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DEFINING IN ENGLISH: A TOOL TO MEASURE WRITING ABILITIES

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ABSTRACT. Drawing conclusions, comparing and contrasting, defining, explaining reasons and purposes, speculating and verifying, inferring and implying and other patterns of writing organisation, are the very matter of communication, whether in the form of everyday conversation or more highly specialised uses of language. These functions of language could be used to measure foreign language students' capability in different skills, writing for instance. This paper deals with the ability to write definitions, as an alternative to essay writing, of the students of English Language in the 1st year of English Philology at the University of Murcia . They were asked to define 10 words accurately chosen from the vocabulary lists published by Nation (1999). The results obtained have been used as a parameter to measure their writing ability. Significant correlations have been found between the marks obtained in the Oxford Placement Test performed at the beginning of the semester and those in our test based on definitions. We propose that definitions be considered as a parameter to check the writing abilities of the students and as a complement to the Oxford Placement Test.

Keywords: definitions, level of English as a foreign language, writing abilities.

1. INTRODUCTION

Definition as well as explanation, exemplification and classification, is one of the specialised uses of language commonly found in academic writing, and as such its practice is included in most of the books published in Britain in the last fifteen years (Jordan, 1997). In this sense, Wilkins states, 'definitions are obviously a feature of scientific and other academic forms of writing' (Wilkins

1985: 53). As a function of communication, definitions should be considered as important to be taught to students of a foreign language in the same way as any other language function. Moreover, recent publications, such as *Doing Grammar* (2002) include writing definition exercises as grammar practice. Furthermore, in the organisation of different English language courses (e.g. in the Language Centre of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, or in the University of Maryland, among others), defining, in both a general and an academic context, is used as one of the many tools to increase the students' competence in a foreign language. Considering that our informants are enrolled in English Studies, they should show a command of defining as a skill as well as of "academic" definitions.

Defining is probably the most important resource used to find out the meaning of a lexical unit. Definition is a technique of the expositive and the descriptive discourse. According to its Latin etymology, it means to put limits to (de, related to, and finis, limits). (Alcaraz 2000: 45). According to the Cambridge International Dictionary of English (1996: 359) a definition is 'a statement that explains the meaning of a word or phrase' and also 'a description of the features and limits of something'. Consequently, we have at least two universally recognised forms of defining something: (i) by explaining its meaning and (ii) by describing its features and limits.

We do not aim to discuss definitions from a lexicographical point of view, but from the approach of English language teachers. In general, to define something we need to name it, classify it, and state its most important (i.e. defining) characteristics. Defining concrete terms is usually relatively easy. Such concrete terms can usually be defined in the following ways (Hamp-Lyons and Heasley 1987: 27-28):

Concept + is a + form of + class + which + special feature
Class + who, which + special feature(s) is + called, known as (etc.) + concept

The first definition structure is known as formal definition and the second one as naming definition. Defining abstract concepts (words such as truth, beauty and justice) is harder than defining concrete objects. Often such concepts cannot be adequately defined in a simple, one-sentence definition.

Synonymy is not considered as a definition structure in text books. However, some authors (Rudska et al. 1982, 1985) state that there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that vocabulary is often best acquired by analogy, in other words, remembered as being similar in meaning to previously acquired items (Partington 1996). In addition, what we might term 'definition through synonymy' is a central feature of most dictionary organisation (Ilson 1991).

For motives of stylistic variation, non-native learners and translators have a pressing need to find lexical alternatives to express a particular concept,

especially in writing. It should be stated that expected patterns such as formal/naming definitions are found to be commonly used by students in order to define any linguistic item. But, in doing so, when trying to define in a language different to their L1, students make attempts deviating from the structures expected. These attempts may lead to success, or to mistakes. According to Jordan (1996: 34) three types of mistakes may occur when a short definition is being written:

1. An example may be given rather than a definition. An example, may, of course, follow a definition but it should not take its place.
2. The general class, or the particular characteristics, may be omitted from the definition. It will then be incomplete.
3. The word to be defined, or another form of it, may be used in the definition itself. Clearly, if the reader does not already understand the word, he/she will not understand the repeated use of it.

Taking into account these considerations, definition is, indeed, an important means by which to know a person's ability to express ideas in his own or in a foreign language. For this reason, the ability to define might be used as a paramount tool to measure the students' ability to speak and write. To explore this possibility an experiment was carried out with students of English as a foreign language, in which the ability of the students to define some carefully selected terms was analysed. The aim of the experiment was threefold: to describe the possible pattern of definitions used by the students, to find out what kind of words are more difficult to define and to infer any possible correlation between the global mark of the Placement Test and the students' ability to write definitions. The results obtained after an accurate assessment of the definitions revealed that such ability can be used as a parameter to measure their writing skill and to establish relationships with the results of the Oxford Placement Test.

2. INFORMANTS AND METHODOLOGY

At the beginning of the semester a test and a questionnaire were distributed to a group of 71 students of 1st year English Philology with ages ranging between 18 and 20 years. Students enrolled in the compulsory subject, English Language, were informed that the starting level would be an intermediate one and that supplementary effort would be necessary for those students that have not yet reached that level. The test was the commercially available and scientifically validated Oxford Placement Test, consisting of two clear-cut parts, a listening test (100 items) and a grammar and lexical test (100 items). A points mark was given to each part and the sum allowed us to place each student in one of the five levels established by the Oxford Placement Test. The total score of the test was 200. Scores below 80 were unlikely to be

reliable. The highest mark obtained by our students was 172, and the lowest, 88. Hence, the data were considered valid and reliable.

As the Oxford Placement Test does not include a writing test and we had no marks of their writing skills we decided to supplement this questionnaire with ten words, to be defined. Definition is considered as a necessary and important step to academic writing (Jordan 1997). We carefully selected words in order to have at least one representative of the following grammatical categories: verb, concrete and abstract nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Our interest was not only to test their lexical knowledge (already done in the Placement Test), but mainly their ability to express in a few words some terms. We took most of the words from the lists published by Nation (1999), which considers three categories of words according to their frequency of use. The first group is formed by the most frequent 1000 words of English. The second type includes the 2nd most frequent 1000 words, and the third one words which are not in the first 2000 most frequent words of English but which are of frequent use in upper secondary school and university texts from a wide range of subjects. All of these base lists include the base forms of words and derived forms (for example, the first 1000 words thus consists of around 4000 forms).

From these lists we chose 10 words. The words Music, Sometimes and Discovery, pertaining to the first group, were selected, whereas the terms Health, Shop, Evil, Tomorrow and Information were chosen from the second group. From the third group only the word Maintain was included. Finally, a last word that did not appear in any of the above mentioned lists was included, Mainstream, to infer any possible correlations between words that did not appear in the basic 4000 words and marks obtained by the students.

Indeed, some different criteria (such as concrete vs abstract nouns, nouns vs. adjectives, verbs with and without preposition, two syllable vs. three-syllable words, etc.) could have been used to select the words.

All these terms can be broadly divided in two categories: concrete and abstract concepts or ideas. The former would comprise: Maintain, shop, mainstream, tomorrow and sometimes. The latter, the rest of the terms, that is: health, information, music, discovery and music. We are aware that both categories include different types of words, syntactically speaking. However, the meaning they convey corresponds to concrete or abstract concepts, this way ensuring a balance in our sample. Isolated words were provided to students in order to ensure freedom when answering.

The statistical treatment of data was performed using commercial software SPSS for Windows, version 10.0. To determine the existence of correlation, the Pearson coefficient was used. This coefficient measures a linear association between two variables, with values of the correlation ranging from -1 to 1 . The sign of the coefficient indicates the direction of the relationship, and its absolute value indicates the strength, with larger absolute values indicating

stronger relationships. The use of a significance test associated to the Pearson coefficient indicates that the results are unlikely to have arisen by chance (Skehan 1989). Tables are available to check significance (Downie and Heath 1971: 336).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 summarises the distribution of the Placement Test marks. An average mark of around 123 was obtained, which corresponds to the lower-intermediate to intermediate level.

Nº	Mark	%	Nº	Mark	%	Nº	Mark	%
1	102	30	25	129	20	49	134	50
2	110	40	26	111	10	50	154	50
3	134	80	27	144	50	51	131	30
4	140	30	28	128	0	52	120	30
5	124	20	29	138	0	53	130	50
6	115	30	30	118	70	54	136	30
7	106	30	31	139	60	55	132	20
8	147	80	32	120	40	56	135	30
9	101	70	33	121	50	57	135	40
10	131	30	34	172	90	58	124	60
11	131	40	35	124	40	59	141	50
12	104	40	36	136	20	60	110	40
13	111	30	37	131	40	61	113	30
14	132	20	38	136	30	62	131	30
15	115	30	39	110	20	63	108	40
16	131	70	40	132	10	64	113	0
17	121	60	41	119	10	65	112	60
18	114	50	42	123	60	66	118	40
19	122	70	43	115	40	67	127	70
20	114	40	44	132	30	68	98	30
21	120	0	45	124	40	69	115	30
22	130	0	46	142	50	70	107	30
23	102	20	47	98	10	71	88	0
24	111	50	48	110	40			

Table 1. Results of the placement Test and percentage of answer of the 71 students involved in the experiment. Column (Nº) refers to the student, column (Mark) refers to the mark obtained in the placement test by the correspondent student, and column (%) refers to the percentage of answer.

Figure 1 shows the same results grouped according to the five levels proposed by the Oxford Placement Test, i.e, 1:Elementary to Post-elementary; 2: Post-elementary to Lower-intermediate; 3: Lower-intermediate to Intermediate; 4: Intermediate to Upper-intermediate; and 5: Upper-intermediate to Advanced. This distribution shows a rather predictable regular pattern, with level 3 being the most commonly found among students.

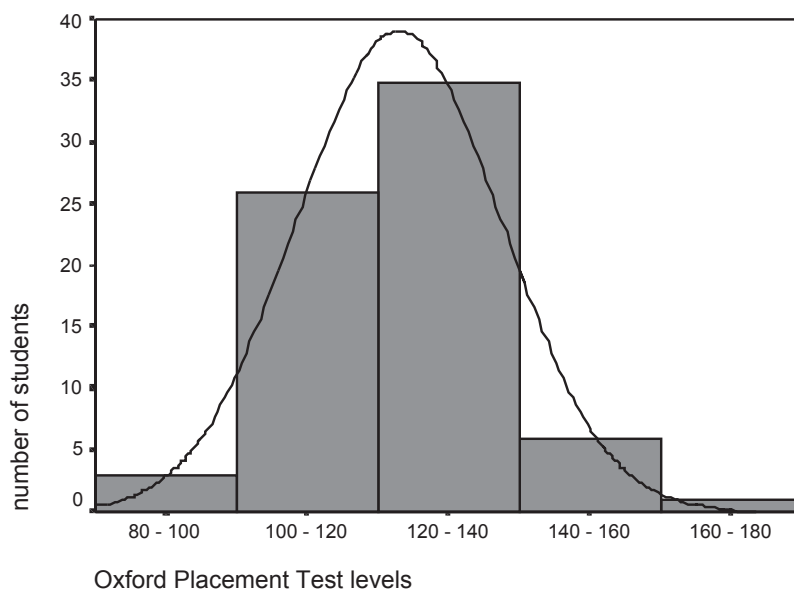


Figure 1: Histogram representing the different levels of the Placement Test. Ordinate values indicate the number of students included in each level.

The values shown in the X axis correspond to the five levels of the OPT. From left to right, the first column shows Level 1: elementary to post elementary; the second column shows Level 2: post elementary to lower intermediate; the third column shows Level 3: lower intermediate to intermediate; the fourth column shows Level 4: intermediate to upper intermediate; the fifth column shows Level 5: upper intermediate to advanced.

Students answered the definitions proposed according to their knowledge of English Language vocabulary. Figure 2 shows the behaviour found when answering: No indications were given to the students in order to define the terms proposed. Consequently, their answers registered many different patterns, which were organised according to the defining categories shown in Table 2.

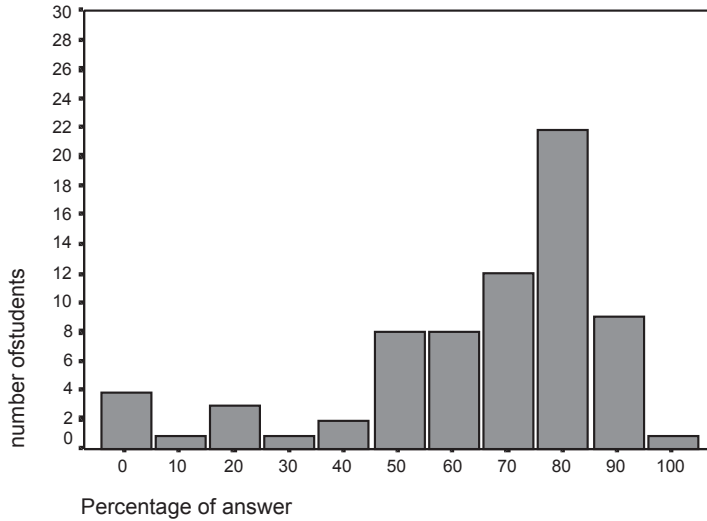


Figure 2: Percentage of answer, ranging from 0 to 100.

1	Naming definition: Class + who/which + special feature
2	Formal definition Concept + is a + class + which/who + special features e.g.: Music: it's an art that is produced by instruments
3	Synonym e.g. : Music: nice sound
4	Antonym e.g.: Health: it is the opposite of illness. You can have a good health or, on the contrary, having a bad health.
5	Explanation/paraphrase e.g.: Music: it's a hobby. Lots of people listen to all kind of music groups
6	Wh- explanations e.g.: Music: it is what we listen. It is what we like
7	Question e.g. : Mainstream: a river?
8	Example e.g.: Music: it's a song we listen in the radio
9	Type of word e.g.: Tomorrow: it's a time adverb

10	Definition with defined word e.g.: Information: without information you can say nothing about nothing
11	'use' explanation e.g.: Music: we use it for dancing
12	Verb explanation e.g.: Music: listen sings
13	Field explanation e.g.: Music: is word relation with: rock, dance,...
14	Made explanation e.g.: Music: is made by beautiful sounds
15	Translation e.g.: Music: música
16	No define/I don't know

Table 2. Patterns found in the students' definitions

As indicated, we found 16 different defining categories in the questionnaire completed by the students. However, we did not consider the adequacy of the answer in terms of meaning in a first stage of our research. Thus, we could find definitions that were lexically wrong and grammatically right, although this happened on very few occasions (mostly in the case of *Mainstream*, which was found to be the most difficult word to be defined; see below).

We considered as correct definitions those which followed patterns 1 and 2 (that is to say, naming and formal definitions, categories universally accepted as right according to Hamp-Lyons and Heasley 1995) and 3 and 4 (synonyms and antonyms, according to Ruska et al. 1982, 1985; Ison 1991; Partington 1996). Many definitions proposed by the students, namely those of nouns, followed patterns 1 and 2. Synonyms and antonyms were mainly found in the case of verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as there is no way to fit such definitions as 'classes', 'special features', etc, as in the case of nouns. Pattern 5 was considered as a good attempt to create a definition, as partial information was included, such as the class, characteristics, etc. When students did not have a clear idea of the meaning of a word, they proposed alternative 'definitions' (see Table 2) trying to obtain the right set of required information. In this way, we found the rest of the patterns that appear in Table 2, which were considered to be incomplete or mistaken, since the information given was not clarifying enough to understand the word properly. In the case of pattern 15, the definitions of this type were not considered as an answer, because the students were asked to define in English, not to find an

equivalent into their L1. In terms of syntax, patterns 1 and 2 showed a clear and right disposition of the different elements of the sentence, in a correct arrangement. The rest of the patterns could offer a variable range of syntactic dispositions. Pattern 2 was found in all the words defined, but patterns 3 and 4 were mainly found in the case of Evil (adjective/abstract noun) which confirms our previous stance that abstract nouns or adjectives are more difficult to define and that synonyms or antonyms are frequently used in this situation. To a lesser extent, maintain, music, health, tomorrow and discovery also showed these patterns.

We then arranged the information obtained and classified the words according to the categories proposed by Nation (1999). The resulting data are shown in Table 3.

Categories of words	Tokens	Percentages of no answer
1	Music	18.4
	Sometimes	26.7
	Discovery	25.3
2	Health	21.1
	Shop	8.4
	Evil	32.4
	Tomorrow	12.6
	Information	25.3
3	Maintain	84.5
4	Mainstream	88.7

Table 3. Percentages of no answer

As indicated, Mainstream was unknown to most of the students (88.7%), which was to be expected, since this term is not included in the first 4000 words proposed by Nation (1999). In fact, those who answered this question misunderstood its meaning and defined main street instead of mainstream (definitions syntactically correct, but lexically wrong that students had the most trouble defining). Maintain is the next word less defined by the students followed by Evil, Sometimes, Discovery and Information, which can be considered as abstract concepts. The words Evil and Tomorrow were often defined as nouns, although students are used to considering them mainly as an adjective and an adverb, respectively.

According with our results, words which belonged to Nation's first category were the ones which showed the widest variety of used definitions (as in the case of Music and Discovery for which 9 and 7 different definition patterns were used, respectively). Less familiar words showed a more restricted range of patterns, as in the case of Maintain or Mainstream (4 each). However, Shop offered the narrowest range, with only 3 different patterns of definitions. This could be due to the fact that it is a concrete noun, and that students are more familiar with this type of word, as well as to the ease of defining such terms.

We furthermore decided to check the accuracy of the definition in terms of meaning and syntactic accuracy. For that purpose we compared the students' definitions with those proposed in a widely used dictionary, the Collins English Dictionary (1995 CD-ROM edition). The first entry of the term was chosen in all cases. The definitions used as reference are indicated in Table 4.

Maintain Verb	To continue or retain; keep in existence.
Health Abstract noun	The state of being bodily and mentally vigorous and free from disease.
Information Abstract noun	Knowledge acquired through experience or study.
Shop Concrete noun	a place, esp. a small building, for the retail sale of goods and services.
Mainstream Concrete noun	The main current (of a river, cultural trend, etc.)
Evil Adjective	Morally wrong or bad; wicked
Music Abstract noun	An art form consisting of sequences of sounds in time, esp. Tones of definite pitch organised melodically, harmonically, rhythmically and according to tone colour.
Tomorrow Adverb	On the day after today.
Sometimes Adverb	Now and then; from time to time; occasionally.
Discovery Abstract noun	The act, process, or an instance of discovering

Table 4. Definitions according to the Collins English Dictionary.

The definitions written by the students were compared with those obtained from the dictionary and the results obtained as to the number of right answers are shown in Table 5.

Tokens	%
Shop	80.3
Tomorrow	53.5
Evil	33.8
Discovery	16.9
Music	15.5
Sometimes	14.1
Information	9.9
Health	8.4
Maintain	5.6
Mainstream	0.0

Table 5: percentage of correct answers (meaning and syntactic structure)

As indicated, Shop and Tomorrow were again the words involved in the highest percentage of right answers, whereas Maintain and Mainstream proved to be the most difficult ones. Figure 3 shows the distribution of successful definition answers given by the students.

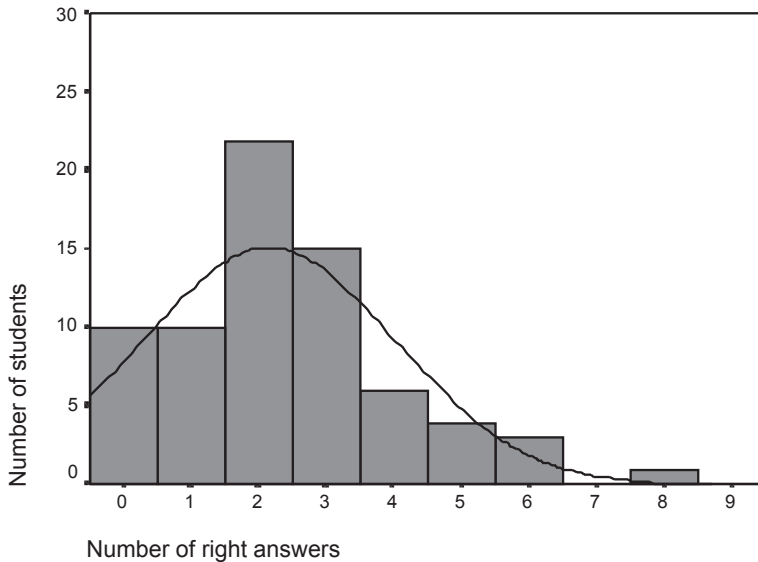


Figure 3. Frequency distribution of right answers (according to syntax and meaning).

Since we wanted to determine the existence of a possible correlation between the results obtained in the analysis of definitions and those of the Placement Test, we performed a statistical analysis of the data. To deal with more easy-to-use data, we grouped the marks of the Placement Test into ten intervals according to the number of definitions given by the students. We obtained the mean mark for each group and tried to relate these means with the corresponding percentage of definitions answered. To analyse if there was any possible correlation, a linear regression analysis of these two variables was performed, finding an R^2 coefficient of 0.652, which indicates that the variables are linearly related. With this information, a further correlation analysis was performed, in order to obtain the Pearson correlation coefficient and its significance level. The percentage of answers and the corresponding mean on the Placement test marks were matched using the Pearson correlation. We found the results summarised in Table 6, which indicate that correlation is very strong in our case (0.807) and apparently not due to chance (significant at 0.01).

	Percentage of answer	Mean of test marks
Percentage Pearson correlation	1000	0.807
Sig. (bilateral)		0.005
N	10	10
Mean Pearson correlation	0.807	1.000
Sig. (bilateral)	0.005	
N	10	10

Correlation is significant at 0.01

Table 6: Pearson correlation: percentage of answer and mean of correspondent Placement test marks.

We performed a similar analysis using the mean marks of the Placement test and the corresponding percentage of lexically and syntactically successful answers. These variables showed linear relation ($R^2 = 0.6828$). When we matched the correlated mean marks of the Placement Test and the percentage of lexical and syntactic success, we found the results shown in Table 7.

	Mean test marks	Percentage of lexical and syntactic success
Marks Pearson correlation	1.000	0.826
Sig. (bilateral)		0.011
N	10	10
Success Pearson correlation	0.826	1.000
Sig. (bilateral)	0.011	
N	10	10

Correlation is significant at 0.05

Table 7: Pearson correlation : percentage of syntactic and lexical successful answer and mean of correspondent Placement test marks.

In this case, the correlation was again strong and significant. The correlation results in both cases point out the reliability of the analysis.

4. CONCLUSIONS

From the results obtained, it could be concluded that:

1.- The definition patterns most widely used were those corresponding to naming and formal definitions, probably as a result of transfer of patterns from the L1 and experience in using dictionaries, since the students had not received previous training in defining in the L2. However, synonymy and antonymy were also found, as well as a wide range of patterns which were not considered correct. The students with the best marks in the Placement Test followed mostly patterns 1 and 2 (naming/formal) to define the terms proposed.

2.- The words which caused most definition problems were Mainstream and Maintain (in agreement with Nation's lists of words most frequently used). The difficulty was not only due to the knowledge/lack of knowledge of the words on the part of the students, but also in their syntactic structure and accuracy of meaning.

3.- Definitions could be considered as an illustrative pattern of the student's writing abilities, since we have found a representative correlation between the results obtained in the Placement Test and those found in the analysis of definitions. Statistical results show that those students with higher marks in the Placement Test have done better both following a syntactic pattern of definition and reflecting the precise meaning of the word.

In summary, on the basis of the above stated information, we propose that definitions can be considered as an alternative parameter with which to measure the writing ability of the students, and therefore as a beneficial complement of the Oxford Placement Test used.

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EN ROUTE: NARRATIVES OF TRAVEL AND DISPLACEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN WRITING

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ABSTRACT. From a fictional as well as a theoretical point of view, the present interest in travel is a consequence of the increasing relevance of postcolonial discourses and the ongoing processes of cultural transference and globalisation. These phenomena have resulted in a re-conceptualisation of notions of identity, location, place and site, which foster, in turn, the rethinking of terms like home, margin and periphery. Most of these have been targeted by post-structuralist and postcolonial theories in their attempt at disrupting unified and imperialist conceptions of subjectivity and place. In Canadian fiction, the abiding relativism affecting notions of culture and nation elaborated on binary pairs is laid bare by physical and metaphorical displacement.

This paper examines the arena of de/re-territorialisation provided by travel and displacement in a number of Canadian fictions. Many contemporary Canadian narratives are cohesively joined by the recurrent motifs of travel and displacement, paralleling the geographical movement to a re-organisation of identity paradigms at personal, cultural and national levels. Hence, the sample of Canadian writing presented here exhibits a concern with journeying as destabilization of unified subjectivity, mirroring, in this way, much of the debate of contemporary theory.

Once you cross a border,
the border is not the same any longer.
-Erin Mouré

In her book *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (2000 [1996]), Caren Kaplan claims that the contemporary emphasis on

movement and travel has been prompted by the increasing relevance of postcolonial discourses (2000: 2)¹. Such an impulse triggers the ongoing negotiation of terms like identity, location, place and site, provoking a demystification of precepts like home, inside, outside, centre, margin and periphery. Most of these concepts have been interrogated by the episodes of global circulation of capital and people. Additionally, they have come to be the target of post-structuralist and postcolonial theories in their attempt at avoiding the consolidation of structures of systematised knowledge vis-à-vis unified and imperialist conceptions of subjectivity and place. Questions of displacement feature prominently in contemporary postcolonial fiction all over the world, and Canadian writing is not an exception². The relevance of space as deeply influential on paradigms of personal and national identity is widely deployed by novels like Aritha van Herk's *No Fixed Address: An Amorous Journey* (1986), *Places far from Ellesmere* (1990) or *Restlessness* (1998); Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* (1987) and *The English Patient* (1992), Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1981), Marlene Nourbese Philip's *Looking for Livingstone: An Odyssey of Silence* (1991), Wayson Choy's *The Jade Peony* (1995) or Dionne Brand's *In Another Place, not Here* (1997)³. Consequently, many of these texts seem to incorporate Kaplan's (2000: 7) assertion that, "for many of us there is no possibility of staying at home, in the conversational sense, the word has changed to the point that these domestic, national or marked spaces no longer exist".

From the intersection of the postcolonial and post-structuralist axes, this paper explores how travel and displacement provide in a number of Canadian narratives the arena for the de/re-territorialisation of notions of national identity, unified subjectivity and home. The lack of consensus on what constitutes the Canadian nation and Canadian culture is the groundwork for a

1. A shorter, slightly different version of this paper was presented at the 11th Conference on Canadian Studies held at the Centre for Canadian Studies in the University of La Laguna. December, 2001.

2. The postcolonial condition of Canada has been, and still is, a matter of debate. Linda Hutcheon (1991) opines that the only people deserving to be labelled 'postcolonial' in Canada are the First Nations, since it is they that have suffered a vicious displacement and deprivation of their history. In contrast, neither Diana Brydon (1991; 1995) nor Donna Bennett (1993-94) hesitate in considering Canada as a postcolonial territory undergoing that stage of difference and complicity with the cultural modes of the European mother countries. Between one pole and the other, Alan Lawson (1995) speaks of a 'second world', more attentive to the Canadian specificity between coloniser and colonised.

3. I would like to thank an anonymous referee for pointing out the importance of some of these titles for the study of the interrelation between space and identity proposed here. His/her comments greatly contributed to my rereading of the works included and helped in a reorganisation of the information provided in the following pages.

first displacement in these narratives, one that moves the national identity/culture problematic onto a terrain of regional and/or international peculiarities. In these pages, therefore, displacement is both metaphorical and literal, since many contemporary Canadian fictions also echo a postmodern geography that emphasises shiftiness, tense locations and mobility (see Peach 1997), in other words, they opt for an en route dynamics. From diverse angles, Canadian writing problematises postulates of inheritance and tradition through travel and displacement, since as Iain Chambers (1995: 115) writes,

Travel, migration and movement invariably bring us up against the limits of our inheritance. We may choose to withdraw from this impact and only select a confirmation of our initial views. [...] We could, however, opt to slacken control to let ourselves go, and respond to the challenge of a world that is more extensive than the one we have been accustomed to inhabiting. To choose the second path involves undoing the ties and directions that once held us to a particular centre. It is to disturb and interrupt our sense of place with a set of questions.

In this context, postcolonial Canadian fiction bears witness to the unsettling of colonial geography as part of the impulse to ‘write back’ that has been complicated by postmodern placelessness (Smethurst 1997: 373). Accordingly, the postcolonial and postmodern text unveils concepts like place, site and home as dependent on binaries of outside/inside. These, in turn, rely on the contrast between the known and the unknowable (Smethurst 1997: 374). It is in the interstitial zone between one and the other that the potential for the re-negotiation of identities resides, and consequently, many Canadian texts offer continuous re-definitions and re-territorialisations of culture, personal and national identity. In doing so, they confirm James Clifford’s opinion that “a location [...] is an itinerary rather than a bounded site, a series of encounters and translations”. (1999 [1997]: 11)

Showing an overt complicity with post-structuralist deterritorialisations, reterritorialisations and nomadic thought (see Deleuze and Guattari 1987), many Canadian texts written in the 20th century are presided over by a concern with movement and multiple locations, an interest in avoiding ossification at various levels. Yet travelling and the changing positions that it delineates are apt for the idealisation of figures like the nomad, which, as Kaplan cautions (2000: 66), can only be presented through a colonialist discourse of orientalist overtones. Its frames conceal that any deterritorialisation is followed by a subsequent reterritorialisation likely to veil the partiality of the critic’s position. Furthermore, even when it tries to lay bare any dual and Manichean systematisation, nomadic thought implies a centre of subjectivity and a marginal area, reproducing the very lay-out that it intends to expose (Kaplan 2000: 86). Here and elsewhere in this paper, the nomadic is a critical consciousness that fosters the deconstruction of fixed identities, the

rejection of essentialism and the hierarchies established for the interpreting and decoding of identity binaries. With these ideas in mind, the readings that follow try to shed some light on the relevance of spatial considerations for the construction of identity in texts hardly studied for this regard. From the 1940s to the late 1990s, the Canadian novels and short stories we now turn to are never indifferent to the potentially productive interrelation between identity, movement and space, and show that “the struggle to define geography is a question of being. Where in the world are we? We yearn for a familiar perspective. We need geography, it seems. We invent. Geography as history; and history, geography. Place marking time, and time in place” (Moss 1994: 2).

Historically, Canadian fiction has been quite aware of the complexity of supporting pairs like inside/outside, centre/margin, home/away, which might account for the number of narratives that employ travel to undermine the solidification of these categories. The continuous flights to nature in novels like Marian Engel’s *Bear* (1978), the unmapped north and the hostile northwest and their imagery in Aritha van Herk’s *The Tent Peg* (1981) are representative of the effort to create Canadianness on binary pairs, establishing a strong –sometimes reverse, sometimes parallel– connection between nation and nature (see Mackey 1999: 40–49). The nationalist discourse of the Group of Seven or that of Margaret Atwood’s *Surfacing* (1995a [1972]) is equally impregnated by the voyage to a presumed Canadian essence located in a inhospitable, northern nature (see Bordo 1992). In Atwood’s novel, for instance, with the affirmation “I can’t believe I’m on this road again, twisting along past the lake where the white birches are dying, the disease is spreading up from the south, and I notice they have now sea-planes for hire. But this is still near the city limits” (1995a: 1), the female unnamed protagonist escapes back to her home of wild forests. There, the narrator alerts us to the beginning of an imminent quest that is introspective and literal, for the Canadian, for the protagonist’s father. Paradoxically, her search for the father resembles a pre-Symbolic process of return to the mother that equates her to J.L. in *The Tent Peg* and Lou in *Bear*, and thus the novel counteracts the symbolic effects of civilisation, colonisation and US neo-colonisation. In any of these novels, then, the return to nature is similar to an extreme liberation in which movement and travel provoke the collapse of the women’s former and constrained selves, as evidenced in the aura of madness that taints all of them.

Using the historiographic and metafictional mood of much contemporary Canadian fiction (see Hutcheon 1988; 1992 [1989]), Atwood traces a creative path between the early nationalist discourse of *Surfacing* and its critical revision in more recent fictions. The travel to the wilderness and the savage north serves to set them against themselves and demystify their genealogy in short stories like “The Age of Lead” (1998 [1991]). Linking the white north and the colonial past in an alliance of death and dereliction, the story revisits the poisoning of the Franklin expedition in 1845 in their search of the Northwest

Passage, a sortie in the British colonialist travels to India⁴. Jane, a contemporary Canadian, enters in contact with the historical fact through a TV report that delves into the reason of the expedition's failure. She continually parallels the reported events to her daily life, her break-up with Vincent and his eventual death by AIDS. The contrast between the micronarrative and the grand-narrative, the obscurity surrounding Vincent's death and that of the sailors, the voyage of discovery through the Canadian north and Jane's introspective journey, unveil how travel helps her re-locate coordinates of identity and tradition, always looking back onto the 19th century to look forward to the 20th, from the early 1960's to the 1980's. In the story, the cause of Vincent's demise and the archaeological research on Jane's past constitute a parallel labour of exploration, literal and metaphorical. "The idea of exploration", we know, "appealed to her then: to get onto a boat and just go somewhere, somewhere mapless, off into the unknown. To launch yourself into fright [...]. It was like having sex, in high school, in those days before the Pill [...]" (1998: 162).

While the northern territory wields in the Canadian imaginary a two-fold power of fear and temptation (Goldie 1993 [1989]), the wild West has generated notions of difference and unity within. Without reaching the defining potential of the US west (see Burchell and Gray 1989 [1981]), the Canadian west is a frontier zone that contributed to create by contrast an image of homogeneity and civilisation on the East. The ontological uncertainty resulting from the lack of cartographic descriptions, the hostility of the natural environment and the narrative of western expansion epitomised by the spawning of the transcontinental railway, turn the westward voyage into the ground for the continuous deconstruction and reconstruction of personal and national identity. In this sense, George Bowering's *Caprice* (1987 [1994]) ironically mocks the predicaments of a homogeneous and fixed culture and identity, adopting for that purpose the generic shape of the dime novel of the west⁵. The Quebecois poet whom we know as Caprice, a name that conveys

4. Apart from being deeply inserted in the historical context of Canada, the story is profoundly rooted in the traditional literary context. As Atwood explains (1995b), poets like Robert W. Service or E.J. Pratt sang the poignant fate of the Franklyn expedition. Similarly, Gwendolyn MacEwen dramatised the event in the play *Terror and Erebos* (1987), and her tracks were followed by Al Purdy, Graeme Gibson and, more recently, Rudi Wiebe and Mordecai Richler in *Solomon Gursky Was Here* (1989).

5. Frank Davey (1993) has seen how Caprice intends to create positions that enter in conflict with each other. The East/West position, for instance, undermines itself since the Canadian East looks at further East, the European tradition, and so does the Canadian West with the US West. The novel is plagued with identity fissures like Caprice's, a Quebecois educated in the German Romantic tradition crossing the Canadian West as a cow-boy deeply rooted in the US mythology. Contradicting Davey, who contends that the two Indians are stereotypical figures, I would argue that they are aware of their typical representation, act from inside the optic through which the East decodes the West and reverse it. Bowering's novel is aware of the constructedness of any cultural text and deconstructs the narrative of colonisation and civilisation, undoubtedly the main intertext in the story.

the uncertain direction of her itinerary, leaves her eastern residence to chase and bring to justice her brother's murderer, Frank Spencer. Riding a black Spanish stallion named Cabayo and handling a whip as her only weapon, Caprice's mobility through and mastery of the physical space is echoed by continuous hide-and-peek identity games. Their effect is the destabilisation of a unique identity, (hi)story and culture. The avenger Caprice, also known as Capreece or Caprizia, criss-crosses the Canadian West, going up and down the US border, beyond the medicine line, behind Spencer's tracks. The latter is also known as Frank Smith, an American and Canadian bandit who loves and hates Caprice; his companion is Strange Loop but also Loop Groulx, a name that "[...] merges the whip-wielding Hollywood cartoon character "Lash-Larou" with the legendary Quebec werewolf, the loup-garou" (Davey 1993: 85). Whereas Caprice's dead brother is Pierre but also Pete Foster, the local restaurant is Canadian and Chinese and Gert the stereotypical saloon prostitute is simultaneously Gertrude, the loving mother of a teenager. The collapse of identity polarities contaminates as well the East/West paradigm, since they both become constructs shifting according to the velocity of the westward expansion. Thus, describing the school for Indian kids where Caprice's boyfriend works, the narrator explains: "[i]t was a way of getting the west to the Indians before the east arrived" (Bowering 1994: 173).

In the novel, the incessant movement acts as a catalyst to generically rework the quest narrative, whose defining features are proved inadequate by gender considerations (see Carrera Suárez 1994). In this sense, the classic wanderer and the reward exchange their sexual gender, mobility is more prominent than a return to the primary stage of stasis, and thus, the end of the novel does not bring a return to Quebec and the domesticity of marriage. Riding towards the rising sun, as the end of the novel portrays her (see van Herk 1991), the heroine Caprice manifests her intention to endlessly defer the conclusion of her travel, so that the end of the novel implies the beginning of her new adventures. This emphasis on motion and process impedes in addition the final consolidation of an identitary inscription to favour, instead, a de-scription that blurs Caprice's identity and renders irrelevant her final destiny. After we leave her "rid[ing] eastward through the west that was becoming nearly as narrow as her trail" (Bowering 1994: 266), we never know whether she lives or dies in the Canadian west.

Caprice loses her exquisite sophistication as she goes west, but within the national geography, the reverse migration from west to east is usually associated with a transformation of identity in which the acquisition of higher cultural levels directly implies a personal transformation. Going from west to east is a return to the basis of a presumed European refinement lost in the colonisation of the western territories. Hence Bowering's heroine describes a movement that contradicts the vital route designed by Morag Currie in Margaret Laurence's *The Stone Angel* (1987 [1964]), the second of the five

novels in the Manawaka cycle. Morag travels from the mythical Manawaka to Toronto, where she studies to be a school-teacher. Yet her stay far from the patriarchal rule of her father reaches an end when shortly after being back home she marries Brampton Shipley. In Bram she finds the continuation of the iron-fisted dominance imposed by Jason Currie. In the novel, Toronto and Morag's access to higher education are brought to light as the means to counteract the dependence on and submission to the patriarchy that rules the Manawaka community and the Currie family. The east, nevertheless, leaves its imprint on Morag who realises that her femininity sentences her to a constrained space out of which she would be considered an outsider. Though she does not rebel initially against the discourses that tie her, she is aware of their existence and expresses it in these terms: "[...] I knew embroidery and French, and menu-planning for a five-course meal, and poetry, and how to take a firm hand with servants, and the most becoming way of dressing my hair [...]. I was Pharaoh's daughter reluctantly returning to his roof, the square brick palace so oddly antimacassared in the wilderness" (Laurence 1987: 35).

Like the eastward or northward movement, the crossing of a literal or ideological frontier brings about a loosening of identity constraints and the opening of new dimensions for the individual's identity. Whereas the traversing of physical space directly implies the rethinking of notions like home, culture and identity as in *Caprice*, going across any border, be it geopolitical or metaphorical, signifies a negotiation of the poles between coloniser and colonised, the civilised and the uncivilised, the global and the local, engendering a powerful relativism that questions the very border. Crossing is, therefore, a strategic parallax for the articulation of a multi-layered revision as the one articulated in Kristjana Gunnars' *The Substance of Forgetting* (1992). In this novel, the elusive female narrator's continuous departures from and returns to a home of blossoming peach tress, situated in the Canadian Okanagan Valley, implants an ideal of locality jeopardised by the processes of globalisation. In this state of affairs, the local is disrupted by the continuous journeys to the US territory, defied by the frequent transgressions of the US/Canada limit and the westward movement that the narrator and her Quebecois lover, Jules, undertake. This conflict between the local and the global results in the deterritorialisation of the notion of home and the creation of provisional homes marked by their lack of familiarity. Hence, home is no longer "[...] a place where you knock and enter at the same time", fostering then "[a] sense that you may be separating at any moment. The erosion of certainty" (Gunnars 1992: 100).

This erosion of certainty, also an erosion of the familiar ground of home, contrasts with the intention to perpetuate the binary English-French, a duality of self and other within. This dual structural split within the Canadian national

frame reproduces a pattern of biculturalism as an impossible conciliation that plays on Lacanian ideas of identity formation as separation from the (m)other. In this sense, the affirmation of the self requires the negation of the other and the suppression of the desire for the maternal body. Similarly, the existence and prevalence of either of the two sides of the national Canadian spectrum relies on the exclusion of its counterpart. The novel portrays these two sides as two lovers aiming at an eventual communion, the same communion with the mother for which the child longs, and, however, represses, in the Lacanian model. As happens between the separate stances of self and other, the English-French union is impossible, and, as the novel implies, the process of national signification seems to depend on the continuity of this two-fold dynamics of desire and suppression. In Gunnars' novel, this poetics of perpetual displacement of the poles implies staying in the middle, a rhizomatic attitude that, as Kaplan proposes (2000: 87), resists and interrogates the nation-state apparatus.

Whereas Gunnars' autobiographical fiction is intent on the preservation of a dual model of culture and identity that the novel's attention to displacement does not preclude, personal identity is subdued to the affirmation of the national identity in those fictions that dramatise the conspicuously Canadian experience of trespassing the border of civilisation, travelling to the unknown to open a clearing in the wild. Travel is then to a world in which the struggle between men and nature occurs in the realm of daily existence, where the validity of testimony loses its power to make room for the dominance of uncertainty. Such is the case, for instance, of Jane Urquhart's *Away* (1993), and very especially of Alice Munro's short fiction "A Wilderness Station" (1995 [1994]), a narrative that employs the romance of the wild as frame for the 19th century westward expansion, and significantly resorts to travel, displacement and movement as structuring motives. "A Wilderness Station" is a tale of colonisation in the wilds of Canada that, indirectly, includes references to other longer displacements, like the crossing of the Atlantic by the Irish. Munro's characters are of Irish origin and, in search of fortune, journey to "the wilds of Huron and Bruce, as wilds they were then thought to be" (Munro 1995: 224).

Through an accumulation of historical documents, letters and testimonies collected by a contemporary historian, Leopold Henry, "A Wilderness Station" traces the dispersion of subjectivity undergone by Annie McKillop, a 19th century pioneer woman. Annie appears by chance in Henry's research on Herron Treece, a local politician, and shifts from the footnote she initially occupies to the textual centre. Though we hardly hear Annie's voice, the first epistles that we encounter announce that she was offered for marriage to the highest bidder, left her Torontonion orphanage in 1820, and, after her marriage to Simon Herron, travelled with his brother, George, to their homestead. The succession of documents shaping the story point out that

George died while opening a clearing. From here on, the accounts given by George, Rev. McBain, the vicar in charge of Annie's parish, and the clerk of peace responsible for Walley Prison, only agree on Annie's admitting to have killed George, and, voluntarily, asking for her internment in prison⁶. Though no one believes her version, and the charges of self-delusion notwithstanding, Annie is incarcerated, reduced to the physical and textual margin, and maintained in a condition of otherness, which permits by opposition the consolidation of a discourse of communal and national union reinforced by the patriarchal complicity of the Presbyterian clergy.

In a "Wilderness Station", the travel beyond the boundary of civilisation contributes to present the early efforts to create Canadianness and exposes it as a duality of inclusion versus exclusion. As in Atwood's *Surfacing*, Annie's increasing communion with the natural world goes parallel to the dismissal of any social behaviour, being this the main cause to conclude that Atwood's protagonist and Annie have gone mad. Annie's madness others and expels her from the community of pioneers, who strengthen their cohesion in this way. In one of his letters, Rev. McBain explains to his fellow in Walley:

She stopped appearing at services, and the deterioration of her property showed the state of her mind and spirit. [...] She did not chop down the wild vines around her door. [...] When I visited her, the door was open and it was evident that animals came and went in her house [...]. Those who caught sight of her said that her clothes was filthy and torn from scrambling in the bushes, and she was scratched by thorns and bitten by the mosquito insects and let her hair go uncombed or plaited. (Munro 1995: 232)

The easy identification between the irrational and the natural displaces Annie from the clearing into the forest, unveiling in the process the complication of her several journeys from civilisation into the wild. Whereas the ongoing alliances that reinvent continuous others for the perpetuation of the same are uncovered, we discover that women, nature and their equation

6. There are at least four versions on what happened to Simon in the clearing. The official story told by George Herron in his "Recollections of Pioneering" explains that he and Simon were cutting a tree that, unexpectedly, fell down on Simon and killed him. In a second version, Annie prepared some food for the two men and took it to the clearing. On her way to the forest, the things she had prepared mixed with each other, which enraged Simon. He quarrelled with Annie, hit her, she defended and stroke him back with a stone. Contradicting this, in a letter from prison to an intimate friend, Annie explains that George killed Simon in the clearing and took his corpse back home, where she realised that Simon had been axed. Apparently, Simon frequently abused George. The last story, told by Annie once released from prison, attributes Simon's death to the attack of a bear.

with the passionate and the irrational allow a phallogentric nationalist discourse to survive. This unmasks in parallel the constructedness of the discourse of nation, here destabilised by movement and displacement.

The lures of the wild have created an emotional tension in Canadian culture that unfolds a dichotomy of peril and attraction transplanted into fiction through the number of stories that play on the possibility of living on the edge of town. Thus, Munro's short story "Menasetung" in *Friend of my Youth* (1990) locates her poet protagonist, Almeda Roth, on the physical border of town complemented by the emotional and moral border on which she hardly stands, and so do the early episodes of Carol Shields' *The Stone Diaries* (1993) with Mercy Stone. Furthermore, an already classic example is W.O. Mitchell's *Who Has Seen the Wind* (1982 [1947]), whose characters inhabit in a tiny community of farmers facing the emptiness of the prairie. In the novel, the young Brian O'Connell feels that attraction for the unknown beyond the limit, and, together with his friends, make frequent incursions to test their bravery. When Brian and his chums decide to visit St. Sammy, the local ascetic, Art claims: "he is crazy, crazy as a ground owl". 'Dad says the prairie sent him crazy, he went crazy from it [...]. It is awful lonely out here', said Brian. 'It would be easy for a fellow to go crazy out on prairie - all by himself'" (Mitchell 1982: 187). Paradoxically, the prairie erases one's identity, as it also is the element that provides the locals with a distinct trait of locality as well as Canadianness. In other words, personal and collective identity entail a dialectical conflict in which one of them needs to be subordinated per force to the other. In Mitchell's novel, Brian's sense of locality/nationality is given by the landscape, the same element that erases his tracks when he travels across the prairie.

Whereas the fictions dealt with so far travel north, west, east or south within the boundaries of North America; from Canada to the United States or vice versa, Canadian fiction, especially in the 1990s, has started going beyond the continental frontiers. The reinforcement of this international dimension bespeaks the maturity of Canadian writing, which does not need any longer to centre on Canadian matters or be set in Canada, and draws our attention to its participation in an international scene of travel and movement that Iain Chambers (1995: 24) describes in these terms:

[t]he zone we now inhabit is open, full of gaps: an excess that is irreducible to a single centre, origin or point of view. In these intervals, and the punctuation of our lives, other stories, languages and identities can also be heard, encountered and experienced. Our sense of being, of identity and language is extrapolated from movement [...]. The 'I' is constantly being formed and reformed in such a movement in the world.

The international movement in Canadian fiction is profoundly ingrained in two parallel but different processes to construct culture and nation: the inside out and the outside in. While the former is consonant with the ways in which Canadian fiction has portrayed its interests and exported them abroad, the latter is the opposite. That is to say, a creation of culture and nation that, taking place somewhere but in Canada, impels us to look at Canada from outside its borders. In so doing, this trend is in keeping with the path opened by pioneers in reverse like Mavis Gallant, whose stories hardly touch Canadian ground, and, instead of going west, travel east and back to Europe. Most of Gallant's European stories are guided by this impulse to look at North America from outside in its extreme form: if ever, Canada appears in the distance signifying one's origin but never as a nationality. It is a site where the markers of national culture undo themselves to give way to a multi-coloured mosaic pointing centrifugally in several directions, mostly Europe and the States, and propelling a decentralisation of the Canadian nationalist discourse. In Gallant's short story collection *Overhead in a Balloon: Stories of Paris* (1990 [1979]), the French city erects itself as a centre to which the most diverse personal archetypes come to dwell. Take, for instance, the short story "Rue de Lille", in which the triple locality of the city, the title-street and the protagonist's apartment eclipse the distant presence of North America and its resounding echoes. In this story, the stasis of locality contradicts the motion into an international scene. After the death of Juliette, a French translator of postwar American fiction and responsible for the spreading of such literature to the French public (Gallant 1990: 164), her lover, also a writer and journalist, recalls their life in the apartment at Rue de Lille. From the city of armed resistance against the Nazi invading troops to the 1970s, he reconstructs at a cross-stitch their life together, as presided over by the equilibrium between the extremely local of their existence and the cosmopolitan internationalism of their tastes. While they are reluctant to move to other flat, since "Parisians seldom move until they're driven to" (Gallant 1990: 161), he writes and lectures on Stendhal and she interprets the varied panorama of post 1945 American writing. With Gallant as precedent, this international turn is produced when Canadian literature focuses on the factors of provisionality and diversity defining contemporary culture (Huggan 1991: 132).

More recently, the international impulse has become stronger in Canadian writing, definitely breaking up the association between space, national identity and cultural production. Much of this has been contributed by the relevance acquired by immigrant Canadian literature, which has posed a challenge to the canon of CanLit and reworked the changing relation between the coordinates of national belonging, experience, site and place. Consequently, this type of writing has helped transform the postcolonial condition of Canada and turned migrancy into one of its defining features.

Contaminated by the success of transnational literary productions such as M.G. Vassanji's *The Book of Secrets* (1994), Anne Michaels' *Fugitive Pieces* (1996), Shauna Singh Baldwin's *What the Body Remembers* (1999) or Anita Rau Badami's *The Hero's Walk* (2000), many mainstream Canadian writers have incorporated references to an international panorama of travelling identities, improbable accommodation and permanent transit, as seems to be the case of the US writer, long established in Canada Leon Rooke and his story "The Boy from Moogradi and the Woman with the Map to Paradise" (1997). In it, Rooke presents us with a group of stranded Americans who, in their travel to a version of El Dorado, are captured by the guerrilla that opposes the republican forces of an unknown country. Lacking geographical markers that might give a clear spatial indication, the story is framed by the map topos and by the literal map in the hands of Emma, one of the Americans in the expedition. The whole story is a dialogue between the local guide of the American travellers, Toodoo, the boy from the town of Moogradi, and Raoul, the commander of the rebels. At the beginning of the story both of them agree on the falsity of the map and the unreal character of the place to which it leads, Kolooltepec:

"What is the journey of these crazy people?"
 "Their mission is to find Kolooltepec".
 "But Kolooltepec does not exist".
 "I agree".
 "It does not matter whether you agree. I could agree also, but this would not change the matter".
 "Yes", the boy said. "Because Kolooltepec still would not exist and you and I would be as crazy as these gringos". (Rooke 1997: 57)

Moreover, Raoul and Toodoo are increasingly prey of a colonialist mimetic fever and come to accept that what is on the map is automatically endowed with existence. The story is, thus, setting of a double displacement: one that moves us beyond the borders of North America and avoids any mention of Canada, and a second one produced by the lack of correspondence between the 'imitated' and the 'natural' object that the map depicts. This discrepancy displaces the western ideology lying underneath the discourses of colonialist expansion and cartography and causes a decolonisation of the map (Huggan 1991: 129). As Graham Huggan (1991: 130) states, "the prevalence of the map topos in contemporary postcolonial texts suggests a link between a de/reconstructive reading of maps and a revisioning of the history of European colonialism", and, in this story, I would argue, a revisioning of American neo-colonialism. Rooke, nevertheless, goes a step further and turns those represented by the colonialist discourse into the colonisers, subjected to the same ideology that represents them and willing to

possess the 'unknown' land. The connection between the illusion of mimetic representation conveyed by the map and the fact that it is the Americans that have it in their grasp provokes a change in Raoul's mind, so that the end of the story presents the so far sceptic rebels undertaking their way to "a figment of the crazy imagination": "Onwards, the officers were shouting. Onwards to Kolooltepec'. Up an down the mountainside came the same cry. "Onwards to Kolooltepec'" (Rooke 1997: 72). "The Boy from Moogradi and the Woman with the Map to Paradise" expresses a desire to deterritorialise and reterritorialise tenets of culture, nation, home and unified subjectivity. Here, additionally, the movement of the travellers counteracts the static closure of the map's representation, now confronted with openness and the unexpected, while it also contests the dominance of the mimetic fallacy.

Through this short sample, it is evident that Canadian texts are increasingly aware of the difficulty of coming home and highly conscious of the mechanisms whereby the illusion of certainty that it reproduces is perpetuated. Travel and displacement bring about in these stories the fulcrum for the revision of structures that help in the construction of ideas of home, and other deceptively unified entities like nation, culture or subjectivity. In emphasising these preoccupations, most of these texts show their complicity with postmodernist, postcolonial and post-structuralist theoretical paradigms. Therefore, they erect themselves as "narratives that transgress, violate and subvert ideas of essentialism, invariance and transhistorical constants" (Bromley 1996: 278). These narratives favour transitional identities and overtly show their predilection for histories *en route*. They inscribe sites and locations that, being in movement, are inflected by a dynamics of provisionality, a form to be attentive to the configuration of new, changing maps of personal, national and cultural identity.

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**THE ROBIN HOOD LEGEND AND ITS CULTURAL ADAPTATION FOR THE
FILM INDUSTRY: COMPARING LITERARY SOURCES WITH FILMIC
REPRESENTATIONS**

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ABSTRACT. The legend of Robin Hood has been going strong for over 600 years. In that time, the English hero has been a medieval revolutionary, an earl in Renaissance drama, a Saxon freedom fighter in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries or a courteous robber. Nowadays the hero is especially known as a famous romantic film star. This paper is about the way the legendary hero has been interpreted over the centuries and the medieval texts translated and adapted to suit the taste of the new audience. This capacity of adaptation in the Robin Hood legend has been demonstrated in the twentieth century through the various film adaptations of the now legitimate bandit, rightfully fighting against coercive and unjust authorities.

“In the early 1990s the Hollywood movie, Robin Hood – Prince of Thieves, captured the hearts and minds of millions, its phenomenal success reflecting a timeless fascination with the world’s most famous outlaw”(Phillips and Keatman 1995: 1). With such words, G. Phillips and M. Keatman started their bestselling *Robin Hood – The Man Behind the Myth*, an amazing thesis on the popular myth written in the way detective stories are. Robin Hood is certainly the most famous outlaw of them all, as popular today as when the stories first appeared over six hundred years ago. But let us make clear, right from the beginning of this paper, that Robin Hood never existed (Clouet 1998: 51). Many historians, like M. Keen or R.H. Hilton, agree on the fact that the figure of Robin Hood was just a creation of the ballad muse.

There is no doubt that the early Robin Hood ballads are medieval: a sign of their popularity is that they are already mentioned in *Piers Plowman*, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and in the *Chronicle of Scotland* in 1420. Of the thirty-eight Robin Hood ballads printed by Francis James Child (1857-59), three are widely considered the earliest in date: *Robin Hood and the Monk* (Child 119), *Robin Hood and the Potter* (Child 121), and *A Gest of Robyn Hode* (Child 117). The first two survive in manuscripts dated c. 1450 and c. 1500 respectively, while the *Gest* exists only in five printed texts and fragments of the sixteenth century, the two earliest versions being those of Jan Van Doesborch of Antwerp around 1510 and Wynkyn de Worde around the same time or earlier. There is ambiguity about both the date of composition of the *Gest* and the whole issue of dating is complicated by the fact that the work is constructed or compiled from pre-existing materials. Hence, when we talk about the date of composition, we are referring to the time when the poet compiled the various sources and constructed the long narrative with its interlocking episodes. But what has particularly drawn our attention for this paper is the lack of consensus about the historical time depicted. The only true allusion embedded in the text to its historical context is that of the name of the monarch: "Edwarde, our comly kyng". Attempts to identify the specific monarch have frustrated scholars, such as Maurice Keen, who laments that "If any of the names could be identified, it would make the task simpler." He proceeds to survey briefly the various candidates: "Edward III, who reigned from 1327 to 1377, would seem to fill the part best; but both the warrior King Edward I, who died in 1307, and Edward IV, who came to the throne in 1461 and was known in his day as the handsomest monarch of Europe, could just fit" (Keen 1961: 143)

Not all scholars agreed with Maurice Keen. Some preferred Richard the Lionheart or Henry III and, very recently, Thomas H. Ohlgren and Stephen Knight demonstrated that "Edwarde, our comly kyng" could only be Edward III (Ohlgren and Knight 1997: 32). Scholarly uncertainty persists, even if most historians agree that the background is either a late thirteenth- or fourteenth-century one, since it would have been very difficult to keep the oral tradition alive for such a long period of time before the ballads were recorded and printed.

The film industry, however, has preferred the end of the twelfth century for the setting of the plot. This is probably the result of the influence of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Following Joseph Ritson's image of Robin Hood as a man of the people, the superman of his age, fighting for truth, justice and the English way of life, Sir Walter Scott and the nineteenth-century novelists of the Gothic revival paved the way for the cinematographic tradition of the twentieth century. The hero now stood for the oppressed Anglo-Saxon struggling against the Norman oppressor. In placing Locksley in Richard the

Lionheart's reign, Scott simply followed Major's assumption (1892) enshrined in Ritson's *Life* (1795) that Robin Hood was a genuine twelfth-century Englishman. Moreover, the fact that Robin robbed the rich to give to the poor was now clearly enunciated. This romantic illustration of Christian charity is not so obvious in the early ballads. The author of the *Gest* did give some social objectives to his hero in the opening stanzas. Little John asks Robin who they shall rob, and Robin answers as follows:

‘Thereof no force,’ than sayde Robyn;
 We shall do well inowe;
 But loke ye do no husbonde harme
 That tylleth with his ploughe.
 ‘No more ye shall no gode yeman
 That walketh by grene wode shawe;
 Ne no knyght ne no squyer
 That wol be a gode felawe.’ (Dobson and Taylor 1989: 80)

The protagonist tells his outlaw mates not to harm yeomen or husbandmen, not even honest knights, like the one he helps in the ballads, Sir Richard at the Lee. However, in later ballads, Robin Hood no longer helps the poor. He would rather rob them and beat them up. The romantic motif will only be revived in the nineteenth century and later taken up by the film industry.

Another striking feature of *A Gest of Robyn Hode* is the incongruity between Robin's social class –yeomanry– and his repeated display of knightly customs and etiquette, such as offering liveries and fees to newly recruited gang members; granting a boon to the wife of the bankrupt knight; not eating until an “unkouth gest” arrives; and hand-washing before meals. Once again, the film versions avoided this ambiguity and did not maintain Robin Hood's position in the social hierarchy as defined by the early ballads. The films have preferred the figure of Robin Hood as a nobleman, probably because it goes much better with the romantic idea of the hero: he becomes either (Sir) Robert of Locksley or (Sir) Robin Hood, fourth earl of Huntington. This change in his lineage can be traced to two Elizabethan plays, written towards the end of the sixteenth century, in which “Robert, Earl of Huntington, being outlawed, takes refuge in Sherwood, with his chaste love Mathilda, daughter of Lord Fitzwaters, and changes his name to Robin Hood, hers to Maid Marian” (Child 1957: 45).

The potency of the legend on the screen is revealed by a fantastic statistic : twenty-four major Robin Hood films were made in the twentieth century. The first three silent British films were *Robin Hood and his Merry Men* (1908) in which Robin rescued a man from the gallows; *Robin Hood Outlawed* (1912) in which Robin rescued Maid Marian from the clutches of an evil knight,

and *Days of Robin Hood* (1913) in which Robin disguised himself as a monk to rescue one of his men from the Sheriff of Nottingham. On the American continent, the first two silent films were *Robin Hood* (1912), in which the plot revolves around Sir Guy of Gisborne and Robin vying for Maid Marian's favour, and *Robin Hood* (1913) in which Robin wins an archery contest and helps Alan a Dale rescue his sweetheart. Those early films showed a strong relationship to Victorian stage melodrama and romanticism and did not focus on a single ballad source. What is clear, though, is that the number of early films indicates the potential that was seen in the story by film-makers from the very beginning.

