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REVIEWS

NARRATIVE MODELS IN TOLKIEN'S STORIES OF MIDDLE-EARTH

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ABSTRACT. *In* The Lord of the Rings *(1954), there is an attempt to unite the two worlds which captivated Tolkien's imagination: the fairy tale world of children's stories which he was drawn to as a child, and the sagas and medieval myths that were the subject of his study and teaching at university. The hobbits are where these two narrative universes meet. In* The Lord of the Rings*, these two worlds, being difficult to reconcile, collide. On the one hand, we have the hobbits, those everymen with whom the reader can identify easily. They are characters created in* The Hobbit *(1937) that have a narrative world of their own, as in fairytales, and that are generated with a low mimetic mode. On the other hand, we have the chivalric heroes with a great literary tradition, who belong to the high mimetic mode. Tolkien's fiction is less successful in those episodes in which the hobbits are absent.*

In this article we shall deal with several formal aspects that will help us to understand J.R.R. Tolkien's writing method. The themes we shall tackle revolve around two cores: the rhetoric of children's literature and fairy tales, used in *The Hobbit* (1937), and the rhetoric of the matter of Britain, used in *The Lord of the Rings* (1954). As we are going to explain, Tolkien's fiction is built on the foundations of highly stereotyped and traditional narrative forms, far removed from the literary movements of the twentieth century that searched for personal and innovative fantasies.

1. *THE HOBBIT* AND THE RHETORIC OF CHILDREN'S STORIES AND FAIRY TALES

It seems that, in spite of the illusion of progress, human beings have undergone little inward change. Because of this, present-day readers are still fascinated by the

stories and narrative motifs that our ancestors created and dispersed. So, the success of books such as *Harry Potter*, Philip Pullman's trilogy *His Dark Materials*, and also J.R.R. Tolkien's fantasy of Middle-earth, which captivate the imagination of children and teenagers, owes much to the motifs and elements that have characterized literature across the ages.

The Hobbit is a story Tolkien wrote to tell to his sons at night. When he began writing *The Lord of the Rings*, his sons were grown up and did no longer want bedtime stories. We agree with Humphrey Carpenter (1977: 200) on the idea that *The Hobbit* is a children's story, although it has been integrated into a mythology intended for a more adult reader and was written in a more serious tone. The author's original idea when writing the story of Bilbo was for it to be entertaining and amusing for his first audience, his sons. This work does not aspire to achieve the emotional and moral intensity of *The Lord of the Rings*. The title of the book *The Hobbit*, or, *There and Back Again* declares an uninhibited narrative tone. The literary style is indeed very relaxed and the work has a great structural simplicity. Only in the battle of the Five Armies episode do the details of the troops' movement take on the sophistication of modern warfare and the devotion of the participants reaches an epic height. Tolkien's short fiction has maintained the light style characteristic of *The Hobbit*.

The narrator of Bilbo's story is omniscient, frequently discusses the events described and constantly speaks to the reader as if to a child. As early as the first paragraphs we read: "He may have lost the neighbours' respect, but he gained –well, you will see whether he gained anything in the end" (H, 16).[1] The narrator's knowledge about the elements of the story is superior to that of the characters. In this way, when Bilbo finds the Ring, the narrator comments: "It was a turning point in his career, but he did not know it" (H, 76). Or we can also read "Now, if you wish, like the dwarves, to hear news of Smaug, you must go back again to the evening when he smashed the door and flew off in rage, two days before" (H, 234). The narrator is aware of the reader's cognitive universe. Therefore, he can predict the reader's reactions: "The mother of our particular Hobbit –what is a Hobbit? I suppose Hobbits need some description nowadays" (H, 16). When he thinks there is enough information to follow the recounted events, he abandons description of the hobbits: "Now you know enough to go on with" (H, 16). Sometimes he deliberately conceals pieces of information in order to generate interest: "Gandalf! If you had heard only a quarter of what I have heard about him, and I have only

