CC prejudices_NNS which_WDT prevent_VBP it_PRP from_IN advancing_VBG into_IN a_DT universally_RB equal_JJ system_NN ._.

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In IN discussing VBG the DT factors NNS which WDT have VBP marked VBN the DT development_NN of_IN industrial_JJ relations_NNS in_IN France_NNP under_IN the_DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ first_JJ worth_JJ mentioning_VBG that_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP established_VBD the_DT `_`` comités_FW d'entreprise_FW '_" in_IN 1946_CD ,_, a_DT forum_NN where_WRB the_DT management_NN -LRB-_-LRBpatronat_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, staff_NN and_CC trade_NN unions_NNS could_MD meet_VB to_TO discuss_VB the_DT business_NN objectives_NNS and_CC solve_VB any_DT disputes_NNS between_IN different_JJ interest_NN groups_NNS ._. It_PRP must MD also RB be VB noted VBN before IN beginning VBG the DT discussion NN of_IN the_DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP ,_, that_IN from_IN 1884-1968_CD French_JJ Unions_NNS did_VBD not_RB have_VB the_DT right_NN to_TO organise_VB collectively_RB at_IN the_DT workplace_NN ,_, they_PRP only_RB had_VBD the_DT right_NN to_TO `_`` social_JJ status_NN '_" -_: as_IN a_DT national_JJ body_NN ._. Furthermore RB, the DT French JJ union NN movement NN is VBZ not RB organized_VBN according_VBG to_TO professions_NNS as_IN in_IN Great_NNP Britain_NNP,_, but_CC along_IN lines_NNS of_IN ideological_JJ stance_NN,_, which_WDT gives_VBZ it_PRP a_DT different_JJ role_NN altogether_RB ._. The_DT French_JJ unions_NNS were_VBD not_RB ,_, for_IN a_DT long_JJ time_NN ,_, concerned_VBN with_IN representing_VBG the_DT immediate_JJ material_NN interests_NNS of_IN their_PRP\$ members_NNS ,_, but_CC in_IN fighting_VBG longterm_JJ battles_NNS which_WDT they_PRP hoped_VBD would_MD bring_VB about_IN a_DT better_JJR and_CC more_RBR just_RB society_NN ._. The_DT CGT_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- Conféderation NNP Générale NNP du NNP Travail NNP -RRB- -RRB- the DT

largest_JJS union_NN with_IN ca_MD 1.2_CD million_CD members_NNS -LRB-_-LRBit_PRP claims_VBZ more_RBR -RRB-_-RRB- has_VBZ always_RB had_VBN strong_JJ communist_NN affiliations_NNS ,_, and_CC has_VBZ constantly_RB been_VBN hostile_JJ to TO cooperation NN with IN the DT patronat NN, seeing VBG its PRP\$ role NN as_IN the_DT destruction_NN of_IN capitalism_NN ._. The_DT CFDT_NNP -LRB-_-LRB-Conféderation NNP française NN démocratique NN du NNP travail NN -RRB- -RRB-, , has_VBZ a_DT more_RBR reformist_JJ stance_NN ,_, and_CC the_DT FO_NN -LRB-_-LRB- Force_NN Ouvrière_NN -RRB-_-RRB- has_VBZ a_DT more_RBR co-operation_NN nature_NN ._. Perhaps_RB due_JJ to_TO the_DT ideological_JJ extremism_NN of_IN the_DT CGT_NNP,_, perhaps_RB through_IN fear_NN of_IN losing_VBG jobs_NNS,_, or_CC of_IN opposing_VBG a_DT very_RB authoritative_JJ patronat_NN ,_, union_NN membership NN in IN France NNP has VBZ always RB been VBN weak JJ,, representing_VBG at_IN the_DT present_JJ time_NN only_RB 15_CD %_NN of_IN the_DT workforce NN. . Thus RB we PRP begin VB our PRP\$ discussion NN of IN the DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP ... From_IN 1958_CD to_TO 1973_CD ,_, economic_JJ growth_NN ,_, full_JJ employment_NN and_CC prosperity_NN meant_VBD that_IN industrial_JJ disputes_NNS were_VBD fairly_RB few_JJ and_CC far_RB between_IN ._. Negotiation_NN at_IN any_DT level_NN was_VBD pretty_RB rare_JJ as_RB well_RB ._. The_DT French_JJ patronat_NN fall_NN into_IN three_CD categories_NNS :_: the_DT mandarin_NN -_: who_WP is_VBZ a_DT product_NN of_IN the_DT French_JJ elite_NN and_CC a_DT bureaucrat_NN; : the_DT American-style_JJ boss_NN who_WP has_VBZ worked VBN his PRP\$ way NN up IN through IN the DT hierarchy NN; and CC the_DT remnants_NNS of_IN the_DT old_JJ bourgeois_NN dynasties_NNS ._. Although_IN today_NN ,_, we_PRP can_MD divide_VB basic_JJ attitudes_NNS to_TO industrial_JJ relations_NNS into_IN two_CD groups_NNS :_: the_DT `_`` patron_NN patrimoinial_NN -_: who_WP regards_VBZ his_PRP\$ firm_NN as_IN part_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ own_JJ personal_JJ heritage_NN which_WDT he_PRP governs_VBZ by_IN divine_JJ right_NN;_: and_CC the_DT `_`` patron-Saint-Simonien_NN '_" -_: who_WP has_VBZ a_DT more_RBR co-operative_JJ stance_NN ,_, realising_VBG the_DT creative_JJ potential_NN of_IN a_DT motivated_JJ and_CC happy_JJ workforce_NN ._. Although_IN the_DT proportion_NN of_IN the_DT latter_JJ is_VBZ growing_VBG ,_, French_JJ industrial_JJ relations_NNS have_VBP been_VBN marred_VBN by_IN a_DT majority_NN of_IN the_DT former_JJ,_, probably_RB due_JJ to_TO the_DT organisation_NN of_IN French_JJ industry_NN in_IN small JJ and CC medium-sized JJ businesses NNS.. So RB from IN 1958-73 CD,

we_PRP witness_NN a_DT lot_NN of_IN patronat_NN control_NN ,_, an_DT excess_NN of_IN `_`` contractualisation_NN '_" :_: patronat_NN agreements_NNS with_IN individual_JJ workers_NNS,_, a_DT lack_NN of_IN collective_JJ negotiations_NNS,_, despite_IN the_DT comité_NN d'entreprise_NN ._. The_DT unions_NNS ,_, in_IN particular_JJ the_DT CGT_NNP ,_, spent_VBD its_PRP\$ time_NN showing_VBG its_PRP\$ allegiance NN to TO the DT international JJ proletariat NN and CC the DT Soviet JJ Communists_NNPS by_IN organising_VBG sporadic_JJ ,_, ineffective_JJ one-day_JJ strikes_NNS which_WDT were_VBD ineffective_JJ ._. Then_RB in_IN 1968_CD ,_, as_IN a_DT result_NN of_IN the_DT massive_JJ demonstrations_NNS and_CC frustation_NN ,_, the_DT unions_NNS won_VBD the_DT right_NN to_TO organize_VB at_IN the_DT workplace_NN ._. Union_NNP members_NNS were_VBD ceded_VBN noticeboards_NNS and_CC a_DT greater_JJR part_NN in_IN negotiations_NNS ._. In_IN 1973_CD at_IN the_DT time_NN of_IN the_DT first_JJ oil_NN shock_NN ,_, the_DT CGT_NNP saw_VBD this DT as IN a DT chance NN to TO finally RB bring VB down RP capitalism NN and_CC used_VBN strikes_NNS to_TO exacerbate_VB the_DT government_NN 's_POS attempts_NNS to_TO bring_VB down_RP inflation_NN . . . The_DT unions_NNS demanded_VBD higher_JJR salaries_NNS but_CC in_IN the_DT face_NN of_IN high_JJ inflation_NN and_CC unemployment_NN ,_, these_DT demands_NNS were_VBD totally_RB unrealistic_JJ ._. The_DT patronat_NN began_VBD to_TO get_VB annoyed_JJ and_CC between_IN 1975_CD and_CC 1977_CD refused_VBD categorically_RB to_TO discuss_VB salaries_NNS,_, a_DT reduction_NN in_IN the_DT working_VBG week_NN and_CC holidays_NNS with_IN the_DT unions_NNS ._. Union_NNP membership_NN fell_VBD drastically_RB as_IN employees_NNS tried_VBD desperately_RB to_TO cling_VB on_IN to_TO their_PRP\$ jobs_NNS by_IN agreeing_VBG to_TO any_DT type NN of IN contract NN with IN the DT patronat NN. . When WRB Mitterrand NNP came_VBD to_TO power_NN in_IN 1981_CD ,_, despite_IN the_DT lack_NN of_IN links_NNS between_IN French_JJ unions_NNS and_CC the_DT Socialist_NNP party_NN ,_, the_DT unions_NNS were_VBD hopeful_JJ that_IN workers_NNS '_POS rights_NNS would_MD improve_VB ._. The_DT French_JJ government_NN has_VBZ always_RB been_VBN interventionist_JJ and_CC in_IN truth_NN ,_, workers_NNS have_VBP done_VBN better_RB from_IN state_NN legislation_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 1884-social_JJ statute_NN,_, 1968-right_JJ to_TO organize_VB at_IN the_DT workplace_NN -RRB-_-RRB- than_IN from_IN the_DT political_JJ games_NNS of_IN the_DT unions_NNS ._. In IN 1982 CD, , we PRP see VBP a DT turning-point NN in IN French JJ industrial JJ

relations_NNS with_IN the_DT passing_NN of_IN the_DT lois_NN Auroux_NNP ._. Firstly_RB ,_, the_DT workers_NNS were_VBD granted_VBN the_DT long-awaited_JJ reduction_NN in_IN working_VBG hours_NNS to_TO 39_CD a_DT week_NN ._. There_EX was_VBD to_TO be_VB a_DT `_`` Réglement_NNP Intérieur_NNP '_POS stating_VBG all_DT rules_NNS of_IN firm_NN practice_NN ,_, so_RB that_IN employees NNS would MD know VB when WRB they PRP were VBD infringing VBG on_IN their_PRP\$ employers_NNS '_POS terms_NNS ._. Any_DT discipline_NN case_NN could_MD be_VB referred_VBN to_TO the_DT `_`` Conseil_NNP de_NNP Prud_NNP `_`` hommes_NNS '_" ,_, to_TO assure_VB that_IN there_EX had_VBD not_RB been_VBN arbitrary_JJ disciplining_VBG and_CC that_IN the_DT penalty_NN fitted_VBD the_DT infringement_NN -_: Workers_NNS had_VBD the_DT right_NN to_TO elect_VB their PRP\$ own JJ members NNS to TO this DT body NN. . The DT right NN of IN negotiation_NN and_CC wage_NN -_: bargaining_NN by_IN the_DT unions_NNS was VBD extended VBN to TO firms NNS of IN less JJR than IN 50 CD employees_NNS,_, and_CC the_DT comité_NN d'entreprise_NN had_VBD now_RB to_TO discuss_VB salaries_NNS and_CC working_VBG hours_NNS on_IN an_DT annual_JJ basis_NN ._. Union_NNP representatives_NNS were_VBD protected_VBN from_IN discrimination_NN by_IN hostile_JJ bosses_NNS ,_, and_CC granted_VBD the_DT right_NN to_TO do_VB union_NN work_NN on_IN firm_JJ time_NN -_: in_IN some_DT cases NNS they PRP even RB got VBD offices NNS. . With IN the DT new JJ change_NN in_IN negotiations_NNS and_CC as_IN a_DT result_NN of_IN the_DT oil_NN shocks_NNS ,_, there_EX was_VBD also_RB a_DT change_NN in_IN the_DT bosses_NNS '_POS attitudes_NNS . _. There_EX has_VBZ been_VBN an_DT increase_NN in_IN the_DT number_NN of_IN `_`` patron_NN Saint-Simoniens_NNS '_POS who_WP have_VBP begun VBN to TO realise VB the DT potential NN of IN a DT cooperative JJ and CC happy_JJ workforce_NN ._. Workers_NNS also_RB have_VBP the_DT right_NN to_TO express_VB their_PRP\$ opinions_NNS directly_RB to_TO management_NN as_IN a_DT result_NN of_IN the_DT lois_NN Auroux_NNP ,_, instead_RB of_IN having_VBG to_TO go_VB via_IN the_DT comité_NN d'entreprise_NN or_CC their_PRP\$ 'd_MD élégué_VB syndical_NN '_" ._. There_EX were_VBD management-inspired_JJ improvements_NNS to_TO working_VBG conditions_NNS and_CC Labour_NN relations_NNS ._. Surprisingly_RB ,_, the_DT unions_NNS were_VBD hostile_JJ to_TO these_DT -_: fearing_VBG that_IN management_NN was_VBD trying_VBG to_TO push_VB them_PRP to TO the DT sidelines NNS and CC undermining VBG their PRP\$ power NN to TO

represent_VB workers_NNS '_POS interests_NNS ._. Two_CD examples_NNS of_IN such_JJ `_`` enlightened_VBN '_" bosses_NNS were_VBD Carayon_NNP and_CC Bougeneaux_NNP -_: Carayon_NNP tried_VBD to_TO reduce_VB monotony_NN by_IN forming VBG production NN teams NNS in IN semi-autonomous JJ groups NNS,, so_RB that_IN the_DT could_MD fulfil_VB projects_NNS completing_VBG -_: learning VBG from IN each DT other JJ, , giving VBG each DT worker NN a DT sense_NN of_IN achievement_NN importance_NN and_CC worth_NN ,_, and_CC team_NN spirit_NN . . . This_DT move_NN was_VBD successful_JJ in_IN increasing_VBG productivity_NN and_CC is_VBZ widely_RB adopted_VBN in_IN France_NNP,_, although_IN the_DT CGT_NNP were_VBD suspicious_JJ and_CC had_VBD him_PRP removed_VBN from_IN power_NN ._. Bougeneaux_NNP used_VBD staff-participation_JJ schemes NNS to TO encourage VB staff NN to TO participate VB in IN the DT running_NN of_IN their_PRP\$ firm_NN ,_, to_TO increase_VB innovation_NN ,_, and_CC a DT sense NN of IN belonging VBG. . This DT worked VBD well RB too RB. . The_DT Eighties_NNP also_RB marked_VBD the_DT era_NN of_IN individualism_NN,_, when_WRB workers_NNS preferred_VBN to_TO form_VB individual_JJ links_NNS with_IN bosses_NNS rather_RB than_IN collective_JJ negotiation_NN ._. This_DT may_MD be_VB because_RB ,_, as_IN Union_NNP membership_NN fell_VBD ,_, the_DT Unions_NNS appeared_VBD even_RB more_RBR extreme_JJ than_IN before_RB because IN those DT who WP remained VBD were VBD committed VBN political JJ activists_NNS ... Thus_RB individual_JJ agreements_NNS have_VBP risen_VBN ,_, and CC the DT unions NNS have VBP lost VBN power NN. . They PRP organised_VBD strikes_NNS as_IN a_DT measure_NN of_IN protest_NN against_IN the_DT`_`` politique_NN d'austérité_NN '_" in_IN 1983_CD , _, but_CC apart_RB from_IN the DT disruptions NNS of IN 1986 CD over IN salaries NNS, , have VBP been VBN fairly_RB inactive_JJ ._. French_JJ industrial_JJ relations_NNS have_VBP been_VBN characterized_VBN by_IN a_DT strong_JJ authorative_JJ patronat_NN but_CC one_CD which_WDT has_VBZ evolved_VBN in_IN the_DT face_NN of_IN economic_JJ pressure_NN;_: a_DT state_NN which_WDT protects_VBZ workers_NNS by_IN intervening VBG in IN otherwise RB largely RB hostile JJ relationships NNS, , a DT weak_JJ unionized_VBD group_NN;_: and_CC a_DT series_NN of_IN individual_JJ agreements_NNS between_IN management_NN and_CC workers_NNS which_WDT looks_VBZ as_IN if_IN it_PRP will_MD continue_VB throughout_IN the_DT 90_CD 's POS..

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All DT industrial JJ relations NNS are VBP based VBN on IN socialist JJ groupings_NNS ._. In_IN France_NNP unionisation_NN has_VBZ proved_VBN to_TO be_VB very_RB weak_JJ and_CC generally_RB unsuccessful_JJ and_CC this_DT seems VBZ to TO reflect VB the DT Socialist NNP political JJ parties NNS,, whose_WP\$ underlying_JJ predudices_NNS and_CC differences_NNS make_VBP them_PRP divided_VBN and_CC unstable_JJ too_RB ._. When_WRB the_DT socialists_NNS came_VBD to_TO power_NN in_IN 1981_CD ,_, the_DT Trade_NNP Unions_NNS hoped_VBD to_TO gain_VB a_DT lot_NN ... In_IN the_DT Auroux_NNP laws_NNS of_IN 1982/3_CD the_DT socialists_NNS looked_VBD to_TO sorting_VBG out_RP the_DT ``_`` code_NN du_NNP travail_NN "_" whose_WP\$ laws_NNS had_VBD barely_RB been_VBN implemented_VBN especially_RB due_JJ to_TO the_DT large_JJ number NN of IN Petite JJ et FW Moyenne FW Entreprise FW which WDT existed_VBD ._. They_PRP changed_VBD about_IN 1/3_CD of_IN this_DT ``_`` Code NNP du NNP Travail NNP " " giving VBG greater JJR protection NN in IN the_DT workplace_NN for_IN the_DT worker_NN ,_, rules_NNS on_IN disciplinary_JJ matters_NNS publicised_VBN and_CC checked_VBN by_IN the_DT Ministry_NNP of_IN Labour_NNP,_, and_CC increased_VBD freedom_NN of_IN expression_NN ._. Completely_RB against_IN the_DT TU_NNP 's_POS wishes_NNS ,_, and_CC before_IN the_DT 1986_CD elections_NNS ,_, the_DT Socialists_NNPS made_VBD redundancy_NN easier_JJR to_TO give_VB and_CC were_VBD trying_VBG to_TO make_VB the_DT working_VBG week_NN more_RBR flexible_JJ ._. Trade_NNP Unions_NNS were_VBD legalised VBN in IN 1884 CD, , although IN they PRP were VBD not RB allowed_VBN to_TO form_VB meetings_NNS or_CC have_VB a_DT place_NN on_IN the_DT factory_NN floors_NNS and_CC public_JJ services_NNS ,_, including_VBG railways NNS were VBD at IN first JJ forbidden VBN to TO unionize VB... However_RB they_PRP had_VBD to_TO wait_VB until_IN Nov_NNP 1968_CD for_IN trade_NN unions_NNS to_TO be_VB given_VBN a_DT legal_JJ status_NN in_IN factories_NNS and_CC work_NN places_NNS ._. This_DT came_VBD after_IN violent_JJ and_CC extensive_JJ strikes_NNS during_IN May_NNP 1968_CD when_WRB it_PRP is_VBZ said_VBD that_IN approximately_RB 100,000_CD workers_NNS striked_VBD ,_, frightening_JJ employers_NNS into_IN changing_VBG attitudes_NNS ._. The_DT main_JJ Trade NNP Union NNP group NN is VBZ the DT CGT NNP founded VBN in IN

1895_CD and_CC very_RB closely_RB attached_VBN to_TO the_DT Communist_JJ party_NN -LRB-_-LRB- PCF_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. It_PRP advocates_VBZ industrial_JJ action_NN and_CC membership_NN of_IN the_DT PCF_NN is_VBZ a_DT large_JJ aid NN in IN being VBG a DT member NN. . Then RB there EX is VBZ the DT CGT-FO_NN -LRB-_-LRB- conféderation_NN générale_NN du_NNP travail-force_NN ouvrière NN-RRB--RRB- which WDT was VBD a DT break-away NN from IN the DT Communist_JJ CGT_NN in_IN 1947_CD ._. The_DT 3rd_JJ biggest_JJS party_NN is_VBZ the_DT CFDT_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- Confédération_NNP française_NN democratique_NN du_NNP travail_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. This_DT is_VBZ a_DT group_NN form_NN in_IN 1963_CD when_WRB the_DT CFTC_NNP broke_VBD up_RP as_IN it_PRP had_VBD become_VBN too_RB radical_JJ for_IN many_JJ of_IN its_PRP\$ Catholic_JJ members NNS.. The DT CFDT NNP is VBZ connected VBN with IN the DT PS NNP -LRB-_-LRB- Partie_NNP Socialiste_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- although_IN it_PRP is_VBZ the_DT least_JJS eager_JJ to_TO appear_VB as_IN acting_VBG as_IN a_DT back-up_JJ for_IN politics_NNS ._. Besides_IN these_DT 3_CD groups_NNS there_EX are_VBP many_JJ other_JJ Trade_NNP Union_NNP formations_NNS in_IN France_NNP -_: their_PRP\$ large_JJ number_NN meaning_NN weakness_NN and_CC low_JJ membership_NN ._. The_DT economic_JJ crisis_NN of_IN the_DT 70s_CD meant_VBD that_IN union_NN membership_NN fell_VBD dramatically_RB ._. The_DT Unions_NNS can_MD pressure_VB employers_NNS on_IN matters_NNS of_IN wages_NNS and_CC working_VBG conditions_NNS when_WRB there_EX is_VBZ a_DT recession_NN on_IN ,_, but_CC they_PRP are_VBP powerless_JJ in_IN economic_JJ crisis.As_NNS unemployment_NN rose_VBD ,_, wages_NNS were_VBD held_VBN down_RP in_IN the_DT name_NN of_IN competition_NN ._. Chaos_NN reigned_VBD ._. Due_JJ to_TO the DT expulsion NN of IN the DT Communists NNPS from IN government NN in IN 1947_CD and_CC the_DT following_VBG split_NN of_IN the_DT CGT_NNP to_TO create_VB the_DT CGT-FO_NN ,_, there_EX has_VBZ been_VBN much_JJ hostility_NN between_IN Communists_NNPS and CC non-Communists_NNPS ._. The_DT Communists_NNPS adopted_VBD and_CC kept_VBD the_DT aim_NN for_IN industrial_JJ revolution_NN in_IN the_DT footsteps_NNS of_IN the_DT proles_NNS in_IN the_DT Soviet_NNP Union_NNP ._. Employers_NNS are_VBP also_RB afraid_JJ of_IN them_PRP as_IN they_PRP donot_VBP really_RB know_VB how_WRB far_RB they_PRP want_VBP to_TO go_VB ... Of_IN course_NN ,_, hostilities_NNS increased_VBN during_IN the_DT Cold NNP War NNP, , but CC surely RB relations NNS should MD be VB cooler JJR

with IN present JJ West-East JJ relations NNS improving VBG. . TU NNP membership_NN in_IN France_NNP is_VBZ approximation_NN 3-4_CD million_CD ._. French_JJ unionization_NN was_VBD approximately_RB 23_CD %_NN in_IN the_DT 70s CD and CC has VBZ fallen VBN to TO around IN 11 CD % NN now RB... Collective-bargaining_JJ has_VBZ been_VBN introduced_VBN but_CC is_VBZ very_RB difficult JJ due JJ to TO all PDT the DT representatives NNS needed VBN from IN each_DT TU_NNP ._. The_DT government_NN began_VBD very_RB interventionalist_JJ in_IN its_PRP\$ efforts_NNS to_TO rebuild_VB the_DT economy_NN ._. It_PRP also_RB had_VBD to_TO act_VB as_IN a_DT go-between_NN between_IN the_DT employers_NNS and_CC employees_NNS who_WP refused_VBD to_TO get_VB on_IN :_: the_DT employers_NNS refused_VBD to_TO recognise_VB the_DT trade_NN unions_NNS as_IN a_DT legitimate_JJ and_CC safe_JJ partner_NN ._. Relations_NNS between_IN them_PRP remained_VBD hostile_JJ and_CC unco-operative_JJ until_IN the_DT events_NNS of_IN May NNP 1968 CD frightened VBD the DT employers NNS into IN believing VBG there_RB would_MD be_VB a_DT revolution_NN ._. They_PRP therefore_RB began_VBD to_TO listen_VB more_RBR closely_RB to_TO employees_NNS ,_, speaking_VBG to_TO them_PRP directly_RB and_CC so_RB making_VBG the_DT Trade_NNP Unions_NNS redundant_JJ ._. The_DT TUs_NNS were_VBD at_IN the_DT time_NN not_RB being_VBG looked_VBD on_IN favourably_RB anyway_RB ,_, after_IN accepting_VBG the_DT Grenelle_NNP agreemts_NNS proposed_VBD immediatly_RB after_IN the_DT events_NNS of_IN May_NNP 1968_CD ... The_DT workers_NNS felt_VBD that_IN they_PRP had VBD been VBN compromised VBN.. The DT elections NNS of IN 1986 CD were_VBD a_DT first_RB ,_, as_IN the_DT trade_NN unions_NNS gave_VBD no_DT specific_JJ indications_NNS or_CC directions_NNS to_TO their_PRP\$ members_NNS ,_, as IN previously RB done VBN, on IN how WRB to TO vote VB. The DT CGT_NNP were_VBD doubtful_JJ of_IN the_DT Communists_NNPS success_NN ,_, which_WDT was_VBD well_RB anticipated_VBN as_IN they_PRP did_VBD not_RB do_VB too_RB healthily_RB ._. It_PRP seems_VBZ very_RB doubtful_JJ that_IN any_DT trade_NN union_NN will_MD ever_RB gain_VB concessions_NNS from_IN a_DT government_NN ,_, be_VB it_PRP left_VBD or_CC right_NN ._. Employers_NNS do_VBP regret_VB the_DT lack_NN of_IN unionism_NN in_IN their_PRP\$ firms_NNS though_RB ,_, because_IN when_WRB trouble_NN does_VBZ arise_VB ,_, the_DT workers_NNS are_VBP not_RB organised_VBN and_CC have_VBP no_DT leadership_NN;_: concession_NN groups_NNS led_VBN by_IN political_JJ activists_NNS usually_RB

emerge_VBP ,_, which_WDT are_VBP obviously_RB not_RB good_JJ for_IN the_DT employers_NNS ._. More_RBR and_CC more_RBR employers_NNS are_VBP setting_VBG up_RP discussion_NN groups_NNS to_TO ease_VB talks_NNS between_IN themselves_PRP and_CC their_PRP\$ employees_NNS ._. These_DT extend_VBP the_DT ``_`` comités_JJ d'enterprise_NN "_" which_WDT were_VBD strengthened_VBN after_IN 1968_CD but_CC make_VB no_DT decisions_NNS and_CC are_VBP simply_RB forums_NNS for_IN discussion_NN :_: they_PRP are_VBP consultative_JJ bodies_NNS ._.