The first major success in the genre is undoubtedly the 1922 *Robin Hood*, starring Douglas Fairbanks Senior, and the screenplay of which Fairbanks himself (under the pseudonym of Elton Thomas) helped to write. The film opens with a jousting tournament in which Robin, as the Earl of Huntingdon, takes part and falls for Maid Marian. The knights depart on crusade while Prince John begins a reign of tyranny. Marian sends word to Huntingdon via his squire Little John. Robin forms an outlaw band in Sherwood Forest, rescues Maid Marian with the help of a mysterious knight who turns out to be King Richard. The latter pardons Robin and re-unites him with Marian.

Another great success in the Robin Hood cinematography was *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), directed by Michael Curtis and William Keighly, starring Errol Flynn as Robin Hood, Olivia de Havilland as the beautiful Maid Marian, Basil Rathbone as a supercilious Sir Guy of Gisborne, Claud Rains as evil Prince John and Alan Hale as a large Little John. This film version of Robin Hood, regarded as the best by fans and critics alike, became one of Warner Bros Studios greatest hits. The film was seen as a definitive portrait of the Robin Hood legend and Errol Flynn as a definitive Robin Hood by many filmgoers. Varying little from the usual story involving King Richard, Maid Marian, Prince John, Sir Guy of Gisborne and the Sheriff of Nottingham, the film excelled in its swashbuckling action scenes.

In that 1938 version, Robin Hood is represented as Sir Robert of Locksley, fourth earl of Huntingdon. Although the reason why he is an outlaw is not clearly explained in the early ballads, in the film his persistent defiance of authority is the cause of his becoming an outlaw: he defies Prince John, entering a Norman banquet with a deer which has been poached –poaching was considered a crime in that age– and also accuses the powerful prince of plotting against his brother Richard. As we have seen before, there are some peculiarities in the film adaptations which did not exist in the medieval ballads, such as the political issue of the Saxon/Norman rivalry, or the love story between Robin and Marian. In the 1938 version, just as in most films of Robin Hood, the hero is fighting the intruder and defending the interests of the rightful king.

The 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were characterized by a great proliferation of Robin Hood films. We could just mention *The Bandit of Sherwood Forest* (1946) in which a first-class fencer, Cornel Wilde, played Robin's son with plenty of energy; *Prince of Thieves* (1948), the leading role of this version, based on a tale by Alexandre Dumas, being played by Jon Hall; *Rogues of Sherwood Forest* (1950) in which Robin's son again appeared, this time played by Jon Derek, and in which Alan Hale played Little John for the third time; *Tales of Robin Hood* (1951), which was actually a failed American television pilot episode produced by Hal Roach, had the usual storyline of archery contest, forest battle and Robin saving Maid Marian; *The Story of Robin Hood and His Merry Men* (1952), the first Disney venture into the greenwood with Richard Todd as Robin; *Son of Robin Hood* (1959), surprisingly starring June Laverick as the daughter of Robin Hood; *Men of Sherwood Forest* (1960), starring Don Taylor; *Sword of Sherwood Forest* (1961) with Richard Greene and *A Challenge for Robin Hood* (1967) with Barrie Ingham, Peter Blythe and James Arnatt. Most were modest Robin Hood films.

One important production consisted of the successful TV stories known as *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1956-1960) and still remembered with great affection. It had several re-runs selling to many countries throughout the world. Richard Greene, a Hollywood star, brought athletic good looks and style to the role, in which he and his men were forever foiling the plans of the dastardly Sheriff played by Alan Wheatley. The now extremely famous theme tune that concluded each episode went as follows: "Robin Hood, Robin Hood, riding through the glen / Robin Hood, Robin Hood, with his band of men / Feared by the bad, loved by the good, / Robin Hood, Robin Hood, Robin Hood."

The 1970s saw the production of three movies and a cartoon. *Wolf's Head: The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1973) starred David Warbeck and depicted the outlaws as gritty, dirty men, fighting to stay alive. This realistic rendering of the legend was not too popular. The same year, the Disney animated feature, *Robin Hood*, a box-office hit, was released. In this famous cartoon, directed by Wolfgang Reitherman, all the characters are played by animals – Robin (voiced by Brian Bedford) is a cunning fox, Little John (Phil Harris) is a bear and the bad guys (Peter Ustinov voiced Prince John) are vultures and rhinos. Finally, *Robin and Marian* (1976) turned out to be the first epic version of the story. In this film by Richard Lester, Sean Connery plays an older Robin and Audrey Hepburn an older Maid Marian, now a nun. A war weary Robin returns home from campaigning with King Richard (Richard Harris) with trusted friend Little John (a very funny Nicol Nicholson) after the King is mortally wounded. He finds the people are still oppressed under the rule of Prince John and the Sheriff of Nottingham (Robert Shaw). Robin faces a final challenge against arch-enemy Sheriff of Nottingham and rekindles his romance with Maid

Marian. The final scene is a weepie where Robin, badly wounded, shoots an arrow out of the window and, as in the *Gest*, he tells Little John to bury him where it lay.

The most recent Robin Hood versions are four films from the mid-1980s and early 1990s. *In Robin of Sherwood* (1984), the Hooded Man is portrayed by Michael Praed. Robin, a poor yeoman of Loxley village, has two new friends: Nasir who, like Little John, first fights Robin then joins him; and Herne the Hunter, Robin's mystical mentor akin to King Arthur's Merlin, who gives him a new longbow and protective sword called Albion. The mixing of traditional ballads with magic and sorcery brought the film a cult following. In 1991, John Irwin directed a new version, *Robin Hood*, choosing Patrick Bergin as the hero. It is a darker version of the legend in which Robin is a flawed hero. Will Scarlett shows all the compassion and Uma Thurman plays a bratty, independent Maid Marian. The plot is less about injustice than Normans versus Saxons and is an attempt to move away from legend into modern-style realism. Also in 1991, *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves*, directed by Kevin Reynolds, had a greater success. Robin, played by a very American Kevin Costner, returns home from the Crusades with Azim, a Moor friend, played by Morgan Freeman, to find his people under siege from the cruelties of the Sheriff of Nottingham, played by Alan Rickman. The action, adventure and romance are thrilling with plenty of original action – Robin shoots two arrows simultaneously from his bow in two directions. Marian, played by Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio, is a convincing damsel in distress and Friar Tuck is played by Michael McShane. It also includes the cameo performance of Sean Connery as King Richard.

The last production, but not the least one, is Mel Brooks' *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993), a parody of the numerous Robin Hood movies we have presented so far. The film spoofed the Kevin Costner version in particular. Robin returns from the Crusades to discover that his castle is gone, and all that is left is a blind servant. Robin succeeds in uniting a band of peasants, and then proceeds to battle corruption, save the country, and win the heart of Maid Marian.

Comparing the early legend with the film adaptations is a minutious task that would require much more time and space. What stands out, though, is that three major aspects contributed to the changes and prepared the ground for the twentieth-century film productions: the May Games (in the fifteenth century), Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819) and Alexandre Dumas's two novels *Robin Hood, prince des voleurs* (1872) and *Robin Hood le proscrit* (1873), both translated in 1903 as *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* and *Robin Hood the Outlaw*.

In the course of the fifteenth century Robin Hood was adopted in the May Games, the old traditional celebration of the spring festival. Consequently the

tales broadened and diversified according to the means of communication and the audience. The content of the story was also affected: new characters were introduced, new elements were included and new tales were concocted. The association of Robin and Maid Marian, now present in all films, goes back to such festivals and draws on a single literary source, the French pastoral play *Robin and Marion*, composed c.1283 by Adam de la Halle, in which the shepherdess Marion, loyal to her lover Robin, successfully resists the advances of a knight.

Later, in 1819, Sir Walter Scott, in his famous *Ivanhoe*, foisted a new role on Robin Hood, one that was going to stick to his character for the following two centuries. Robin now stood for the oppressed Anglo-Saxon struggling against the Norman oppressor. There was absolutely nothing to support this historical element but Scott simply followed the traditional chronology originating with Major and enshrined in Ritson's biography and added his own romantic inspiration. He also clearly stated the fact that Robin robbed the rich and gave to the poor.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Alexandre Dumas the Elder produced two major novels in the Robin Hood tradition: *Robin Hood, prince des voleurs* (1872) and *Robin Hood le proscrit* (1873), in which the emphasis was put on how Robin formed his band and rescued Maid Marian from a knight with evil intentions, a situation that was much used in the cinema. Dumas also drew a lot on epic settings with splendid scenes, exciting battles, thrilling chases, etc, giving new material to twentieth-century film-makers.

All three sources contributed to the emergence of a difference of characterization between the films and the early ballads. We mentioned before the fact that, although a yeoman in the early texts, he is represented as a romantic nobleman in the films, following the tradition of the XIXth-century versions of the story in which the hero is usually a destitute baron robbing the rich to give to the poor. Another particular feature that differentiates the Robin Hood ballads and the films is the religious character of the hero. The *Gest* deals with Robin's devotion towards the Virgin, and therefore, due to this pious love, he respects all women. We cannot find this religious aspect of his personality in any of the films, this being probably due to the fact that the advent of Protestantism in England displaced the cult of the Virgin Mary: in John Irwin's version starring Patrick Bergin, it is even the opposite case, if we consider the fact that he robs the Church and threatens the bishop in order to obtain more money for his men. Still, both in the ballads and the films, Robin is a courteous outlaw. His courtesy in his behaviour towards women, his good temper, and his manliness have always contributed to the survival of his legend. Both in the *Gest* and in the film, he also shows an absolute loyalty to his king, the interest of whom he always defends.

Definitely, Robin Hood had become a fit topic for the screen, both for adults and children. However, whatever a new generation makes of a tale, something of the older appreciation of it is likely to survive. The processes of change affected the traditional meaning of the legend (cf. the May Games, Scott and Dumas) but its enduring success is a clear sign that some key structures remained viable. In our opinion, the two major motifs that remained largely impervious to historical change are that of outlawry and the forest. The concept of outlawry and the greenwood were more important than the historical and social reality, the centrality of Robin's outlaw status and inhabitation of the forest being embodied in his relationship to the sheriff and to his own followers. These two motifs, present in all the films we have mentioned, have contributed to capture the hearts and minds of millions of people, men and women, children and grown-ups. Both outlawry and the forest are part of what Jeffrey L. Singman calls the "ludic format" of the legend (Singman 1998: 166), thus allowing the creation of any number of episodic stories from the matrix of the medieval legend. As such, the structure can easily change to meet the needs of the audience.

This capacity of adaptation in the Robin Hood legend has been demonstrated in the twentieth century through the various film adaptations and, more recently, in Kevin Reynolds's *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves*, with the enhanced role accorded to Maid Marian in response to changing gender relations, and the introduction of a non-European character into Robin Hood's band of outlaws to reflect the multicultural realities of the modern world. The basic scenario is the same, but as the world the Robin Hood legend represents is more remote than ever to the public, the audience can no longer interact with the same immediacy, whether as consumers or producers, and Robin Hood can no longer carry the same sociopolitical significance he enjoyed in the early period. The oppressed Anglo-Saxon struggling against the Norman oppressor has now become the legitimate outlaw fighting for equity and justice.

ROBIN HOOD FILMS (in alphabetical order)

Adventures of Robin Hood. Dir. Michael Curtiz. With Errol Flynn, Basil Rathbone and Olivia De Havilland. Warner Bros, 1938.

Adventures of Robin Hood. Dir. Bernard Knowles, Lindsay Anderson, Ralph Smart, Terry Bishop. With Richard Greene. CBS, 1955-1958. (143 episodes.)

Bandits of Sherwood Forest. Dir. George Sherman and Henry Levin. With Cornel Wilde and Anita Louise. Columbia, 1947.

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METAPHOR, METONYMY, AND IMAGE-SCHEMAS: AN ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL INTERACTION PATTERNS¹

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In Cognitive Linguistics the study of conceptual interaction has attracted the attention of many scholars. Analyses have primarily focused on the role of image-schemas in the construction of metaphors and on the types of interplay that can take place between metaphor and metonymy. In this paper, we examine the role three image-schemas (namely, the CONTAINER, PART/WHOLE and EXCESS schemas) play in conceptual interaction, especially in relation to metonymy. Our analysis reveals that image-schemas have two basic functions: they structure the relationship that exists between the source and target domain of a metonymic mapping and they provide the axiological value of an expression. Finally, we discuss that the pervasiveness of image-schematic structure in conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy.

1. INTRODUCTION

In *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*, Lakoff (1987) contends that we structure our knowledge about the world in terms of idealised cognitive models or ICMs. An ICM can be defined as an organised cognitive structure which serves to represent reality from a certain perspective. Lakoff (1987) further distinguishes four types of structuring principle for this kind of construct: propositional, image-schematic, metaphoric and metonymic. In this

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context, metaphor and metonymy are described as conceptual mappings (i.e. sets of correspondences across domains), which differ only in the nature of the domains involved: in metaphor we find two discrete domains while in metonymy there is a domain-subdomain relationship. Image-schemas are defined by Johnson (1987) as preconceptual abstract knowledge structures based on recurrent patterns of experience. Image-schemas are characterised by a number of structural elements and a basic logic which can be expressed propositionally. This internal logic is employed in abstract thinking (Lakoff 1990). Besides, image-schemas can also be regarded as non-propositional, generic 'gestalts' whose function is to provide coherence and order to certain conceptual structures (Lakoff 1987, 1989).

In recent years, the study of the kinds of correlation which hold between metaphor and other types of structuring principle has occupied a privileged place in Cognitive Linguistics. On the one hand, scholars have noted the relevance of image-schemas as structural patterns which are used as source domains for numerous metaphors (Lakoff and Turner 1989; Lakoff 1990, 1993). On the other hand, they have studied the kinds of interplay that result from the combination of metaphor and metonymy (Goossens 1995; Ruiz de Mendoza 1999a). By contrast, no attention has been paid to the possible patterns of interaction that may result from the combination of metonymy and image-schematic structure. Our purpose in this paper is to examine the way metonymies and image-schemas are related in conceptual interaction. Because of space limitations, we shall focus on just three image-schemas, namely the CONTAINER, PART/WHOLE and EXCESS schemas, which have been found to be very productive in connection to metonymic activity.

2. INTERACTION BETWEEN METAPHOR AND IMAGE-SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE.

Image-schemas have been shown to lie at the basis of numerous metaphorical constructions (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1987; Ruiz de Mendoza 1997a; Fornés and Ruiz de Mendoza 1998; Peña 2000). In this connection, Lakoff (1990) has put forward the Invariance Principle which states that the image-schematic structure of the source domain of a metaphor has to be preserved so as to be consistent with the structure of the target domain². In fact, whenever there is an image-schema involved in a

2. More recently, Ruiz de Mendoza (1998) has refined Lakoff's Invariance Principle in order to make it more comprehensive and has formulated the Extended Invariance Principle in which he argues for the consistency between the domains involved in a metaphor, even when there is no image schematic structure. Hence, according to the Extended Invariance Principle, generic structure of the source domain of a metaphor should be consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.

metaphoric expression, it serves to provide the basic blueprint for its interpretation.

By way of illustration, consider the expression *I don't know which way to go*, as uttered by a person who must make a decision and is not sure about which option is better. The understanding of this expression calls for the activation of the PATH schema. This schema, which has been studied by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1987), consists of four basic structural elements: a source, a destination, a number of contiguous locations which connect the source and the destination, and a direction; its logic, as defined by Lakoff (1989), includes the following information: (a) the movement from the source to the destination necessarily involves passing through every intermediate point, and (b) the further along the path a person is, the more time has gone by since he started. Thus, in the metaphor DECIDING IS MOVING IN A DIRECTION, relevant parts of the PATH schema, which constitute the source domain of the mapping, serve to structure our knowledge about making decisions. In this way, the following correspondences can be observed:

- the person that makes a decision is conceived as a moving entity.
- making a decision corresponds to choosing a direction of movement.
- different options are different destinations.

3. CONCEPTUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN METAPHOR AND METONYMY

Ruiz de Mendoza (1997a, 1999ab, 2000) has devoted much of his work to exploring the behaviour of metaphor and metonymy in conceptual interaction and has provided some insightful observations about the kinds of interplay that may result from their combination. First, he has argued that because of its nature metonymy is always subsidiary in conceptual interaction to metaphor. This is quite logical if we bear in mind that in metaphor we find two separate domains whereas in metonymy there is only one domain involved. Therefore, it does not seem feasible to include the two distinct domains of a metaphor within the single domain of a metonymy. Second, this author has developed a typology of interactional patterns between metaphor and metonymy which is based on two main criteria: (a) the place where the metonymic mapping develops (either the source or the target of the metaphor); and (b) the scope of the metonymy (i.e. which can be a whole metaphoric domain or just one of its correspondences).

Moreover, Ruiz de Mendoza (1997b, 1999a) has challenged the traditional three-fold classification of metonymy and has postulated the non-existence of part-for-part metonymies by showing that this type is inconsequential in terms of processing. He has distinguished only two basic types of metonymy: *source-in-target*, in which the source is a subdomain of the target (e.g. *The piano has the flu today*, where 'the piano' is a subdomain of 'the musician who

plays the piano’) and *target-in-source*, in which the target is a subdomain of the source (e.g. *The Picasso is in the lounge*, where by “the Picasso” we refer to ‘one of his paintings’, which is a subdomain of our knowledge about this painter). The former develops a domain of which the source highlights a relevant aspect and the latter highlights a crucial aspect, which may be difficult to pin down accurately. This distinction between source-in-target and target-in-source metonymies is also relevant for dealing adequately with metonymy in interaction. The following diagrams show schematically the four patterns of conceptual interaction Ruiz de Mendoza has found to be productive in English:

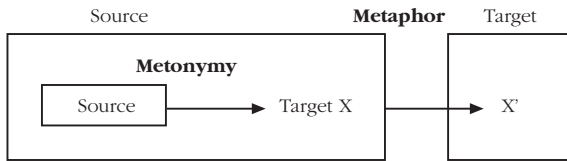


FIGURE 1: *Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source.*

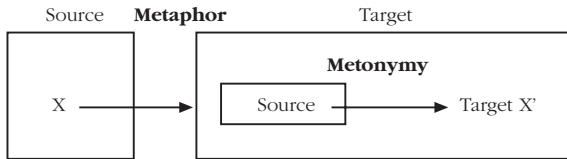


FIGURE 2: *Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target.*

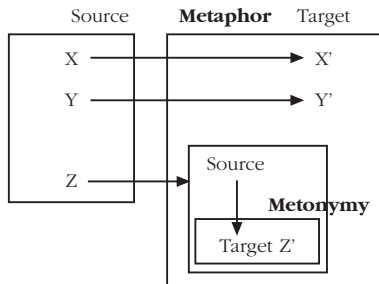


FIGURE 3: *Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric target.*

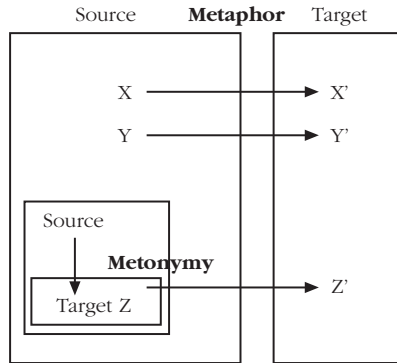


FIGURE 4: *Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric source.*

Additionally, Díez (2000) has discovered the existence of two further patterns which complete Ruiz de Mendoza's typology:

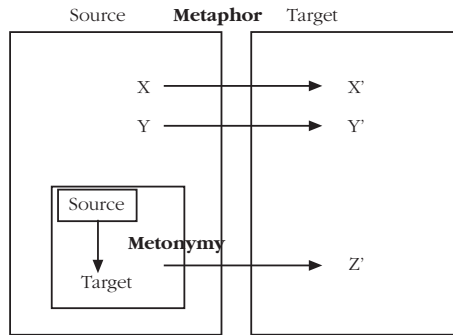


FIGURE 5: *Metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric source.*

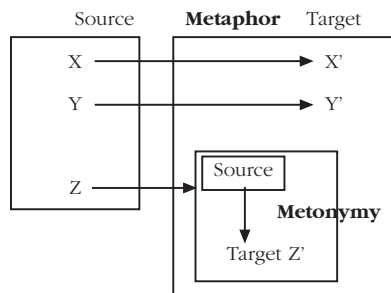


FIGURE 6: *Metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric target*

4. IMAGE-SCHEMAS AND METONYMY IN CONCEPTUAL INTERACTION

4.1. The Structuring Function of Image-Schemas

As was mentioned in the previous sections, scholars have mainly analysed conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy; however, image-schemas -in being one form of structuring principle for idealised cognitive models- also play a fairly significant role in interactional patterns and have to be taken into account. Consider now the following sentences:

- (1) The conscripts have no stomach for a fight.
- (2) She made every effort to attract him, and finally she has won his heart.

In (1) *to have stomach* is a case of conceptual interaction between the metaphor QUALITIES ARE POSSESSIONS and the metonymy STOMACH FOR COURAGE. Regarding the metaphor, ‘courage’ is conceived of as a physical entity with its associated properties (e.g. it can be possessed). This way, an abstract concept which we may find difficult to deal with is envisaged as a physical entity. Accordingly, the property of ‘displaying courage’ or ‘being courageous’ is understood as the state in which a person is the owner of an object³ as the representation of this metaphor in figure 7 shows:

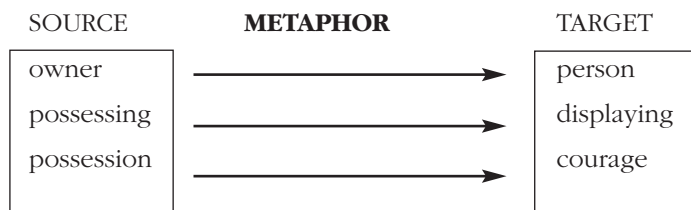


FIGURE 7: *To have courage*.

However, in (1) this metaphor interacts with a metonymy. In contrast to the metaphor *to have courage*, where the property is directly mentioned, in (1) the possession maps onto the bodily organ which is culturally and experientially conceived of as the site for the property (i.e. stomach). A

3. The understanding of courage as a property is connected to Lakoff’s (1993) proposal that most metaphorical structure is integrated in larger metaphorical systems. In this way, he posits the existence of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor which accounts for our understanding of events and causes. The EVENT STRUCTURE is, in turn, based on two different conceptualisation systems: the *location system* and the *object system*. The location system conceives a state as a location (e.g. *I’m in trouble*) whereas in the object system an attribute is seen as a possession (e.g. *I have a problem*). Both of them are so pervasive in every day language that we rarely notice the metaphor that is involved in many expressions.

subsequent metonymic mapping is needed for the intended interpretation to take place as diagrammed in figure 8:

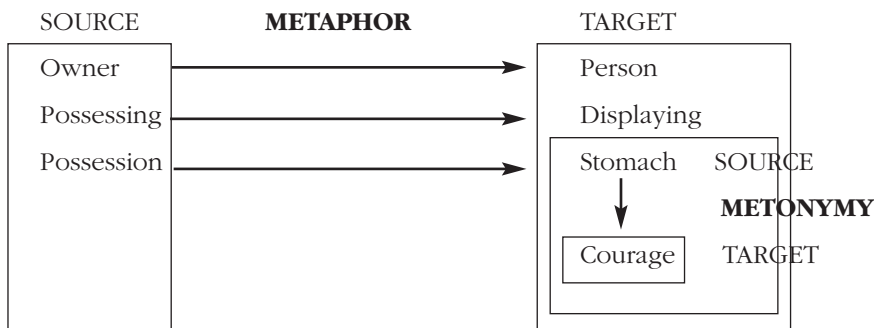


FIGURE 8: *To have stomach.*

The metonymic mapping STOMACH FOR COURAGE is of the source-in-target kind since part of our cultural knowledge about this body part is that it is figuratively the location of courage. This piece of knowledge is experientially grounded in a number of sensations which we experience in the stomach area when we are determined to face a danger or, by contrast, when we are afraid of something or lack the courage to do something.

Moreover, the instantiation of this metonymy makes use of the CONTAINER schema. Thus, the stomach is understood as a three-dimensional entity that can hold things inside. This conception is metaphorically evidenced in expressions like *I have butterflies in my stomach*. Note that unless we metaphorically understand the stomach as a container and courage as its content, the relationship between them is not possible and sentence (1) would be meaningless.

The metonymy STOMACH FOR COURAGE abides by the internal logic of the CONTAINER image-schema. According to Lakoff (1989: 116), this image schema consists of an interior, an exterior and a boundary. As part of its logic, he notes that “if container A is in container B and X is in A, then X is in B”. Besides, Peña (1999a) has further developed the logic of this schema and has noted that the entities found in the interior of a container may affect it, a fact which becomes part of the extended logic of the schema. Besides, the ‘gestaltic’ nature of this image-schema makes us see the contents as part of the whole so that we see the container as naturally embracing its contents. This way, the absence of the container entails the loss of its contents, unless the opposite is specified. For example, by saying *My suitcase was stolen at the airport* the speaker actually conveys the idea that he has lost not only the suitcase but also everything that was kept inside it. Likewise, the figurative lack of stomach, as in (1), entails the absence of courage.

In the light of this discussion, we observe that the complete understanding of this metonymy requires the activation of our knowledge of the logic of the CONTAINER schema so that the full interpretation of sentence (1) makes use of metaphoric, metonymic and image-schematic principles.

Additionally, note that *to have stomach* involves a metonymic reduction of a conceptual domain of the metaphoric target, where the interaction serves to highlight the correspondence that contains the metonymy, thereby emphasising the lack of the quality.

In (2) we find another case of interaction similar to the one studied above where one of the correspondences of a metaphoric target contains a target-in-source metonymy as the following diagram illustrates:

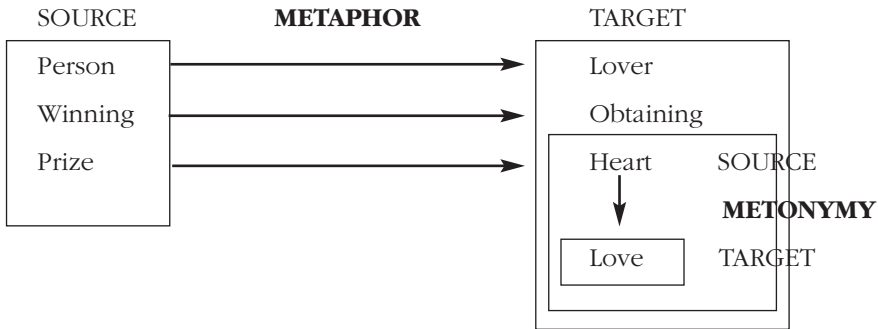


FIGURE 9: *To win someone's heart*

This example is an instantiation of the metaphor LOVE IS A PRIZE. In this metaphor, achieving someone's love is viewed as obtaining a reward, which involves the existence of some previous actions in which the lover has proved that he deserves this prize. Therefore, this metaphor invokes a competitive context where the lover must overcome some barriers (e.g. another lover, the indifference of the loved person, etc.). In this sense, 'winning someone's love' conveys that some effort has been needed, that there is an underlying structure or that it was a hard task, which is additional communicative information created by the metaphoric mapping. As has been mentioned, this metaphor incorporates a metonymic mapping. In the metonymy the heart as the site of feelings or emotions is chosen to stand for the feeling of love, allowing this correspondence of the metaphor to acquire a more central role. In this case the CONTAINER image-schema also interacts with the metonymy since the heart is typically understood as a container and love as its content (c.f. *With a heart full of love...*). In fact, the CONTAINER image-schema is frequently exploited by body part metonymies that express feelings since we tend to conceptualise these as containers and to locate different kinds of emotion or quality inside them. Other expressions based on the metonymic

exploitations of the CONTAINER image-schema are *to vent your spleen*, *to pour your heart*, or *to have the guts*, where the body parts stand for ‘anger’, ‘inner feeling’ and ‘bravery’, respectively (c.f. Peña 2000).

Nonetheless, the CONTAINER schema is not the only image-schematic structure which may have a role in the activation of a metonymy. Take the following example:

(3) Don't bite the hand that feeds you.

This sentence, which is to be understood as a warning not to hurt the person that helps you, represents another case of conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy. As far as the metaphor⁴ is concerned, ‘biting’ is mapped onto any action that hurts or goes against someone, and ‘feeding’ onto the action of helping or taking care of a person. Within the source domain of this metaphor, there is a source-in-target metonymy where ‘hand’ stands for the person that carries out the activity of feeding. The choice of ‘hand’ is connected to its role in the situation portrayed in the source domain. Thus, in the action of feeding an animal, the hand plays a specially prominent role which converts this body part into the best option to become the source of the metonymy. In other words, the metonymy highlights the importance of the hand in the action. This is diagrammed in figure 10 below:

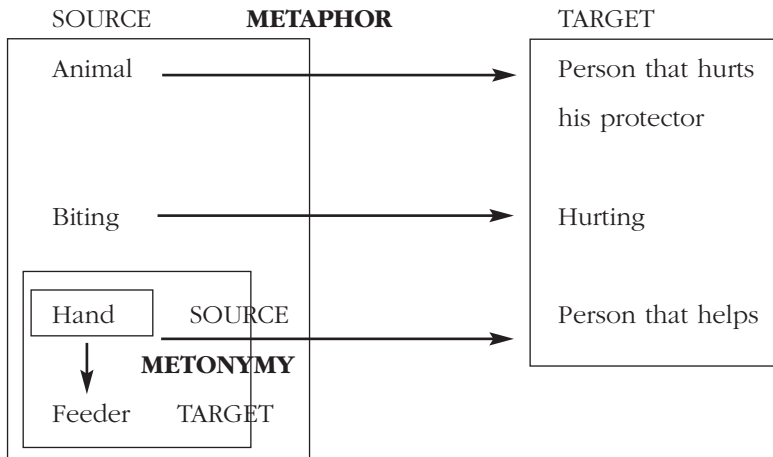


FIGURE 10: *Don't bite the hand that feeds you.*

4. Ruiz de Mendoza (1999a) has termed this type of metaphor where a specific situation serves to make generalizations which are later applied to other specific situations as *situational metaphor*. This metaphor is frequently exploited by proverbs such as *Blind blames the ditch*.

We noted above that the understanding of (3) needs the additional activation of some image-schematic structure. Let us consider now in some detail the relationship that exists between the source and target domains of the metonymy in this example. There is no way we can define ‘hand’ adequately without making reference to the fact that it is a body part. This occurs because we see our bodies as wholes with different parts (cf. Lakoff 1987). As a result, in the metonymy the part (‘hand’) stands for the whole (‘person’). This suggests that the PART/WHOLE schema is compulsorily needed in order to understand the relationship that holds between the source and target domains. This image-schema, which has attracted the attention of cognitive linguists such as Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987) and Deane (1992), consists of a whole, parts and a configuration⁵. By means of this schema, we conceive of entities as composed of other entities. Take now the following example:

(4) Sprained ankles should not wear high-heels.

This sentence contains two metonymic mappings (ANKLE FOR PERSON and HIGH-HEELS FOR SHOES), which make use of the PART/WHOLE schema for their instantiation. Thus, a shoe is composed of a sole, a heel, and a toecap, among others. One of these parts, the heel, is particularly salient for describing a kind of shoe (i.e. high-heeled shoes), which, together with the fact that both concepts are seen in a part/whole configuration, provides the experiential grounding for the metonymy. In the second place, ‘ankle’ as a body part stands in a part/whole relation to ‘body’ in the same way as ‘hand’ does in example (3). The fact that two metonymies which need of the PART/WHOLE schema for their understanding coincide in one example gives us a clue about the high degree of productiveness of the schema in the creation of metonymic mappings. This image-schema is employed whenever a part of an entity is used to stand for the whole entity (e.g. (3)) or vice versa (e.g. She is learning to tie her shoes, where ‘shoes’, the whole, stands for ‘shoelaces’, a part). Consider finally the following example:

(5) Liberalism and democracy don’t flourish on an empty stomach.

This example is a linguistic realisation of the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS, which forms part of our general knowledge about cognition and is

5. The notion of ‘configuration’ in relation to the PART/WHOLE schema has been detailedly analysed by Deane (1992) who has contended that this concept is too vague in Lakoff’s (1987) terms. Deane (1992) has redefined ‘configuration’ as the conjunction of three properties: perceptual adjacency, continuity, and temporal stability.

instantiated in examples such as *That's a budding theory, Mathematics has many branches* or *The seeds of his great ideas were planted in his youth*⁶ (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In example (5), 'liberalism' and 'democracy' are seen as plants and the intended hearers as the ground. Moreover, this sentence includes a metonymic mapping of the source-in-target type in one of the correspondences of the target domain of the metaphor, namely, STOMACH FOR PERSON (see figure 11). By means of the metonymy we are emphasizing the role of this correspondence in the metaphor. Thus, one of the main factors involved in the success of a harvest is the quality of the ground where the seeds have been sown. It follows that if the ground is not the adequate one, the plants will not be able to flourish. Similarly, the satisfactory transmission of a message depends on many factors, one of them being the correct predisposition of the hearer. The function of the metonymy, then, is to highlight that the reason for the failure of the communicative act lies in the hearers and their hunger. As was hinted at above, we are dealing again with a BODY PART FOR PERSON metonymy where the relationship between its source and target domain is to be understood through the PART/WHOLE image schema.

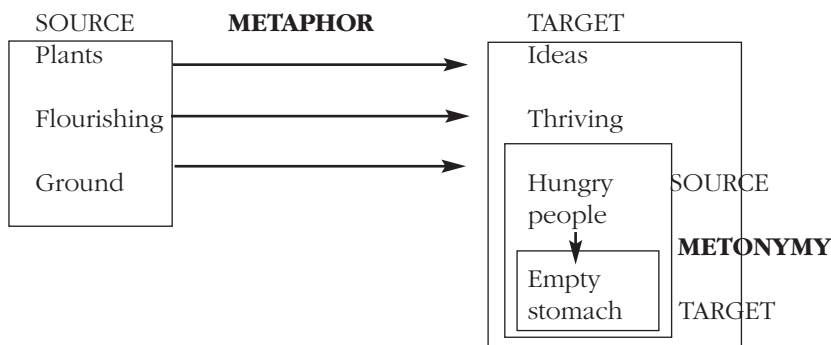


FIGURE 11: *Ideas don't flourish on an empty stomach*

On the basis of the previous analysis two further remarks should be made. First, image schemas, as generic models, can easily accommodate other non-generic models (e.g. metonymic models) in their structure (cf. in this respect Ruiz de Mendoza 1997a). For example, if we consider the CONTAINER

6. One of the best known instantiations of this metaphor, which shows its great productiveness when dealing with communication and cognition, is found in the New Testament in the parable of the sower. In this case, communicating corresponds to sowing, the seeds symbolize the message, the sower maps onto the speaker (i.e. Jesus and his disciples) and proper understanding relates to blooming healthily.

image schema, a bounded entity and its contents can function as the source and target domain of a metonymy. Second, in every case of conceptual interaction where a metaphoric mapping is involved the metaphor always provides the basic pattern for the conceptual interplay. Even in those cases of interaction between metaphor and image schemas (cf. *I don't know which way to go*), the image schema is subordinated to the metaphor, i.e. it is either the source or the target of the metaphor. On the contrary, metonymy in conceptual interaction is always subsidiary both to metaphor and to image-schematic structure. First, the metonymy always follows the requirements of the mapping imposed by the metaphor and develops within either the source or the target domain of the metaphor (see figures 1 to 6). Second, the metonymy also abides by the logic of the image-schema it may interact with; that is to say, the relationship that exists between the source and target domains of a metonymy mapping always agrees with the logic of the image-schema at work.

4.2. The Axiological Component

In 4.1. we have explored the idea that image-schemas may determine the nature of the relationship between the source and the target domains of a metonymic mapping; but this is not the only form of conceptual interaction with an image-schematic basis. Image-schemas are capable of endowing the expression with a strong axiological value. Take the following examples:

- (6) He has too much heart in him to quit the game.
- (7) Owen boiled over.

(6) is another case of conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy where one of the correspondences of the target domain of the metaphor is reduced by means of a metonymic mapping. 'Heart' in (6) stands for one of the feelings or emotions which are culturally thought to be contained in the heart, namely, pride. This is graphically represented in the following way:

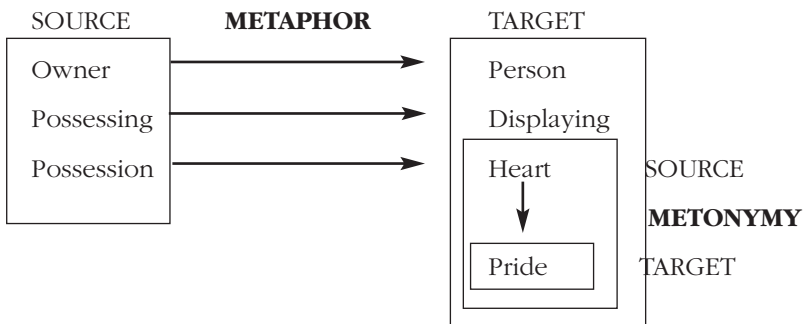


FIGURE 12: *To have heart.*

Furthermore, the CONTAINER image-schema is also found in (6) since 'heart' and 'pride' are envisaged as in a container-contents relationship. This explanation, however, cannot account for the full communicative import of this expression: the negative axiological value cannot be obtained just from the interplay between the metaphor and the metonymy. This occurs because the activation of the EXCESS image-schema is also needed for the correct comprehension of (6). The EXCESS schema is called up by the expression "too much" which denotes that pride appears in a greater quantity than needed and therefore, profiles a negative aspect of heart⁷. Notice should be taken that a prerequisite for the activation of the EXCESS image-schema in (6) is the conception of the heart as a container⁸.

The EXCESS image-schema is invoked by all those expressions which convey that something is in a larger amount than would be desirable (c.f. Peña 2000). This schema is usually associated with a negative axiological value. This has to be understood in terms of control. The heart as a container controls the things that are in its interior (i.e. pride). Whenever the container is very full, it becomes harder to keep its contents under control. If feelings or emotions are viewed as uncontrolled, balance is lost, which is usually considered negative in Western cultural systems. As a result, an excessive quantity of pride, in being difficult to handle or control, affects the person negatively (e.g. it may not let his common sense act and make him quit the game). Therefore, the EXCESS image-schema together with the idealised cognitive model of 'control'accounts for the negative axiological value of (6).

Similarly, in (7) the axiological value is also provided by the EXCESS image-schema, which is called up by the preposition 'over'. Again, the CONTAINER image-schema is needed for understanding the person as a container for feelings and emotions. Note that by means of a metonymic

7. It is worth pointing out that as a consequence of the metonymic mapping the noun which encodes the source domain undergoes a process of subcategorial conversion so as to shorten the gap that exists between the word forms employed to express the source and target domains of the metonymy, i.e. "heart" becomes a mass noun as evidenced by the appearance of "much" as its modifier (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2001; Díez 2001).

8. In contrast to Johnson (1987) who ranks all image schemas on the same level, other authors such as Turner (1993), Clausner and Croft (1999) and Peña (1999b, 1999c) have convincingly argued that not all image schemas share the same status and that a distinction should be made between basic and subsidiary image-schemas. In this view, Peña (2000) has contended that the CONTAINER schema belongs to the former and provides the blueprint for the activation of two other image-schemas, namely the FULL-EMPTY and the EXCESS schemas. Accordingly, the EXCESS schema is said to be dependent on the CONTAINER schema since a container is a prerequisite for the activation of this image-schema. Note that the EXCESS schema involves that the entity or entities inside a container exceed its capacity.

mapping ‘Owen’ stands for ‘Owen’s anger’. ‘Over’ suggests that there is more anger than the amount the person can keep inside him. As a result, Owen cannot control all his anger which bursts out, causing the complete loss of control. Once more, it is the lack of control which creates the negative axiological value this sentence carries.

However, in some cases of conceptual interaction, we may find two different image schemas which are not dependent between them. By way of illustration, consider the following example:

(8) She broke my heart.

This is an instance of conceptual interaction similar to the ones studied in examples (1) and (2); that is to say, a metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric target as the following figure, borrowed from Ruiz de Mendoza (1999b), shows:

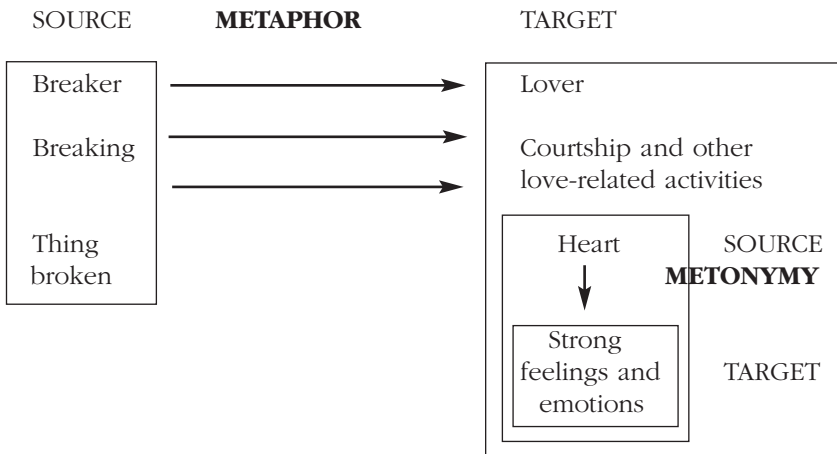


FIGURE 13: *To break someone’s heart*

As was the case with examples (1) and (2), the CONTAINER image schema has a key role in the understanding of this expression since it cues the relationship that exists between the source and target domains of the metonymy: the heart is conceived as a container and feelings and emotions as its contents. However, neither this image schema nor the metaphor or the metonymy are sufficient to explain the strong negative axiological value of example (8). This occurs because the complete understanding of this example calls for the activation of another image schema, namely the PART/WHOLE image schema. As part of its logic, Lakoff (1987: 273) notes that “if the parts exist in the configuration, then and only then does the whole exist”. In

example (8), the action of breaking causes the figurative destruction of the heart as a whole, which becomes a group of separate pieces with no configuration at all. The parts in isolation are not functional any longer; only the whole is. This absence of functionality normally brings about negative value judgements. Hence, the activation of the PART/WHOLE schema is necessary so that we can fully comprehend that the whole in being destroyed has lost its functionality and, we can reach the negative axiology the sentence shows. Therefore, in this example, apart from the metaphor and the metonymy, we find the interplay between two different image schemas; one of them, the CONTAINER schema, serves to structure the kind of relationship which holds between the source and target domain of the metonymy, whereas the other one, the PART/WHOLE schema, provides the axiology of the sentence.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have attempted to show that the role of image-schemas in conceptual interaction is not restricted to structuring of the source domain of numerous metaphors, but that it is also basic for our understanding of the role of metonymy in reasoning. On the one hand, we have posited the existence of two main functions of image-schemas in interaction: first, they are needed in order to determine the nature of the relationship between the source and the target domains of a metonymic mapping; second, image-schemas are frequently used for providing the axiological value of some cases of conceptual interaction in which the mere interplay between metaphor and metonymy does not provide sufficient interpretative clues by itself to arrive at its full interpretation. On the other hand, we have seen that the appearance of image-schemas in conceptual interaction is more ubiquitous than it may seem at first sight and that conceptual interaction frequently involves the activation of these three types of cognitive model (i.e. metaphor, metonymy, and image-schemas). Thus, for each of the functions of an image schema in conceptual interaction, we have provided evidence of the way it works with two different image schemas. In every case the analysis has shown that the metaphor provides the basic pattern for the interplay where both the metonymy and the image schema are easily accommodated.

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TO GLOW WITH BRIGHT COLOURS: JIMMY GATZ'S TRIP TO OZ

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ABSTRACT. *L. Frank Baum's The wonderful wizard of Oz (1900) could have furnished F. Scott Fitzgerald with a matrix of imagery and thematic for his The Great Gatsby (1925). The children's classic had sold widely and even been dramatized during Fitzgerald's childhood. Its emphasis on the greenness of the Emerald City foretells the role played by the colour green in Fitzgerald's novel. Baum's relentless optimism offers a foil to the profoundly tragic vision of the novelist; his title figure (also from the American Midwest) resembles Gatsby in his fraudulence. The shallowness of material fulfilment had preoccupied Fitzgerald since "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" (1921). Gatsby enriched that vision. Could Wizard have furnished him with a network of imagery?*

Denslow has made profuse illustrations for it
and it will glow with bright colors.

(L. Frank Baum to Harry Baum, April 8, 1900.
In F.J Baum and Macfall 1961: 199)

But there was a change in Gatsby that was simply confounding.
He literally glowed; without a word or a gesture of exultation a
new well-being radiated from him and filled the little room.
(Fitzgerald 1991: 70).

America is surely not the only culture in which a passion for
material things has been elevated to romance, but it is surely one of
the few cultures to have so thoroughly examined this romance.
(Oates 1992: 582).

What American classic is coloured green, features eyeglasses, balloon ascents, and roads, and has for a title figure a sham hero from the Midwest? Right you are, if you answer, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz!* Right also, if you answer *The Great Gatsby!*

L. Frank Baum's Introduction to his best-known story emphasizes that his fantasy was a particularly modern, progressive, by implication *American* fairy tale, "a modernized fairy tale in which the wonderment and joy are retained and the heart-aches and nightmares are left out" (Baum 1973: 85). Imagine that, later, a writer undertakes a *retrogressive* American fairy tale, where life's voyage is engulfed in backward, pastward currents. Could the land of Oz present a ready-made version of that optimistic culture that the novel subverts? What if this tragedy rested upon a foundation of parody? What if it mocked a collection of motifs that an American audience was bound to recognize as representing progress and release, the "orgastic future" that lay before them, at the end of a yellow brick road? *In His Steps, The Rise of the Colored Empires*: actual and fictional texts dot *The Great Gatsby*, indicating the shallowness of a national culture. Why not include a text never named, but whose features appear below every pentimento? Her first visit to Oz's palace finds Dorothy browsing in the library there. Her attention is caught by a "row of little green books" (Baum 1973: 204). Could they be her story's literary offspring? Is *The Great Gatsby* one of them?

Both narratives concern themselves with inflation. The fraudulent Wizard fetches up in Oz after his hot-air balloon is blown astray, and departs from the Emerald City in the same vehicle. Fitzgerald's vapid, beguiling Midwestern heroines, Jordan and Daisy, first appear as aerial voyagers, "buoyed as though upon an anchored balloon." Then, at the end of the same paragraph, the narrator whisks out his sharp pin, and "the two young women ballooned slowly to the floor" (Fitzgerald 1991: 10).

Inflation/deflation, fantasy/realism, idealism/materialism: like some modern day *Rape of the Lock*, *Gatsby* plays parodically with a set of motifs that Fitzgerald's national culture employs as the grammar of fulfilment. The satirist *blows up* through deflation the balloon that he has already blown up to inflate.

A matrix, perhaps never deliberately sought, and certainly unacknowledged, for the imagery of that inflationary culture lay before Fitzgerald and his audience. Surrounded by desert, rectilinear, discoverable only by chance, the Land of Oz sits there as a shadow version of the American heartland. Baum styled himself its "Royal Historian." Fitzgerald could have served as its mordant, prescient Fool. Baum, when writing boys' adventure books, used the pen name of "Captain Hugh Fitzgerald." Lieutenant F. Scott Fitzgerald needed no such promotion (Brotman 1980: 162).

Baum's fantasy first enjoyed a popular success and then became a cultural institution weighty enough to appear on a postage stamp. It embodies the American religion, the secular cult of self-actualization. As Ronald Baughman notes, the message is a simple one: "we get what we have" (Baughman 1955: 18; see also Nathanson 1991). From its first appearance, the tale and its illustrations fitted tightly into the American grain. For this reason one of the nation's finest illustrators employs an image from Oz when he draws a scene from a classic American tale, a gesture bearing a set of associations with the finale of *Gatsby*. This merits examination.

Groups of exotics appear at the end of *Gatsby* and the opening of *Wizard*: Dorothy Gale first encounters the Munchkins, while Nick Carraway leaves us with his imaginary Dutch sailors. Marius Bewley, finds the "pastoral world" of Oz reminiscent of the world the sailors found; the resemblance may run deeper (Bewley 1970: 277-67). Those Dutch sailors first sailed up the Hudson and into the canon of American imagery when Washington Irving introduced them to Father Knickerbocker. He then beached them in the Kaatskills with Rip Van Winkle, in a town built of "small yellow bricks." The Dutchmen Rip encountered at that first American bowling tournament were "odd-looking personages," whose "visages, too, were peculiar" (Washington Irving 1983: 775). Perhaps the first grotesques to appear in American fiction, Wyeth's revenant Dutchmen resemble Denslow's Munchkins¹. Did these fantastic creatures also furnish Fitzgerald with his Dutch sailors?

Fitzgerald's novel provides a title-figure, and Baum's a set of supporting characters, who prove outstanding examples of self-made men. What are the translated Scarecrow, Tin Woodman, and Cowardly Lion but self-actualizing individuals springing from a "Platonic conception" of themselves (Fitzgerald 1991: 99)? The fraudulent Wizard's lesson: to envision courage, heart, or brain is to possess it. The secular, born-again Jimmy Gatz, the *Gatsby* whom some say "killed a man," or who sojourned at "Oggsford" with the Earl of Doncaster or won the Order of Danilo I from "little Montenegro by the sea," lives this belief. Like the Dorothy who first whirled to Oz and then heel-tapped back to Kansas, he understands in his very bones that, "[O]f course, you can" repeat the past (Fitzgerald 1991: 111).

We lack any evidence that Fitzgerald pored over the endpapers that mapped Oz. In view, however, of the work's immediate popularity—ten thousand copies in the first two weeks; nearly 90 thousand by the end of 1901; 4, 195, 667 by the time copyright expired in 1956—Fitzgerald would have to have been the only middle-class child in mid-America to have missed out on this map exercise (Hermetz 1989: 294). The story framed by those bindings of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* could have furnished the novelist with a chart of

1. These figures can be viewed in Douglas Allen 1972: 107 and in Baum 1973: 101.

the fantasy-tripping America that *The Great Gatsby* explores. Baum's story, like some high-bouncing lover, hovered over any American writer seeking to represent popular fantasy life, whether to endorse or subvert it. Setting, imagery and characterization alike display how thoroughly Fitzgerald mined the vein that Baum first opened, only to finally—in the manner of an earlier creation of his—blow up the mine itself.

I

Mining absorbs Fitzgerald's first excursion into pop fantasy. Excavation and demolition lie at the center of "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," written in the winter of 1921-22. John T. Unger makes a summertime visit to his St. Midas School classmate Percy Washington's Wyoming estate, in part of that Far West where Baum located Oz (St-John 1982: 351-52). He finds it walled off within a valley ringed by a diamond mountain, the basis of the family's wealth. Defensive armaments and wholesale bribery of mapmakers ensure their seclusion. Black Americans, unaware that the days of slavery have ended, minister to the family. Falling in love with one of Percy's sisters, Kismine, Unger discovers that other suitors have been put to sleep rather than allowed to return to the world with news of the valley. A similar fate (Kismet?) awaits him. A number of airmen who have overflowed the place are kept in prison there. The valley is destroyed when friends of the missing fliers come to bomb the place; patriarchal Braddock Washington gathers his family and retainers, retreats into the diamond mountain, and detonates it. John and Kismine witness the götterdammerung from the place whence they have fled.

Malcolm Cowley discerns within this story an earlier version of *Gatsby*. Certainly the appearance of the phrase, "platonic conception," alerts the reader to *Gatsby's* debt to "The Diamond" (Cowley, "Editor's Note" in Fitzgerald 1987: 3; "Platonic": Fitzgerald 1991: 77; "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" in Fitzgerald 1987: 11). Significantly, "Diamond's" "platonic conception" becomes realized in the luxury of a prison cell. Fitzgerald seems to be bending Plato's concept, since the cell is merely an opulent, rather than an ontologically essential, version of prison-ness. Made of diamonds, it seems "beyond human wish or dream" (Fitzgerald 1987: 12). *Gatsby's* "Platonic conception of himself," on the other hand, is a heightening, a vision of the highest possibilities for selfhood. That is, it is something like a balloon ascension. Yet as we have already seen, what comes up, must come down.

"Diamond's" disillusioned hero, John, first discovers the alienation and oppression that supports the Washington family's magic kingdom. Shortly afterward, he and his heartthrob Kismine escape its fall, only to discover their mutual emotional distance. Kismine, so jaded with diamonds as to have fled with a pocketful of zircons, babbles about supporting them as a laundress.

John predicts that their lifelong love will last a year, declares that youth is a form of “divine drunkenness,” and that diamonds and disillusion seem to be what the world is made of. He himself can make only “the usual nothing of it,” and falls asleep to escape consciousness for a few hours (Fitzgerald 1987: 37-38).

John T. Unger hungers for the dream of material enrichment—embodied in Kismine—that will give him lift—off from the Mississippi River town of Hades. Like another classic American traveller from a river town, John has seen behind the mask of “sivilization”. Unlike Huck Finn, John has no territory that he can light out for. Back to Hades he must go, to a balder version of the Midwest than *Gatsby* narrator, Nick Carraway’s, nostalgia-drenched “dark fields of the republic [that] rolled on under the night” (Fitzgerald 1991: 141).

As is often the case with fantasy narrative, details of the dystopia—the faery palace beside the diamond mountain, the imprisoned aviators, the enslaved blacks with their unintelligible patois—engage the reader’s attention more than does the hero’s psychological disposition. Yet, “Diamond” generates its narrative torque from the same forces that power *Gatsby*: the synergy formed by the simultaneity of wonder and ennui. In the later work, Fitzgerald discards fantasy as his source of wonder; the simple pleasures of the rich will instead lead his hero toward ruin.

A pattern has been set, however. “Diamond” relies upon the devices of fantasy to convey the enchantment to which his hero will succumb for a time. Fitzgerald parallels Baum in his use of fantasy, and both writers Americanize their enchanting material. These are not the gardens of Klingsor, but American spaces, literary forerunners of Henry Ford’s Greenfield Village and Disney’s Magic Kingdom, small-town America as fairyland. Its characters talk in American, rather than in formal English. Braddock Washington shows off his golf course; “all a green, you see—no fairway, no rough, no hazards” (Fitzgerald 1987: 20). The guardian of another sizeable green, the sentry at Oz’s palace, bids his visitors, “Please make yourselves comfortable while I go to the door of the Throne Room and tell Oz you are here” (Baum 1973: 203). Thus, the magical valley of “Diamond” has a road running through it, a particularly American one. Paved with “tapestry brick,” an up-market, textured brick patented in Fitzgerald’s time, the road surface here is no less emblematic of enchanted opulence than the yellow bricks of Baum’s road².

2. “Tapestry Brick’s” manufacturers (Boston’s Fiske and Company) described their product in terms appropriate to the Land of Oz: “It is impossible to describe or illustrate the color effects of this wonderful material. The delicate gradations of light and shade can be represented no more truthfully by printer’s ink than can the living fire itself on the glowing hearth” [*Tapestry Brick Fireplaces, a few examples* 1911, 5.] My thanks to Nancy Porteous of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library for putting this trade catalogue before me.

The Washingtons' palace, its "marble radiance half the height of an adjoining mountain," its "chiselled wonder of a thousand yellow windows," its "tallest" tower with "an arrangement of exterior lights" that "made a sort of floating fairyland" (Fitzgerald 1987, 11) recalls an Emerald City as big as the Ritz.

As they walked on, the green glow became brighter and brighter, and it seemed that at last they were nearing the end of their travels. Yet it was afternoon before they came to the great wall that surrounded the City. It was high, and thick, and of a bright green color (Baum 1973: 195).

Even as John Unger finds himself gazing up "in warm enchantment" (Fitzgerald 1987: 11) at the sound of violins that floats from the palace, a similar bedazzlement causes the Scarecrow to blink:

In front of them, and at the end of the road of yellow brick, was a big gate, all studded with emeralds that glittered so in the sun that even the painted eyes of the Scarecrow were dazzled by their brilliancy (Baum 1973: 195).

In his first configuration of the wondrously tawdry world that will later enchant his yearning hero, Fitzgerald relies upon a set of devices derived from the fantasy tradition that produced Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. In his own version of natural supernaturalism, Fitzgerald discards the fantasy rabbit. Yet he hangs on to the hat where he pulled it from. Colour imagery and characterization alike point to an Oz looming behind *Gatsby's* dazzling magnification.

II

Fitzgerald nearly chose a purely colourful title for *The Great Gatsby*: "Under the Red, White, and Blue." *Gatsby* uses the word "green" 17 times. Blue and yellow appear on 22 occasions. Gray, 17; silver, 11; gold, 18; red, 9; pink, 6. The gaudy palette of Mannerist painting limns a scene whose ultimate meaning recalls the technique of Impressionism: all is evanescent in *Gatsby*, everyone in it caught up in a dance to the music of colour. Synaesthesia allows Fitzgerald to follow Bach in composing a chromatic fantasy and fugue. Colour melds with music to replicate the first part of Bach's title: "The moon had risen higher, and floating in the Sound was a triangle of silver scales, trembling a little to the stiff, tinny drip of the banjos on the lawn" (Fitzgerald 1991: 39). The novel's concluding image—"boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past" (Fitzgerald 1991: 141)—underlines its fugal qualities. Everyone in the novel has been there and back again; shifts in time and colour serve only to underline the passing nature of every supposedly enduring

moment.

In the process of being and becoming, in those Prufrockian blue gardens where “men and women came and went like moths,” wash upon wash shifts recolours the ground against which the figures strut. Gatsby’s party guests are not the only objects in the novel that are “gaudy with primary colors” (Fitzgerald 1991: 33-34). Colour defines characters and their social station. Who does not recall Gatsby’s pink suit and yellow “circus wagon” of a car and Tom’s scorn for it? Colour, as in the passage about the tinny banjoes beside the silver Sound, defines a mood, a moment, at once enduring and ephemeral. Nick’s swooning response to this epiphany —“the scene had changed before my eyes into something significant, elemental, and profound” (Fitzgerald 1991: 39)— may be suspect in its intensity. Two “finger-bowls of champagne” precede the illumination; the very fact of its occurrence however, underlines the importance of those “blue gardens,” and “yellow bugs” that set the tone of Gatsby’s parties (Fitzgerald 1991: 33). At those affairs, the host plays a mysterious, evasive, almost neutral role himself. He is the provider of colour rather than a colourful figure. His dress on their first meeting eludes comment, with Nick remarking only on his tanned skin and short hair (Fitzgerald 1991: 41).

Gatsby comes most vividly into his own, however, when he charges with brightness his first, awkward re-encounter with Daisy. Trapped in his white suit (the same colour that Daisy first wears), unable to speak except in stilted formalities, he flings about his wares with the abandon of an Indian silk merchant, performing a pied, kinetic self-definition:

While we admired [the shirts] he brought more and more and the soft rich heap mounted higher--shirts with stripes and scrolls and plaids in coral and apple green and lavender and faint orange with monograms of Indian blue.

Daisy thrills to the colour of Gatsby’s statement, quickly fetishizing him into a rainbow-maker:

Suddenly with a strained sound Daisy bent her head into the shirts and began to cry stormily.
“They’re such beautiful shirts,” she sobbed, her voice muffled in the thick folds. “It makes me sad because I’ve never seen such--such beautiful shirts before”. (Fitzgerald 1991: 72-73).

Pink suits, yellow cars, blue shirts, and above all, green lights, contrast with white and gray. The whites of Daisy and Jordan’s dresses stand alongside the whiteness of Nick’s fantasized, pastoral New York that situates itself finally in the moral squalor of Myrtle Wilson’s white wedding-cake of an

apartment, the whiteness of Meyer Wolfsheim's cuff-links made of teeth, the racial construction of Tom Buchanan's whiteness, stoutly resisting the threat posed by the "Rise of the Coloured Empires" (Fitzgerald 1991: 25; 57; 14). This is the whiteness of Ishmael's whale, the terrifying absence of meaning to which the obsessive Ahab ascribes significance.