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1. The title of Tolkien's works will be abbreviated as follows: *The Hobbit* (H), *The Fellowship of the Ring* (I), *The Two Towers* (II), *The Return of the King* (III), and *The Silmarillion* (S).

heard very little of all there is to hear, you would be prepared for any sort of remarkable tale" (H, 17). On other occasions, he omits data that the reader already knows: "You are familiar with Thorin's style on important occasions, so I will not give you any more of it, though he went on a good deal longer than this" (H, 203). The narrator also establishes a direct dialogue with the reader; because of this, he is sometimes mentioned: "There is little or no magic about them, except the ordinary everyday sort which helps them to disappear quietly and quickly when large stupid folk like you and me come blundering along" (H, 16); or also in "There was a lot here which Smaug did not understand at all (though I expect you do, since you know all about Bilbo's adventures to which he was referring)" (H, 213). He also addresses the reader with a direct, conversational tone: "As I was saying, the mother of this Hobbit" (H, 16) or "whether you believe it or not" (H, 273). Moreover, he is conscious of the fact that his narration is in a written medium, as the narrator explains, referring to a song by the dwarves: "Then off they went into another song as ridiculous as the one I have written in full" (H, 59). On another occasion, he postpones reporting the adventure: "It was not very long before of his unfortunate friends. It was not very long before he discovered; but that belongs to the next chapter" (H, 166). We can notice the childlike tone of certain expressions: "(If you want to know what *cram* is, I can only say that I don't know the recipe; but it is biscuitish, keeps good indefinitely, is supposed to be sustaining, and is certainly not entertaining, being in fact very uninteresting except as a chewing exercise. It was made by the Lake-men for long journeys)" (H, 232).

The Hobbit is a well-established book in the tradition of children's narrative, of which the most notable exponents in British letters are Lewis Carroll, Kenneth Grahame, Beatrix Potter and George Macdonald. As Lois R. Kuznets (1981: 150-151) has shown, Bilbo's story fits into the rhetorical structure of children's fiction, which combines the following features: an omniscient narrator that comments on events and addresses the reader directly, characters preadolescent children can easily identify with, an emphasis on the relationship between time and narrative development within the framework of a condensed narrative time, and a defined geography in which safe and dangerous spaces are separate. These characteristics are evident to a greater degree in Bilbo's story than in Frodo's. Two features mark the difference between the tones of these novels. As far as the relation between time and narrative development is concerned, the action in *The Hobbit* covers approximately one year and emphasizes the changes in season. The characters' movements in space correspond to the seasonal changes.

Bilbo fits into the rhetoric of children's fantasy more than Frodo does because the former is a character that does not evolve at all throughout the story, and the

events in which he takes part seem not to affect him. The hobbits and the dwarves, because of their height, their cheerful personalities and their habits are creatures with which a young reader can easily identify. The hobbit houses, holes hidden in the mountainside, speak very well to the child's inclination to hide in small places. Just like children, hobbits are fond of riddles, puns and lexical creativity that sometimes transgress grammatical norms. They are also curious to hear old tales and stories. Their habits of eating six times a day, of going barefoot, etc. bring them closer to childlike behaviour. The songs the main characters sing in *The Hobbit* are to a large extent cheerful, insubstantial and suitable for the enjoyment of little ones. In general, these songs intensify the lively tone of the story and show the joyous personalities of the singers, usually hobbits and dwarves. However, the aim of the songs and poems inserted in passages of great dramatic or emotional tension in *The Lord of the Rings* is to introduce a peaceful moment and to create an aesthetic distance. As in the epic poems sung in the Middle Ages, those who recite the poems and elegiac songs in *The Lord of the Rings* are creators of honour. In these works, life and literature merge.