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Although_IN the_DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP has_VBZ been_VBN considerably_RB more_RBR stable_JJ than_IN previous_JJ Republics_NNS ,_, there_EX have_VBP ,_, however RB, , been VBN various JJ changes NNS in IN government NN which WDT have_VBP prevented_VBN continuity_NN in_IN policy_NN matters_NNS ,_, especially_RB in_IN terms_NNS of_IN education_NN ._. I_PRP will_MD briefly_RB mention_VB previous_JJ reforms_NNS from_IN the_DT beginning_NN of_IN the_DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP and_CC show_VBP that_IN the_DT present_JJ situation_NN is_VBZ still_RB beridden_VBN by_IN inequality_NN and_CC various_JJ forms_NNS of_IN social_JJ selection_NN at_IN secondary_JJ and_CC at_IN higher_JJR education_NN level_NN ._. I_PRP will_MD briefly_RB compare_VB it_PRP to_TO points_NNS in_IN the DT English JJ system NN. . The DT Fouchet NN reforms NNS made VBD the DT first_JJ cycle_NN of_IN secondary_JJ school_NN -LRB-_-LRB- the_DT first_JJ four_CD years_NNS -RRB-_-RRB- more_RBR combined_JJ ,_, yet_RB they_PRP also_RB introduced_VBD tracks_NNS or_CC `_`` filières_NNS '_" at_IN this_DT early_JJ stage_NN where_WRB people_NNS had_VBD to_TO make_VB options_NNS concerning_VBG their PRP\$ future NN.. It PRP proved VBD that IN those DT from IN the DT lower_JJR social_JJ classes_NNS were_VBD encouraged_VBN ,_, and_CC still_RB are_VBP to_TO a_DT certain_JJ extent_NN to_TO take_VB the_DT shorter_JJR educational_JJ option_NN which_WDT leads_VBZ to_TO employment_NN at_IN an_DT earlier_JJR stage_NN ._. Haby_NNP sought_VBD to_TO resolve_VB these_DT problems_NNS of_IN social_JJ selection_NN and_CC aimed_VBN to_TO postpone_VB the_DT need_NN to_TO make_VB choices_NNS until_IN a_DT later_JJ time_NN ._. He PRP envisaged VBD an DT orientation NN cycle NN in IN the DT last JJ two CD years_NNS of_IN the_DT first_JJ cycle_NN ,_, then_RB for_IN those_DT carrying_VBG on_IN ,_, there_EX was_VBD to_TO be_VB a_DT general_JJ course_NN of_IN two_CD

years NNS when WRB the DT first JJ half NN of IN the DT ` `` baccalauréat NN ' " would_MD be_VB taken_VBN ,_, then_RB the_DT last_JJ year_NN would_MD involve_VB more_RBR choice_NN for_IN students_NNS ._. The_DT second_JJ half_NN of_IN the_DT `_`` bac_NN '_" would_MD be_VB taken_VBN at_IN this_DT stage_NN ._. The_DT problem_NN was_VBD that_IN the_DT orientation_NN cycle_NN brought_VBD back_RP some_DT of_IN the_DT `_`` tracking_NN '_" of_IN the_DT previous_JJ system_NN so_IN a_DT form_NN of_IN social_JJ selection_NN still_RB continued_VBD ._. Savary_NNP aimed_VBD to_TO reduce_VB these_DT inequalities_NNS but_CC a_DT change_NN of_IN government_NN shortened_VBD his_PRP\$ tenure_NN in_IN office_NN ._. Chevenement_NNP aimed_VBD more_RBR at_IN reconstructing_VBG than_IN reforming_VBG ,_, with_IN the_DT encouragement_NN of_IN an_DT '_" école_JJ démocratique NN ' "as IN opposed VBN to TO the DT idea NN of IN ' "école JJ unique_JJ '_" by_IN Haby_NNP ._. The_DT results_NNS of_IN this_DT are_VBP seen VBN today NN. . At IN secondary JJ level NN, , those DT leaving VBG school_NN after_IN the_DT first_JJ cycle_NN to_TO continue_VB training_NN in_IN a_DT Collège_NNP d'enseignement_NN secondaire_NN for_IN example_NN are_VBP still_RB primarily_RB those_DT from_IN poor_JJ backgrounds_NNS who_WP are_VBP dissuaded_VBN by_IN their_PRP\$ parents_NNS from_IN going_VBG to_TO the_DT Lycée_NNP but_CC instead_RB encouraged_VBD to_TO find_VB a_DT job_NN at_IN an_DT earlier_JJR stage_NN ._. Having_VBG said_VBD this_DT though_RB ,_, there_EX are_VBP still_RB however_RB several_JJ working_VBG class_NN children_NNS who_WP go VBP on IN to TO the DT lycée NN where WRB they PRP will MD take VB their_PRP\$ `_`` bac_FW '_" ._. This_DT route_NN has_VBZ always_RB had_VBD a_DT great JJ deal NN of IN importance NN attatched VBN to TO it PRP because IN acquiring VBG a DT` `` bacalauréat NN ' " is VBZ the DT requirement NN to TO continue_VB into_IN further_JJ education_NN ._. Lionel_NNP Jospin_NNP in_IN 1989_CD aimed_VBN to_TO increase_VB the_DT numbers_NNS of_IN those_DT taking_VBG the_DT`_`` bac_NN '_" to_TO 80_CD %_NN in_IN fifteen_CD years_NNS as_IN an_DT attempt_NN to_TO increase_VB equality_NN of_IN opportunity_NN ,_, however_RB he PRP aimed VBD for IN 80 CD % NN of IN people NNS to TO take VB the DT``` bac_NN '_",_, which_WDT does_VBZ not_RB necessarily_RB mean_VB they_PRP will_MD pass_VB it_PRP ._. At_IN this_DT secondary_JJ level_NN ,_, therefore_RB ,_, children_NNS may_MD either_RB continue_VB to_TO take_VB the_DT `_`` bac_NN '_",_, or CC they PRP may MD take VB a DT shorter JJR course NN for IN example NN

the_DT `_`` Brevet_NNP d'enseignement_NNP professionel_NN '_" -LRB-_-LRB-BEP_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Another_DT course_NN ,_, which_WDT leads_VBZ to_TO the_DT `_`` Certificat_NNP d'aptitude_NNP professionel_NN '_" is_VBZ supposed_VBN to TO be VB more RBR practical JJ,, and CC more RBR linked VBN to TO future JJ employment_NN ._. The_DT result_NN is_VBZ that_IN a_DT pupil_NN who_WP has_VBZ obtained_VBN the_DT `_`` bac_NN '_" may_MD continue_VB into_IN higher_JJR education_NN ._. The_DT liklihood_NN of_IN a_DT pupil_NN continuing_VBG with_IN education_NN will_MD depend_VB ,_, as_IN in_IN England_NNP on_IN family_NN background_NN ,_, in_IN terms_NNS of_IN what_WP parents_NNS did_VBD , _, but_CC also_RB in_IN terms_NNS of_IN family_NN financial_JJ support_NN since_IN grants_NNS are_VBP so_RB low_JJ in_IN France_NNP , , and CC now RB non-existent JJ in IN Great-Britain NNP. . At IN the DT higher JJR education_NN level_NN ,_, there_EX are_VBP universities_NNS and_CC grandsécoles_NNS in_IN France_NNP ._. It_PRP is_VBZ the_DT grands-écoles_NNS which_WDT are_VBP seen_VBN as_IN élitist_NN and_CC since_IN two_CD years_NNS studying_VBG needs_NNS to_TO be_VB done_VBN before_IN you_PRP even_RB take_VBP the_DT entrance_NN exam_NN ,_, once_RB again_RB ,_, those_DT with_IN less_JJR financial_JJ resources_NNS will_MD be_VB discouraged_VBN from_IN taking_VBG this_DT route_NN ._. The_DT grands-écoles_NNS come_VBP in_IN different JJ forms NNS, , the DT best JJS reputed VBN of IN which WDT is VBZ the_DT `_`` Ecole_NNP Polytechnique_NNP '_POS ._. The_DT `_`` Ecole_NNP Normale NNP Supérieur NNP ' POS is VBZ also RB very RB élitist JJ and CC trains_NNS teachers_NNS ._. The_DT `_`` Ecole_NNP National_NNP d'Administration_NNP '_POS is_VBZ particularly_RB important_JJ though_IN because_IN it PRP trains VBZ the DT top JJ civil JJ servants NNS of IN the DT country NN... The_DT result_NN is_VBZ that_IN those_DT who_WP have_VBP the_DT means_NNS to_TO continue_VB into_IN a_DT `_`` grand-école_NN '_" can_MD assure_VB themselves_PRP of_IN a_DT well-paid_JJ,_, high-positioned_JJ job_NN when_WRB they_PRP leave_VBP ._. In_IN England_NNP ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ the_DT universities_NNS at_IN this_DT stage_NN which_WDT are_VBP seen_VBN as_IN more_JJR prestigious_JJ ,_, as_IN compared_VBN to_TO the_DT polytechnics_NNS ._. However_RB ,_, social_JJ selection_NN in_IN England_NNP actually_RB begins_VBZ at_IN an_DT earlier_JJR stage_NN and_CC it_PRP is_VBZ accentuated_VBN by_IN the_DT presence_NN of_IN private JJ schools NNS... The DT English NNP seem VBP to TO be VB more RBR

prepared_JJ than_IN the_DT French_JJ to_TO pay_VB directly_RB for_IN their_PRP\$ children_NNS 's_POS education_NN ,_, which_WDT explains_VBZ the_DT greater_JJR importance_NN of_IN private_JJ schools_NNS in_IN Great-britain_NN ._. The_DT fees NNS for IN private JJ schools NNS are VBP very RB high JJ, , particularly RB for_IN the_DT more_RBR prestigious_JJ ones_NNS like_IN Harrow_NNP,_, and_CC Eton NNP. . These DT high JJ fees NNS immediately RB form VBP as IN a DT barrier_NN to_TO families_NNS of_IN a_DT lower_JJR income_NN :_: -_: even_RB if_IN they_PRP may_MD wish_VB for_IN their_PRP\$ children_NNS to_TO go_VB there_RB ._. The_DT form_NN of_IN social_JJ selection_NN at_IN secondary_JJ level_NN in_IN Great-Britain_NNP,_, is_VBZ therefore_RB to_TO do_VB with_IN financial_JJ means_NNS ._. The_DT system_NN is_VBZ seen_VBN as_IN cyclical_JJ to_TO a_DT certain_JJ extent NN though IN because IN those DT children NNS who WP went VBD to TO a_DT private_JJ school_NN often_RB become_VBP those_DT who_WP are_VBP best_RBS paid_VBN in_IN later_JJ life_NN ._. In_IN the_DT French_JJ system_NN at_IN this_DT level_NN ,_, the_DT question_NN is_VBZ more_RBR about_IN merit_NN than_IN financial_JJ means_NNS ._. Those_DT who_WP enter_VBP the_DT lycée_NN may_MD be_VB seen_VBN as_IN the_DT meritocratic_JJ élite_NN therefore_RB ._. At_IN the_DT higher_JJR education_NN level_NN in_IN France_NNP ,_, the_DT grands-écoles_NNS are_VBP seen_VBN to_TO be_VB highly_RB selective_JJ not_RB only_RB in_IN terms_NNS of_IN merit_NN but_CC to_TO a_DT certain_JJ extent_NN in_IN terms_NNS of_IN dissuading_VBG those_DT of_IN a_DT lower_JJR social_JJ standing_NN ._. At_IN the DT higher JJR education NN level NN in IN Great-Britain NNP however RB, it_PRP is_VBZ the_DT universities_NNS which_WDT are_VBP seen_VBN as_IN more_JJR prestigious_JJ ._. However_RB ,_, the_DT fact_NN that_IN the_DT highly_RB élite JJ universities NNS of IN Oxford NNP and CC Cambridge NNP do VBP take VB on_RP students_NNS that_WDT are_VBP not_RB from_IN a_DT particularly_RB wealthy_JJ background_NN serves_VBZ as_IN a_DT landmark_NN that_IN if_IN you_PRP are_VBP good_JJ enough_RB then_RB you_PRP will_MD succeed_VB whatever_WDT your_PRP\$ background_NN ._. It_PRP has_VBZ proved_VBN particularly_RB difficult_JJ in IN France NNP to TO change VB the DT education NN system NN because IN of IN the_DT successive_JJ changes_NNS in_IN policies_NNS ,_, and_CC due_JJ to_TO an_DT apparent JJ lack NN of IN national JJ consensus NN over IN the DT rôle NN of IN education_NN ._. The_DT present_JJ situation_NN may_MD be_VB liked_VBN by_IN Chevènement NNP though IN,, who WP said VBD that IN in IN some DT cases NNS

inequality_NN was_VBD the_DT only_JJ answer_NN if_IN it_PRP meant_VBD that_IN highly_RB trained_JJ people_NNS were_VBD the_DT result_NN ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0022.1

The_DT Algeiran_NNP crisis_NN led_VBD the_DT French_NNP Parliament_NNP in_IN 1958 CD to TO allow VB de FW Gaulle NNP and CC his PRP\$ government NN recast_IN the_DT political_JJ groundrules_NNS in_IN a_DT new_JJ constitution_NN ._. This_DT ,_, he_PRP confirmed_VBD ,_, would_MD be_VB typical_JJ of_IN any_DT constitution_NN in_IN a_DT traditionally_RB democratic_JJ Western_JJ society_NN ._. Despite_IN this_DT limitation_NN de_IN Gaulle_NNP and_CC his_PRP\$ followers_NNS were_VBD able_JJ to_TO shape_VB the_DT new_JJ Constitution_NNP largely_RB according VBG to TO their PRP\$ own JJ views NNS as IN to TO what WP would MD constitute_VB a_DT strong_JJ and_CC durable_JJ republican_JJ regime_NN ._. Debré_NNP ,_, for_IN example_NN ,_, was_VBD impressed_VBN by_IN the_DT British_JJ model_NN ;_: parlementarisme_NN rationnel_NN meant_VBD that_IN the_DT Government_NN is_VBZ not_RB at_IN the_DT mercy_NN of_IN Parliament_NNP ,_, yet_RB is_VBZ ultimately_RB answerable_JJ to_TO it_PRP and_CC thereby_RB be_VB forced_VBN to_TO resign_VB ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP ,_, however_RB ,_, was_VBD the_DT main_JJ inspiration_NN of_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP ._. His_PRP\$ experience_NN of_IN 1940 CD made VBD him PRP realise VB the DT need NN for IN strong JJ,, determined_VBD leadership_NN from_IN the_DT top_NN ._. Before_IN the_DT war_NN this_DT was_VBD greatly_RB lacking_VBG ._. The_DT majority_NN of_IN articles_NNS relevant_JJ to_TO the_DT Presidnet_NNP in_IN the_DT 1958_CD Constitution_NNP were_VBD largely_RB similar_JJ to_TO those_DT under_IN the_DT Third_NNP and_CC Fourth JJ Republics NNS. . Despite IN this DT, , there EX were VBD several JJ new_JJ powers_NNS introduced_VBN and_CC listed_VBN in_IN Article_NNP 19_CD including_VBG ,_, for_IN example_NN ,_, Article_NNP 11_CD -_: referendum_NN ,_, Article_NNP 12_CD -_: right_NN of_IN dissolution_NN and_CC Article_NNP 16_CD -_: emergency_NN powers_NNS ._. There_EX were_VBD ,_, however_RB ambiguities_NNS and_CC certainties_NNS in_IN the_DT text_NN which_WDT have_VBP proved_VBN very_RB significant_JJ in_IN determining_VBG the_DT President_NNP 's_POS role_NN in_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN ._. The_DT role_NN of_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP was_VBD such_JJ that_IN he_PRP had_VBD powers_NNS and_CC responsibilities_NNS in_IN respect_NN of_IN government_NN policy_NN that_WDT

could MD be VB seen VBN to TO overlap VB with IN the DT President NNP's POS function_NN to_TO mediate_VB -LRB-_-LRB- arbitrage_NN -RRB-_-RRB- between_IN contending_VBG groups_NNS to_TO ensure_VB the_DT smooth_JJ running_NN of_IN the DT country NN, assigned VBN to TO him PRP by IN Article NNP 5 CD. This_DT was_VBD open_JJ to_TO varying_VBG interpretation_NN . . . The_DT maximalist JJ interpretation NN was VBD generally RB accepted VBN. . This DT meant_VBD that_IN the_DT President_NNP ,_, instead_RB of_IN being_VBG limited_VBN to_TO the_DT `_`` domaine_FW réservé_FW '_" ie_FW the_DT powers_NNS attributed_VBN to_TO him_PRP under_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP ,_, he_PRP was_VBD justified_VBN by_IN virtue_NN of_IN this_DT article_NN in_IN intervening_VBG in_IN policy-making_NN and_CC its_PRP\$ implementation_NN ._. The_DT President_NNP was VBD also RB independent JJ in IN carrying VBG out RP this DT function NN:: he_PRP was_VBD not_RB accountable_JJ to_TO Parliament_NNP by_IN virtue_NN of_IN ARticle NN 68 CD and CC not RB even RB directly RB accountable JJ to TO it PRP via_IN ministers_NNS or_CC the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP for_IN their_PRP\$ `_`` contreseing_VBG '_" -LRB-_-LRB- countersignature_NN -RRB-_-RRB- was_VBD not_RB required_VBN by_IN him_PRP ._. Whereas_IN it_PRP had_VBD previously_RB been_VBN the_DT normal_JJ French_JJ practice_NN and_CC was_VBD that_DT of_IN other_JJ european_JJ democracies_NNS to_TO confer_VB the_DT most_RBS significant_JJ powers NNS to TO those DT most RBS accountable JJ this DT was VBD not RB the_DT case_NN under_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN at_IN least_JJS while_IN the_DT PRESIDENT_NNP IS_VBZ SUPPORTED_VBN BY_IN A_DT PRALIAMENTARY_NN MAJORITY_NN ._. Under_IN these_DT circumstances_NNS the_DT President_NNP has_VBZ been_VBN largely_RB free_JJ to_TO fulfil_VB this_DT maximalist_JJ interpretation NN and CC thus RB be VB assumed VBN to TO be VB the DT head NN of_IN the_DT Executive_NNP ._. This_DT `_`` gouvernement_NN présidentiel_NN '_" can_MD be_VB explained_VBN for_IN various_JJ factors_NNS ._. Because_IN of_IN de FW Gaulle_NNP 's_POS enigma_NN ,_, the_DT wish_NN of_IN the_DT French_JJ people_NNS and_CC a_DT friendly_JJ and_CC somewhat_RB submissive_JJ relationship NN between IN de FW Gaulle NNP and CC his PRP\$ Prime NNP Minister_NNP it_PRP was_VBD soon_RB realized_VBN that_IN the_DT President_NNP 's_POS role_NN would_MD surpass_VB that_IN as_IN outlined_VBN in_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP realized_VBD that_IN the_DT President_NNP could MD lose VB this DT position NN in IN two CD situations NNS: : if IN a DT

less JJR prestigious JJ Prime NNP Minister NNP should MD succeed VB him PRP or_CC the_DT parliamentary_JJ majority_NN forced_VBD a_DT newly_RB elected_VBN president_NN to_TO conform_VB more_JJR rigidly_RB to_TO a_DT constitution_NN ._. In IN his PRP\$ desire NN to TO maintain VB the DT concept NN of IN presidential JJ dominance_NN in_IN the_DT Executive_NNP -_: in_IN the_DT future_NN he_PRP solved VBD this DT by IN modifying VBG, , by IN referendum NN, , the DT way_NN in_IN which_WDT a_DT President_NN was_VBD elected_VBN ._. In_IN October_NNP 1962_CD this_DT modification_NN ,_, which_WDT involved_VBD the_DT direct_JJ election_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP by_IN universal_JJ suffrage_NN ,_, was_VBD accepted_VBN by_IN the_DT French_JJ people_NNS ._. This_DT effectively_RB meant_VBN that_IN any_DT government_NN policies_NNS had_VBD to TO be VB in IN line NN with IN those DT for IN which WDT the DT President_NNP had_VBD been_VBN elected_VBN ,_, thereby_RB affirming_VBG his PRP\$ role NN as IN head NN of IN the DT Executive NNP. . The DT Prime NNP Minister_NNP 's_POS role_NN was_VBD leadership_NN in_IN the_DT field_NN of_IN political_JJ debate_NN and_CC the_DT everyday_JJ matters_NNS involving VBG economic_JJ and_CC administrative_JJ functions_NNS that_WDT went_VBD with_IN it_PRP ._. The_DT President_NNP defined_VBN in_IN collaboration_NN with_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP and_CC the_DT Government_NN government_NN policy_NN , , the DT latter JJ being VBG accountable JJ to TO Parliament NNP . . The DT following_VBG survey_NN considers_VBZ the_DT interpretations_NNS of_IN their_PRP\$ roles_NNS by_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP 's_POS successors_NNS ._. Georges_NNP Pompidou_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- 1969-1979_CD -RRB-_-RRB- Being_VBG elected_VBN President_NNP,_, affirmed_VBD the_DT people_NNS 's_POS desire_NN that_IN `_`` gouvernement NN présidentiel NN ' "should MD be VB maintained VBN: : because IN he_PRP won_VBD on_IN the_DT basis_NN that_IN he_PRP would_MD continue_VB the_DT regime_NN in_IN all_DT its_PRP\$ aspects_NNS ._. Valéry_NNP Giscard_NNP d'Estaing_NNP This_DT was_VBD described_VBN as_IN a_DT tentacular_JJ presidency_NN ._. He_PRP was_VBD far_RB more_RBR interventionalist_JJ in_IN the_DT field_NN of_IN domestic_JJ policy_NN ._. Despite_IN this_DT he_PRP was_VBD not_RB as_IN deformative_NN of_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP as_IN his_PRP\$ predecessors_NNS ,_, conforming_VBG closely_RB to_TO articles_NNS 11_CD ,_, 12_CD ,_, and_CC 16_CD ._. François_NNP Mitterand_NNP Although_IN ,_, as_IN suggested_VBN by_IN his_PRP\$ "cent-dix JJ propositions NNS pour VBP la NNP France NNP 'POS, ,