Colours, then, shape the texture of *Gatsby*. Equally significant in *Wizard*, they are best observed by considering the role played by green and gray in both novels. The fictional creature, Jay Gatsby, glowed figuratively through the efforts of Fitzgerald's imagination. The glow that Frank Baum proudly pointed out to his brother was a literal one, the result of W.W. Denslow's illustrations and the new technology that could produce *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* as a multi-coloured text. As William Leach points out in his definitive study, colour printing had a significance for Baum and his audience extending beyond any technological advance in the printing trade. Baum had not only worked as a designer and booster of retail window displays; he had theorized the subject, and produced the first magazine and a book on the subject. *The Art of Decorating Dry Goods Windows and Interiors* appeared the same year as the *Wizard*. A year earlier, as Michael Patrick Hearn points out, William M. Couran published "The Scientific Arrangement of Colors" in Baum's periodical, *The Show Window*. The map of Oz in fact follows the scheme put forward by Couran's theory (Hearn in Baum 1973: 114-15 n.5). Less theoretically, Denslow and Baum produced a volume whose bold appearance enthralled a reading audience already captured by the transformation that colour in advertising had already brought about in the marketplace. The author of the fabulously successful Frank Merriwell series, for example, attributed a portion of his series' successful debut in 1896 to its appearance within a colour cover. The new print technologies were enticing consumers to dream in colour, as it were. The development of national markets, the creation of the attitudes necessary to fuel a consumer economy, the supplanting of the work ethic by a hedonistic one: colour advertising embodied all those changes (Leach in Baum 1991: 3, 164-65; Patten 1964: 180). Advertising had made both familiar and welcome the appearance of colour in print. It was that new-found wonder that the Land of Oz conveyed. Self-actualization, we recall, is the message of *Wizard*, the message of the man with enough grit to push on until he rediscovers the inner strengths that have been there all along. Typographic and illustrated texts alike enshrine a message about American life that the endless replay of the canonized film version ritualizes. It is the message of the pleasure principle enthroned, but become a constitutional monarch. Dorothy triumphs in Oz, but eagerly returns home. Pleasure reigns, reality rules. Neither wars upon the other. Something is here for everyone, and Michael Lesy's *Wisconsin Death Trip* puts superbly that universal appeal: "They followed yellow brick roads to emerald cities presided over by imaginary

wizards who would permit them to live in happy adolescence for the rest of their lives" (Lesy 1973, unpaginated).

Gatsby "paid a high price for living too long with a single dream". That struggle between dream and actuality— "what a grotesque thing a rose is and raw the sunlight was upon the newly created grass" (Fitzgerald 1991: 126)— works itself out in the contrast between two colours, gray and green. The same colours underlie the spectrum of Wizard. Gray in *Gatsby* is the colour of the wraithlike George Wilson, who will later kill Gatsby in an act of misplaced, ultimately absurd vengeance. Chameleon-like, Wilson takes his coloration from the vast dump, the Valley of Ashes whose margins he dwells along. Green is the last colour flashing upon the reader's inward eye, the green of the light on Daisy's boat dock, the green thrilling the Dutch sailors upon their first sighting of Long Island. Shades of implication then link Gatsby's delusive dream of Daisy with the Euro-American construct of the wondrous New World. The Valley of Ashes, in the person of George Wilson, intrudes its grayness upon the verdant dream of Gatsby, an opposition that has driven the story from its beginning.

Baum's Wizard, we recall, made use of trick glasses to force others to envision his Emerald City. That delusional green that attracts both Gatsby and the Wizard, Baum first encountered during the 1893 depression that wiped him out as a dry-goods' storekeeper in North Dakota. Then he had heard tell of a desperate farmer who had put green goggles on a starving horse, hoping to convince him that a pile of wood shavings was in fact fodder (F.J. Baum 1961: 74). All the more reason for making Dorothy's "great Kansas prairies" the grayest place on earth. "Gray" appears four times in the fantasy's second paragraph, where it describes prairie, land, grass, and dwelling place (Baum 1973: 91-92). The green of the Emerald City conveys an almost orgasmic—or "orgastic," as Fitzgerald wrote it—release from this grayness of real life, and we have already noted the wonder that the first glimpse of it evokes³. Yet—and here the resemblance to *Gatsby* extends beyond a use of colour and into a thematic of it—the city that beckons with the promise of surcease from the grinding dullness of rural life is based upon an illusion. The author of that fraud flim-flams his marks into mistaking the green world for its duller counterpart. In so doing, this figure of greatness recalls Fitzgerald's.

3. I use "orgasmic" deliberately. Everyone now knows of Edmund Wilson's alteration of Fitzgerald's sexually explicit neologism, "orgastic" to the milder "orgiastic" at the end of *Gatsby* ["Textual Notes" Fitzgerald 1991: 154.] Something similar may have happened in *Wizard*. Baum's Introduction uses the word "pleasure" as a transitive verb: "to pleasure children of today." The 1944 reprinting changed the word to "please." [Baum 1973: 85-86 n.6] Was this the result of a discovery that in colloquial Southern American speech, the verb "to pleasure," connotes delighting one's partner during sex?

III

Both leading characters make spectacles of themselves, which explains why eyeglasses figure so prominently in both narratives. Those that the Wizard of Oz issues are tools of deception, forerunners of the gimmicky 3-D movie craze of the Fifties. Gatsby has his difficulties with vision, but they lie more in the figurative than in the organic line. When his oncoming death forces him to look up “at an unfamiliar sky through frightening leaves” and shiver as he finds out “what a grotesque thing a rose is and how raw the sunlight was,” he is seeing things in a new light, rather than seeing them for the first time. Like the man born blind whom Jesus heals, Gatsby passes through stages of recovering vision, moving in the power of his perception from trees to men, as he finally beholds his killer “gliding toward him through the amorphous trees” (*Mark*: 8, 22-26; Fitzgerald 1991: 126).

The figure whose vision not even glasses can help is a disembodied one, Dr. T. J. Eckleburg. “Wild wag of an oculist” set out his billboard advertising his wares overlooking a giant dump. Generations of readers, encountering this enormous icon of sightless, extinct observance, of “eternal blindness” that “brood[s] on over the solemn dumping ground,” have discerned here an emblem of a missing god. George Wilson does the same in the novel, but his friend, Michaelis, dismisses the figure as having no more significance than an advertisement (Fitzgerald 1991: 125). Wilson, we feel, seems the more alert reader. However we choose to read this version of a waste land, Fitzgerald’s first figuration of it reminds us of Baum’s monochrome Kansas. The gray scene first resembles “a fantastic *farm where ashes grow like wheat* into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens” (Fitzgerald 1991: 21; emphasis added).

Oz the Great and Terrible is a humbug; his green glasses glamorize the Emerald City. Eckleburg’s painted lenses image what Wallace Stevens called, a short time before the publication of *Gatsby*, the “Nothing that is not there and the nothing that is” (Stevens 1972: 54). None of the eyeglasses really work: neither Eckleburg’s nor the Wizard’s nor the desperate Dakota farmer’s. Their very function is to make us see, but not through any intrinsic power of their own. What they help us to “see,” that is, to understand, is our willingness to ascribe visionary power and significance to things that are bogus. Fitzgerald’s Nick Carraway provides us with another name for that willingness to discover visionary significance in objects incapable of generating it: “romantic readiness” (Fitzgerald 1991: 6). Examining the context in which that term occurs presents us with another set of affinities between *Gatsby* and the Wizard.

Both Oz himself and his subjects emphasize his ambivalent nature. “Is he a good man?” Dorothy asks an old Munchkin woman. Her reply sidesteps the question: “He is a good Wizard. Whether he is a man or not I cannot tell, for

I have never seen him” (Baum 1973: 107). This precedes Oz’s attempt at self-exculpation when Dorothy confronts him over his false promises:

‘I think you are a very bad man,’ said Dorothy.
‘Oh, no, my dear; I’m really a very good man; but I’m a very bad Wizard, I must admit’ (269).⁴

In the same way, Nick heavily qualifies his endorsement of Gatsby. The “Gatsby who represented everything for which I have an unaffected scorn” is invoked in the very paragraph praising his “romantic readiness.” Gatsby, who “turned out all right in the end,” nonetheless alienates Nick from his surroundings on account of the “foul dust [that] floated in the wake of [Gatsby’s] dreams” (Fitzgerald 1991: 5-6). The Gatsby whom Nick declares “worth the whole damn bunch put together” is also the launderer of forged bonds, the friend of fixer Meyer Wolfsheim (Fitzgerald 1991: 120). The ambiguity of Gatsby permeates the novel, compelling readers to recognize also the doubleness of Nick Carraway. Nick, who so strongly identifies with Gatsby, is himself not a man of his word. He is Jordan Baker’s “bad driver,” playing a double game with the girl back home (Fitzgerald 1991: 138, 19, 48). Could Nick be a bad man but a good narrator, and Gatsby a good man but a bad dreamer? Is Carraway a self-deceiver whose rhapsodic opinions on Gatsby deserve no greater credence than Gatsby’s versions of his own history? Gatsby pinpoints his middle-western origins in San Francisco (Fitzgerald 1991: 52)! Is Nick’s statement that he is himself “one of the few honest people that I have ever known” as valueless morally as Gatsby’s is geographically (Fitzgerald 1991: 48)? Is the novel a flawed but well-meaning narrator’s tribute to a flawed but naively compelling hero? Or is it instead one adolescent, hero-worshipping liar’s fantasy about another? Are we looking at self-examination or self-acquittal?

Assume that *Gatsby’s* readers seek a definite moral evaluation for the meaning of events there. Does the text pose the sort of questions that can elicit straight answers? We are, for the most part, content to respond with admiring ambivalence to the choices of interpretation that Gatsby lays before us. This recognition in turn bears an odd relevance to the less complex, but still problematic meaning of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

4. Baum enjoyed playing tricks. His frequent citation of spurious Biblical quotations disturbed his mother, and he expressed his delight at the possibilities for illusion that the film medium offered with the thought that “A camera can be made a fine liar.” [Baum 1973: 72 n.31, 54.] Similarly, the author cannot make up his mind about the reputation of his trickster Wizard. Hearn points out that at first, Oz’s former subjects “remembered him lovingly;” yet by the time of *The Marvelous Land of Oz* (1904), they have come to revile him [Baum 1973: 288 n.7].

The first of these problems, an inconsistency of outlook that is never resolved in the story, leads on to the second, which is that of a rewriting of the text that irons out the earlier inconsistency at the expense of imaginative power. The reader must take on faith Dorothy's burning wish to leave Oz and return to her gray, threadbare existence with Aunt Em. Dorothy never explains exactly why she is "so glad to be at home again!" (Baum 1973: 341). Assume that we find convincing Dorothy's rejoicing. Why? What can be attractive about the gray, hard-scrabble Kansas and the dour couple who parent her? Our own nostalgia about family life, some set of convictions that we bring to our reading, can alone ease us into accepting that ending. Nick's final threnody on his Midwest and the promise of those dark fields of the republic: does that replicate a similar illogic?

More to the point about our ambivalent response to the two texts is the question raised by the 1939 rewriting of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, when the adjective was dropped from the title. The MGM film remains now the way in which most people experience the story. There the book's fantastic elements are eliminated by the dream framework. Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz* awakes from the dream that she experienced after being knocked unconscious by the tornado to find in Miss Gulch, the farm hands, and the snake-oil salesman the real-life models for her fantastic companions in Oz. The final lines of the screenplay go beyond Baum's text in emphasizing the home-sweet-home theme; the fact that it has all been a dream indicates that Dorothy never really escaped from black-and-white Kansas into the colour of Oz. Rather than challenging the dullness of the unimagined life, the sojourn in Oz has only confirmed "reality's" essential wholesomeness, desirability, and comfort. As Douglas Street puts it, "an adventure fantasy for children has metamorphosed into a complex dream escape for adults" (Street 1984: 91-98). Strangely enough, this re-writing of Baum does not originate with the many writers who played their patchwork role in coming up with the final film script⁵. The critical apparatus attached to a laser disk print of the film presents a clip from an animated cartoon version of the story. Produced in 1933, the 'toon foreshadows the 1939 film in stressing the hallucinatory, rather than the fantastic nature of Dorothy's time in Oz. Lacking the elaborateness of the framing device used in the film, the cartoon's simple, it's-all-a-dream device underlines just how seriously Hollywood took the task of imposing a "safe" interpretation upon Baum's text, one that affirms the pleasure principle's subordination to reality. Long before the Hollywood studio system at its peak

5. Harnetz's *The Making of the Wizard of Oz* reviews the making of the screenplay, though even her thoroughness fails to include all claimants (Harnetz 1989: 25-61). The lyricist E.Y. Harburg, for example, has asserted that he sneaked liberal sentiments into the script despite the watchfulness of studio executives [Francis MacDonnell 1990: 71-75].

decided to tame that text, its subversive implications had been recognized and rooted out (Esburgh 1933). *Gatsby's* ambiguities of characterization and narration, as we have seen, induce an ambivalent response to Fitzgerald's tale. The earlier and late movie rewritings of *Wizard* demonstrate how sensitive Hollywood was to Baum's imaginative message, and how diligently it sought to impose univocality upon a story that continues to attract variant critical readings.⁶

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz presents Fitzgerald with images and motifs that compose targets for his satiric questioning of that fantasy's message. Baum's instant classic offered the very stuff of the myth of self-creation and self-actualization that *The Great Gatsby* appears to scorn. I stress "appears," because the ambivalence of Nick's attitude toward Gatsby, as well as the unresolvable question of the extent of the author's agreement with his narrative persona, deny us any simple estimation of that novel's meaning. Perhaps the same is true of the celebration of the fantastic that lurks at the heart of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

IV

Her first visit to Oz's palace finds Dorothy browsing in the library there. A "row of little green books" catches her attention. They are "full of queer green pictures that made her laugh" (Baum 1973: 204). Michael Patrick Hearn observes in a note on this passage that one of these texts could easily be the one in which Dorothy is presently appearing (204 n.8). Suppose that Baum has written Dorothy into her own book, and even proleptically into the series of Oz books that would follow, both from himself and from others. Perhaps even *The Great Gatsby* is one of those texts. The answer however, to that question of just how far that little green bookshelf stretches lies somewhere over the rainbow.

⁶ Contemporary readings of *Wizard* oscillate between locating a Populist message there, to uncovering instead a self-actualization mentality that denies Populism's social radicalism: Littlefield 1964; Erisman 1968; Leach 1991: 1-34. I subscribe to the latter viewpoint.

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THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS INTERFACE OF PRESENT-DAY AND OLD ENGLISH SPEECH VERBS: SAY AND TELL VERSUS SECGAN AND TELLAN

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The aim of this paper is to analyse the syntax-semantics interface of the Old English speech verbs secgan and tellan, and the Present-day English speech verbs say and tell, respectively, in order to show the differences in each language when linking their syntactic and semantic representations. In this analysis the concept of lexical template has been applied as a lexical representation which includes syntactic and semantic information within the same format and allows us to capture linguistic regularities. Moreover, taking into account the syntactic alternations of these verbs a comparison between them will be established in terms of the degree of semantic prototypicality that they show within their respective domains and with respect to their transitivity.

1 INTRODUCTION: THE FUNCTIONAL-LEXEMATIC MODEL

The aim of this paper is to analyse the syntax-semantics interface of the Old English (OE) speech verbs secgan and tellan, and the Present-day English (PDE) speech verbs say and tell, in order to show the differences in their syntactic behaviour. These differences will be the result of applying the lexical rules which provide the linking algorithm between the syntactic and semantic representations in each language. In order to capture the syntax-semantics interface, lexical templates have been integrated within the functional-lexematic approach.

The Functional-Lexematic Model (FLM), developed by Martín Mingorance (1998) and inspired by the principle of Stepwise Lexical Decomposition (Dik 1978), is devised for the purpose of supplying the Functional Grammar (FG) lexicon with the onomasiological classification of lexemes within domains and

subdomains, as a way of reflecting the organisation of our mental lexicon and demonstrating the close relationship between syntax and semantics (Martín Mingorance 1998; Faber and Mairal Usón 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1999).

According to the paradigmatic axis of the FLM based on the principles of Lexematics (Coseriu 1978, 1981), the criteria to integrate a given lexeme in a (sub-)domain are based on its lexical decomposition, in such a way that the definition of the lexeme must contain a nuclear word or genus, shared by the group of lexemes that integrate that (sub-)domain, and a set of differentiating features or *differentiae specifica*e, which establish functional oppositions between the lexemes of the (sub-)domain. Faber and Mairal Usón (1999: 87) propose the Principle of Lexical Domain Membership, which says, "lexical domain membership is determined by the genus, which constitutes the nucleus of the meaning of a lexeme".

The hierarchical organisation of the lexicon within (sub-)domains allows linguistic regularities to be captured, such as the repetition of similar complementation patterns for the lexical units within the same (sub-)domain, due to the fact that the syntactic behaviour of predicates seems to be motivated by the (sub-)domain in which they are integrated (cf. section 3).

2 THE CONCEPT OF LEXICAL TEMPLATE WITHIN THE FUNCTIONAL-LEXEMATIC MODEL

The syntagmatic axis of the FLM was initially based on the FG notion of predicate frame, together with the contributions made to the analysis of verbal complementation by Mairal Usón (1993) and Faber and Mairal Usón (1999). Nevertheless, Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón (forthcoming), Cortés Rodríguez and Pérez Quintero (2001), Faber and Mairal Usón (2000), and Mairal Usón and Van Valin (2001) have brought to light the inadequacy of predicate frames to reflect the interaction between the semantic and syntactic behaviour of predicates.

In FG, each lexical entry is represented in the lexicon in the form of a predicate frame, which provides the combinatory possibilities for a predicate. In addition, each lexical entry is associated with a meaning definition following the postulates of Stepwise Lexical Decomposition. Nevertheless, a crucial weakness of this representational system is that there is no explanation on how the syntactic behaviour and the semantic representation of predicates interact.

Accordingly, the authors mentioned above suggest the enrichment of FG predicate frames by applying Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) logical structures along with the notion of semantic macroroles instead of the FG inventory of semantic functions, the result being a procedure of lexical representation where meaning description is encapsulated and interacts with

the syntactic behaviour of lexical units. These contributions will become the basis of lexical templates.

Lexical templates are designed as a way of including semantic and syntactic information within the same format, reflecting generalisations across lexical classes and reducing the information to be included in lexical entries. Moreover, given the fact that (sub-)domains are considered repositories of linguistic regularities, they propose that each (sub-)domain will be characterised by a lexical template from which syntactic alternations will be predicted.

In order to construct a lexical template, the logical structures developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) will be complemented by the semantic component of the FLM, since logical structures lack the semantic information characteristic of the different lexical (sub-)domains. Accordingly, Faber and Mairal Usón (2000: 7) describe lexical templates in the following way: Lexical templates conflate both syntactic information (those aspects of the meaning of a word which are grammatically relevant) and semantic information (those aspects which act as distinctive parameters within a whole lexical class) into one unified representation.

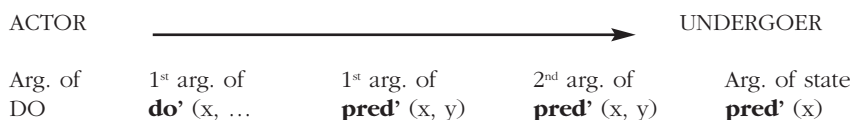
Within RRG, four classes of verbal predicates are distinguished: states [+static] [-telic] [-punctual], activities [-static] [-telic] [-punctual], achievements [-static] [+telic] [+punctual], and accomplishments (and active accomplishments) [-static] [+telic] [-punctual], together with their causative counterparts. This classification of verbal predicates attending to their Aktionsart will allow for the capture of syntactic phenomena, such as the combinatory possibilities of predicates, and morphological phenomena, such as transitivity and case assignment, characteristic of the different verbal classes.

These are the lexical representations corresponding to the verbal classes mentioned above (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 109):

Verb class	Logical structure
<i>State</i>	predicate' (x) or (x,y)
<i>Activity</i>	do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])
<i>Achievement</i>	INGR predicate' (x) or (x,y), or INGR do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])
<i>Accomplishment</i>	BECOME predicate' (x) or (x,y), or BECOME do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])
<i>Active accomplishment</i>	do' (x, [predicate ₁ ' (x, (y))]) & BECOME predicate ₂ ' (z,x) or (y)
<i>Causative</i>	α CAUSES β where α, β are LS of any type

Table 1. Lexical representations for Aktionsart classes

In order to attain the argument structure of a verb, it is necessary to determine firstly its Aktionsart, from which its logical structure will be created and along with it its argument structure. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 139) propose two general semantic relations, the Actor (A) and Undergoer (U) macroroles, which are generalizations across the argument-types found with particular verbs which have significant grammatical consequences. Thus, as Figure 1 shows, the Actor macrorole comprises those arguments whose nature is closer to that of an Agent and the Undergoer subsumes those arguments closer to a Patient:



[‘→’ = increasing markedness of realization of argument as macrorole]

Figure 1. The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy

Macroroles will be assigned to core arguments, that is, those arguments with no morphological marking (PDE) or marked by the grammatical case (OE), and not to oblique arguments, which are marked by a preposition. With respect to the criteria that determine the interaction between arguments and macroroles, these authors propose the following Default Macrorole Assignment Principles (1997: 152-153):

- a. Number: the number of macroroles a verb takes is less than or equal to the number of arguments in its logical structure,
 1. If a verb has two or more arguments in its LS, it will take two macroroles.
 2. If a verb has one argument in its LS, it will take one macrorole.
- b. Nature: for verbs which take one macrorole,
 2. If the verb has an activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is actor.
 3. If the verb has no activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is undergoer.

In RRG, transitivity becomes a semantic notion since the number of semantic macroroles a predicate takes determines it: those verbs that take one macrorole are intransitive verbs, whereas those with two macroroles are transitive. Verbs which do not take any macrorole are considered atransitive. Moreover, Case assignment rules (for accusative languages) are also related to the assignment of macroroles (1997: 359):

- a. Assign nominative case to the highest-ranking macrorole argument.
- b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument.
- c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default).

Therefore, taking into account the Default Macrorole Assignment Principles and the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, the information to be included in the lexical representations will be reduced. Firstly, syntactic information is derived from the semantic notion of transitivity being based on the Default Macrorole Assignment Principles. Secondly, it is not necessary to specify the macroroles assigned to the arguments of the verbs since the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy provides this information.

3. THE SYNTAX-SEMANTICS INTERFACE OF SAY/SECGAN AND TELL/TELLAN

In this section the analysis of the syntax-semantics interface of the speech verbs say/secgan and tell/tellan will be compared in order to show the differences in their syntactic and semantic behaviour. In order to obtain the syntactic contexts in which these lexemes appear, the OE verbs secgan and tellan will be located in The Dictionary of Old English Corpus¹ and the results will be compared with the information in Bosworth and Toller (1973) and Toller and Campbell (1972). For the PDE verbs say and tell, the syntactic alternations included in Levin (1993) and Mairal Usón (1993) will be considered.

Following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 116-118), the template corresponding to say/secgan is presented below:

do' (x, [**express**.(α).to.(β).**in.language**.(γ)' (x, y)] & [**BECOME aware.of** (y, z)],
where $y = \beta$, $z = \alpha$)

This template contains the logical structure of an accomplishment, where a speaker (x) says something (α) to a hearer (β) and then the latter becomes aware of it. It shows three internal variables α , β , γ (marked by Greek letters) making reference to the content of the expression, to the addressee and to the language used, respectively, and three external variables x, z, y, where x will make reference to the speaker, z to α or the content of the expression, and y to β or the hearer.

Internal variables differ from external variables because the latter correspond to external argument positions with a syntactic representation, whereas the former belong to the semantic representation of speech verbs,

1. *The Dictionary of Old English* electronic corpus is a complete record of surviving OE except for some variant manuscripts of individual texts. There are 3037 text in the corpus including poetry, prose, interlinear glosses, glossaries, runic inscriptions and inscriptions in the Latin alphabet.

that is, they function as ontological constants of this verbal class and their introduction will allow for the addition of a semantic decomposition to the logical structure giving rise to the lexical template for this lexical domain.

Within the speech domain the alternation activity-accomplishment can take place, depending on the context in which these verbs appear. The semantic feature differentiating their Aktionsart is the telicity of the latter, which will activate a transitive structure, in opposition to the intransitive use of activity verbs. Therefore, syntactic alternations will correlate with different realisations of internal variables as external ones. The logical structure corresponding to speech activity verbs is presented below:

do' (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, y)])

Faber and Mairal Usón (2000: 28) suggest the process that governs the mapping between a lexical template and the different syntactic structures within a lexical class. The Lexical Template Modeling Process says that "lexical templates can be modeled by suppressing external variables, instantiating internal variables, eliminating operators (e.g. CAUSE), or else, by introducing elements resulting from the fusion with other templates". Thus, "all of the alternations involve reductions from the maximal LS underlying the class". In this case, the maximal lexical template for say/secgan corresponds to an accomplishment and from this one, following a reduction process, the alternation activity will be derived.

The lexical template corresponding to tell/tellan contains the logical structure of a causative accomplishment where a speaker (x) says something (α) to a hearer (β) causing him to become aware of it. It also shows three internal variables α , β , γ and three external variables x, z, y, where x will make reference to the speaker, z to α or the content of the expression, and y to β or the hearer:

do' (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME
aware.of' (y, z)], where y = β , z = α

Applying the Lexical Template Modeling Process, the maximal template for tell/tellan corresponds to a causative accomplishment and from this one the alternation activity can be derived. As section 2 shows, logical structures are universal but the lexical rules that provide the linking algorithm between the syntactic and semantic representation of these verbs can differ in each language. Therefore, say/secgan and tell/tellan share the same logical structure, accomplishment in the case of say/secgan and causative accomplishment in the case of tell/tellan, but there are some differences when linking their syntactic and semantic representations, as it will be explained below.

3.1. SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF SAY/SECGAN

(1) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, y)]) & [BECOME **aware.of** (y, z)], where $y = \beta$, $z = \alpha$

1.1 **Say:** x (A), z [Sentential coordination], y (oblique core arg)

She kept saying to me, "Don't forget, will you?"

Secgan: x (Nom-A), z [Sentential coordination], y (oblique core arg)

*and hu miht ðu secgan to ðinum bræder ðus: geðafa, min broðor,
ðæt ic ðæt mot ateo of ðinum eagan nu*

'And how you might say to your brother thus: "Admit, my brother, that I remove now that mote of this eye"'

1.2 **Say:** x (A), z [Core coordination], y (oblique core arg)

She said for me to leave early.

Secgan: _____

1.3 **Say:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination-U], y (oblique core argument)

Ellen said to Helen that melons were selling well.

Secgan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U], y (Dat)

*ne mihte he (...) him openlice secgan ðæt his eawfæste wif on
ðære wodnyse lœg*

'He might not say to him openly that his wife fell in madness'

1.4 **Say:** _____

Secgan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U], y (Dat)

*ac we wyllað eow secgan nu ærest hu he com to ðære byrig
hierusalem*

'But we will say to you now how he came to Jerusalem'

1.5 **Say:** x (A), z (U), y (oblique core argument)

Ellen said something/a few words to Helen.

Secgan: x (Nom-A), z (Acc-U), y (Dat)

*Se mæssepreost sceal secgan sunnandagum and mæssedagum
ðæs godspelles angyt on englisc ðam folce*

'The masspriest will say to people on Sundays and massdays the meaning of the gospel in English'

(2) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, \emptyset)] & [BECOME **aware.of** (\emptyset , z)], where $\emptyset = \beta$, $z = \alpha$

- 2.1. **Say:** x (A), z [Sentential coordination]
 “Please, come in,” she said.
Secgan: x (Nom-A), z [Sentential coordination]
 Apollonius sæde: Forðam ðe ic bæd his dohtor me to gemœccan
 ‘Apollonius said: “Therefore I commanded his daughter to
 cohabit with me”’
- 2.2. **Say:** x (A), z [Core coordination]
 She said to meet here at the station.
Secgan: _____
- 2.3. **Say:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination-U]
 Ellen said that the melons were selling well.
Secgan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U]
 swa we œr gehyrdon secgan ðæt se eadiga Simeon wæs soðfœst
 & clœne & godfyrht on his life
 ‘So we heard to say that the blessed Simeon was honest and clean
 and godfearing in his life’
- 2.4. **Say:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination-U]
 Did she say how she got here?
Secgan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U]
 Ic wylle secgan, hwœt hi ealle habbað ‘I will say what they all
 have’
- 2.5. **Say:** x (A), z (U)
 I didn’t say anything.
Secgan: x (Nom-A), z (Acc-U)
 Hyrde ic secgan (...) ðæt word ‘I heard to say that word’
- (3) **do’** (x, [express.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)’ (x, y)]) ^ [about’ (z)],
 where α = [about’(z)]
- Say:** _____
Secgan: x (Nom-A), [be/embe + Dat PP], y (Dat)
 Gyt we wyllað eow secgan be sumon gesœligon cyninge
 ‘Yet we will talk to you about some prosperous king’
- (4) **do’** (x, [express.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)’ (x, Ø)]) ^ [about’(y)],
 where α = [about’(y)]
- Say:** * Ellen said about the present conditions.
Secgan: x (Nom-A), [be/embe/fram + Dat PP]
 ða ongan se Hœlynd secgan be Iohanne
 ‘Then God began to talk about John’

(5) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, y)])

Say: *Ellen said to Helen.

Secgan: x (Nom-A), y (Dat)

ac we wyllað eow secgan 'But we will talk to you'

(6) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, \emptyset)])

Say: _____

Secgan: x (Nom-A)

swa se Hœlend sœde œr his ðrowunge

'Such as God said before his passion'

Say and secgan are considered accomplishments where the three external variables x, y, z can be syntactically realised (1), or where only the external variables x and z have a syntactic realisation (2). According to the Default Macrorole Assignment Principles and the Case assignment rules, the variable x takes the macrorole Actor and in OE Nominative case, the variable z takes the macrorole Undergoer and in OE Accusative case, except when this variable is realised by a sentential coordination, a core coordination or a clausal subordination², and the variable y when linked to β corresponds to a non-macrorole direct core argument, which in OE is assigned Dative case.

Applying the Lexical Template Modeling Process, activities can be derived from the accomplishment template. Activities, which only occur with secgan, are described as follows:

- activities where one of the arguments is realised by a prepositional phrase (3, 4): the variable x is the Actor and takes Nominative case and the variable y when linked to β is assigned Dative case
- activities where x and y are syntactically realised (5): x is the Actor and takes Nominative case and the variable y takes Dative case
- activities where only x has a syntactic realisation (6): x is the Actor and takes Nominative case

2. For a detailed description of complex structures, see Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: Chapter 8). According to these authors, the difference between subordinate and non-subordinate junctures lies in the fact that only the former function as arguments of the main verb, since they may be clefted and occur as privileged syntactic arguments in a passive construction, taking therefore the macrorole *Undergoer* (1997: 461-462).

3.2. SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF TELL/TELLAN

(1) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of** (y, z)], where $y = \beta$, $z = \alpha$

1.1 **Tell:** x (A), z [Sentential coordination], y (U)

Ellen told me, "Leave the room".

*Ellen told to me, "Leave the room".

Tellan: _____

1.2 **Tell:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination], y (U)

Ellen told Helen that the party would be tonight.

*Ellen told to Helen that the party would be tonight.

Tellan: _____

1.3 **Tell:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination], y (U)

Ellen told Helen how to avoid the crowd.

*Ellen told to Helen how to avoid the crowd.

Tellan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U], y (Dat)

*ðæt heo oðrum telle ðæt ham, hwæt heo butan mynstre geseah
odðe gehyrde*

'That she tells to others at home what she saw or heard outside
the monastery'

1.4 **Tell:** x (A), z [Core coordination], y (U)

Ellen told Helen to come.

*Ellen told to Helen to come.

Tellan: _____

1.5 **Tell:** x (A), z (U), y (oblique core argument) *Dative alternation*

Ellen told a story to Helen

x (A), z (non-MR direct core argument), y (U)

Ellen told Helen a story

Tellan: x (Nom-A), z (Acc-U), y (Dat)

tealdon him ða ðrowunga 'They told him the sufferings'

(2) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, \emptyset)])

CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of**(\emptyset , z)], where $\emptyset = \beta$, $z = \alpha$

2.1. **Tell:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination-U]

*Ellen told that the party would be tonight.

You can tell he's joking. (CC)

Tellan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U]

ah hie tealdon ðætte Israhela rice sceolde ða sona æfter Cristes
ðrowunga beon her on eorðan mycel & lang & gebletsod
weorðan

‘But they said that Israel reign should be soon after Christ’s
passion here on earth great and long and become blessed’

2.2. **Tell:** x (A), z [Clausal subordination-U]

*Ellen told how to avoid the crowd.

It was already impossible to tell where the bullet had entered.
(CC)

Tellan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U]

hi tealdon hu heom gelumpon wæs ‘They said how it happened
to them’

2.3. **Tell:** *Ellen told to come.

Tellan: _____

2.4. **Tell:** x (A), z (U)

Ellen told a story.

Tellan: x (Nom-A), z (Acc-U),

tealde his godan dœda swilce god hi nyste

‘He told his good deeds as if God didn’t know them’

(3) **do’** (x, [express.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)’ (x, y)])

CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of**’ (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α

Tell: x (A), y (U)

Ellen told Helen. (elliptical)

*Ellen told to Helen.

Tellan: x (Nom-A), y (Acc-U)

forðon ðu tellest hine ‘Because you tell him’

(4) **do’** (x, [express.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)’ (x, y)]) ^ [about’ (z)],
where α = [about’(z)]

Tell: x (A), y (non-MR direct core argument), [about (z)]

Ellen told Helen about the situation.

Tellan: x (Nom-A), [be + Dat PP], y (Dat)

Se ealdorman (...) tealde him be endebyrðnysse ‘The ruler told
them about the rule’

- (5) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, \emptyset)] \wedge [**about'** (y)],
where α = [**about'**(y)]

Tell: _____

Tellan: x (Nom-A), [fram + Dat PP]

ðeah ðu nu telle from ðises middangeardes fruman

'However now you talk about the beginning of this world'

- (6) **do'** (x, [**express.**(α).**to.**(β).**in.language.**(γ)' (x, \emptyset)]

Tell: _____

Tellan: x (Nom-A)

ða ungewiderunge ðe comon swa we beforan tealdon

'The bad weather came as we said'

Tell and tellan are causative accomplishments where the three external variables x, y, z can be syntactically realised (1). There are some differences in the syntax-semantics linking of these verbs, particularly in the assignment of the macrorole Undergoer. Tellan always assigns to the variable z the macrorole Undergoer, whereas tell assigns this macrorole to the variable y, except for the case of Dative alternation, where both the variable y (Ellen told Helen a story) or the variable z (Ellen told a story to Helen) can be Undergoer. That is the reason why tell does not allow the assignment of the preposition to to the variable y, since this preposition can only be assigned to a non-macrorole argument (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 377). The same occurs in (3).

Causative accomplishments can also be found where only the external variables x and z (2) or x and y (3) have a syntactic realisation. According to the Default Macrorole Assignment Principles and the Case assignment rules, the variable x takes the macrorole Actor and in OE Nominative case. In (2) the variable z takes the macrorole Undergoer and in OE Accusative case, except when this variable is realised by a clausal subordination, whereas in (3) it is the variable y which takes the macrorole Undergoer and in OE Accusative case.

Applying the Lexical Template Modeling Process, from the causative accomplishment template activities can be derived with one of the arguments being realised by a prepositional phrase, or with x as Actor and y as a non-macrorole direct core argument taking in OE Dative case (4, 5), or in the case of tellan, with only x having a syntactic realisation, being the Actor and taking Nominative case (6).

As the following two sections show, the syntactic behaviour of these lexemes will provide information about the degree of transitivity that they present as well as about the semantic coverage of these lexemes within their respective domains.

4. DEGREE OF PROTOTYPICALITY OF TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Following Givón (1984) and Taylor (1995), the syntactic alternations above will be arranged according to the degree of prototypicality of the transitive construction, that is, from more central members to more marginal ones. Taylor (1995: 177), dealing with syntactic constructions as prototype categories, argues the following:

Possibility of occurrence in a construction is more a matter of gradience, some items being readily available, others being totally excluded, with, in between, a range of items whose use is dubious or sporadic. As a consequence, constructions (...) also need to be regarded as prototype categories, with some instantiations counting as better examples of the construction than others.

Accordingly, the syntactic alternations in sections 3.1 y 3.2 have been arranged as follows:

<i>Syntactic alternations</i>	SAY	SECGAN	TELL	TELLAN
x, z	x	x	x	x
x, z [Clausal subordination]	x	x	x	x
x, z [Core coordination]	x			
x, z [Sentential coordination]	x	x		
x, y, z	x	x	x	x
x, y, z [Clausal subordination]	x	x	x	x
x, y, z [Core coordination]	x		x	
x, y, z [Sentential coordination]	x	x	x	
x, y [y-U]			x	x
x, y, [about + z]		x	x	x
x, [about +y]		x		x
x, y		x		
x		x		x

Table 2. Degree of prototypicality of the transitive constructions of say/secgan and tell/tellan

Firstly, this table shows that the most prototypical example of the transitive construction is that where there are two arguments with a specific reference (x, z). The following alternations with the variable z being syntactically realised by a clausal subordination, a core coordination or a sentential coordination would illustrate some kind of deviation from the prototypical construction.

The different realisations of the variable z have also been arranged following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997)'s proposal about the degree of integration of arguments within the main clause. According to these authors, subordinate arguments present a stronger link with the main core than coordinate arguments.

Secondly, more marginal members of this construction are the alternations with three arguments (x, y, z) where the recipient (y) can sometimes function as Undergoer, as the Dative alternation with tell showed. With the alternation x, y [U] without mention of the patient (z) "we are approaching the outer limits of the transitive construction" (Taylor 1995: 213).

And thirdly, the last four cases designating activities are separated from the previous ones, because they would correspond to the less-prototypical transitive construction (cf. Martín Arista and Caballero González: forthcoming). Therefore, according to the degree of prototypicality of the transitive construction, say and tell can be said to be more transitive than *secgan* and *tellan*.

However, the situation would be rather different if we compared *speak/sprecan*, since as the following alternations show *sprecan* presents more transitive alternations than *speak*, or what is the same, *speak* would be more intransitive than *sprecan*:

- (1) **do'** (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)' (x, y)]) &
[BECOME **aware.of** (y, z)], where y = β , z = α

Speak: _____

Sprecan: x (Nom-A), z (Acc-U), y (oblique core arg)
he wile symle to his nehstan sprecan *ða* word
'He will ever tell stories to his neighbour'

- (2) **do'** (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)' (x, \emptyset)] &
[BECOME **aware.of** (\emptyset , z)], where \emptyset = β , z = α

2.1. **Speak:** x (A), z (U)

I spoke these words.

Sprecan: x (Nom-A), z (Acc-U)

Ic (...) ne mœg word sprecan 'I may not say a word'

2.2. **Speak:** *Ellen talked (to Helen) that the party was tomorrow.

Sprecan: x (Nom-A), z [Clausal subordination-U]

Hie spræcon, ðæt hit betere wære (B&T) ‘They said that it was better’

2.3. **Speak:** _____

Sprecan: x (Nom-A), z [Sentential coordination]

Hi sare sprecað: Hwa gesyhð usic? (B&T)

‘They speak with affliction: “Who knows us?”’

(3) **do’** (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)’ (x, y)]) ^ [**about’** (z)],
where α = [**about’**(z)]

Speak: She spoke to Helen about him.

Sprecan: _____

(4) **do’** (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)’ (x, Ø)]) ^ [**about’**(y)],
where ð = [**about’**(y)]

Speak: x (A), [about’(y)]

She spoke about him.

Sprecan: x (Nom-A), [be/ymbe/embe + Dat PP]

forðan ðe hi gehyrdon hine be ðam cyrclicum maðmum sprecað

‘Because they heard him talk about ecclesiastical treasures’

(5) **do’** (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)’ (x, y)])

Speak: x (A), y (oblique core arg)

Ellen spoke to Helen.

Sprecan: x (Nom-A), y (oblique core arg)

ne mihte he him to sprecað ‘He might not talk to him’

(6) **do’** (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)’ (x, Ø)])

Speak: x (A)

Ellen spoke.

Sprecan: x (Nom-A)

swilce hi wislice sprecað

‘Such as they wisely speak’

Syntactic alternations	SPEAK	SPRECAN
x, z	x	x
x, z [Clausal subordination]		x
x, z [Sentential coordination]		x
x, y, z		x
x, y, [about + z]	x	
x, [about +y]	x	x
x, y	x	x
x	x	x

Table 3. Degree of prototypicality of the transitive constructions of speak/sprecan

5. THE LEXICAL ICONICITY PRINCIPLE (BETA READING)

The Lexical Iconicity Principle (Beta Reading), developed by Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón (forthcoming), stems from the Lexical Iconicity Principle proposed by Faber and Mairal Usón (1997a: 138). This principle states that the greater the syntactic coverage of a lexical unit, the higher its position in the semantic hierarchy within a given subdomain. Thus, taking into account the syntactic information included in Table 2, *secan* and *tellan* present a greater semantic coverage than their PDE counterparts, that is, the latter have lost semantic space within the domain of speech with respect to the OE verbs.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Within the FLM framework for lexical analysis the notion of lexical template has been integrated as a way of representing the interaction between syntax and semantics. FLM templates enrich the logical structures as developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) with a semantic decomposition which captures generalisations within verbal classes, reducing the information to be included in the lexical entries.

Therefore, each domain is characterised by a lexical template, from which the syntactic behaviour and alternations of the lexemes that integrate them will be derived. In the case of *say/secan* and *tell/tellan*, they share a template

containing an accomplishment or causative accomplishment from where different syntactic alternations will be derived depending on the linking rules for each language.

Finally, according to the degree of prototypicality of the transitive construction, the syntactic alternations of these lexemes show the evolution of the PDE verbs *say* and *tell* in relation to their OE counterparts, with the former becoming more transitive than the latter. This evolution, on the other hand, has also meant a restriction in the semantic coverage of the PDE verbs within the domain of speech.

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LINGUISTICS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT. This paper looks at some of the underlying reasons which might explain the uncertainty surrounding applied linguistics as an academic enquiry. The opening section traces the emergence of the field through its professional associations and publications and identifies second and foreign language (L2) teaching as its primary activity. The succeeding section examines the extent to which L2 pedagogy, as a branch of applied linguistics, is conceived within a theoretical linguistic framework and how this might have changed during a historical period that gave rise to Chomskyan linguistics and the notion of communicative competence. The concluding remarks offer explanations to account for the persistence of linguistic parameters to define applied linguistics.

1. INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most difficult challenge facing the discipline of applied linguistics at the start of the new millennium is to define the ground on which it plies its trade. The field is not infrequently criticised and derided by the parent science, linguistics, which claims authority over academic terrain that applied linguists consider their own. It should be said, however, that applied linguists themselves seem to attract such adversity because of the lack of consensus within their own ranks about what it is they are actually engaged in. The elusiveness of a definition that might string together an academic domain of such wide-ranging diversity, which appears to be in a perennial state of expansion, makes definitions unsafe, not to say time-bound, and in this sense Widdowson's (2000a: 3) likening of the field to "the Holy Roman Empire: a kind of convenient nominal fiction" is uncomfortably close to the

truth. Indeed, a geographical metaphor which alludes to the merging together of the numerous scattered principalities of modern-day Germany both freeze-frames a discipline in the early stages of its development and embraces the paradox of an enquiry that extends out in all directions without leaving behind the sort of trace that might serve to delimit its investigative boundaries.

There is a sense of inevitability about this state of affairs in that, like all applied sciences, applied linguistics “begins from local and quite practical problems” (Candlin 1988: vii) so that the point of reference is continually changing. If one accepts the notion that practice precedes theory in applied linguistics –and thus by extension determines theory– then one may also appreciate how context, as defined by time and locality, is likely to describe an academic discipline which is characterised by its very dynamism. “Uncertainty”, as Widdowson (2000a: 3) suggests, may be one of the reasons why “applied linguistics has flourished” but the central issue at stake in defining the field would seem to be more closely connected with “directionality” (Widdowson 1980: 169). The practice-before-theory paradigm might, for many applied linguists, describe the central plank upon which the discipline is built although the antithesis of this approach, theory-before-practice, has just as often been used to solve applied linguistic problems (de Beaugrande 1997: 310).

This paper attempts to shed some light on why the field of applied linguistics continues to generate doubt and misgiving as an academic enquiry. The first part looks at the emergence of the discipline through the formation of its associations and publications and identifies the practical area of second and foreign language (L2) teaching as being the principal focus of research activity in the field. The second part examines how theoretical linguistics has come to form a point of departure in defining L2 pedagogy¹ and the extent to which this might have changed specifically with the advent of Chomskyan theory and the subsequent development of the notion of *communicative competence*.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF A DISCIPLINE

The development of applied linguistics as an academic enquiry can be traced back to the middle of the last century with the emergence of a number of research institutions and university departments. Examples of these include

1. The enormous impact of other academic disciplines on L2 pedagogy, notably second language acquisition (SLA), is fully acknowledged. Nevertheless, the complexity of the field of SLA might be dealt with more profitably in a separate article, and will not, therefore, be considered here. The term *L2 pedagogy* (and indeed, *L2 teaching*) is used in its broadest sense to include learning as well as teaching in a classroom context.

the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan in 1941, the Department of Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh in 1956, the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC in 1959, the formation of AILA (Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée) in 1964, TESOL (Teaching English as a Second and Overseas Language) in 1966, BAAL (the British Association of Applied Linguistics) in 1968, and AAAL (The American Association of Applied Linguistics) in 1977.

The publication of journals related to the study, which have developed in parallel to its institutional bodies, also have a good deal to do with the promotion of applied linguistics. The first of these was the *Modern Language Journal* which came into being in 1916 and, at about the time when the field was attracting attention at an institutional level, a number of other journals appeared: *English Language Teaching Journal* (1946), *Language Learning* (1948), *International Review of Applied Linguistics* (IRAL 1963), *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (1963), *TESOL Quarterly* (1966). And by the late 1970s and early 1980s: *System* (1973), *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* (1978), *Applied Linguistics* (1980), *Applied Psycholinguistics* (1980), *English for Specific Purposes* (1981).

A cursory examination of the stated aims and objectives of the various applied linguistic associations, institutions and publications is a useful point of departure in search of an answer to the question posed in the title of this paper, namely what is applied linguistics? Clearly the institutional bodies and journals referred to above comprise only a small part of two potentially extensive lists although, given that they are based on Allwright (1998: 10-11), with the exception of one or two additional items, they may be taken to be minimally representative of the field at least from an international standpoint.

The Internet-accessible information and documentation pertaining to AILA, BAAL and AAAL –three of the largest applied linguistic associations worldwide– seem to coincide on three issues which are central to a definition of the field. In the first place, it is evident that linguistics is fundamental. As Widdowson (2000a: 4) observes, “you have to have it first before you can apply it.” BAAL (2002) sees applied linguistics as “an approach to understanding *language* issues in the real world”; whilst AILA and AAAL refer to “*language-related* topics” and “*language-related* concerns” (my italics) respectively which the latter goes on to specify as: “language education, language acquisition and loss, bilingualism, discourse analysis, literacy, rhetoric and stylistics, language for special purposes, psycholinguistics, second and foreign language pedagogy, language assessment, and language policy and planning.”

Secondly, it is clear that these language-related topics and concerns are grounded in real world problems and issues. They are, in this sense, a distant remove from the theoretical abstractions of ‘pure’ or ‘scientific’ linguistics.

Indeed, the two-item definition of applied linguistics offered by BAAL (1994) includes “an approach to understanding language issues in the real world, drawing on theory and empirical analysis.” AAAL (2002) is more specific about the nature of its work in listing one of its primary activities as “to network with Teachers of English for Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL).” Curiously, though AILA came into existence with a mandate “to encourage the spread and improvement of language teaching on an international scale” (Stevens 1966: 63), its statutes and bylaws appear to reduce the practical application of its research to a list of twenty areas which includes “first and second language education” (AILA 2002). Thus, the field of language teaching, which is clearly seen as a principal application of applied linguistics in AAAL, is not accorded the same importance in current AILA and BAAL documents.

Finally, all three associations supply lengthy lists of subdisciplines, topics and scientific commissions which underline the “multidisciplinary” and “interdisciplinary” nature of applied linguistics. And although the actual names of these research areas may vary from list to list and from association to association, the ground covered by each one describes what is essentially the same academic terrain.

This threefold pattern of i) linguistics; ii) the practical focus of the field; and iii) its multidisciplinary nature is one which was confirmed in the debate about the scope of applied linguistics that took place at the 1999 AILA Congress in Tokyo. The discussions were, according to Grabe and Kaplan (2000: 4-5), characterised by the disaccord between participants although eight key points were eventually drawn up representing those which “most applied linguists would agree on.” These may be reduced to the three elements outlined above without any loss of overall meaning since six of the points are basically refinements pertaining to the field’s multifariousness which, evidently, was the contentious part of the debate.

3. APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND L2 PEDAGOGY

One might imagine that the scope of applied linguistics as defined by some of its most prestigious international associations would be mirrored in definitions proffered by its leading publications. Yet this is not entirely the case nor, as we shall see, is it without significance. The three overarching issues outlined in this paper as defining the discipline are certainly replicated in the collective objectives of applied linguistic publications but the wording of the titles of the journals foregrounds one facet of the field which is not immediately apparent in the statutes of associations: applied linguistics is very often concerned with language learning and teaching, and the job of the applied linguist is, therefore, one of mediating between such theory as may be connected with language pedagogy and its realisation in the classroom.

Some of the applied linguistic journals cited above leave little doubt regarding the activities that they are engaged in. For example, *English Language Teaching Journal* (ELTJ), *Language Learning* and *TESOL Quarterly* are manifestly concerned with issues in second and foreign language (L2) pedagogy. However, it is not quite so apparent that a publication which is almost invariably referenced as simply *IRAL* is in fact called *The International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* – to give it its full title – even though the acronym makes no reference to language teaching. Similarly, neither *Language Learning* nor *System* are referred to in their subtitled-entirety which makes it clear that the former is, *A Journal of Applied Linguistics*, and the latter, *An International Journal of Educational Technology and Applied Linguistics*. Nor would outsiders to the discourse community of applied linguistics perhaps realise that *System* specifically focuses on “the problems of foreign language teaching and learning” and that the *Modern Language Journal* is not so much a publication which is concerned with language as the title might imply but “devoted to research and discussion about the theory and teaching of foreign and second languages.” Moreover, the aims of *ELTJ* may amount, for some in the field, to a concise definition of the work of the applied linguist: “*ELTJ* seeks to bridge the gap between the everyday practical concerns of ELT professionals and the related disciplines of education, linguistics, psychology and sociology.”

One of the acknowledged flagships in the field, *Applied Linguistics*, with its long list of eminent American-British editors and distinguished advisory boards, is unequivocal in its view of applied linguistics “as the study of language and language-related problems in specific situations in which people use and learn languages,” and it is perhaps not by chance, therefore, that it goes on to list ten broad areas of study starting with “first and second language learning and teaching” and continuing with: critical linguistics; discourse analysis; language and education; language planning; language testing; lexicography; multilingualism and multilingual education; stylistics and rhetoric; and translation. It should be said that this list is by no means exhaustive – AILA, for example, lists twenty-five “scientific commissions” and in Spain, AESLA conference proceedings are routinely divided into a similar number of sections – but the repetition of the word “education” in the categories that appear in *Applied Linguistics* and the implication of educational applications in “language planning and testing” suggests that language learning and teaching in all its manifestations is perhaps closer to a superordinate than a discrete category.

Certainly, with regard to academic output in the field, much the greater part of applied linguistics is concerned with language teaching and learning. Indeed, Crystal (1991/1980: 22) notes that “sometimes the term is used as if it were the only field involved”. Cook and Seidlhofer (1995: 7) support this claim

observing that in spite of “the potentially wide scope of the field, it is with language teaching and learning, and particularly English language teaching and learning, that many works on applied linguistics are primarily concerned.” The elevated importance of English language teaching (ELT) above other languages is, it seems, a logical consequence of “the emergence of English as a global lingua franca” (Graddol and Meinhof 1999: 1). Brown (1987: 147) observes that the term applied linguistics carries with it a transatlantic nuance: “the common British usage of the term... is almost synonymous with language teaching.” Not many applied linguists on either side of the Atlantic would disagree with this claim since the evolution of British applied linguistics is, as we shall see, intricately bound up with L2 teaching. Nevertheless, to a lesser or greater extent, the essence of the field on a global level is highlighted in Kaplan and Widdowson’s (1992: 77) review of the ERIC system (an international database sponsored by the US government) over two decades revealing that approximately 45% of entries for applied linguistics “are in some way concerned with language teaching.” And whilst Brown’s assertion suggests that this figure might be significantly higher in Britain, it appears to be one which holds true in Spain. In the introduction to XIII AESLA conference proceedings, for example, Otal *et al* (1997: 18) draw attention to the fact that more than half of the 100 papers presented in the congress were related to “las areas de enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas.”² An examination of subsequent AESLA conference proceedings up to the most recent edition in 2001 reflects a similar picture.

Thus, one might draw certain interim conclusions about the current state of the field and its investigative orientations. To start with, despite persistent doubts surrounding the long-term existence of applied linguistics both from within and outside the field, the steady growth of the discipline from the 1950s onwards as expressed in the burgeoning number of associations, courses, institutions and journals, is testament to the fact that the academic ground that it occupies is not only a reality but that “institutional status has been comprehensively conferred upon it” (Widdowson 2000a: 3). In the second place, the scope of the enquiry has broadened considerably over the years but the reality of applied linguistics for the majority –a figure approaching 50%– of those engaged in the field in Spain is that of an academic pursuit which is intimately related to language teaching and learning. In sum, applied linguistics may be said to be typified as that activity which informs L2

2. More precisely the categories on which this approximation is made are “enseñanza de lenguas” (31 papers) and “adquisición de lenguas” (23 papers). Although one might argue that the latter is not always directly related to L2 pedagogy, one might also argue that other “panels” could have been brought into the approximation. For example, 2 of 4 papers on both the “sociolingüística” and “estilística y retórica” panels refer directly to L2 pedagogy.

pedagogy and, therefore, derives its theoretical underpinnings from linguistics as well as a wide spectrum of neighbouring disciplines connected with language teaching and learning. The three conceptual struts identified in this study—linguistics, the practical focus of the field and its multidisciplinaryness—are clearly visible in this organisational scheme although the relationship between them is a hierarchical one with the practical activity of L2 teaching forming the focal point at the apex of the triangle.

4. LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

One issue which has generated a good deal of debate in applied linguistics is connected with the name of the enquiry. As Widdowson (1980: 165) observes: “One does not have to embrace extreme Whorfian doctrine to recognize that how a thing is called can have a critical effect on how it is conceived.” Whilst this is nothing if not a truism, Henry Widdowson, one of the leading lights in the field, has over the years drawn attention to the fact that the shaping of the discipline owes as much to *who* describes it as *how* it is described. Linguists as well as applied linguists have attempted to define the field but Widdowson argues that linguistic descriptions are misconceived.

From the outset, it is important to underscore the fact that much of the polemic surrounding the issue of language in applied linguistics has been contextualised within its most common application which, as we have noted above, is in L2 teaching and especially ELT. Under these terms of engagement, the central question for Widdowson now as then has revolved around the issue of how far “linguistic descriptions can adequately account for their reality for learners and so provide a point of reference for the design of language courses” (Widdowson 2000b: 21). Whether linguists have themselves advanced descriptions of language for pedagogical consumption or whether foreign language teaching has looked to theoretical linguistics to provide it with models of language, applied linguists like Widdowson (2000a: 3) would argue that linguistics as an academic enquiry has in such cases “breached its traditionalist formalist limits”. He (2000b: 29) continues: “Linguists have authority in their own domain. They describe language on their own terms and in their own terms. There is no reason why they should assume the responsibility of acquiring expertise and authority in the quite different domain of language pedagogy.”

To be sure, the two fields are derived from sharply divided linguistic traditions. Theoretical linguistic research has concerned itself with language as an internalized or abstract construct; whilst applied linguistics has examined its external manifestation in social contexts and very often with reference to how it might serve the L2 learner. Thus, broadly speaking, the former conceives language as “langue” rather than “parole” (Saussure 1916); “competence” as

opposed to “performance” (Chomsky 1965); and, more recently, “I-language” in contrast to “E-language” (Chomsky 1986). In short, linguistics is about the theory of language while applied linguistics is about its practice, or more specifically, applying suitable descriptions of language for use in L2 pedagogy.

However, the practical activity of L2 teaching also comprises an integral part of the history of theoretical linguistics. It was, as Gleason (1965: 49) reminds us, structural linguists like Bloomfield and Fries, who “were called in to prepare class materials for the (then) ‘Army Method’” –later to be called the *audiolingual method*– during the Second World War and “since the war linguists have been increasingly involved in applied linguistics.” Thus, after the war, theoretical linguistics emerged as the “new mentor discipline ... [which] ... replaced literature and education as the research base for foreign language teaching and learning” (Kramsch 2000: 313). The influence that linguists had on L2 teaching at this time is not in question but Kramsch overstates her argument in suggesting that this was in any way a “new” philosophical trend. Leonard Bloomfield, for example, was “committed to the idea that his discipline should find a useful role in the community” (Howatt 1984: 265) and this is wholly evident in his earlier works which were published decades before the popularization of audiolingualism. Moreover, one only has to turn back the pages of language teaching history to come across linguistic scientists of the ilk of Henry Sweet, Otto Jespersen and Harold Palmer to realise that this relationship between theory and practice is one which is built on years of tradition. There are echoes of such a notion in Titone’s (1968: 49), *Teaching Foreign Languages: An Historical Sketch* and his citing of Jespersen’s “indebtedness to a longer series of linguists” in the preliminary pages to the Danish linguist’s *How to Teach a Foreign Language* (1947).

The widespread success that audiolingualism was to enjoy for a twenty-year period after the war was only matched by the severity of the criticism against it as changes in linguistic theory in the early 1960s and the emergence of psycholinguistics at about the same time laid bare the shortcomings of an L2 teaching methodology which lacked what Wilga Rivers (1964: 163) referred to as “a full awareness of the human factors” involved in communication. Rivers’ attack was fuelled by the publication of Chomsky’s (1957) *Syntactic Structures* and, two years later, his lancing review of B.F. Skinner’s *Verbal Behavior*, collectively fractured the two philosophical pillars on which audiolingualism rested: “the linguistic idea that language is purely a set of sentence patterns (*structural linguistics*) and the psychological idea that language learning was just habit formation (*behaviorism*)” (Brown Mitchell and Ellingson Vidal 2001: 30).”

Chomsky argued that linguistic behaviour was innate rather than learned and his model of transformational-generative grammar was fundamental to the decline of audiolingualism and was, with limited success, applied to language

teaching in *transformation drills*, which sought to elicit the underlying *deep structures* (what is in the mind) of sentences from an examination of *surface structures* (what is spoken or written). Chomsky himself was 'rather sceptical' that his theories had any relevance for the teaching of languages (Howatt 1984: 271), although once again linguistic insight had found its way into L2 pedagogy. Yet the demise of audiolingualism and subsequent attempts by advocates of Chomskyan linguistics to isolate language from its social and psychological context, did succeed in revealing the central flaw of applying linguistics directly to pedagogical contexts that, in Corder's (1973: 29) words, language learning is about "people who can talk the language rather than talk *about* the language"; or as Allen (1974: 59) put it, linguistic knowledge "is concerned with a specification of the formal properties of a language, with the 'code' rather than with the 'use of the code'."