Tolkien avoids sexual content in his novels of Middle-earth. This is a typical feature of stories traditionally addressed to children. The only explicit allusion to sexuality is Gríma Wormtongue's desire for Éowyn, promised by Saruman to this villain as a reward for joining the evil forces. The word *sex* and its derivatives do not appear in the fiction of Middle-earth, that is, the fantasies from *The Hobbit*, *The Silmarillion* and *The Unfinished Tales of Middle-earth and Numenor* to *The Lord of the Rings*. It seems as if the term is avoided even when speaking of reproduction. In this way, we can read that orcs "multiplied after the manner of the Children of Ilúvatar" (S, 50). The children of Ilúvatar are elves and men, and both of them reproduce sexually.

One of the thematic innovations in children's literature in recent decades is the game of transgression of social norms. Prior to the first half of the twentieth century, books for children and young people privileged moral adaptation in their writing. As Teresa Colomer (1998: 203) has pointed out, this contravention of the rules of behaviour and order is due to a relaxation in the social conception of these rules and to a wish on the part of children's narratives to incorporate the reflection of children's antisocial feelings. This attitude has been promoted, in part, by psychoanalytical trends, which assert that people should not deny their own fantasies and urges. The crisis of a unique moral model has favoured a sort of children's literature that emphasizes the individual right to freedom and pleasure against subjection to hierarchy and the observance of preestablished norms. In this way, the model of correct behaviour has expanded, and the characters in children's

fiction can be unrulier, greedier or lazier than what social norms consider proper conduct. *The Hobbit* can be inscribed in this new tradition of books that contain a remarkable permissiveness in the amount of acceptable uproar and violence in characters' behaviour without any of it being censored. The young reader of *The Hobbit* old enough to internalize social norms will experience a therapeutical delectation when he notices that the characters do not respect them.

The initial chapter of *The Lord of the Rings*, "A Long Expected Party," opens the novel in a comedic way, following the model of *The Hobbit*. This is a hinge chapter between the narrative tone of Bilbo's story and Frodo's. However, in this last story humour loses most of its childishness. The fun scenes have more of a touch of sarcasm about them. By way of example, we can remember the labels tied to the parcels containing Bilbo's gifts to his guests. At the same time as the hobbit gives the presents to his friends and relatives, he censures some of their bad behaviour.

Superstitions and folk proverbs are a way of linking the fantastical world of *The Hobbit* with a reality familiar to children. In this way, for instance, the dwarves ask Gandalf to look for a fourteenth member for the thirteen dwarves' expedition, because thirteen is considered to bring bad luck in the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition. We must remember that eleven apostles sit with Jesus in the Last Supper. They made a group of twelve people, and Judas, who betrayed Jesus Christ, was the thirteenth fellow dinner. As far as proverbs that children can understand are concerned, we can quote several: "third time pays for all" (H, 203; H, 223), "While there's life there's hope" (H, 223) and "out of the frying-pan into the fire" (H, 96; H, 103).

The Hobbit is a story that fits the heroic schema emblematic of the folktale well, since in this novel Bilbo and his companions are trying to advance their interests. The heroes' motivation in Frodo's story has instead the more transcendental significance of a struggle between good and evil in which the hobbit and company establish themselves as the saviours of the free peoples of Middle-earth.

Folktales are often written according to a ternary model, so that an episode, scene or element appears three times. This tripartite distribution of material possibly contributed to the stability of these stories through the centuries, since it facilitates their memorization and increases their rhythm and artistic value. Tolkien parodies this reiterative, typical folktale style in two episodes of *The Hobbit*. The first is when the thirteen dwarves who invite themselves to supper at Bilbo's smial appear consecutively. The second one occurs when the Ring fellowship turns up before Beorn two by two.