Mitterrand NNP seemed VBD to TO accept VB the DT maximalist JJ interpretation NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP 's_POS role_NN ,_, he_PRP stood_VBD further_RB back_RB from_IN intervention_NN in_IN government_NN policy_NN than_IN his_PRP\$ predecessors NNS, preferring VBG to TO concentrate VB on IN ` `` les FW grandes_FW directions_NNS ,_, les_FW grandes_FW orientations_NNS '_POS ._. The_DT period NN of IN 1986-1988 CD, , that DT of IN cohabitation NN has VBZ been VBN particularly_RB significant_JJ in_IN the_DT evolution_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP 's_POS role_NN ._. Chirac_NNP became_VBD Prime_NNP Minister_NNP after_IN the_DT Right_NNP 's_POS majority_NN in_IN the_DT legislative_JJ elections_NNS ._. In_IN effect_NN,_, Mitterand_NNP remained_VBD in_IN power_NN and_CC lost_VBD many_JJ of_IN his_PRP\$ theoretical_JJ prerogatives_NNS to_TO the_DT Government_NN ._. Since IN cohabitation NN Rocard NN -LRB- -LRB- P.M. NN -RRB- -RRB- has VBZ been_VBN at_IN the_DT forefront_NN of_IN domestic_JJ politics_NNS ._. As_IN has_VBZ been VBN shown VBN, , the DT role NN of IN the DT President NNP in IN the DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN has_VBZ been_VBN ,_, and_CC is_VBZ likely_JJ to_TO continue_VB to_TO be_VB ,_, dictated_VBN by_IN circumstances_NNS ._. As_IN it_PRP is_VBZ ,_, Mitterrand_NNP remains_VBZ the_DT `_`` Head_NNP of_IN the_DT Executive_NNP and_CC maintains_VBZ ,_, in_IN theory_NN ,_, the_DT practical_JJ powers_NNS which_WDT developed_VBD under_IN his_PRP\$ predecessors_NNS although_IN in_IN reallity_NN these_DT seem_VBP ,_, at_IN least_JJS under_IN him_PRP ,_, to_TO have_VB somewhat_RB waned_VBN ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0023.1

The_DT trade_NN union_NN movement_NN in_IN France_NNP originated_VBD after_IN the_DT French_JJ revolution_NN and_CC has_VBZ always_RB tended_VBN to_TO be_VB revolutionary_JJ or_CC ideological_JJ in_IN character_NN ._. The_DT number_NN of_IN French_JJ employees_NNS unionized_VBD is_VBZ relatively_RB small_JJ -LRB-_-LRB-about_IN 11_CD %_NN -RRB-_-RRB- and_CC thus_RB there_EX is_VBZ great_JJ competition_NN between_IN individual_JJ trade_NN unions_NNS for_IN membership_NN ,_, and_CC a_DT great_JJ distinction_NN between_IN the_DT individual_JJ characteristics_NNS ._. During_IN an_DT economic_JJ expansion_NN ,_, as_IN was_VBD experienced_VBN by_IN France_NNP in_IN the_DT period_NN 1945-75_CD ,_, unions_NNS can_MD make_VB demands_NNS for_IN their_PRP\$ workers_NNS for_IN better_JJR pay_NN and_CC working_NN conditions_NNS ._. But_CC during_IN a_DT

recession_NN,_, as_IN followed_VBN the_DT oil_NN crisis_NN in_IN 1975_CD,_, their_PRP\$ demands_NNS would_MD be_VB ineffective_JJ and_CC membership_NN would_MD drop_VB ._. This_DT is_VBZ what_WP happened_VBD in_IN France_NNP ._. Membership NN fell VBD as IN the DT unions NNS were VBD deemed VBN ineffective_JJ in_IN securing_VBG worker_NN demands_NNS ._. The_DT unions_NNS has VBZ always RB been VBN political JJ in IN nature NN which WDT limited VBD their_PRP\$ membership_NN ,_, and_CC once_RB membership_NN dropped_VBD ,_, those_DT members_NNS who_WP were_VBD left_VBN tended_VBD to_TO be_VB those_DT who_WP identified_VBD with_IN the_DT unions_NNS '_POS political_JJ views_NNS ,_, which_WDT restricted_JJ union_NN aims_NNS still_RB further_RB ._. Before_IN 1968_CD ,_, unions_NNS were_VBD not_RB legally_RB allowed_VBN in_IN the DT workplace NN in IN France NNP and CC there EX were VBD few JJ negotiations_NNS . _ . The_DT little_JJ there_EX was_VBD was_VBD at_IN a_DT general_JJ and_CC regional_JJ level_NN ,_, far_RB removed_VBN from_IN the_DT average_JJ worker_NN 's_POS demands_NNS ,_, and_CC this_DT did_VBD not_RB help_VB the_DT falling_VBG membership_NN numbers_NNS ._. Employers_NNS tended_VBD to_TO be_VB suspicious_JJ of_IN unions_NNS and_CC did_VBD not_RB see_VB them_PRP as_IN a_DT valuable_JJ means_NNS of_IN worker_NN representation_NN ._. This_DT was_VBD because_IN the_DT great_JJ majority_NN of_IN firms_NNS in_IN France_NNP were_VBD small_JJ family_NN concerns_NNS which_WDT had_VBD sprung_VBN up_RP in_IN the_DT 19th_JJ century_NN -_: the_DT PME_NN -LRB-_-LRB- petites_NNS et_FW moyennes_FW entreprises_NNS -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT boss_NN was_VBD seen_VBN as_IN a_DT patriarch_NN who_WP should_MD not_RB be_VB challenged_VBN ._. The_DT period_NN of_IN industrial_JJ relations_NNS in IN France NNP under IN the DT 5th JJ Republic NN can MD be VB divided VBN into_IN three_CD periods_NNS ._. The_DT first_JJ is_VBZ 1958_CD to_TO 1968_CD ._. During_IN this_DT time_NN the_DT State_NN was_VBD highly_RB interventionist_JJ in_IN its_PRP\$ approach_NN to_TO the_DT economy_NN ,_, regulating_VBG pay_NN and_CC price_NN levels_NNS and_CC investing_VBG in_IN and_CC developping_VBG the_DT economy_NN ._. Employers_NNS were_VBD wary_JJ of_IN unions_NNS ,_, so_IN the_DT state_NN had_VBD to_TO act_VB as_IN an_DT intermediary_JJ between_IN the_DT two_CD sides_NNS to_TO develop_VB a_DT little_JJ dialogue_NN between_IN them_PRP ._. However_RB in_IN May_NNP 1968_CD there_EX were_VBD worker_NN strikes_NNS and_CC riots_NNS ,_, and_CC employers_NNS saw_VBD their_PRP\$

authority_NN in_IN question_NN ,_, and_CC were_VBD forced_VBN to_TO stand_VB down_RP ._. Trade_NNP unions_NNS were_VBD legalised_VBN in_IN the_DT work_NN place_NN ._. As_RB well_RB as_IN being_VBG legitimized_VBN in_IN the_DT workplace NN, unions NNS could MD also RB put VB up RP candidates NNS for IN the_DT ``_`` comités_FW d'entreprise_FW "_" -LRB-_-LRB- a_DT sort_NN of_IN joint_JJ employee/employer NN council NN for IN discussion NN and CC debate NN -RRB- -RRB- and_CC for_IN the_DT industrial_JJ tribunals_NNS ._. Their_PRP\$ powers_NNS were_VBD dramaticaly_RB increased_VBN therefore_RB ,_, paradoxically_RB at_IN a_DT time_NN when_WRB membership_NN was_VBD beginning_VBG to_TO fall_VB ._. The_DT ``_`` Genelle_NNP Agreements_NNP "_" also_RB raised_VBN minimum_JJ pay_NN and_CC raised_VBD pay_NN in_IN certain_JJ industries_NNS -LRB-_-LRBe.g. FW the DT railway NN industry NN -RRB- -RRB- . . From IN this DT time NN on_IN employers_NNS became_VBD more_RBR modernist_JJ in_IN their_PRP\$ thinking NN and CC trade NN unions NNS could MD get VB the DT changes NNS they_PRP wanted_VBD by_IN negotiating_VBG collective_JJ contracts_NNS ._. The_DT prominent_JJ positions_NNS in_IN the_DT CNPF_NN were_VBD taken_VBN by_IN this_DT new_JJ generation_NN of_IN entrepreneurs_NNS ._. It_PRP should_MD be_VB mentioned_VBN here_RB that_IN the_DT CNPF_NN is_VBZ an_DT organisation_NN set_VBD up_RP in_IN 1946_CD to_TO protect_VB employers_NNS ._. With_IN the_DT oil NN shock NN and CC ensuing VBG recession NN of IN 1973 CD, the DT third JJ period_NN in_IN french_JJ industrial_JJ relations_NNS began_VBD ._. The_DT recession NN,, and CC the DT increased VBN competition NN from IN the DT Common_NNP Market_NNP meant_VBD that_IN firms_NNS had_VBD to_TO increase_VB their_PRP\$ productivity_NN and_CC competitivity_NN ,_, and_CC this_DT meant VBN laying VBG off RP workers NNS.. The DT trade NN unions NNS were_VBD powerless_JJ to_TO stop_VB the_DT rising_VBG unemployment_NN ,_, and_CC were_VBD often_RB wrongfooted_VBN as_IN they_PRP could_MD not_RB gain_VB better_JJR pay_NN for_IN their_PRP\$ members_NNS during_IN the_DT recession_NN ._. This_DT meant_VBD membership_NN would_MD fall_VB ._. When WRB the DT socialists NNS came VBD to TO power NN in IN 1981 CD with IN the_DT election_NN of_IN Mitterrand_NNP , _, no_DT one_NN was_VBD quite_RB sure_JJ how_WRB they_PRP would_MD act_VB in_IN the_DT field_NN of_IN industrial_JJ relations_NNS ._. As_IN it_PRP turned_VBD out_RP ,_, the_DT Auroux_NNP Laws_NNPS of IN 1982 CD and CC 1983 CD completely RB modernised VBN industrial JJ

relations NNS and CC changed VBD a DT third JJ of IN the DT " " code NN du NNP travail_NN "_" ._. The_DT Auroux_NNP Laws_NNP had_VBD four_CD main_JJ aspects_NNS ._. The_DT first_JJ was_VBD that_IN employees_NNS would_MD now_RB be VB able JJ to TO voice VB their PRP\$ opinions NNS directly RB -LRB- -LRBnot_RB just_RB via_IN trade_NN union_NN channels_NNS -RRB-_-RRB- and_CC collectively RB,, and CC employers NNS would MD be VB forced VBN to TO listen_VB to_TO their_PRP\$ points_NNS of_IN view_NN ._. Secondly_RB ,_, discrimination_NN against_IN a_DT worker_NN would_MD not_RB be_VB allowed_VBN ._. The_DT company_NN would_MD have_VB to_TO draw_VB up_RP rules_NNS for_IN a_DT code_NN of_IN practice_NN ,_, which_WDT would_MD be_VB made_VBN known_VBN to_TO all_DT employees_NNS and_CC to_TO the_DT Ministry_NNP of_IN Employment_NNP ._. Thirdly_RB ,_, if_IN an_DT employee_NN did_VBD something_NN wrong_JJ,_, he_PRP could_MD not_RB be_VB punished_VBN arbritarily_RB ._. He_PRP was VBD to TO be VB invited VBN to TO attend VB a DT preliminary JJ interview_NN with_IN his_PRP\$ employer_NN to_TO see_VB what_WP he_PRP had_VBD done_VBN wrong_JJ ,_, and_CC could_MD have_VB a_DT union_NN representative_NN present_JJ if_IN he_PRP so_RB wished_VBD ._. Presivously_RB only_RB industrial_JJ tribunals_NNS could_MD help_VB employees_NNS ._. Finally_RB there_EX was_VBD great_JJ encouragement_NN to_TO collective_JJ bargaining_NN ._. It_PRP was_VBD hoped VBN that IN negotiation NN would MD become VB a DT regular JJ part NN of_IN industrial_JJ relations_NNS ,_, not_RB just_RB something_NN used_VBN in_IN crisis NN situations NNS.. Any DT firm NN with IN over IN 100 CD employees NNS could_MD have_VB a_DT comité_NN d'entreprise_NN and_CC should_MD negotiate_VB regularly_RB on_IN a_DT firm_JJ level_NN ._. There_EX would_MD also_RB be_VB industry NN negotiations NNS every DT so RB often RB to TO decide VB pay NN levels_NNS in_IN the_DT sector_NN ._. However_RB the_DT Auroux_NNP laws_NNS on_IN collective_JJ bargaining_NN were_VBD not_RB compulsory_JJ and_CC could_MD only_RB act_VB as_IN an_DT encouragement_NN ._. But_CC it_PRP is_VBZ encouraging_VBG to_TO see_VB negotiation_NN becoming_VBG a_DT more_RBR normal JJ and CC everyday JJ part NN of IN industrial JJ relations NNS.. The DT collective_JJ bargaining_NN which_WDT was_VBD used_VBN at_IN the DT `` `` height NN " " of IN the DT unions NNS sucess VBP -LRB- -LRB- 1968-1973 CD -RRB-_-RRB- was_VBD not_RB without_IN weaknesses_NNS ._. The_DT negotiations NNS were VBD often RB carried VBN out RP at IN a DT general JJ,,

regional_JJ level_NN which_WDT was_VBD far_RB removed_VBN from_IN individual_JJ worker_NN aims_NNS ._. Often_RB the_DT industry_NN was_VBD taken_VBN as_IN a_DT whole_NN in_IN subjects_NNS like_IN pay_NN and_CC only_RB the_DT minimum JJ pay NN of IN the DT weakest JJS firms NNS in IN the DT industry NN was_VBD altered_VBN ._. The_DT unions_NNS tended_VBD to_TO view_VB the_DT SMIC NNP as IN the DT bottom JJ rung VBN in IN the DT pay NN ladder NN and CC put_VBD pressure_NN on_IN the_DT Government_NN to_TO increase_VB it_PRP ,_, thus_RB increasing_VBG all_DT pay_NN levels_NNS ._. The_DT unions_NNS also_RB tended_VBD to_TO view_VB each_DT negotiation_NN as_IN an_DT opportunity_NN to_TO gain_VB as_RB much_JJ as_IN they_PRP could_MD on_IN that_DT one_CD occasion_NN ._. Meanwhile_RB the_DT employers_NNS saw_VBD this_DT ,_, and_CC thus RB only RB offered VBD very RB few JJ changes NNS as IN they PRP were VBD fearful_JJ of_IN what_WP the_DT unions_NNS would_MD try_VB to_TO take_VB ._. Once RB negotiations NNS were VBD completed VBN, and CC collective JJ agreements_NNS decided_VBN upon_IN ,_, neither_DT party_NN stuck_VBD to_TO the_DT agreement_NN and_CC observed_VBD its_PRP\$ rules_NNS and_CC conditions_NNS ._. Finally_RB the_DT pluralism_NN of_IN trade_NN unions_NNS exacerbated_VBD the_DT problems_NNS ._. Many_JJ different_JJ union_NN representatives_NNS had_VBD to_TO be_VB involved_VBN in_IN any_DT negotiation NN and CC this DT complicated VBN the DT process NN. . There EX were_VBD other_JJ methods_NNS of_IN employee_NN representation_NN ,_, of_IN course NN, , such JJ as IN the DT " comité JJ d'entreprise NN " " but CC this DT was_VBD not_RB compulsory_JJ in_IN firms_NNS with_IN over_IN 100_CD employees_NNS,_, and_CC of_IN course_NN the_DT abundance_NN of_IN PME_NNP 's POS meant VBN that IN many JJ firms NNS were VBD not RB eligible JJ for IN it_PRP anyway_RB ._. Then_RB ,_, as_IN we_PRP can_MD see_VB ,_, the_DT level_NN of_IN unionization_NN in_IN France_NNP is_VBZ very_RB low_JJ ._. It_PRP has_VBZ reached_VBN the_DT stage_NN where_WRB even_RB employers_NNS wish_VBP it_PRP were_VBD higher_JJR ,_, since_IN when_WRB there_EX is_VBZ worker_NN discontent_NN,_, the_DT problems_NNS are_VBP aggravated_VBN by_IN the_DT fact_NN that_IN the_DT workers_NNS have_VBP no_DT coherent_JJ leadership_NN and_CC are_VBP so_RB disorganized_JJ ._. However_RB it_PRP should_MD be_VB remembered_VBN that_IN workers_NNS in_IN France_NNP quite_RB often_RB show VBP their PRP\$ support NN for IN a DT trade NN union NN by IN voting VBG

for_IN it_PRP ,_, not_RB by_IN joining_VBG it_PRP and_CC becoming_VBG a_DT member_NN ._. We_PRP can_MD therefore_RB see_VB that_DT relations_NNS between_IN employers_NNS and_CC employees_NNS have_VBP often_RB been_VBN strained_VBN ._. The_DT best_JJS time_NN for_IN the_DT unions_NNS was_VBD between_IN 1968_CD and_CC 1973_CD when_WRB they_PRP could_MD negotiate_VB collective_JJ contracts_NNS for_IN their_PRP\$ members_NNS ,_, but_CC this_DT was_VBD stopped_VBN by_IN the_DT recession_NN of_IN the_DT 1970_CD 's_POS ._. Their_PRP\$ powers_NNS had_VBD increased_VBN ,_, but_CC paradoxically_RB ,_, union_NN membership_NN did_VBD not_RB ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0024.1

Under IN the DT 5th JJ Republic NN the DT most RBS salient JJ feature NN to TO emerge_VB is_VBZ the_DT form_NN of_IN presidentialism_NN started_VBN by_IN General NNP de NNP Gaulle NNP and CC carried VBD on RP successful JJ by IN his_PRP\$ successors_NNS . . . From_IN 1791_CD to_TO 1958_CD France_NNP has_VBZ known_VBN 16_CD constitutions_NNS and_CC since_IN 1875_CD 3_CD Republics_NNS ._. The_DT 4th_JJ Republic_NN was_VBD characterised_VBN by_IN a_DT weak_JJ government_NN and_CC a_DT weak_JJ presidency_NN ,_, with_IN power_NN being_VBG concentrated_VBN in_IN the_DT hands_NNS of_IN a_DT divided_VBN National_NNP Assembly NNP.. The DT collapse NN of IN the DT 4th JJ Republic NN and CC the_DT mounting_VBG problem_NN of_IN the_DT Algerian_NNP situation_NN brought_VBD back_RB to_TO power_NN the_DT charismatic_JJ figure_NN of_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP who_WP was_VBD seen_VBN as_IN the_DT only_JJ person_NN capable_JJ of_IN dealing_VBG and_CC solving_VBG the_DT Algerian_NNP problem_NN . . . In_IN his PRP\$ years NNS in IN exile NN de IN Gaulle NNP saw VBD France NNP humiliated_VBN by_IN her_PRP\$ defeat_NN and_CC subsequent_JJ occupation_NN by_IN the_DT Germans_NNPS ,_, ruled_VBN by_IN the_DT notorious_JJ Vichy_NNP regime_NN and_CC,_, after_IN the_DT end_NN of_IN the_DT war_NN,_, still_RB not_RB in_IN control_NN of_IN her_PRP\$ fate_NN ,_, having_VBG to_TO align_VB herself_PRP with_IN the_DT United_NNP States_NNPS ._. France_NNP was_VBD ``_`` the_DT sick_JJ man_NN of_IN Europe_NNP "_" ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP saw_VBD this_DT sickness_NN as IN a DT result NN of IN the DT role NN and CC authority NN of IN the DT state_NN being_VBG undermined_VBN and_CC on_IN coming_VBG to_TO power_NN in IN 1958 CD de IN Gaulle NNP was VBD determined VBN to TO strengthen VB

the_DT state_NN and_CC create_VB a_DT strong_JJ Executive_NNP,_, which_WDT he_PRP hoped_VBD he_PRP would_MD lead_VB ... His_PRP\$ importance_NN in_IN shaping_VBG the_DT 1958_CD constitution_NN can_MD not_RB be_VB overestimated VBN and CC, , though IN it PRP can MD be VB said VBD that IN it_PRP was_VBD tailor-made_JJ for_IN him_PRP ,_, it_PRP would_MD be_VB truer_JJR to TO say VB that IN the DT constitution NN became VBD more RBR and CC more_RBR tailor-made_JJ for_IN him_PRP as_IN a_DT result_NN of_IN constitutional_JJ amendment_NN and_CC changes_NNS in_IN political_JJ life_NN ._. On_IN drafting_VBG the_DT text_NN two_CD conflicting_VBG notions_NNS had_VBD to_TO be_VB reconciled_VBN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP favoured_VBD a_DT return_NN to_TO the_DT old_JJ Bonapartist_NNP tradition_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP having_VBG full_JJ,_, almost RB, , omnipotent JJ powers NNS but CC others NNS fearing VBG this DT style_NN of_IN power_NN concentrated_VBD in_IN the_DT hands_NNS of_IN just_RB one_CD source_NN wanted_VBD the_DT government_NN to_TO have_VB more_JJR power_NN ._. A_DT compromise_NN was_VBD reached_VBN in_IN which_WDT power_NN would_MD be_VB shared_VBN by_IN a_DT strong_JJ Executive_NNP comprising_VBG of_IN a_DT president_NN and_CC a_DT cabinet_NN headed_VBN by_IN a_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP responsible_JJ to_TO Parliament_NNP ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP ended_VBN by_IN strengthening_VBG the_DT Executive_NNP in_IN favour NN of IN the DT presidency NN and CC his PRP\$ interpretation NN of IN the_DT most_RBS ambiguous_JJ word_NN in_IN the_DT text_NN ,_, ``_`` arbitrage_NN " "has VBZ been VBN untouched VBN for IN more JJR than IN 30 CD years NNS... In_IN Article_NNP 5_CD the_DT word_NN ``_`` arbitrage_NN "_" can_MD be_VB interpreted_VBN differently_RB;_: on_IN one_CD hand_NN it_PRP can_MD mean_VB that IN the DT president NN is VBZ an DT impartial JJ observer NN and CC referee_NN and_CC does_VBZ not_RB deal_VB with_IN problems_NNS but_CC on_IN the_DT other_JJ hand_NN it_PRP can_MD mean_VB that_IN he_PRP is_VBZ in_IN charge_NN of_IN the_DT daily_JJ run_NN of_IN the_DT country_NN ,_, obviously_RB having_VBG a_DT more_RBR dynamic_JJ and_CC interventionist_JJ role_NN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP chose_VBD the_DT second_JJ interpretation_NN and_CC quickly_RB established_JJ presidential_JJ preeminence_NN and_CC authority_NN ._. This_DT interpretation_NN has_VBZ been_VBN upheld_VBN by_IN his_PRP\$ successors_NNS and_CC the_DT Gaullist_NNP legacy_NN has_VBZ continued_VBN ._. What_WDT then_RB ,_, were_VBD his_PRP\$ powers_NNS and_CC how_WRB have_VBP they_PRP

expanded_VBN under_IN successive_JJ presidents_NNS ?_. In_IN his_PRP\$ 10_CD years_NNS in_IN office_NN de_IN Gaulle_NNP implemented_VBD many_JJ changes_NNS in_IN the_DT french_JJ political_JJ system_NN ._. The_DT trditional_JJ powers_NNS bestowed VBN on IN him PRP were VBD ruthlessly RB exploited VBN, used VBN and_CC abused_VBN ._. These_DT included_VBD Head_NNP of_IN State_NNP ,_, Commander-in-Chief NNP of IN Armed NNP Forces NNP and CC the DT power NN to_TO appoint_VB or_CC dismiss_VB the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP of_IN his_PRP\$ choice_NN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP was_VBD also_RB given_VBN carte_NN blanche_NN to_TO define_VB European_JJ ,_, domestic_JJ ,_, defence_NN and_CC foreign_JJ policy_NN and_CC he_PRP did_VBD so_RB ,_, creating_VBG the_DT office_NN of_IN the_DT presidency_NN and_CC turning_VBG the_DT presidency_NN into_IN the_DT centre_NN of_IN decision-making_NN ._. He_PRP became_VBD the_DT chief_JJ policy_NN maker_NN and_CC in_IN the_DT fields_NNS of_IN foreign_JJ and_CC defence_NN policy_NN he_PRP left_VBD his_PRP\$ hallmark_NN firmly_RB implanted_VBN ._. His_PRP\$ achievements_NNS were_VBD to_TO veto_VB twice_RB Britain_NNP 's_POS entry_NN into_IN the_DT common_JJ Market_NN ,_, solve_VB the_DT Algerian_NNP problem_NN single-handedly_RB ,_, make_VBP a_DT rapprochement_NN with_IN countries_NNS in_IN Eastern_NNP Europe_NNP ,_, give_VBP full_JJ recognition_NN to_TO the_DT Communist_JJ party_NN of_IN China_NNP and_CC in_IN his_PRP\$ attempt_NN to_TO break_VB away_RP from_IN American_JJ tutelage_NN withdrew_VBD France_NNP from_IN NATO_NNP,_, and_CC drew_VBD up_RP plans NNS for IN France NNP's POS own JJ nuclear JJ deterrent NN. . De NNP Gaulle_NNP made_VBD use_NN of_IN all_PDT his_PRP\$ principal_JJ powers_NNS in_IN his_PRP\$ first_JJ four_CD years_NNS in_IN office_NN and_CC he_PRP wielded_VBD his PRP\$ power-tool NN,, the DT power NN to TO call VB a DT referendum NN,, ruthlessly_RB ._. This_DT was_VBD used_VBN twice_RB on_IN the_DT Algerian_NNP problem_NN ,_, in_IN October_NNP 1962_CD to_TO reform_VB the_DT constitution_NN in_IN order_NN for_IN the_DT president_NN to_TO be_VB elected_VBN by_IN universal_JJ suffrage_NN,_, and_CC once_RB more_RBR in_IN 1969_CD ._. The_DT referendum_NN ,_, under_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP ,_, became_VBD synonymous_JJ with_IN a_DT plebiscite_NN as_IN each_DT time_NN de_IN Gaulle_NNP put_VBD forward_RB the_DT proposal_NN it_PRP was_VBD clear_JJ that_IN the_DT elector_NN was_VBD voting_VBG for_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP 's_POS proposals_NNS ,_, giving_VBG him PRP, , in IN effect NN, , a DT vote NN of IN confidence NN. . The DT