Applied linguists, it seemed, were suddenly given a more definite role to act as "a buffer between linguistics and language teaching" (Stern 1992: 8) and the misguided directionality perceived by some of putting the solution before the problem was dually expressed in Widdowson's neologism "linguistics applied" (1980: 165) and the wry observation: "You do not start with a model as given and cast about for ways in which it might come in handy." (Ibid 169). Widdowson's comments in 1980, originally delivered in the form of a paper at the 1979 BAAL conference, were certainly well-placed in an audience made up of predominately British as opposed to American applied linguists. By this time, British (as well as some parts of the Commonwealth) applied linguistics was distancing itself from the *top-down* traditions of North American linguistics applied, which "grew out of the search by linguists (e.g. Bloomfield, Fries) for applications for their theoretical and descriptive interests" (Davies 1993: 17), rather than the *bottom-up* approach that characterised the field in Britain, which "starts with the practical problems and then seeks theoretical (and/or practical) ways to understand and resolve those problems." In addition, the final years of the 1970s and the opening of the new decade may be thought of as bringing to a close a period of intense activity in applied linguistics which commenced with the advent of Chomskyan linguistics. The effect of Chomsky's ideas on language teaching during these years saw a shift in North American applied linguistics towards cognitive approaches and the work of Burt, Dulay and Krashen was evidence of both a distinct line of enquiry and the emergence of a new academic discipline, namely second language acquisition (SLA). At the same time, in Britain, the principal task of applied linguists, it seemed, was one of self-justification borne of their successive rejection of structuralist and generative linguistic applications to language teaching. If British applied linguists such as Allen, Brumfit, Corder, Mackin, Strevens and Widdowson, *inter alia*, had been making strong claims that only a mediating discipline with specialist knowledge in linguistics and

pedagogy was suitably qualified to define an appropriate model of language for L2 teaching, then what, the question arose, was their solution?

By the early 1980s, an applied linguistic model of language for L2 pedagogy had evolved within the framework of *communicative language teaching* (CLT). The catalyst for what became popularly known as the 'communicative movement' or 'revolution' is usually attributed to the work of the American sociolinguist Dell Hymes (1972), and his coining of the term *communicative competence*, which involved not only an internalised knowledge system of linguistic rules (as originally posited by Chomsky in his conceiving of the term 'competence') but, crucially, a pragmatic knowledge which enabled this system to be used appropriately in communicative settings. As Hymes (1971: 10) observed, "These are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless." A rash of publications followed Hymes' initial studies and contributed to the development of CLT. These included Wilkins' (1976) Council of Europe sponsored *Notional Syllabuses*, which proposed three categories of language organisation (semantico-grammatical, modal meaning and communicative function, subsuming Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969) theory of speech acts); Widdowson's (1978) treatise for CLT, *Teaching Language as Communication*, which highlighted 'use' rather than 'usage'; Munby's (1978) *Communicative Syllabus Design*, which recognised the pedagogic possibilities of M. A. K. Halliday's (1972) 'sociosemantic networks' in a 250-item taxonomy of language skills; and Breen and Candlin's 1980 paper, which viewed language as 'communication' in preference to 'code'.

The basic thrust of these works was a movement away from the structural system of language to a focus on its meaning potential as expressed in communicative functions (e.g. apologising, describing, inviting, promising). Moreover, the confluence of British functional linguistics (Firth, Halliday), American sociolinguistics (Hymes, Gumperz, Labov), as well as philosophy (Austin, Searle) represented "a move away from linguistics as the main or only basis for deciding what the units of language teaching would be" (Lightbrown 2000: 435). It also prefigured the multifaceted discipline that the field of applied linguistics is today and, furthermore, reflected the importance of context in defining its lines of enquiry. Henceforth, American applied linguistics, in contrast to its British counterpart, was characterised by its reference to SLA.

Finally, in 1980, Canale and Swain brought order to "the somewhat confused scene of communicative language teaching" (Stern 1993: 164) with a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic influences in CLT which, significantly, appeared in the opening article of the first edition of *Applied Linguistics*, and this, together with a later study by Canale in 1983, defined communicative competence by dividing it into four separate categories: *grammatical competence*, *pragmatic competence*, *discourse competence* and *strategic*

competence. Bachman (1990) and Bachman and Palmer (1996) developed further, more complex representations of Canale and Swain's (1980; Canale 1983) model but the original framework is, as Brumfit (2001: 51) remarks, the one which "has become the preferred basis for subsequent discussion" on communicative competence as a goal in L2 pedagogy.

5. CURRENT TRENDS IN L2 PEDAGOGY: CONFIRMING THE PATTERN

CLT may not in itself provide the methodological blueprint for L2 pedagogy that it did ten or fifteen years ago but communicative competence is still "the most widely developed metaphor in foreign language teaching" (Brumfit 2001: 47). In terms of language presentation, recent investigation emerging from studies in SLA has pointed to "the need for direct instruction and corrective feedback" (Pica 2000: 11) thereby acting as a palliative for *stronger* versions of CLT which have (over)emphasised induction at the input stage. Current L2 teaching methodology is as a result more eclectic in its tendency to "incorporate traditional approaches, and reconcile them with communicative practices" (Ibid: 15).

Yet, like the field of applied linguistics itself, language teaching is "determined by fashion" (Davies 1993: 14), and whilst there are those who would claim that no one method can account for the infinite variety of learner needs (Kumaravadivelu 1994), the persistent dependency of pedagogy on linguistic descriptions has given rise to a new generation of course books whose language content is determined by data derived from language corpora. Sinclair (1991), amongst others, has mounted a strong case for the inclusion corpus-based research in L2 pedagogy. Widdowson (2000a: 7), predictably perhaps, dismisses the pedagogic application of corpus linguistics as linguistics applied, "the textually attested ... not the encoded possible, nor the contextually appropriate" which ignores the classroom reality for learners. Whether one chooses to "resist the deterministic practices of linguistics applied" (Widdowson 2000a: 23), a perceivable uncertainty hangs over applied linguistics, an enquiry which, one might argue, has stepped into an academic breach of its own creation - the gap between the theory and practice of language teaching - but which cannot yet agree upon some of the fundamental issues girding up its own existence such as "the most appropriate model of language which should underpin FL pedagogic grammar" (Mitchell 2000: 297).

Language teaching is inextricably linked to the needs of the real world. It is "a social and often institutional activity" (Cook and Seidlhofer 1995: 8) that is moved by government decree and commercial interests and these in turn are informed by pedagogical theories and insights. Educational policy makers and international publishing houses look to the linguistic sciences for solutions

and innovation and when theoretical linguistic insight is adapted to language teaching, the role of applied linguistics is put in doubt. As Grabe and Kaplan (2000: 3) remark in the introduction to the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 20*, aptly subtitled, *Applied linguistics as an emerging discipline*, “full disciplinary acceptance will only occur to the extent that applied linguistics responds to wider societal needs and its professional expertise is valued by people beyond the professional field.”

Linguistics, as we have seen in this brief historical overview, has always formed a part of applied linguistics though it has sometimes assumed an importance which is out of step with its real value to L2 teaching. But this is not a revelation. A generation ago, Munby (1978: 6), with reference to specifying a model of communicative competence for L2 pedagogy, added his name to a growing list of scholars who had questioned the centrality of theoretical linguistics in language teaching: “It may well be a case that a theory of linguistics is neither necessary nor sufficient basis for such a study.” This is essentially the point that Brumfit (1980: 160) was making in his observation that “language ... operates simultaneously in several dimensions at once” and that if the framework for enquiry is conceived within purely linguistic terms in accordance with the name applied linguistics, then we run the risk of becoming “prisoners of our own categorisations.” More recently, Spolsky (2000: 157) has reiterated these sentiments in his allusion to being “trapped ... by a too literal assumption that applied linguistics needed only linguistics.” His own preferred term, *Educational Linguistics*, along with the label which is gaining currency in faculty departments and on degree programmes, *Applied Language Studies*, recognises that “there is more to be known about language that is applied than just linguistics” (de Bott 2000: 224).

6. TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The utility of linguistics to L2 pedagogy is a debate which has engaged two generations of applied linguists. It comprises part of the field's past traditions, its present trends and future directions forming a continuum which describes development and change in applied linguistics. It is a debate which can be located at each end of the continuum and one in which the rhetoric used, as well as some of its principal purveyors, appears to have evolved little over time to the extent that one might, with some justification, question how far applied linguistics as an enquiry has moved forward. It is, perhaps, the answer to this question which continues to shroud the field in uncertainty.

There are at least two issues that may have protracted the *linguistics-in-applied-linguistics* argument and neither is directly connected with the academic debate. The first is concerned with the institutional status of applied linguistics specifically within the academic hierarchy. Kramsch (2000: 319)

notes that “there is some confusion about the academic and scholarly respectability of a field that is often viewed as having to do exclusively with teaching, not research.” Kramersch frames her discussion within a North American context, but there are certainly resonances of such a stance in British and Spanish academic institutions. And, as we have seen here, applied linguistic associations like BAAL and AILA appear to be reticent to openly state that the most common application of research in the field is in L2 teaching and learning. These associations cast a wide net to define what it is that they do. But to describe a field as ‘multidisciplinary’ is to describe almost all areas of academic enquiry; to describe an ‘applied’ science as ‘practical’ is to define it using a synonym. Neither is satisfactory. Conversely, a field which is conceived in terms of discourse analysis, stylistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, sign linguistics and deafness studies, language pathology and therapy, human rights in the language world (items drawn from AILA’s list of research areas; 2002) acquires instant cachet and academic robustness. But the tenuous relationship that some of these disciplines have to the more central concerns of applied linguistics, like L2 pedagogy, is misleading to the point of misrepresentation.

The second issue is engendered in Kramersch’s (2000: 317) comment: “The field of Applied Linguistics speaks with multiple voices, depending on whether one’s original training was in linguistics, anthropology, psychology, sociology, education, or literature.” The most frequently cited ‘voices’ in applied linguistics carry with them an authority which determines present orientations and future directions in the field. But these voices too speak in accents which betray their academic origins and if applied linguistics really is defined, as many scholars have pointed out, by its context, then it may be pertinent to question the absolute value of those conceptual frameworks which have persisted in the field.

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CONTRADICTION AND AMBIVALENCE: VIRGINIA WOOLF AND THE AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN “THE DUCHESS AND THE JEWELLER”

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ABSTRACT. In the midst of the terror waged on Europe by Nazi demonstrations of power and racial extermination Virginia Woolf published a most controversial short story –“The Duchess and the Jeweller” (1938)– which was originally entitled “The Duchess and the Jew” but was changed at the request of Woolf’s American publisher for its racist connotations. The story has been neglected by the critics on account of two major reasons: on the one hand, it does not partake of those innovative narrative devices that most of Woolf’s fiction presents; on the other such an apparently Anti-Semitist piece of work is inconveniently at odds with the oeuvre of a writer who so ardently and energetically rejected Fascism in her pamphlet Three Guineas which was curiously simultaneous in date of composition and publication to “The Duchess and the Jeweller”.

Despite the fact that Woolf may have been airing her personal prejudices of race and class in the characters of Oliver Bacon and the Duchess of Lambourne, the present paper does not aim to do away with such incoherence, ambivalence and contradiction, but rather focuses on the jewel imagery which structures the narrative and which addresses questions such as the ‘art for art’s sake’ doctrine versus the material commodity of beauty.

1.

In the midst of the terror waged on Europe by Nazi demonstrations of power and racial extermination, Virginia Woolf wrote the short story “The Duchess and the Jew” (1938) whose original title was later changed to “The

Duchess and the Jeweller” at the request of Woolf’s American publisher. From the very moment of its composition and publication, the story was controversial for its blatant Anti-Semitic attitude: it was difficult for critics and audience alike to account for such a racist portrait of a Jew, which was so inconveniently at odds with the oeuvre of a writer happily married to a Jew for more than thirty years. Moreover, Woolf ardently and energetically rejected war and opposed Fascism and its racial policy, especially in her pamphlet entitled *Three Guineas* (1938), the date of publication of which was simultaneous with “The Duchess and the Jeweller”.

Despite the critics’ attempts to resolve this apparent incoherence in Woolf’s attitude, it seems that Woolf was airing her personal prejudices of race and class in the characters of Oliver Bacon and the Duchess of Lambourne, the Jew and the aristocrat respectively.¹ The present paper does not aim to do away with Woolf’s ambiguity, but rather focuses on the very question of the contradictions which structure the process of composition and publication of the story as well as its very meaning. As will be argued, the story should be seen in relation to British aestheticism, about which Woolf herself was ambivalent. More importantly, aestheticism represented the embracing of contraries, for it articulated itself as both “high art” and as a mass-cultural movement; its predicament of *l’art pour l’art* was only validated when, ironically, art became a commodity in a consumerist society. In “The Duchess and the Jeweller” the jewel imagery which permeates the story is itself a reflection of such a fascinating contradiction: on the one hand, it partakes of a tradition where it came to symbolise eternal beauty; on the other, it calls attention to the nature of art as commodity, for it also introduces the question of material value.

By the time “The Duchess and the Jeweller” was written, Virginia Woolf was a reputed writer, essayist and publisher, but she felt that her whole world view was about to collapse under the threat of a second war. Arguments over its inevitability made more than evident Woolf’s dislike for a society of which she was part and for which she was meant to feel patriotic: “What would war mean? Darkness, strain: I suppose conceivably death. And all the horror of

1. Hermione Lee (1996: 680) points how “it is hard not to read these as examples of offensive caricature”. However, the very act of creating those characters is, for Lee, a symptom of Woolf’s detachment “from the habitual Anti-Semitism of her circle” by spelling out “her complicity in bigotry and offensiveness by way of self-accusation and social critique”. Other critics simply dismiss “The Duchess and the Jeweller” as a “conventional plot-bound story” (Head 1992: 80) or as a “mere satirical portrait” (Guiguet 1965: 341). For a similar approach, see also John Hagopian & Martin Dolck (eds.), (1964: 363-367) and Dean Baldwin, (1989).

friends... All that lies over the water in the brain of that ridiculous little man" (Woolf 1984: 166). It seemed to Woolf (1984: 204) that the imminence of war absorbed the attention of a reading public formerly interested in her work, a feeling which deepened her own insecurity and heightened the sense of the "decline of her fame".

Although her nephew's death in August 1937 while working as a volunteer for the Republican army in the Spanish Civil War enhanced Woolf's repulsion to war, at the same time it clarified the way to demonstrate her resistance to it: "Thinking is my fighting" (Woolf 1984: 285). At that time Woolf was finishing the afore mentioned pacifist and anti-Fascist pamphlet entitled *Three Guineas* and Julian Bell's death made it possible for her to see the work under a different light as well as to finish its last chapter, which she explained to her sister Vanessa in this way: "I'm always wanting to argue it [*Three Guineas*] with Julian –in fact I wrote it as an argument with him. Somehow he stirred me to argue" (1980a: 159). Woolf reinforced the two aspects she had often discussed with Julian; namely writing being more effective than fighting, and war being directly connected to patriarchy: "Here, immediately, are three reasons which lead your sex to fight; war is a profession; a source of happiness and excitement; and it is also an outlet for manly qualities, without which men would deteriorate" (Woolf 1938: 160). As Alison Light has posed (2002: 29), Woolf's anti-militarism stands not only for her rejection of a bellicose positioning but also for her contestation of all forms of masculine authority and authoritarianism.

Such was Woolf's inflexibility about war, Fascism and the racial extermination that it implied and of which she was well aware. Curiously, following the previous diary entry Woolf records in her diary how she was also engaged in writing a story for her New York literary agent, Jacques Chambrun, who had offered \$1000 for a story whose process of composition Woolf describes in the following terms: "This morning I had a moment of the old rapture... over copying *The Duchess & the Jeweller*, for Chambrun, NY. I had to send a synopsis. I expect he'll regret the synopsis. But there was the old excitement... more than in criticism, I think" (1984: 107). On the same day Woolf summarises its plot for Vanessa: "I've made up a story about a jeweller and a duchess, and cabled the plot –how he buys her pearls, for £10,000, knowing them to be false– that's not all of it by any means" (1980a: 159).

Although Chambrun initially approved of her synopsis, he later cabled Woolf to change what the American market would see as "a terrific racial prejudice" (Lee 1996: 679). In that first draft of the story, the jeweller was named "Isadore Oliver" and had been a "little Jew boy" who made his way through life by dishonest means from a "filthy little alley" to a luxurious flat overlooking Green Park. As a result of both Chambrun's and his "unknown" client's objections, "Isadore" became "Oliver", although the surname was tellingly changed to "Bacon", which may refer to the prohibition to eat pork

in the Jewish tradition, and “the little Jew boy” became “the little boy”. Nevertheless, the word “Jew” was still retained as part of the story’s very title, “Jeweller”.²

As stated earlier, it is indeed difficult to understand why a person who was apparently happily married to a Jew should portray a character in such a racist light.³ Hermione Lee argued (1996: 680) that Woolf may have been spelling out her complicity in the habitual, half-conscious Anti-Semitism of her Bloomsbury circle and conceived of the story as both self-accusation and social critique. At the same time, it seems that Woolf was airing her private prejudices of race and class in the characters of both Oliver Bacon and the Duchess of Lambourne⁴: in fact, the gentile duchess of the story is as much an outsider of acceptable society as the Jew himself. Interesting as Woolf’s ambivalence and incoherence is, her personal contradictions are legitimate and deserve to be left untouched.⁵

Yet when the story is seen from the perspective of British Aestheticism, such contradictions become utterly revealing and significant in structuring meaning in “The Duchess and the Jeweller”. As the story begins, Oliver Bacon is introduced in his ostentatious London flat while he reflects, with considerable self-satisfaction, on his rise from a boy who sold stolen dogs to a jeweller rubbing shoulders with aristocracy in his present opulence:

‘Behold, Oliver,’ he would say addressing himself. ‘You who began life in a filthy little alley, you who...’ and he would look down at his legs,

2. After further dealings with Chambrun and Leonard Woolf’s intervention, the story was published –along with “The Shooting Party”– in successive issues of *Harper’s Bazaar* both in London (April 1938) and New York (May 1938). Eventually Virginia Woolf received a total of \$960 for the two of them. For further details on the composition and publication process of the story, see Hermione Lee (1996: 678-680), Susan Dick (Woolf 1985: 314-315) and Sandra Kemp (Woolf 1993: 121-123).

3. To Ethel Smyth Virginia Woolf wrote: “How I hated marrying a Jew... what a snob I was” (1978: 194).

4. As argued above, “The Duchess and the Jeweller” was published along with “The Shooting Party”, and both were conceived by Woolf as a series of caricatures: “I could write a book of caricatures. Christabel’s story of the Hall Caines suggested a caricature of Country house life, with the red-brown pheasants...” (1982: 57). The story traces the decadence of a family of country squires in a non-aristocratic world and whose name is extinguished with their last three members.

5. In her review of Naomi Black’s edition of *Three Guineas* (London: Blackwell’s, 2001), Alison Light (2002: 30) highlights the tendency of some critics to “consistently omit and truncate those comments which suggest [Woolf’s] ambivalence about her work”. Such an effort obviously responds to an anxiety to sketch out a coherent political or artistic positioning in Woolf’s oeuvre which contradiction and ambivalence could taint, but, in Light’s words, “it’s equally odd that (...) scholars should see its role as celebratory, preaching only to the converted” (2002: 31).

so shapely in their perfect trousers; at his boots; at his spats. They were all shapely, shining; cut from the best cloth by the best scissor in Savile Row. (Woolf, 1985: 248)

Oliver strolls to the shop he runs in Bond Street and ignores his subordinates as he passes them feeling sure that they are envious of him. Once in his office, he takes out some jewels from the safe and greedily admires them. The telephone announces that the Duchess of Lambourne has arrived for her appointment, but Oliver chooses to keep her waiting for ten minutes. The decadent and glamorous Duchess wishes to sell the last of her pearls, whose authenticity the astute Oliver doubts, in order to pay off her gambling debts. The Duchess invites Oliver to spend a long weekend in her country house, where he will meet the Prime Minister, His Royal Highness... and her daughter Diana, for whom Oliver lustfully yearns. Eventually, Oliver writes a cheque for twenty thousand pounds, despite now knowing for certain that the pearls are false.

2.

Even after a surface reading of the story, it is obvious that “The Duchess and the Jeweller” is much more than a racist portrayal of a Jew which makes the reader uneasy knowing Woolf’s background: as Virginia Woolf herself had explained to her sister after sketching out a synopsis, “that’s not *all of it*, by any means” (1980a: 159; my italics). The reader is left with the feeling that what is for sale is something infinitely more valuable than a set of false pearls. And significantly, the key to the story lies deeply rooted in the question of beauty, aesthetics and literary value since, as Terry Eagleton (1975: 167) has argued and the story literally and metaphorically shows, value is always relational and can only be defined in terms of exchange.

As Eagleton suggests (1975: 166), the question of value can only be determined on the site of production. In other words, every text encodes within itself “how, by whom and for whom it was produced” (Feldes, 1986: 48), which is eventually what determines and produces its meaning, either it be conscious or unconscious. The question of literature as commodity is notably present in the process of composition of “The Duchess and the Jeweller” as well as in the text itself; as argued above, the story was commissioned by Woolf’s American agent, and all references to it in her diary and in private correspondence are linked to the large amount of money she was to receive for writing it. After sketching out its plot to her sister, Woolf asks: “Do you think, knowing the Americans as you do, that this [the plot] will fetch them? It means £200 if it does” (1980a: 159).

Frivolous as this comment seems, Woolf (1984: 107-108) was, however, utterly worried about what she called the “moral temperature” when writing

for money, as she records in her diary after having mentioned Chambrun's large sum for the story:

Do I ever write, even here, for my own eye? If not, for whose eye? An interesting question, rather. I'm musing on the nature of Auden's egotism. Suspect it's something to do with uneasiness. He wants to write straight from the heart: to discard literature; egotism may be his way of orienting himself. What I mean I don't quite know, perhaps that it seems to him that's being honest, simple, naked, taking off literary clothes".

The entry brings to the fore questions which concern the complicated relationship between an author and his or her readership, on which Woolf reflected in many different ways throughout her life. Woolf was consistent in defining her "aesthetic" against that of other modernist writers, regarding her own position as a novel-writer as highly competitive in the market. While engaged in the process of writing *Jacob's Room* (1922), she writes in her diary: "I see immense possibilities in the form I hit upon more or less by chance 2 weeks ago. I suppose the danger is the damned egotistical self; which ruins Joyce and [Dorothy] Richardson to my mind" (1981: 14; my italics).

Unlike some of her contemporaries, Woolf regarded the idea of "writing for a small public" as "damnation" (1976: 168) and always established a relation of kinship with her readers, which she argued in "Hours in a Library" (1916): "Indeed, one of the signs of passing youth is the birth of a sense of fellowship with other human beings as we take our place among them" (1987: 57). Towards the very end of her life, Woolf developed a similar image—literature as a "common land"—which appeared in her famous essay "The Leaning Tower" (1940), along with the writer's desire to be "whole" and "human" and whose aim is to be "closer to their [the writers'] kind (...) no longer to be isolated and exalted in solitary state upon their tower, but to be down with the mass of human kind" (1992: 173).

Yet, as Woolf herself acknowledged, her position was a privileged one in the British marketplace as owner of a publishing house, the Hogarth Press, which was invaluable in granting her intellectual as well as economic freedom. As Laura Marcus has suggested (1996: 142), the Press became for Woolf synonymous with the room of one's own and the £500 a year she had described as the necessary conditions for the woman writer, thus allowing her to devote her energies to revising and inventing forms of fiction: "I'm the only woman in England free to write what I like (...) [whereas] the others must be thinking of series and editors" (1980b: 43).

Notwithstanding, Woolf's relationship to literary culture and professionalism is a highly complex issue. As Elliott and Wallace have posed (1994: 141), Woolf did not escape from the tension felt by modernist women writers and artists who had to choose between economic compensation and a right to fair wages for cultural production and the Modernist ideology of

artistic and financial disinterestedness. Very few professional women are found in Woolf's work: both Lily Briscoe in *To the Lighthouse* (1927) and Miss La Trobe in *Between the Acts* (1941) are amateurs and outsiders. Yet Woolf was also intrigued by the idea of writing as a profession, thus elaborating histories of professional women writers like in *A Room of One's Own* (1929) or in the many articles devoted to the literary lives of women in *The Common Reader* (1925). Said elaboration helped her to rescue from oblivion a tradition of foremothers that enabled her to write her own history as a woman of letters, which she did in "Professions for Women" (1931):

It is necessary to discuss the ends and the aims for which we [professional women] are fighting, for which we are doing battle with these formidable obstacles. Those aims cannot be taken for granted; they must be perpetually questioned and examined. The whole position, as I see it –here in this hall surrounded by women practising for the very first time in history I know not how many different professions– is one of extraordinary interest and importance. You have won rooms of your own in the house hitherto exclusively owned by men. (1992c: 106)

Popularity was, however, a term towards which Woolf felt deep ambivalence: on the one hand, she delighted in high sales figures for her work; on the other, success –or, at least, in some of her contemporaries' snobbish view– might also imply writing potboilers for the masses. The popularity of *Orlando* (1928) led her to consider repeating herself rather than "keeping those good qualities [which] were largely the result of ignoring the others" (1980b: 209). While at work on *Three Guineas*, Woolf made a similar comment concerning "The Duchess and the Jeweller" which, she thought, would satisfy publishers while, at the same time, would prove largely rewarding in economic terms: "I'm completely stuck on my war pamphlet, so I may as well write about Duchesses" (1980a: 159).

Superficially, Woolf seems to be drawing a distinction between writing for money –her critical essays, articles and some of her short stories– and writing for "her own eye", as argued earlier: "This question of praise and fame must be faced (...) How much difference does popularity make? What depresses me is the thought that I have ceased to interest people – at the very moment when by the help of the press, I thought I was becoming more myself" (1981: 106).

As suggested earlier, the whole process of composition of "The Duchess and the Jeweller" is caught up in that tension between writing "for oneself" and satisfying commercial requirements which eventually grant economic rewards. Significantly, the most important issues which concern the very story go beyond Woolf's possible prejudice of race and class and are deeply related its site and process of production. As will be argued below, "The Duchess and the Jeweller" exemplifies Woolf's ambiguous and complex attitude and relationship to the mass market and the consideration of art as a commodity.

3.

“The Duchess and the Jeweller” should be seen in relation to British aestheticism, especially as understood by Walter Pater and Max Beerbohm. Aestheticism articulated its status as both high art and a mass-cultural movement, thus embracing the two contradictions which haunted Woolf in the process of composition of the story. This movement, which took place during the second half of the nineteenth-century and the early part of the twentieth, is loosely connected by the phrase which the poet Swinburne popularised, *l’art pour l’art* and manifested itself not only in poetry, painting and literature, but also in dress, furniture design and popular narrative genres.⁶

On a superficial level, British aestheticism is related to decadence –with its fascination with the unnatural, death, decay, the body– as well as to artifice, intense experience and the desire to experience life as art. Yet, and as Peter Bürger (1984: 8) has suggested, aestheticism is also and more importantly a particular historical condition of art in bourgeois culture: when art is separated from the constraints of church, court and state and is distributed through the capitalist market-place, it becomes autonomous.

And yet, and in a more surface sense, British aestheticism seemed to be related to artifice, frivolity, inconsequentiality and decadence alike (Freedman 1990: 1). Max Beerbohm⁷ (1895: 278-279) described it as “the discovery of the

6. Aestheticism permeated not only Woolf’s work, but also the predicaments and imagination of most Bloomsbury members. One of the most outstanding aspects of the professionalisation of aestheticism was the constitution of the “art expert” and the emphasis on artisan work, an example of which was the Omega Workshop, opened from 1913 to 1919 and ran by Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant. Although originally the Omega Workshops aimed at producing decorative art from a background of painting rather than crafts, a huge range of products were sold, including lamps, rugs, screens, necklaces, parasols, furniture, textiles, dresses, mosaics and murals.

7. Max Beerbohm (1872-1956) was one of Woolf’s most admired essayists and writers. “The Modern Essay” –one of Woolf’s most famous reflections on the art of essay-writing, included in *The Common Reader* (1925)– is largely a praise of Beerbohm’s contributions to the genre which, according to Woolf, are only comparable to those of masters such as Michel de Montaigne or Charles Lamb. Woolf described Beerbohm as “the prince of his profession [essay-writing]”, responsible for modernising the essay by bringing “personality into literature, not unconsciously and impurely, but so consciously and purely that we do not know whether there is any relation between Max the essayist and Mr Beerbohm the man. We only know that the spirit of personality permeates every word that he writes” (Woolf 1994: 220-221). In her diary, Woolf described her first encounter with Beerbohm at Ethel Smyth’s house. Tellingly, Woolf uses the jewel imagery in order to refer to Beerbohm’s writing qualities: “So I said, I think he is immortal. In a small way, he said; but with complacency. Like *a jewel which is hard & flawless*, yet always changing. A charming image, he said, very kind, approving” (1980b: 213; emphasis mine).

cult of Beauty”, the result of which was that,

(...) Peacock feathers and sunflowers glittered in every room, the curio shops were ransacked for the furniture of Annish days (...) A few smart women even dressed themselves in suave draperies and unheard-of greens. Into whatever ballroom you went, you would surely find (...) women in tiaras and the fops of distinguished foreigners.

Such a luxurious and opulent, yet at the same time decadent and corrupted atmosphere also surrounds the characters of both Oliver Bacon and the Duchess of Lambourne in “The Duchess and the Jeweller”, appearing in opposition to the world which the flaming jewels evoke. Oliver’s flat, “at the top of a house overlooking the Green Park”, has been expensively decorated in –as the narrator ironically suggests– a nouveau riche’s style: “Sofas filled the bays of the windows –sofas covered in tapestry. The windows, the three long windows, had the proper allowance of discreet net and figured satin. The mahogany sideboard bulged discreetly with the right brandies, whiskeys and liqueurs” (Woolf 1985: 248). Likewise, the Duchess is described as the epitome of pomp and arrogance, whose apparent opulence stands out given her ruined morals and possessions:

And as a wave breaks, she [the Duchess] broke, as she sat down, spreading and splashing and falling over Oliver Bacon the great jeweller, covering him with sparkling bright colours, green, rose, violet; and odours; and iridescences; and rays shooting from fingers, nodding from plumes, flashing from silk; for she was very large, very fat, tightly girt in pink taffeta, and past her prime. As a parasol with many flounces, as a peacock with many feathers, shuts its flounces, folds its feathers, so she subsided and shut herself as she sank down in a leather armchair. (Woolf 1985: 251)

Woolf presents the characters of the duchess and the jeweller against a decadent backdrop both in its literal and more superficial aesthetic sense of the word, which recalls Beerbohm’s description of such a world. They represent the epitome of a society void of values, which is what essentially brings them together: “As their hands touched the link was forged between them once more. They were friends, yet enemies; he was master, she was mistress; each cheated the other, each needed the other, each feared the other” (1985: 251). Oliver and the Duchess share a ridiculously obscene relationship of self-interest and animal greed, which is emphasised by the animalisation of each one of the characters: the Duchess is described as a “peacock with many feathers”; Oliver is alternatively identified with an “elephant”, a “giant hog” and a “camel” (1985: 249). Moreover, both the unscrupulous self-made man and the adulterous gambler contemplate the pearls that are for sale and the jewels

become their object of desire despite the differences in their class and race:

The Duchess opened; her heart, her private heart, gaped wide. And with a sigh, but no words, she took from her bag a long wash-leather pouch –it looked like a lean yellow ferret. And from a slit in the ferret's belly she dropped her pearls –ten pearls. They rolled from the slit in the ferret's belly –one, two, three, four– like the eggs of some heavenly bird. (1985: 251-252)

The situation blatantly encodes a game of power and heterosexual desire enhanced by the use of sexual language where roles –“deceive the deceiver”– are constantly reversed: the authenticity of the pearls is always in question (“Are they false or are they real?”, asked Oliver), yet it is clear that what Oliver is actually buying is the Duchess's youngest daughter and a long weekend “riding alone in the woods with Diana” (1985: 253). Significantly, in British aestheticism the jewel also stands for femininity and the female body,⁸ which is at the same time a common trope for art and artistry in a both male and female writing tradition that reaches back through Christina Rossetti, Laetitia Landon, Alfred Tennyson and Percy Bysshe Shelley.⁹

However, on a more profound level, and as Jonathan Freedman has argued (1990: 202), much of the thinking about aestheticism has to do with its relation to modernism and to modernist writers, which, among other things, details the relation between art object and commodity. Although most modernist male writers often disavowed this influence, their female counterparts continued to find in aestheticism a rich resource for the production of art as well as an alternative tradition with which to defy high-modernist misogyny. Shaffer and Psomiades (1999: 8) emphasise the relevance of the relations between aestheticism and commodity culture, as well as between aestheticism and sexuality. These relationships are presented in Virginia Woolf's “The Duchess and the Jeweller” in a tantalising way and are basically reflected in the image of the jewel. Significantly, the very central image around which the story evolves appears related to both beauty and desire, which is made evident when Oliver greedily and lustfully contemplates the jewellery laid before him:

8. See, for example, Griselda Pollock, (1988); Richard Dellamora, (1990) and Kathy Alexis Psomiades, (1997).

9. See Angela Leighton (1992).

He twisted a key; unlocked one; then another. Each was lined with a pad of deep crimson velvet; in each lay jewels –bracelets, necklaces, rings, tiaras, ducal coronets; loose stones in glass shells; rubies, emeralds, pearls, diamonds. *All safe, shining, cool, yet burning, eternally, with their own compressed light.* (1985: 250; emphasis mine)

Only the sight of all this beauty seems to compensate for Oliver's social world which, in spite of his wealth and position, is dull and unsatisfactory: "He was the richest jeweller in England; but his nose, which was long and flexible, like an elephant's trunk, seemed to say with a curious quiver at the nostrils (...) that he was not satisfied yet" (Woolf, 1985: 249). It is only when guarded by the darkness of his workshop that Oliver feels completely satisfied: the jewels that the Jew keeps in his safe and the thrill of owning them seem to satisfy Oliver's primitive greed as well as his "animal" nature, for they are, at the same time, a work of art and a commodity for sale and, at all times, Oliver's object of desire.

On a more metaphorical level, the flaming jewel is also a symbol of secular aesthetic value –art for art's sake and the autonomy aesthetic– a doctrine popularised by Walter Pater among others, a seminal figure in nineteenth-century British aestheticism and to whom Woolf was much indebted. In his influential work *The Renaissance* (1873), Pater repeatedly described beauty as a "gem" (1873: xxx); in a passage which brings to mind Oliver's shining jewellery in the safe of his workshop, Pater had defined the aesthete's aim as to keep beauty "safe" in "the narrow chamber of individual mind", for it to "burn always with this hard, *gem-like flame*, to maintain this ecstasy" (1873: 152; emphasis mine). Pater advocated for an Epicurean relish in receiving and reporting the multiplicity and intensity of impressions in such a way that, as he puts it, "not the fruit of experience, but experience itself is the end" (1873: 152). Similarly, Virginia Woolf describes her aesthetic search in terms which become revealingly familiar: "It is not exactly beauty that I mean. It is that the thing is in itself enough: satisfactory, achieved" (1980b: 62).

With Pater –as well as with John Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti or A. C. Swinburne– Romanticism reaches both its climax and exhaustion. As Jonathan Freedman put it, "they all represent the turn within Victorian culture to valorising art in general and visual art in particular as a means of provoking intense experience in a society that seems able to deaden the senses and the spirit alike" (1990: 2). Within this context, the jewel image outshines the devaluation and decadence of spiritual values.

4.

As argued throughout this paper, the question of value has to be placed on the site of production. In "The Duchess and the Jeweller", value and beauty

are always relational and a matter of exchange, an issue which worried Woolf throughout the entire process of composing a story commissioned for money. Yet at the same time, Virginia Woolf was haunted by the idea that the artist's pursuit was beauty, by the conception of life as art and by the search of visual perceptions which may provoke an intense experience, which she explained in one of her most celebrated essays on this topic, "Street Haunting" (1927):

For the eye has this strange property: it rests only on beauty; like a butterfly it seeks out colour and basks in warmth. On a winter's night like this, when Nature has been at pains to polish and preen itself, it brings back the prettiest of trophies, breaks off little lumps of emerald an coral as *if the whole earth were made of precious stone*. (1994: 482-483; my italics)

Though an aesthete in that sense of the word, and probably because of it, for Woolf the idea of the work of art beyond or outside the social realm was simply unacceptable. In 1920, she had published a short story entitled "Solid Objects" which she described to her sister as having "some points as a way of telling a story" (1978: 497). John, a promising MP, becomes obsessed with a search for lumps of glass that keep transforming their shapes in his head: "Looked at again and again half consciously by a mind thinking of something else, any object mixes itself so profoundly with the stuff of thought that it loses its actual form and recomposes itself a little differently in an ideal shape which haunts the brain when we least expect it" (1985: 104). John's apprehension of form brings to mind barren aestheticism, and especially Clive Bell's, Woolf brother-in-law, doctrine of "significant form" with which Woolf was in open disagreement. According to Bell (1914: 68), "significant form" would be a combination of lines and colour in the gazer's mind that moves him or her aesthetically; as a result, all those objects "that provoke this emotion we call works of art".

For Woolf (1985: 104), however, to privilege the experience of art as an end in itself, to divorce it from its social dimension was to deny its value. Like John's lumps of glass, objects found in "waste land (...) thrown away, of no use to anybody, shapeless, discarded" cannot be considered works of art. Eventually, John loses all social relations and becomes a figure of insanity and alienation, detached from the system of the world.

Unlike John's irregular "gems", possessing no use or market value, Oliver's jewels do have a double dimension: on the one hand, the jewel represents beauty, the sublime, it "burns eternally" because the work of art is exempt from physical corruption. Yet on the other, the jewel is constituted as such only because it has a price, a market value; it is a commodity and that is why it exerts such fascinating power of attraction which transcends class, race,

or gender: “‘Tears!’ said Oliver, looking at the pearls. –‘Heart’s blood!’ he said, looking at the rubies. –‘Gunpowder!’ he continued, rattling the diamonds so that they flashed and blazed” (Woolf 1985: 250).

What is actually at stake in “The Duchess and the Jeweller” is the question of artistry, value and the commodification of beauty, and such issues, contradictory as they actually seem, are the defining qualities of British aestheticism (Freedman 1990: 6). As Terry Eagleton has argued (1990: 368), the autonomy of aesthetic came to be so by, ironically, integrating art in the capitalist mode of production and its consolidation as commodity. Aestheticism is both high art and mass-cultural movement; its desire to synthesise both results in a complicated vision which seeks to explore the experience of fragmentation, loss and disintegration. Aestheticism in England represents the embrace of contraries –art for art’s sake and commodity culture; the exploration of cultural contradictions– the alienated artist and the political role for art itself.

“The Duchess and the Jeweller” should also be placed on its site of production, which becomes thus revealing as far as the significance of the story is concerned. While at work on it, Woolf was haunted by what she saw as a contradiction between “high art” and popularity, between writing “for her eye” and writing for the masses. The question brings the story close to its coetaneous *Three Guineas*, disparate as they both seem, for there too the question of art and the artist’s pursuit of beauty on the one hand and art’s social role on the other is present. According to Woolf, the artist “must refuse to sell his brain for money” and has to practise art “for the sake of the art” only (1938: 270). Privately, Woolf records in her diary the impossibility of writing just for the artist’s own pleasure in order to avoid a certain “objectification” of the writer: “That phrase inhibits me: for if one writes only for one’s pleasure, –I don’t know what happens. I suppose the convention of writing is destroyed; therefore one does not write at all” (1980b: 201).

“The Duchess and the Jeweller” was conceived and published in the midst of its author’s serious contradiction about its nature and its very convenience, questions that also appear reflected in the story’s subject-matter and the imagery employed. This short story reflects Woolf’s ambivalence with regards to class, race and nationality on a surface level; interesting as this may be, “that is not all, by any means”. The initial embracing of contraries is gradually developed further and on several layers of meaning: Oliver’s jewels not only reflect them all, but also reach back through a tradition which was in itself delightfully contradictory.

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ARGUMENTS OR MACROROLES? TWO FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES TO OLD ENGLISH QUIRKY CASE

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ABSTRACT. After comparing two functional approaches to the question of Old English deviant accusatives, genitives and datives, this paper follows Martín Arista (2001a, b) with respect to Old English prototypical verbal constructions: the prototypical transitive construction is defined as the active accomplishment version of verbs like writan 'write', the activity implementation of creation and consumption verbs representing the less-prototypical transitive construction; the active accomplishment use of verbs such as faran 'go' characterize the prototypical intransitive construction, whereas the activity version of motion verbs define the less-prototypical intransitive construction. The conclusion is reached that quirky case is not a feature of the morphosyntax of certain intransitive verbs of state and causative state, but a characteristic of verbal constructions that, deviating from both the transitive and the intransitive prototypes, show not only case-marking irregularity but also more case-marking choices than verbs that abide by the transitive or intransitive prototype. Since marked morphosyntax -including quirky case- is considered in this paper a consequence of the non-prototypical character of argument structure, it is claimed that the relationship between canonical lexical templates and their configurations should be semantically and syntactically motivated. The Principle of Lexical Template Instantiation guarantees the suitable degree of implementation of a lexical template by stipulating that, prototypically, all the internal variables of the instantiations of lexical templates are fully specified.

1. INTRODUCTION

For nearly two decades, Functional Grammar (henceforth FG) has been compared with other linguistic theories. Since the publication of the volume edited by Hoekstra, van der Hulst and Moortgat (1981), several studies have engaged in the cross-theoretical treatment of various aspects, which has contributed to the consideration of some unexplored grammatical domains, thus heating the debate among FG scholars. More importantly, theory comparison has made for the sense of a collective functional enterprise, which, in turn, has started to give the atmosphere of a dynamic functional-cognitive community. Works like Goossens (1990a) and Nuyts (1992), among others, have helped fill in the gap between functionalism and cognitivism, while the comparison of FG and other functional and cognitive theories carried out by Butler (1990), Kalisz and Kubinski (1997) and Martín Arista (1999), to quote just some recent studies, has shed light on certain methodological and theoretical areas. Theory comparison turns out even more stimulating if, as is the case with this paper, some potential points of convergence have already been successfully explored and exploited. Van Valin (1990), Butler (1996) and Mairal and Van Valin (2001) have pointed out a number of coincidences and compatibilities between FG and Role and Reference Grammar (hereafter RRG), while acknowledging the more semantically-oriented character of the former and the more syntactically-aimed nature of the latter. As regards the similarities between the two theories it suffices to stress the intertwined development of layered clause structure in Dik (1978), Foley and Van Valin (1984), Hengeveld (1989, 1990) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), to cite the most representative pieces of research.

2. RESTRICTIONS ON ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

This paper follows in the wake of Faber and Mairal (forthcoming), according to whom “syntactic variation can be explained by modeling processes which operate upon the canonical lexical template through the application of lexical rules, which relate lexical entries to their complement configurations”. In raising the issue of Old English quirky case, we intend to bear on a syntactic facet of the relationship between canonical lexical templates and their configurations, namely the impact on morphological case of the degree of prototypicality of argument structure (we use the term argument structure to refer to both argument valence and macrorole valence, despite the differences between the FG and RRG approaches in this respect, on which we focus below in this section). By elaborating on Taylor (1989: 211) we define the prototypical transitive and intransitive construction and formulate The Principle of Lexical Template Instantiation, which accounts for

the mappings between a lexical template and the different degrees of implementation of a syntactic configuration. We deal with these aspects in section 6. Sections 3 and 4 are concerned with Old English quirky case in RRG and FG respectively, while section 5 shows why the scope and nature of this phenomenon should be reconsidered.¹

The remainder of this section discusses the nature of the restrictions imposed on argument structure, which we consider semantic in FG and syntactic in RRG. Argument structure in FG is valency-based: the number of arguments equals the quantitative and qualitative valency of the verbal predicate. Given a verb like ‘drink’ in example (1), the FG analysis of argument structure is the same for (1.a), (1.b) and (1.c): the verbal predicate displays quantitative valency two which is reduced to one in the case of the linguistic expression (1.a), where the second argument is underspecified as a result of the application of a rule of second argument reduction (Dik 1997: 14):

- (1)
- a. Maria was drinking
 - b. Maria was drinking beer
 - c. Maria was drinking a pint of beer

If we consider the qualitative valency, the semantic function Agent of (1.a), (1.b) and (1.c) is borne by the first argument, and the Goal of (1.b) and (1.c) by the second argument. The restrictions imposed on the notion of argument in FG are semantic in nature: Dik’s (1989: 103) algorithm of argument structure restricts the possible combinations of semantic functions, limits the range of functions of the first, the second and the third argument, and defines some incompatibilities.

Argument structure in RRG is macrorole-based. Like the semantic notion of argument, the semantic-syntactic notion of macrorole originates in a generalization across semantic roles. In Van Valin and LaPolla’s (1997: 139) words, “macroroles are generalizations across the argument-types found with particular verbs which have significant grammatical consequences; it is they, rather than specific arguments in logical structure, that grammatical rules refer to primarily”. The main question is what is coded by the grammar in the same or in a different way: the generalized agent-type role receives the same grammatical treatment, which is, in turn, different from the grammatical treatment of the generalized patient-type role. Going back to example (1), whereas syntagmatic considerations do not impose restrictions on argument

1. The following abbreviations are used in this paper: NOM (nominative), ACC (accusative), GEN (genitive) and DAT (dative).

structure in FG, macrorole assignment in RRG is determined by the syntactic realization of sentences. The logical structure of (1.a), (1.b) and (1.c) is linked to the syntax by means of the assignment of the ACTOR macrorole to the thematic relation Effector in (1.a) and the assignment of the ACTOR to the thematic relation Consumer in (1.b) and (1.c). Macrorole assignment is transparent in (1.a) and (1.c): one argument gets one macrorole in (1.a) and a quantitative valency of two is associated with the assignment of both ACTOR and UNDERGOER in (1.c), the UNDERGOER being licensed by the thematic relation Consumed. On the other hand, macrorole assignment is opaque in (1.b) because only fully referential noun phrases are privy to macrorole status. Leaving aside discourse considerations, reference manifests itself in noun phrases through the presence of grammatical operators of definiteness, deixis, count-mass, etc. As we show in section 6, the kind of macrorole alternation that results from the presence or absence of telicity in the logical structure is the determinant for the degree of prototypicality of the transitive and the intransitive construction.

This sort of syntactic restriction justifies the distinction drawn in RRG between valency and transitivity: valency is a function of the semantics of the verb whereas transitivity is determined by the syntax of the construction into which the verb appears. This aspect confers a privileged status to macroroles, which guarantee the linking between semantics and syntax thus enjoying explanatory status: whereas grammatical rules tend to make reference to the functions performed by the arguments of the verb rather than to the argument itself in FG, grammatical rules make reference to the syntactically-restricted macroroles. Case theory could not be an exception in this respect. For this reason, we have chosen this particular area of the grammar to illustrate our point. Since inflection is marginal in Contemporary English, we have opted for Old English. In the next two sections we demonstrate that the scope of Old English deviant or quirky case is wider than shown by Roberts (1995). We also compare some aspects of case theory in FG and RRG with respect to quirky accusatives and genitives in Old English. The conclusion is reached that FG and RRG give different weight to case theory: case is a product of the expression component of FG whereas it turns out of much more significance to the semantics-syntax linking in RRG.

3. OLD ENGLISH CASE IN RRG

Looking at case theory in RRG in the first place, Van Valin (1991: 181) puts forward the case marking rules in (2) for accusative languages:

(2)

- a. Highest ranking macrorole gets NOMINATIVE case
- b. The other macrorole argument gets ACCUSATIVE
- c. Non-macrorole arguments take DATIVE as their default case

Case marking in Old English, an accusative language, can be explained in an ingenuous and elegant way by means of the algorithm in (2) in the vast majority of expressions. Three examples follow:

(3) <B COCHROA2><R 465.1>²

Her Hengest & æsc gefuhton uuið Walas
 here Hengest and Æsh_i-NOM fought with Welsh
 neah Wippedesfleote,
 near Wippedesfleet,
 & ðær xii Wilisce aldormenn ofslogon
 and proi there twelve Welsh earls killed

This year Hengest and Æsh fought against the Welsh near Wippedesfleet and killed twelve Welsh earls there

In example (3) the Agent participant *Hengest & æsc* ‘Hengest and Æsh’ licenses the ACTOR macrorole, which, being the only macrorole available from the macrorole-intransitive verb *gefeobtan* ‘fight’, gets nominative case marking.

(4) <B COPREFCP><R 15>

ða ongan ic ongemang oðrum mislicum & manigfealdum
 then began I_i among other various and manifold
 bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc wendan
 concerns of this kingdom proi the book-ACC to translate
 on Englisc ðe is genemned on Læden Pastoralis
 into English that is called in Latin Pastoralis

I began, among other various and manifold concerns of this kingdom, to translate into English the book entitled Pastoralis in Latin

In example (4) the *pro* element which is coreferential with the first person singular personal pronoun gets the ACTOR macrorole, which outranks the UNDERGOER in the macrorole hierarchy. Consequently, the participant *Ic* ‘I’ is declined in nominative while *ða boc* ‘the book’ is case-marked accusative.

2. Examples taken from the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English, compiled by Rissanen & Ihalainen (1984). The text reference system of the Helsinki Corpus has been kept. Whenever examples have been extracted from a secondary source, the source is acknowledged between brackets and the same text reference system is followed as in the secondary source. Note that BT stands for Bosworth and Toller’s Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

(5) <B COCHROA><R 874.5>

& ðy ilcan geare hie sealdon anum unwisum cyninges
 and this same year they gave an unwise king's
 ðegne Miercna rice to haldanne, & he him
 thane_i-DAT Mercian kingdom pro_i to hold, and he them
 aðas swor & gislas salde, ðæt he him
 oaths swore and hostages gave that it them
 gearo wære swa hwelce dæge swa hie hit habban wolden
 ready would be any day that they it have wished

And the same year they gave the kingdom of Mercia to an unwise thane of the king's, and he gave them hostages and swore them oaths that it would be ready for them any time they wished to recover it

In example (5) the direct core argument *anum unwisum cyninges ðegne* 'an unwise king's thane' is denied macrorole status thus receiving by default dative case. In this example there is no macrorole available because hie 'they' gets ACTOR and nominative case while *Miercna rice* 'the kingdom of Mercia' achieves UNDERGOER status and is case-marked accusative. This macrorole assignment needs further clarification: in Contemporary English the UNDERGOER goes to the object of ditransitive verbs that, being morphologically unmarked, follows the verb in the linear order of the clause. The morphologically marked object of Contemporary English is a candidate for 'undergoerhood' and, consequently, privileged syntactic argument, or PSA, of the corresponding passive, provided that certain morphosyntactic requirements of marking and position are satisfied. Since there were not passives like *An unwise king's thane was given the kingdom of Mercia* in Old English, the direct core argument *anum unwisum cyninges ðegne* is not a candidate for 'undergoerhood'. Given that it is a direct core argument of the verb, it bears the dative case.

The analysis of case marking in examples (3), (4) and (5) draws attention to three characteristics of the RRR case marking algorithm: in the first place, the RRG case marking algorithm relies on two basic distinctions, namely macrorole vs. non-macrorole status and direct vs. oblique argument status; in the second place, the nominative rule is based on agreement and the accusative rule on the passive construction; and, in the third place, case is dissociated from syntactic function as well as from semantic function: this could not be otherwise because the split theory of grammatical relations advanced in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) does not allow for cross-construction generalizations; on the contrary, grammatical relations are construction-dependent, in such a way that each of them may have its controller and/or its pivot. In example (3) the ACTOR argument case-marked nominative is the PSA of the construction because its control properties include agreement with the finite verb, thus functioning as a syntactic

controller. If we consider the second part of the coordinate subject deletion construction in (3), *& ðær xii Wilisce aldormenn ofslogon* ‘and [they] killed twelve Welsh earls there’, the PSA constitutes a pragmatic pivot not only because it assigns reference to the pro element but also because switch-function is possible, given that the syntactic pivot is the ACTOR in *Hengest and Æsh killed twelve Welsh earls* and the UNDERGOER in *Twelve Welsh earls were killed by Hengest and Æsh*. The ACTOR argument case-marked nominative of (4) is also the PSA of the construction, but, by contrast, it involves not only a semantic controller that assigns reference to the pro element, but also a syntactic pivot performed by the noun phrase omitted in the construction. There is also a semantic controller in example (5) but it does not overlap with the syntactic pivot, which is performed by the compulsory objective gap that follows the inflected infinitive *to baldanne* ‘to hold’.

Roberts (1995: 168) argues that the algorithm in (2) explains Old English case marking if two provisions are made: first, there are non-macrorole PSAs, in Old English; and second, genitives are not direct core arguments in Old English but obliques of some sort (Roberts 1995: 176). Allen (1995: 55) furnishes evidence for the existence of non-macrorole PSAs in Old English.³ She demonstrates that Old English subjects are seldom deleted unless they are coreferential with the first subject of a coordination construction, as is shown by (6):

(6) <Alc. P. xx.71> (Allen 1986: 390)
 ac gode ne licode na heora geleafleast
 but Godi-DAT not liked their faithlessness-NOM
 ac sende him to fyr of heofonum
 but proi sent them to fire of heaven
But God did not like their faithlessness, but sent them fire from heaven

According to the case marking algorithm in (2) gode ‘God’, being a direct core argument of lician ‘like’ does not bear macrorole and, consequently, gets dative case marking as default. However, gode is the PSA in the coordinate subject deletion construction exemplified by (6). If we consider the first clause, the dative gode is a syntactic controller because it determines the agreement in person and number with the finite form of the verb licode ‘liked’. Moreover, if we analyse the whole construction, gode is a pragmatic pivot given that it controls the omission of the coreferential noun phrase on the grounds of the degree of accessibility in discourse of topical elements. Along with the existence of non-macrorole PSAs, Roberts (1995: 179) finds the other exceptional feature of Old English case in the existence of quirky accusatives like that of example (7.b):

3. See also Fischer et al. (2000: 44ft).

- (7) (Mitchell 1985: 428)
 a. <Ælfric, Hom I, 166, 12>
 Him hingrode
 him-DAT was hungry
 He was hungry
 b. <Wulfstan, Hom. 17, 4>
 Hine ðyrste
 him-ACC was thirsty
He was thirsty

The atransitive verb *hyngrian* ‘be hungry’ licenses no macrorole. Consequently, the non-macrorole direct core argument is case-marked dative by default and the case marking algorithm given in (2) explains the presence of the dative in (7.a), but not of the accusative that accompanies the verb ‘yrstan ‘be thirsty’ in (7.b). Roberts (1995: 180) remarks that quirky accusatives in Old English appear only in active atransitive clauses, probably because this is the only context where confusion with the regular (UNDERGOER) accusative can be avoided. Roberts (1995: 180 ft. 25) goes on to say that the two accusatives are in complementary distribution: if there is no nominative, an accusative cannot be UNDERGOER; if a nominative is present, an accusative in the same sentence receives UNDERGOER. Datives never mark a macrorole, so, even though they appear in sentences with or without nominatives, confusion never arises. Atransitive verbs provide more evidence in favour of the existence of non-macrorole PSAs in Old English: the dative and the accusative of atransitive verbs control person and number agreement. Moreover, instances like (8), where coordinate subject deletion involves *hyngrian* ‘be hungry’ and *ðyrstan* ‘be thirsty’, present us not only with a syntactic controller but also with a pragmatic pivot, thus containing a non-macrorole PSA, namely *him* ‘he’:

- (8) <B COAELHOM><R 256.26>
 Him hingrode and ðyrste
 him_i-DAT was hungry and pro_i was thirsty
He was hungry and thirsty

So far, Roberts’s (1995) analysis is consistent with the data. However, when certain alternations of dative and genitive with two-place verbal predicates are taken into account, it does not seem out of place to widen the scope of Old English quirky case. Let us consider example (9):

- (9) (BT)
 a. <Hy. 7, 44>
 Du monegum helpst
 you many-DAT help

You help many people

b. <Swt. 45, 5>

ðonne ðu hulpe min
when you helped me-GEN

When you helped me

The verb *helpan* ‘help’ takes either a dative, as in (9.a) or a genitive, as in (9.b). The case marking rules for Old English as supplied by Roberts (1995) predict that the non-macrorole direct core argument gets dative case marking in (9.a) and that the oblique argument gets genitive case marking in (9.b). Both the dative in (9.a) and the genitive in (9.b) are denied PSA status because the ACTOR macrorole controls agreement. According to Roberts (1995: 176), genitive noun phrases cannot be PSAs because there are no active verbs in Old English whose only argument is a genitive and because two-argument verbs with a genitive object do not admit passivization. This is a fundamental difference with respect to datives, given that two-argument verbs with a dative passivize and preserve dative case-marking, as is shown by examples (10.a) and (10.b):

(10) (Denison 1993: 104)

a. <CP 225.22>

Ac ðæm mæg beon suiðe hraðe geholpen from his lareowe

but that-DAT may be quickly helped by his teacher

But that one may be quickly helped by his teacher

b. <ÆC Hom I 3.52.31>

...on urum agenum dihte hu us bið at Gode gedemed

...in our own power how us-DAT is by God judged

...in our own power as to how we shall be judged by God

The kind of data that Roberts (1995) seems to have missed is provided by examples like (11), in which the personal pronoun is case-marked genitive both in the active and in the passive:

(11) <Bo. 67.11> (Mitchell 1985: 355)

Forðæm se ðe his

for that cause he who him-GEN

ær tide ne tiolað,

before the time does not provide

ðonne bið his on tid untilað

then is he-GEN in time unprovided

Whoever does not provide himself beforehand will be unprovided when the time comes

In the light of instances of preservation of genitive case marking in the passive like (11) some behaviour properties of genitive noun phrases arise that

stress the partial overlapping of genitive and dative case marking. Example (9) has illustrated the alternation of dative and genitive as second argument with two-argument verbs. Such alternation is also present in three predicate verbs, as (12) shows:

(12) (McLaughlin 1983: 12)

a. <Beowulf, 384>

Ic ðæm godan sceal for his modðræce madmas beodan
 I the good-DAT shall for his daring treasures-ACC offer
I shall offer the good man treasures for his daring

b. <Chronicle, Anno 755>

Her Cynewulf benam Sigebyrht his rices
 here Cynewulf deprived Sigebyrht-ACC his kingdom-GEN
This year Cynewulf deprived Sigebright of his kingdom

The evidence in (11) and (12) suggests that considering the genitive an oblique of some sort, as Roberts (1995) does, may ignore some significant facts, including complementation alternation and, more importantly, PSA status in a passive (following Foley and Van Valin's (1984) terminology, OE has a foregrounding passive, involving a marked linking macrorole-syntactic function, that is, a non-ACTOR PSA). Although we have not quantified the preservation of genitive case-marking in passivization, the evidence considered here is sufficient to state that Old English quirky case in RRG should include not only accusative noun phrases as only arguments of atransitive verbs but also genitive noun phrases as second arguments of -at least certain intransitive/transitive verbs.