In *The Hobbit* Tolkien links the world of childhood to the world of folktales, yielding to a widespread opinion –even in academic contexts– that our author

always fought, particularly in his essay "On Fairy Stories" (1947), according to which fairytales are stories addressed fundamentally to a child audience. Nevertheless, in spite of concessions to younger readers in terms of style, *The Hobbit* is not a novel conceived for children, because of its absence of female characters and its educational values. As Tolkien stated in a letter edited by Humphrey Carpenter (1981: 200), it was not his intention to write a book for young people either, as he himself emphatically asserted: "I am not interested in the 'child' as such, modern or otherwise, and certainly have no intention of meeting him/her half way, or a quarter of the way".

In *The Hobbit* we notice the tendency to anthropomorphize animals, a strategy often used in folktales and in stories created for young readers. The primary examples of this personification of animals are: Beorn, the man who turns into a bear at night, the eagles that help the heroes and the dragon Smaug, who talks to Bilbo and reveals completely human pastimes and vices in the dialogue. The personification of animals makes children feel closer to them and they can also identify with them and project their most primary and socially unacceptable instincts onto them.

One motif reminiscent of works belonging to children's fiction is the treasure map the dwarf Thorin receives from his dying father. The motif of the child who obtains a map from a man on his deathbed appears in *Treasure Island,* when Captain Bill gives young Jim the map of the isle where the pirates' treasure is hidden (cap. II). As Tolkien (1997: 134) wrote in his essay on fairytales, he read this work by Robert Louis Stevenson when he was a child.

In *The Hobbit*, for characters who would play the heroes, Tolkien primarily chose to stay close to the average human mentality by choosing creatures like the hobbits and the dwarves. But in Frodo's story, he introduced heroes of greater social status with a lofty value system, such as elves and men, who in the first story play a more secondary role and have a very trivial narrative treatment. In this sense, it should be remembered that when Bilbo and his fellow travellers arrive in Rivendell they find a group of elves singing a comical song, composed of jocular verses. In *The Hobbit* the elves can be, in addition, easily deceived. When the dwarves are taken prisoner, Bilbo manages to rescue them by taking advantage of a night in which the watchmen are drunk and sleeping, and he hides them in empty barrels he sends down the river all the way to the Lake-town. In *The Lord of the Rings*, in contrast, this race is extolled, and as early as the first paragraphs, we notice that it is venerated by a character as straightforward as Sam Gamgee. On the other hand, men are not as trivialized in *The Hobbit* as are elves, but we cannot find characters among them with Aragorn's mythical stature.

The character of Tom Bombadil that appears in the first paragraphs of *The Fellowship of the Ring* (cap. VI) is an example of how Frodo's story is written according to the rhetoric of children's literature. Tom Bombadil was originally a doll belonging to Michael, one of the author's sons. He had a hat with a feather as does the eponymous character in *The Lord of the Rings*. However, Michael disliked this doll and one day threw it in the toilet. The doll was rescued and Tolkien made it the protagonist of a poem titled "The Adventures of Tom Bombadil,' that was published in *Oxford Magazine* in 1934.

Tom Bombadil is a little taller than the hobbits and has red cheeks. He wears a blue jacket, yellow boots and a hat with a blue feather. This character walks around the Old Forest jumping and happily singing nonsense songs. When he laughs he passes it on to the people around him. One day the hobbits stay at his house which is situated on a hillock of the river Withywindle. His partner is Goldberry, a kind of water sprite.

Tom Bombadil is a character typical of the mythicizing of children's innocence that took place in children's literature written in Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century. He is a character cut off from the reality of Middle-earth. The Ring does not have any influence in his territory. The wise men refuse to have him as an ally against Sauron because, if he were asked to hold the Ring, he would probably end up throwing it away. Nobody in this earth knows who he is, and when asked about his identity, he answers in an equivocal and ambiguous way. Tolkien stated in a letter edited by Carpenter (1981: 174) that "in a mythical Age there must be some enigmas, as there always are. Tom Bombadil is one (intentionally)".