1962 CD reform NN tipped VBD the DT balance NN in IN the DT favour NN of IN the_DT presidency_NN after_IN a_DT record_NN turnout_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 85_CD %_NN -RRB-_-RRB- voted_VBD for_IN his_PRP\$ proposal_NN to_TO elect_VB a_DT President NN by IN the DT people NNS.. Now RB, , de FW Gaulle NNP proclaimed_VBD ,_, the_DT president_NN is_VBZ the_DT elected_VBN of_IN the_DT nation NN, by IN the DT nation NN, and CC as IN such JJ is VBZ the DT holder_NN and_CC source_NN of_IN legitimate_JJ power_NN ,_, having_VBG the_DT mandate_NN from_IN the_DT people_NNS ._. Also_RB within_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP 's_POS power_NN was_VBD the_DT power_NN to_TO dissolve_VB the_DT National_NNP Assembly_NNP,_, which_WDT he_PRP did_VBD twice_RB,_, in_IN 1962_CD and_CC 1968_CD ._. After_IN the_DT student_NN revolts_NNS of_IN May_NNP 1968_CD he_PRP reformed VBD the DT french JJ higher JJR education NN system NN and CC under IN Article_NNP 16_CD exercised_VBN his_PRP\$ emergency_NN powers_NNS in_IN Algeria_NNP between_IN April_NNP 23rd_JJ and_CC September_NNP 29th_JJ ._. Though_IN the_DT office_NN of_IN president_NN was_VBD far_RB from_IN being_VBG ``_`` omnipotent_JJ ,_, omniscient_JJ and_CC omnipresent_JJ "_" his_PRP\$ power_NN and_CC influence_NN was_VBD quite_RB considerable_JJ ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP 's_POS contribution_NN to_TO the_DT presidential_JJ power_NN was_VBD great_JJ and_CC far-reaching_JJ and_CC he_PRP unhestitatingly_RB used_VBD and_CC exploited VBD the DT text NN of IN the DT constitution NN to TO change VB matters_NNS in_IN his_PRP\$ favour_NN ._. This_DT interpretation_NN of_IN Article NNP 5 CD has VBZ been VBN left VBN untouched JJ and CC the DT role NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP has_VBZ expanded_VBN and_CC extended_VBN into_IN other_JJ domains_NNS ._. Under_IN his_PRP\$ successor_NN George_NNP Pompidou NNP, , the DT presidency NN has VBZ embraced VBN the DT economic JJ ,_, financial_JJ and_CC institutional_JJ spheres_NNS ._. Pompidou_NNP declared_VBD that_IN the_DT presidency_NN would_MD continue_VB to_TO be_VB the_DT seat_NN of_IN decision-making_NN ._. His_PRP\$ slogan_NN was_VBD ``_`` continuité_NN et FW ouverture_FW "_" ._. The_DT only_JJ difference_NN between_IN Pompidou_NNP and_CC de IN Gaulle NNP was VBD style NN; : Pompidou NNP was VBD more RBR cautious_JJ and_CC realised_VBD that_IN France_NNP had_VBD her_PRP\$ limits_NNS on_IN the_DT international_JJ scene_NN ._. At_IN home_NN Pompidou_NN intervened_VBD in_IN financial_JJ and_CC economic_JJ areas_NNS,_, creating_VBG and CC restructuring VBG French JJ industry NN. . The DT functions NNS of IN

the_DT presidency_NN have_VBP thus_RB expanded_VBN ._. The_DT reasons_NNS behind_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP 's_POS and_CC Pompidou_NNP 's_POS sucess_NN to_TO keep_VB presidential_JJ authority_NN strong_JJ lies_NNS in_IN the_DT large_JJ majority NN enjoyed VBN by IN the DT Gaullists NNPS.. This DT was VBD the DT key_JJ and_CC cornerstone_NN to_TO presidential_JJ preeminence_NN ._. In_IN 1974_CD Valéry NNP Giscard NNP d'Estaing NN, , Pompidou NNP 's POS former JJ Finance_NNP Minister_NNP ,_, narrowly_RB beat_VB the_DT socialist_JJ candidate_NN ,_, François_NNP Mitterrand_NNP ,_, to_TO become_VB the_DT 3rd_JJ president_NN of_IN the_DT Vth_NNP Republic_NNP ._. D'Estaing_VBG further_RB enhanced_VBD the_DT presidency_NN by_IN embracing_VBG social_JJ and_CC environmental_JJ fields_NNS ._. He_PRP promoted_VBD an_DT advanced_JJ liberal_JJ society_NN and_CC succeeded VBD in IN the DT social JJ domain NN to TO reduce VB the DT voting NN age_NN to_TO 18_CD ,_, legalise_VB female_JJ contraception_NN and_CC abortion_NN and CC he PRP retained VBD his PRP\$ tight JJ hold NN over IN the DT financial JJ area_NN ._. In_IN the_DT environmental_JJ field_NN he_PRP promoted_VBD protection_NN of_IN the_DT environment_NN ,_, by_IN obstructing_VBG plans_NNS to_TO build_VB concrete_JJ motorways_NNS and_CC ugly_JJ edifices_NNS and_CC maintained_VBD the_DT natural_JJ beauty_NN of_IN the_DT French_JJ countryside_NN ._. François_NNP Mitterrand_NNP has_VBZ seen_VBN his_PRP\$ party_NN , _, the_DT socialists_NNS,_, occupying_VBG seats_NNS in_IN the_DT opposition_NN and_CC has_VBZ thus_RB been_VBN forced_VBN to_TO ``_`` cohabit_VB "_" with_IN his_PRP\$ non-socialist JJ Prime NNP Minister NNP, , M. NNP Rocard NNP, , and CC divide_VBP some_DT of_IN the_DT powers_NNS between_IN him_PRP ._. Mitterrand_NNP has_VBZ also_RB been_VBN obliged_VBN to_TO fall_VB back_RB on IN the DT text NN of IN the DT constitution NN where WRB in IN articles NNS 20_CD and_CC 21_CD it_PRP states_VBZ the_DT prime_JJ Minister_NNP deals_NNS with_IN the_DT nation_NN 's_POS affairs_NNS ._. The_DT ambiguity_NN of_IN the_DT text_NN has_VBZ favoured_VBN the_DT presidency_NN according_VBG to_TO the_DT political_JJ climate_NN at_IN the_DT time_NN ._. Presidential_JJ authority_NN has_VBZ been VBN the DT most RBS salient JJ factor NN of IN the DT 5th JJ Republic NN and_CC since_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP the_DT office_NN has_VBZ grown_VBN in_IN strength_NN,_, prestige_NN and_CC has_VBZ enhanced_VBN powers_NNS ranging_VBG from_IN Chief_NNP policy_NN maker_NN in_IN defence_NN and_CC foreign_JJ affairs NNS, , modernising VBG the DT French JJ economy NN and CC

advocating_VBG an_DT advanced_JJ liberal_JJ society_NN ._. Under_IN Mitterrand_NNP we_PRP have_VBP seen_VBN the_DT nationalisation_NN of_IN firms_NNS and_CC new_JJ balance_NN of_IN power_NN in_IN Parliament_NNP ._. The_DT text_NN is_VBZ more_RBR adhered_JJ to_TO now_RB as_IN Mitterrand_NNP has_VBZ not_RB got_VBN a_DT majority_NN to_TO back_VB up_RP his_PRP\$ policies_NNS in_IN Parliament_NNP but_CC he_PRP still_RB enjoys_VBZ the_DT privileges_NNS and_CC wields_VBZ power_NN in_IN the_DT same_JJ manner_NN as_IN his_PRP\$ predecessors_NNS ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0025.1

When_WRB General_NNP de_NNP Gaulle_NNP came_VBD to_TO power_NN in_IN 1958_CD ,_, it_PRP was_VBD generally_RB expected_VBN that_IN the_DT role_NN of IN president NN would MD be VB given VBN a DT new JJ status NN in IN the DT policy_NN of_IN decision_NN making_NN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP 's_POS Bayeux_NNP speech_NN and_CC subsequent_JJ centrings_NNS made_VBD it_PRP clear_JJ that_IN a_DT clearly_RB visible_JJ president_NN was_VBD required_VBN ,_, who_WP would_MD be_VB the_DT `_`` keystone_NN '_" to_TO the_DT parliamentary_JJ régime_NN ._. The_DT constitution_NN of_IN 1958_CD honoured_VBD this_DT ,_, by_IN placing_VBG the_DT President_NNP first_RB among_IN the_DT members_NNS of_IN parliament_NN ._. There_EX is_VBZ however_RB a_DT fundamental_JJ difference_NN between IN the DT powers NNS that IN the DT constitution NN and CC those DT who_WP drafted_VBD it_PRP gave_VBD the_DT President_NNP and_CC the_DT powers_NNS that_IN he_PRP subsequently_RB acquired_VBD ._. The_DT result_NN is_VBZ a_DT very_RB interesting_JJ example_NN of_IN how_WRB circumstances_NNS and_CC personality_NN can_MD change_VB the_DT constitution_NN ._. The_DT constitution NN had VBD originally RB left VBN policy NN and CC decision NN making_VBG to_TO the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN and_CC his_PRP\$ government_NN -LRB-_-LRB- articles_NNS 20-23_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT power_NN granted_VBN under_IN article_NN twelve_CD to_TO dissolve_VB parliament_NN would_MD ,_, according_VBG to_TO Michel_NNP Debré_NNP ,_, only_RB allow_VBP a_DT short_JJ exchange_NN with_IN the_DT public_NN ._. According_VBG to_TO the_DT constitution_NN,_, the_DT President_NNP was_VBD only_RB to_TO assume_VB the_DT role_NN of_IN constitutional_JJ dictator_NN in_IN times_NNS of_IN grave_JJ trouble_NN -LRB-_-LRB- art._NN 16_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ._. In_IN a_DT brilliant_JJ exegis_NN of_IN the_DT constitution_NN he_PRP had_VBD authored_VBN in_IN large_JJ part_NN ,_,

Michel NNP Debré NNP said VBD that IN the DT role NN of IN the DT President NNP was_VBD to_TO be_VB that_DT of_IN an_DT arbiter_NN ,_, to_TO oversee_VB the_DT constitution_NN ,_, and_CC be_VB `_`` beyond_IN politics_NNS and_CC the_DT political JJ parties NNS.. This DT seems VBZ to TO have VB been VBN somewhat_RB unrealistic_JJ ._. Neither_CC the_DT war_NN in_IN Algeria_NNP ,_, nor CC, , despite IN appearances NNS the DT personality NN of IN de FW Gaulle_NNP would_MD let_VB him_PRP be_VB the_DT arbiter_NN of_IN the_DT constitution_NN ._. The_DT referendum_NN in_IN 1962_CD gave_VBD the_DT President_NNP the_DT legitimacy_NN of_IN the_DT public_JJ vote_NN ._. Now_RB he_PRP was_VBD directly_RB answerable_JJ to_TO the_DT people_NNS ... In_IN 1964_CD Charles_NNP de_IN Gaulle_NNP realistically_RB defined_VBD his_PRP\$ role NN as IN President NNP. . He PRP was VBD still RB prepared VBN to TO play_VB the_DT role_NN of_IN arbiter_NN when_WRB absolutely_RB necessary_JJ ._. According VBG to TO him PRP he PRP was VBD the DT head NN of IN Parliament_NNP and_CC no_DT other_JJ institution_NN either_CC social_JJ or_CC judiciary_NN was_VBD higher_JJR than_IN him_PRP ._. He_PRP saw_VBD parliament_NN as_IN `_`` sitting_VBG around_IN him_PRP '_" ._. According_VBG to_TO him_PRP ,_, article_NN 16_CD was_VBD the_DT absolute_JJ defence_NN of_IN `_`` La_NNP Patrie_NNP '_POS ._. Because_IN of_IN Article_NNP twelve_CD ,_, the_DT President NNP can MD dissolve VB Parliament NNP at IN any DT time NN that IN he_PRP thinks_VBZ is_VBZ opportune_JJ to_TO him_PRP and_CC so_RB he_PRP can MD directly RB interfere VB with IN the DT organisation NN of IN Parliament_NNP ._. When_WRB he_PRP thinks_VBZ that_IN the_DT constitution_NN is_VBZ being_VBG abused_VBN ,_, he_PRP can_MD enroll_VB the_DT conseil_NN constitutionnel NN, , and CC, , according VBG to TO de FW Gaulle NNP, , when_WRB the_DT conseil_NN Constitutionnel_NNP can_MD not_RB be_VB used_VBN ,_, as_IN arbiter_NN of_IN the_DT constitution_NN ,_, the_DT President_NNP can_MD interfere_VB with_IN the_DT unconstitutionel_JJ question_NN himself_PRP ._. General_NNP de_NNP Gaulle_NNP himself_PRP only_RB ever_RB used_VBN article_NN 16 CD once RB when WRB their PRP\$ was VBD trouble NN in IN Algiers NNP, and_CC order_NN was_VBD quickly_RB restored_VBN ._. The_DT President_NNP can MD be VB tried VBN for IN high JJ treason NNS . . It PRP has VBZ been VBN shown_VBN however_RB that_IN in_IN times_NNS of_IN trouble_NN ,_, those_DT in_IN power_NN of_IN communications_NNS often_RB regain_VBP control_NN ._. This_DT

is VBZ the DT only JJ control NN there EX is VBZ on IN the DT President NNP... Critics_NNS of_IN the_DT constitution_NN ,_, said_VBD it_PRP left_VBD too_RB much_JJ power_NN to_TO the_DT President_NNP ,_, which_WDT could_MD be_VB dangerous JJ in IN the DT hands NNS of IN his PRP\$ successors NNS . . Defenders_NNS of_IN the_DT constitution_NN said_VBD however_RB that_IN the_DT fact NN that IN he PRP was VBD elected VBN by IN the DT people NNS was VBD a_DT control_NN ._. When_WRB his_PRP\$ successors_NNS ,_, first_RB Pompidou_NNP ,_, who_WP had_VBD been_VBN de_IN Gaulle_NNP 's_POS prime_JJ minister_NN for_IN six_CD years_NNS and_CC then_RB Giscard_NNP d'Estaing_NN had_VBD come_VBN to_TO power_NN ,_, they_PRP both_DT made_VBD it_PRP clear_JJ that_IN they_PRP intended_VBD to_TO keep_VB the_DT presidency_NN as_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP had VBD left VBN it PRP. . . Pompidou NNP himself PRP praised VBD the DT` `` bastard_NN '_" qualities_NNS of_IN the_DT system_NN If_IN in_IN the_DT last_JJ years NNS of IN his PRP\$ presidency NN,, d'Estaing NN took VBD on RP a DT more_RBR prominant_JJ role_NN then_RB ,_, it_PRP was_VBD only_RB partly_RB because_IN of_IN his_PRP\$ personality_NN . . . The_DT main_JJ reason_NN was_VBD the_DT division_NN between_IN his_PRP\$ prime_JJ minister_NN and_CC his_PRP\$ party_NN ,_, which_WDT he_PRP wanted_VBD to_TO hide_VB by_IN his_PRP\$ prominence_NN ._. When_WRB the_DT constitution_NN was_VBD drafted_VBN it_PRP was_VBD expected_VBN that_IN there_EX would_MD be_VB controversy_NN betwen_IN the_DT prime_JJ ministers_NNS and_CC presidents_NNS ,_, but_CC after_IN three_CD different_JJ Presidents_NNS each_DT with_IN very_RB individual_JJ personalities_NNS ,_, these_DT were_VBD not_RB apparent_JJ ... Each_DT of_IN the_DT Presidents_NNP added_VBD their_PRP\$ own_JJ personalities_NNS to_TO the_DT role_NN ,_, for_IN example NN Pompidou NNP was VBD interested JJ in IN defence NN and CC economics_NNS and_CC so_RB added_VBD these_DT areas_NNS to_TO his_PRP\$ role_NN as_IN President_NNP ._. With_IN hindsight_NN however_RB it_PRP is_VBZ true_JJ to_TO say_VB that_IN d'Estaing_NN and_CC Pompidou_NNP left_VBD the_DT presidency_NN very_RB much_RB as_IN they_PRP had_VBD found_VBN it_PRP ._. Mitterand_NNP had_VBD always_RB criticized_VBN the_DT ambiguous_JJ constitution_NN ._. In_IN a_DT parliamentary_JJ debate_NN with_IN d'Estaing_NN ,_, he_PRP thundered_VBD that_IN France_NNP should_MD adopt_VB an_DT `_`` honest_JJ '_" system_NN ._. In_IN his_PRP\$ election_NN campaign_NN in_IN 1981_CD however_RB the DT socialist JJ candidate NN made VBD no DT criticism NN of IN the DT

constitution_NN ,_, most_JJS probably_RB because_IN he_PRP recognized_VBD ,_, that_IN the_DT electorat_NN was_VBD perfectly_RB happly_RB with_IN the_DT system_NN ._. In_IN his_PRP\$ first_JJ speech_NN after_IN his_PRP\$ election_NN ,_, he_PRP said_VBD that_IN he_PRP intended_VBD to_TO carry_VB out_RP the_DT role_NN of_IN president_NN to_TO the_DT full_JJ extent_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ powers_NNS and_CC that_IN he_PRP considered_VBD himself_PRP as_IN `_`` guardian_NN '_" of_IN the_DT constitution_NN ._. During_IN the_DT years_NNS of_IN cohabitation_NN however_RB ,_, Mitterand_NNP had_VBD to_TO use_VB only_RB his_PRP\$ `_`` de_FW facto_FW '_" powers_NNS as_IN strictly_RB defined_VBN by_IN the_DT constitution_NN and_CC he_PRP was_VBD less_RBR in_IN prominence_NN than_IN his_PRP\$ predecessors.It_NN is_VBZ possible_JJ that_IN he_PRP benefited_VBD from_IN this_DT More_RBR recently_RB ,_, Mitterand_NNP has_VBZ been_VBN heard_VBN to_TO criticize_VB his_PRP\$ prime_JJ minister_NN Rocard_NNP in_IN public_NN ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0026.1

The_DT Constitution_NNP of_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN was_VBD drawn_VBN up_RP as_IN a_DT compromise_NN between_IN the_DT ``_`` Republicans_NNPS "_" of_IN the_DT political_JJ parties_NNS of_IN the_DT 4th_JJ Republic_NN and_CC de_IN Gaulle NNP and CC his PRP\$ followers NNS who WP wanted VBD to TO enhance VB the_DT role_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN ._. The_DT constitution_NN which_WDT was_VBD drawn_VBN up_RP between_IN Michel_NNP Debré_NNP ,_, de_FW Gaulle_NNP and_CC a_DT small_JJ group_NN of_IN ministers_NNS ,_, was_VBD however_RB unclear_JJ ._. It_PRP tried_VBD to_TO fuse_NN two_CD uncompatible_JJ notions NNS: : that IN of IN separation NN of IN powers NNS with IN a DT powerful_JJ head_NN of_IN state_NN -LRB-_-LRB- presidentialism_NN -RRB-_-RRBand_CC the_DT principle_NN of_IN parliamentary_JJ responsibility_NN to_TO a_DT government_NN -LRB-_-LRB- parliamentarism_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. This_DT is_VBZ shown_VBN below_IN : _: <chart>_NN ._. Some_DT articles_NNS clear_JJ state_NN that_IN it_PRP is_VBZ the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN who_WP rules_NNS -LRB-_-LRBfor_IN example_NN article_NN 21_CD -RRB-_-RRB- whereas_IN successive_JJ presidents_NNS and_CC prime_JJ ministers_NNS have_VBP said_VBN it_PRP is_VBZ the_DT president_NN who_WP is_VBZ the_DT supreme_JJ power_NN -LRB-_-LRBby IN their PRP\$ interpretation NN of IN article NN 5 CD -RRB- -RRB- . .