4. OLD ENGLISH CASE IN FG

In a more syntactically-oriented theory like RRG case marking plays a much more significant role than in FG because it represents an outstanding feature of some complex constructions like coordinate subject deletion, raising or control, among others, which constitute one of the main concerns of RRG. Therefore, case marking -either predictable or quirky- is dealt with at the semantics-syntax linking algorithm, primarily in terms of macrorole assignment and secondarily by means of the distinction drawn between arguments and non-arguments. A practical consequence of this different attitude towards the question of case has been the relatively low number of studies dealing with case in FG. There is, to our knowledge, no previous research in deviant case marking in Old English in FG.⁴ We give a blueprint of what the treatment of Old English case in FG might be like by drawing on Dik (1989) and Pinkster

4. But see Martín Arista (2001a, b).

(1990). The first conclusion that follows from the proposals by these authors is that the notion of quirky case is not very relevant to FG: if we have interpreted correctly Dik and Pinkster, FG would favour a treatment in terms of prototypical case marking that originates on systematic function-expression relationships and of lexically-specified non-prototypical case. In other words, lexical rules would account for what argument number, semantic function and syntactic function cannot explain. A preliminary proposal for Old English case marking would go along the lines given in (13):

		A1	A2	A3
1-place	NOM			
		DAT (7.a)		
		ACC (7.b)		
2-place	NOM		ACC	
		DAT (14)	DAT (9.a)	
			GEN (9.b)	
3-place	NOM		ACC	DAT (12.a)
			DAT (15)	GEN (12.b)
				ACC (16)

Note that numbers between brackets refer to examples in this paper. Lexically-specified case is displayed in bold type. Instances of dative first argument with a two-place verb, a dative second argument with a three-place verb, and an accusative third argument with a three-place verb are given in (14), (15) and (16) respectively:

(14) (Allen 1995: 49)
 <Ælc. Th.I. p. 192.16>
 Him ofhreow ðæs mannes
 him-DAT pitied of the man-GEN

He felt sorry for the man

(15) <B COBEOUWUL><R 2134>

He me mede gehet
 He me-DAT reward-DAT promised

He promised me a reward

(16) <B COBEOUWUL><R 3079>

Ne meahton we gelæran leofne ðeoden
 not could we give the beloved chieftain-ACC
 rices hyrde-ACC ræd ænigne-ACC
 kingdom's keeper advice any

We could not give the beloved chieftain, the keeper of the kingdom, any advice

In order to recapitulate, the preceding comparison has shown that FG and RRG differ in the importance they give to case theory: case constitutes a product of the expression component of FG whereas it is intimately associated with the linking semantics-syntax in RRG. It is the nature of the restrictions imposed on argument structure, semantic in FG and syntactic in RRG, that ultimately determine the more central or more peripheral nature of case in the grammar. Whereas FG associates case marking primarily with function and only secondarily with the argument that performs a given function in a predication, RRG treats case by means of syntactically restricted generalizations across thematic roles. On the side of similarities, there appear to be exceptions to case marking rules regardless of whether they are explained on the grounds of function assignment, as in FG, or by making reference to semantic macroroles, as happens in RRG. As Dik (1989: 315) puts it, “using a limited set of cases for a great variety of semantic and syntactic functions is thus a form of system economy which is bought at the price of occasional clashes”. If the preliminary account of Old English case marking in (13) is correct and worth further consideration, convergence between the two functional theories may increase in the sense that case expression is motivated by argument structure. However, any attempt to highlight the similarities between FG and RRG with respect to argument structure should not neglect the fundamental fact that, apart from the restrictions on which we have commented in section 2, the First Argument corresponds to the ACTOR macrorole of transitive constructions and to the UNDERGOER of intransitives like:

- (17)
- a. Janet is bright
 - b. Phil fell on the slippery floor
 - c. The ice cube melted in a second

This difference between the two functional approaches, which is dealt with in more detail in Mairal and Van Valin (2001), precludes further convergence, but it also indicates that more research is needed in this area.

Leaving aside argument structure, it would also be possible to link case expression to syntactic function for nominative and accusative and to semantic function as far as genitive and dative are concerned, but this kind of linking tends to ignore the verbal dimension of the genitive, which is often characterized as a prototypical possessor within terms (Dik 1989: 313), as well as to miss the covert syntactic function of the dative.

5. DISCUSSION

Whenever the topic of quirky case is raised, one feels tempted to take the Sapirian line that all grammars leak. We have not resisted the temptation in the

belief that the classics provide us with particularly acute and challenging insights into some intricate areas of language. If quirky case constitutes an instance of leakage in the grammar of Old English, the issues at stake are: whether quirky case blurs fundamental functional distinctions or not, what does leakage involve, and what verbal constructions undergo quirky case.

With reference to the question if quirky case blurs functional distinctions, the answer is that it does not. The redundant nature of case marking in Old English is easily demonstrated by focusing on the increasing importance of other structural devices like prepositional marking and rigid word order several centuries before the case system was reduced to the marginal character it has in Contemporary English. Another argument for the relatively low distinctive value of case marking in Old English may be found in the considerable degree of case syncretism displayed by nominal and adjectival declensions, particularly in their weak patterns. Still another argument in favour of the relatively low functional rank of case marking in Old English is that as early as in *Beowulf* there are numerous instances of irregular case marking which Pyles and Algeo (1982: 152) attribute to the process of levelling of unstressed vowels which was well under way by the year 1000. The whole argument aims in the direction of Pinkster's (1990: 62) remark that "linguistic structures contain more information than is strictly necessary (...) This serves to guarantee successful communication or (...) to compensate for the lack of non-verbal means of communication".

6. TRANSITIVITY PROTOTYPES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR LEXICAL REPRESENTATION

As for the second question, leakage often involves different possibilities of expression. As we have seen in the examples above, quirky genitive distributes with predictable dative in verbal constructions with *helpan* 'help'; and quirky accusative co-occurs with predictable dative in constructions with verbs like *hyngrian* 'be hungry' and *ðyrstan* 'be thirsty'. Moreover, these verbs also admit expression in nominative, as can be seen in (18):

- (18) <Ps.Surt. 42,3> (BT)
 ðysteð sawul min
 is thirsty sawl my-NOM
My soul is thirsty

State verbs like *ðyrstan* 'be thirsty' are atransitive, that is, they license no macrorole, which rules out the assignment of nominative case-marking to *sawul min* 'my soul' in (18) on the grounds of the case-marking algorithm in (2). Nominative case is therefore quirky: what the algorithm predicts for non-

macrorole PSAs is dative, not nominative case-marking. This reinforces the argument in favour of an enlargement of the scope of quirky case in Old English.

As regards the type of verbal constructions with which quirky case is associated, one should not miss the point that quirky case appears in connection with states and causative states.⁵ As Michaelis (1993: 311) has demonstrated in her study in deviant case-marking in Latin, “where two-place predicates depart from the nominative-accusative pattern (...) these deviations are to be attributed to the verb’s intransitive nature -unexpected given the number of verbal arguments”. We agree with Michaelis on the role played by the nature of the verb, but we depart company with her with reference to the issue of transitivity: quirky case is not a feature of the morphosyntax of certain intransitive verbs of state and causative state, but a characteristic of verbal constructions that, deviating from both the transitive and the intransitive prototypes, show not only case-marking irregularity but also more case-marking choices than verbs that abide by the transitive or intransitive prototype. Although I draw on Taylor’s (1989: 211) notion of the prototypical transitive construction, we offer a syntactic definition of this notion instead, as well as a proposal for the syntactic prototype of intransitive construction.⁶ In our opinion, macrorole alternation with verbs of creation and consumption defines the prototypical transitive construction; while macrorole alternation with verbs of motion defines the prototypical intransitive construction. Let us consider the following examples with *writan* ‘write’ and *swimman* ‘swim’:

(19)

a. <B COMARTYR><R 2234>

He wrat ða maran boc actus apostolorum

he wrote the great book Actus Apostolorum

He wrote the great book entitled Actus Apostolorum

b. <B COWSGOSP><R 8.6>

Se Hælend abeah nyðer

the saviour bent down

& wrat mid his fingre on ðære eorðan

and wrote with his finger on the earth

The Saviour bent down and wrote with his finger on the earth

5. From the point of view of FG, Old English quirky case in general and the previous account in particular represent a contribution to the discussion whether the typology of States of Affairs should be modified to include the feature [\pm Cognizant], as Goossens (1990b) puts forward. The crux of the matter is that morphosyntactic irregularity results from lack of semantic prototypicality. Quirky case verbs do not conform to the semantic definition of the prototypical transitive construction as rendered in Taylor (1989: 206).

6. Semantically, Talmy’s (1988) notion of Force Dynamics accounts for the compulsory expression of participants directly involved in the event chain.

c. <B COALEX><R 293>

Hie on sunde to ðære byrig foron
 they in the water to that town went
 & swumman ofer æfter ðære ea to ðæm eglande
 and swamm over through that river to the island

They went to that town across the water and swam across the river to the island

d. <Lchdm. iii. 272, 19> (BT)

Swa swa fixas swimmað on wætere
 as fish swimm in water
As fish swimm in water

The active accomplishment version of verbs like *writan* 'write' in (19.a) constitute the prototypical transitive construction, the activity implementation of creation and consumption verbs representing the less-prototypical transitive construction, as in (19.b); the active accomplishment use of verbs such as *faran* 'go' and *swimman* 'swim' in (19.c) characterize the prototypical intransitive construction, whereas the activity version of motion verbs define the less-prototypical intransitive construction, as is illustrated by (19.d). It follows that constructions with state and causative state verbs are non-prototypical, either as transitive or intransitive; and that achievements and underspecified activities constitute non-prototypical instances of the intransitive construction. This is tantamount to saying that macrorole alternation as a result of the presence or absence of the feature [\pm telic] in the logical structure defines verbal construction prototypicality. Notice that the participants coded by means of the constituents *ða maran boc actus apostolorum* 'the great book entitled Actus Apostolorum', *to ðære byrig* 'to that town' and *to ðæm eglande* 'to the island' in (19.a) and (19.c) respectively contribute the feature of telicity.⁷

The definition of the prototypical verbal construction in terms of macrorole alternation contributes to Faber and Mairal's (forthcoming) proposal of lexical rules which relate lexical entries to their complement configurations. Since marked morphosyntax -including quirky case- reveals itself as a consequence of the non-prototypical character of argument structure, the relationship between canonical lexical templates and their

7. Kiparsky (1998: 266) remarks that the function of the partitive that alternates with the accusative as the object of some verbs in Finnish is "to license unboundedness at the VP level". Although this study shares with Kiparsky's the focus on the relationship between external aspect and morphosyntactic case, we consider telicity the decisive criterion, whereas Kiparsky (1998: 268) takes the line that "what is relevant is the gradability of the event: bounded predicates, whether telic or atelic admit of no degree".

configurations should be semantically and syntactically motivated. More specifically, a functional principle should guarantee the suitable degree of implementation (that is, of specification of internal variables of a given instantiation) of a lexical template. The Principle of Lexical Template Instantiation stipulates that, prototypically, all the internal variables of the instantiations of lexical templates are fully specified:

(20) The Principle of Lexical Template Instantiation

Lexical templates tend to map maximal implementations onto syntactic structures, in such a way that isomorphism between semantic participants and syntactic constituents is maximized

This functional principle is compatible with Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997: 325) Completeness Constraint, which accounts for the linking between semantic participants and syntactic constituents, but applies previously. If the reasoning is correct, lexical templates and their syntactic configurations present an interesting contrast: syntactic configurations involve variable and/or operator reduction from lexical templates (Faber and Mairal, this volume); whereas they favour maximal implementations in both transitive and intransitive constructions, thus avoiding variable reduction.

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THE SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION OF POSSESSED-RAISING CONSTRUCTIONS IN TERMS REFLEXIVITY¹

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ABSTRACT. This paper aims to provide arguments in favour of the widely discussed idea that English causative alternating constructions of the type "John broke his arm/His arm broke" are, at least partly, reflexive. As we shall see, several constraints condition this proposal, namely the actor/non-actor category of the first argument of the activity predicate and the concept of control. In addition, I will argue that the recurrent association of this particular causative formal composition to the above mentioned reflexive meaning leads us to consider this alternation as a new construction within the wider scope of causatives. This construction has been labelled as the Possessed-Raising construction.

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea that causative alternating constructions are partly reflexive is not new². Many authors, including Siewierska (1990), Moreno Cabrera (1994), Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), among others, acknowledge the reflexive character of causative alternations of the type

(1) *John broke his arm/his arm broke*

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2. Causative alternations *involve verbs with transitive and intransitive uses, where the transitive use of a verb V can be paraphrased as roughly "cause to V-intransitive"* (Levin, 1993: 27).

in languages such as Italian or Spanish, where this reflexivity is syntactically marked by a clitic, namely *si* and *se*, respectively. However, all of them fail to assign this interpretation to their English equivalent, where no syntactic marker reveals any trace of a possible reflexive interpretation. By following the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar, as rendered by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), I aim to prove the reflexive character of causative alternations in English and, more specifically, to define the circumstances that license that reading. As a conclusion, I propose a construction called *Possessed-Raising*, which I characterise from the morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic points of view.

Siewierska (1990), Moreno Cabrera (1994), Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) agree on the idea that it is possible to give a unified account of reflexive and causative alternating constructions in languages where one and the same clitic is used in both contexts. In these languages, the intransitive variant of the causative alternation is derived from the transitive one by means of a process of valency reduction through which, using Van Valin & LaPolla's (1997) terms, the *highest-ranking argument* in the logical structure (LS), that is to say, the subject in English, is suppressed. As a consequence, as Siewierska (1990: 5) points out, the *transitive action predicate* is transformed into a *process predicate* where the *transitive goal* (or Undergoer), in Van Valin & LaPolla's (1997) terms) becomes the syntactic *subject* (that is, the Privileged Syntactic Argument) of the new predicate, and the reflexive clitic makes its appearance. Example (2) illustrates this point.

(2) Italian (from Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:409)

Maria ha aperto la finestra "Maria opened the window"
 La finestra si è aperta "The window opened"

Some languages, like Spanish, reveal this clitic not only in the intransitive version, but also in the transitive, at least with certain verb classes such as Levin's (1993) *break* group. See example (3) for illustration.

(3) Spanish

María se fracturó el brazo "Mary fractured her arm"
 Su brazo se fracturó/Se fracturó el brazo "Her arm fractured"

The problem lies in the fact that none of these authors defines the circumstances that surround this phenomenon, that is, the factors that determine the reflexive/non-reflexive reading of these constructions, neither do they delimit the kind of verbs that participate in it. Thus, on a provisional basis, and taking example (3) as a point of departure, I make the following proposals:

1. The constructions in focus differ from other alternating causative constructions in several respects:
 - 1.1. Their arguments are in a relationship of inalienable possession.³
 - 1.2. Their highest-ranking argument is animate in their transitive variant.
 - 1.3. In many languages, they have a reflexive clitic like *si* in Italian or *se* in Spanish which supports the plausibility of a reflexive reading under specific circumstances.
 Therefore, a different analysis is required which accounts for the presence/absence of reflexivity in their different realisations.

2. Taking Levin's (1993) work on the existing variety of English verb classes and alternations as a point of reference, I define the verbal class participating in this alternation as the group of verbs of *pure-change-of-state* whose members are in a relationship of inalienable possession, and whose highest-ranking argument is animate; e.g. *crack* in (4).

(4) The wind was strong and bitterly cold as we prepared ourselves and I tried in vain to put my boots on without leaving the car, until I cracked my forehead on someone's ice-axe in the back seat.

In the remainder of this paper I intend to offer a plausible account of English causative alternating constructions within the framework of RRG, capturing the fundamental factors that determine their reflexive condition.

2. REFLEXIVE INTERPRETATION OF CAUSATIVE ALTERNATING CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1. *Transitive variant*

As I have said in the introduction, English causative constructions lack a syntactic marker like the Italian *si* or the Spanish *se* that signals any trace of reflexivity. Nonetheless, the English alternation seems to present the same semantic characteristics as the latter. Accordingly, it should be possible to portray these pairs in the same way as their Spanish or Italian equivalents, that

3. I use this term after Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 190), who define it as involving a *part-whole relation between the possessor and the possessed*, e.g. *a table and its legs, a bird and its wings, a car and its wheels*. For an explanation of the part-whole metonymy see Kövecses & Günter (1998), Ruiz de Mendoza (1999) and Martín Arista (2001).

is to say, as reflexive constructions⁴. Let us begin by analysing the transitive causative variant of the alternation. I take examples (5) and (6) for illustration.

(5) English: John fractured his arm

(6) Spanish: Juan se fracturó el brazo “John fractured his arm”

Following Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), the syntax/semantics interface of causative constructions can be described as follows in (7) and (8),

(7) Semantic Representation/Logical Structure (LS):
[**do'**(x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **predicate'**(y)]

(8) Linking:
Transitivity: 2 Macroroles/MRs (Actor and Undergoer)

which applied to the examples mentioned above results into in (9) and (10), respectively:

(9) English: John fractured his arm
LS: [**do'**(John, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **fractured'**(**have.as.part'**(John, *arm*)]
Linking: Actor-*John*; Undergoer- *arm*

(10) Spanish: Juan se fracturó el brazo
LS: [**do'**(Juan, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **fractured'**(**have.as.part'**(Juan, *brazo*)]
Linking: Actor-*Juan*; Undergoer- *brazo*

In Spanish, the reflexive character of the construction can be derived from the presence of the clitic *se*. However, it must be noted that *Juan se fracturó el brazo* does not always conform to a reflexive interpretation; it depends on the context. Example (11) illustrates this idea.

(11) Juan se fracturó el brazo en el accidente “accidentally” (event interpretation)

(12) Juan se fracturó el brazo para ganar la apuesta “intentionally” (action interpretation)

4. That is to say, as an association of a certain formal structure (John fractured his arm/his arm fractured) with a meaning specification (reflexive meaning) which shall be specified in terms of semantic roles, macroroles and co-referentiality in this and forthcoming sections.

Therefore, the question at issue is, when does the reflexive reading apply? The sentence in (11) does not reveal a reflexive interpretation. It describes an event where the clitic *se* signals that, despite having a proper Undergoer (*el brazo*), the participant *Juan* also receives the results of the action through metonymic extension, but he does not perform the action himself; it is an accident. Accordingly, there is no agency implied on the part of *Juan*. Sentence (12), by contrast, allows for a reflexive interpretation, for *Juan* is an agentive participant who performs and, at the same time, undergoes, the action. It logically follows that there is a close relationship between agency and reflexivity. But this statement is not accurate enough, for the agent might not have performed the action purposefully, yet he would still be considered as doer and receiver simultaneously. Let us imagine that John is driving some nails in the wall at home and, accidentally, hits his arm with the hammer and breaks it. John did not break his arm on purpose, however he is the doer and –through metonymic extension– undergoer of the action. In such a context, a sentence like *John broke his arm* renders a reflexive reading. Thus, the statement above can be rephrased as follows: *actorhood* allows for reflexivity, whereas –in the context of this work– *non-actorhood* blocks it.

This opposition between reflexive/non-reflexive readings is, nevertheless, not observed in the semantic representation of the constructions, which are linked to the same logical structure. Thus, the problem lies in how to capture this difference in terms of semantic representation. As regards non-reflexive patterns, John cannot be an ACTOR⁵, from which it follows that this argument cannot be placed in the activity predicate (we will discuss this in section III). For those cases following a reflexive pattern the solution is straightforward. Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 119) state that the logical structure for verbs which lexicalize agency is one of the type in (13),

(13) DO (x, [**do**'(x, [...

where x is the agent, and they emphasise the fact that this structure applies *only* to those activity predicates whose argument *must* be an agent. For those predicates which have an effector instead of an agent, the logical structure is one of the type in (14), where x is the effector⁶.

5. Microroles and Macroroles shall be written in capital letters when subscribing to the RRG paradigm, whereas they shall appear in small letters when used in a more general sense.

6. According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 85), the participant role agent is defined as *a willful, purposeful instigator of an action or event*, whereas the *effector* is to be interpreted as the *doer of an action, which may or may not be wilful or purposeful*.

(14) **do'**(x,...

Therefore, the logical structure for example (12) is as displayed in (15):

(15) DO (Juan,[**do'**(Juan, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **fractured'**(**have.as.part'**(Juan, brazo))])

As I have already remarked, the Spanish example poses no serious problem, for its reflexive reading is marked by the presence of the clitic *se*. English, by contrast, lacks any syntactic marker that points to a reflexive interpretation in causative constructions. Nonetheless, the very same opposition between the *actor/non-actor* reading of the first argument of their transitive variant can be found in both languages. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate this opposition in English:

(16) John fractured his arm in the accident. “accidentally” (event interpretation)

(16) John fractured his arm to get the money from the insurance. “intentionally” (action interpretation)

In other words, English causative constructions can be found in the same contexts as their Spanish equivalents with *se*, from which I presume that a unified account can be given in both languages. The logical structure for example (17) is displayed in (18):

(18) DO [**do'**(John, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **fractured'**(**have.as.part'**(John, arm))]

To sum up, it should be kept in mind that the reflexive character of transitive causative constructions is conditioned by the actor/non-actor role of the first argument of the activity predicate.

2.2. *Intransitive variant*

As I have mentioned before, Siewierska (1990: 5) acknowledges the reflexive character of inchoative predicates, which she includes within the wider group of pseudo-reflexives. She describes them as intransitive predicates derived from their transitive variants by means of a valency reduction rule, this change being signalled by the presence of a *reduction marker* in many languages. Similarly, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 243) interpret the intransitive member of the causative predicate as the result of a process of detransitivization through which the highest-ranking argument in the logical structure is suppressed. The transitive goal or Undergoer becomes then the privileged syntactic argument, leading to a valency reduction in the new predicate.

As I see it, however, this predicate is not just a mere derivation of a transitive counterpart, but a systematic association between form and meaning; that is to say, a construction⁷. Illustration is provided in (19):

- (19) The child cracked his head when he fell down.
His head cracked when he fell down.

The possessed argument, *his head*, is *displaced* –using this term after Dik (1997: 436)– from the second argument position to the highest-ranking argument position, leaving out the former one, that is, *the child*. This displacement yields the interpretation of a raising phenomenon. Therefore, henceforth I shall refer to this construction as the *Possessed-Raising* construction⁸.

Again, I start off from the intuition that, in Spanish, Possessed-Raising constructions may have a reflexive reading signalled by the reflexive marker *se*. What circumstances condition that reading? Let us examine the following example:

- Su pierna se fracturó. “His leg fractured (by itself)”

The marker *se* can have two readings: it can be an impersonal *se*, indicating that the cause of the fracture is unknown, or it can have a reflexive reading, meaning *by itself*. If we focus on the latter, the reflexive marker must denote not only that the privileged syntactic argument receives the consequences of the action expressed by the verb, but also that there is no external cause to the predicate. Therefore, the action must have been internally caused. Consequently, the question is: is it possible to explain such an event in terms of internal causation? Let us go back to example (20): if the action were caused by the decalcification of the bones, it might be said that it is the inherent properties of the leg that are responsible for bringing about the fracturing. Therefore, there is some kind of actorhood implied on the part of the leg, which can then be said to merge both the Actor and Undergoer Macroroles, allowing for a reflexive reading. This might seem to be in contradiction with Levin and Rappaport Hovav’s (1995: 93) assumption that

Some externally caused verbs such as *break* can be used intransitively without the expression of an external cause, but, even when no cause is specified, our knowledge of the world tells us that the eventuality these verbs describe could not have happened without an external cause. We thus assume that the intransitive verbs that regularly have transitive

7. I refer the reader to Bloomfield (1933) and Goldberg (1995) for this definition of *construction*.

8. I prefer the term *raising* instead of *matrix-coding*, as in Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, because this is the generally accepted term in the literature.

causative uses are externally caused, and those intransitive verbs that do not are internally caused.

However, there lies the explanation for my proposal: it is our knowledge of the world that tells us that the verbs under study here do not behave exactly like the others belonging in the same group of pure-change-of-state verbs. Even if apparently similar, our knowledge of the world tells us that it is not the same to say

- (21) a. John broke the window (prototypical actor = DO/**do**)
 b. The window broke
 than
- (22) a. John broke his arm (non-prototypical actor)
 b. His arm broke

for whereas in (21.a) *John* is clearly an actor and, in (21.b), there is a high probability for the existence of an external –although non-explicit– actor, the actor role of *John* in (22.a) is not so clear, for people do not usually fracture their arms on purpose or by themselves. There is usually an external actor that causes the breaking. However, this paper aims, among other things, to prove that these verbs, under certain circumstances, allow for such a reading, and this is due to the reflexive component concealed by these constructions. Were it not for the explicit marker present in other languages, this fact could have gone completely unnoticed, but fortunately contrastive studies make it possible to take notice of otherwise unnoticeable phenomena in other languages.

According to Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), the opposition between internal and external causation is signalled in the semantic representation by the presence or absence of the activity predicate. Thus, the semantic representation for externally caused predicates is as shown in (23),

- (23) [[x DO-SOMETHING]CAUSE [y BECOME STATE]]

and that for internally caused predicates is illustrated in (24).

- [x PREDICATE]

The problem lies in the fact that the logical structure in (24) does not yield a reflexive reading *per se*. This structure could correspond, for instance, to a context where a football player is hit by the ball and, as a result, *his arm is broken*. Therefore, a different reflexive marker must be introduced within this frame to avoid ambiguities. Moreno Cabrera (1994), in his *verbal reflexive marking* proposal, puts forward the use of a morphological marker, [Rfx], in

the predicate which signals that the transitive predicate is reflexively applied to its only argument. On these foundations, the logical structure for (22.b) –along the lines of the RRG semantic apparatus– is as follows in (25):

(25) BECOME **broken**'_[REFX] (**have.as.part**' (3sg, arm)

Finally, since I have argued that Possessed-Raising is a construction, I put forward the following constructional template, which offers a complete characterisation of the construction from multiple perspectives.

<p>CONSTRUCTION Possessed-raising construction with verbs of pure-change-of-state</p>
<p>SYNTAX Template(s): accomplishment/achievement PSA: non-human Undergoer No pragmatic pivot (no passive)</p>
<p>MORPHOLOGY No explicit reflexive morphology Alternation Agent/Effector/Patient</p>
<p>SEMANTICS Actor and reflexive pronoun are obligatorily co-referential</p>
<p>PRAGMATICS Potential Focus Domain: Clause Actual Focus Domain: (prototypically) Possessed</p>

Constructional template for possessed-raising constructions with verbs of pure-change-of-state in English

3. NON-REFLEXIVE INTERPRETATION OF CAUSATIVE ALTERNATING CONSTRUCTIONS

Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995: 82) assume that “the alternating unaccusative verbs⁹ have a single lexical semantic representation associated with both their unaccusative and transitive forms, and that this is a causative lexical semantic representation”. Taking into account that *break* verbs belong

9. *Alternating unaccusative verbs* are of two types: 1. Verbs participating in the *causative/inchoative* alternation, and 2. Verbs participating in the *induced action* alternation. See Levin (1995) for further detail.

in this class, it follows that its members have a complex semantic representation with a CAUSE predicate for both their transitive and intransitive uses. The corresponding logical structure for *break* is displayed in (26),

(26) Break: [[x DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [y BECOME BROKEN]]

which, by extension, can also be applied to all *break* verbs, namely, *break*, *chip*, *crack*, *crash*, *crush*, *fracture*, *rip*, *shatter*, *smash*, *snap*, *splinter*, *split*, and *tear*; (Levin 1993: 28), with the only difference that the lexical variant will change for each verb. Let us use as illustration the logical structure for *fracture* in (27),

(27) Fracture: [[x DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [y BECOME FRACTURED]]

which, along the lines of Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), is represented as shown in (28).

(28) [**do'**(x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **fractured'**(y)]

However, as we saw in section II.1., this logical structure does not satisfy the demands of examples like (29), which may have different interpretations.

(29) John fractured his arm

To recapitulate, in section II.1. it was argued that a statement like (29) may be interpreted, on the one hand, as an activity predicate where the participant *John* is an actor who performs and –licensed by the relationship of inalienable possession existing between its arguments– undergoes a certain action. Hence its reflexive reading. On the other hand, the same example gives rise to a more plausible unmarked event interpretation which presents *John* as a passive undergoer who suffers the consequences of an external action, thus preventing a reflexive reading¹⁰. This opposition between reflexive/non-reflexive readings is, nevertheless, not contemplated in the semantic representation of the constructions, which are linked to the same logical structure. Thus, the problem lies in how to capture this difference in terms of semantic representation. Reflexivity has already been dealt with in section II.1., so attention shall be paid hereafter to non-reflexive patterns. Let us look back at example (29). Granted the accidental character of the incident and John's

10. *Markedness* is to be understood here as described by Croft (1990).

undergoer role, it is not possible to place this participant in the EFFECTOR position in logical structure. That would be incongruous, for the EFFECTOR is, quoting Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 85), “the doer of an action, which may or may not be wilful or purposeful”, like *Peter* in (30):

(30) Peter broke the clock last year.

The unmarked interpretation of this example involves a certain type of action or manipulation from *Peter* on the clock, regardless of whether the result is brought about purposefully or not. In (29), by contrast, the default interpretation is different. Our knowledge of the world tells us that, in general, nobody grasps his/her own arm and breaks it. A sentence like (29) is usually understood as happening accidentally, for example, as a result of a blow received in a car accident. In that case, the first participant in the state of affairs (SoA), *John*, cannot be said to have performed any action that leads to the consequent breaking. Therefore, the logical structure proposed by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), which I display in (31), does not fit the characteristics of *fracture* in this context, for *John* would be endowed with effectorhood:

(31) [[John DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [his arm BECOME FRACTURED]]

The same applies to Van Valin & LaPolla’s causative logical structure in (32),

(32) [**do**’(John,∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **fractured**’(have.as.part’(John,arm)]

where *John* would be represented as the EFFECTOR of the action bringing about the breaking, which is not the case here. Thus, the question is, how can *John* be inserted into the corresponding logical structure without being considered as effector?. As shown in (32), *John* and *his arm* stand in a relationship of *inalienable possession*; that is to say, there exists a part-whole relation between the possessor, *John*, and the possessed, *his arm*. As *John* cannot be placed in the CAUSE subevent, for this would lead to the erroneous EFFECTOR interpretation, it necessarily has to be placed within the achievement/accomplishment subevent. Thus, the new logical structure must place *John* in the second subevent. Taking into account the relationship existing between the two participants in the state of affairs, I propose the logical structure in (33) for *John fractured his arm last year*.

(33) **Last year**’[BECOME **fractured**’(have.as.part’(John,arm)]

This structure allows for the representation of both arguments, none of them being characterised as an ACTOR and the two being in a relationship of inalienable possession, which guarantees the right degree of affectedness for both of them (that is, *arm* is the highest ranking argument and, therefore, in competition with the other argument it is the one which definitely receives undergoerhood, although *John* is also a patient by metonymic extension). Thus, the CAUSE subevent is not involved in all causative alternations, as Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) claim. However, this structure is, by default, the semantic representation for (34).

(34) John's arm fractured last year (genitive-intransitive interpretation)

Whilst this type of logical structure does not pose any problem for the intransitive pair of the causative alternation, i.e. *His arm fractured last year*, whose logical structure would be one of the type illustrated in (35),

(35) **Last year**'[BECOME **fractured**'(have.as.part'(3sg,arm)]

it does present certain inconveniences for the transitive counterpart. More precisely, it is necessary to find a means to signal which syntactic representation, whether the transitive or the genitive-intransitive, applies in each case. This problem might be overcome by introducing some new item, operator, or parameter in logical structure that distinguishes the two syntactic projections. However, the introduction of elements *ad hoc* is uneconomical from the theoretical point of view, the use of already-existing explicative elements of RRG being preferable. More specifically, this theory has at its disposal a system of grammatical relations which does not recognise the traditional notions of subject and object, but which acknowledges the existence of certain syntactic arguments which control verb agreement and cross-reference. They are called *controllers*. The controller in *John fractured his arm* (accidentally) is *John*, whereas the controller in *John's arm fractured* is *arm*. Examples (36) and (37) illustrate this point.

(36) John fractures his arm/John and Peter fracture their arm

(37) John's arms fracture/John's arm fractures

Thus, the distinction between the two sentences can be established by specifying this feature, namely that the possessor is the controller, in their syntactic templates. The results are displayed in (38) and (39).

(38) Syntactic Template for *John fractured his arm*:

<p>CONSTRUCTION Causative construction with arguments in a relationship of inalienable possession</p>
<p>SYNTAX Template(s): accomplishment/achievement PSA. Syntactic Pivot: non-human UNDERGOER. Controller: Possessor No pragmatic pivot (no passive)</p>
<p>MORPHOLOGY Unspecified¹¹</p>
<p>SEMANTICS Possessor and Possessed are PATIENTS</p>
<p>PRAGMATICS Potential Focus Domain: Clause Actual Focus Domain: (prototypically) Possessed</p>

Constructional template for Causative constructions with arguments in a relationship of inalienable possession in English

(39) Syntactic Template for John's arm fractured:

<p>CONSTRUCTION Genitive-Intransitive Causative construction</p>
<p>SYNTAX Template(s): accomplishment/achievement PSA. Syntactic Pivot: non-human UNDERGOER. Controller: Possessed No pragmatic pivot (no passive)</p>
<p>MORPHOLOGY Unspecified</p>
<p>SEMANTICS Possessor and Possessed are PATIENTS</p>
<p>PRAGMATICS Potential Focus Domain: Clause Actual Focus Domain: (prototypically) Possessed</p>

Constructional template for Genitive-Intransitive Causative constructions in English

11. I leave the morphology unspecified in both templates for there are several aspects like the role of the morpheme 'number' which deserve further attention.

In summary, sentences with *break* verbs participating in causative alternations like *John broke his leg/His leg broke* can be considered to happen accidentally, *John* being simply a PATIENT. This interpretation does not allow for the traditional logical structure of the type [**do**'(x,Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **broken**'(y)], (Valin & LaPolla (1997)), for this implies some kind of effectorhood on the part of the x argument, (which contradicts the accidental interpretation). Consequently, I propose a logical structure that represents both *John* and *his leg* as patients in a relationship of inalienable possession. As this logical structure is the same as that used for genitive-intransitive sentences like *John's leg broke*, I specify the feature "Controller = Possessor" in the syntactic template of the former to distinguish it from the latter, whose controller is the possessed element. The result is shown in (38) and (39). As regards the intransitive member of the alternation, there is no need to introduce any additional parameter, for the logical structure in terms of inalienable possession perfectly complies with the semantic and syntactic demands of the construction. Finally, it is noteworthy that the CAUSE subevent which is described by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) as an indispensable part of the semantic representation for verbs participating in the *causative/inchoative* alternation is not necessary when the accidental interpretation applies (for the secondary argument is represented in the CONSEQUENCE subevent of the logical structure). Therefore, the final logical structure is basically one of the type achievement/accomplishment whose participant arguments are in a relationship of inalienable possession; the subevent CAUSE shall only be added when explicitly specified in the sentence.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have discussed the different variables that condition the reflexive character of some causative alternating constructions, namely the *actor/non-actor* category of the first argument of the activity predicate and the concept of *control*. Furthermore, I have argued that the many constraints that surround this reflexive reading define such a precise context where form and meaning recurrently match that this alternation should be regarded as a new construction within the wider scope of causatives. I have labelled it the *Possessed-Raising* construction.

Further research is needed, however, in order to provide a more elegant proposal that accounts for the whole array of interpretations displayed in one single lexical entry.

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COMPLEX STRUCTURES IN ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR: SOME PROBLEMATIC CASES

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ABSTRACT: This paper addresses the issue of complex structures in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). These authors establish an explicit and clear-cut typology of complex constructions for English highlighting the role of operators (modality, aspect, tense...etc.). However, after analyzing a 1000-example corpus, several cases will turn out to be quite ambiguous and not so definite as regards clausal selection. Consequently, such examples will prove that the boundaries between complex structures as established by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) cannot be considered as so limited and precise, and that they will usually have need of a more detailed account drawing evidence from other theoretical grounds.

1. INTRODUCTION

Within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), complex sentence constructions are explained according to the units which are involved and the relationship among those units. As is the case with simple sentences, the nucleus (predicate), core (predicate + arguments) and clause (predicate + arguments + non-arguments) constitute the main building blocks (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 441) in complex constructions. Among the relationships between these three units, coordination and subordination represent the two traditional nexus in the field of linguistics; in a co-ordinate construction, as its name implies, the constituents of each clause are independent from each other, sometimes joined by a coordinating

conjunction.¹ In a subordinate construction, on the other hand, one of the clauses, usually introduced by a subordinating conjunction, is dependent on a main one and at the same time, functions as a modifier or argument of this main clause. Apart from these two traditional relations, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), elaborating on Olson (1981), add a third one called *cosubordination*² which will be revised below.

Adhering to Van Valin and LaPolla's terminology, three levels of juncture "units" (nuclear, core and clausal) and three nexus types –relations– (coordination, subordination and cosubordination) are distinguished. Each of these sets in turn, will be combined with the other yielding seven juncture-nexus constructions in English³: nuclear cosubordination, core coordination, core cosubordination, core subordination, clausal coordination, clausal cosubordination and clausal subordination. In order to explain and justify the previous examples, the role of operators such as tense, aspect, modality...etc. in complex sentences will be of paramount importance.⁴

In this paper, after having analyzed the results displayed by a 1000-example corpus drawn from the British National Corpus, I show that there are some cases of these complex structures which are quite ambiguous and present several doubts as regards clausal selection. The discussion will proceed as follows: first, I critically revise the complex structures typology as established by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), emphasizing the role of operators in such constructions; likewise, these structures are illustrated by several examples from the corpus. Then, I comment on the results of a 1000-example corpus research as regards complex structures where some doubtful cases concerning clausal selection are explained in further detail.

1. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 454) stress the need to differentiate coordination, an abstract syntactic relation between units in a juncture, from conjunction, a specific construction type of the general form 'X conj Y', which can be an instantiation of coordinate or cosubordinate nexus.

2. Van der Auwera (1997: 3) points out to two relevant features for distinguishing nexus relations: [+ dependent] and [+ embedded]. In the case of cosubordination, this author states that a clause entity is cosubordinate if it cannot occur by itself [+dependent] and it is not part of another clause [-embedded].

3. All three nexus types are possible at all three levels of juncture, therefore there are nine possible juncture-nexus types in universal grammar. However, a language does not need to have all nine, and while English displays seven juncture-nexus types for instance, Korean appears to have all nine.

4. The concept of operators was originally introduced in the Functional Grammar framework by Dik (1978) and further developed by Hengeveld (1989). In this way operators are defined as the grammatical means through which more information about the state of affairs can be added. Each operator, in turn, must affect a specific layer of the clause. For further information I refer the reader to Dik (1997a) and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997).

2. THE ROLE OF OPERATORS IN COMPLEX STRUCTURES

As stated above, operators play a significant role in the understanding of complex constructions. In this sense, operator dependence, i.e. obligatory sharing of operators across the units in a juncture, constitutes the distinguishing feature of cosubordination. In Van Valin and LaPolla's words (1997: 455), "the non-matrix unit(s) must be dependent upon the matrix unit for the expression of at least one operator at the level of juncture". In the remainder of this section the focus will be on the role of operators in the seven juncture-nexus constructions found in English.⁵

Thus, beginning with nuclear cosubordination, a nuclear juncture consists of a single core made up of two different nuclei, which functions as a single complex predicate taking a single set of core arguments: e.g. *Mary left the door open*. Likewise, and since we are talking about cosubordination, both nuclei must also share the relevant operators of a nuclear juncture, namely (nuclear) directionals, (nuclear) negation and aspect. Examples of nuclear cosubordination structures from the corpus are illustrated by (1):

(1)

a. AL2 409⁶. Despite its cost-cutting and job reduction programs, British Petroleum went out of its way yesterday to keep shareholders **happy** at the group's annual meeting.

b. HWN 609. Don't forget to put your bin **out** today.

In (1a) the nuclear cosubordination relation holds between the verbal predicate *to keep* and the adjectival predicate *happy*, which share the two core arguments *British petroleum* and *shareholders*. In (1b), we find again two nuclei: the verbal predicate *to put* and the prepositional predicate *out*; both predicates share the argument *you* (though in this case is omitted since it is an imperative clause) and the argument *bin*.

With respect to core juncture structures, a general feature of this kind of junctures is that one of the arguments must function as the semantic argument for the two nuclei in each core. In order to distinguish a core juncture from a nuclear juncture two more characteristics should be mentioned: the first one is that a core juncture may require a complementizer, in this case *to*, whereas nuclear junctures do not permit one; and the other is that, while the two nuclei

5. For this section, I have thoroughly revised Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997: 455) account on complex structures and many of their examples are provided.

6. Whenever I use examples from the BNC corpus the reference 'code', constituted by numbers and letters, will be specified.

can appear adjacent in a nuclear juncture (e.g. **Take off** your shoes), this is not possible in a core juncture (e.g. *He persuaded Amy to leave* – ***He persuaded to leave** Amy).

In a core cosubordination construction like *He tried to wash the car* there are two different cores, in which the two nuclei, *tried* and *wash* share one argument *He*, and, as it is a cosubordination nexus, both cores must also share the relevant operators for a core juncture: modality, (core) directionals and internal negation. Examples from the corpus are given in (2):

(2)

a. K1X 3483. Police **want to talk** to anyone who saw the lorry, the taxi or a white Cavalier Sri in the area earlier today.

b. B08 2049. You may want to invite former colleagues to work for or with you in your new sphere.

In (2a) the core cosubordination structure holds between the predicates *want* and *talk*, which share the argument *police*. In (2b) the predicates *want* and *invite* are also in a cosubordinate relation sharing the argument *you*; in this case, we find the realization of the core operator for modality, expressed by *may*, which must be shared by both cores.

Operator dependence constitutes a crucial feature for distinguishing core cosubordination from core coordination. Let us consider the following examples:

(3)

a. He tried to wash the car.

a'. He didn't try to wash the car.

b. Pat told Mary to wash the car.

b'. Pat didn't tell Mary to wash the car.

In (3a'), an instance of core cosubordination, the negation must affect both cores: *He didn't try that* and, consequently *He didn't wash the car*.

In (3b), an instance of core coordination, there are again two different cores, in which both predicates, *told* and *wash*, share one semantic argument (*Mary*). However, in this case the core operators are not shared by both cores; hence, in (3b') the negation affects just the first core *Pat didn't tell Mary*, but this does not imply that Mary did not wash the car finally. The syntactic representation for (3a') and (3b) is given in the following figure:

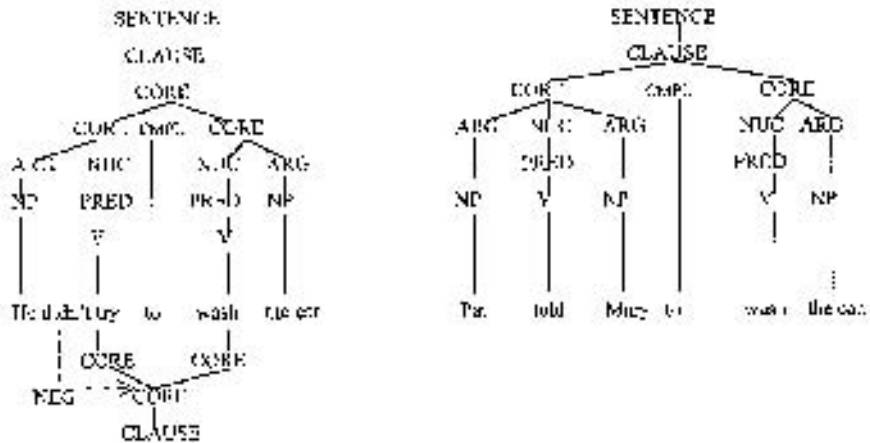


Figure 1. Core cosubordination and core coordination in English.

As regards core subordination constructions, this relationship consists of a core juncture, where there is no sharing of an argument between the two nuclei, but instead, one of the cores functions as an argument of the matrix core:

- (4)
- a. Maria regretted Peter's losing the game.
 - a'. Peter's losing the game was regretted by Maria.
 - b. That Tom won the race surprised Mary.
 - b'. It was Tom's winning the race that surprised Mary.

Both (4a) and (4b) represent instances of core subordination constructions. In (4a) the subordinate core *Peter's losing the game* functions as an argument of the matrix core *regretted*. In (4b) on the other hand, *That Tom won the race* constitutes a clause which in turn is a core argument (subject) of the main predicate *surprised*. Functioning as a core argument of a matrix core implies that they may be cleft (4b'), and passivized (4a').

Focusing our attention now on clausal junctures, a clausal cosubordination construction is a sentence made up of two different clauses, both of them sharing any of the clausal operators, namely tense and illocutionary force (IF). Examples from the corpus are given in (5):

- (5)
- a. HGF 1994. (...) "I'll **see** you tomorrow and **tell** you everything".
 - b. CEM 2309. Mr Koenig, 44, **celebrated** with champagne yesterday and **rehired** five workers he had been forced to sack from his tool business.

In the previous examples tense and illocutionary force must be shared by each clause. Thus, the clauses in (5a) have the same tense, future, and the same IF, declarative. Both clauses in (5b) also share a declarative IF and tense, in this case past.

With respect to clausal subordination, the two main types involved in this kind of construction are adverbial clauses and *that*-complement clauses. Adverbial clauses are usually part of the periphery and they modify the matrix core. The subordinating conjunction functions as a predicate and takes a clausal argument. This may be exemplified by (6), where the adverbial clauses are highlighted in bold type:

(6)

a. CH6 1290. A man was shot twice yesterday **as he fled from five masked youths.**

b. E9U 218. **If we win the next three matches** we could still go through and we will have a much stronger side.

As regards *that*-complement clauses, they could be considered as subordinate clauses of core subordination structures since, in the same way, they function as a core argument (this time object) of the matrix core. However, it is at least questionable if object *that*-clauses are part of the core or fall outside of it; evidence for this fact comes from the placement of peripheral adverbs before the *that*-clause. Peripheral adverbs must follow all core elements in English; however, if we place a peripheral adverb after an object *that*-clause the resulting sentence sounds quite unnatural and may yield ambiguous interpretations. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(7)

a. He decided yesterday that he would go to the party.

b. ? He decided that he would go to the party yesterday.

If peripheral elements appear between the nucleus and the *that*-clause, then the *that*-clause cannot be within the core and must be analyzed as being a direct daughter of the higher clause node. The syntactic representation of subject *that*-clauses (core subordination) and object *that*-clauses (clausal subordination) is illustrated by the following figure:

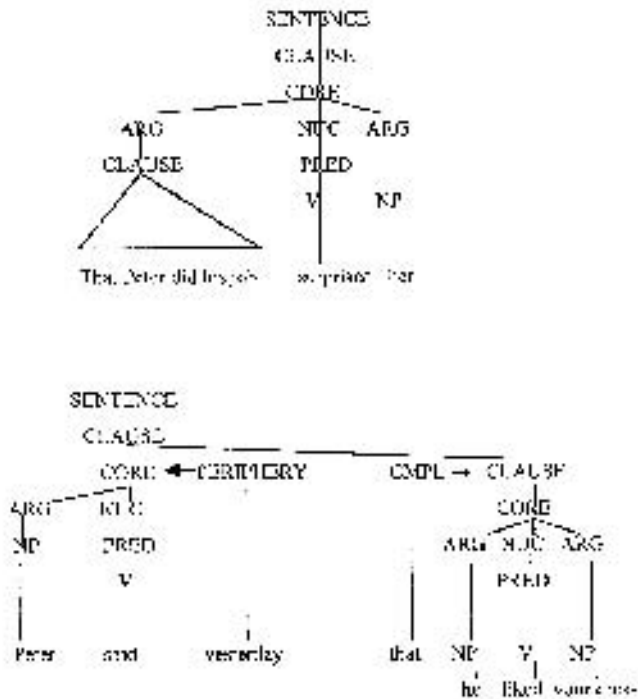


Figure 2. Core and clausal subordination.

The last type of clausal junctures is clausal coordination, a universal juncture-nexus type: e.g. *I love 'South Park' but Raquel hates those cartoons*; in this case there are two different clauses, both independent from each other, even to the point that each clause may have independent illocutionary force and tense operators.

Nevertheless, in the following section, we will see that there are several cases involving complex structures which are not so precise and definite as the previous ones, and present some doubts as regards clausal selection.

3. SOME PROBLEMATIC CASES

After having introduced the main syntactic features of complex constructions, this section will display the results obtained from the analysis of a 1000-example corpus of the occurrence of complex structures selected in a random fashion in groups of 50. This corpus draws from a reliable database, the British National Corpus –hereafter BNC; I consider it a well-suited corpus for my analysis due to its prestige and size. According to Kennedy (1998: 68)

“studies of many syntactic processes and high frequency vocabulary generally require corpora of between half a million and one million words”. The BNC is a corpus of about 100 million words of contemporary spoken/written English from a diversity of sources, hence, and following Kennedy’s estimate, it should be enough for the phenomenon under study here.

Most of my analysis will be centered on copula structures, since many of these constructions have resulted to be quite doubtful in terms of the clausal selection guidelines established by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997).

Before analyzing examples involving copula constructions from the corpus, two cases of non-verbal predicates differentiated by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) should be considered:

(8)

- a. It is likely that Jim will win the race.
- b. That Jim will win the race is likely.

Sentence (8b) is a clear example of core subordination where *that Jim will win the race* functions as a core argument (subject) of the non-verbal predicate *likely*. However, (8a) is regarded by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 482) as an instance of clausal subordination, even though the *that*-clause is in a subject relation to the predicate *likely*, and as I said above usually *that*-subject clauses are realized by core subordination whereas *that*-object clauses are realized by clausal subordination structures. One possible explanation for this is the analogy of the *that*-clause position in (8a) with other types of clausal subordination where the complement clause appears to the right of the sentence, like: *He thinks that you should go*. Moreover, the subject is double-instantiated, *it* and *that he will come*, both being co-referential, which makes a clearer division of two different clauses.

A point of reference that should be taken into account when deciding the kind of juncture in non-verbal predication is Hengeveld’s classification of copula constructions (1990)⁷. This author classifies copula constructions depending on the type of entities expressed, which can be of four different types:

- First order entity or individual; these entities can have color, size, and weight, can be touched, can be located in space, and can typically be evaluated in terms of their existence.
- Second order entity or state of affairs; these entities can be witnessed and regretted, can be located in space and time, and can typically be evaluated in terms of their reality.

7. For further information see also Hengeveld (1992).

- Third order entities or propositional content; these entities can be known and forgotten, asserted and denied, can be located in neither space nor time, and can typically be evaluated in terms of their truth.
- Four order entities or speech act; these entities can be uttered and understood, they locate themselves in space and time, and can typically be evaluated in terms of their felicity.

Each of these four entities, in turn, corresponds to a clause layer in Functional Grammar –henceforth FG. Therefore, and elaborating on Lyons (1977), first order entities are expressed by the predicate, second order entities by the predication, third order entities by the proposition and fourth order entities by the clause.

Following the previous classification of entities, Hengeveld (1990: 107) organizes copula constructions according to the type of entity they express. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(9)

- a. The grass is green.(1st order)
- b. It's stupid to drive without a license.(2nd order)
- c. It's true that I don't like you.(3rd order)
- d. His question was "Where are you going?" (4th order)

Before applying the previous classification to actual examples from the corpus, let us consider first the results of my analysis as regards copula complex constructions. In this way, these structures can be said to be mainly realized by two juncture-nexus types: 1) core subordination, when a *that*-subject clause to the left of the sentence is not co-referential with a pronoun, and 2) clausal subordination, when a *that*-subject clause to the right of the sentence is co-referential with a previous pronoun. Examples involving copula constructions are given in (10):

(10)

- a. FHH 147. That he made a mistake was quite obvious for everybody.
- b. BMM 870 It is amazing that we produce any sprinters at all in this country, when you consider the conditions under which we have to race and train.
- c. KSH 4620. It was hardly a surprise to the City or anyone else yesterday that Weir Group produced another set of excellent results, with the promise of more to come this year.

According to the distinction drawn above between complex constructions (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), sentence (10a) corresponds to an instance of core subordination, whereas (10b) and (10c) are examples of clausal subordination. In (10a), *that he made a mistake* is a core argument of the

predicate *obvious*. In (10b) and (10c), *that we produce any sprinters at all in this country* and *that Weir Group produced* (both being co-referential with the subject it) constitute the subordinate clauses of the main predicates *amazing* and *surprise*, respectively.

As discussed above, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) also argued that peripheral adverbs, like *yesterday*, must be placed after all core elements; therefore they justify examples like (10b) or (10c) as cases of clausal subordination due to the position of the adverb after the main clause. Besides, placing the adverb at the end of the sentence would yield ambiguous cases like **He decided that he'll go to Paris yesterday*.

Other cases involving copula constructions include examples like:

(11)

HHX 11348. It is a terrible indictment of 1991, to think that such events could happen today in Europe.

Sentence (11) is a similar example to those of clausal subordination, with the only exception of *to* as a complementizer instead of *that*. If we followed Van Valin and LaPolla complex structures classification, we would be at a loss with an example like the previous one. In this case Hengeveld's classification of copula constructions may be useful. According to this author an expression similar to (11), like *It's stupid to drive without a license*, expresses a second order entity and this corresponds to the predication layer of the clause. Consequently, it should be considered a case of core juncture since the predication in FG corresponds to the core in RRG, as illustrated by the following table by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47):⁸

Semantic Unit	RRG layer	FG layer
Predicate	Nucleus	Predicate
Predicate + Argument (s)	Core	Predication
Predicate + argument(s) + (non-arg(s)) = proposition	Clause	Proposition
Proposition + DP elements	Sentence	Utterance

Table 1. FG and RRG clause layers.

8. When ascertaining the junctures in complex structures by comparing FG/RRG layers, it is only the semantic classification of entities that it is used (that is, operators are not taken into account since some FG operators are distributed differently along the layers).

However, (11) is not a case of core cosubordination, even though we find the complementizer *to*, a typical particle of this type of relation according to Van Valin & LaPolla (1997); this is evidenced by the fact that both predicates *terrible indictment* and *think* do not share any core arguments. Hence, it constitutes a case of core subordination, where *to think that such events could happen today in Europe* functions as a core argument of the predicate *terrible indictment*. In this way the construction can be cleft as follows:

(11)' It is to think that such events could happen today in Europe that is a terrible indictment of 1991.

Other non-verbal predicate expressions which may present some doubts when deciding the kind of complex structure involved, are headless relative clauses. An example of a headless relative clause taken from Hengeveld (1990: 114) is given in (12):

(12)
What I mean is that I don't like you.

An expression like *What I need is love* or *I can't remember who Jose saw* is a headless relative clause because its structure is quite alike to that of a relative clause like *I saw the man who Sam told me about*, but with the difference that it does not modify any NP (in the previous sentence *the man*) since there is not a head noun. According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 503), these headless relative expressions embody clauses that fill a core argument position in the matrix core. But, again, there are similar cases to the one in (11) above like *What you need is to go on holidays*, where the kind of nexus involved may present some uncertainties. Following the reasoning for (11), cases like this will be considered instances of core subordination.

Finally, there are several other cases concerning verbal predicate constructions that would require a more exhaustive explanation. These cases are related to clausal subordination structures, namely when these structures express the semantic relation of indirect discourse. Examples of clausal subordination constructions expressing indirect discourse are given in (13):

(13)
a. CH6 6604. Yesterday, cuddling three-month-old Jennifer at her home in Bedford, she **told** how the passionate affair began and how she was left to bring up her daughter on her own.
b. K52 7241. Mrs. Lambird of Belford Gardens, **said** yesterday (that) she **felt** (that) the county council should recruit staff trained to deal with dyslexia.

Example (13a) shows a relation of clausal subordination between the main clause *she told* and the subordinate clauses *how the passionate affair began* and *how she was left to bring up her daughter on her own*. Semantically, as stated above, it is a case of indirect discourse, that is, an expression of reported speech. In this case, the subordinate clauses are introduced by *how*; these subordinate clauses can be considered as a variation of *that*-clauses, since in the same way as these, they usually appear to the right of the sentence and they can be passivized, e.g. *How the passionate affair began was told by her*.

In (13b) there are two cases of clausal subordination. The first one is again an instance of indirect discourse between the main clause *Mrs. Lambird said yesterday* and the subordinate clause *she felt...with dyslexia*. The second subordinate relation expresses a propositional attitude semantic relation and it is realized by the clauses *she felt* and *the county council should recruit staff trained to deal with dyslexia*.

However, there are some cases where, even if the main predicates express that semantic relation –indirect discourse–, it is not so clear if the relationship is one of clausal subordination:

(14)

a. AHF 874. Serbian forces yesterday **claimed to have captured** the centre of Bijeljina, in northeastern Bosnia, after days of fierce gun battles with Muslims and Croats.

b. CH3 1982. Graham Taylor yesterday **vowed not to quit** as England manager but admitted he feels as hounded on the back pages as the Royal Family are on the front.

c. K55 7840. David Holmes, of Ceder Grove, Shildon, was yesterday given an absolute discharge by Darlington magistrates after **admitting parking** a vehicle in a no waiting zone in Woodland Road, Darlington.

Although the first two cases, (14a) and (14b), represent indirect discourse, they are not examples of clausal subordination. In fact they are two examples of core junctures, since both nuclei in each clause share one argument (in (14a) the nuclei *claimed* and *have captured* share the argument *Serbian forces* and in (14b) the nuclei *vowed* and *quit* share the argument *Graham Taylor*). With regard to the nexus type, both sentences seem a case of core cosubordination since, apart from sharing a core argument, the complementizer *to* is also found. Moreover, it cannot be a case of core subordination since none of the cores function as a core argument; neither can it be a coordinate structure since the cores are not independent from each other. If they are core cosubordination constructions, core operators should be shared by the cores in each sentence. However, if an operator of negation is

added, as in *Serbian forces yesterday didn't claim to have captured...*, the question arises whether the negation affects both cores, that is, if the fact of not claiming something means not having done it (and the same fact can be applied to vowed); however I do not think this is the case here, since claiming to have achieved something for instance, does not necessarily mean that you have achieved it. Similarly, one may vow to do something but then decide not to do it, or be prevented from doing it. Cases like the previous ones, pose, in my opinion, some doubts as regards the plausibility of cosubordination as a nexus, though I leave this issue as an open question.

Example (14c) is different from the previous ones. In this sentence there is also a verb that usually appears in cases of clausal subordination: *He admits that she is not his girlfriend*; however, in this case there is again a core juncture where there is a sharing of the argument *David Holmes*. Therefore it constitutes another case of core cosubordination, but this time the second core can be cleft and even passivized as the following examples show:

(15)

- a. It was parking a vehicle that he admitted.
- b. Parking a vehicle was admitted by him.

Consequently, it should be concluded that it is an example of core subordination where *parking a vehicle* functions as a core argument of the main predicate *admit*.

These previous examples have shown once more that many complex structures are not so explicit and unambiguous as the ones proposed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997).

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have attempted to provide a more detailed explanation of several complex structures expressions. In this sense, Van Valin & LaPolla's (1997) approach is focused on seven definite complex constructions which are justified in relation to specific syntactic features. These seven juncture-nexus types have been explained according to the role of operators such as tense, illocutionary force, aspect, etc., and several cases have been illustrated from the BNC. However, as we have seen, there are several examples which are not so definite and need a more exhaustive and precise analysis. Most of these cases involved copula constructions such as *It is a terrible indictment of 1991, to think that such events could happen today in Europe* where the kind of juncture involved was not so clear as regards Van Valin & LaPolla's (1997) typology. In some of these instances, the FG layered clause structure along with Hengeveld's typology of entities proved to be quite useful. Nevertheless,

such examples showed that the boundaries between complex structures as settled by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) cannot be regarded as so clear-cut and determined, and that in many cases it is necessary to draw evidence from other theoretical grounds.

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THE EMOTIONAL CONTROL METAPHORS

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ABSTRACT. In this paper we are concerned with the metaphors capturing the aspect of control. Emotion is conceptualized as a force inside the person that can exert pressure on him or her and the person, in turn, is seen as an entity exerting a counterforce in an attempt to control that force. The control aspect of emotion concepts is highlighted by several metaphors. The metaphorical source domains that focus on this aspect include: FLUIDS UNDER PRESSURE, OBJECTS, OPPONENTS, CAPTIVE ANIMALS, NATURAL FORCES, INSANITY, INTOXICATION, SUPERIORS, BEING ON THE GROUND, REDUCING THE TEMPERATURE. In this way we draw our attention to the metaphors converging in the stages two and three of the five-stage scenario: attempt at control and loss of control.

1. INTRODUCTION

Emotions originate from exposure to specific situations. Emotion terms are not pure categories that can be defined by componential analysis, by means of a minimal number of conceptual components. Componential analysis does not seem to represent the way people think and express their emotions. It is virtually impossible to talk about emotions without conceptualizing them metaphorically (Kövecses 1990, 2000).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29) claim that "... most of our nonphysical reality is structured, understood, and created by metaphors..." We come to know our thoughts and feelings by analogy to the physical world. In domains where there is no clear preconceptual structure to our experience, we import

such structure via metaphor. Metaphor provides us with a means of comprehending domains of experience that do not have a preconceptual structure of their own. Lakoff and Johnson proposed that metaphor was a basic structure of understanding through which we conceptualize one domain (the target domain which is unfamiliar or abstract) in terms of another (the source domain, most often familiar and concrete). The corresponding relationship between these domains constitutes an organised conceptual metaphor. A linguistic metaphor will be an expression of such a mapping through language. The image- schemas, that are abstract constructs, lie at the base of metaphorical expressions.

How do people control their emotions and prevent the physiological and behavioural effects from showing? How do we perceive the world around us, the feelings within us and repress what is going on inside us? In our present culture, emotions are often perceived as something to be dreaded, as though they might overwhelm us. We feel lost when emotions take over. We don't know what is going on and we have no control over what is happening (Kövecses 2000). Therefore, it is often extremely important in our present society, under certain circumstances, to repress our emotions and try to avoid the loss of emotion control.