The Hobbit has a simple narrative structure, without major digressions from the main storyline. In spite of the fact that the narrator provides the reader with some information about the context, the story has an acceptable narrative economy. In the plot structure, there is a sense of progression in the level of difficulty of the obstacles Bilbo has to overcome. Three trolls capture him and the dwarves, but they manage to escape easily. These creatures are slow-witted and argue about how they should cook their prisoners. Gandalf convinces them to go on talking until sunrise. When the light of daybreak appears they become petrified and Bilbo and his fellow travellers are able to escape. Two and a half months later, the group is captured by the goblins. When they are about to be killed Gandalf causes a great explosion that allows them to run away. Immediately afterwards, Bilbo runs into Gollum, a creature who eats every type of meat. Thanks to the Ring of invisibility he found in the underground lake, Bilbo is able to avoid Gollum. Later, Bilbo and his companions escape from the wargs pursuing them, thanks to the help from the eagle Gwaihir. A few days later, giant spiders capture the dwarves but Bilbo frees

them with the same Ring. The hobbit rescues the dwarves again when the elves lock them in cells. Nevertheless, all these episodes relate unimportant and unconnected incidents if we compare them to the battle against the dragon Smaug, an episode that brings the narrative action together. In this battle, five armies fight and there are many casualties. Through this whole storyline, we notice that Bilbo's enemies and the dwarves achieve greater importance as the action moves forward and reaches the crucial moment in the battle of the Five Armies.

People who reread *The Hobbit* after reading *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion* will find that the landscape where hobbits and dwarves cheerfully wander about is more sinister than a first reading reveals. They realize that Sauron had settled in Mordor in the days when Bilbo was looking for the treasure of the dragon Smaug, although neither the villain nor his territory are cited. The Shire and the free peoples of Middle-earth were already threatened when Bilbo was peacefully smoking his pipe in his smial.

2. *THE LORD OF THE RINGS* AND THE RHETORIC OF THE MATTER OF BRITAIN

After the first editions of *The Hobbit* had sold out and the *New York Herald Tribune* had awarded its author the prize for the best children's book of the season, the book's editor, Stanley Unwin, wrote to Tolkien asking him to write a sequel to the hobbit story. At first, Tolkien asserted that he had already said everything about the hobbits,[2] but later committed himself to continue their story, informing Stanley Unwin of the difficulty of eliminating the imagery he had poured into a more mythical story like *The Silmarillion*.

Some months later, in a letter to C.A. Furth of Allen & Unwin edited by Carpenter (1981: 34), Tolkien announced that the sequel to *The Hobbit* had strayed from its model: "I have begun again on the sequel to the 'Hobbit' –The Lord of the Rings. It is now flowing along, and getting quite out of hand. I have reached about Chapter VII and progresses towards quite unforeseen goals". In a latter letter also published by Carpenter (1981: 41) he explains the meaning of the expression 'out of hand': "I really meant it was running its course, and forgetting 'children,' and was becoming more terrifying than the Hobbit. It may prove quite unsuitable. It is more 'adult'". In short, *The Lord of the Rings* is not a novel that belongs in the children's genre like its predecessor, but a work of epic romance.

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2. "I cannot think of anything more to say about *Hobbits*. Mr. Baggins seems to have exhibited so fully both the Took and the Baggins side of their nature" (Carpenter 1981: 24).

Perhaps because of the inertia created by the popularity of *The Hobbit* among young people, the novel that followed was very much read by young children. Tolkien was aware of the fact that, unlike its predecessor, the story of Frodo was a work of a mythological vocation addressed to an adult public. In a letter from our author to his aunt Jane Nave included in Carpenter's corpus (1981: 249), he affirms this: "I find that many children become interested, even engrossed, in *The Lord of the Rings*, from about 10 onwards. I think it rather a pity, really".