Whatever_WDT the_DT case_NN it_PRP became_VBD clear_JJ that_IN the_DT constitution_NN strengthened_VBD presidential_JJ power_NN and_CC made_VBD the_DT executive_NN responsible_JJ to_TO parliament_NN ._. Before_IN discussing_VBG the_DT ambiguity NN and CC the DT role NN of IN the DT president NN I PRP will MD briefly_RB mention_VB the_DT functions_NNS of_IN the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN ._. Much JJ of IN his PRP\$ original JJ power NN as IN defined VBN by IN the DT consitution_NN <quote>_NN has_VBZ been_VBN usurped_VBN by_IN successive_JJ presidents_NNS and_CC their_PRP\$ interpretation_NN of_IN their_PRP\$ function NN such_JJ that_IN now_RB his_PRP\$ main_JJ role_NN is_VBZ to_TO take_VB interest_NN in_IN areas_NNS which_WDT do_VBP not_RB interest_VB the_DT president_NN ,_, coordinate_JJ government_NN policy_NN ,_, liaise_VBP with_IN parliament_NN to_TO enable VB the DT smooth JJ passing NN of IN a DT law NN, , maintain VBP friendly_JJ contact_NN with_IN the_DT largest_JJS coalition_NN party_NN and_CC arbitrate VB in IN conflicts NNS between IN coalition NN parties NNS. . The DT original_JJ role_NN given_VBN to_TO the_DT president_NN of_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN was_VBD a_DT continuation_NN of_IN that_DT of_IN the_DT 4th_JJ Republic_NN in_IN that_IN he_PRP could_MD nominate_VB and_CC dismiss_VB the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN and_CC other_JJ ministers_NNS ,_, he_PRP is_VBZ chairman_NN of_IN the_DT Constitutional_NNP Council_NNP ,_, he_PRP can_MD negociate_VB and_CC ratify_VB international_JJ treaties_NNS ,_, sign_NN decrees_NNS ,_, promolgate_NN laws_NNS and_CC grant_NN pardons_NNS ._. However_RB ,_, the_DT constitution NN did VBD allow VB for IN an DT extension NN of IN the DT role NN of_IN the_DT president_NN granting_VBG him_PRP new_JJ powers_NNS ;_: for_IN example NN the DT ability NN to TO dissolve VB the DT national JJ assembly NN and CC ask VB the DT Constitual NNP Council NNP to TO judge VB on IN the DT constitutionality_NN of_IN a_DT law_NN -LRB-_-LRB- previously_RB the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN 's_POS role_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. It_PRP is_VBZ because_IN of_IN article_NN 5_CD that_IN the_DT definition_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN 's_POS functions_NNS is_VBZ ambiguous_JJ because_IN this_DT article_NN contains_VBZ the DT concept NN of IN arbitrage NN -LRB- -LRB- the DT president NN can MD either_RB be_VB directly_RB involved_VBN in_IN or_CC kept_VBD apart_RB from_IN decision_NN making_NN -RRB-_-RRB- and_CC is_VBZ sufficiently_RB vague_JJ to_TO have_VB allowed_VBN successive_JJ presidents_NNS to_TO interpret_VB it_PRP as_IN they PRP wished VBD. . Whatever WDT the DT aim NN of IN the DT initiaters NNS

of_IN the_DT constitution_NN the_DT power_NN of_IN the_DT presidency_NN has_VBZ been_VBN strengthened_VBN throughout_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN and_CC the_DT nature_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ office_NN has_VBZ changed_VBN such_JJ that_IN he_PRP is VBZ now RB the DT head NN of IN state NN and CC of IN the DT executive NN,, guardian_NN of_IN national_JJ heritage_NN and_CC patromony_NN and_CC the_DT ultimate JJ political JJ decision NN maker NN. . The DT priority NN given VBN to TO each_DT of_IN the_DT above_JJ rules_NNS has_VBZ depended_VBN on_IN the_DT temperament_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN in_IN power_NN but_CC it_PRP seems_VBZ that_IN the_DT president_NN 's_POS role_NN has_VBZ been_VBN much_RB more_RBR forceful_JJ ,_, interventionist_JJ and_CC political_JJ than_IN a_DT reading_NN of_IN the_DT consitution_NN would_MD imply_VB ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP was_VBD the DT first JJ President NN of IN the DT 5th JJ Republic NN and CC it PRP was VBD he_PRP who_WP established_VBD the_DT role_NN ._. He_PRP introduced_VBD two_CD provisions NNS to TO enable VB him PRP to TO govern VB the DT country NN as IN he_PRP wished_VBD ._. The_DT first_JJ of_IN these_DT was_VBD the_DT introduction_NN of_IN article_NN 16_CD which_WDT gave_VBD him_PRP the_DT right_NN to_TO claim_NN special_JJ powers_NNS in_IN emergency_NN situations_NNS ._. This_DT was_VBD not_RB very_RB popular_JJ because_IN of_IN the_DT possibility_NN for_IN abuse_NN ._. The_DT second_JJ provision_NN was_VBD the_DT introduction NN of IN the DT referendum NN as IN an DT alternative JJ means NNS of_IN election_NN ._. This_DT gave_VBD de_IN Gaulle_NNP the_DT opportunity_NN to TO have VB a DT link NN with IN the DT people NNS and CC it PRP brought_VBD about_RB the_DT only_JJ amendment_NN of_IN the_DT constitution_NN in_IN 1962_CD -_: that_IN of_IN election_NN by_IN universal_JJ suffrage_NN ._. Despite IN these DT provisions NNS de IN Gaulle NNP was VBD not RB prevented_VBN from_IN acting_VBG unconstitutionally_RB;_: for_IN example_NN in_IN 1960_CD he_PRP refused_VBD to_TO invoke_VB a_DT session_NN of_IN parliament_NN despite_IN the_DT majority_NN of_IN parliament_NN wanting_VBG it_PRP and_CC in_IN 1961_CD he_PRP abused_VBD article_NN 16_CD ._. Like_IN his_PRP\$ three_CD successors NNS, , de FW Gaulle NNP used VBD the DT political JJ circumstances_NNS to_TO strengthen_VB his_PRP\$ position_NN ._. It_PRP was_VBD in_IN Algeria_NNP that_IN he_PRP really_RB used_VBD his_PRP\$ political_JJ position_NN to_TO win_VB the_DT Algerian_NNP war_NN ._. For_IN the_DT first_JJ four CD years NNS of IN the DT Republic NNP it PRP was VBD Algeria NNP

which WDT kept VBD the DT other JJ political JJ parties NNS from IN acting VBG against_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP and_CC he_PRP was_VBD allowed_VBN to_TO abuse_VB the_DT constitution_NN ,_, consolidate_VB his_PRP\$ personal_JJ position_NN and_CC strengthen VB his PRP\$ office NN. . Despite IN using VBG his PRP\$ own JJ personality_NN to_TO expand_VB his_PRP\$ role_NN he_PRP did_VBD leave_VB some DT decision NN making VBG to TO his PRP\$ ministers NNS. . He PRP was_VBD mainly_RB responsible_JJ for_IN foreign_JJ and_CC defence_NN policies_NNS ,_, colonial_NN and_CC French_JJ community_NN questions_NNS and_CC economic_JJ questions_NNS ._. Having_VBG failed_VBN in_IN his_PRP\$ aims_NNS with_IN the_DT referendum_NN of_IN 1969_CD de_IN Gaulle_NNP resigned_VBD but_CC the_DT practice_NN was_VBD firmly_RB established_VBN for_IN his_PRP\$ successor_NN ,_, Pompidou_NNP to_TO use_VB it_PRP to_TO gain_VB power_NN over_IN and_CC alongside_IN parliament_NN ... He_PRP continued_VBD to_TO rule_VB in_IN the_DT same JJ way NN as IN de FW Gaulle NNP which WDT surprised VBD a DT lot NN of_IN people_NNS showing_VBG how_WRB ``_`` Gaullist_NNP "_" tradition_NN has VBZ become_VBN embedded_JJ in_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN ._. He_PRP used_VBD the_DT referendum_NN in_IN '72_CD with_IN reference_NN to_TO UK_NNP entry_NN into_IN the_DT EC_NNP and_CC to_TO dismiss_VB Chaban-Dalmas_NNP ._. Pompidou_NNP expanded_VBD the_DT role_NN of_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP to_TO include_VB economic_JJ and_CC industrial_JJ policies_NNS ._. He_PRP was_VBD obsessed_VBN with_IN the_DT economical_JJ development_NN of_IN France_NNP and CC transforming VBG the DT nation NN into IN a DT great JJ industrial JJ power_NN ._. He_PRP was_VBD responsible_JJ for_IN the_DT devaluation_NN of_IN the_DT franc_NN in_IN '69_CD but_CC did_VBD give_VB a_DT lot_NN of_IN control NN to TO his PRP\$ ministers NNS . . Giscard NNP d'Estaing NNPS came VBD to_TO power_NN in_IN 1974_CD and_CC increased_VBD the_DT role_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN once_RB more_RBR ,_, showing_VBG how_WRB it_PRP has_VBZ evolved_VBN over_IN time_NN ._. He_PRP was_VBD unwilling_JJ to_TO relinquish_VB any_DT of_IN the_DT previous_JJ presidential_JJ powers_NNS and_CC added_VBD to_TO this DT his PRP\$ own JJ special JJ fields NNS of IN finance NN, social JJ and CC environmental_JJ questions_NNS ._. He_PRP was_VBD more_RBR centrist_JJ and_CC interventionist_JJ ._. He_PRP nominated_VBD Chirac_NNP as_IN his_PRP\$ prime_JJ minister_NN but_CC Chirac_NNP did_VBD not_RB like_VB the_DT way_NN the_DT president NN intervened VBD so RB much JJ so IN he PRP resigned VBD. . He PRP

then_RB nominated_VBD Barre_NNP to_TO keep_VB the_DT support_NN of_IN the_DT largest_JJS party_NN but_CC Barre_NNP was_VBD unpopular_JJ and_CC was_VBD one_CD of_IN the_DT many_JJ reasons_NNS for_IN d'Estaing_NN 's_POS defait_NN ._. Mitterrand NNP came VBD to TO power NN in IN 1981 CD and CC immediately RB dissolved_VBD the_DT national_JJ assembly_NN ._. His_PRP\$ main_JJ concerns_NNS involved VBN increasing VBG the DT economical JJ strength NN of IN the DT country_NN and_CC making_VBG France_NNP a_DT more_RBR pluralistic_JJ society_NN ._. In_IN '_" 86_CD -_: '88_CD there_EX was_VBD a_DT period_NN of_IN cohabitation_NN with_IN Chirac_NNP as_IN head_NN of_IN government_NN ._. The_DT president_NN was_VBD no_RB longer_RB head_NN of_IN parliament_NN but_CC he_PRP kept_VBD his_PRP\$ role_NN in_IN foreign_JJ and_CC domestic_JJ policies_NNS and_CC as_IN ``_`` chef_NN des_FW armées_FW "_" ._. He_PRP had_VBD to_TO go_VB back_RB to_TO the_DT role_NN defined_VBN by_IN the_DT constitution_NN which_WDT alowed VBD him PRP to TO move VB into IN the DT background NN slightly RB in_IN political_JJ life_NN ._. '_" 88_CD -_: '91_CD has_VBZ seen_VBN a_DT socialist_JJ majority_NN again_RB but_CC Mitterrand_NNP has_VBZ continued_VBN to_TO hold_VB himself_PRP in_IN the_DT background_NN and_CC has_VBZ help_NN open_VB conflict_NN with_IN Rocard_NNP ,_, giving_VBG Rocard_NNP more_JJR room_NN for_IN manoeuvre_NN ._. Therefore_RB as_IN can_MD be_VB seen_VBN the_DT role_NN of IN the DT president NN has VBZ evolved VBN over IN time NN and CC has VBZ been_VBN strengthened_VBN ._. He_PRP has_VBZ often_RB usurped_VBD the_DT role NN of IN the DT prime JJ minister NN and CC used VBD his PRP\$ own JJ personality_NN to_TO leave_VB his_PRP\$ mark_NN on_IN the_DT country_NN ;_: for_IN example_NN de_IN Gaulle_NNP is_VBZ responsible_JJ for_IN many_JJ of_IN the_DT Institutions NNS, Pompidou NNP the DT industry NN, d'Estaing VBG Nuclear JJ Power_NN and CC the DT telecommunications NNS network NN . . . The DT president_NN is_VBZ now_RB the_DT head_NN of_IN state_NN ,_, de_FW facto_FW head_NN of_IN government_NN and_CC ultimate_JJ political_JJ decision_NN maker_NN

ICLE-BR-SUR-0027.1

The_DT constitution_NN of_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN was_VBD adopted_VBN by_IN the_DT nation_NN on_IN the_DT 28th_JJ of_IN September_NNP 1958_CD ._.

It_PRP was_VBD a_DT compromise_NN between_IN the_DT Gaullists_NNPS and_CC

other_JJ political_JJ forces_NNS ._. Although_IN a_DT rather_RB controversial_JJ constitution_NN two_CD facts_NNS did_VBD emerge_VB ._. First_RB that_IN the_DT presidency_NN had_VBD been_VBN strengthened_VBN and_CC secondly_RB that_IN the DT executive NN had VBD been VBN strengthened VBN vis-à-vis JJ the DT parliament_NN ._. I_PRP will_MD briefly_RB discuss_VB the_DT Prime_NNP Ministers NNPS role NN and CC then RB elaborate VB on IN the DT Presidents NNS functions_NNS ._. Then_RB I_PRP will_MD analyse_VB each_DT presidency_NN showing_VBG how_WRB the_DT presidents_NNS role_NN has_VBZ evolved_VBN ._. In_IN the_DT constitution_NN it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB very_RB clear_JJ who_WP exactly_RB is_VBZ in_IN charge_NN ._. Some_DT articles_NNS clearly_RB suggest_VBP it_PRP is_VBZ the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN who_WP is_VBZ in_IN charge_NN while_IN past JJ Presidents NNS and CC prime JJ ministers NNS have VBP claimed VBN it PRP is_VBZ the_DT president_NN ._. Some_DT argued_VBD that_IN there_EX should_MD be VB a DT twin-headed JJ executive NN but CC in IN the DT past JJ prime JJ ministers_NNS have_VBP always_RB accepted_VBN Presidential_JJ supremacy_NN ._. The_DT constitution_NN says_VBZ that_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP is_VBZ in_IN general_JJ charge_NN of_IN the_DT government_NN ._. Certain_JJ function_NN have_VBP been_VBN clearly_RB listed_VBN eg_FW ._. The_DT appointing_NN of_IN ministers_NNS ._. However_RB this_DT function_NN has_VBZ been_VBN usurped_VBN by_IN the_DT president_NN ,_, along_IN with_IN certain_JJ other_JJ functions_NNS ._. Giscard_NNP d'Estaing_NN when_WRB asked_VBD what_WP the_DT prime_JJ minister NN role NN was VBD, , replied VBD that IN the DT prime JJ minister NN was_VBD in_IN charge_NN of_IN contingency_NN problems_NNS whereas_IN the_DT president_NN was_VBD in_IN charge_NN of_IN what_WP was_VBD permanent_JJ and CC essential JJ.. He PRP was VBD clearly RB violating VBG the DT spirit NN of_IN the_DT constitution_NN but_CC was_VBD merely_RB reiterating_VBG what_WP was_VBD practiced_VBN and_CC preached_VBN by_IN his_PRP\$ predecessors_NNS ._. So_IN the_DT role_NN of_IN the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN remains_VBZ a_DT controversial_JJ issue_NN ._. The_DT role_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN is_VBZ defined_VBN in_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP but_CC is_VBZ rather_RB ambiguous_JJ and_CC controversial_JJ too_RB ._. Article_NNP 5_CD claims_NNS that_IN the_DT president_NN is_VBZ an_DT ``_`` arbiter_NN "_" ._. This_DT is_VBZ rather_RB ambiguous_JJ ._. Does_VBZ this_DT mean_NN he_PRP plays_VBZ a_DT neutral_JJ function NN, as IN he PRP is VBZ an DT impartial JJ referee NN and CC stays VBZ

away_RB from_IN the_DT making_NN of_IN policies_NNS or_CC does_VBZ it_PRP mean_VB he_PRP must_MD intervene_VB and_CC play_VB an_DT active_JJ role_NN ?_. The_DT term_NN `_`` arbiter_NN '_" is_VBZ sufficiently_RB vague_JJ enough_JJ to_TO allow VB presidents NNS to TO interpret VB it PRP as IN they PRP wish VBP,, and_CC this_DT they_PRP did_VBD ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP claimed_VBD it_PRP empowered VBD him PRP to TO rule VB the DT nations NNS and CC his PRP\$ successors_NNS all_DT acted_VBD as_IN if_IN it_PRP meant_VBD playing_VBG an_DT interventionist_JJ role_NN ._. According_VBG to_TO the_DT constitution_NN the_DT president_NN has_VBZ five_CD basic_JJ functions_NNS ._. He_PRP is_VBZ the_DT ceremonial_JJ head_NN of_IN state_NN , _, the_DT head_NN of_IN the_DT executive_NN ,_, guardian_NN of_IN the_DT national_JJ interest_NN ,_, the_DT spokesman_NN of_IN the DT government NN and CC lastly RB the DT appointer NN of IN the DT prime JJ minister_NN and_CC other_JJ people_NNS in_IN key_JJ postions_NNS ._. The_DT presidential JJ interpretation NN of IN the DT last JJ point NN has VBZ been VBN rather_RB elastic_JJ ... Not_RB only_RB have_VBP prime_JJ ministers_NNS been_VBN appointed_VBN ,_, they_PRP have_VBP been_VBN dismissed_VBN ._. According_VBG to_TO this_DT article_NN ,_, the_DT president_NN appoints_VBZ ministers_NNS with_IN the_DT aid_NN of_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP but_CC over_IN time_NN the_DT president_NN needs_VBZ merely_RB the_DT formal_JJ consent_NN of_IN the_DT prime_JJ minister_NN ._. So_IN the_DT priority_NN given_VBN to_TO these_DT functions_NNS,_, and_CC their_PRP\$ interpretation_NN has_VBZ very_RB much_JJ depended VBD on IN the DT personality NN and CC temprement NN of IN the DT presidents_NNS ._. General_NNP Charles_NNP De_NNP Gaulle_NNP was_VBD the_DT first_JJ president_NN of_IN the_DT fifth_JJ Republic_NN ._. He_PRP was_VBD elected VBN in IN 1958 CD and CC stayed VBD in IN power NN for IN ten CD years_NNS ._. He_PRP argued_VBD that_IN the_DT reason_NN for_IN the_DT collapse_NN of_IN the_DT Fourth_JJ Republic_NN was_VBD the_DT lack_NN of_IN a_DT strong_JJ executive_NN authority_NN ._. Too_RB much_JJ power_NN was_VBD given_VBN to_TO the_DT parliament_NN and_CC not_RB enough_JJ to_TO the_DT president NN. . The DT president NN could MD only RB exercise VB his PRP\$ power_NN depending_VBG on_IN the_DT mood_NN of_IN the_DT parliament_NN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP had_VBD seen_VBN his_PRP\$ beloved_JJ country_NN collapse_NN -LRB-_-LRB- the_DT squabbling_NN politicains_NNS of_IN the_DT 30_CD 's_POS,_, the DT cowardice NN of IN the DT political JJ élite NN in IN the DT 40s CD and CC

under_IN occupation_NN -RRB-_-RRB- and_CC so_RB he_PRP did_VBD not_RB wish_VB to_TO see_VB this_DT happen_VB again_RB ._. He_PRP therefore_RB interefered_VBD directly_RB and_CC indirectly_RB in_IN the_DT making_NN of_IN the DT constitution NN. . He PRP had VBD no DT parliamentary JJ experience NN and_CC disliked_VBD being_VBG vetoed_VBN or_CC overruled_VBN and_CC so_RB was VBD determined VBN to TO strengthen VB the DT presidency NN. . Although IN he_PRP was_VBD unable_JJ to_TO change_VB the_DT constitution_NN into_IN a_DT fully_RB presidential_JJ one_NN he_PRP did_VBD manage_VB too_RB include_VBP two_CD clauses_NNS which_WDT gave_VBD the_DT president_NN a_DT lot_NN of_IN power_NN ._. The_DT first_JJ was_VBD the_DT right_NN for_IN the_DT president_NN to_TO claim_NN special_JJ powers_NNS in_IN times_NNS of_IN emergency_NN and_CC secondly RB was VBD the DT use NN of IN referenda NN. . De NNP Gaulle NNP like_IN referenda_NN ._. It_PRP enabled_VBD him_PRP to_TO bypass_VB parliament_NN and_CC talk_NN to_TO the_DT nation_NN directly_RB ._. In_IN fact_NN it_PRP was_VBD thanks_NNS to_TO a_DT referendum_NN in_IN October_NNP 1962_CD he_PRP managed_VBD to_TO make_VB a_DT major_JJ constitutional_JJ change_NN -_: the_DT election_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN by_IN universal_JJ suffrage_NN ._. The_DT significance_NN of_IN this_DT can_MD not_RB be_VB overestimated_VBN because_IN it_PRP pushed_VBD in_IN favour_NN of_IN the_DT president_NN the_DT ambiguous JJ balance NN between IN power NN between IN the DT President NNP and_CC the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ... In_IN 1959_CD the_DT president_NN of_IN the_DT National_NNP Assembly_NNP defined_VBD the_DT so-called_JJ presidential_JJ domain_NN ._. The_DT president_NN could_MD deal_VB with_IN only_RB Foreign_NNP Affairs_NNP,_, Defence_NNP Policy_NNP,_, the_DT French_NNP Community_NNP and CC Algeria NNP. . This DT interpretation NN was VBD rejected VBN by IN De_NNP Gaulle_NNP by_IN his_PRP\$ speeches_NNS and_CC his_PRP\$ actions_NNS ._. He_PRP dealt_VBD with_IN the_DT above_JJ issues_NNS but_CC also_RB added_VBD colonies_NNS and_CC Europe_NNP to_TO his_PRP\$ domain_NN ._. He_PRP claimed_VBD that_IN it_PRP was_VBD up_RB to_TO the_DT President_NNP to_TO decide VB which WDT domaines VBZ he PRP would MD intervene VB in IN . . So RB although_IN De_NNP Gaulle_NNP defined_VBD his_PRP\$ own_JJ domain_NN he_PRP did_VBD not_RB hesitate_VB to_TO intervene_VB in_IN other_JJ matters_NNS which_WDT he_PRP believed_VBD important_JJ or_CC interesting_JJ ._. Regarding_VBG algeria NNS, presidential JJ supremacy NN was VBD quickly RB established VBN...

De_NNP Gaulle_NNP made_VBD important_JJ decisions_NNS without_IN consulting_VBG his_PRP\$ minister_NN or_CC Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ._. Time_NNP and_CC time_NN again_RB he_PRP stressed_VBD the_DT personal_JJ nature_NN of_IN his PRP\$ policies NNS.. He PRP was VBD autocratic JJ in IN his PRP\$ behaviour NN ._. Regarding_VBG Europe_NNP too_RB he_PRP was_VBD autocratic_JJ ._. Apprehensive JJ ministers NNS would MD learn VB at IN the DT same JJ time NN as_IN the_DT rest_NN of_IN the_DT world_NN at_IN De_NNP Gaulles_NNP press_NN conferences_NNS any_DT change_NN of_IN French_JJ policies_NNS ._. In_IN fact_NN the_DT veto_NN of_IN Britains_NNS entry_NN into_IN the_DT EEC_NN in_IN 1962_CD was_VBD a_DT purely_RB personal_JJ decision_NN -LRB-_-LRB- it_PRP did_VBD not_RB enjoy_VB the_DT unanimous_JJ support_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ ministers_NNS -RRB- -RRB- . . So IN we PRP can MD see VB that IN it PRP was VBD De NNP Gaulle_NNP imperious_JJ and_CC imposing_VBG nature_NN which_WDT expanded_VBD the DT role NN of IN the DT president NN. . His PRP\$ Prime JJ Ministers NNPS just_RB executed_VBD his_PRP\$ policies_NNS ._. After_IN De_NNP Gaulle_NNP came_VBD George_NNP Pompidou_NNP in_IN 1969_CD ._. He_PRP had_VBD claimed_VBN to_TO limit_VB the_DT functions_NNS during_IN his_PRP\$ election_NN campaign_NN however_RB once_RB in_IN power_NN , _ , the_DT Gaullist_NNP legacy_NN was_VBD kept_VBN alive_JJ and_CC was_VBD infact_NN strengthened_VBD ._. He_PRP not_RB only_RB appointed_VBN his_PRP\$ prime_JJ minister_NN ,_, but_CC dismissed_VBD him_PRP too_RB ._. He_PRP had_VBD vetoed_VBN his_PRP\$ prime_JJ ministers NNS plans NNS for IN regionalisation NN... To TO the DT presidential JJ domain_NN he_PRP added_VBD financial_JJ industrial_JJ and_CC economic_JJ matters_NNS since_IN being_VBG an_DT ex-banker_NN he_PRP was_VBD interested_JJ in IN these DT issues NNS . . In IN 1973 CD Valéry NNP Giscard NNP D'Estaing_NNPS came_VBD to_TO power_NN ._. Having_VBG been_VBN finance_NN minister_NN under_IN Pompidou_NNP he_PRP continued_VBD his_PRP\$ interest_NN in_IN the_DT financeal_JJ field_NN ._. His_PRP\$ finance_NN minister_NN was_VBD a_DT personal_JJ as_RB well_RB as_IN a_DT political_JJ friend_NN and_CC hence_RB was_VBD willing_JJ to_TO execute_VB D'Estaings_NNS wishes_NNS ._. However_RB in_IN 1976_CD Raymond_NNP Barre_NNP was_VBD appointed_VBN Finance_NNP Minister_NNP and_CC he_PRP was_VBD not_RB as_IN accomodating_VBG ._. However_RB D'Estaing_VBG putting_VBG pressure_NN on_IN him_PRP ,_, showed_VBD him PRP that IN presidential JJ approval NN would MD be VB necessary JJ on IN

financeal NN matters NNS..D'Estaing VBG added VBN social JJ and CC environmental_JJ issues_NNS to_TO the_DT presidential_JJ domain_NN as_RB well_RB as_IN including_VBG all_PDT the_DT previous_JJ ones_NNS ._. He_PRP took_VBD a_DT courageous JJ and CC keen JJ interest NN in IN social JJ matters NNS eg FW... He_PRP amended_VBD the_DT 1st_JJ divorce_NN bill_NN sent_VBN to_TO him_PRP by IN the DT Judiciary NNP. . Mittérand NNP was VBD elected VBN president NN in_IN 1981_CD ._. He_PRP did_VBD not_RB relinquish_VB the_DT presidential_JJ powers_NNS that_WDT had_VBD been_VBN established_VBN over_IN the_DT years_NNS ._. However_RB in_IN 1986_CD the_DT Socialist_NNP Party_NNP did_VBD not_RB enjoy_VB a_DT majority_NN in_IN parliament_NN and_CC so_RB Mittérand_NNP had_VBD to_TO chose_VBD as_IN his_PRP\$ Prime_NNP minister_NN the DT leader NN of IN the DT party NN holding VBG the DT most RBS seats NNS... This_DT was_VBD Chirac_NNP of_IN the_DT RPR_NN and_CC the_DT period_NN 1986 CD to TO 1988 CD saw VBD the DT period NN of IN " "Cohabitation NNP" " ._. Mittérand_NNP was_VBD obliged_VBN to_TO fall_VB back_RB to_TO the_DT powers_NNS of_IN the_DT president_NN as_IN defined_VBN in_IN the_DT constitution_NN ._. This_DT shows_VBZ that_IN the_DT president_NN can_MD only_RB enjoy_VB supremacy_NN when_WRB his_PRP\$ party_NN is_VBZ in_IN the_DT majority_NN in_IN the_DT parliament_NN ._. The_DT occassional_JJ infringment_NN and CC violation NN of IN the DT constitution NN causes VBZ little JJ reaction NN from_IN the_DT French_NNP ._. The_DT French_NNP have_VBP never_RB had_VBN much JJ respect NN for IN the DT prevailing VBG constitution NN. . In IN the DT USA_NN it_PRP is_VBZ a_DT quasi-sacred_JJ text_NN but_CC in_IN France_NNP it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB the_DT foundation_NN of_IN a_DT social_JJ system_NN but_CC merely RB the DT mecanism NN to TO make VB the DT system NN work NN... If IN it_PRP does_VBZ not_RB work_VB it_PRP can_MD be_VB discarded_VBN ._. The_DT past_JJ presidents_NNS have_VBP been_VBN able_JJ to_TO exploit_VB the_DT public_JJ indifference_NN to_TO the_DT constitution_NN and_CC with_IN their_PRP\$ strong_JJ imposing_VBG personality_NN been_VBN able_JJ to_TO assert_VB presidential_JJ preeminence NN..