The main task of the control metaphors is to express the standard ways of conceptualizing how we come to have our emotions under control, and how we lose control over them. Consider the following expressions: "You shouldn't cork your emotions up like that," "He was bursting with joy," "He could not conceal his delight," "She is ruled by her emotions," "She hid her face in the pillow to stifle her sobs," "She could not dam back her tears," "He has cooled down a bit," "I'm on cloud nine," "She drove him berserk," "His feelings of happiness broke loose," "She's been wrestling with her feelings," "The girl couldn't hold back her tears of joy," "He was beside himself with joy"

All these linguistic expressions belong to the phase of attempting at control, loss of control and lack of control and they have been motivated by the following cognitive and cultural models (Lakoff 1987, 1999; Kövecses 1986,2000):

1. THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS
2. EMOTIONS ARE FORCES
3. EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS UNDER PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER
4. EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS
5. EMOTIONS ARE OPPONENTS
6. EMOTIONS ARE CAPTIVE ANIMALS
7. EMOTION IS INSANITY
8. EMOTION IS INTOXICATION

9. EMOTIONS ARE SOCIAL SUPERIORS
10. SELF-CONTROL IS BEING ON THE GROUND
11. TO HAVE OUR EMOTIONS UNDER CONTROL IS TO KEEP A COMPLETE OBJECT TOGETHER.

The linguistic examples provided in this paper have been extracted from lexicographical sources, magazines, newspapers, fiction, informants, a wide variety of papers written by Lakoff (1993: 1999), Kövecses (1986, 2000) and from the following web page: Metaphor Home Page (hyperlink "<http://cogsci.berkeley.edu>").

In this paper we are concerned with the prototypical mental models underlying the conventionalized linguistic expressions that we use to control our emotions. We won't study in detail the set of linguistic expressions of each of the general cognitive-cultural models presented. Only at the end of this work we provide an integrated semantic description of an emotive expression by unpacking the different types of meaning representation.

In the following section, we attempt a cognitive-cultural characterization of some of these models.

1.1 THE COGNITIVE MODEL: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES

The self is commonly thought of as a space or container where internal events such as thoughts, beliefs and emotions, etc., are generated. Emotions can be conceptualized as internal forces moving inside people exerting some pressure from the inside. On the other hand, the external events affecting the self are seen as external forces. These forces are conceptualized as moving objects or substances that can exert a force on us and help us move to our destination or impede our movement to achieve our goals: "Things are going with me," "Things are going against me". The objects can also be manifested as fluids: "I'm trying to keep my head over water," "We're all in the same boat," or, as animals that can run away or break loose: "Try to keep a tight rein on the situation," "Keep a grip on the situation," "Don't let things get out of hand," (Lakoff 1999: 192)

The internal forces that may destabilize the person are commonly conceived of metaphorically as a fluid, air, something solid, an animal, an enemy or a force of nature. In order not to lose our balance and remain upright, in control over emotions, one must be strong enough to stand up to them. Below we present some linguistic expressions that show that cognitively and linguistically emotions are represented as this kind of force:

FLUID: She was overflowing with love
AIR: He was breathing fire

SOMETHING SOLID: He had a lump in his throat

ANIMAL: He has a fierce temper

ENEMY: She fought back the impulse to laugh

FORCE OF NATURE: Waves of passion came over him.

1.2.EMOTION SCENARIO

Kövecses (1990, 2000) suggested that the folk theory of emotions can be characterized as a five-stage scenario, or cognitive model, as shown below:

Cause → Emotion → Control → Loss of Control → Behavioral Response.

There seems to exist a convincing scenario for negative emotions. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) provide a prototypical cognitive model for anger:

1. Internal or external stimulus that causes the emotion to come into existence
2. The emotion exists. The emotion exerts force on the Self and the Self experiences physiological effects: pressure, agitation, etc.
3. Attempt to control emotion. Self exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control emotion
4. Loss of control. The intensity of emotion goes above the limit and the emotion takes control of the Self. Self exhibits behaviour.
5. Retribution. The intensity of emotion drops to zero and the emotion ceases to exist.

Our task is to uncover the metaphors converging on stages three and four: attempting to control emotion and loss of emotion control. The aspect of control is one of the set of aspects such as existence, intensity, passivity, evaluation that characterize emotion concepts (Kövecses 2000: 43). Here we are interested in how the control component of the scenario is metaphorically conceptualized. If emotions are conceptualized as forces, then the general metaphors related to the stage of control are:

1. ATTEMPT AT CONTROL IS STRUGGLE WITH FORCE
2. LOSS OF CONTROL IS LOSS OF CONTROL OVER FORCE
3. LACK OF CONTROL IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER FORCE

The metaphorical source domains used in the understanding of the control aspect of emotions are: CONTAINER, NATURAL FORCE, CAPTIVE ANIMAL, OPPONENT, INSANITY, SOCIAL SUPERIOR, UP/DOWN DIMENSION, IN/OUT DIMENSION, TEMPERATURE.

The four general cognitive models and the special cases of every model that we are going to deal with in order to study the aspect of control are:

1. THE CONTAINER MODEL
 - 1.1. EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS UNDER PRESSURE
 - 1.2. SELF-CONTROL IS BEING INSIDE THE CONTAINER
 - 1.3. EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS
2. THE BOUNDED REGION MODEL
 - 2.1. EMOTIONS ARE WILD ANIMALS
 - 2.2. EMOTIONS ARE OPPONENTS
 - 2.3. EMOTIONS ARE NATURAL FORCES
3. VERTICAL MODEL
 - 3.1. EMOTIONS ARE SOCIAL SUPERIORS
 - 3.2. SELF-CONTROL IS BEING ON THE GROUND
4. THE TEMPERATURE MODEL
 - 4.1. REDUCING EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS REDUCING TEMPERATURE.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE MODELS

2.1. THE CONTAINER MODEL

English culture seems to conceive human beings as containers and emotions as a kind of substance inside the container. We have many expressions that conceptualize people as full of feelings of all kinds which may well up, bubble up, and overflow: "He was brimming with satisfaction"; or, otherwise, control takes place when the emotions are contained or kept down inside the container: "He kept his anger bottled up inside him". The container may be affected by external events that are seen as external forces. Hence, the emotional cause is seen as a blow that may immobilize or freeze the contents of the container: "My blood froze when I saw it". The blow may also destabilize, touch, penetrate, pierce, cut, sting, etc., the container: "Her misery pierced his heart". If the consequences of the blow are more lasting and serious the container can be crushed, broken or shattered: "She broke down and wept".

2.1.1. EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS UNDER PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER

The CONTAINER metaphor captures not only the intensity aspect of the emotion but also the aspect of control. The conceptual metaphor that we activate in our minds when we wish to control our emotional states and that seems to be the central one for the elaboration of the aspect of control is

EMOTIONS ARE ENTITIES UNDER PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER. The body is the container for emotions where a number of internal processes, that needs to be hidden and repressed, takes place. This can be seen in everyday linguistic examples where the emotions are conceptualized as entities that try to move from inside to outside the container exerting pressure on the person that in turn exerts a counterforce over those entities in an attempt to control and keep them down. In the example “He repressed his laugh”, the force and counterforce schema interact within the container. Peña (1998) points out that: “There are two force vectors which move along a path or are within a container and they collide face-to-face because both of them, the emotion and the subject, want to control the situation”. Johnson (1987: 46) defines the counterforce as “two equally strong, nasty, and determined force centers collide face-to-face, with the result that neither can go anywhere”.

Emotions can also act as the force of a fluid. By experience we know that the level of a fluid may go up inside the container and overflow it under pressure. The fluid with pressure corresponds to the emotion and the pressure on the container corresponds to the emotion forcing the person to respond. The attempt to keep the substance inside is the attempt of the person to control the emotion: “I just kept all that junk bottled up inside me”. If the person is unable to keep the substance inside the container, two things may happen: a) the explosion or b) the overflowing of the container. This entails an uncontrolled violent response or an uncontrolled nonviolent response. Mild emotions such as affection and sadness are conceptualized as overflowing the container: “His eyes were overflowing with emotion,” whereas the explosion of the container is expressed with stronger emotions: “He exploded with laughter” (Kövecses 2000: 67). The explosion of the container can harm the person affected by the emotion; therefore it is psychologically advisable not to repress emotions to the point that the container explodes: “It is very bad for you to cork up your emotions like that”.

2.1.2. SELF-CONTROL IS BEING INSIDE THE CONTAINER

As we have seen, the control of Self over emotions is conceptualized as being located inside the container: SELF-CONTROL IS BEING INSIDE THE CONTAINER. The person is out of control when the entities are out of the container where they normally reside. The sentences “A few months after the trial, he finally cracked” and “He burst out crying” are examples of the cognitive model THE LOSS OF EMOTIONAL CONTROL IS THE EXPLOSION OF THE CONTAINER. As a result of the explosion, what is inside comes out: “He lay there, flooded with pain, fear and hatred,” “She was overflowing with love”. When the entities are out of the container, it is difficult to exert any control over them. Self-control is regained when the entities are back together

inside the container or when the pieces of the container are put back together. TO HAVE OUR EMOTIONS UNDER CONTROL IS TO KEEP A COMPLETE OBJECT TOGETHER: “Pulling herself together she managed to fight back her annoyance”.

Lakoff (1999: ch 13) points out that a person is split between subject and self. The subject represents the locus of consciousness, subjective experience, reason, will, etc. The Self consists of everything else: our bodies, our social roles, etc. In a normal state of consciousness the Subject has control over the Self. This is indicated because both Subject and Self reside in the same location. According to Lakoff, maintaining that state of consciousness and that control is a major matter of our lives. The sentence “He is beside himself with joy” indicates that the person is out of his usual location. He doesn’t reside inside the Self any longer and, consequently, the person has lost his control over the Self because LACK OF NORMAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND CONTROL IS BEING OUTSIDE THE SELF.

2.1.3. EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS

Emotions understood as objects can undergo all sorts of manipulations and they can be concealed or kept visible. Holding on to objects and manipulating them is one of the things that we learn very early in our lives. So one way of exerting control over an object is by moving or hiding it, that is, making it invisible. We get most of our knowledge through vision: “Get it off your chest,” “Pour out your heart”, “You let your feelings out too much”. “He could scarcely conceal his pleasure at my resignation” That is, we usually conceptualize KNOWING AS SEEING (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Sweetser 1990). On the other hand, if we don’t want people to know about anything in particular we have to hide it. Thus in: “She tried to hide her feelings,” “She never allowed me a glimpse of her feelings,” are metaphorical expressions of the conceptual metaphor TO KEEP UNKNOWN IS TO KEEP INVISIBLE. Verbs involving unwillingness on the part of the individual to keep their emotions unknown are: Hide, conceal, hold something back, keep something back, keep something to oneself, etc.

3. THE BOUNDED REGION MODEL

People feel in control in their normal location or surroundings and less in control in strange places. Being out of control is viewed as being out of the place where a person normally resides. The further the distance between the subject or the emotion and the container, the less self-control such a container will have over the subject or emotion. (Lakoff 1999: 274; Peña 1998). A person is out of control when he cannot hold his emotions conceptualized as

opponents, captive animals, etc., in the bounded space or location where they normally reside. The conceptualization of abnormal states of mind relies on spatial and orientation metaphors that are the result of the metaphorical projections: IN/OUT schema and UP/DOWN schema. Leaving or going out of the location is going out of the normality parameter into the abnormality one: “He went berserk when he heard the news”. The UP/DOWN SCHEMA represents the conceptualization of positive and negative states of mind: “He is on top of the world,” “He was down in the dumps” (Lakoff 1999; Kövecses 2000; Martín Morillas 2000)

3.1. EMOTIONS ARE OPPONENTS

Many negative emotions such as grief are metaphorically seen as opponents with which we have to struggle to maintain control over the emotion. In this metaphor (Kövecses 1990, 2000), the metaphorical expression “He was wrestling with his emotions”, the FORCE and COUNTERFORCE schemas interact. Peña (1998) points out that: “There are two force vectors which move along a path or are within a container and they collide face-to-face because both of them, the emotion and the subject, want to control the situation”. The emotion as one opponent attempts to cause the person to give in to his force but the person tries to keep the emotion under control. The outcome of the struggle is victory or defeat: “He was seized by emotion,” “She finally overcame her fear”. Losing control is often conceptualized as something negative taking possession of the subject seizing it, gripping it, carrying it away, etc.: “He was in the grip of fear”.

The main focus of the OPPONENT METAPHOR seems to be the attempt to keep the emotions under control. Controlling the emotion is controlling the enemy. This can take the following forms:

1. Having the enemy under control in a location
“He could hardly contain his laughter”
2. Repressing the enemy
“She suppressed a laugh”
3. Fighting the enemy
“He’s wrestling with his anger”
4. Treating the enemy cruelly
“He smothered his feelings”

3.2. EMOTIONS ARE CAPTIVE ANIMALS

The fact that we have to keep emotions under control is based on the conceptualization of emotions as wild ANIMALS that try to get away from a

location exerting some force on the person. On the other hand, the person undergoing the emotion is trying to maintain emotional control by holding the animal back: “He couldn’t hold back his tears of joy,” “He kept his emotions in check”.

Animals at large can harm us. So they must be kept in captivity. Loss of control is equivalent to the animal getting loose: “He lost his grip on his anger,” “His feelings of happiness broke loose,” “He unleashed his emotions,” “She let go of her feelings”. The behaviour of a person who has lost control is the behaviour of a wild animal: “He began to bare his teeth,” “He started snarling”.

3.3. EMOTIONS ARE NATURAL/PHYSICAL FORCES

Natural phenomena like storms, floods or wind seem to be present in the conceptualization of emotions to express passivity and lack of control (Kövecses 2000: 71). Emotions can be conceptualized metaphorically as natural agents exerting a great force on the person affected by the emotion. The emotion can come over an individual, sweep him off, bowl him over, knock him off, engulf him etc. These verbs of motion indicate the emotional response that the self undergoes. The following linguistic expressions are examples of this metaphor: “She swept me off my feet,” “She was carried away by love.” The person who is carried away by the uncontrollable force of nature has a passive role with no control over the situation and as result he can’t help being transported from one location to another. The COMPULSION schema provides the basis for the understanding of the metaphorical expressions. The person is moved by the external force along a path that has a starting point, a direction and a destination.

3.4. EMOTION IS INSANITY

This metaphor applies to very intense emotions such as anger, fear or love (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2000). The behaviour of the person affected by these emotions is usually very similar to the behaviour of an insane person. Insanity is the ultimate lack of control. The rational Self loses all control as a result of an intense psychological force and becomes completely irrational. The PATH and the COMPULSION schemas seem to interact in the sentences “She drove him berserk,” and “He’s gone mad over her”. Both of them are examples of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONAL CHANGE IS MOVEMENT FROM ONE LOCATION TO ANOTHER (Lakoff 1993), that is, the person changes from a normality state to another state of abnormality. The predicative expressions “She’s nuts about him,” “She is insane with fear,” “I’m crazy about her,” indicate that the emotional change has taken place and the person is in another location, experiencing the state of lack of emotional control.

3.5. EMOTION IS INTOXICATION

The conceptualization of emotion as intoxication is also characterized by lack of control and passivity as a result of an emotional cause. Emotion plays an active role, while the person affected by the emotion loses his common sense and becomes dominated by the emotion: “He is intoxicated with love,” “I am giddy with love,” “She was drunk with emotion”. “Emotion is viewed as some kind of alcoholic beverage capable of affecting a person’s intellectual abilities in adverse ways” (Kövecses 2000:74). The metaphor captures the idea of the inability to speak and think.

4. THE VERTICAL MODEL

4.1. EMOTIONS ARE SOCIAL SUPERIORS

Emotions can also be viewed as social forces (Kövecses 2000: 70). In this metaphor we have two forces: the superior that is the emotion and the inferior that corresponds to the person. There is no struggle between both forces because the person is completely dominated by the emotion that controls him: “His emotions dominate his actions,” “She is ruled by her emotions,” “She is driven by fear”. These expressions are also examples of the conceptual metaphor CONTROL IS UP AND LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). “This metaphor primarily applies to a person whose behaviour is controlled by emotion, not by reason... A superior has long-term control over an inferior, whose behavior is determined by the superior over a long period of time” (Kövecses 2000: 71)

4.2. SELF-CONTROL IS BEING ON THE GROUND

This metaphor is a consequence of the general metaphor: EMOTIONAL STABILITY IS BALANCE (Lakoff 1993). Being in contact with the ground is being in control over our emotions, while being off our normal location on the ground is lack of control (Lakoff 1999: 275): “He’s got his feet on the ground,” “I’m on cloud nine,” “She jumped for joy”. HAVING CONTROL OVER EMOTIONS IS KEEPING THE EMOTIONS BELOW: “He couldn’t rise above his emotions”. THE LOSS OF THE EMOTIONAL CONTROL IS THE LOSS OF VERTICALITY: “They fell about laughing,” “They all rolled around laughing”.

5. THE TEMPERATURE MODEL

The common experience of gaining control over our emotions can be felt and conceptualized as reducing the temperature: “Keep cool,” “Chill out,” “He

has cooled off now,” “He has cooled down”. These are metaphorical expressions of the metaphorical model of REDUCING EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS REDUCING TEMPERATURE. We can adjust our emotions like a thermostat by adjusting the level on the heat scale: “Cool down a bit,” “Don’t get so hot under the collar. Thus, ADJUSTING EMOTIONAL CONTROL IS ADJUSTING A THERMOSTAT. When we are emotionally too hot in overarousal states like anger or anxiety we can turn down the thermostat to gain peace and calmness. When we are emotionally too cold in underarousal states like boredom and depression we can turn up the heat to get more energy and enthusiasm.

6. THE ONTOLOGY AND PHENOMENOLOGY OF ONE EMOTIVE EXPRESSION: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

We propose here a model of description of emotive expressions. The symbolic construction of an emotive event can be analysed semantically by unveiling its different levels of representation: the extensional/propositional, intensional, phenomenological and cultural levels. In order to unpack the different types of semantic information, we present below one linguistic expression and analyse four models of meaning representation (Martín Morillas, J.M. & Pérez Rull, J.C. 1998). Consider the following expression:

1. The little girl couldn’t hold back her tears of joy

We propose here the following models, each of which is in charge of capturing a determinate type of meaning:

I. EXTENSIONALIST/PROPOSITIONAL MODEL

The linguistic expression incorporates a level of extensional meaning which represents the conceptual elements of the emotive event with the participants and circumstances. Given that the extensional level represents the objectivist aspects of meaning representation, it is possible to label objectively the propositional-ontological elements of the emotive experience by the following variables:

- W: represents the stimulus of the emotive event which is unknown
- X: refers to the person affected by the emotion: the little girl
- Y: refers to the type of emotive experience: joy
- Z: refers to the physiological effect that goes together with the emotion: tears

Thus, the linguistic expression categorizes an unknown cause (W) that causes the emotive experience (Y) of the person (X) and the physiological manifestation of the emotion (Z). This propositional model is based on the objectivist model offered by R. Buck (1986: 297)

II. INTENSIONALIST MODEL

This model emphasizes the internal semantic relations of lexical items, namely the relationships among signs to refer to the phenomenological experience. Our sentence codifies directly both the emotive experience: JOY → [HAPPINESS: to a high degree] and the physiological effect: TEARS. This level of meaning representation only pays attention to the systematic sense relations operating within a given lexical field and ignores the great variety of linguistic expressions such as figurative expressions, idioms, proverbs that encode the emotive experience and the cognitive and cultural models underlying the linguistic expressions. Therefore a different level of semantic representation seems to be needed: the motivational level, the cognitive and cultural level.

III. PHENOMENOLOGICAL MODEL

At this level we take into account the phenomenological aspect of meaning. Therefore we are concerned here with the mental models underlying the symbolic construction of the emotive experience that reports the loss of control over the emotion. It captures the relation of language to mind and the subject's own experience. The schemas of the force and counterforce underlie the linguistic codification that corresponds to the stage of loss of control of the prototypical scenario. The underlying conceptual model is EMOTIONS ARE ENEMIES. The emotion is seen as an enemy with whom we have to fight in order to keep him under control.

IV. CULTURAL MODEL

This model emphasizes the relevant aspects of the intersubjective experience. The emotive expression seems to convey the cultural model that emotions should be regulated and controlled.

7. CONCLUSION

Emotions are internal and formless. Through metaphor we give emotions cognitive shape and make visible what seems amorphous. We also structure emotion concepts by means of a scenario in which the emotion metaphors converge. Emotional control has been conceptualized in terms of a variety of

metaphors corresponding to the control stage of the five-stage cognitive model: a) emotion has a cause, b) the cause produces the emotion which forces us to respond, d) we try to control the emotion but we usually fail, and e) there is a response.

Metaphors play a significant role in structuring our experience. We control and lose control over emotions in the same way we control and lose control over certain physical forces. Conceptual metaphors allow mental imagery from sensorimotor domains such as fluids under pressure, captive animals, opponents or enemies, etc., to be used for the domain of our subjective experience about how we control and lose control over our emotions.

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THE MOOR'S LAST SIGH: SPANISH-MOORISH EXOTICISM AND THE GENDER OF HISTORY IN BRITISH ROMANTIC POETRY

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ABSTRACT. Legends and tales of Islamic Granada were among the most frequently re-elaborated exotic subjects in British Romantic literature. A popular theme in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Spanish Orientalism attracted both famous writers such as Lord Byron, Joanna Baillie, Washington Irving, Felicia Hemans or Letitia Landon, and less familiar ones such as Lord Porchester, George Moir and Lady Dacre. This essay concentrates on one component of the myth of Granada which enjoyed great diffusion in Romantic-period literature, the tale of the Moor's Last Sigh and the tears shed by the last Muslim monarch on leaving his capital forever after the Christian conquest in 1492. The aim is to illustrate how, in migrating from its original context, this tale comes to signify and emblemize issues of gender and notions of history as progress specific to British culture. The poetic texts examined here employ the Spanish-Orientalist myth to elaborate ideas of masculinity and femininity, as well as reflections on power and its extinction, the fall of empires and the emergence of new states. Thus King Boabdil's tears were exotically popular also because they were removed from their original meaning and import, and refashioned into vehicles for ideological concerns proper to British Romantic-period culture.

“There are a few places scattered about this ‘working-day world’ which seem to be elevated above its dull prosaic level, and to be clothed with the magic lights and tints of poetry” –and one of these is Granada, the “charmed name” of which, “as if by fairy power, conjures up splendid scenes and pageants of the past” (*Quarterly Review* 1830: 55). Drawn from a piece on

Washington Irving's *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829), these remarks designate the Andalusian city as one of the exotic locales *par excellence* in Romantic culture, a geographic, cultural and temporal elsewhere far removed from the mundane aspects of contemporary reality. The *Quarterly* reviewer thus confirms one of the most widely held notions of Romantic exoticism as escapism, a movement away from a "narrating" culture and towards a "narrated" place of difference capable of satisfying a deep-seated desire for the unattainable. Similar nineteenth-century observations have then fed into critical discourse on literary exoticism, providing the ground for definitions such as Henry Remak's recent characterization (1978: 54) of the exotic as "a phenomenon outside and beyond our normal cultural experience, not only one spatially remote, or culturally remote even if spatially fairly close, but potentially also one lying back [...] in time".

If, on the one hand, the example of Granada seems to bear out these definitions, on the other, its remoteness is bound up with issues that transhistorically reach out to the preoccupations of the *bic et nunc* of Romantic culture. In the piece on Irving's *Conquest*, these issues start to emerge as soon as the reviewer specifies that "The kingdom of Granada was the last strong hold of Moorish power, and the favourite abode of Moorish luxury" (*Quarterly Review* 1830: 55), thus combining intimations of the opulent vistas frequently suggested by the *Arabian Nights* with the epic subtext of the wars between Christians and Muslims in medieval Spain. In this fashion Granada's "spell upon the imagination" is also subsumed within referential categories with specific historical links: the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era, the clash between East and West, the (im)possibility of transcultural, intercultural or even multicultural societies, the Romantic reflection on history and fiction, or the generic limits between epic and romance.

This essay seeks to chart the importance and pervasiveness of the "matter of Granada" in Romantic-period literature by following the (narrative and ideological) mutations of one central icon in this fictional repertoire –the tears shed by Boabdil, the last ruler of an Islamic kingdom in Spain, on leaving his capital and lands forever. Romantic views of Granada are indeed legible through Henry Remak's equation of the exotic and the remote, as well as through Roger Célestin's recent definition of exoticism as a "triangular trade", a tension between what he calls Home and Other and the uninterrupted transit between them.¹ Exoticism inhabits the margin between two zones, a dialectic such as the one between East and West, or past and present,

1. In particular, Célestin (1996: 4) refers to a "tension between the gravitational pull of Home, the Same, the familiar, the dominant, and the individual subject's dissident desire for another place, an outside".

recurrent in cultural constructions of Granada and re-elaborated by Romantic-period writers. However, the divide within exoticism that interests us here is more specifically that between fact and fiction, between the dreamy and romance-like features of the civilization of Granada and its “actual”, historic relevance. The *Quarterly* reviewer’s reference to the real and mythical traits of the Spanish Moorish city reveals that contemporary readers and critics were alert to this intersection between fact and fiction within the exotic. And this hybrid quality seems to indicate the possibility of a materialist interpretation of exoticism as the meeting point of Célestin’s “triangular trade”, an exchange loaded with ideological implications for the narrating culture.

The *Quarterly* reviewer of Irving’s historical work highlights even more overtly the blurring of fact and fiction in the history of the last wars for the conquest of Granada, as may be appreciated from

[...] the striking contrast presented by the combatants of Oriental and European creeds, costumes, and manners; and in the hardy and hair-brained enterprises, the romantic adventures, the picturesque forages through mountain regions, the daring assaults and surprisals of cliff-built castles and cragged fortresses, which succeeded each other with a variety and brilliancy beyond the scope of mere invention. (*Quarterly Review* 1830: 56)

This evocation reads like a checklist of the lexicon of Romantic aesthetics (the picturesque and the sublime), and of its medievalist and orientalist inclinations. Yet, it also discloses a surprising erasure of the suspension of disbelief, limiting the aesthetic in order to highlight the non-fictional features of Granada: since the mythical city is also “beyond the scope of mere invention”, it is extracted from more familiar views of exoticism and suddenly transported into the world of fact and reality. Being “one of those cases in which history rises superior to fiction” (*Quarterly Review* 1830: 56), the phantasms of Granada metamorphose into fact. Similarly, romance and epic coalesce in a combination of tales that, as in Irving’s *Conquest*, may be chronologically verified. Thus the removal of Granada from a merely imaginative domain confirms the importance of its history and stories to the present of the narrating culture. Put otherwise, “The magic lights and tints of poetry” of Granada’s tales (*Quarterly Review* 1830: 55) are also history and, as such, they represent an episode of exchange between “narrating” and “narrated” cultures exceeding the exotic as a merely escapist aesthetic.

This intersection of factual description and fictional representation is already apparent in the various forms of rediscovery and re-evaluation of the South of Spain within Romantic-period culture. On the basis of late eighteenth-century pioneering work on the Spanish-Moorish antiquities by authors as diverse as Johann Gottfried Herder, Jean Pierre Claris de Florian, Bishop Percy

and Henry Swinburne, the South of Spain establishes itself as one of the favourite exotic locales for European Romantic artists.² Granada, in particular, becomes one of the crucial loci of this new geocultural horizon because of its status as a multiple borderland, the site of the intercultural transit proper to exotic representation. Indeed, Spain's exoticism in Romantic-period culture owes much to its inclusion of a cultural boundary within its own geographical boundary –the Islamic enclave contained within the natural divide of the Pyrenees– so that, until the late fifteenth century, Granada and Islam were another, even more exotic culture enclosed within an already quite peculiar Spain.³ And in late eighteenth-century European culture, the diffusion of the Spanish-Moorish material is directly linked to the tradition of interactions between Muslims and Christians in Spain, both cultures coexisting and contending for the same territory. The presence of different races, as well as multiple cultural, linguistic and religious traditions was, and still is, a recognized feature of Moorish Spain, although the kind of peaceful and tolerant convivencia sometimes praised by Romantic historians and fictional writers was in many cases more of an idealization than the actual state of things.⁴

Such intercultural contrasts and contacts between East and West in the constrictive geography of Granada inspired seventeenth-century dramatic texts such as William Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* (1697) and John Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1670). But Spanish-Moorish exoticism emerged most forcefully between the 1770s and the 1830s, starting from the impulse given by the translation of romances fronterizos and moriscos, usually drawn from Ginés Pérez de Hita's historical novel *Las guerras civiles de Granada* (1595, 1601). The first attempts at translating Spanish-Moorish ballads into English by

2. See Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) which include two Spanish romances, or ballads, from Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595); Johann Herder's groundbreaking collection of *Volkslieder* (1778) which includes some romances by Luis de Góngora and a few from *Guerras civiles*; Florian's novel *Gonzalve de Cordoue* (1791) with its lengthy "Précis historique sur les maures d'Espagne"; and Henry Swinburne's authoritative and lavishly illustrated *Travels through Spain*, in the years 1775 and 1776 (1779).

3. As Henry Remak observes, "Spain [...] much more separate from the rest of Europe than France or Italy for many reasons including rugged geographical obstacles (the Pyrenees), her greater aridity, her Arab/African impregnation, her rigid brand of Catholicism, her more somber character, could well be –and was– felt to be exotic by the Romantics even in the immediately neighboring country of France" (Remak 1978: 55). On Romantic-period forms of Spanish exoticism see also Hoffmann 1961, Alberich 1974-1975 and Saglia 2000.

4. On convivencia in Moorish Spain as an unstable mixture of toleration and persecution, see Fletcher 1994; and on the frontier in Spanish-Moorish literature and its historical roots see Carrasco Urgoiti 1976.

Samuel Johnson and Thomas Percy were soon followed by collections edited by Thomas Rodd, John Bowring and John Gibson Lockhart.⁵ Thomas Rodd also translated the first part of Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*, published in 1803. As a result, the Romantic period saw an explosion of Spanish-Moorish fiction, including poems such as Felicia Hemans's *The Abencerrage* (1819), Letitia Landon's *The Troubadour* (1825), Eliza Norton's *Alcon Malanzore* (1815) and Lord Porchester's *The Moor* (1825); "closet drama" such as Barbarina Brand, Lady Dacre's tragedy *Xarifa* and her "romance dramatized" *Gonzalvo of Cordoba* (both published in 1821); prose works such as Washington Irving's *Chronicle* (1829) and *The Albambra* (1832) or Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Leila, or the Siege of Granada* (1838); and spectacles such as Armand Vestris's ballet *Gonzalve de Cordoue* (1816) or the "grand opera" *A Night in Granada* of 1842 (Saglia 2000: 254-69).

These texts variously capitalize on the nexus of fact and fiction, or the conflicts and contacts between East and West, implicit in the Spanish-Moorish material. Yet this crucial feature of Spanish Orientalism is perhaps no better encapsulated than in one recurrent narrative fragment and an episode which is emblematic of the last days of Islamic Granada: the story of the last Moorish king's sigh and tears on leaving his capital city and his mother's bitter reproach. This anecdote represents the culmination of the long wars between Catholics and Muslims, melodramatically sealing the severance of East from West in the Southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula. The striking scene of the last Moorish king's tears caught the Romantics' imagination, for it seemed to concentrate the net of related issues in the matter of Granada, as well as extracting the latter from atemporal suspension or elegiac evocation. Thanks to their recurrence in fiction and especially in poetry, the king's tears may be seen as a free-floating signifier in Romantic literary (and cultural) production, an ideologically charged image –an "ideologeme"– conveying a plurality of meanings hidden in the margin between fact and fiction, and an exotic narrative that evades reality and yet returns to it from a different perspective.

The king's tears and the dowager queen's reproach were recorded, although not expanded into a full-blown episode, by Pérez de Hita in the first part of his *Guerras Civiles de Granada*, a work grounded on the "historical" accounts in Esteban de Garibay's *Compendio historial de todos los reinos de España* (1571) and in Hernando del Pulgar's *Crónica de los muy altos y esclarecidos reyes católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel de gloriosa memoria* (1565 in Latin, 1567 in Castilian). A combination of history and romance, ballads and prose narrative, Pérez de Hita's book depicts the glittering court of

5. See Thomas Rodd's *Ballads from the Civil Wars of Granada and the Twelve Peers of France* (1801), John Gibson Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1823) and John Bowring's *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain* (1824).

the Alhambra and its sordid internecine fights, providing some of the essential plots in the Spanish-Moorish material: the killing of the Abencerrage clan ordered by king Boabdil, unwisely advised by the rival clan of the Zegrís; the unjust charges of adultery levelled at his wife, once more insinuated by the Zegrís; or the conquest of the citadel of Alhama by the Christian army.⁶ The king's tears are evoked in the conclusive section, and Hita drily relates: "Y así como el Moro Rey llegó a su casa, que era en el Alcaçava, comenzó a llorar lo que avía perdido. Al qual llanto le dixo su madre: 'Que pues no había sido para defendella como hombre, que hazía bien de llorar la como muger'".⁷ Even so, as María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti has perceptively remarked, the king's tears are more than an accessory theme emerging in the conclusion of the first section of Pérez de Hita's novel. In fact, they are a prelude to the pervasive sense of exile, elegy and nostalgia in the second section of the novel describing the ill-fated rebellion of the Moors against the Christian regime in the mountainous Alpujarra region:

La nota elegiaca de la nostalgia del desterrado, que en el primer libro aparece con el motivo del suspiro del moro, se proyecta en la historia de la rebelión sobre ciertos pasajes, en que el autor describe, por ejemplo, el sentimiento de soledad y melancolía que aqueja en ciertos momentos el reyecillo don Hernando de Valor –o Abenhumeya– [...] o alude al ansia por volver a sus casas de los moriscos que se han hecho fuertes en las montañas [...]⁸

Reproducing Pérez de Hita's brief remark, Thomas Rodd's English translation does not award any pre-eminence to the episode of the Moor's last sigh (Pérez de Hita 1803: 382). Yet a first re-elaboration and expansion of the plot had already been attempted by Jean Pierre Claris de Florian in his novel *Gonzalve de Cordoue*, published in French in 1791 and in English in 1792, prefaced by a lengthy "Précis historique sur les maures d'Espagne", a summary

6. On Pérez de Hita's novel and his personal involvement in issues of post-conquest Moorish society, see Carrasco Urgoiti 1976 and Carrasco Urgoiti 1982.

7. "And as soon as the Moorish King had returned to his home, which was in the Alcazaba, he started to weep over what he had lost. On seeing him weep, his mother told him: 'That, since he had not been able to defend it like a man, he was right in crying for it like a woman'" (Pérez de Hita 1913-1915: I, 289, my translation).

8. "The elegiac tone of the exile's nostalgia, which in the first book appears in the motif of the Moor's sigh, is projected, in the tale of the rebellion, in certain passages where the author describes, for instance, the feeling of solitude and melancholy which at times besets the leader don Hernando de Valor –also called Abenhumeya– [...] or it emerges as an allusion to the anxious desire to return home on the part of the Moors who have been gathering strength in the mountains [...]" (Carrasco Urgoiti 1982: 278, my translation).

of Moorish history often quoted as a source of information by later authors. The novel recounts the tale of cross-cultural love between Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453-1515), the Christian leader known as *el gran capitán*, and the Moorish princess Zulema. Here the Moorish king is a completely evil figure in contrast with Gonzalve's spotless heroism. Boabdil's defeat is thus wholly deserved and the inevitable reference to the Moor's last sigh is connoted as a well-earned punishment. Specifically, the sigh becomes tears, not to be confused with the positive, "sentimental" tears shed by other characters, and especially the hero himself. Florian (1836: I, 158) renders the "last sigh" as follows: "Mon fils, lui dit sa mère Aïxa, vous avez raison de pleurer comme une femme le trône que vous n'avez pas su défendre comme un homme".⁹ The words thus reported in the "Précis" are later reproduced in Book X of the novel with minor variations ("Oui, lui disoit-elle, tu dois pleurer comme une femme, puisque tu n'as pas su comme un homme défendre le trône de tes aïeux").¹⁰ Thanks to this factual and fictional re-elaboration, Florian's version of the episode, influential on both sides of the Channel, was quoted in non-fictional works such as Alexandre de Laborde's encyclopaedic *A View of Spain* (1809), as well as in primarily imaginative texts such as Lord Porchester's poem *The Moor*.¹¹

In British Romantic literature, the most sustained poetic transposition of Pérez de Hita's Granadine narrative materials is Felicia Hemans's *The Abencerrage*, a long narrative poem in three cantos and in heroic couplets published in the collection *Tales, and Historic Scenes, in Verse* (1819).¹² Granada in Hemans's complex text emerges as a decadent civilization on the eve of the Christian conquest, ruled by the ineffectual and effete last king Abdallah (a variant of "Boabdil"), and riven by internal dissensions between

9. "My son, his mother Aixa told him, you are right in crying like a woman over the throne that you were incapable of defending like a man" (my translation). On the importance of the larmoyant element in this novel, see Wiegman 1971: 52-3 and, on the sentimental-political value of tears in Chateaubriand's *Le dernier Abencérage*, 68-9.

10. "Yes, she told him, you must cry like a woman, for you have been incapable of defending like a man the throne of your ancestors" (my translation).

11. Florian's "Précis" is quoted in the prose introduction and notes to Lord Porchester's poem *The Moor* (1825), while Alexandre de Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (1806-1820), the most monumental and complete survey of contemporary Spain written during the Romantic period, frequently invokes Florian as an authority in its wide- account of the Alhambra in volume II, as in the description of the Court of Lions (Laborde 1809: II, 104). Laborde's work in the original French is reproduced in the *Revue Hispanique* vol. 63 (1925).

12. While in the first edition of Hemans's collection *The Abencerrage* appears in the middle of the book, in the second edition (1824) it becomes the opening text. Remigio Ugo Pane lists it as an adaptation of Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles* (Pane 1944: 162).

clans and tribes, especially the valorous Abencerrages and the treacherous Zegrís. Against this background Hemans sets the ill-fated love-story of Hamet and Zayda belonging, in Romeo and Juliet fashion, to the opposed factions, and whose lives are caught up in the chaos of war and the fall of the last Islamic kingdom in Western Europe. Through this intersection of imperial history and intimate stories, Hemans proposes a reflection on the contending claims of heroism and domesticity, publicness and privacy, and male and female codes of conduct, themes which are also crucial in the rest of her poetic production (Mellor 1993: 123-143; Wolfson 1994: 128-135).

In this articulated reworking of Pérez de Hita's materials, the episode of the Moor's last sigh and tears appears as a fragment lost in the variety of themes and motifs interwoven by Hemans in her polemical reinscription of the romance, chivalric ideology and masculine views of history. Yet the fragment of the Moorish king's tears can also be linked to the wider thematic field of gender. And, from the point of view of masculinity, the poem records a gallery of examples ranging from the chivalric valour usually attributed to the Moors ("the chivalrous, the bold", I.26, Hemans 2000: 2), the cowardice of the plotting Zegrís as opposed to the heroism of the Abencerrages, Hamet's belief in patriarchal and patrilinear links, and finally king Abdallah's fearfulness ("Degenerate fear [Granada's] wavering monarch guides", II.398, Hemans 2000: 112). The latter's allegiance to a code of virile honour is constantly undermined, as Hemans records only the negative aspects of his rule without hinting at the difficult political situation surrounding a figure that Hita called *el rey chico* ("the little king"). Indeed, Abdallah's "degenerate" fear signifies the decline of the Moorish civilization and power, while his figure is the embodiment of this specific fall of an empire. Also, as the last of his race and the representative of its inexorable decline, the monarch embodies a well-known Romantic topos:

Last of a line whose regal spirit flown
Hath to her offspring but bequeath'd a throne
Without one generous thought, or feeling high,
To teach his soul how kings should live and die. (II.399-402, Hemans
2000: 112)

In these lines, a prelude to the later episode of the king's tears, Abdallah emblemizes the inglorious end of the history of Moorish Granada. Giving further dramatic enhancement to this characterization in the scene of the tears and the Queen Mother's taunts, Hemans stakes out a confrontation between a virile nation and an effeminate, spent civilization, a contrast which is made even more striking by the fact that Abdallah's sighs follow directly on the Catholic monarchs' first visit to the Alhambra after the fall of the enemy city. And central to Hemans's re-telling of the episode of the tears is the Dowager

Queen, who addresses and interrogates her degenerate son before voicing her final reproach:

–Weep'st thou Abdallah?– Thou dost well to weep,
 O feeble heart! o'er all thou couldst not keep!
 Well do a woman's tears befit the eye
 Of him who knew not, as a man, to die. (III.171-174, Hemans 2000: 121)

As in the lines in canto II quoted above (399-402), acting as a prelude to the unmanly tears, once more the stress is on virility symbolized by the act of dying an honourable death as confirmed by the repetition of the rhyme on “die”. In this fashion the narrator and the queen make explicit the correspondence between male heroism and heroic death, transforming what may seem a marginal episode into the final emblematic judgment on the failure of a masculine set of values and a representative male figure. The scene is then given further resonance as Hemans also inserts it in the notes to her poem, making it relevant to both levels of the text, prose and verse, fact and fiction.¹³

In particular, the Queen Mother's words reveal that Hemans's version of the Moor's last sigh shifts from the traditional mother/son confrontation to an inversion of masculinity and femininity. The story therefore becomes productive as the site of a conflict of gender: Boabdil's tears and the queen's harsh words blur the line between masculine and feminine, the woman assuming authority and appropriating the “royal” voice, whereas man is diminished into powerlessness and silence. Seen in this light, the Abdallah/Aixa confrontation is a historic version, firmly located in the public sphere of empire, of the other confrontation deployed by Hemans through the mode of the romance and Hamet and Zayda's star-crossed love-story which similarly destabilize and redistribute notions of feminine and masculine. Here the Zegri heroine is abandoned by her lover, who decides to desert to the Christian side after his clan has been slaughtered by order of the king. After Hamet's departure, she follows the male members of her family and joins the armed Moorish resistance against the invaders. The hero, by contrast, becomes weaker and weaker, his masculinity gradually lessened from an initial embracing of patrilinear heroics to the position of a traitor to his country. If

13. “Abo Abdeli, upon leaving Granada after its conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella, stopped on the hill of Padul to take a last look of his city and palace. Overcome by the sight, he burst into tears, and was thus reproached by his mother, the Sultanness Ayxa: ‘Thou dost well to weep, like a woman, over the loss of that kingdom which thou knewest not how to defend and die for, like a man’” (Hemans 2000: 134). Hemans does not provide a source for this quotation.

Zayda first hails him in the idiom of virile heroism (“Oh! be thou still the high-soul’d and the brave, / To whom my first and fondest vows I gave”, I.361-362, Hemans 2000: 99), later she resolutely rejects him as a deserter and a traitor: “Leader of hostile bands! away, away!” (II.250, Hemans 2000: 109). Eventually, the poem’s inversion of male heroism into destructive vengeance and hatred climaxes when Hamet is sent on a mission to quash the Moorish resistance in the mountains and thus also to slay his Zegri beloved and her family. In this final section, although Zayda and Hamet are reunited in a conclusion that proves love’s strength against all odds, her immediate reaction is to reject the hero and dismiss the ideal of romantic love: “Was it for this I loved thee? –Thou hast taught / My soul all grief, all bitterness of thought!” (III.461-462, Hemans 2000: 128).

In the historic and public level of Abdallah and Aixa, as well as in the fictional and private sphere of Hamet and Zayda, the feminine raises its voice to condemn a code of masculine values that is ultimately bankrupt and only capable of bringing death and destruction. Indeed, as suggested by Nanora Sweet (2001: 192), in *The Abencerrage* Hemans shows her ability to turn “historical romance” into “surprisingly unsentimental history”. The romance form –implicitly “feminine” or feminized through its insistence on a chivalric love ethos– is made to convey a tale that, by addressing history, reduces and qualifies its own allegiance to the sentimental. Sentimentalism in its most unmotivated, powerless and gratuitously mawkish form is now located in the masculine dimension of the king’s tears. Present in three different versions, the latter episode must then be recognized as one of the crucial ideological *foci* in the text. Through its repetition Hemans condenses the central issues in the poem: the interdependence of private and public, the conflict between masculine and feminine, and the gendering of history. Visibly caught up in the exotic tension between fact and fiction, the tears become the outward, dramatized translation of the preoccupations animating Hemans’s metrical tale.

The episode is similarly woven into a discourse of gender relations in the first canto of Lord Byron’s *Don Juan*, published in the same year as Hemans’s narrative and by the same publisher, John Murray of Albermarle Street. Hemans was an admirer of Byron’s verse and *The Abencerrage* visibly re-elaborates the situations and figurative materials of metrical tales such as *The Giaour* and *The Bride of Abydos*; yet her poetic style was unaffected by Byron’s more recent and experimental mode displayed in poems such as *Beppo* and *Don Juan*. Albeit very different, their two texts of 1819 form an unusual dialogue, evidencing gender-inflected uses of the intercultural fragment of the episode of the Moor’s last sigh. In particular, in the first canto of Byron’s *Don Juan*, the scene of Boabdil’s tears emerges in connection with the figure of the Sevillian Donna Julia, who seduces the young hero and starts him on a career of reckless and unlucky love affairs. The Spanish-Moorish

legend is part of the polyphony of cultures, languages and traditions that criss-cross in the opening canto of Byron's unfinished poem;¹⁴ and the Moor's tears belong to a curious imbrication of cultural-geographic and gendered issues present in the description of Donna Julia and inscribed in her physical appearance and genealogy:

The darkness of her oriental eye
 Accorded with her Moorish origin;
 (Her blood was not all Spanish, by the by;
 In Spain, you know, this is a sort of sin.)
 When proud Grenada fell, and, forced to fly,
 Boabdil wept, of Donna Julia's kin
 Some went to Africa, some staid in Spain,
 Her great great grandmamma chose to remain (I.56, Byron 1980-1993: V,
 26).

A good instance of Don Juan's interweaving of public and private and its modifications of conventional points of view, this stanza closes in on the female body, whilst simultaneously expanding it into a repository of the history of civilizations, intercontinental migrations and the definition of discrete national and racial zones. Julia's eye is both a fragment of her body, the part that stands for the whole seductive *ensemble*, and the lens through which the history of Spanish-Moorish Granada is telescoped. Julia's oriental eye synecdochically compresses her physical presence and opens up the unlimited vistas of the Spanish-Moorish narrative of the fall of Granada. The legend is inscribed in her oriental beauty and femininity, which thus recapitulate the subjection of the (Spanish) East to the (Spanish) West, the recovered unity of Spain at the end of the *Reconquista*, yet also its inevitably contaminated racial and religious "purity". Through Byron's daring perspectival shift, the private, intimate story of the body becomes a map of the development of the history of Spain. By the end of the stanza, however, the field of vision returns to focus on the personal and private: here the fall of Granada and Boabdil's quickly dispatched tears function as an appendix to Julia's family and personal development. Once again, the feminine prevails over the masculine, as history and civilization are here "monumentalized" through an attractive, oriental-Western female body (Saglia 1996: 132-133).

Of course, through the Spanish-Moorish fragment Byron introduces the kind of orientalized femininity that plays such a large part in the deployment of Juan's sexual adventures along the Mediterranean. Moreover, by giving

14. On Byron's poem as made up of a multiplicity of voices and viewpoints enacting a "carnivalized" pluralization of reality, see Martin 1993.

pre-eminence to the feminine over the masculine and subsuming the male into the female, the episode of the king's tears is in tune with the gender reversals of the first canto of *Don Juan* where Donna Julia's figure is permanently "on top"; additionally, it points to Juan's sexual passivity and its temporary climax in cantos V-VI, where first he is a sexual object imperiously desired by the Sultana Gulbeyaz, and then an odalisque in the Sultan's harem. Boabdil's passivity and feminization may therefore be read as a *mise en abyme* of Juan's sexual passivity and the poem's continuous reversals of the sexual power game between men and women.

Yet the relevance of the episode of the Moor's tears goes beyond the mere introductory function of pre-scribing later erosions of sexual identity in Byron's poem. Importantly, the tears also record the miscegenation of cultures, the impossibility of separating Europe and Africa, Christianity and Islam or East and West because of their genetic interconnections. In this sense Boabdil's tears function as a factual-fictional embodiment of the principles of polyphony and hybridity underpinning Byron's writing in *Don Juan*. The Spanish narrative fragment becomes enmeshed in a textuality founded on hyperbole, inversion and subversion, which reinterprets the episode by taking the process of feminization present in the original to one possible (comic) extreme. As with Hemans's version, then, the tears emblemize a form of historical disempowerment; and if *The Abencerrage* staged a male loss of authority and a female seizing of the regal voice, in Byron's lines the episode serves to dismantle ideas of racial purity and wholeness, notions of linear historical development and unmixed national-cultural trajectories. By way of the Moor's tears Byron encodes a historical-cultural reflection into the comedic development of the first canto of *Don Juan* that visibly inverts the meaning of the original episode and its emblematic function as a demarcation of the re-established divide between East and West. Exposing the myth-making within images of the boundary, the Spanish-Moorish material is here a contentious fragment that undermines the self-evidence of the ideology of intactness.¹⁵

Byron's and Hemans's treatments multiply the meanings of the Moor's last sigh and tears by capitalizing on their intermediate status between fact and fiction. By contrast, elegiac and dream-like, that is more conventionally exotic, uses of this figurative material re-surface in a later cluster of texts published around 1824 and 1825, as the legend began to migrate freely from narrative poems to shorter treatments in the literary journals and magazines. Thus, in 1824, Henry Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine*, edited by Thomas Campbell,

15. On the cultural geography of the boundary and the frontier see Rumley and Minghi 1991.

published a series of poems on Granadine themes among which was "The Last Look of Granada" by "G. M.", the Scottish poet George Moir. In this elaborate descriptive poem of 88 lines, in Claude Lorrain fashion the author inserts the tale of Boabdil's last sigh within an overwhelming description of the urban and natural landscape of the Moorish city.¹⁶ As a discursive correlative of Romantic visual renditions of Granada by the likes of Louis Albert Bacler d'Albe, James Cavanah Murphy, Richard Ford, David Roberts or Owen Jones,¹⁷ Moir's language rehearses well-known views of the city and its surroundings as a distillation of the sublime and the picturesque. The long, opening descriptive section evokes familiar themes such as decadence and the passing away of empires in the context of the romanticized landscape of Granada bathed in the light of sunset:

O! the evening sun goes sweetly down
 On the old Alhambra walls
 At the close of day, when the sunbeams stray
 Through the lone and silent halls (1-4, Moir 1824: 83)

The elegiac tone evoked by the setting sun, the impression of generalized decay and the melancholy intimations of the fall of empires are further

16. George Moir (1800-1870), advocate and author, was a prolific translator from the German (Schiller's *Piccolomini* and *Wallenstein*, 1827, and the 'History of the Thirty Years' War', 1828) and the Spanish. He was also a regular contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*. The *DNB* indicates that in 1824, the year when his poem on Granada was published in the *New Monthly Magazine*, Moir was engaged on a critical article on the ancient ballad poetry of Spain. Vol. 10 (1824) of the *New Monthly* also contains the following poems on the theme of Granada: "The Fall of Granada, or the Massacre of the Abencerrages" (pp. 66-7), "Queen Isabel's Wish" (pp. 245-6) where a note to the title states that "The original of much of this will be found in Gines Pérez" (p. 246), "Alfaïma's Lament" (p. 296), with another note to the title: "See the history of Boabdil, the last Moorish King of Granada", and "The Surprise of Alhama" by "L." (p. 316).

17. General Bacler d'Albe took part in the Napoleonic campaign in the Iberian Peninsula and produced a vast amount of picturesque views, later published as lithographs (Dérozier 1970). The architect James Cavanah Murphy had travelled to Spain in 1802 to study the Moorish style and in 1815 published the lavishly illustrated *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (Raquejo 1986). Richard Ford, author of a celebrated *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), stayed in Spain between 1830 and 1833 and, for a period, was quartered in the Alhambra. During his stay in the Peninsula, he produced over 500 drawings of Spanish monuments. The Scotsman David Roberts took a first trip to the South of Spain in 1832-1833 and his drawings, later published as illustrations to Thomas Roscoe's *The Tourist in Spain* (1835) and as *Picturesque Sketches in Spain* (1837), were among his most popular publications (Symmons 1996). Owen Jones arrived in Granada in 1834 and began drawing and sketching the royal palace in all its aspects, publishing the results in his monumental *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (1842-45) (Sweetman 1988: 119-30).

developed in the sections that follow as an introduction to the culminating episode of the Moor's last farewell to his city and kingdom, extended over more than thirty lines. Here Boabdil's gaze first takes in the whole expanse of the fortified town, its countryside and encircling mountain-range ("the Paradise of Spain", 64, Moir 1824: 84), then salutes them for the last time:

"Farewell! ye towers, and streams and bowers,
A last farewell," he said:—
Outspake his queenly mother then
As she raised her stately head:
"Tis well thy part —the coward heart
Should end as it began,
And he may weep, that could not keep
His kingdom like a man." (81-88, Moir 1824: 84)

The queen's words –slightly veined with irony in the third-person of "he may"– conclude Moir's poem. And the final exchange between mother and son once more reproduces a shift between masculine and feminine, so that, whereas the woman is "stately" and "queenly", cowardly Boabdil fades away, unnamed, his voice silenced by the more powerful utterance of his mother. Mostly a re-elaboration of well-known exotic materials, Moir's poem confirms the distribution of masculinity and femininity, power and disempowerment, set out by the Spanish version of the tale, as well as testifying to the freedom with which the episode of the Moor's tears was appropriated and elaborated in early nineteenth-century British literature.

The following year saw the publication of a more transformative treatment of the tale in Henry Herbert, Lord Porchester's poem *The Moor* (1825) where, as in Hemans's *Abencerrage* and in classic orientalist fashion, Boabdil features as an evil despotic ruler swayed by his mother and insanelly jealous of his wife. Porchester's poem is an ambitious and copiously annotated metrical tale in which the young aristocratic author even attempts a reconstruction of the cultural, socio-political and economic conditions of the kingdom of Granada at the close of the fifteenth century. Like Byron before him, Porchester had travelled across Spain in 1822, a young lord on a Grand Tour meant as part of his political education and future parliamentary career. On this occasion he had been received by King Ferdinand VII, and later Porchester returned to the Peninsula several times, becoming an expert on Spanish affairs whilst making a name for himself both in the House of Commons and the Lords during the campaign leading to the Reform Bill of 1832.¹⁸

18. On Porchester see, besides the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Robertson 1975: 206-209.

Drawing on the author's archival as well as first-hand knowledge of Spain, *The Moor* offers itself as a romance and a historically reliable reconstruction of an episode in Spanish history –the events leading up to the battle of Lucena (1483)– shot through with reflections on politics and economics. At eighty pages, the prose preface is a detailed disquisition on the Moorish nation, aimed at equipping the reader with a wealth of historical, economic and socio-political notions. The poem, by contrast, is built around a fictional Moor of the Almoradi tribe, Hassan, and his diplomatic journey to a council in Castile with Spanish leaders who eventually refuse to sign a peace treaty with Granada, a dismissal which precipitates the battle of Lucena and the final phase in the Christian conquest of the Islamic territories. Throughout the poem Boabdil is presented as an incapable ruler, the embodiment of a slothful, luxurious and tyrannical Eastern power, a stereotypical representation of oriental despotism figured through the king's decadent hedonism:

Apart, in high alcove, the Monarch lay,
 Reposing from the beams of sultry day;
 The spangled garb of Tunis round him roll'd,
 And o'er his head the canopy of gold:
 Here figured china scatter'd incense round–
 There Persia's purple carpet deck'd the ground;
 Her silks fell fair o'er gilded balustrade,
 Where fount of fretted alabaster play'd (Porchester 1825: 183)

Reclining under a canopy, surrounded by the accumulated luxuries of the East, Boabdil is both a semi-divine icon and the symbol of a decidedly Asiatic (and backward) political-economic system in which the ruler is the site of all power and the point of convergence of all the revenues and treasures of the state. Boabdil's presentation as the hub of a system of oriental absolutism makes him a belated representative of that type of Asiatic despotism demonized by the eighteenth-century *philosophes* and later analyzed by Karl Marx as a specific political-economic dimension under the rubric of the "Asiatic mode of production" (O'Leary 1989: 17-18; Grosrichard 1979). Yet, even as he revises the historical relevance of Boabdil's role, Porchester does not forget the fictional side of the matter of Granada and thus also proleptically writes the king's tears into his poem from the very beginning:

[...] thrill'd with anguish as he look'd his last,
 [He] Wept o'er the realms he ruled with sovereign pride,
 Yet lived an exile when the monarch died,
 His high-soul'd mother sternly bade him know
 It ill became him, with a woman's woe
 To mourn o'er lost Granada's living grave–
 The throne he knew not like a King to save. (Porchester 1825: 6)

At first glance these lines simply seem to replicate the familiar tale inseparable from any account of the final days of the last Muslim kingdom in Spain. But, on closer inspection, the text betrays a resistance to showing the king's tears as a debasing spectacle of masculinity "gone wrong". Differently from the poems already examined, the impact of the Queen Mother's reproach is lessened by the avoidance of direct speech and by turning the loss of Granada into the more circumscribed, less apocalyptic loss of a throne, a formulation that harks back to Florian's *Gonsalve de Cordoue*, a text amply quoted in Porchester's preface and footnotes. Furthermore, the king's "woman's woe" is ill-becoming, for it clashes with the code of restrained virility proper to chivalry and held up both in the preface and in the representation of the hero Hassan, as well as in the extensive evocations of tournaments, duels and courtly celebrations in the verse tale. In other words, Porchester's text stresses that Boabdil is not man enough, having infringed the chivalric code shared by Christians and Muslims alike, rather than defining him as an effeminate figure or a man indulging in feminine behaviour.

In addition, just like Hemans before him, Porchester duplicates the episode of the tears and asserts its emblematic centrality by transcribing an unattributed prose version of the tale in a note where the Queen Mother's reproach is given even more relevance: "My Son, it ill becomes you to lament an empire that you had not the manhood to defend" (Porchester 1825: 283). It is interesting that, in so far as we consider Pérez de Hita's version an "original" (at least in the environment of British Romantic-period culture), Porchester's footnote is closer to the Spanish account, addressing Boabdil as a "man", whereas the poetic text defines him as "King". This shift away from the original text seems to indicate that Porchester's rewriting moves from an undermining of masculinity (relegated to the footnote) to an undermining of Boabdil's royal position and authority (given full visibility in the poetic text). Therefore what he has lost is a throne, and his "woman's woe" is indecorous and inappropriate especially because it clashes with an ideal of stoic male heroism. In *The Moor* the weeping king features as an anti-model, a figure manipulated and reworked in order to suit the text's agenda of celebrating manly, warlike values and diplomatic skills.

By contrast, a treatment of the Moor's tears which again wrests power away from an enfeebled male hand to bestow it on to a powerful female figure is Letitia Landon's "The Sultana's Remonstrance", a lyric in her best-selling volume *The Troubadour*, published in the same year as Porchester's less successful poem. The long metrical tale which gives the title to the whole volume already contains an elaboration of the Spanish-Moorish theme as the hero, a Provençal knight-troubadour, joins a crusade against the Moors of Spain, is made prisoner and manages to escape from his dungeon with the help of a fascinating Moorish damsel who falls in love with him. But, if the

main poem in the volume explores the territories of the Catholic-Islamic frontier, "The Sultana's Remonstrance" is set after the disappearance of that boundary, investigating the awareness of the vanished borderline and its consequences. Landon's version of the Moor's tears once more centres on the female figure of the queen. Startlingly, as if the whole background to the episode needed no introduction, her text begins with the scornful words addressed by Aixa to her son:

It suits thee well to weep,
As thou look'st on the fair land,
Whose sceptre thou hast held
With less than woman's hand. (Landon 1990: 266)

One aspect to emerge from this iambic quatrain is that "woman" is not used contemptuously to imply a negative comparison with female weakness. Rather, the mother's voice is stronger than the king's and power is vested in her. Being "less than woman's", Boabdil's hand is consequently deprived of any true authority. He is no longer accused of displaying a woman's woe or woman's tears, nor is he accused of not being man enough. More radically, Landon's re-elaboration defines Boabdil's behaviour as inferior to the female model, annulling the negative connotations in the term "woman" as handed down by the original Spanish version of the Moor's last sigh and still present, for instance, in Hemans's "woman's tears".