In *The Lord of the Rings* Tolkien uses a *stilus ornatus*, full of epithets, superlatives, metaphors and descriptive passages. The style of *The Hobbit* comes closer to the concise mode of narration typical of the folktale. One of the reasons for the inharmonious collision of hobbit world with the chivalric one is the fact that Tolkien did not prepare an overall design for *The Lord of the Rings*. The author himself revealed that he did not work with a prefabricated plan for the novel's composition: "This tale grew in the telling, until it became a history of the Great War of the Ring" (I, 8). In the beginning, he wanted to set up a general outline, but, as he explained to Daniel Grotta (1976: 107), "all the things I tried to write ahead of time just to direct myself proved to be no good when I got there. The story was written backwards as well as forward".

In the fantasy of the Ring the comical episodes, typical of the picaresque novel, such as Bilbo's riddle game with Gollum or Frodo's disappearance at his birthday party, alternate with episodes of deep epic emotion, as in the burials of Boromir and the king Théoden. In this novel there coexist songs and poems with a comical tone, like the one Frodo sang in the Prancing Pony with others more significant, as in the poem Aragorn recited on the occasion of the death of King Théoden. Together with names that use the pronunciation of old languages, which bear the weight of a linguistic and literary tradition, such as Eärendil, Anarion, Thrór or Lúthien in the stories of the Ring, there are other names with childlike phonetics like, for instance, Ori, Dori, Nori, Bifur, Bofur, Bombur, Bilbo, Poppy, Dudo or Balbo. The surname Baggins has a funny origin, since at the beginning of the twentieth century *baggins* was an argot form of *snack*, which turns out to be a strange appellative when applied to characters who eat six meals a day.

The initial tone of *The Lord of the Rings* is the same as in *The Hobbit*. In fact, both stories begin with a celebration. The Ring serves as narrative element to bind the two stories. Moreover, our author created another hobbit, Frodo, to play the lead in the new novel. However, as the writing of the work progressed, Tolkien had some troubles in making the most of the literary world of the hobbits. Little by little, he moved away from a funny tone of the story of Bilbo. His style took on a more serious and solemn tone. The name of Frodo, replacing the original, Bingo,

for the hero of this new story, shows its more transcendental tone. In fact, Tolkien was more interested in mythical narration, in lofty style, like the unfinished *The Silmarillion*, than in the story of the hobbits.

The Lord of the Rings is a work with several narrative tones. It begins with a chapter that has a conversational and uninhibited tone. It seems clear that the author had young readers in mind for the first chapter of the work. This is why he invents comical terms such as "eleventy-one" (I, 44) to refer to Bilbo's 111th birthday, or "tweens" (I, 44, 71) to allude to the human period of life from twenty to thirty. This ungrammaticality is a resource sometimes practiced by the narrator of *The Hobbit*, as when Bilbo, irritated, declares: "Confusticate and bebother these dwarves!" (H, 24). In the first few chapters of the work we can find some of the asides that also characterize the narrative voice of *The Hobbit*. So we can read: "That very month was September, and as fine as you could ask" (I, 47). The narrator is sometimes unreliable: "A day or two later a rumour (probably started by the knowledgeable Sam)" (I, 47). This lack of certainty in the narrator's statements indicates that he sometimes identifies with the hobbits Bilbo and Frodo. Nevertheless, the narrator is omniscient: "His real business [Gandalf's] was far more difficult and dangerous, but the Shire-folk knew nothing about it" (I, 48). The narrator comments on the characters' actions: "Hobbits give presents to other people on their own birthdays [...] but it was not a bad system" (I, 50-51). As the plot progresses, the narrative voice becomes more neutral and the narrator disappears behind the characters.