ICLE-BR-SUR-0028.1

After_IN the_DT debacle_NN of_IN the_DT Fourth_JJ Republic_NN when_WRB government_NN and_CC ministerial_JJ instability_NN had_VBD led_VBN to_TO a_DT

series NN of IN coalition NN governments NNS whose WP\$ power NN had VBD been_VBN very_RB limited_VBN due_JJ to_TO the_DT endless_JJ compromises_NNS of_IN its_PRP\$ constituent_JJ elements_NNS ,_, there_EX was_VBD a_DT real_JJ need NN in IN France NNP for IN a DT strong JJ government NN base NN . . Matters_NNS had_VBD come_VBN to_TO a_DT head_NN in_IN 1958_CD with_IN the DT uprising NN and CC unrest NN in IN Algeria NNP. . De NNP Gaulle NNP had_VBD outlined_VBN his_PRP\$ plans_NNS for_IN the_DT constitution_NN in_IN 1946_CD with_IN his_PRP\$ famous_JJ speech_NN at_IN Bayeux_NNP ,_, but_CC he_PRP had_VBD slipped_VBN back_RB into_IN the_DT shadows_NNS of_IN the_DT Fourth_JJ Republic_NNP,_, annoyed_VBD at_IN the_DT lack_NN of_IN attention_NN being_VBG payed_VBN to_TO him_PRP by_IN the_DT French_JJ and_CC the_DT victorious_JJ allies NNS who WP did VBD not RB like VB his PRP\$ authoritarian JJ style NN of IN leadership_NN and_CC negociation_NN ._. By_IN 1958_CD ,_, the_DT country_NN needed VBD De NNP Gaulle NNP and CC the DT referendum NN passing VBG the DT new_JJ constitution_NN received_VBD an_DT 85_CD %_NN `_`` yes_UH '_" vote_NN ._. This_DT was_VBD in_IN sharp_JJ contrast_NN to_TO the_DT apathetic_JJ 53_CD %_NN vote_NN on_IN a_DT 35_CD %_NN second_JJ turn_NN out_RP which_WDT had_VBD marked_VBN the_DT start_NN of_IN the_DT Fourth_JJ Republic_NN ._. The_DT new_JJ constitution_NN of_IN the_DT Fifth_JJ Republic_NNP aimed_VBN to_TO separate_VB the_DT legislative_JJ ,_, executive_JJ and_CC judiciary_NN ,_, with_IN the_DT powers_NNS of_IN the_DT executive_NN not_RB stemming_VBG from_IN the_DT executive NN. . If IN there EX had VBD been VBN any DT doubt NN, , which WDT of_IN course_NN there_EX had_VBD about_IN exactly_RB where_WRB the_DT power_NN lay_VBD , _, then_RB De_NNP Gaulle_NNP by_IN his_PRP\$ very_JJ actions_NNS soon_RB began_VBD to_TO show_VB who_WP was_VBD in_IN charge_NN ._. There_EX are_VBP several_JJ bones_NNS of_IN contention_NN about_IN the_DT definition_NN of_IN the_DT Presidents_NNS fonctions_NNS ._. Firstly_RB article_NN 16_CD grants_NNS the_DT President_NNP special_JJ powers_NNS in_IN times_NNS of_IN national_JJ emergency_NN ._. However_RB there_EX is_VBZ no_DT distinguishing JJ criteria NNS for IN what WP constitutes VBZ a DT national JJ emergency_NN ._. In_IN 1961_CD ,_, De_NNP Gaulle_NNP used_VBD these_DT special JJ powers NNS.. The DT cause NN of IN the DT time NN of IN emergency_NN according_VBG to_TO De_NNP Gaulle_NNP was_VBD in_IN Algeria NNP but CC this DT was VBD strigently RB debated VBN at IN the DT

time NN. . It PRP had VBD been VBN thought VBN that IN De NNP Gaulle NNP was_VBD rather_RB abusing_VBG these_DT special_JJ powers_NNS ... Secondly_RB ,_, at_IN the_DT start_NN of_IN the_DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP there_RB had_VBD been VBN doubt NN about IN how WRB far RB the DT powers NNS of IN the DT President_NNP were_VBD superior_JJ to_TO parliament_NN ._. In_IN article_NN 12_CD , , the DT President NNP has VBZ the DT right NN to TO dissolve VB the DT " " assemblée_NN nationale_NN "_" but_CC again_RB it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB blatantly_RB clear_JJ under_IN what_WP circumstances_NNS ._. In_IN the_DT Fourth_JJ Republic_NN ,_, the_DT President_NNP could_MD not_RB dissolve_VB the_DT ``_`` assemblée_NN nationale_NN "_" until_IN the_DT parliamentary_JJ session_NN was_VBD two_CD years_NNS old_JJ ._. When_WRB the_DT ``_`` assemblée_NN nationale_NN "_" brought VBD down RP the DT government NN in IN 1962 CD after IN the DT appointment_NN of_IN Pompidou_NNP as_IN Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ,_, De_NNP Gaulle NNP dissolved VBD the DT parliament NN. . In IN a DT dispute NN between_IN parliament_NN and_CC President_NNP ,_, the_DT President_NNP had_VBD shown_VBN who_WP held_VBD the_DT ``_`` trump_JJ card_NN "_" ._. Equally_RB on_IN 22nd_JJ May_NNP 1981_CD ,_, Mitterrand_NNP on_IN becoming_VBG President_NNP dissolved_VBD the_DT ``_`` assemblée_NN nationale_NN "_" so_RB as_IN to_TO get_VB a_DT majority_NN of_IN ``_`` députés_NNS "_" in_IN it_PRP to_TO aid_VB him_PRP with_IN his_PRP\$ new_JJ socialist_JJ policies_NNS ._. This_DT was_VBD surprising_JJ and_CC yet_RB a_DT tactic_NN which_WDT worked_VBD well_RB for_IN Mitterrand NNP. . Beforehand RB., , Mitterrand NNP had VBD been VBN an DT ardent_JJ critic_NN of_IN the_DT institutions_NNS of_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN,_, yet_RB this_DT act_NN was_VBD seen_VBN as_IN being_VBG more_RBR ``_`` Gaullian NNP " "than IN De NNP Gaulle NNP . . Thirdly RB comes VBZ the DT most_RBS contentious_JJ of_IN all_PDT the_DT Presidents_NNS powers_NNS ._. The_DT ability_NN to_TO appoint_VB and_CC sack_NN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ._. With_IN the_DT drawing_VBG up_RB of_IN the_DT constitution_NN of_IN 1958_CD,_, such_PDT a_DT measure_NN had_VBD been_VBN discussed_VBN ,_, but_CC rejected VBD. . When WRB De NNP Gaulle NNP was VBD asked VBN on IN the DT matter_NN in_IN 1958_CD ,_, he_PRP indicated_VBD that_IN the_DT President_NNP could_MD not_RB sack_NN his_PRP\$ Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ._. Yet_RB in_IN 1962_CD ,_, Michel_NNP De_NNP Brey_NNP was_VBD sacked_VBN and_CC replaced_VBN by_IN Pompidou_NNP ,_, a_DT financier_NN who_WP was_VBD not_RB

even_RB a_DT politician_NN ._. Article_NNP 8_CD of_IN the_DT constitution_NN discusses_VBZ the_DT matter_NN and_CC although_IN the_DT word_NN ``_`` nomme_FW "_" is_VBZ there_RB ,_, there_EX is_VBZ no_DT mention_NN of_IN the_DT word_NN meaning_NN to_TO sack_NN ``_`` renvoyer_NN "_" ._. In_IN the_DT Mitterrand_NNP presidency_NN ,_, he_PRP has_VBZ changed_VBN his_PRP\$ Prime_NNP Minister NNP to TO signify VB a DT change NN of IN policy NN. . In IN 1984 CD ,_, Mauroi_NNP was_VBD dropped_VBN in_IN favour_NN of_IN Fabius_NNP ._. The_DT constitution_NN implies_VBZ that_IN Prime_NNP Ministers_NNPS can_MD only_RB be_VB changed_VBN with_IN the_DT fall_NN of_IN a_DT government_NN ._. In_IN 1986_CD a_DT very_RB interesting_JJ situation_NN arose_VBD with_IN the_DT loss_NN of_IN the_DT Socialist_NNP majority_NN in_IN the_DT assemblée_NN nationale_NN to TO the DT right NN who WP had VBD a DT majority NN of IN 4 CD votes NNS... Mitterrand_NNP appointed_VBN Chirac_NNP,_, the_DT leader_NN of_IN the_DT right_JJ wing_NN coalition_NN to_TO the_DT post_NN of_IN Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ._. This_DT raised_VBD several_JJ questions_NNS on_IN the_DT spheres_NNS in_IN which_WDT the_DT President_NNP could_MD operate_VB ._. Beforehand_RB ,_, the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP had_VBD to_TO bow_VB to_TO the_DT authority_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP ._. It_PRP was_VBD his_PRP\$ job_NN to_TO ``_`` get_VB his_PRP\$ hands_NNS dirty_JJ "_" in_IN the_DT words_NNS of_IN Sartre_NNP and_CC actually_RB implement_VBP the_DT policies_NNS evolving_VBG from_IN the_DT President_NNP ._. There_EX had_VBD been_VBN disputes_NNS in_IN this_DT area_NN before_IN ._. In_IN 1976_CD ,_, Chirac_NNP when_WRB Prime_NNP Minister_NNP to_TO Giscard_NNP d'Estaing_NNP had_VBD resigned_VBN as_IN he_PRP believed_VBD the_DT President_NNP was_VBD interfering_VBG too_RB much_RB into IN his PRP\$ job NN. . Giscard NNP had VBD been VBN a DT finance NN minister_NN and_CC was_VBD very_RB interested_JJ in_IN this_DT sphere_NN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP had_VBD very_RB much_JJ concerned_JJ himself_PRP with_IN foreign_JJ affairs_NNS ._. Pompidou_NNP when_WRB President_NNP in_IN domestic_JJ matters_NNS ._. However_RB with_IN Chirac_NNP alongside_IN him_PRP ,_, Mitterrand_NNP saw_VBD his_PRP\$ supreme_JJ authority_NN infringed_VBN upon_IN ._. Chirac_NNP accompanied_VBD him_PRP to_TO important_JJ meetings_NNS and_CC by_IN raising_VBG the_DT old_JJ ``_`` conseil_FW inter-ministeriel_FW "_",_, even_RB managed_VBD to_TO barr_VB Mitterrand_NNP from_IN some_DT important_JJ ministerial_JJ meetings_NNS which_WDT took_VBD place_NN at_IN the_DT Prime_NNP

Ministers NNPS residence NN. . However RB Mitterrand NNP did VBD what WP previous_JJ 5th_JJ Republic_NN presidents_NNS had_VBD done_VBN ._. When_WRB criticism_NN rained_VBD in_IN on_IN governmental_JJ policy_NN ,_, on_IN the_DT planned VBN introduction NN of IN selection NN for IN higher JJR education NN for_IN instance_NN,_, Mitterrand_NNP stepped_VBD back_RB and_CC used_VBD the DT Prime NNP Minister NNP as IN a DT shield NN. . By IN disassociating VBG from_IN and_CC criticising_VBG the_DT government_NN ,_, Mitterrand_NNP took_VBD on_IN the_DT form_NN of_IN the_DT ``_`` gardien_FW de_FW l'interêt_FW national_JJ "_" ._. Fifthly_RB there_EX had_VBD been_VBN doubt_NN about_IN De_NNP Gaulle_NNP 's_POS use_NN of_IN article_NN 11_CD in_IN which_WDT the_DT President_NNP can_MD by-pass_VB parliament_NN and_CC hold_VB a_DT referendum NN on IN a DT planned JJ policy NN. . De NNP Gaulle NNP did VBD this_DT in_IN 1962_CD over_IN the_DT plans_NNS to_TO have_VB the_DT President NNP elected VBN by IN universal JJ suffrage NN. . Under IN the DT 4th JJ Republic_NN,_, the_DT 2_CD houses_NNS of_IN parliament_NN had_VBD voted_VBN for_IN there_EX President_NNP ,_, under_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN ,_, an_DT electoral_JJ college_NN of_IN about_IN 80_CD 000_CD high_JJ official_JJ civil_JJ councillors_NNS had_VBD voted_VBN ._. The_DT proposal_NN was_VBD passed_VBN decisively_RB by_IN the_DT people_NNS ._. Strictly_RB De_NNP Gaulle_NNP had_VBD changed VBN the DT constitution NN in IN an DT unconstitutional JJ manner NN, but_CC it_PRP did_VBD not_RB really_RB matter_VB as_IN he_PRP had_VBD the_DT mandate NN of IN the DT people NNS. . Other JJ powers NNS of IN the DT president_NN such_JJ as_IN the_DT promulgation_NN of_IN laws_NNS ,_, ability_NN to TO appoint VB leading VBG members NNS of IN the DT armed JJ and CC civil JJ services NNS-LRB- -LRB- article NN 14 CD-RRB- -RRB-, , the DT right NN to TO pardon_NN through_IN article_NN 17_CD and_CC the_DT right_NN to_TO send_VB legislation_NN back_RB to_TO parliament_NN through_IN article_NN 10_CD clearly_RB demonstrate_VBP the_DT power_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP ._. The_DT stability_NN of_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN ,_, which_WDT is_VBZ now_RB the_DT second JJ longest JJS after IN the DT 3rd JJ Republic NNP proofs NNS that WDT despite_IN ambiguities_NNS in_IN the_DT constitution_NN,_, actions_NNS of_IN the_DT President_NNP have_VBP helped_VBN clarify_VB the_DT boundaries_NNS of_IN his_PRP\$ powers_NNS . _ . The_DT behaviour_NN of_IN Mitterrand_NNP when_WRB faced VBN with IN " " cohabitation NN " " show VB the DT stability NN of IN

the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN and_CC its_PRP\$ ability_NN to_TO overcome_VB the_DT severest_JJS of_IN problems_NNS ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0029.1

Much_JJ of_IN this_DT ambiguity_NN arose_VBD from_IN the_DT fact_NN that_IN the DT Constitution NNP was VBD a DT compromise NN between IN ` `` presidentialisme_NN '_" and CC `_`` parlementarism_NN '_" ._. The DT President_NNP was_VBD given_VBN the_DT traditional_JJ powers_NNS of_IN the_DT Head_NNP of_IN State_NNP as_RB well_RB as_IN becoming_VBG the_DT `_`` chef_NN cérémoniale_NN de_IN l'Etat_NNP '_POS ,_, a_DT similar_JJ rôle_NN to_TO that_DT of_IN our_PRP\$ Queen_NN,_, and_CC as_RB well_RB as_IN becoming_VBG the_DT Chief_NNP of_IN the DT army NN.. He PRP was VBD given VBN a DT lot NN of IN power NN through_IN articles_NNS such_JJ as_IN 8_CD,_, 12_CD and CC 11_CD of_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP as_IN he_PRP did_VBD n't_RB need_VB the_DT `_`` contreseing_VBG '_" of_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP or_CC other_JJ ministers_NNS responsible_JJ ._. It_PRP was_VBD with_IN Article_NNP 8_CD that_IN the_DT main_JJ ambiguity_NN arose_VBD ._. It_PRP gave_VBD the_DT President_NNP the_DT power_NN to_TO name_VB the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP but_CC it_PRP remained_VBD ambiguous_JJ whether_IN he_PRP also_RB had_VBD the_DT power_NN to_TO sack_NN him_PRP ._. De NNP Gaulle NNP used VBD this DT to TO his PRP\$ favour NN and CC after IN appointing_VBG Michel_NNP Debré_NNP in_IN 1958_CD he_PRP was_VBD forced_VBN to_TO withdraw_VB from_IN this_DT position_NN in_IN 1962_CD ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP saw_VBD him_PRP as_IN a_DT good_JJ Prime_NNP Minister_NNP in_IN war_NN time_NN but_CC after_IN the_DT Algerian_NNP war_NN he_PRP decided_VBD he PRP no RB longer RBR had VBD any DT use NN and CC effectively RB sacked_VBD him_PRP ._. In_IN choosing_VBG Georges_NNP Pompidou_NNP in_IN his_PRP\$ place_NN de_IN Gaulle_NNP illustrated_VBD also_RB that_IN the_DT choice_NN of_IN Prime_NNP Minister_NNP was_VBD solely_RB his_PRP\$... This_DT interpretation_NN of_IN Article_NNP 8_CD was_VBD a_DT cornerstone_NN in_IN the_DT development_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP 's_POS power_NN ._. In_IN choosing_VBG initially_RB Debré_NNP ,_, de_FW Gaulle_NNP set_VBD a_DT precedent_NN in_IN that_IN he_PRP created_VBD a_DT `_`` domaine_FW reservé_FW "_" for_IN the_DT President_NNP in_IN which_WDT the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP was VBD not RB to TO interfere VB. . The DT President NNP was VBD to TO

deal VB with IN long JJ term NN issues NNS especially RB foreign JJ and CC defence_NN policies_NNS whereas_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP was_VBD to_TO deal_VB with_IN the_DT short_JJ term_NN domestic_JJ issues_NNS ._. This_DT autocratic JJ and CC authoritarian JJ rôle NN of IN the DT President NNP evolved VBD throughout_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NN ._. Pompidou_NNP ,_, after_IN having_VBG been VBN Prime JJ Minsiter NNP for IN six CD years NNS carried VBN on IN dealing_VBG with_IN economic_JJ ,_, domestic_JJ and_CC financial_JJ policies_NNS ._. Article_NNP 11_CD was_VBD not_RB in_IN itself_PRP so_RB ambiguous_JJ ._. The_DT President_NNP could_MD put_VB important_JJ decisions_NNS to_TO the_DT people_NNS by_IN referendum_NN ._. De_NNP Gaulle_NNP used_VBD it_PRP in_IN 1961_CD to_TO ask_VB the_DT French_JJ whether_IN they_PRP thought_VBD the_DT Algerians_NNPS should MD decide VB their PRP\$ own JJ future NN. . In IN 1973 CD Pompidou NNP used_VBD it_PRP to_TO see_VB whether_IN there_EX should_MD have_VB been_VBN an DT enlargement NN of IN the DT European NNP Community NNP as IN the DT British_JJ wanted_VBD to_TO join_VB under_IN Heath_NNP ... However_RB ,_, here_RB Pompidou_NNP was_VBD able_JJ to_TO use_VB Article_NNP 11_CD for_IN tactical_JJ reasons_NNS ,_, to_TO divide_VB the_DT opposition_NN ._. It_PRP was_VBD also_RB a_DT good_JJ way_NN to_TO increase_VB contact_NN with_IN the_DT people_NNS outside_IN of_IN the_DT normal_JJ methods_NNS ._. Where_WRB the_DT real_JJ ambiguity_NN lay_VBD was_VBD in_IN whether_IN you_PRP could_MD use_VB Article_NNP 11_CD to_TO revise_VB the_DT Constitution_NNP ._. There_EX was_VBD a DT set VBN procedure NN for IN constitutional JJ revision NN under IN Article NNP 89_CD but_CC de_FW Gaulle_NNP used_VBD Article_NNP 11_CD to_TO introduce_VB elections_NNS `_`` on_IN suffrage_NN universel_JJ direct_JJ '_" ._. Through_IN his_PRP\$ interpretation NN he PRP could MD submit VB an DT idea NN to TO the DT people_NNS without_IN having_VBG to_TO put_VB it_PRP to_TO the_DT Parliament_NNP first_RB ._. By_IN the_DT elections_NNS of_IN 1965_CD the_DT President_NNP had_VBD therefore_RB gained_VBN more_JJR power_NN as_IN a_DT matter_NN of_IN interpretation_NN ._. This_DT procedure_NN has_VBZ never_RB been VBN used VBN recently RB and CC is VBZ unlikely JJ to TO be VB used VBN again_RB ._. More_RBR ambiguity_NN lies_VBZ in_IN Article_NNP 16_CD which_WDT purports_VBZ to_TO give_VB wide-reaching_JJ powers_NNS to_TO the_DT President_NNP in_IN a_DT state_NN of_IN national_JJ emergency_NN ._. It_PRP has_VBZ also_RB been_VBN used_VBN in_IN 1961_CD following_VBG the_DT `_``

putsch NN' "of IN the DT Generals NNS in IN Algeria NNP. . The DT President NNP must_MD consult_VB the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ,_, the_DT presidents_NNS of_IN the_DT two_CD assemblies_NNS and_CC the_DT `_`` conseil_NN constitutionnelle_NN '_" beforehand RB but CC in IN 1961 CD they PRP were VBD not RB all DT in IN agreement_NN that_WDT France_NNP was_VBD threatened_VBN ._. Nevertheless_RB through_IN this_DT ambiguity_NN de_IN Gaulle_NNP was_VBD able_JJ to_TO implement_VB Article_NNP 16_CD ._. Although_IN Article_NNP 21_CD says_VBZ that_IN the_DT Prime_NNP Minister_NNP should_MD `_`` divise_VB l'action_NNP du_NNP Gouvernement_NNP '_POS in_IN practice_NN ,_, and_CC again_RB as_IN a_DT matter_NN of_IN interpretation_NN ,_, this_DT has_VBZ not_RB been_VBN the_DT case_NN ._. It_PRP 's_VBZ the_DT President_NNP who_WP 's_VBZ the_DT Head_NNP of_IN the_DT executive_NN and_CC under_IN Article_NNP 9_CD he_PRP claims_VBZ the_DT `_`` Conseil_NNP des_NNP Ministres_NNP '_POS ,_, fixes_NNS the_DT order_NN of_IN the_DT day_NN and_CC generally_RB directs_VBZ the_DT policy_NN ._. Through_IN such_JJ ambiguity_NN the_DT President_NNP has_VBZ again_RB been_VBN able_JJ to_TO receive_VB larger_JJR powers_NNS and_CC develope_VB his_PRP\$ rôle_NN ._. When_WRB Giscard_NNP d'Estaing_NN came_VBD to_TO power_NN in_IN 1974_CD he_PRP was_VBD obliged_VBN to_TO appoint_VB Chirac_NNP as_IN Prime_NNP Minister_NNP ... Not_RB being_VBG a_DT gaullist_NN and_CC not_RB being_VBG the_DT leader_NN of_IN the_DT largest_JJS party_NN he_PRP often_RB ignored_VBD Chirac_NNP and_CC went_VBD straight_RB to_TO the_DT ministers_NNS . . With IN this DT and CC his PRP\$ interference NN in IN financial JJ matters NNS, , Chirac_NNP resigned_VBD in_IN 1976_CD ._. Under_IN Mitterand_NNP ,_, advisors_NNS often_RB had_VBD more_JJR power_NN than_IN ministers_NNS ._. Through_IN such_JJ ambiguity NN and CC interpretation NN the DT President NNP has VBZ been VBN able_JJ to_TO assume_VB wide_JJ powers_NNS ._. Uncontent_JJ with_IN his_PRP\$ Mitterand_NNP used_VBD interpretation_NN and_CC the_DT fact_NN that_IN the_DT Algerian_NNP war_NN had_VBD traumatised_VBN the_DT nation_NN to_TO assume_VB more_JJR power_NN ._. For_IN example_NN he_PRP refused_VBD to_TO allow_VB Parliament_NNP to_TO sit_VB in_IN 1963_CD ._. Mitterand_NNP realising_VBG he_PRP would_MD lose_VB his_PRP\$ majority_NN in_IN the_DT National_NNP Assembly_NNP at_IN the_DT next_JJ election_NN used_VBD such_JJ powers_NNS to_TO put_VB men_NNS of_IN his_PRP\$ own_JJ choice_NN in_IN high_JJ positions_NNS ._. After_IN being_VBG elected_VBN in_IN 1981_CD ,_, since_IN the_DT National_NNP