The rest of Landon's lyric then expands and details Boabdil's loss of power and authority, his being paradoxically neither man nor woman, by applying the redistribution of gender to the entire geography of Granada. The latter is typically presented as a place of gardens and halls, protected by high defensive walls (Saglia 1997), and the queen points it out to her degenerate son for the last time:

On yon bright city gaze,
With its white and marble halls,
The glory of its lofty towers,
The strength of its proud walls.

And look to yonder palace,
With its garden of the rose,
With its groves and silver fountains,
Fit for a king's repose. (Landon 1990: 266)

The Alhambra and the city's palaces are built on a precise distribution and balance of masculine (the defensive walls) and feminine (the halls and gardens). Granada thus appears here, and in numerous other representations

of its architectural marvels, as a place of gendered tensions closely related to the present of the narrating culture rather than merely confined to the timelessness of the exotic locale. In her remonstrance, the Sultana makes clear that, as the king of a heroic male population, Boabdil should have belonged to the former dimension: “Their fathers died for thy fathers,— / They would have died for thee” (Landon 1990: 266). However, the king has pledged allegiance neither to the masculine nor to the feminine values of the city. As a result, following the Christian conquest, even the male population of Granada is defeated: the city is now inhabited by “aged men” and “young knights [...] with folded arms” (Landon 1990: 266). Through this destabilization of the city’s gendered architecture, and in the ensuing vacuum of male power, authority is now appropriated by the queen who personifies of the voice of history. As it rewrites the gender relations in the legend of the Moor’s last sigh, Landon’s ballad-style lyric stages feminine resistance to masculine values and Granada becomes a dream of civilization lost by male ineptitude.

Written and published between 1819 and 1825, the texts examined in this essay constitute a localized corpus evidencing a variety of uses and interpretations of the legend of the Moor’s sigh in the British literary environment of the late 1810s and the early 1820s. Also after 1825, however, the popularity of the Granadine theme continued unabated. François-René de Chateaubriand’s *Le dernier Abencérage*, published in 1826, presented the episode of the Moor’s tears in one of its opening sequences and was also inspired by the French translation of Pérez de Hita’s *Guerras civiles* by Alexandre Marie Sané (1807).¹⁹ It was translated into English anonymously as *Aben Hamet, the Last of the Abencerages* in 1826, an extract of which was published in Rudolph Ackermann’s *Repository of Arts* (vol. 8, nr 44, 1 August 1826). A second translation appeared in 1835, this time by Isabel Hill, author of the English version of Madame de Staël’s *Corinne* (1807) for which Letitia Landon provided translations of the odes into English. In 1829 the Reverend George Hughes published *The Last Sigh of the Moor: A Poem*, and in 1833 John Graham of Wadham College, Oxford, published his *Granada: A Prize Poem*. The year 1835 saw the publication of Thomas Roscoe’s descriptive narrative *The Tourist in Spain: Granada*, with illustrations by David Roberts, and intended as part of Jennings’s *Landscape Annual* series. In 1850 Roscoe published his poem *The Last of the Abencerrages, or the Fall of Granada*. A year later, after the end of the Great Exhibition, the Crystal Palace was

19. The French translation was also introduced by a literary and historical account of Moorish Spain: *Histoire chevalresque des Maures de Grenade trad. de l’espagnol de Ginés Pérez de Hita et précédée de quelques réflexions sur les Musulmans d’Espagne, avec des notes historiques et littéraires par Alexandre] M[arie] Sané*, 2 vols (Paris: Clérioux jeune et H. Nicolle, 1809).

removed from Hyde Park to Sydenham, in South London, and was transformed into a series of architectural courts: here Owen Jones converted one of these spaces into an "Alhambra Court" that reproduced miniature versions of the Court of Lions, the Hall of the Kings and the Hall of the Abencerrages (Crinson 1996: 63-65). In all of these recreations of the exotic elsewhere of Granada, the sigh and tears of the last Moorish king are either overtly represented or part of a background of nostalgic tales of faded architectural grandeur, lost splendour and doomed heroism.

The multiplicity of meanings of Boabdil's tears in Romantic and Victorian Britain is rooted in the polysemy of the Moor's last sigh in the Spanish-language tradition. In Spanish Renaissance culture, when the defeat of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors were still relatively recent events, the episode was endowed with both elegiac and triumphant overtones. The Moor's sigh was a sentimentalizing episode in the context of "romantic" views of late medieval Granada as an opulent, refined and chivalrous court, similar in many respects to contemporary Christian courtly environments. The heroic representatives of the Muslim aristocracy were thus turned into "sentimental" Moors, and indeed the first section of Pérez de Hita's novel grants special relevance to these characters in accordance with what María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti (1976: 121) has defined as an underlying concern that "the assimilation of Moorish gentry by Christian society be effected" in late sixteenth-century Spain.²⁰ This appreciative view of Moorish Granada became particularly widespread after its defeat, when the Islamic enemy was no longer a threat and in keeping with the chivalric tendency to sympathize with a vanquished yet valorous foe. But in Spanish literature the image of the Moor's last sigh also functioned as a scornful judgment on a defeated civilization and an emblematic moment sealing the closure of one's "natural" national boundaries.

In its migration from its original contexts to the literary discourse of British Romantic culture, the Moor's last sigh acquires new meanings in relation to debates on gender, the preoccupation with history as progress, and the passing of humanity and its institutions, specific to the receiving culture. The texts examined in this essay play with ideas of masculine and feminine, reordering the boundary between "man" and "woman", as well as with notions of power and its loss, the fall of empires or the emergence of new states. Boabdil's tears thus appear to be at least doubly productive: first, because of the gender inversions they set in train, secondly, because of the political-historical reflections they subsume.

20. On the figure of the sentimental Moor in Spanish literature, and its reappearance in Spanish Romanticism, see Adams 1968.

Boabdil takes centre stage as a fascinating figure, located half-way between fact and fiction, the chronicling of the fall of a kingdom, on the one hand, and a variety of symbolical significations, on the other. Taken together, the re-elaborations examined in this essay transform the last Moorish king of Granada into a palimpsest where identities shift between extremes, fixed points of reference oscillate, and seemingly clear-cut concepts momentarily turn into their opposites. As free-floating signifiers imported into the network of British Romantic writing, Boabdil and his tears are a superimposition of narratives and issues available for authors to manipulate and reinvent. Boabdil may feature as the patriarchal oriental despot, embodying the excess of virility proper to clichéd Eastern sultans, yet also as an emasculated figure because of his tears. He is the effete Asiatic, whose effeminacy and weakness are finally borne out by his weeping. And he represents the shift from absolute power to a powerlessness condensed in the signifier of the tears which transcribes the last trace of an extinct dynasty and a lost empire. The Moor's sigh and tears are what may be called a "productive embarrassment" for British Romantic writers, an infringement of a code of masculine stoicism which is also a redistribution of the sentimentalist topos of tears. Eighteenth-century tears had been a primary indicator of a refined sensibility, sympathy and superior humanity, the weeping of both men and women amply recorded in literary texts as a physical manifestation of their inner virtues. Boabdil's tears, by contrast, are extracted from this mythologizing of sentiment and redeployed as individual weakness, on the one hand, and as a sign of imperial-cultural decline and catastrophe, on the other. Accordingly the king's tears belong in a figuration of failed masculinity and male-dominated history, oriental effeminacy, the melancholy of the last of the race or even, as in Byron, an icon of intercultural fertilization and impurity.²¹

More generally, therefore, Boabdil's tears reveal that, while Romantic-period treatments of the exotic maintain, and capitalize on cultural difference, they simultaneously tend to assimilate and employ it in figurations of, and reflections on, the narrating culture. The exotic is confirmed as a dimension exceeding familiar cultural experience through spatio-temporal distance. But, once this "unmarked", abstract status of the exotic becomes part of the appropriating and translating culture, the *other* and its figures bear directly on the materials, issues and ideas of familiar cultural experience. The line between Home and Other, to return to Roger Célestin's terminology, is blurred as the "different" becomes part of the discourses with which "sameness" narrates itself to itself. And these discourses are enmeshed in the present dimension of the narrating culture to such an extent that the exotic no longer

21. On the continuing productivity of this episode, see Cantor 1997.

functions as a suspended signifier, but rather becomes an “ideologeme”, a site of contention where crucial issues are staged, played out and (occasionally) redefined.

One of the sections in Washington Irving's *The Alhambra* (1832) is a compendium of Boabdil-related legends entitled “Mementoes of Boabdil”. The episode of the tears is not forgotten and, once more, the text rehearses Queen Aixa's well-known rebuke: “You do well [...] to weep as a woman over that you could not defend as a man”. Her words are then glossed by the authoritative voice of the narrator-compiler, a veritable guide through the mysteries of the Islamic remains of Southern Spain, who adds that this is “a speech savouring more of the pride of the princess than the tenderness of the mother” (Irving 1925: 169).²² The power struggle in this minimal exchange is brought to the reader's attention by an intrusive comment which makes it clear that the narrative fragment conceals more than just a curious piece of exotic lore or the melodramatic epilogue to an epic fight in the annals of East-West confrontations. Indeed, overtones of tension are present in all the re-elaborations seen here, but now the fragment no longer indicates an intercultural or military tension *tout court*: its meanings have shifted within the sphere of the receiving tradition. In this new shape it encapsulates conflicts proper to British Romantic tradition and its discourses, continuing to produce meanings and stimulate interpretations well into the Victorian age and beyond.

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22. Irving also recorded the episode of Boabdil's tears in his *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* of 1829: “Boabdil burst into tears. His mother, the intrepid Ayxa, was indignant at his weakness: “You do well’, said she, ‘to weep like a woman, for what you failed to defend like a man!’” (Irving 1909: 341). On the *Chronicle*, see Wiegman 1971: 73-96.

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CHAUCER'S "MAKYNG" OF THE ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE

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ABSTRACT. Despite its being the first testimony of Chaucer's genius, the interest of modern criticism in the Romaunt has mainly focused on the issue of authorship, whereas the efforts to assess this text as a translation have been limited both in their number and in their scope. This paper discusses Chaucer's translation of the Roman de la Rose, and provides an evaluation of Fragment A from a modern traductological perspective, while taking account of contemporary theoretical positions. First, this article compares the Romaunt with Chaucer's later translating practice. Second, taking into account that the immediate audience of the Romaunt would have been cognizant of French, this essay considers the pragmatic function of this translation. Finally, I reconstruct some of Chaucer's decisions in the translation process, and then I present the translation strategies he adopted in order to create an English metapoem which replicated the spirit of the Roman, thus proving the adequacy of English for poetic expression.

"Chaucer's translation of the *Roman de la Rose* represents his first significant literary endeavor"¹. Undertaking a poetical translation of the French original must have been a challenging project if we take into consideration the situation of the English language and literature in the second half of the fourteenth century: the contact of English with French since 1066 had promoted a unidirectional movement of literary imitation by English writers of

1. A shortened version of this article was read at the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, May 3-6, 2001.

continental themes, which, however, fostered the equality neither of the English literary tradition with the French, nor of the status of their respective languages. Chaucer, therefore, found himself in a somewhat mediocre literary tradition, and with a language that, lacking the prestige of French and Latin, was not adequately equipped for the expression of “sentement”.

The principal interest of modern criticism in the *Romaunt* has consisted in determining the extent of Chaucer’s participation in its production,² while the efforts to assess this text as a translation have been rather limited both in their number and in their scope (see Dahlberg 1999: 27-32). This essay proposes to evaluate Chaucer’s *Romaunt* from a modern traductological approach by looking at translation as process and not as product (Djordjević 2000: 12), while still taking into consideration contemporary views.

The only contribution that discusses the intrinsic value of the *Romaunt* is an article by Caroline D. Eckhardt (1984), who also complains about the scant attention paid to Chaucer’s text. Eckhardt’s conclusions have been generally accepted as the standard reading of the translation, although her article is not free of methodological errors. First, she makes a brief reference to the theoretical formulations on translation by Saint Jerome and Dryden, but later she fails to apply these descriptive theories to Chaucer’s work (cf. Dahlberg 1999: 30). Next, Eckhardt proceeds to compare the *Romaunt* to the French text with the purpose of observing, “where the translation is accurate, how that accuracy is achieved and, where it is not, what the value of the departures might be” (Eckhardt 1984: 46); that is to say, Eckhardt is committed to examining the *Romaunt* as a literary product, without taking into account the causes that determined or the conditions that influenced such a product.

For an appropriate understanding and evaluation of the literary implications of this translation in the development of Chaucer as a poet, we have to consider not only its relation to the source text, but also the process that has generated this literary product. I subscribe to Basil Hatim and Ian Mason’s view (1990: 4-5) that “the resulting translated text is to be seen as evidence of a transaction, a means of retracing the pathways of the translator’s decision-making procedures”. Obviously the reconstruction of the translation process and of all the factors intervening in the “makyng” of the *Romaunt* cannot be absolute, but its investigation will foster a better appreciation of the text than the “product-to-product” comparison.³

2. The issue of the authorship of the translation is not completely settled, yet consensus has been reached in attributing to Chaucer Fragment A, and in considering not improbable that he was the author of Fragment C. Dahlberg (1999: 3-24) offers a detailed revision of the positions held by the critics in relation to the authorship of the *Romaunt*. This paper concerns itself only with Fragment A.

3. For the meaning of “makyng” in this context, see Olson (1979: 272-290).

The adoption of modern postulates for the assessment of Chaucer's translation in place of the contemporary traductological tenets requires a justification. The translation of "olde bokes" was constant throughout Chaucer's literary career. Although Chaucer never produced a treatise on translation wherein he exposed his views on this issue, we find some allusions to translation scattered in his works that give us an idea of his views. All his comments agree in adopting the Hieronymic posture condensed in the quote "non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu" (Jerome 1910: 508). Chaucer, therefore, expressed his commitment to preserve the original meaning, as for example in *Troilus and Criseyde*:

And of his song naught only the sentence,
As writ myn auctour called Lollius,
But pleynly, save oure tonges difference,
I dar wel seyn, in al, that Troilus
As in his song, loo, every word right thus
As I shal seyn... (1.393-98)⁴

Nonetheless, this promise has only declarative value, since the adoption of Saint Jerome's view became axiomatic in the Middle Ages. In fact, "none of the works in which he (i.e. Chaucer) claims to have adopted the Hieronymic posture can be considered unequivocally a sense-for-sense translation" (Machan 1989: 57). In general, the violation of the Hieronymic principle comes from the imposition of the translator's *intentio* upon the sense of the author or *intentio auctoris*, and it results in the manipulation of the *materia* that Chaucer found in his sources, mainly by the interpolation of glosses. The effect of this hermeneutical intervention is the effacement of the original text and its substitution by a new version that has absorbed the original matter and has cast it in the mould of a new *intentio auctoris*.⁵ The fusion of exegetical translation and the manipulation of the *intentio auctoris* characterizes Chaucer's creative principle and his attitude toward the "olde bokes"; as Shoaf (1979: 64) indicates, "Chaucer plowed under the old fields of poetry to prepare for the harvest of the new science".

Despite the deviation from the original that this practice implies, the resulting texts were perceived as legitimate translations. From a modern perspective, however, these Chaucerian creations would be considered adaptations or versions at most, due to the prescriptive element attached to the

4. Cf. *The Canterbury Tales*, VII.961-64, VIII.78-84. All citations from Chaucer are from Benson et al. (1987), unless otherwise noticed.

5. Copeland (1991, esp. pp. 186-202) proves how the exegetical practice of academic discourse was adopted in vernacular translations, and Chaucer was no exception.

concept of translation. For instance, one of the seminal works in the field of translation studies provides the following definition: “Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style” (Nida and Taber 1969: 12). The insistence on the translation equivalence prevents us from approaching the Chaucerian versions from a present traductological stand.

Nonetheless, the case of the *Romaunt* is rather different from the rest of Chaucer’s translations. His purpose here was to render the original faithfully both linguistically and stylistically, thus displaying a clearly modern approach. Unfortunately the *Romaunt* does not include a prologue where the translator describes his purpose and the method of his translation. Yet the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* provides us with a relevant testimony uttered by the God of Love:

“For thow,” quod he, “art therto nothing able.
 Yt is my relyke, digne and delytable,
 And thow my foo, and al my folk werreyest,
 And of myn olde servauntes thow mysseyest,
 And hynderest hem with thy translacioun,
 And lettest folk from hire devocioun
 To serve me, and holdest it folye
 To serve Love. Thou maist yt nat denye,
 For in pleyn text, withouten nede of glose,
 Thou hast translated the Romaunce of the Rose,
 That is an heresye ayeins my lawe” (lines F. 320-30)

This allusion is one of the arguments used for ascribing the *Romaunt* to Chaucer, but it is also a testimony to Chaucer’s acknowledgement of having altered his translation strategy after producing the *Romaunt*, since this is the only case in which “it nedeth nat to glosse” (G.254). The God of Love is reprimanding Chaucer not only for having undertaken the translation of a poem that contravenes the God’s principles, but also for having produced a version “in pleyn text”, i.e. without Chaucer’s mediation.⁶ In the God of Love’s opinion this intervention would be desirable in order to purge the text from all the supposedly subversive contents of the original, and thus provide a reading more favorable to the God of Love. Queen Alceste takes Chaucer’s side and adduces the conventional argument of the translator who denies his responsibility for the contents of the text:

6. Cf. G.85-86: “For myn entent is, or I fro yow fare, / The naked text in English to declare”.

He may translate a thyng in no malyce,
 But for he useth bokes for to make,
 And taketh non hed of what matere he take,
 Therefore he wrot the Rose and ek Crisseyde
 Of innocence, and nyste what he seyde. (G.341-45)

Alceste, rather ironically, tries to portray Chaucer as a mere traducer who does not judge the subject of his translations, and who, adopting a self-effacing role, simply transfers a text from one language into another; nevertheless, she admits that Chaucer "useth bokes for to make", claiming full responsibility in those instances. This translating dichotomy is exemplified by the *Romaunt* and the *Troilus*, respectively, and Alceste proclaims Chaucer's innocence in relation to the production of the *Romaunt* on the basis of his low-key role as a translator. The word "innocence" here incorporates its semantic duality of Chaucer being guiltless of the crime imputed to him, and also naive, probably alluding to his youthful inexperience.

Although these words insinuate that Chaucer favored some degree of intervention in the process of translation, their implications have to be considered cautiously, because they are pronounced by the narrator in his dream. We can, however, affirm that Chaucer was aware of having altered his translating practice after the *Romaunt*, which is the only instance of a relatively faithful translation by Chaucer according to modern standards, thus justifying our approach. This fundamental contrast between the two Chaucerian modes of translation has been overlooked by some critics when describing Chaucer's translating practice, since they have focused on translations after the *Romaunt*, yet giving general validity to their conclusion. For instance, Machan (1986: 62) depicts Chaucer's translations in general in the following terms: "they all involve, though in various ways, the incorporation of material from other texts or the inclusion of original and significant Chaucerian additions", a statement that cannot be applied to the *Romaunt*.⁷

Jiří Levý (1967) has defined the activity of translation as a decision-making process. He discusses explicitly the types of choice that the translator has to make during the stage of reformulation of the source text into the target language. The translator, however, starts making decisions long before. In order to comprehend the rationale of the translator in adopting some solutions, first we will have to delineate the function of the translated text.⁸ There is no mention by Chaucer of what might have been his purpose in undertaking the

7. Shoaf's views (1979) are also based on those later translations, without any specific reference to the *Romaunt*.

8. Roberts (1992: 7) defines the function of translation as "the application or use which the translation is intended to have in the context of the target situation".

translation of the *Roman* into English, so we can guess its function only from contextual elements (cf. Hatim and Mason 1990: 12). Chaucer was educated in a courtly milieu and it seems likely that he composed his first short poems in Anglo-Norman (see Robins 1978, and Wimsatt 1982). Although Anglo-Norman was in decline toward the end of the fourteenth century, it was still a widespread language and it was even used in England for the creation of significant literary works (e.g. Gower's *Mirour de l'Homme*). Conversely, English had been relegated to instances of more familiar and less sophisticated communication, thus showing a diglossic pattern (Burnley 1989: 41, 48). We can infer that the immediate audience for the *Romaunt* also belonged to courtly circles and was cognizant of French, thus having no pragmatic need for Chaucer's mediation, making his effort apparently redundant.⁹ If the main purpose of this translation was not to encode the source text in the target language to promote its understanding and circulation among his audience, what was Chaucer's intention?

Chaucer engaged in this translation as a linguistic test run: he wanted to try out the capacity of English to attain higher spheres of expression. Later in his career, when Chaucer had developed greater sense of authorship, he commented on the difficulties he still encountered when trying to adapt English to the mode of poetic expression of French Marguerite poetry:

Allas, that I ne had Englyssh, ryme or prose,
Suffisant this flour to preyse aryght!
But helpeth, ye that han konnyng and myght,
Ye lovers that kan make of sentement (LGW, F.66-69)

Chaucer left the translation unfinished, but the outcome of the test must have been successful, since thenceforth his only language for literary creation would be English. This personal reassessment about the poetic possibilities of English would not be Chaucer's only gain from this translation: the *Romaunt* would confer prestige both on Chaucer and on English. As Tim W. Machan (1989: 66) notes, Chaucer "obtained status and authority (...), for if the sources he translated—or claimed to translate—had prestige, this prestige was necessarily a part of his own texts".¹⁰ Nonetheless, the objective of improving English and preparing it for more elaborate discourses would always be in

9. On the education of the English aristocracy, see Orme (1983).

10. For this translation Chaucer received the praise of Eustache Deschamps in his famous envoi, where he refers to Chaucer as "grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier". The date of Deschamps's poem is not completely established: although traditionally 1385-86 is thought to be the most likely (Benson et al. 1987: xxiv), the date 1377-80 has also been argued by Kooijman (1980).

Chaucer's agenda, as can be surmised from the prologue to *A Treatis on the Astrolabe*.¹¹

After having discussed the *Romaunt's* function, let us now proceed to analyze the translation process, which commences with the selection of the source. Why did Chaucer pick the *Roman de la Rose*? With the reading of the *Roman* Chaucer discovered the world of courtly allegory and of "fin'amors", which was new to him. The fascination he felt for this text would not be transitory, since Chaucer's encounter with the French poem would make an indelible impression on his poetics, as critics have extensively discussed.¹² Chaucer therefore preferred a poetical work that was ahead of his literary tradition in the establishment of his "programme", in Anton Popovič's terminology.¹³

The translation of poetry has always raised the issue of its translatability. Dante (1995: 30) himself expressed the limitations of poetic translation: "E però sappia ciascuno che nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può della sua loquela in altra transmutare senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza ed armonia".¹⁴ The same view was subscribed by Jacob Grimm, a great translator himself: "A faithful translation of a true poem is impossible; for in order not to be any poorer than the "original" it would have to be identical with it" (quoted in Frank 1991: 118). The list of those who negate the possibility of translation could be much longer, including names such as Ortega y Gasset, Benedetto Croce, and Roman Jakobson. The force of their argument can be offset by bearing in mind Nida's words (1969: 483): "Rather than being impressed by the impossibilities of translation, anyone who is involved in the realities of translation in a broad range of languages is impressed that effective interlingual communication is always possible, despite seemingly enormous differences in linguistic structures and cultural features". Chaucer had certainly not been trained as a translator, yet presumably he had great linguistic competence in French –which would be similar to that of a

11. Here Chaucer argued for the adequacy of English for scientific discourse and set it among languages such as Greek or Latin: "This tretis ... wol I shewe the under full light reules and naked wordes in Englissh, for Latyn canst thou yit but small, my litel sone. But natheles suffise to the these trewe conclusions in Englissh as wel as sufficith to these noble clerkes Grekes these same conclusions in Grek; and to Arabiens in Arabik, and to Jewes in Ebrew, and to Latyn folk in Latyn" (ll. 25-33).

12. For a survey of the literature written on the impact of the *Roman* on Chaucer's works see Dahlberg (1999: 32-46).

13. Popovič (1976: 23) indicates that the selection of the source text usually "corresponds to the prevailing literary, cultural and social standard".

14. "Therefore everyone should know that nothing harmonized according to the rules of poetry can be translated from its native tongue into another without destroying all its sweetness and harmony", trans. Richard H. Lansing (1990: 18).

bilingual—, and he was familiar with the French literary tradition. As a poet he could exploit his creative powers to transfer the original into his mother tongue in the most faithful manner, despite the constraints imposed by versification. Did Chaucer entertain thoughts about the impossibility of his task? As I pointed out at the beginning of this paper, Chaucer engaged in the translation of this poem as a means to test and prove the literary capabilities of his mother tongue; to admit the impossibility of such translation would have implied to acknowledge the inadequacy of English.

Thus Chaucer decided to undertake the translation of the Old French text, and began to compose a metapoem, as James S. Holmes designates this type of translation on the basis of Barthes's meta-language.¹⁵ The next choice that Chaucer had to make concerns the prosodic schema of the metapoem; that is to say, he had to decide which form of versification would be appropriate. Guillaume de Lorris's poem is written in octosyllabic couplets; thus it is not surprising that Chaucer inclined toward the couplet of eight syllables with four beats, which was the most common form in Middle English. If Chaucer had pondered more carefully over the place of his metapoem in the English literary tradition, he would probably have preferred a verse form more appropriate for the expression of this new poetic sensibility. Later in his career Chaucer adopted the longer line with five stresses, which had been rarely used thitherto and which might have been a better option for his translation. Derek Brewer (1998: 78) criticizes Chaucer's choice for considering it "reminiscent of the English metrical poems". Chaucer opted for a mimetic form, following Holmes's typology (1988b: 25-6), trying to imitate the meter of the source text; by his retention of the original form, Chaucer confirmed his fidelity to the original.

Before the actual writing of his metapoem, Chaucer would have done a thorough reading of the original, which would have informed his understanding of the source text, thus having a substantial impact on the translated version. Robert de Beaugrande in his chapter "The Role of Reading in Poetic Translating" comments on the importance of the reading activity in the translation process, and he adds that in contrastive studies "when errors are noticed, they tend to be attributed to the translator's writing strategies rather than his or her reading strategies" (Beaugrande 1978: 25). Despite Chaucer's undeniable linguistic competence, being able to figure out the meaning of all lexical items is a rather complicated task if we bear in mind that fundamental aids, such as bilingual dictionaries, were not available at that time. Scholars have blamed his misunderstanding of the original for some

15. Holmes defines metapoem as "the poem intended as a translation of a poem into another language" (1988a: 10).

negative shifts in the *Romaunt*.¹⁶ For instance, in relation to the rendering of "N'estoit fardee ne guignee" (line 1004) as "No wyndred browis had she" (A 1018),¹⁷ Alfred David indicates that "the translation may introduce browis through misunderstanding "guignee" as "plucked"" (Benson et al. 1987: 1106; cf. Dahlberg 1999: 108). Another example is the use of "ridled" (A 1235) to convey the French "cueillie e iointe" (line 1213), which Langlois (1920, vol. 2, p. 306) believes to be a mistranslation. These comprehension problems are not limited to lexical, but they are also caused by syntactical difficulties:

Of fruyt hadde very tree his charge, But it were any hidous tree Of which ther were two or three. (A 1352-54)	Nul arbre n'iot qui fruit ne charge, Se n'est aucuns arbres hideus, Dont il i a ou trois ou deus (lines 1326-28) ¹⁸
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In addition to these cases pointed out by other critics, I have identified other difficulties of Chaucer in the negotiation of meaning. Curiously enough Chaucer seems to have problems with the transfer of alien literary terminology:

They songen in their jargonyng (A 716) There myghtist thou see these flowtours, Mynstrales, and eke jogelours, That wel to syngre dide her peyne. (A 763-5)	Chantoient en lor serventois (line 704) La ueïssiez vous fleüteors, E menestreus, e iugleors; Si chantoit li uns rotruenges (lines 747-9)
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English does not offer Chaucer any equivalent for the Old Occitan terms "serventois" and "rotruenges", but it is unusual that he does not attempt to include their meaning in his translation by applying some strategy, such as borrowing or paraphrasis, as he does on other occasions. This is, therefore, an instance of loss, since the translation "jargonyng" ("twittering of birds", MED) deprives that sentence from the prosopopeic component of the *Roman*.

16. Popovič defines negative shift as "an incorrect solution of information caused by misunderstanding of the translation" (1976: 16).

17. All quotations from the *Roman de la Rose* are from Sutherland (1967), and the text of the *Romaunt* is quoted from Dahlberg (1999).

18. As Alfred David argues, "the translator misunderstood the French, which says that there were at least one or two of every kind of fruit-bearing tree except a few that were too ugly" (Benson et al. 1987: 1106). See also Dahlberg, (1920: 120).

Next there are some omissions that seem symptomatic, although we cannot be certain about Chaucer's degree of understanding:

Til that the dore of thilk entre (A 537)	Li guichoit, qui estoit de charme, (line 524)
Hir yen grey as is a faucoun (A 546)	E les ieuz uers come faucons, Por feire enue a ces bricons (lines 534-35)

Throughout the whole translation Chaucer tried to provide as much detail as possible to facilitate the comprehension of the text; it is therefore strange that these explicative remarks are not included. This makes me believe that Chaucer had difficulties understanding the words “charme” (“hornbeam”) and “bricons” (“harebrained”), and preferred just to introduce a redundant comment in the first case, and to omit it in the second.

The encoding of the original message into English should be perceived as a creative act, only limited by his degree of faithfulness to the original and by the versification. But this mediation implies the negotiation of the meaning of the source text, and thus the imposition of the translator's interpretation. How can we observe the intervention of the translator? What is the effect of such mediation? I will attempt to answer these two questions by conducting a comparative analysis of both poems.

Caroline Eckhardt argues in her article that “the most obvious quality of the *Romaunt* as a translation is certainly its very high degree of literal reproduction of its source” (p. 46). Despite having been a generalized opinion, the literality of the *Romaunt* is simply unfounded, since not more than one hundred lines could be considered a word-for-word reproduction of the French original. Furthermore, not all these lines should be classified as instances of literalism,¹⁹ since many of them are just accurate and natural English translations, as for instance “That she hadde suffred day and nyght” (A 309) for “Qu'el soffroit de iorz e de nuiz” (line 300), “For nakid as a worme was she” (A 454) for “Qu'ele estoit nue come uers” (line 445), and “In sich a gise that he hir kyste / At all tymes that hym lyste” (A 1291-92) for “En tel guise qu'il la bessoit / Toutes les foiz qu'il li plessoit” (lines 1269-70). Although it is also true that on some other occasions Chaucer imitated both the syntactic structure and the lexical material, and sometimes even the rhyme of the original.²⁰ Thus, “Par quel art ne par quel engin / Ie porroie entre el iardin” (lines 499-500) is rendered “By which art or by what engyne / I myght come into that gardyne” (A 511-12); “Qui ne fust en son droit asise. / Mout fu bien

19. For the concept of literalism, see Barnstone (1993: 30-41).

20. On the rhyme in the *Romaunt*, see Marie Borroff (1998: 223-242, esp. 228).

uestue Franchise" (lines 1216-17) is translated "That it nas in his right assise. / Full wel clothed was Fraunchise" (A 1237-38). Other instances of literalism are A 466-67, 1049-50, 1191-92, 1200-02, 1325-26, 1601-02, to the point of a practical fusion with the source text: "Largesse hadde on a robe fresh" (A 1187) is given for "Largesce ot vne robe fresche" (line 1160).

Despite the conspicuousness of these examples for the comparative critic, they are in fact an exception, since Chaucer was far from being a servile translator. Chaucer's adoption of what Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 31) designate as oblique translation methods reveals the translator's compromise to generate a text that works in the target language while moving away from the phraseology of the source text. One of the methods of oblique translation he adopted is transposition, which "involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 36). This method is used profusely by Chaucer throughout his translation and shows his fidelity to the sense of the original while avoiding a word-for-word reproduction. The examples are diverse and include verbs rephrased as nouns: "But to my joye and my pleyng" (A 598) for "Qu'a moi iouer e solacier" (A 587); and also a noun instead of a verb: "To be aqeynted with Richesse" (A 1139) for "...l'acointance / De Richece..." (lines 1119-20); adjectives instead of nouns: "So feirs and daungerous was he" (A 1482) for "Plains de desdaing e de fierté" (line 1450). The enumeration of all the instances would be tedious, so I will simply indicate some other occurrences: A 552, 691, 1107-08, 1287, 1350, 1407, and 1482. It is worth mentioning, however, that on some occasions Chaucer used this translation method to intercalate his own interpretation of the original. For instance, "Qu'el sembloit estre enlangouree" (line 202) is rendered as "Hir semed to have lyved in langour" (A 214). Here, in addition to the syntactic transposition, there is also semantic variation, since the English version replaces the French present infinitive with a perfective form, thus endowing it with a more palpable and vivid temporal dimension than the neutrality of the French. "E gent mignotement baler" (line 744) is translated as "And folk daunce and mery bene" (A 760), which implies semantic deviation despite the correspondence among the lexical items, since the adverb in the French text modifies the verb "bales", whereas its translation is describing "folk".

The other method of oblique translation relevant to this comparative study is modulation, defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 346) as "a translation method consisting of changing a point of view, an evocation, and often a category of thought". Chaucer used this method extensively in his translation, so I will limit myself to present some illustrative examples: "Que toute rien d'amer s'esfroie" (line 85) is rendered "Whan love affraieth al thing" (A 91), which is an instance of modulation by reversal of forms. This transformation is caused by the use of the reflexive pronominal form in the French text, which

is always difficult to convey in English: in the original “toute rien” is the subject responsible for the action (the agent), but at the same time it is the object (the patient); Chaucer’s translation, however, chooses “love” as the grammatical subject and “al thing” as the object of the verb, thus representing a more direct description. There is also modulation when changing an active sentence into the passive voice and vice versa: “E la cholor aual descent” (line 1545), is construed as “And that the heete descendid is” (A 1575); “Cele por qui ie l’ai empris” (line 41) is translated as “For whom that it begonnen is!” (A 43). There is also a relevant occurrence of free modulation, in which a literal translation would seem vague in the target language: “Et si fet dou seignor sergent” (line 870) is rendered “And he can wel these lordis thrallen” (A 882). Here Chaucer reveals his fidelity to the original meaning, but it is expressed in fluent English. There are other occasions on which he combined modulation with transposition: “Con cele qui mout fu iree” (line 318) is translated “As she that was fulfilled of ire” (A 326). Here the past participle “iree” becomes a noun in English (transposition), and the substitution of “fulfilled” for “mout” denotes a different conceptualization (modulation). Another instance of the integration of both methods is the rendition of “Ci ne set conseilher nus” (line 1585) as “Heere lith no rede ne witte therto” (A 1615), in which the English version adopts an impersonal construction and replaces the verb “conseiller” with the nouns “rede ne witte”.

All these examples consistently show the *Romaunt’s* closeness to the original. Now, however, I would like to pay attention to two other cases of modulation in which there is no deviation from the sense of the source text, but which have significant narratological implications. The first instance seems to be just a change from the passive into the active voice: “Ce est li Romanz de la Rose, / Ou l’art d’Amors est tote enclose” (lines 37-38) is rendered “It is the Romance of the Rose, / In whiche al the arte of love I close (A 39-40). This transformation helps Chaucer with the rhyme, but the explicitation of the first person at this point also serves to assert a distinctive authorial voice for the translation. The neutrality of the French passive sentence is displaced by the greater definiteness of that “I” that can only be identified with the translator’s voice, i.e. with Chaucer.²¹ This differentiation from the narrator of the source text persists throughout the translation, and is achieved mostly through the method of explicitation, as will be shown below.

The other instance of modulation that I want to comment upon also reflects the same type of conflict between both narrators: “Nou metrai pas en obliance” (line 982) is rendered “As fer as I have remembraunce” (A 996). On

21. Eckhardt has used this example to substantiate her conclusion that in the *Romaunt* there is “a somewhat stronger awareness of the narrator as character” (1984: 52).

the surface it is just a case of substitution of an affirmative sentence for a negative one without semantic consequences (see Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 37). But, in fact, there is a change of attitude, since the certainty of the French narrator is downplayed with a weak and conditional statement by the translator, who expresses his lack of command of the matter of the poem. Previously, there was another case of modulation hinting in this same direction: "Mès de ce ne fet a parler" (line 764) is rendered as "But herof lieth no remembraunce" (A 782).

Another translation phenomenon deserving our consideration is dilution, a strategy that aspires to maintain the semantic correspondence between the source text and the translation, but implies a stylistic variation at the level of expression. Chaucer's use of dilution — "the translation technique of spreading one meaning over several lexical items" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 341)— displays his recreation of the *materia* of the poem: even though the translation does not depart in substance from the original, Chaucer opted to employ more direct and precise language, thus providing a more exact image of the fictional world. The translation of the French pronominal verb "se taire" caused Chaucer some trouble, but he exploited the occasion and introduced his own understanding in the translation: "Li oisel, qui se sont teü" (line 67) is rendered as "The briddes that haven lefte her song" (A 71), and "Orendroit m'en couendre teire" (line 1413) is translated as "I mote my tonge stynten nede" (A 1441). In both examples the English version diverges from the original and pronounces a tonal distance in preferring greater concreteness and vividness. The mediation of the translator can also be felt in the expression of mortality: "S'ele morust, ne granz pechiez" (line 349) is rendered "Ne synne, although her lyfe were gone" (A 358), and "Ne fu d'ome mortel oïe" (line 668) is translated as "Was herd of man that myght dye" (A 676). In both cases Chaucer decided to make explicit the meaning of "morust" and "mortel" respectively, which results in an emphasis on the transcendence of death. Here there is no linguistic difficulty that may justify Chaucer's choice of dilution, thus showing the translator's intent.

The use of dilution also endows the translation with greater concreteness: "Decheoir" (line 247) is conveyed as "Be brought to nought" (A 259); "Bien s'entrauenoient endui" (line 838) as "Grete love was atwixe hem two" (A 854); "conquerre" (line 1151) as "with strenghe of honde / May wyne" (lines 1175-76); "Et fu por lui si mal menee" (line 1446) is rendered as "And gan for hym suche payne endure" (A 1476); "ombroier" (line 1471) as "To resten hym in that shadowing" (A 1503).

The opposite phenomenon, namely concentration, is also applied in the *Romaunt*, albeit to a lesser degree. "Auueuc lui les genz qui le sieuent" (line 605) is reduced to "And eke with hym cometh his meynee" (A 615); "C'est vns hom qui en biaus ostiex / Maintenir mout se delitoit" (lines 1112-13) to "His

lust was mych in housholding” (A 1132); “ce qu’il desiroit” (line 1498) to “his will” (A 1531). The most obvious effect of concentration is linguistic economy, but it also promotes greater efficiency and directness.

This tendency toward greater clarity is enhanced by the extensive use of specification and explicitation: “A shift towards greater specification will produce a transeme the meaning of which is made more precise, by either the addition of extra words or the use of words with a less general meaning” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 159). This translation strategy permits Chaucer to describe the fictional world as closer to the narrator, and thus to make it more visible to the reader. Hence “These theves and these smale harlotes” (A 191), by means of the demonstrative adjectives and the affective “smale”, gives a more immediate picture than the French “Les larrons e les ribaudiaus” (line 177). Likewise the line “The watir that so wel lyked me” (A 121) introduces an element of subjectivity which is absent in the original “Cele eue qui si bien seoit” (line 115). The same desire for concreteness explains the rendering of the French indefinite pronoun “neant” (line 446) as “peny” (A 246); the translation of “Se li tens fust .i. poi diuers” (line 446) as “And if the wedir stormy were” (A 455); “Cheueus ot blons com bacins” (line 527) as “As ony basyn scoured newe” (A 540); “Ainz fu clere come la lune” (line 996) as “And clere as the mone lyght” (A 1010).

The list of instances of specification could be further enlarged, but there is still another translation mechanism that requires more attention, since it was used the most in the *Romaunt*: explicitation. The process of explicitation “is brought about by the translator filling out ST [the source text], for example including additional explanatory phrases, spelling out implicatures or adding connectives to “help” the logical flow of the text and to increase readability” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 55). This strategy is the main cause for the expansion of the translation —thirty-five lines longer—, and also reveals Chaucer’s intervention more noticeably. This was directed toward the construction of the fictional world of the translation according to Chaucer’s interpretation of the original, and once more this method produces a text endowed with greater preciseness than the *Roman*.

This phenomenon can be observed mainly in the addition of linguistic material which, although it does not contradict the sense of the original, sets a different tone to the translation and limits its referential capability. In the following example Chaucer preferred to introduce a physical detail (“by her throtes”) and omit the redundancy that imply “pechiez” and “maus”:

And that is routh, for by her throtes
Ful many oon hangith at the laste
(A 192-93)

Si est granz pechiez e granz maus
Qu’en la fin maint en couient pendre
(lines 178-79)

Chaucer's variation confers greater graphic quality to his version, which is one of the main characteristics of the *Romaunt*. The translation of "Qui enuoisiement chantoient" (line 494) as "That songen thourgh her mery throtes" (A 507) displays the same tendency. Chaucer's attention to detail is best exemplified by the meticulous description of Narcissus's movements at the fountain, which contrasts with the succinctness of the original:

And doun on knees he gan to fall,	Sus la fontaine toz adenz
And forth his heed and necke he straught	Se mist lors por boiure dedenz
To drynken of that wellle a draught	(lines 1481-2)
(A 1514-6)	

On other occasions Chaucer's intervention consists in expressing overtly the covert implications of the original text; consequently, the translated text is endowed with greater denotation, but its power of suggestion is drastically diminished. Thus Chaucer erased any possible shades of meaning when dealing with age. First, in the description of Old Age, the *Romaunt* points out that she was shorter "Than she was wonte in her yonghede" (A 351), whereas the original simply states "De tele come el soloit estre" (line 341). Similarly, when the narrator comments upon the fact that elderly people tend to be cold, the translation blatantly affirms "Her kynde is sich whan they ben olde" (A 412); the remark in the *Roman* is gentler and it asks for some sympathy from the audience: "Bien sauez que c'est lor nature" (line 404). When later the narrator is depicting Youth, Chaucer's narrator immediately imposes his view, limiting the readers in their reception of the text: while the *Roman* reports that Jonece "... n'auoit pas encor passez, / Si con ie cuit, .xii. anz d'assez" (lines 1261-62), the *Romaunt* reads "That nas not yit twelve yeer of age, / With herte wylde and thought volage" (A 1283-84). Also, in the description of the garden in which Narcissus's pool is found, Chaucer's narrator depicts it as a space "On whiche men myght his lemman ley / As on a fetherbed to pley" (A 1421-22), where the original only states that "Ausi i pooit l'en sa drue, / Couchier come sus une coute" (1394-95). The subtly suggestive effect created by the narrator of the French text vanishes in the translation with the unconcealed imposition of Chaucer's reading by the addition of the verb "to pley" ("to play amorously; make love, engage in sexual intercourse", MED).²²

Not all the cases of explicitation, however, are informed by a manipulative force. There are other occasions in which Chaucer simply highlighted the subject of his sentence with a clarifying purpose. In the

22. Weiss (1985: 210) considers that this interpolation is appropriate and states that "Chaucer's addition of the verb "to pleye" is a most delightful touch in the same direction [i.e. toward greater concreteness]".

portrait of Poverty, Guillaume de Lorris started by saying immediately after a period that “Des autres fu un poi loignet” (line 453), whereas Chaucer properly preferred to furnish his text with greater cohesion by writing “And she was putt, *that I of talke* / Fer for these other...” (A 463-64; emphasis added). The same reason moved him to explicitate “...this lettre of which I telle” (A 1543), when the French only has “...li escrit...” (line 1511). In other cases Chaucer revealed the implicature of the original, despite its obviousness; for instance, when he is talking about the feats that a Knight had accomplished for Largesse, his beloved, the French texts reads “por s’amie” (1187), whereas Chaucer’s insists in clarifying even the evident, and says “...for the love of his lemman” (A 1209).

In general, the effect of this translation strategy hinders the expression of “sentement” envisioned by Chaucer, and at the same time it provides the reader with a less demanding text, since the translator has already resolved the blurry areas for his audience. The greater directness of the *Romaunt* had already been indicated by Caroline Eckhardt and by Alexander Weiss, but both fail to identify and discuss the mechanisms generating this effect. Nonetheless, we must be careful when addressing the issue of explicitation, because it is a natural tendency of most translations, as George Steiner (1998: 291) has indicated: “the mechanics of translation are primarily explicative, they explicate (or, strictly speaking “explicitate”) and make graphic as much as they can of the semantic inherence of the original”.

Finally, there is another factor that offers information on the translator’s view with relation to his own production: the treatment of cultural references from the source text. Chaucer consistently retained the cultural allusions of the original without any effort for naturalization. All the French geographical references are kept without any variation: “...in all the rewme of Fraunce” (A 495), “...in all Arras” (A 1234), “...for Parys...” (A 1654). The preservation of these allusions can be explained not only by the translator’s fidelity to the original, but also as the result of a decision made by Chaucer in the process of translating: he wanted to create a text that may be perceived as culturally foreign because of its contents and framework. Hence Chaucer even promoted this effect of exotization through the addition of allusions not included in the original, but which are coherent within the frame of reference of the source text:²³ “...iusqu’en Ierusalem” (line 542) is rendered as “Fro Jerusalem unto Burgoyne” (A 554).

Chaucer’s attitude was not going to hamper the reception of his translation because of the familiarity in England with French issues. There is one occasion, however, on which Chaucer omitted one geographical allusion, precisely because it would be devoid of significance for an English audience:

23. For the concept of exotization, see van Leuven-Zwart (1990 75-76).

"Si n'ot mie nés olenois [i.e. of Orléans]" (line 1194) is translated as "Her nose was wrought at poynt devys" (A 1215), which represents an interpretation of the French.²⁴ Later Chaucer interpolates an informative note that sets the *Romaunt* as the translation of a French original, a fact which had not been indicated at all in the text:

Though we mermaydens clepe hem here	Que, pour leur uoiz qu'eles ont saines
In English, as is oure usaunce,	E series, ont non seraines
Men clepe hem sereyns in Fraunce	(lines 673-74)
(A 682-84) ²⁵	

This remark together with A 1228, in addition to presenting the text as a translation, also serve to define the identity of the translation as a different text, composed in another language for another audience and with a different tone. The verification that the *Romaunt* is construed as an entity independent from the original comes from the following translation of another cultural comment:

Somme songe songes of Loreyne	Li autres notes lohorenges;
For in Loreyn her notes bee	Por ce cou fet en Loheraigne
Full swetter than in this contre.	Plus beles notes qu'en nul raigne
(A 766-68)	(lines 750-52)

Chaucer maintains the cultural note, yet he introduces a significant modification in establishing as the term for the comparison "this contre", which his audience would read as England (see Benson et al. 1987: 1105).

The examination of the translation process through this comparative analysis of the *Romaunt* with the original can help us determine Chaucer's poetics of translation in this case. The most prominent characteristic of the translation is the absolute fidelity to the meaning of the original. As it has been observed above, when there are semantic deviations from the source text, these are minimal and they never contravene the intended meaning of the *Roman*. Despite this faithfulness, Chaucer is far from being a *fidus interpretes*,²⁶ since he in most cases avoided the literal word-for-word translation by applying a variety of translation strategies, which have been studied above.

24. See Langlois (1920: 306). Dahlberg says that "to judge from Ln's [Langlois] note, a flat nose" (1995: 363)

25. See Dahlberg (1999: 97). Cf. A 1228: "Whiche tree in Fraunce men cal a pyne".

26. For a review of the ideas attached to the *fidus interpretes*, see Copeland (1991: 168-178).

While following the sense of the original, Chaucer was also concerned to bring his text closer to his potential readership. Thus his mediation was geared toward creating a text endowed with greater tangibility, which is achieved by means of vivid descriptions that guide the reader through the allegorical world of the original. Chaucer's narrator observes this same world with a penetrating eye, and represents the fictional world by focusing on details which are sometimes absent in the original. It is at this point that Chaucer's dialogic interaction with the original is revealed, representing a Bakhtinian zone of dialogical contact in which the translator establishes a dialog with the source text, negotiating its meaning and defining its own perspective for the translation's particular conversation with its readership.

In sum, Chaucer was aware that fidelity does not necessarily imply obsequiousness, since he felt responsible for his own product, as can be inferred from the revealing line "al the arte of love I close" (A 40). He was also conscious that the translated text has its own identity, different from that of the original, and he hoped that it be perceived by his audience as belonging to the English literary tradition—thus his clarification "in this contre", A 768—without disguising its being a translation—thus his allusions to the language of the original and the numerous borrowings—, a tendency which would evolve into the total appropriation of the original text, so characteristic of later Chaucerian translations.

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**THE DIALECTICS OF BELONGING IN BELL HOOKS' BONE BLACK:
MEMORIES OF GIRLHOOD**

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ABSTRACT. Bone Black represents bell hooks' lifestory of survival amidst a harsh racist and sexist environment in the South of the United States in the 1950s. Her childhood is clearly dominated by a feeling of estrangement and loneliness together with the pain of being the different one, the problematic child, the rebel. Out of the vignettes that compose her autobiography, those related to her maternal grandparents enclose the author's most cherished memories, steeped in the magic of storytelling, quilting and the life-giving communion with the earth and the natural elements. It is in the nurturing wisdom of the old and in the embracing welcome of books that hooks will eventually find what she was most yearning for, a way to belong.

1. INTRODUCTION.

In their struggle to speak in their own voices and make them heard, ethnic women writers have found in autobiography an apt means of storying their lives from their own personal perspective, as subjects, providing "an alternate version of reality seen from the point of view of the black female experience" (Braxton 1989: 201). In *Bone Black: Memories of Girlhood*, bell hooks writes about the world and her black community as perceived by a southern working-class black girl. hooks' childhood is a story of loneliness and misunderstanding, fear and incomprehension, but above all it is a story of a rebellious spirit coupled with an eternal yearning for belonging. Well-known for her outspoken insightful feminist books, bell hooks delves into the inner

darkness of her soul to search for her “way home”, a sense of belonging as a child, through the complex paths of memory that lead into the past. As she wrote in *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (1991: 40, 147), “memory need not be a passive reflection, a nostalgic longing for things to be as they once were; it can function as a way of knowing and learning from the past” and it “serves to illuminate and transform the present.” Throughout her autobiography, black southern folk and culture are portrayed and reclaimed as the foundations from which her selves stemmed. The power of words in storytelling, the intertwined histories in the quilting tradition and the home remedies all added to the magic of those childhood years that were “sometimes paradisaical and at others times terrifying” (hooks 1996: xi). Whether paradisaical or terrifying, those childhood memories must be rescued from the past and the danger of fading into oblivion, they must be turned into written traces of a bittersweet journey into adulthood and stand out as the reminder that “pain can be a constructive sign of growth” (hooks 1989: 103). Being non-conformist and speaking out can sometimes be very painful but, as bell hooks very well knows (1993: 25), “there is no healing in silence”.

Bone Black is presented as a set of memory sketches of things past and of things imagined and dreamed. It is an account not only of events but also, and most importantly, of the impressions they left on the author’s mind; as she states in the foreword (hooks 1996: xv): “[e]voking the mood and sensibility of moments, this is an autobiography of perceptions and ideas. The events described are always less significant than the impressions they leave on the mind and heart”. The controversial dialectics between fact and fiction in the autobiographic genre are thus resolved by hooks, who is also aware of the occasional uncertainty as to the truth and reality of some memories, something that makes her realise the extent to which each autobiography is just one of various possible versions of a life, the storying of events as the author remembers and invents them, rather than as they actually happened (hooks 1989: 157). Therefore, hooks (1996: xiv) acknowledges the important mythical and imaginative components in her autobiography, to the point of arguing that “[t]his is autobiography as truth and myth”. In this respect, she finds her text reminiscent of Audre Lorde’s *Zami* in her assertion that, while she was writing her lifestory,

I was compelled to face the fiction that is a part of all retelling, remembering. I began to think of the work I was doing as both fiction and autobiography. It seemed to fall in the category of writing that Audre Lorde, in her autobiographically-based work *Zami*, calls biomythography. As I wrote, I felt that I was not as concerned with accuracy of detail as I was with evoking in writing the state of mind, the spirit of a particular moment. (1989: 157-58)

2. ALIENATION AND THE PROCESS TOWARDS BELONGING.

Born in Kentucky in 1955, bell hooks lived her childhood years in the 60s, a time that was marked by the Civil Rights Movement and Black Arts Movement. However, the black woman was relegated to the household and the children, and black feminists like hooks herself (1989: 5) have repeatedly denounced the sexist nature of these movements, which cared for the interests of black males. All throughout her autobiography, there is a recurrent emphasis on alienation and the ensuing constant yearning for a feeling of belonging. hooks, the child, experiences an uncomfortable estrangement not only from her segregated school but also inside her own family at home. Gradually she finds out that the only place where she belongs is herself and the books she so eagerly reads, a delight that foreshadows her future as a writer, “creating the foundation of selfhood and identity that will ultimately lead to the fulfillment of her true destiny —becoming a writer” (hooks 1996: xi). Her loneliness and the rejection and criticism she encountered in her parents and siblings set the pace to the soothing welcoming refuge of literature, in spite of her parents’ warning that reading so much would confine her to a world of madness: “I hear again and again that I am crazy, that I will end up in a mental institution. This is my punishment for wanting to finish reading before doing my work” (hooks 1996: 101).

The main problem hooks presents as a child, and above all, a female child, is her rebelliousness and her way of constantly talking back to adults. She observes the world and, not agreeing with or not understanding some of the things she sees, she is always ready to speak her mind and disobey the established or expected rules. But, as she would later write (1989: 16): “It is silly to think that one can challenge and also have approval”. Therefore, she finds but alienation and loneliness, becoming a pariah: “They are glad to see her go, they feel as if something had died that they had long waited to be rid of but were not free to throw away. Like in church, they excommunicate her” (hooks 1996: 111). Part of the alienation the protagonist feels stems from the lack of understanding her mother shows. For her, hooks is the problematic one, the rebel who never obeys, the transgressor of the family. This is particularly seen during the time when her mother has to spend some time in hospital suffering from what seemed to be a serious ailment. While all the family members visit her, her disobedient daughter, once again, refuses to follow suit to her mother’s despair. What she does not know then is that the true reason for her daughter’s decision is one of love and sadness:

They say she is near death, that we must go and see her because it may be the last time. I will not go [...] I refuse to go. I cannot tell them why, that I do not want to have the last sight of her be there in the white

hospital bed, surrounded by strangers and the smell of death. She does not die. She comes home angry, not wanting to see the uncaring daughter, the one who would not even come to say good-bye [...] Upstairs in my hiding place I cry [...] She sends me orders to stop crying right this minute [...] that she should be crying, with my longing and my tears she knows that she breaks my heart a little. She thinks I break her heart a little. She cannot know the joy we feel that she is home, alive. (hooks 1996:144).

It is a mother alive and moving around the house, not dying, that the daughter wants to see and remember in her future memories. However, she is aware that even if she tried to explain herself, she would not be understood and her mother would not believe her inner happiness about having her back at home, alive. The undeniable emotional gap between mother and daughter highly contributes to hooks' alienation and enhances her yearning for belonging, but she is adamant about being a warrior and speaking her mind, despite familial confrontations.

hooks' love for her mother is fully expressed in another rebellious act after she has been beaten up by her husband. Living in a patriarchal society and community, hooks' mother falls prey to male domestic violence and power, something that does not escape her daughter's attention: "She has chosen. She has decided in his favor. She is a religious woman. She has been told that a man should obey god, that a woman should obey man, that children should obey their fathers and mothers, particularly their mothers. I will not obey" (hooks 1996: 151). This is what the daughter thinks on one occasion when, after trying to help her battered mother, she is once again reproached her disobedience and punished for her not understanding the established premise that she must grow up to be a good subservient wife and mother. This episode brings about hooks' negation of her mother:

She says that she punishes me for my own good. I do not know what it is I have done this time. I know that she is ready with her switches, that I am to stand still while she lashes out again and again. In my mind there is the memory of a woman sitting still while she is being hit, punished. In my mind I am remembering how much I want that woman to fight back. Before I can think clearly my hands reach out, grab the switches, are raised as if to hit her back [...] She is shocked [...] I tell her I do not have a mother. (hooks 1996: 152)

Finally the daughter stands still and suffers the psychological and the physical pain since she is sorry to have hurt her mother. This scene will mark their future relationship, as for hooks this is an unquestionable act of betrayal she cannot understand: "I cannot understand her acts of betrayal. I cannot

understand that she must be against me to be for him. He and I are strangers" (hooks 1996: 152).

Apart from books, the distressed bell hooks also finds solace in Nature. In keeping with her closeness to the natural realm, she implicitly and unconsciously identifies with abandoned Christmas trees, "standing naked in the snow after the celebrations are over" (hooks 1996: 2), as naked and lonely as herself. In Nature she finds the understanding she is denied by her fellow humans and this communion not only with trees but also with the animal world is one of the childhood memories engraved in hooks' memory:

She liked to walk to a favorite tree up the hill and play with a bright green snake that lived there, a green tree snake. She knew how to talk to the snake and how to listen. She told the snake about the problems she was having learning her left from her right. The snake understood her frustration, her tears. (hooks 1996: 11)

In her book *Mythtypes: Signatures and Signs of African/Diaspora and Black Goddesses*, Alexis Brooks DeVita (2000: 51) argues that trees play a crucial role in the life of African-descent women who have lost their mothers. For them trees are spiritual mothers and signs of power "beyond death, and beyond social injustice, deprivation, or personal assault". We could go even further here and suggest that trees represent a symbol of empowerment and can actually be seen as spiritual mothers not only by motherless daughters, like Celie in *The Color Purple* (Brooks DeVita 2000: 50), but also by daughters who, having a mother, feel psychologically and spiritually bereaved, metaphorically motherless. hooks' autobiography is rich in nurturing images of natural elements; from her grandmother Saru, the storyteller, she learns about the vital ties with the earth and the things that come from it: "She needs to have her fingers in the soil, to touch dirt. She tells me this is part of her mother's legacy [...] From her mother she learned ways to make things grow" (hooks 1996: 52). And this is one of the legacies Saru tries to pass on to hooks: "She tells me that the best way to live in the world is to learn to make things grow" (hooks 1996: 60) since "[c]ommunion with life begins with the earth" (hooks 2000: 16).

Apart from the tradition of storytelling and the importance of the closeness to the earth, hooks learns from Saru about the black art of quilting. We are told that the old woman spends long hours making quilts from scraps of outgrown clothes from different family members. To such extent is quilting relevant for hooks that she introduces this recurrent image at the very beginning of her autobiography:

MAMA HAS GIVEN me a quilt from her hope chest. It is one her mother's mother made. It is a quilt of stars —each piece taken from faded-cotton summer dresses— each piece stitched by hand [...] Mama

tells us —her daughters— that the girls in her family started gathering things for their hope chest when they were very young [...] I am glad she shares the opening of the chest this time with all of us. I am clutching the gifts she hands to me, the quilt, the beaded purse. (1996: 1, 2)

Quilting has traditionally been seen as a way of creating bonds among African American women and, more specifically between mothers and daughters. The delight hooks finds in sharing the opening of the hope chest and witnessing her mother's tears from bittersweet memories is actually one of the best memories hooks has of her mother. But it is her mother's mother, Saru, the one hooks most identifies with quilting and all that it implies and one of the persons she learns more from. Her memories of Saru tell her that she was a real warrior, a fighter, a storyteller and interpreter of dreams. About Saru we read, "[w]hen she is not fighting she is quietly making quilts. Sewing the small pieces of fabric together eases her mind" (hooks 1996: 54). Quilting is passed on to hooks by her grandmother as an act of healing through which a woman learns patience (hooks 1996: 54) but also as a mode of storytelling, since each piece contains one or several stories: "Baba would show her quilts and tell their stories, giving the history [...] of chosen fabrics to individual lives [...] To her mind these quilts were maps charting the course of our lives. They were history as life lived" (hooks 1991: 120).