Assembly_NNP had_VBD been_VBN elected_VBN in_IN 1975_CD and_CC had_VBD a_DT majority_NN ,_, he_PRP wanted_VBD a_DT majority_NN for_IN the_DT left_NN and_CC used_VBN Article_NNP 12_CD to_TO dissolve_VB it_PRP ._. The_DT ambiguities_NNS such_JJ as_IN in_IN Article_NNP 34_CD and_CC 37_CD over_IN the_DT way_NN legislation_NN is_VBZ past_JJ also_RB gave_VBD wide_JJ reaching_VBG powers_NNS to_TO the_DT President_NNP ._. All_DT in_IN all_DT it_PRP is_VBZ this_DT ambiguous_JJ nature_NN of_IN the_DT Constitution_NNP ,_, resulting_VBG from_IN the_DT compromise_NN it_PRP tried_VBD to_TO make_VB ,_, that_WDT led_VBD to_TO a_DT great_JJ development_NN in_IN the_DT rôle_NN of_IN the_DT President_NNP in_IN the_DT 5th_JJ Republic_NNP mainly_RB under_IN the_DT precedent_NN set_VBN by_IN Charles_NNP de_IN Gaulle_NNP ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0030.1

Demography NN is VBZ the DT study NN of IN population NN and CC the DT effect_NN that_IN its_PRP\$ general_JJ character_NN has_VBZ on_IN a_DT country_NN 's_POS society_NN and_CC economy_NN ._. Demographists_NNS claim_VBP that_IN it_PRP is_VBZ a_DT major_JJ factor_NN in_IN considering_VBG the_DT problems_NNS of_IN that_DT country_NN 's_POS evolution_NN -_: for_IN example_NN ,_, it_PRP is_VBZ thought_VBN that_IN many_JJ of_IN France_NNP 's_POS problems_NNS during IN the DT twentieth JJ century NN have VBP been VBN caused VBN by IN a_DT premature_JJ decline_NN in_IN the_DT birth_NN rate_NN in_IN the_DT nineteenth_JJ century_NN ,_, and_CC the_DT consequent_JJ ageing_NN of_IN the_DT population_NN ._. At_IN the_DT beginning_NN of_IN the_DT 19th_JJ century_NN France_NNP had_VBD the_DT largest_JJS population_NN in_IN Europe_NNP ,_, after_IN Russia NNP, and CC was VBD also RB a DT major JJ world NN power NN... Since_IN this_DT time_NN ,_, both_DT its_PRP\$ power_NN and_CC population_NN in_IN relation_NN to_TO the_DT rest_NN of_IN Europe_NNP ,_, have_VBP been_VBN in_IN steady_JJ decline_NN ._. By_IN the_DT beginning_NN of_IN the_DT first_JJ world_NN war_NN,_, France_NNP 's_POS population_NN trailed_VBD far_RB behind_IN that_DT of_IN Germany_NNP,_, which_WDT was_VBD one_CD reason_NN why_WRB Germany_NNP felt_VBD confident_JJ of_IN victory_NN ._. During_IN both_DT World_NNP Wars_NNP France_NNP not_RB only_RB lost_VBD thousands_NNS of_IN men_NNS,_, but_CC the_DT birth_NN rate_NN also_RB dropped_VBD dramatically_RB ._. During_IN the_DT economic_JJ crisis_NN and_CC depression_NN between_IN the_DT

wars_NNS ,_, the_DT birthrate_NN was_VBD also_RB low_JJ ,_, because_IN it_PRP was_VBD a_DT time_NN of_IN gloom_NN and_CC pessimism_NN ,_, with_IN little_JJ hope_NN for_IN the_DT future_NN ,_, and_CC so_IN people_NNS could_MD n't_RB afford VB large JJ families NNS.. The DT consequence NN of IN these DT factors_NNS was_VBD that_IN by_IN the_DT end_NN of_IN the_DT second_JJ world_NN war NN, , the DT adult JJ population NN in IN France NNP was VBD greatly RB reduced_VBN ._. It_PRP was_VBD at_IN this_DT time_NN that_IN the_DT birth_NN rate_NN suddenly_RB increased_VBD ,_, with_IN the_DT Babyboom_NNP ._. Between_IN 1946_CD and CC 1964_CD the DT birth_NN rate_NN increased_VBD 20_CD %_NN ._. -_: this_DT was_VBD due_JJ to_TO decreasing_VBG infant_NN mortality_NN ,_, the_DT introduction_NN of_IN social_JJ security_NN and_CC familly_RB benefits_NNS ,_, a_DT new_JJ optimism_NN for_IN the_DT future_NN ,_, and_CC an_DT abandonning_NN of_IN former_JJ Malthusian_JJ attitudes_NNS,_, in_IN favour_NN of_IN a_DT more_RBR dynamic_JJ outlook_NN ._. The_DT birth_NN rate_NN had_VBD in_IN fact_NN ,_, begun_VBN to_TO increase_VB before_IN the_DT end_NN of_IN the_DT war_NN ,_, as_IN people_NNS took_VBD on_RP a_DT care-free_JJ attitude_NN,_, with_IN little_JJ feeling_NN of_IN responsibility_NN ._. At_IN the_DT same_JJ time_NN ,_, the_DT death_NN rate_NN was_VBD decreasing_VBG ,_, due_JJ to_TO advances_NNS in_IN medicine_NN , _, and_CC living_NN conditions_NNS ._. This_DT meant_VBD that_IN the_DT number_NN of_IN old_JJ people_NNS was_VBD steadily_RB increasing_VBG ._. So_RB ,_, after_IN the_DT war_NN ,_, there_EX was_VBD a_DT reduced_VBN number_NN of_IN adults_NNS ,_, to_TO look_VB after_IN ,_, and_CC produce_VBP goods_NNS for_IN , _, a_DT increased_VBN number_NN of_IN children_NNS and_CC old_JJ people_NNS ._. This_DT ,_, and_CC the_DT need_NN to_TO build_VB the_DT economy NN, , led VBD to TO the DT influx NN of IN immigrant JJ workers NNS into_IN France_NNP,_, with_IN has_VBZ in_IN turn_NN led_VBD to_TO many_JJ of_IN today_NN 's_POS problems_NNS with_IN immigrants_NNS ._. During_IN the_DT fifties_NNS ,_, the_DT school_NN system_NN had_VBD to_TO be_VB adapted_VBN to_TO provide_VB for_IN the_DT Babyboom_NNP;_: by_IN the_DT end_NN of_IN the_DT 60_CD 's_POS ,_, they_PRP had_VBD reached_VBN the_DT Universities_NNS ,_, which_WDT became_VBD overcrowded_JJ,_, and_CC inadequate_JJ to_TO meet_VB the_DT needs_NNS of_IN the_DT thousands_NNS of_IN extra_JJ students_NNS ._. This_DT was_VBD one_CD of_IN the_DT direct_JJ causes_NNS of_IN May_NNP '_POS 68 CD, , along IN with IN the DT fact NN that IN there EX was VBD no DT

guarantee NN of IN a DT job NN afterwards RB, , with IN so RB many JJ students_NNS competing_VBG together_RB ._. The_DT Babyboom_NN generation_NN is_VBZ now_RB working_VBG and_CC so_IN the_DT country_NN is_VBZ benefitting VBG from IN the DT taxes NNS which WDT they PRP are VBP paying_VBG ._. But_CC ,_, at_IN the_DT same_JJ time_NN ,_, with_IN an_DT ever_RB decreasing VBG death NN rate NN, , + CC ever RB increasing VBG number NN of IN old_JJ people_NNS ,_, the_DT Treasury_NNP is_VBZ having_VBG to_TO pay_VB vast_JJ sums_NNS in_IN pensions_NNS ,_, +_CC care_NN for_IN the_DT elderly_JJ ._. Since_IN the_DT end_NN of_IN the_DT Babyboom_NNP ,_, the_DT birthrate_NN has_VBZ declined_VBN again_RB,_, due_JJ to_TO the_DT legalisation_NN of_IN contraception_NN +_CC abortion_NN ,_, and_CC the_DT fact_NN that_IN many_JJ people_NNS see_VBP having VBG less JJR children NNS as IN a DT way NN to TO better JJR their PRP\$ standard_NN of_IN living_NN ._. At_IN present_JJ ,_, the_DT birth_NN rate_NN is_VBZ around_IN 13,6_CD ?_. /_: 00_CD ,_, while_IN the_DT death_NN rate_NN is_VBZ about_IN 9_CD ?_. /_: 00_CD ._. This_DT means_VBZ that_IN the_DT base_NN of_IN the_DT pyramid_NN of_IN ages_NNS is_VBZ being_VBG eroded_VBN away_RB ._. The_DT consequences_NNS are_VBP that_IN the_DT population_NN is_VBZ becoming_VBG top_JJ heavy_NN ,_, with_IN a_DT smaller_JJR number_NN of_IN taxpayers_NNS having_VBG to_TO provide_VB for_IN the_DT pensions_NNS of_IN a_DT larger_JJR number_NN of_IN old_JJ people_NNS -_: this_DT has_VBZ been_VBN worsened_VBN by_IN the_DT lowering_NN of_IN the_DT retirment_NN age_NN to_TO 60 CD. . Furthermore RB, , the DT strain NN on IN the DT taxpayers NNS can MD only_RB continue_VB to_TO get_VB worse_JJR ,_, unless_IN this_DT trend_NN is_VBZ reversed_VBN ._. This_DT is_VBZ why_WRB many_JJ French_JJ people_NNS now_RB support VBP a DT policy NN of IN encouraging JJ people NNS to TO have VB children_NNS to_TO halt_VB a_DT greying_JJ population_NN ._. The_DT consequence_NN for_IN business_NN is_VBZ that_IN it_PRP has_VBZ had_VBN to_TO adapt_VB its_PRP\$ production_NN away_RB from_IN baby_NN +_CC children_NNS 's_POS products_NNS ,_, to_TO those_DT required_VBN by_IN the_DT older_JJR generations_NNS ,_, in_IN particular_JJ medical_JJ suppplies_NNS ._. They_PRP are_VBP also_RB having_VBG to_TO pay_VB more_JJR to_TO their_PRP\$ older_JJR workers_NNS ,_, due_JJ to_TO their_PRP\$ age_NN even_RB though_IN they_PRP do_VBP n't_RB produce_VB any_DT more_JJR than_IN the_DT decreasing_VBG number_NN of_IN young JJ people NNS do VBP...

ICLE-BR-SUR-0031.1

The DT French JJ system NN of IN higher JJR education NN has VBZ always RB been_VBN of_IN a_DT hierarchical_JJ nature_NN and_CC divided_VBN ._. It_PRP was_VBD so_RB before_RB mai_FW '_" 68_CD ,_, and_CC despite_IN attempts_NNS at IN reform NN, , it PRP has VBZ been VBN determined VBN to TO remain VB so_RB ._. Before_IN 1968_CD ,_, French_JJ universities_NNS were_VBD overcrowded_JJ -LRB-_-LRB- the_DT number_NN of_IN students_NNS rose_VBD from_IN 122,000_CD in_IN 1936_CD to_TO 612,000_CD in_IN 1968_CD -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, centralized_VBN and_CC impersonal_JJ ._. In_IN response_NN to_TO the_DT events_NNS of_IN '_" 68_CD ,_, the_DT Faure_NNP reforms_NNS were_VBD drawn_VBN up_RP ._. They_PRP abolished_VBD old_JJ universities_NNS as_IN such_JJ ,_, and_CC gave_VBD them_PRP the_DT opportunity_NN to_TO form_VB themselves_PRP into_IN `_`` unités_NNS d'enseignements NNS et FW de FW recherche FW ' ". . They PRP formed VBD their_PRP\$ own_JJ councils_NNS , _, and_CC could_MD group_VB themselves_PRP into IN new JJ universities NNS. . These DT universities NNS had VBD their PRP\$ own JJ councils_NNS made_VBD up_RP of_IN staff_NN ,_, teaching_NN and_CC nonteaching_JJ ,_, and_CC student_NN delegates_NNS ._. They_PRP elected_VBD the_DT President NNP who WP fulfilled VBD a DT similar JJ role NN to TO that DT of IN the_DT British_JJ universities_NNS '_POS Vice-Chancellor_NNP ._. The_DT Faure_NNP reforms_NNS gave_VBD the_DT universities_NNS a_DT framework_NN within_IN which_WDT to_TO create_VB a_DT new_JJ system_NN of_IN university_NN education_NN and_CC to_TO create_VB new_JJ personalities_NNS for_IN themselves_PRP . . These DT reforms NNS dealt VBN with IN the DT centralized VBN and CC impersonal_JJ aspects_NNS ._. But_CC the_DT universities_NNS could_MD not_RB cope_VB with_IN their_PRP\$ new_JJ powers_NNS ._. They_PRP reverted_VBD back_RB to_TO their_PRP\$ interdepartmental_JJ wrangling_NN ,_, and_CC when_WRB it_PRP came_VBD to_TO joining_VBG together_RB to_TO form_VB universities_NNS ,_, the_DT subjects_NNS dominated_VBN by_IN the_DT Left_VBN ,_, suchas_VBZ sociology_NN ,_, did_VBD not_RB want_VB to_TO combine_VB with_IN those_DT subjects_NNS dominated_VBN by_IN more_JJR Right-wing_NN professors_NNS ._. The_DT apolitical_JJ sciences_NNS did_VBD not_RB want_VB to_TO be_VB `_`` contaminated_VBN '_" by_IN the_DT Left-wingers_NNPS ._. Within_IN the_DT new_JJ universities_NNS ,_, the_DT departments NNS were VBD out RB to TO protect VB their PRP\$ own JJ

positions_NNS and_CC to_TO protect_VB their_PRP\$ share_NN of_IN the_DT global_JJ budget_NN ,_, so_RB there_RB was_VBD little_JJ tendency_NN to_TO create_VB new_JJ inter-disciplinary_JJ courses_NNS as_IN Faure_NNP had_VBD hoped_VBN ._. The_DT universities NNS are VBP very RB much RB out IN of IN touch NN with IN the DT needs_NNS of_IN the_DT outside_JJ world_NN ._. Their_PRP\$ DEUGs_NNS and_CC licences NNS were VBD very RB much JJ theoretical JJ and CC literal JJ and CC of IN no_DT use_NN in_IN finding_VBG jobs_NNS in_IN specialized_VBN industry_NN ._. Many_JJ professors_NNS wanted_VBD to_TO keep_VB universities_NNS as_IN `_`` la_DT finalité_NN culturelle_NN '_" ._. Donot_NNP want_VBP interaction_NN with_IN patrons_NNS ,_, etc._FW ._. But_CC this_DT is_VBZ necessary_JJ to_TO make_VB degrees_NNS more_RBR relevant_JJ to_TO job_NN requirements_NNS ._. Also_RB left_JJ wing_NN departments_NNS resisted_VBD any_DT attempt_NN by_IN State_NN for_IN reform_NN ._. Refused_VBN to_TO see_VB such_JJ attempts_NNS as_IN sincere_JJ or_CC benevolent_JJ ,_, always_RB suspected_VBN state_NN of_IN ulterior_JJ motives_NNS ._. Gulf_NNP between_IN universities_NNS and_CC Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP slightly_RB bridged_VBN by_IN Instituts_NNP Universitaires_NNP de_IN Technologie_NNP ,_, but_CC governments_NNS leave_VBP Grandes_NNP Ecoles_NNP to_TO themselves_PRP as_IN serve_VB France_NNP well_RB and_CC were_VBD not_RB infected_VBN by_IN virus_NN of_IN '_" 68_CD ._. Politicisation_NN of_IN struggle_NN for_IN reform_NN ._. Measures_NNS brought_VBD in_RP by_IN Savary_NNP to_TO reduce_VB influence_NN of_IN professors_NNS in_IN councils_NNS revoked_VBN by_IN Right_RB when_WRB returned VBN to TO power NN. . Reaction NN against IN Devaquet JJ projet NN was_VBD unfounded_JJ ._. It_PRP would_MD have_VB retained_VBN `_`` bac_NN '_" as_IN means_NNS of_IN selection_NN for_IN entry_NN but_CC would_MD have_VB eased VBN pressure NN on IN crowded JJ universities NNS...

ICLE-BR-SUR-0032.1

At_IN the_DT beginning_NN of_IN the_DT Fifth_NNP Republic_NNP ,_, education_NN reforms_NNS had_VBD not_RB been_VBN implemented_VBN because_IN of_IN political_JJ instability_NN ,_, other_JJ priorities_NNS -LRB-_-LRB- notably_RB the_DT Second_JJ World_NNP War_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- and_CC the_DT notorious_JJ French_JJ concept_NN of_IN academic_JJ tradition_NN and_CC élitism_NN ._. The_DT problems_NNS to_TO be_VB solved_VBN were_VBD that_DT of_IN modernization_NN ,_, democratization_NN and_CC secularization_NN ._. At_IN that_DT time_NN -LRB-_-

LRB- 1959_CD -RRB-_-RRB- most_RBS children_NNS stayed_VBD at_IN primary_JJ school_NN,_, only_RB 35_CD %_NN were_VBD progressing_VBG to_TO secondary_JJ education_NN -LRB-_-LRB- the_DT sixième_NN year_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Berthoin NNP was VBD the DT first JJ minister NN of IN education NN to TO address_VB the_DT problem_NN of_IN democratization_NN ._. He_PRP tried_VBD to_TO prolong VB school NN life NN for IN a DT large JJ number NN of IN pupils NNS by_IN making_VBG education_NN compulsory_NN until_IN the_DT age_NN of_IN 16_CD ,_, abolishing_VBG the_DT entrance_NN examination_NN to_TO the_DT `_`` sixième_NN '_" and_CC abandoning_VBG the_DT `_`` classe_FW de_FW la_FW fin_FW des_FW études_NNS '_POS ,_, where_WRB children_NNS stayed_VBD at_IN primary_JJ school_NN until_IN 14_CD ._. He_PRP introduced_VBD the_DT concept_NN of_IN orientation_NN and_CC observation_NN ,_, whereby_WRB a_DT pupil_NN could_MD be_VB directed_VBN towards_IN the_DT school_NN mostly_RB suited_VBN to_TO his_PRP\$ needs_NNS -LRB-_-LRB- the_DT prestigious_JJ lycée_NN and_CC the_DT College_NNP d'Enseignement_NNP Général_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- ,_, whilst_IN trying_VBG to_TO bring_VB the_DT two_CD schools_NNS closer_RBR together_RB ._. The DT lycée_NN had_VBD always_RB been_VBN the_DT bastion_NN of_IN élitism_NN ,_, with_IN its_PRP\$ Napoleonic_JJ tradition_NN ._. In_IN 1963_CD Fouchet_NN created_VBD the_DT College_NNP d'Enseignement_NNP Secondaire_NNP ,_, a_DT lower_JJR common_JJ secondary_JJ school_NN ,_, to_TO try_VB and_CC encourage_VB upward_RB social_JJ mobility_NN ._. Jean_NNP Capelle_NNP ,_, a_DT leading_VBG figure NN in IN the DT initiative NN had VBD very RB much JJ admired VBN,, and_CC tried_VBD to_TO emulate_VB the_DT English_NNP comprehensive_JJ schools NNS.. But CC in IN an DT article NN by IN Hain NNP Gaziel NNP, his PRP\$ efforts NNS were VBD a DT failure NN. . The DT creation NN of IN 3 CD `_`` filières_NNS '_POS were_VBD basically_RB a_DT division_NN between_IN prospective_JJ lycée_NN and_CC C.E.G._NN students_NNS ._. The_DT third_JJ stream_NN was_VBD theoretically_RB intended_VBN to_TO push_VB pupils_NNS to_TO the_DT upper_JJ two_CD streams_NNS ,_, but_CC in_IN practice_NN transfer_NN was_VBD difficult_JJ -_: only_RB 1_CD %_NN managed_VBD it_PRP ._. It_PRP was_VBD dubbed_VBN the_DT `_`` poubelle_NN '_" of_IN the_DT system_NN ._. These_DT two_CD reforms_NNS came_VBD at_IN the_DT time_NN of_IN a_DT population_NN expansion_NN which_WDT demanded_VBD education_NN of_IN any_DT kind NN and CC prevented VBD proper JJ reforms NNS - : giving VBG away RP a DT

little_JJ in_IN order_NN to_TO conserve_VB a_DT great_JJ deal_NN ._. School_NNP pupils_NNS became_VBD disillusioned_JJ ,_, seeing_VBG the_DT school_NN as_IN an_DT agent_NN of_IN social_JJ discrimination_NN . . . The_DT lycées_NNS were_VBD for IN the DT bourgeois NN, cadres NNS supérieurs NNS, while IN the DT chances_NNS of_IN the_DT children_NNS of_IN an_DT `_`` ouvrier_NN '_" getting_VBG anywhere RB near IN higher JJR education NN were VBD remote JJ. . It PRP seemed_VBD that_IN equality_NN of_IN opportunity_NN and_CC high_JJ academic_JJ standards_NNS were_VBD incompatible_JJ ._. The_DT demonstrations_NNS of_IN May_NNP 68_CD led_VBD to_TO an_DT era_NN of_IN dialogue_NN between_IN parents_NNS,_, teachers_NNS and_CC government_NN ._. The_DT resulting_VBG Haby_NNP reforms_NNS brought_VBD about_RB the_DT `_`` tronc_NN commun_NN '_" in_IN the_DT C.E.S._NNP ,_, where_WRB over_IN 50_CD %_NN of_IN pupils_NNS now_RB attended_VBD ._. This_DT type_NN of_IN '_" école_JJ unique_JJ '_" had_VBD been VBN demanded VBN by IN idealists NNS such JJ as IN Compagnons NNP de IN l'Université_NNP over_IN 50_CD years_NNS before_RB ._. It_PRP involved_VBD mixed_JJ ability_NN teaching_NN up_IN to_TO the_DT age_NN of_IN 16_CD ,_, an_DT attempt_NN at_IN ensuring_VBG that_IN equality_NN of_IN opportunity_NN was_VBD obtained_VBN ._. But_CC schools_NNS found_VBD ways_NNS of_IN streaming_NN pupils_NNS ,_, under_IN pressure_NN from_IN the_DT parents_NNS of_IN abler_JJ children NNS. . When WRB Beullac NNP became VBD minister NN in IN 1978 CD., he_PRP was_VBD instructed_VBN not_RB to_TO apply_VB the_DT Haby_NNP laws NNS too RB rigidly RB and CC there RB was VBD discretion NN as IN to TO how_WRB far_RB schools_NNS could_MD stream_NN their_PRP\$ pupils_NNS ._. Haby_NNP had_VBD said_VBN that_IN his_PRP\$ reform_NN involved_VBN `_`` the_DT same JJ opportunities NNS in IN every DT satchel NN' "but CC was VBD criticised_VBN for_IN subordinating_VBG education_NN to_TO the_DT needs_NNS of_IN the_DT economy_NN ,_, producing_VBG a_DT versatile_JJ but_CC poorly_RB qualified_VBN workforce_NN and_CC providing_VBG education_NN on_IN the_DT level_NN of_IN the_DT `_`` SMIC_NN culturel_NN '_" ._. Elitism_NNP was_VBD reintroduced_VBN as_IN abler_NN pupils_NNS were_VBD able_JJ to_TO take_VB German_JJ lessons_NNS ... Under_IN the_DT Socialists_NNPS since_IN 1981_CD ,_, the_DT move_NN to_TO integrate_VB private_JJ schools_NNS into_IN the_DT State_NN system_NN was_VBD dropped_VBN under_IN public_JJ pressure_NN and_CC now_RB 17 CD % NN of IN pupils NNS are VBP members NNS of IN that DT clique NN...

Savary NNP left VBD office NN to TO be VB replace VB by IN Chevenement NNP who_WP advocated_VBD to_TO return_VB to_TO the_DT conservative_JJ values_NNS of_IN discipline_NN &_CC hard_JJ work_NN ,_, while_IN introducing_VBG modern_JJ ,_, technological JJ subjects NNS. . But CC still RB, , government NN was VBD trying_VBG to_TO fit_VB new_JJ reforms_NNS into_IN the_DT existing_VBG system_NN and CC lycées NNS remained VBD virtuallly JJ unchanged JJ. . For IN the DT less JJR privileged_JJ child_NN ,_, the_DT outlook_NN is_VBZ still_RB grim_JJ ._. He_PRP has_VBZ a_DT 43_CD %_NN chance_NN of_IN getting_VBG to_TO higher_JJR education_NN,_, as_IN opposed_VBN to_TO 80_CD %_NN for_IN the_DT child_NN of_IN a_DT `_`` cadre_NN supéreir_NN '_" ._. In_IN England_NNP ,_, the_DT chances_NNS of_IN a_DT working_VBG class_NN child_NN to_TO progress_NN is_VBZ much RB higher JJR, , even RB in IN the DT élitist NN Oxbridge NNP, , 50 CD %_NN are_VBP non-public_JJ school_NN ._. With_IN the_DT introduction_NN of_IN GCSE NNP's POS, the DT social JJ stigma NN of IN having VBG CSE NNP's POS rather_RB than_IN O_NN levels_NNS is_VBZ removed_VBN ,_, and_CC there_EX is_VBZ less_JJR pressure_NN to_TO continue_VB to_TO A_DT levels_NNS ._. In_IN France_NNP ,_, there_EX is_VBZ no_DT half-way_NN house_NN ._. The_DT baccalauréat_NN is_VBZ all-important_JJ ,_, a_DT national_JJ obsession_NN ,_, with_IN those_DT who_WP do_VBP not_RB obtain_VB it_PRP becoming_VBG `_`` zéros_NNS '_POS ._. This_DT segregation_NN of_IN `_`` bacheliers_NNS '_POS and_CC `_`` non-bacheliers_NNS '_" is_VBZ likely_JJ to_TO worsen_VB as_IN the_DT Rocard_NNP government_NN has_VBZ stated VBN its PRP\$ aim NN of IN 80 CD % NN of IN pupils NNS taking VBG the_DT bac_NN ... exam_NN by_IN the_DT year_NN 2000_CD ... Critics_NNS ,_, including VBG the DT magazine NN Paris NNP Match NNP, , see VB this DT creating VBG a DT```ghetto NN du NNP déseppoir NNP 'POS as IN those DT without_IN the_DT bac_NN ._. will_MD be_VB discriminated_VBN against_IN for_IN the_DT rest_NN of_IN his_PRP\$ life_NN ._. The_DT chances_NNS are_VBP that_IN the_DT majority_NN of_IN the_DT 20_CD %_NN of_IN `_`` zéros_NNS '_POS will_MD be_VB of_IN lower_JJR social_JJ categories_NNS ,_, children_NNS of_IN `_`` ouvries NNS ' POS or CC ` `` salariés NNS agricoles NNS ' POS . . As IN it PRP is_VBZ,_, the_DT percentage_NN of_IN these_DT children_NNS having_VBG to_TO repeat_VB a_DT year_NN is_VBZ 25_CD %_NN higher_JJR than_IN those_DT from_IN better-off_JJ backgrounds_NNS ._. Secondary_JJ school_NN now_RB involves_VBZ 2_CD years NNS of IN observation NN, , 2 CD of IN orientation NN and CC then RB to TO

the_DT lycée_NN d'Enseignement_NN Generale_NNP or_CC Lycée_NNP d'Enseignement_NNP Professionnelle_NNP -LRB-_-LRB- equivalent_JJ of_IN an_DT English_JJ Technological_JJ College_NNP -RRB-_-RRB- ._. The_DT `_`` brevets_NNS ' POS gained VBN at IN the DT L.E.P. NNP do VBP not RB gain VB as RB much JJ admiration_NN and_CC prestige_NN as_IN they_PRP should_MD ,_, since_IN the_DT French NNP are VBP still RB bound VBN by IN their PRP\$ academic JJ tradition NN ,_, high_JJ standards_NNS and_CC élitism_NN ._. Does_VBZ this_DT has_VBZ to_TO suffer_VB at_IN the_DT expense_NN of_IN social_JJ equality_NN ?_. In_IN England_NNP ,_, selection_NN to_TO higher_JJR education_NN is_VBZ a_DT fact_NN of_IN life_NN ._. If_IN you_PRP follow_VBP the_DT theory_NN that_IN the_DT higher_JJR the_DT social_JJ class_NN ,_, the_DT better_JJR the_DT A_DT level_NN grades_NNS -_: then_RB social JJ selection NN may MD be VB a DT problem NN. . But CC the DT comprehensive_JJ system_NN with_IN streaming_NN and_CC special_JJ help_NN for_IN remedials_NNS means_VBZ that_IN this_DT is_VBZ less_RBR likely_JJ ._. In_IN France_NNP,_, the_DT bac_NN ._. certificate_NN is_VBZ a_DT ticket_NN for_IN university_NN,_, without_IN further_JJ selection_NN ._. But_CC the_DT social_JJ discrimination_NN has_VBZ already_RB taken_VBN place_NN ,_, with_IN the_DT likelihood_NN of_IN a_DT `_`` lower_JJR class_NN '_" pupil_NN gaining_VBG the_DT bac_NN ._. much_RB lower_JJR than_IN that_DT of_IN his_PRP\$ more_JJR privileged_JJ contemporary_JJ ._. The_DT English_JJ system_NN of_IN course_NN has_VBZ its_PRP\$ elitist_JJ elements_NNS ,_, the_DT public_JJ school_NN causing_VBG much_JJ controversy_NN and_CC often_RB giving_VBG a_DT child_NN a_DT better_JJR chance_NN to_TO progress_VB to_TO higher_JJR education_NN ._. French_NNP has_VBZ a_DT history_NN of_IN elitism_NN ,_, since_IN the_DT time_NN of_IN Napoleon_NNP and CC is VBZ determined VBN not RB to TO sacrifice VB its PRP\$ academic JJ standards_NNS ._. But_CC for_IN the_DT less_JJR privileged_JJ child_NN ,_, the_DT education_NN system_NN is_VBZ ,_, according_VBG to_TO Charles_NNP Vial_NNP ,_, a_DT `_`` cursus_FW d'obstacles_FW '_" ._. He_PRP has_VBZ only_RB a_DT 6_CD %_NN chance_NN of_IN getting_VBG the_DT prestigious_JJ C_NN bac_NN ,_, if_IN he_PRP is_VBZ the_DT child_NN of_IN a_DT `_`` salarié_NN agricole_NN '_" ._. A_DT balance_NN must_MD be_VB struck_VBN ._. To_TO keep_VB standards_NNS high_JJ and_CC to_TO ensure_VB equality_NN of_IN opportunity_NN ._. Even_RB when_WRB these_DT children_NNS make_VBP it_PRP to_TO university_NN ,_, they_PRP are_VBP 50_CD %_NN more_RBR likely_JJ to_TO fail_VB their_PRP\$ D.E.U.G._NNP than_IN

children_NNS higher_JJR up_IN the_DT social_JJ scale_NN ._. This_DT can_MD not_RB be_VB coincidence_NN -_: maybe_RB the_DT French_JJ should_MD look_VB to_TO the_DT English_NNP comprehensive_JJ school_NN ,_, as_IN Fouchet_NN and_CC Capelle_NNP tried_VBD to_TO do_VB in_IN 1963_CD ,_, to_TO try_VB and_CC find_VB a_DT compromise_NN ._.

ICLE-BR-SUR-0033.1

The DT Fifth NNP Republic NNP inherited VBD the DT limitations NNS and CC dissatisfaction_NN of_IN the_DT Fourth_JJ ._. The_DT education_NN system_NN needed_VBD immediate_JJ modernisation_NN and_CC democratization_NN ._. The_DT first_JJ reform_NN which_WDT aimed_VBD at_IN achieve_VB these_DT was_VBD the DT Berthoin NNP reform NN which WDT was VBD issued VBN by IN decree NN under_IN de_FW Gaulle_NNP 's_POS emergency_NN powers_NNS with_IN no_DT opportunity_NN for_IN parliamentary_JJ debate_NN ._. Under_IN this_DT reform_NN ,_, the_DT school-leaving_JJ age_NN was_VBD raised_VBN to_TO 16_CD,_, thus_RB ensuring_VBG a_DT longer_RBR span_NN of_IN education_NN ._. A_DT cycle_NN of_IN observation_NN of_IN 2_CD years_NNS was_VBD introduced_VBN for_IN pupils_NNS at_IN the_DT age_NN of_IN 11_CD ,_, the_DT idea_NN being_VBG that_IN during_IN these_DT 2_CD years_NNS pupils_NNS '_POS progress_NN would_MD be_VB observed VBN and CC at IN the DT end NN of IN the DT cycle NN each DT pupil NN would_MD be_VB guided_VBN by_IN teachers_NNS into_IN either_CC the_DT lycée_NN or_CC the_DT CEG_NN -LRB-_-LRB- collège_NN d'enseignement_NN général_NN -RRB-_-RRB- as_IN best_JJS suited_VBN the_DT individual_NN ._. Berthoin_NNP hoped_VBD this_DT would_MD reduce_VB social_JJ discrimination_NN since_IN all_DT pupils_NNS would MD follow VB the DT same JJ syllabus NN. . However RB, , this DT cycle_NN of_IN observation_NN took_VBD place_NN in_IN different_JJ institutions NNS -_: the_DT lycée_NN ,_, the_DT CEG_NNP and_CC the_DT primary_JJ school_NN -_: and_CC little_JJ transfer_NN of_IN pupils_NNS actually_RB took_VBD place_NN -LRB-_-LRB- 1_CD %_NN of_IN pupils_NNS transferred_VBN to_TO the_DT lycée_NN on_IN average_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. In_IN these_DT institutions_NNS sylabuses_NNS were_VBD harmonized_VBN but_CC this_DT was_VBD inefficient_JJ and_CC insufficient_JJ as_IN far_RB as_IN equality_NN of_IN opportunity_NN was_VBD concerned_VBN ._. The_DT Fouchet_NN reforms_NNS of_IN 1963_CD sought_VBD to_TO relieve_VB the_DT continued_JJ dissatisfaction_NN of_IN the_DT political_JJ Left_VBN ,_, primary_JJ

teachers NNS and CC trade NN unions NNS by IN improving VBG on IN the DT Berthoin_NNP reforms_NNS ._. Fouchet_NN tried_VBD to_TO introduce_VB a_DT common_JJ middle_JJ school_NN for_IN all_DT pupils_NNS -_: the_DT CES_NN -_: which WDT would MD cover VB the DT 11 CD to TO 14 CD age NN span NN.. It_PRP was_VBD to_TO be_VB formed_VBN by_IN converting_VBG the_DT junior_NN classes NNS of IN the DT lycée NN into IN separate JJ units NNS and CC by IN transforming_VBG the_DT CEG_NNP 's_POS ._. At_IN the_DT end_NN of_IN the_DT CES_NNP ,_, entry_NN to_TO the_DT lycée_NN would_MD be_VB by_IN the DT pupils_NNS carte_VBP scolaire_JJ not_RB by_IN exam_NN ._. Lycée_JJ teachers_NNS feared_VBD a_DT drop_NN in_IN standards_NNS ,_, and_CC middle_JJ class_NN parents_NNS feared_VBN tougher_JJR competition_NN for_IN their_PRP\$ children_NNS . . Hence RB conversion NN was VBD resisted VBN - : in IN the DT opinion NN of IN the_DT Legrand_NNP report_NN ,_, the_DT CES_NNP never_RB actually_RB came_VBD into IN existance NN. . However RB the DT CES NN such JJ as IN it PRP was VBD did_VBD provide_VB for_IN an_DT increased_VBN equality_NN for_IN pupils_NNS but_CC the_DT biggest_JJS drawback_NN was_VBD the_DT streaming_NN system_NN -_: the_DT 3_CD filières_NNS ,_, of_IN which_WDT filière_JJ number_NN one_CD had_VBD the_DT bad_JJ teachers_NNS and_CC was_VBD dominated_VBN by_IN children_NNS of_IN the_DT middle_JJ class_NN ._. This_DT led_VBD to_TO a_DT continuation_NN of IN social JJ selection NN for IN the DT lycées NNS and CC a DT further JJ setback_NN for_IN democratization_NN ._. There_EX was_VBD not_RB great_JJ reform NN of IN secondary JJ education NN after IN the DT events NNS of IN May_NNP 1968_CD but_CC by_IN the_DT early_JJ 70_CD 's_POS it_PRP was_VBD realized VBN that IN Fouchet NN's POS reforms NNS of IN 1963 CD were VBD still RB not RB good JJ enough RB. . In IN 1975 CD René NNP Haby NNP was VBD appointed_VBN Minister_NNP of_IN Education_NNP ._. He_PRP attempted_VBD to_TO re-structure_VB the_DT system_NN of_IN education_NN but_CC in_IN fact_NN his_PRP\$ reforms_NNS were_VBD fitted_VBN into_IN the_DT existing_VBG system_NN ._. He_PRP renamed_VBD the_DT CES_NNP ``_`` collège_NN unique_JJ '_" and_CC introduced VBN 2 CD cycles NNS.. The DT first JJ lasted VBN 4 CD years NNS.. The_DT first_JJ 2_CD years_NNS consisted_VBD of_IN a_DT common_JJ course_NN for_IN all_DT pupils_NNS ,_, designed_VBN to_TO offer_VB a_DT minimum_JJ level_NN of_IN education_NN -LRB-_-LRB- le_DT SMIC_NN culturel_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Classes NNS were VBD to TO be VB of IN mixed JJ ability NN, the DT only JJ

streaming_NN would_MD be_VB by_IN age_NN ._. Weak_JJ pupils_NNS received_VBD extra_JJ tuition_NN as_IN did_VBD bright_JJ pupils_NNS -_: so_IN the_DT ones_NNS who_WP suffered_VBD were_VBD those_DT of_IN average_JJ ability_NN ._. Treating VBG inequals NNS equally RB did VBD not RB work VB. . The DT final JJ 2_CD years_NNS of_IN the_DT first_JJ cycle_NN contained_VBD a_DT basic_JJ core_NN of IN subjects NNS and CC options NNS were VBD introduced VBN. . The DT 2nd JJ cycle_NN covered_VBD the_DT final_JJ 3_CD years_NNS of_IN secondary_JJ education_NN ._. In_IN the_DT lycées_NNS générales_NNS ,_, pupils_NNS studying_VBG for_IN the_DT bac_NN took_VBD a_DT common_JJ curriculum_NN for_IN 2_CD years_NNS and_CC specialised_VBN in_IN the_DT final_JJ year_NN ._. Options_NNS coming_VBG later_RB would_MD give_VB pupils_NNS a_DT longer_JJR time_NN to_TO develop VB their PRP\$ true JJ potential NN,, Haby NNP thought VBD... Technological_JJ subjects_NNS were_VBD introduced_VBN to_TO modernize_VB the_DT syllabus_NN ._. To_TO conform_VB to_TO Giscard_NNP 's_POS notion_NN of_IN citizenship_NN for_IN an_DT advanced_JJ industrial_JJ society_NN ,_, manual_JJ subjects_NNS became_VBD compulsory_JJ ._. Implementation_NN of_IN the_DT reforms_NNS took_VBD time_NN ._. Haby_NNP was_VBD replaced_VBN by_IN Beullac_NNP who_WP sought_VBD a_DT closer_RBR alignment_NN between_IN the_DT economy_NN and_CC education_NN ._. From_IN 1979_CD pupils_NNS were_VBD given VBN probation NN periods NNS in IN industry NN. . This DT gave VBD a DT positive_JJ face_NN to_TO the_DT Haby_NNP reforms_NNS which_WDT had_VBD failed VBN to TO democratize VB the DT system NN by IN offering VBG equality NN of_IN treatment_NN ._. Mitterrand_NNP came_VBD to_TO power_NN in_IN 1981_CD ;_: Alain_NNP Savary_NNP was_VBD appointed_VBN Minister_NNP of_IN education_NN ._. He PRP spent VBD 18 CD months NNS negotiation NN in IN order NN to TO achieve_VB a_DT plan_NN for_IN a_DT united_VBN secular_JJ system_NN of_IN education_NN ._. He_PRP reached_VBD a_DT compromise_NN which_WDT satisfied_JJ neither_CC Left_VBN nor_CC Right_RB ;_: after_IN a_DT massive_JJ Right_NNP wing_NN demonstration_NN in_IN 1984_CD his_PRP\$ Bill_NNP was_VBD withdrawn_VBN and_CC he_PRP resigned_VBD ._. He_PRP was_VBD replaced_VBN by_IN Chevenement_NNP for_IN whom_WP equality_NN of_IN the_DT system_NN took VBD second JJ place NN to TO modernisation NN. . He PRP aimed VBD at IN modernizing_VBG the_DT system_NN to_TO bring_VB French_JJ children_NNS into_IN the_DT new_JJ era_NN of_IN technology_NN ._. French_JJ ,_, maths_NNS and_CC

technological JJ subjects NNS were VBD given VBN top JJ priority NN on IN the DT curriculum_NN ._. He_PRP targeted_VBD the_DT lycée_NN and_CC the_DT baccalaureat_NN in_IN his_PRP\$ plans_NNS : _: 1_LS -RRB- _-RRB- he_PRP wanted_VBD to TO achieve VB Lycée NN attendance NN of IN 80 CD % NN of IN all DT pupils_NNS by_IN the_DT year_NN 2000_CD 2_LS -RRB-_-RRB- renew_VB humanities NNS in IN the DT lycée NN 3 CD -RRB- -RRB- give VBP greater JJR autonomy_NN to_TO the_DT lycée_NN 4_CD -RRB-_-RRB- restructure_NN the_DT bac_NN into_IN 8_CD series_NN 5_CD -RRB-_-RRB- increase_VBP the_DT number_NN of IN bacheliers NNS in IN the DT technological JJ field NN. . However RB., time_NN was_VBD against_IN him_PRP and_CC the_DT Left_VBN lost_VBD its_PRP\$ majority_NN in_IN 1986_CD ._. René_NNP Monony_NNP erased_VBD these_DT plans NNS but CC following VBG the DT demise NN of IN the DT loi NN Devaquet_NN in_IN November_NNP 1986_CD ,_, Chirac_NNP suspended_VBD all_DT social JJ reforms NNS.. The DT constant JJ attempts NNS to TO introduce VB a DT comprehensive_JJ school_NN on_IN the_DT English_NNP model_NN have_VBP been_VBN frustrated_VBN by_IN the_DT centralised_JJ system_NN of_IN education NN ._. Reforms_NNS are_VBP made_VBN to_TO fit_VB into_IN the_DT existing_VBG structure_NN where_WRB they_PRP meet_VBP firmly_RB entrenched_JJ vested_JJ interests_NNS which_WDT oppose_VBP their_PRP\$ implementation_NN ._. Consequently RB the DT reforms NNS are VBP unsuccessful JJ. . The DT Lycées NNS teachers_NNS have_VBP constantly_RB feared_VBN a_DT drop_NN in_IN standards_NNS and CC hence RB have VBP opposed VBN all DT attempts NNS to TO convert VB their_PRP\$ junior_JJ classes_NNS into_IN a_DT comprehensive_JJ middle_JJ school_NN ._. The_DT lycées_NNS exist_VBP as_IN a_DT kind_NN of_IN equivalent_JJ to_TO English JJ 6th JJ form NN colleges NNS with IN junior JJ classes NNS attatched VBN ._. Despite_IN the_DT lack_NN of_IN entrance_NN exam_NN for_IN the_DT lycées_NNS ,_, the_DT French_JJ system_NN ressembles_VBZ that_IN of_IN the_DT English_NNP precomprehensive_JJ system_NN with_IN its_PRP\$ superior_JJ grammar_NN schools_NNS and_CC enferior_NN secondary_JJ modern_JJ schools_NNS ._. Options_NNS in_IN France NNP are VBP chosen VBN later RB in IN the DT hope NN that IN this DT will_MD allow_VB each_DT pupil_NN to_TO develop_VB his_PRP\$ full_JJ potential_NN ._. In_IN England_NNP ,_, options_NNS come_VBP earlier_RB but_CC it_PRP is_VBZ not_RB until_IN ``_`` A_NN "_" levels_NNS are_VBP reached_VBN that_IN pupils_NNS really RB have VBP to TO make VB an DT important JJ decision NN -LRB- -LRB-

this_DT is_VBZ still_RB earllier_JJ than_IN French_JJ specialization_NN for_IN the_DT bac_NN -RRB-_-RRB- ._. Furthermore_RB ,_, the_DT French_JJ education_NN system_NN is_VBZ linked_VBN more_RBR closely_RB with_IN the_DT economy_NN than_IN its_PRP\$ English_NNP counterpart_NN ._. In_IN England_NNP ,_, changes_NNS are_VBP made_VBN according_VBG to_TO technological_JJ developments_NNS not_RB economic_JJ ones_NNS ._. There_EX tends_VBZ to_TO be_VB social_JJ differentiation_NN in_IN England_NNP between_IN State_NNP schools_NNS and_CC private_JJ fee-paying_JJ schools_NNS -_: the_DT latter_JJ attracting_VBG middle_JJ class_NN children_NNS ._. In_IN France_NNP the_DT difference_NN is_VBZ that_IN social_JJ differentiation_NN exists_VBZ within_IN the_DT State_NN system_NN itself_PRP ,_, hence_RB the_DT attempts_NNS to_TO create_VB a_DT more_RBR comprehensive_JJ system_NN to_TO achieve_VB democratization_NN ._. ._.

$Appendix \ V-Penn \ Treebank \ tag \ set$

The following table is taken from Santorini (1990), page 6.

Tag	Part of speech
CC	Coordinating conjunction
CD	Cardinal number
DT	Determiner
EX	Existential there
FW	Foreign word
IN	Preposition or subordinating conjunction
JJ	Adjective
JJR	Adjective, comparative
JJS	Adjective, superlative
LS	List item marker
MD	Modal
NN	Noun, singular or mass
NNS	Noun, plural
NP	Proper noun, singular
NPS	Proper noun, plural
PDT	Predeterminer
POS	Possessive ending
PP	Personal pronoun
PP\$	Possessive pronoun
RB	Adverb
RBR	Adverb, comparative
RBS	Adverb, superlative
RP	Particle
SYM	Symbol
ТО	to
UH	Interjection
VB	Verb, base form
VBD	Verb, past tense
VBG	Verb, gerund or present participle

VBN	Verb, past participle
VBP	Verb, non-3 rd person singular present
VBZ	Verb, 3 rd person singular present
WDT	Wh-determiner
WP	Wh-pronoun
WP\$	Possessive wh-pronoun
WRB	Wh-adverb