Like the small pieces that form a quilt, hooks' memories are arranged together in her autobiography. If quilts enclose bits and pieces of cherished histories from the past, hooks' book encloses treasured childhood memories in the literary hope chest of her self. Quilting gave black women the opportunity to tell their particular histories and stories, apart from the history imposed from outside by the white man. Likewise, hooks composes her autobiography from the memory traces of past events, both real and imagined, and also from hints of the past such as smells, colours and dreams. As Margot Anne Kelley (1994: 66) concludes when dealing with quilting and African American women novelists like Toni Morrison, Alice Walker or Gloria Naylor,

these literary women rely on partial, local, and fragmented knowledge to make a narrative. The writers acknowledge that both the quilts and the narratives —as well as the beings who are their makers— are constructed. However, they regard the need to piece and seam not as a reason for despair but as an opportunity to rework the outmoded, whether it be in clothing, novel structures or conceptions of the self.

Like novels —and quilts— autobiographies are also constructed versions of a life, where the author includes or leaves out certain parts, either intentionally or because her memory does not have access to them. But even those absent parts add meaning to the autobiography. After reading her

finished lifestory, hooks is surprised at her not having included more incidents involving her sisters but only her brother, something that, as she concludes (hooks 1989: 159), is a proof of her alienation from her sisters during childhood. This “sense of estrangement” was manifest and present in her autobiography through absence.

3. THE RE-BIRTH OF A RE-MEMBERED SELF.

As we have seen before, hooks' life is marked by the powerful presence of isolation, loneliness, rejection and misunderstanding, all of which had made her develop undesired bitter feelings towards her mother to the point of leading to utter rejection. Her love for her mother is clearly stifled by a strong feeling of resentment. However, by negating her mother, she is actually negating herself, that rebellious nature inside that does not let her belong and be completely loved by her mother and the rest of the family:

To me, telling the story of my growing up years was intimately connected with the longing to kill the self I was without really having to die. I wanted to kill that self in writing [...] It was clearly the Gloria Jean of my tormented and anguished childhood that I wanted to be rid of, the girl who was always wrong, always punished, always subjected to some humiliation or other, always crying, the girl who was to end up in a mental institution because she could not be anything but crazy, or so they told her [...] By writing the autobiography, it was not just this Gloria I would be rid of, but the past that had a hold on me, that kept me from the present. I wanted not to forget the past but to break its hold. This death in writing was to be liberatory. (hooks 1989: 155)¹

Taking control over her subjectivity and identity, hooks intends to rewrite herself or, as Audre Lorde (1984: 173) puts it, “to mother” herself, “claiming some power over who [she] choose[s] to be”. In keeping with the image of mothering is the recurrent metaphor of the cave. Apart from Saru, Daddy Gus, hooks' maternal grandfather, is a vital cornerstone in her lonely childhood. For her, he is the exception to the rule of patriarchal oppression which her own father so perfectly embodies: “I need his presence in my life to learn that all men are not terrible, are not to be feared” (hooks 1996: 85). Daddy Gus holds the key to the spiritual world and to inner knowledge. In hooks' memory he is associated with the realm of dreams and, most importantly, with the multilayered image of the cave, since “[h]is voice comes from some secret place of knowing, a hidden cave where the healers go to

1. Gloria Jean is bell hooks' original name. In *Talking Back* (1989: 160) she explains how she decided to take a pseudonym for her works, which was the name of her great-grandmother on her mother's side.

hear messages from the beloved” (hooks 1996: 86). She remembers him through a dream in which they both run away together holding hands; after getting rid of their clothes and being free of family ties and memory, they enter the darkness of a cave. Once there, they make a fire through which the old man can communicate with the spirits while the granddaughter bears witness silently, leaving the cave after the encounter. This symbolic passage encloses the rite of passage of the girl into the world of self-knowledge and self-creation out of the pain she is afflicted by. At this stage it is necessary to point out the various implications of the cave as metaphor. According to Mircea Eliade (1994: 58), caves are the settings of many initiation rites since they are symbols of the womb of Mother Earth, where the novice recovers the embryonic situation to be born again. As we have already seen, hooks’ estrangement from her mother encourages her to fill that gap with natural elements with which she feels identified, thus undergoing a symbolic return to Mother Earth. Notwithstanding these back-to-nature connections, the visit to the cave mainly suggests the search for inner knowledge, the return to the inside dark cave of the self to heal the wounds and be reborn. As a matter of fact, this new birth comes from the protagonist’s own womb of self-knowledge and her realisation that “inside all of us is a place for healing, [and] that we have only to discover it” (hooks 1996: 86). And this is what hooks discovers at the end of her childhood autobiography, the dark, bone black inner cave which is her home.

Black also plays a crucial role in hooks’ childhood and girlhood. Being forbidden by her mother to wear black clothes, just because “black is a woman’s color” (hooks 1996: 176), she hankers after this colour, which is a part of her ethnic identity. This is why she feels the comfort and reassurance of the darkness inside the dreamed cave, far from the colour prejudice in the adult world she does not understand. In the same way she does not comprehend adults’ worries about money, she does not understand why she has to play with a blond and white Barbie doll instead of a doll with her own skin colour. Barbie dolls seem fake to her, nothing like her, so she just destroys them. Despite her mother’s insistence that she and her sisters should play with those wonderful Barbies, she is adamant that she will only keep brown dolls:

She tells us that I, her problem child, decided out of nowhere that I did not want a white doll to play with, I demanded a brown doll, one that would look like me [...] I had begun to worry that all this loving care we gave to the pink and white flesh-colored dolls meant that somewhere left high on the shelves were boxes of unwanted, unloved brown dolls covered in dust. I thought that they would remain there forever, orphaned and alone, unless someone began to want them, to want to give them love and care, to want them more than anything. (hooks 1996: 24)

Far from celebrating her having light brown skin and almost straight hair, as adult women tell her she should do, hooks just finds her luck a cause of anger (hooks 1996: 9). So much is this the case that she ends up refusing to have her hair pressed like all the other black women, as in this ritual she perceives an act of ethnic betrayal which she will not abide by:

Secretly I had hoped that the hot comb would transform me, turn the thin good hair into thick nappy hair, the kind of hair I like and long for [...] Later, a senior in high school, I want to wear a natural, an Afro. I want never to get my hair pressed again. It is no longer a rite of passage, a chance to be intimate in the world of women. The intimacy masks betrayal. Together we change ourselves. The closeness is an embrace before parting, a gesture of farewell to love and one another. (hooks 1996: 93).

From hooks' identification with the colour black stems the very title of her girlhood autobiography. Once again, her learning about the definition of bone black is accompanied by symbolic associations pertaining to her female and ethnic identity. When at school she tries to paint the paintings she had seen inside the cave of her dreams, she thinks of black as the starting colour, in particular bone black, "a carbonaceous substance obtained by calcifying bones in closed vessels" (hooks 1996: 170). This definition she comes across in a book on the history of pigments triggers off connections with the sacred purifying fire in the cave: "Burning bones, that's what it makes me think about —flesh on fire, turning black, turning into ash" (hooks 1996: 170). Thus, in bone black are contained several traditional components of rites of passage, such as fire, ashes and the cave symbolized by the closed vessels.² Therefore, we can argue that bone black is hooks' own rebirth into maturation; by going inside her inner cave, by being burnt in the fire of redemption, she is reduced to ashes only to be reborn out of them like the Phoenix. She is reborn to a world of potentiality and power, a world where she belongs, leaving behind her anguished search for a spiritual home. Like Velma Henry in Toni Cade Bambara's *The Salt Eaters*,³ hooks overcomes her destructive desire to jump off

2. Apart from black, the colour red pervades hooks' account —and it is no mere coincidence that red is the dominant colour of the book cover. According to Robert Farris Thompson (1983: 6), "for many Yoruba, red [...] signals àshe and potentiality". It is interesting to note here the phonetic similarity between the terms "àshe" (spiritual power, energy to make things happen) and "ash".

3. When reflecting upon autobiographical writing, hooks (1989: 156) mentions this novel as an example of the hold the past can have on a person, hindering a complete healing in the present, as it happens with the protagonist of *The Salt Eaters*, Velma Henry. At the end of the novel, however, Velma is healed with the help of a female healer.

the cliff out of despair, loneliness and helplessness; instead she rescues herself: “I read poems. I write. That is my destiny. Standing on the edge of the cliff about to fall into the abyss, I remember who I am. I am a young poet, a writer. I am here to make words. I have the power to pull myself back from death—to keep myself alive” (hooks 1996: 182). The closing pages of the book include a final tribute to hooks’ beloved grandfather, Daddy Gus, who guided her in her particular journey. From him she learns that there are “lots of ways to belong in this world” and that she is supposed to find out where she belongs (hooks 1996: 183). The final catharsis creeps quietly, yet unrelentingly, in the night, like a snake. The power of darkness and the colour black embrace a recumbent body:

At night when everyone is silent and everything is still, I lie in the darkness of my windowless room, the place where they exile me from the community of their heart, and search the unmoving blackness to see if I can find my way home. I tell myself stories, write poems, record my dreams. In my journal I write—I belong in this place of words. This is my home. This dark, bone black inner cave where I am making a world for myself. (hooks 1996: 183)

Thus, as we have pointed out before, *Bone Black* is another example of the power of the word—written and oral—and the power of memory and imagination. It definitely proves to be what Jennifer Browdy De Hernandez terms “a writerly form of survival” (259),⁴ where, far from getting rid of the part of herself and of the past she rejects, bell hooks comes to terms with it and learns to put the broken pieces of her heart and her self back together again. All throughout the book we can perceive hooks’ internal battle between the self who wants to be absolutely her own free construction and the self who yearns for belonging within family and community, only to find out that they do not usually go hand in hand, not at least for a black woman and even less for a black female child. hooks herself (1989: 159) makes the point when reflecting on the act of autobiographical writing:

In the end I did not feel as if I had killed the Gloria of my childhood. Instead I had rescued her. She was no longer the enemy within, the little girl who had to be annihilated for the woman to come into being. In writing about her, I reclaimed that part of myself I had long ago

4. De Hernandez (1998: 259) employs this expression to refer to Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands* and Lorde’s *Zami*, who also use autobiography to create “a space in which to enact their transformative vision of the self as multiple, heterogeneous, and profoundly woman-oriented”.

rejected, left uncared for, just as she had often felt alone and uncared for as a child. Remembering was part of a cycle of reunion, a joining of fragments, "the bits and pieces of my heart" that the narrative made whole again.

4. CONCLUSION.

As her grandmother used to do when making a quilt, by writing her childhood memories hooks rearranges pieces of her life into a liberating whole, coming to terms with the rejected self. In this respect, this autobiography responds to the "therapoetic" quality Kenyon and Randall (1997: 2) attribute to the telling of one's lifestory, since "storytelling (and storylistening) is not merely a method for solving particular problems that crop up in our lives, but has an importance and integrity all its own, as a means to personal wholeness".

Saru's prediction that her granddaughter is to be a warrior comes true, as she learns that you do not have to surrender to belong. While Daddy Gus tells her that there are many ways of belonging, her grandmother lets her know that "there are many battlegrounds in life" (hooks 1996: 51). Likewise, there may be different heterogeneous selves within a person which must be reconciled into wholeness. And the autobiography serves this conciliatory purpose for bell hooks, proving that in this genre "there is a 'pragmatics of representation' where truth is less the issue than 'the purpose an autobiographical statement serves in the life and circumstances of its author and readers'" (Gagnier 1991: 4, qtd. in Anderson 2001: 91). Audre Lorde (1984: 174, 146-47) makes the concluding point: "I have to learn to love myself before I can love you or accept your loving [...] Nothing I accept about myself can be used against me to diminish me. I am who I am, doing what I came to do".

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NOTES

DESIGNING NEW GENRE IDENTITIES IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DISCOURSE: COGNITIVE, SOCIAL AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT. The purpose of this paper is to foreground the rhetorical architecture of the new emerging cybergenres in the discourse of English for Science and Technology (E.S.T.) and focus on the cognitive, sociopragmatic and pedagogical implications underlying these new genre identities. In particular, the paper will assess the use of these genre typologies in the E.S.T. classroom to develop the student's awareness of the social dimension of discourse in Internet communications, and also to draw the teacher's attention towards those cognitive aspects of language learning that contemporary cognitive psychology claims. The paper will conclude with some suggestions for a communicative syllabus design in the teaching of this specialised register for academic and professional purposes.

1. INTRODUCTION

Is not a truly active community evolving in cyberspace? Is not a language such as English a multicultural link among individuals communicating via their isolated computer stations? Can a specific discourse community such as that formed by researchers and professionals in the areas of science and technology join the use of this intercultural language and its universal shared set of values?

In his article "Is There a Text in This Class" Stanley Fish (1980: 171) explained that any interpretive community is made up of a group of members who share interpretive strategies for writing texts, constituting their properties and assigning their intentions. Since Internet's expansion into Europe in the

1970s (Teeler and Gray 2000: 3), the World Wide Web has represented the starting point of a many-to-many communication. Likewise, the birth of this new 'virtual' linguistic community is the result of the Internet's capacity to function as a vehicle for a universally extended group of language users.

Enrique Alcaraz (2000: 15) remarks that this incredible communications platform has also accentuated the role of the English language in the diffusion of scientific, technical, academic and professional knowledge. Nowadays, researchers, professionals, teachers and students in the scientific and technical fields of knowledge make ample use of written electronic communication in their current tasks: from formal bureaucratic correspondence, personal e-mails or in-company communications to the more informal discussion lists or IRCs (Internet Relay Chats), just to mention some examples.

As a very restricted register exclusively used by an expert membership, English for Science and Technology (heretofore E.S.T.) is grounded on a well-established set of grammatical and rhetorical conventions (Barras 1978; Huckin and Olsen 1983; Wilkinson 1991). To borrow Widdowson's (1979: 61) words, "[s]cientific exposition is structured according to certain patterns of rhetorical organisation which, with some tolerance for individual stylistic variation, imposes a conformity on members of the scientific community no matter what language they happen to use".

Deeper analyses like those of functional systemicists (Halliday and Martin 1993; Ventola 1996; Martin and Veel 1998) have paid special attention to the functionality of scientific and technical discourse and have focused on the relations between texts and social contexts rather than on texts as isolated linguistic frameworks. Similar views are shared by well-known genre theorists like John Swales (1990) or Vijay Bathia (1993), whose main contention in their studies is that specialised registers like those of science and technology should better be regarded in the light of the different genre typologies. According to these authors, genres are defined as the different categories of texts that the members of a given discourse community develop in their use of a specialised register. Genres are thus characterized by particular purposes and audiences, certain organising structures and a complex set of rhetorical conventions established by the restricted community which makes use of them. By way of illustration, academic English for the domains of science and technology has developed several "research-process genres" (Swales 1990: 177) such as abstracts, research articles, doctoral dissertations, books and monographs. Some other classical categories of written/spoken genres used for academic and professional communication purposes are also technical reports, instructions, oral presentations and scientific posters.

Remarkably significant was Swales's (1990: 33) apprehension of the concept of 'genre' as a 'slippery term', a 'loose term of art', or a 'fuzzy concept' in an attempt to refer to the indefinite and hyperexpandable (my own

emphasis) nature of generic typologies considering the multifarious range of language uses. If current textbooks on English for specialised purposes approach the teaching of E.S.T. through a description of these classical genre typologies mentioned above, in their 1994 *Academic Writing for Graduate Students. A Course for Nonnative Speakers of English*, Swales & Feak seem to anticipate the need to teach new forms of communicating in English and include in their textbook an appendix devoted to e-mail communications.

Most E.S.T. scientific and technical textbooks provide thorough explanation of the commonest rhetorical functions and techniques for developing specialised texts (see Trimble 1985): definitions, classifications, descriptions, comparisons, contrasts, alternatives, etc. This is the case, for instance, of classical textbooks as those of Zimmerman's (1989) or Hamp-Lyons' & Heasley's (1987). Many of them also include a descriptive analysis of the most recurrent genres of the register as textual and/or discursal models for interpreting and producing texts (Weissberg and Buker 1990; Coe et al. 1993; Rollinson 1996). As stated above, research articles, abstracts, technical reports, or instructional literature are widely exploited in these textbooks as examples of real texts subject to slight stylistic variations according to the complexity of their rhetorical purpose and their contexts of use.

A similar trend can be observed in well-known online writing laboratories of scientific and technical English, such as the Online Writing Lab (OWL) at Purdue University in the United States (<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/>), David McMurrey's Computer Writing and Research Lab at the University of Austin in Texas (<http://www.io.com/~hcexres/>), the Engineering Writing Center at University of Toronto (<http://www.ecf.toronto.edu/~writing/>), or Ruth Vilmi's Writing Help (<http://www.ruthvilmi.net/hut/LangHelp/Writing/#technical>), among others. These websites contain very useful links and references to academic and technical genres such as abstracts, essays, letters, résumés, reports, proposals, oral presentations, posters or instructions, and represent fruitful pedagogical sources for the E.S.T. teacher in his/her search for models, examples and cases.

Like technical textbooks, these writing labs are also based on a rhetorical approach to language and draw the learner's attention towards questions such as how to understand the context, analyze the audience, articulate the purpose clearly or how to choose a style, level of language, approach to the subject and tone suitable for an effective and appropriate communication. However, these online laboratories hardly ever explore the rhetoric of common electronic communications in current academic and professional situations.

To cover this lack, and considering cybergenres as new emerging genre identities in scientific and technical contexts, it seems appropriate from a pedagogical perspective to place special attention on these kinds of texts, born

out from real needs of communicating in English. It is precisely through the analysis of these new genres in E.S.T. university courses that we will be able to understand Internet's enormous impact on contemporary society and, sociologically speaking, to see how language always accomodates to social and cultural changes (Halliday 1978; Fasold 1990; Fairclough 1992).

2. COGNITIVE, SOCIAL AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CYBERGENRES

With the appearance of what is commonly known as 'cybercommunication,' academic E.S.T. curricula are starting to show a growing interest towards those minor contextual models of academic and professional writing –submission of papers, reprint requests, grant proposals, etc.–, as opposed to the highly constrained textual patterns of research-process genres. If, as said before, Swales wisely defined the term 'genre' as 'a fuzzy concept,' it appears that its scope has widened with these new academic e-genres since almost all researchers and professionals in the areas of science and technology currently make an ample use of the English language via the Internet.

This new sociolinguistic situation brings about several pedagogical implications in the E.S.T. syllabus design. It now seems more appropriate that, together with the conventional textual models of formal academic writing such as the research paper, the abstract or the report –to mention the most rhetorically constrained ones–, some other models of writing as e-mail correspondence, intranet communications, discussion lists and chats should be presented in the classroom as the new genre 'identities' of the scientific and technical register.

The present paper attempts to foreground the linguistic and rhetorical architecture of these new generic categories to draw students' attention towards the socially- and pragmatically-determined conventions used in Internet communications. From a pedagogical perspective, the presentation of pragmatic and rhetorical implications of these electronic genres in the E.S.T. classroom represents new fresh material that easily breaks with the daily routine of the textbook and fosters students' motivation in their learning tasks.

Analyses on the rhetoric of English for cyberspace communication are obviously in their beginnings, and most of them provide useful pedagogical suggestions (Seely 1998; Teeler and Gray 2000). Though the rules of the Internet have not been officially devised, some unofficial rules of interaction seem to be recurrent across computer-mediated messages. Like the more formal, academic research-process genres, the language of the Internet shows its own linguistic conventions, its own reasoning processes and standards of argument, its own purpose and audience, and its own style. However, these particular features of discourse reveal strong differences between electronic

communication and the classical academic genres used by scientists, engineers and researchers.

Broadly speaking, the new set of conventions sustaining the use of English in the Internet represents a radical shift towards a more conversational and informal style, far from the rhetoric of formal academic genres. Moreover, online communication requires fluency, understood as the ability to handle connected discourse in real time without prior rehearsal—especially in the case of discussion lists or chats. Unlike articles, abstracts or reports, the use of Internet English calls for a greater need to improvise, to maintain continuity in speech and comprehension, to respond immediately to unexpected utterances, and even to make rapid changes of topic and speaker. All this represents a highly complex ability on the part of the learner as it involves grammatical accuracy together with stylistic adequacy according to social expectations.

Starting from the premise that the communicative purpose of a genre constitutes its rationale, and considering that these new generic categories are not prepared or constructed in advance of their communicative instantiation—as articles, abstracts or reports are—, both the structure and linguistic patterns of cybergenres greatly differ from the conventional academic texts. Internet genres are specifically characterised by a need for regular online communication with overseas colleagues, universities and, broadly speaking, any type of interaction within the academic or professional milieu. As a result, the E.S.T. syllabus should emphasise that the aim of an electronic communication is to transmit information in a clear and effective way and in the fastest possible way. This means maximum efficiency and effectiveness with the minimum number of words, thus echoing the well-known Gricean cooperative principle and its four maxims of quantity, quality, manner and relevance. To become effective writers/speakers, students of science and technology should learn to create structurally accurate, functionally effective and communicatively appropriate texts. For curriculum purposes, an activity that has proven to be very useful consists in providing students with some general knowledge of structural and discourse patterns of cybergenres, and then comparing it with their knowledge of conventional academic and professional text types.

As far as content organisation is concerned, cybergenres follow certain structures similar to those ruling formal academic writing, that is to say, texts should be both socially and discursively acceptable by their interpretive community. Writers seek social acceptability on the one hand and discourse texture on the other. The use of Internet English in specialised registers displays a thorough organisation of discourse based on patterns of cohesion and coherence. Embedding these discursual parameters, two recurrent paradigms operate to organise ideas: the general-specific and the problem-

solution patterns. The general-specific structure is used to develop texts from introductory and/or general references to particular details. An alternative structure is known as the problem-solving pattern. Devised by Michael Hoey in 1983, it includes general reasoning, effects, causes, possible solutions and the assessment of these solutions.

Manuals of rhetoric for good academic writing point out the use of the IMRD structure –Introduction/Methods/Results/Discussion– as a constraining structural framework for organising conceptual information. This structure is easily applicable to classical genre typologies, mainly, research articles and technical reports. As shown in current academic literature, editorial guidelines of scientific publications of prestige insist on the IMRD paradigm for organising the narrative flow. By contrast, Internet English paves the way to less constricted chronological and logical paradigms in the sequencing of ideas. For example, e-mail messages or intranet communications are often developed according to a more simple –or ‘relaxed’ so to speak– introduction-development-conclusion pattern. In the introduction, the purpose of the communication is stated: the writer specifies the point or intention of the text. The development section contains details and further information about the point of the message, and in the conclusion the writer usually asks for contact or an answer back.

As stated above, the task of the effective writer in a computer-to-computer communication is to produce a coherent text and to use cohesive devices in order to create and establish relations of meaning (see Schiffrin 1994). Whereas cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976) can be achieved by using discourse links or connective devices, coherence refers to the logical linkage between ideas of a text, sentences or paragraphs (Reid and Lindstrom 1985; White and Arndt 1992). Only by adjusting texts to coherence and cohesion will students be able to create brief, ordered and precise messages, and better develop their linguistic competence.

However, in addition to the rhetorical organisation and development of conceptual knowledge, students of E.S.T. should develop awareness of the pragmatic and social factors underlying the use texts as real instances of language in action. As a matter of fact, cybergenres represent a new way of multicultural communication –as understood in the works of Duranti and Goodwin (1992) or Scollon and Scollon (1994); thanks to electronic genres English has become an intercultural tool for communicating within professional and academic contexts. Consequently, it seems appropriate that students/teachers of E.S.T. should become familiar with this new interdiscourse system of communication by analysing, understanding and assessing those sociopragmatic implications underlying Internet texts.

In particular, the use of genre theory as a methodological procedure in the teaching of E.S.T. may help retrieve students’ prior knowledge of social

and pragmatic conventions. From the perspective of cognitive studies (Skehan 1998; Nuyts and Pederson eds. 1999), the teaching/learning through genres activates mental mappings and constructional schemas. As Schilperoord and Verhagen (in Koenig ed. 1998: 141-142) further explain, “[I]f discourse analysis is a method for investigating cognitive processes in reading and producing discourse, the coherence structure may reveal significant insights in the way people maintain and reveal a cognitive representation of texts”.

When producing cybertexts, students are engaged in combining elements of language in an appropriate way to meet the appropriate linguistic demands according to the context of communication. As potential writers, learners should keep in mind that the message must be functionally effective on the one hand, and rhetorically appropriate to situation and interactants on the other hand. Therefore, an effective teaching grounded on communicative activities may prove successful for developing the student’s awareness of the constraints of these new genres: the variety of purposes of Internet communication (for example, to transmit intranet information, to make an informal request, or to chat), as well as the multifarious situations and relationships established between addressers and addressees.

As also happens with conventional genres, specific questions about grammar and lexis –a textual coverage, broadly speaking– can be approached by reference to pragmatic goals. In this respect, variations in the degree of formality should be regarded in the classroom as the linguistic reflection of the use of language in different contexts and for different purposes.

Within the Internet code, the relation between writer and reader is based on the premise of respect. Although English for electronic communications tends to be colloquial and informal, a certain degree of politeness always prevails in every written text via Internet. It should be noted, however, that the more formal the purpose of the text, the more strict it is regarding politeness conventions. We should also keep in mind that some of these new written genres are a kind of unplanned discourse, and therefore, the relevant meaning is pragmatic –the result of a contextualised negotiation. As Jacob Mey (1993: 287) explains, “[c]ontext’ is to be taken here not only on the developmental basis for language user activity, but as the main conditioning factor making that activity possible”.

From a rhetorical perspective, the teaching/learning of cybergenres should also focus on the use of a very simplified language. The production of electronic texts in English seeks ‘maximal relevance’ in the message (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 271): clarity, brevity and simplicity –thus allowing an easier processing of information on the part of the addressee. To ensure that the act of communication is relevant to the addressee, students should become familiarised with the use of this simplified lexicogrammar. Simple language facilitates comprehension as much as possible, and leaves no space for an

ornate style. By way of illustration, there is a recurrent use of ellipsis and abbreviations and, similarly, articles, auxiliaries and personal pronouns are often omitted in the sentences as they are thought to be recoverable by the sender(s).

For questions of relevance, Internet users also prefer to write in the active voice rather than in the passive, the latter being a classical feature in scientific reporting. Formal research literature is overwhelmingly written in an impersonal style with overt references to the author's actions and judgements kept to the minimum, thus suggesting that the finding or theory has been brought into the central grammatical position. On the contrary, Internet English is featured by a more personal and committed style with a wide use of first person pronouns and a direct address to the addressee. In contrast to classical genre typologies, electronic texts make overt references to the writer's opinions and attitudes, as opposed to the strictly referential and analytical writing of articles, abstracts or reports.

For practical reasons –their everyday use of the Internet–, students show special interest in the analysis of those lexical paradigms found in the net. The use of electronic communications has developed a textual code –a kind of 'jargon' so to speak– for interacting within the community of users, and which is sustained upon solid sociocultural matrices (Tomalin and Stempleski 1993). As sociolinguistic studies point out, cybercommunication makes use of multisemiotic codes –graphic elements– in order to facilitate the interaction between users. For example, the use of capital letters, underscore characters () or asterisks to place special emphasis on a given part of the message are some of these new textual conventions in electronic texts. It is also interesting for students to analyse in the classroom the use of 'smileys' or 'emoticons' as non-verbal communicative signals which, coming out from keyboard characters, attempt to simulate face-to-face conversations by representing the writer's emotions that we often take for granted in oral communication.

As far as a lexical approach to e-genres is concerned, the development of new terms in cybercommunication could be presented in the classroom as instances of how language evolves according to certain social and cultural contexts of use. New words such as 'snail-mail' (or ordinary mail), 'newbie' (a newcomer in the net), 'net potato' (a couch potato for the net), 'to surf' (to navigate), 'techie' (an expert in the net), 'hacker' ('somebody who breaks software security systems'), among others, are examples of the new Internet terminology that most E.S.T. students often come across in websites, mailing lists, and discussion groups.

It is also well-known among computer-to-computer language users that, in an attempt to eliminate redundancy and be as concise and straightforward as possible, e-writers should use abbreviated terms ('prob' for 'problem', etc.), or words whose spellings resemble their pronunciation ('u' or '4u' instead of

'you' or 'for you,' respectively). This tendency towards simplification is also noticeable in the extended use of acronym versions of commonly-used expressions, a usual linguistic practice in informal contexts of language use. The students' active response is easily elicited when asked about those abbreviations scientists and engineers use in non-formal electronic communications: 'ASAP' ('as soon as possible'), 'TIA' ('thanks in advance'), 'WRT' ('with respect to'), 'FYI' ('for your information'), 'BTW' ('by the way'), etc. This may prove useful for the teacher to develop the student's awareness towards the functionality of the language; as a matter of fact, abbreviations and acronyms are used, from a pragmatic viewpoint, as a means to communicate information in the fastest and most effective possible way.

3. CONCLUSIONS

As this paper has attempted to foreground, to include these new emerging cybergenres in university E.S.T. courses involves several pedagogical advantages for both teachers and learners.

On the part of the teachers both a rhetorical and a genre analysis of Internet communication may help to ground the teaching process upon those cognitive aspects of language learning that psychologists of cognition claim. Robert Ellis (1997) points out that second language acquisition is a complex process and, in the case of E.S.T. this process involves an added difficulty, namely, the degree of specialisation of the scientific and technical register. In this respect, the use of real examples and models of cybertexts activates learners' mental schemata, that is, their prior conceptual and structural knowledge about genre conventions. By grounding the learning of rhetorical and sociopragmatic parameters of Internet English in previous genre and contextual knowledge, both the processing and production of electronic texts become much more effective.

The analysis of real instances of language in use may also develop the student's awareness of the communicative nature of language (Littlewood 1988; Dudley Evans and St. John 1998). A communicative approach based on genre analysis provides a richer rapport for carrying out realistic and motivating language activities. Moreover, the study of language based on real models of communication offers a potential source for communicative tasks in the classroom (see Munby 1978; Nunan 1989), thus eliciting interest in the learning of language through authentic materials suitable for the students' needs.

At the same time, the functionality of discourse put forward by systemic linguists foregrounds the multipurpose nature of any text. As stated earlier, the rhetoric of cybertexts is always subject to the relation between addressor and addressee as well as to the setting and the circumstances in which the act of

communication occurs; what is important is the effectiveness involving the purpose of the text and the pragmatic appropriateness of the text style. A discourse approach thus helps students become aware of the way we construct social relations among social subjects by means of a complex mapping of sociocultural practices.

From the perspective of critical discourse analyses (Fairclough 1995; Cederblom and Paulsen 2001), a thorough coverage of those genres used in specialised registers may allow students to evaluate how any language influences and is influenced by social and cultural factors. As Fairclough (1995: 2) concludes, “[t]he heterogeneities of texts are a sensitive indicator of sociocultural contradictions, and a sensitive barometer of their evolution”. From this perspective, the teaching/learning process may be useful to bridge the gap between textual and contextual approaches in E.S.T. discourse practices. In particular, the awareness of the social dimension of Internet language may reinforce what A. Johns (1997: ix) calls “socioliterate competence”, understood as

[...] being familiar with the strategies needed for understanding and organizing texts, knowing the social contexts in which texts are produced and read, being acquainted with the community and culture that produce and value certain texts and types of texts, and knowing how previous experiences of literacy shape perceptions and expectations as to the nature of written discourse.

As a sociorhetorical construct, the use of English for the production of Internet texts offers particularly interesting insights on the difficult but important issue of E.S.T. rhetorical variations across cultures and generations. Likewise, the semiotic dimension of these new contextual models of specialised writing leads us to conclude that any given message belongs to a general system of cultural and societal values. The sociopragmatic approach draws teachers and learners towards a deeper analysis of the concept of ‘genre’ in specific registers. This approach entails the need to adapt new materials and methodologies to cover real needs of students when using English to communicate via the Internet.

The combination of rhetorical, discourse and genre perspectives in the E.S.T. classroom clearly displays a consistent pragmatic influence underlying language in use. Only by knowing the different and multifarious genre typologies conforming a specific type of discourse will learners better understand the communicative nature of a language. As exemplified throughout this paper, even in the cyberspace dimension language always turns out to be not only a linguistic enterprise but rather a sociopragmatic undertaking.

To keep up with the new signs of the times, rhetorical analyses of cybergenres thus prove to be pedagogically successful to emphasise the new dimension of English as a worldwide communicative tool in the fields of science and technology. This is, obviously, an area of research full of potential pedagogical implications and in need of further cognitive, discursal and sociological inquiry.

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MORAL PORNOGRAPHY OR ETHICAL RHETORIC?

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ABSTRACT. This paper is concerned with the literary implications of Judith Butler's views on pornography. Butler chooses to argue against a restrictive view of the performativity of injurious speech. She notes that pornography charts a domain of unrealizable positions and that the phantasmatic power of signs cannot, strictly speaking, constitute that reality. Butler also contemplates the possibility of a counter-speech, a kind of talking back that would implicate the emergence of an agency. Drawing on Angela Carter's famous theoretical essay on the marquis de Sade, I want to add grist to Butler's mill, but also to suggest that the production of an agency can only be achieved if the talking back has a rhetorical dimension, that only rhetoric can constitute an appropriate tool to fight back the threat of injurious speech. I henceforth suggest that Carter's contentious analysis of Sade as a "moral pornographer" should be best described as a theory of ethical rhetoric.

Can pornography be moral? How is the explicit description of sexual organs and activity to be reconciled with the practice of moralizing, i.e. of commenting on issues of right and wrong? Can the exploitation of sex slaves take on an exemplary dimension? The obvious answer to this question is No. Pornography cannot possibly be moral. For pornography is eminently injurious: it hurts a class of people, damages the very idea of human subjectivity. And yet, and yet. Consider this: did a self-branded feminist novelist like Angela Carter (1993: 19) not write an essay in which she defined the marquis de Sade as a "moral pornographer"? I am referring you to Carter's "Polemical Preface" in *The Sadeian Woman*. But precisely, the "Preface" overtly

signals itself as "polemical": Carter is obviously highly aware of the cultural context of the day, and she knows that what she has to say concerning pornography runs up against the feminist doxa. She knows that pornography is generally perceived as one of the most blatant symptoms of the phallogocentric functioning of society, that pornography not only exploits women, but also dehumanizes them by transforming them into commodities. This aspect of pornography, strangely enough, is acknowledged by Carter (1993: 3), whose very first sentence does ring like a doxic repetition: "Pornographers are the enemies of women [...]".

Judith Butler has strongly contributed to reviving the controversy by raising the crucial question of the performativity of injurious speech: "it is by being interpellated within the terms of language that a certain social existence of the body first becomes possible", Butler (1997: 5) argues. What she implies here, is that the threat contained in any combination of signs —be they pictorial or linguistic— only makes sense in terms of the act it prefigures. Catharine MacKinnon, a legal scholar, also argues that pornographic representations are performative: they do not simply state a point of view, they constitute a certain kind of conduct. Pornography is construed as both speech and conduct and is understood not only to act on women in injurious ways but to constitute the class of women as an inferior class. Words are not only words, they do things, as Austin's famous manual contends:

Pornography does not simply express or interpret experience, it substitutes for it. Beyond bringing a message from reality, it stands in for reality. [...] Pornography makes the world a pornographic place through its making and use, establishing what women are said to exist as, are seen as, are treated as, constructing the social reality of what a woman is and can be in terms of what can be done to her, and what a man is in terms of doing it. (MacKinnon 1993: 25)

What singles out Butler's approach is that she chooses to argue against such a restrictive view of the performativity of injurious speech. She notes that pornography charts a domain of unrealizable positions and that the phantasmatic power of signs cannot, strictly speaking, constitute that reality. She then raises the possibility of "re-signification": speech remains speech, but this permits the threat to be countered by a different kind of performative, and Butler contemplates the possibility of a counter-speech, a kind of talking back that would also implicate the opening up of the possibility of an agency.

My aim in this paper is to add grist to Butler's mill, but also to suggest that the production of an agency can only be achieved if the talking back has a rhetorical dimension, that only rhetoric can constitute an appropriate tool to fight back the threat of injurious speech.

It should first be noted that Carter completes her opening sentence in a way that nearly contradicts the first segment while at the same time providing the beginning of an explanation to the full title of the Preface ("Polemical Preface: Pornography in the Service of Women"):

Pornographers are the enemies of women only because our contemporary ideology of pornography does not encompass the possibility of change, as if we were the slaves of history and not its makers, as if sexual relations were not necessarily an expression of social relations, as if sex itself were an external fact, one as immutable as the weather, creating human practices but never a part of it.

What is implied here is that it is not pornography as such which should be indicted, but the perpetuation of a *certain practice* of pornography. What Carter unambiguously condemns, therefore, is the "ideology" that constrains the practical effectuations of sexual relations, an ideology which precludes pornographers from revising the order of things. Carter is not disgusted by the obscenity of the representation; nor is she offended by the commodification of woman: what fascinates her is what also fascinated Barthes (1994: 1136), namely the semiotic issue. In other words, pornography is the enemy of women only insofar as it is part of a global system of meaning-making through which social positions are forcibly assigned to human agents. Her theory is very clear on this point: pornography does not produce exploitation; it is the social system ("social relations") that produces exploitation, along with a certain form of pornography. In that sense, pornography is only one specific expression of forceful subjectification. Although Carter seems to be very close to a Marxist position on this matter, her conception of ideology being redolent of Althusser's (1980: 59) view of ideological shifts as being subtended by *les rapports sociaux*, her analysis is more likely to be borrowed from Barthes's deconstruction of myths: pornography functions like a "myth" insofar as it expresses a given order to whose production it also contributes. For the principal function of myth, Barthes (1970: 193) contends, is to "naturalize", i.e. to transform into an inescapable set of "facts" what has always already been a system of values. Myths emerge in order to transform history into "Nature": they give the illusion that contemporary social practices are inscribed within a natural order of things.

Here, Carter goes one step beyond. Indeed, what both Althusser and Barthes fail to see is that the mythic order of things is inevitably constrained by gender relations. This time, Carter is much nearer to Michel Foucault. Like him (1976: 21), she does not consider that it is sexuality which conditions social practices, or intersubjective relations: sexuality is only the effect of a technique de pouvoir, a strategy of power. Sexual difference results from a mass of discourses which all ensure that one class, or one gender, dictates their

vision of things to the other. In short, sexuality itself is an effect of discourse, a myth, and therefore a fiction, or to be more precise a semiological system. For Carter, a caricatural symbol of this discursive strategy is the pictorial representation of sexual intercourse on the walls of public lavatories. It appears that this "universal language of lust" (1993: 4) signifies masculinity through a penis in erection, and femininity through a gaping hole, as if it were in the nature of things that the masculine principle should be represented by a form of affirmation and the feminine principle by "an inert space" "like a mouth waiting to be filled". Sexuality, we infer, is "mythologized" when it is constrained by ideological representations of sexual difference which take it for granted that masculinity should be active and femininity passive. The most basic representation of sexual intercourse obeys a prescriptive discourse which distributes functions and positions in an imperative, quasi "natural" manner. This valorization of discourse is central to my critique of Carter's theory.

For the most interesting point here is that pornography seems to be placed outside the field of morality, which of course will later invalidate Carter's vindication of Sadeian literature. Pornographic representation is conceived of in terms of semiotics. To represent woman by nothing but "a fringed hole" (1993: 4) and man by nothing but "the probe", i.e. "his prick", is not simply to reproduce an anatomical difference: it is to coin specific markers of masculinity and femininity in a process that implies the use of a specific language. I am here coming to the rhetorical dimension of obscene graffiti according to Carter, a crucial stage in my deconstruction of her theory. My contention here is that both sexes are linguistically constructed thanks to a well-known trope which consists in substituting the part for the whole: this is evidently the case of the synecdoche, a form of metonymy. This unconscious use of the metonymic mode does not contradict Carter's overt ambition. On the contrary, this rhetorical strategy fulfils its ideological function perfectly: the metonymic representation of sex is itself a technique of power since femininity will make sense only insofar as it is related to the signifier of masculinity. The male organ is here to fill the hole, the nothingness of femininity to which it functions not only as a complement but also as an essential justification. As Carter bluntly puts it, still on the same page: "Woman is negative. Between her legs lies nothing but zero, the sign for nothing, that only becomes something when the male principle fills it with meaning". One signifier can only be legitimized by the presence of the other signifier, or the signifier of the other, without which woman's right to existence seems to be denied.

The fictional implications of this linguistic construction of gender need to be explored. For if femininity cannot come to full presence before her compulsory reference to the male principle is made clear, it follows from this that femininity cannot exist as long as it is not integrated into a story. Indeed,

as in all naïve stories (Kermode 1979: 6-7), femininity is produced through a beginning—the meaningless hole—, a middle —the sudden appearance of "the probe"—, and an end—the mouth is bound to be filled. As a matter of fact, the "myth of patience and receptivity" (Carter 1993: 5) assigns femininity to residence both temporally and spatially. On a spatial plane, femininity is on the side of the static and the dead: it is inert, passive matter, offered up to masculine exploitation. On a temporal plane, femininity exists only as a non-agent, waiting to be animated and granted a structural significance through the providential intervention of the filling agent. Both temporally and spatially, femininity's presence is therefore perceived as something-in-waiting. Her truth, the revelation of her true essence, is therefore of a *storied* nature. We are here beginning to see the relation between Carter the essayist and Carter the novelist: if femininity is produced by a narrative strategy, characterized by the use of specific tropes, if there is indeed a mythos of woman's position among the other humans, then a woman's "self" is not a pure, transcendental reality, but the mythical conjugation of a rhetorical effect and of a plot. The synecdoche is not simply a figure of speech: it is also the promise of a story in which femininity is to be denied centre stage. In the process of the "mythic generation of femininity" (Carter 1993: 4-5), the signifier is always already caught within an endless chain of metonymic appearances whose ultimate referent is bound to be for ever deferred.

It now becomes easier to understand why Carter polemically refused to condemn pornography as such. What she really contests is a certain naive, caricatural emplotment and stylisation of femininity, as it expresses itself in low-rate pornography. Her defence of the marquis de Sade is to be analyzed from this perspective. But one should also note that Carter is certainly not trying to defend a literary canon. She does not hesitate to claim that there is very little difference between what is offensively scrawled on a urinal wall and what is officially consecrated in an academic assignment including the story of Oedipus (1993: 22-23). This very interesting parallel, contentious as it may appear, enables us to understand what Carter really means by "demythologization". What she has in mind, I shall now try to demonstrate, is a revision of femininity.

A detour through a later article will prove necessary here. Carter (1983: 38) takes up her indictment of "the social fictions that condition our lives". What becomes much more explicit, however, is the importance she now grants to the practice of writing itself, not only to the intellectual deconstruction of the process of "mythic generation". The famous novelist she has now become suddenly chooses to sketch a self-portrait of the feminine artist: "I'm in the demythologizing business" (1983: 38). The critic is very often content with this short, cryptic formula, which paradoxically enough is very rarely commented upon. A few lines further down, Carter explains that "writing fiction as a

woman" should consist in striving to free oneself from the myths inherited from the androcentric or phallogocentric tradition. But, at the same time, she introduces a slightly disturbing notion: for her, "writing fiction as a woman" should consist in seeking to produce a new vision of femininity, a revision of femininity, which, according to her, can only be the business of the "creative artist". In other words, Carter's programme of "demythologization" concerns primarily creativity, i.e. a linguistic operation. The artist cannot rest content with publicly denouncing inequalities, criticizing existing structures of feeling, or even displaying her capacities as a feminist semiotician. She must act, force the enemy out, reappropriate a vital space. She must find a linguistic posture ("writing *as* a woman"), invent a semiotic position, which demands that she produce new ways of meaning-making. What is implied is that the decolonization of discourse should have the capacity to reinscribe the experience of sexual difference within a new system of relations between the signifiers, within a new mythos of differentiation, within a new fiction of difference. Interestingly, this is how Carter (1983: 42) sums up the operation:

I personally feel much more in common with certain Third World writers, both female and male, who are transforming actual fiction forms to both reflect and precipitate changes in the way people feel about themselves-putting new wine in old bottles and, in some cases, old wine in new bottles.

What emerges from the first segment of the quotation is that there can be no essentiality of "feminine writing". There are only minorities, both female and male, whose business it is to operate changes in perceptions of the self and in intersubjective relations. What matters for Carter, therefore, is a positioning of the self, a posture, a process of subjectification, which is dictated neither by biology nor by culture, but by the effect of fiction. For to "transform fiction" is also to change structures of feeling and forms of intersubjectivity. Writing "precipitates changes". Of the means required in view of this achievement, Carter gives apparently no clear indication. My contention it is, though, that the way the message is formulated is *in itself* an answer to the question raised. I take the end of the quotation to be a crucial clue in Carter's theory of writing.

Note first that in order to illustrate her theory she uses a metaphor, or rather a complex metaphorical cluster: "putting new wine in old bottles and [...] old wine in new bottles". I choose to leave aside the overtones of swindling implied in the image—a choice that deliberately takes me away from the issues of commodification of mythology and therefore from one of the most common features of postmodernist criticism today—in order to concentrate on the inner workings of the image. A quick reading of this cryptic formula will give the unfortunate impression that Carter seeks to reactivate the

age-old distinction between form and contents, or container and contained. Arguably, the "new wine" of the first metaphor may stand for new forms of amorous play, and the "old bottle" may very well refer to the traditional forms of literary production likely to accommodate such "revisions". In the same spirit, the "new bottles" of the second metaphor would stand for the new forms of expression available on the contemporary literary market, and the "old wine" would then refer to classic intersubjective relations. This interpretation may appear acceptable, but to me it is irrelevant.

First, the metaphorical cluster conjugates two rhetorical devices which we should normally expect to be firmly dissociated: for the two metaphors imply a metonymic form of association which is now intellectually unacceptable. We must bear in mind Carter's strong diffidence about synecdoches, figures of speech that are used to mean the whole through the part, but also sometimes the container for the contained, and vice versa. In Carter's formula, it is expected that the contained take on its true meaning from its relation of contiguity to the container, in the way the single organ used to refer to the whole body. Here, however, this type of association is exposed as curiously disjunctive. We are quite ready to accept the idea that the pornographic graffiti function on a relation of necessary complementariness between the two signifiers, but it seems highly questionable that an old wine will owe its specificity to a new bottle! Nor has there ever been evidence of a new wine having its characteristics changed by being poured into an old bottle... In other words, no "mythic" system of meaning will help us here. This is not only solid (French) common sense: Barthes (1970: 234) used to repeat that mythic explanations are always stalemated whenever the language of the maker or the language of the producer makes itself heard. The maker knows that myths will not do when real work is required. Interestingly, Barthes defines this kind of practical language as a "revolutionary" intervention of the maker: the revolutionary knows that things do not always fall into mythically predetermined patterns and that sometimes pragmatic operations produce "a truth" obscured by mythic discourse.

The revolution Carter seems to be concerned with does not imply physical action: she knows that one can do things with words. She knows that her rejection of mythic explanations of femininity may produce a "truth" a fictional truth whose pragmatic impact may be as great as any other action. In fact, her complex nexus of incongruous metaphors engages the reader to think differently, to break free from myth, and finally to produce a new fiction of the self and of intersubjectivity. The fiction the reader is thus expected to produce in the act of reading is one that violently disrupts the mythology of metonymic relations. For, in violation of all the most basic laws of (French) oenology, each of Carter's disturbing metaphors pulverizes the classical notion of the metaphor as a "borrowed container": instead, she suggests an

impossible truth, something like a qualitative porosity between the container and the contained. The old container transfigures the new liquid, and the old liquid is transfigured by being rebottled—a miraculous, purely performative event which establishes a form of fluidity between the signifiers. The metonymic relation seems to be contaminated by a more modern metaphorical principle, according to which poetic might can only be produced through the dynamic, agonistic interaction of two signifiers (Black 1979: 19 ff.). The reader is therefore invited to imagine this extremely puzzling case: form may change the very *nature* of things; conversely, the contained may transform the shape of the container, in a kind of amorous play in which all strategies of power have been abolished. What remains is a linguistic game, which operates as a play of instability and interchangeability.

We may now return to the "Polemical Preface". What Carter's rhetorical and pragmatic logic invites us to think is that a "demythologization" of sexual difference can only rest on a semiotic achievement, that a revisionist rejection of traditional assignations to residence can only take place in the sphere of linguistic games. Carter's joint indictment of pornography and semiotic rehabilitation of Sade could only run up against the Anglo-Saxon feminist doxa of the day. But seen from our angle (one that is undoubtedly influenced by the French philosophy of the late sixties and early seventies), pornography is not morally condemnable: it simply makes visible the structure of gender relationships. What a man does to a woman in a pornographic film is another version of what inscribes itself universally on urinal walls—a metonymic positioning of femininity. If pornography has not changed, it is according to Carter (1993: 17) simply because it has failed to acknowledge the possibility that techniques and strategies of power can be redefined. For Carter, pornography is therefore nothing but a metaphor of intersubjective relations, one that has forgotten its metaphorical quality, one that has therefore perpetuated a "mythology". Pornography is a metaphor that has ended up taking the metonymic representation of femininity for the truth of femininity. Here, we are very close to what seems to be the major philosophical assumption of Carter's essay: the myth of femininity thrives on the effacement of metaphorical consciousness, an effacement which gives metonymy free rein to pass for the truth of gender relations. This is what fascinates Carter in her analysis of Sade's literature. Sade's pornography refuses the mythic dimension of gender positioning. His pornography can therefore be said to be "moral":

The moral pornographer would be an artist who uses pornographic material as part of the acceptance of a world of absolute sexual licence for all the genders, and projects a model of the way such a world might work. (1993: 19)

When positions are redistributed by linguistic games, when postures break free from myth, pornography can be revolutionary, or to take up Carter's words "a revisionary exercise in the service of women". What Carter calls pornography is nothing but a semiotic arrangement. And what she understands by moral has nothing to do with the distribution of good and evil. What she has in mind is what, following Greek etymology (*ethos*: a way of life), I would call an *ethical* operation. A revolutionary semiotic arrangement is meant to dislocate mythic assignations to residence and to provide the feminine with a new home, with a new modality of being.

Let me now recapitulate my argument through five propositions:

- 1) Angela Carter theory of pornography rests on one basic assumption, namely that the order of things is a sexual order which mythology has always legitimized.
- 2) This first proposition implies a corollary: the order of things is in fact an effect of myth, i.e. a product of discourse. Intersubjective relationships, and the play of sexual difference itself, are nothing but a discursive reality.
- 3) There is no dissociating myth from literature, or literature from myth: therefore, the work of "demythologization" can only be achieved through a literary event, and more precisely through a rhetorical game.
- 4) Judith Butler is right when she asserts that the speaking subject makes his or her decision only in the context of an already circumscribed field of linguistic possibilities, but, following in Carter's footsteps, I suggest that the necessary response to injurious language can break free from the violence of mimetic rivalry only when the production of agency is supported by innovative rhetoric.
- 5) Carter is wrong to call Sade's experiments "moral pornography". Experimental writing, or even an intertextual use of pornography, is not pornographic. The revolutionary redistribution of postures is first and foremost a semiotic experience. This experience is not moral, but ethical: rhetoric may not only rework pornography within a feminist project, it may also redefine postures in intersubjective relations.

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REVIEWS

DIANE LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2000.
TECHNIQUES AND PRINCIPLES IN LANGUAGE TEACHING.
SECOND EDITION. OXFORD: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. 189 PP.

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This second edition of *Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching* constitutes a revised, updated and enlarged version of the author's original book published in 1986. The first edition has been for years one of the books most widely used by students, practitioners and teacher educators in the area of language teaching. The main goal of the book is to present the different methods that have outlined the history of language teaching methodology throughout the years and, particularly, in the second part of the twentieth century. The term 'method' in this work is defined by the author as "a coherent set of links between actions and thoughts in language teaching" (1), and hence the title of the book, as it uses the term *techniques* to refer to 'actions', and *principles* to encompass 'thoughts'. Additionally, the book aims not only to present a variety of techniques but also to encourage their implementation by providing suggestions and indications for their practical classroom application.

The different methods are introduced by 'entering' a fictional classroom where each method is being practised, as the author believes that 'observing' a class will give the reader a greater understanding of each particular method and offer wider opportunities to reflect on them. By doing so, readers are exposed to the specific techniques and the teacher's behavior and actions within each method. However, as the author points out, these classroom encounters are idealized and belong to a non-real world in which students always catch on quickly and teachers do not have to contend with the many

management matters of real-life instruction. Nevertheless, I consider this strategy of depicting an imaginary classroom as highly interesting since some of the methods may be perceived as difficult to comprehend by readers unless a practical referential framework is offered. Once each lesson has been 'observed', the principles on which the teacher's techniques and behavior are based are inferred and stated. After the principles have been identified, a series of questions is asked and answered for each particular method, thus providing information about the goals and roles of teachers and students, the characteristics of the teaching/learning process, the nature of the student-teacher and student-student interaction, the attitudes of the students, the perceived view of language and culture, the linguistic areas and skills emphasized, the role of the students' native language, the accomplishment of evaluation, and the teacher's response to student errors. Following these specifications, the techniques used are reviewed and—in some cases—, expanded so as to provide further information for eventual application. In the conclusion to each chapter, the reader is asked about the potential of the information provided for practical use, thus encouraging us to view the methods through the filter of one's own beliefs, needs, knowledge and experience. Additionally, two types of exercises are included at the end of each chapter. The first type allows the reader to check their initial understanding of the method presented, whereas the second type requires the reader to relate it to their own teaching situation. Each chapter ends with a complete list of references and additional resources for further reading.

The innovations of the new edition have had hardly any impact on the initial chapters, which have merely been updated and very slightly modified, with the exception of Chapter 6, which originally was strictly focused on *Suggestopedia*, and has now been thoroughly revised so as to reflect the evolution of this method toward what has been defined as *Desuggestopedia*. The substantial modifications of the book are mainly perceived in the last part of it, for which two new chapters have been added to accommodate the treatment of a number of approaches and strategies mostly developed in the last fifteen years. These have been grouped around single chapters considering what the issues have in common, and with the intention of not making a second edition that would double the length of the first one. The final structure is made up of twelve chapters, the first and last ones being the introduction and conclusion, and integrating the chapters in-between (2 to 11) the body of the book. Chapter 2 is focused on the Grammar-Translation Method; Chapter 3 on the Direct Method; Chapter 4 on the Audiolingual Method; Chapter 5 on the Silent Way; Chapter 6 on Desuggestopedia; Chapter 7 on Community Language Learning, Chapter 8 on Total Physical Response; Chapter 9 on Communicative Language Teaching; Chapter 10 on Content-based, Tasks-based, and Participatory Approaches; and Chapter 11 on Learning

Strategy Training, Cooperative Learning, and Multiple Intelligences. As Chapters 10 and 11 are the ones which cover the most updated trends in teaching methodology, I consider that they deserve a more individual review.

Chapter 10 deals with three innovative approaches which, having the principles of Communicative Language Teaching as a common basis, also share the goal of teaching through communication rather than for it. Content-based instruction integrates the learning of a language with the learning or appreciation of some other content, often academic subject matter. The rationale for this approach derives from well-established educational paradigms such as immersion education, languages for specific purposes, and the 'language across the curriculum' movement. The model is illustrated in the book by the description of an international school class in which both English as a foreign language and geography are taught and learnt through content-based instruction. By means of the customary procedure of relating individual observations extracted from the fictional class with their corresponding theoretical underpinnings, the principles that underlie the paradigm are clearly stated in an organized taxonomy which synthesizes the fundamentals of the approach. Additionally, some more academic insights into the approach are also included.

Task-based instruction —the second approach described within this chapter— is presented through a class in which young students fulfil the task of completing a timetable. Once again, features inferred from the fictional observation of the class are linked with the underlying principles of the methodological paradigm. TBI foundations lie on the belief that it is highly beneficial for students to be provided with a natural context for language use by means of the completion of assigned tasks which offer both a perceived purpose and a clear outcome, as well as abundant opportunity for student-student and student-teacher interaction and negotiation using the target language. Although tasks are used in mainstream Communicative Language Teaching classes as a common pedagogical activity, their focus being task completion, in the task-based lesson, however, it is not only the task's product or result that is important, but also the language used in the process itself. As in the section devoted to the content-based approach, after the reflection on the experience, some more detailed theoretical information and references are also provided.

The third methodological proposal within this chapter is the participatory approach, which constitutes a less common paradigm similar in some ways to the previously described content-based approach. Although both models rely on meaningful content as the basis from which formal, lexical and skills development activities derive, the originality of the participatory approach lies in the nature of the content itself, which is not embedded in subject matter texts, as in CBI, but rather based on issues of concern to students. Originally,

the participatory approach was developed in the early 1960s in Brazil, in a native-language literacy program for non-educated population, and since then, it has developed multiple variations in different contexts always sharing the common goal of helping students —mainly adults who lack formal education— to understand the social, historical, or cultural forces that affect their lives. The underlying principle is the belief that education is most effective when it is experience-centered and when it relates to students' real needs. The recurrent pattern of class observation and principle association is successfully used once more to match procedural features with their theoretical rationale.

Chapter 11 deals again with three methodological innovations: learning strategy training, cooperative learning, and multiple intelligences. What these three paradigms have in common differs from those explored in the previous chapter in that the main concern of these is with the language learner and not with the pedagogical applications. For this reason, as the author states, 'Because of their different focus, they complement, rather than challenge, those found in Chapter 10' (159). Although these innovations do not constitute comprehensive methods in the conventional sense, they reflect interesting and enduring methodological practices which reasonably justify their presentation.

The foundations of training in strategy learning —the first of the models described— are based on the realization that, in order to maximize students' potential and contribute to their autonomy, language learners need training in learning strategies. The imaginary experience reported is based on the teaching of a learning strategy called 'advanced organization', which will help students to improve their reading skills in terms of both comprehension and speed. After describing the lecture, the experience is examined in the usual manner —observations on the left, matching principles on the right—. Additional information about the typology and purposes of strategies are included in a subsequent short though clarifying section. The second model is cooperative or collaborative learning, which essentially involves students learning from each other in groups. It has to be said, however, that —as the author points out—, it is not the group configuration that makes cooperative learning distinctive; it is the way that students and teachers work together that is important. In cooperative learning, teachers teach students collaborative or social skills so that they can work together in a more effective manner. The principles of this trend are, as usual, inferred from the observation of a class working —24 young students in a second language context— and, once again, additional explanations are provided. It is important to point out the author's insistence on the complementarity of the trends in the Chapter and the ones presented in the previous one. The last methodological innovation considered in Chapter 11 is multiple intelligences, an approach 'in which teachers expand

beyond language, learning strategy, and social skills training, to address other qualities of language learners' (169). The rationale for the model is based on the recognition that students have different learning and cognitive styles, and bring with them specific and unique strengths which are often not taken into account in classroom situations. These personal capabilities have been defined as seven distinct 'multiple intelligences': logical/mathematical, visual/spatial, body/kinesthetic, musical/rhythmic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and verbal/linguistic. Although everyone might possess these seven intelligences, it is believed that they are not equally developed individually. For this reason, this perspective proposes the plan of lessons not only to promote language acquisition among students with diverse capabilities, but also to help them realize their own full potential with all seven intelligences. It has to be pointed out that this final section only follows the customary procedure partially, as the matching column method for relating practices with theoretical explanations is not used here. The example of the imaginary classroom is presented, however, once again.

Further substantial modification is also found in the conclusion chapter which, from just an 'epilogue' in the first edition, has evolved into a complete chapter of its own in the new one. This section includes a referential chart in which the methods discussed are summarized and their major differences are explicitly highlighted.

Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching is, in short, a highly informative book, as it provides an exploration of methods in which complex pedagogical issues are presented with great clarity in a well-structured organization. It can be particularly interesting for students and new teachers, as it offers a practical, not too technical overview of the evolution of methodology throughout the years. For more experienced teachers and educators it can also be of relevance, as it introduces organized and coordinated information and references about recent methodological innovations whose literature is usually found independently.

Anecdotally, I cannot finish this review without mentioning the most solomonic decision made by the author in order to cope with political correctness in terms of gender reference, for which she has decided to assume that the fictional teacher is female in even-numbered chapters, and male in the odd-numbered ones. A wise though most curious decision that by no means alters the quality of the work.

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