The first of the six books that make up Frodo's story, which is included in the volume *The Fellowship of the Ring*, as we have said before, follows the light and unimportant tone of *The Hobbit* by force of habit. The "Long expected party" is an amplified version of the comical "unexpected party" of Bilbo's story. In the initial chapters of both stories, Gandalf visits a hobbit to announce that he has to leave the Shire and go away. In the first chapters there are many singing poems that include puns. The episode of the encounter with Tom can be left out, from a narrative point of view, because it does not provide the reader with material on the theme of the journey and it will be forgotten after this first meeting. It is perhaps because of this lack of function that the episode has been cut out of the film version of the novel. The majority of incidents in these first paragraphs of the work can likewise be omitted, because they are worked out in a manner irrelevant to the plot's development. On the second day of their journey, the hobbits see a horseman riding a black horse. However, they are able to hide and the horseman passes them. Then they meet Maggot, a farmer who has three ferocious dogs, who was very kind to the hobbits. An old willow captures Frodo, Merry and Pippin

under its roots, but Tom Bombadil rescues them, as he does later when they are enchanted in the Barrow-downs. These episodes are separate from the main purpose of the journey and from the villains Sauron and Saruman. In books II and III of *The Lord of the Rings,* the narration is less episodic, and the different storylines are intertwined and the story becomes more complex. This source of the interconnection is, as Tom Shippey (1992: 143-145) has pointed out, an old pre-novelistic technique, whose major literary achievement is the sequence of prose tales called the *Vulgate Cycle.* The basic pattern at the core of Frodo's story is separation, chance meetings and adventures, which are regulated by maps and a strict chronology. A book as long as *The Lord of the Rings* probably required a narrative technique that drew the material together, since it is presented in a slightly scattered way.

These initial episodic incidents and the long stays in Rivendell and Lothlórien break the narrative rhythm and slow down the plot. This is why Frodo states in a dream: "I am too late. All is lost. I tarried on the way" (II, 402). Gandalf also regrets his lack of promptness when he explains, referring to Caras Galadon: "I tarried there in the ageless time of that land where days bring healing not decay" (II, 135). Although from the beginning of *The Lord of the Rings* the need is stated to destroy the Ring immediately, the plot tension created by means of this method is counteracted by the same development of the story.

In the fantasy of the Ring there are countless characters that appear only once in the three books: Adaldrida Brandybuck, Adalgrim Tuk, Belga Bolger, Belmarie, Brownlock, Elfhild, Éothain, Eradan, Fengel, Ferdibrand Tuk, Freáwine, Rowan and a long list of others. These names do not form a hive of people who interact with one other, but are rather mere references. The same phenomenon occurs with the names of places: Egladil, Entwash Vale, Everholt, the seven rivers of Ossir, Shadowmere, the road of the South, Standelf, etc., which are all mentioned only once. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the names we are not familiar with because of their phonetic proximity. We can think, for instance, of Angrenost, Angrim, Angrist, Angrod, Anguirel; Calacirian, Calacirya, Calaquendi, Calembel, Calenardhon, Calenhad, Calimehtar, Calimmacil, Calion, Calmacil, Calmatéma; or also Caradhras, Caranthir, Caras Galadon, Carcharoth, Carchost, Cardolan; etc. The lexical prolixity of the author becomes paroxysm when he assigns several names to the same character. In this way, Sauron has earned nearly thirty synonyms, namely: Sauron the Deceiver, Lord of the Earth, the Enemy, the Master, the Dark Power, the Dark Lord, Lord of Mordor, Dark Lord of Mordor, the Power of the Black Land, the Black Master, the Black One, Lord of Barad-dûr, Lord of the Dark Tower, the Shadow, the Great Eye, the Red Eye, the Eye of Barad-dûr, the Lidless Eye, the Evil

Eye, the Unnamed, the Nameless, the Nameless One, the Nameless Eye, He, Him, the Lord of the Rings, Lord of the Ring, the Ring Maker and the Black Hand. Aragorn is called at least twelve different names: Elessar, Elfstone, Strider, Telcontar, Isildur's Heir, the Renewer, Longshanks, Wing-foot, etc. The Valar have the following designations: Belain (sing. Balar), the Great Ones, the Mighty, the Powers, the Powers of Arda, the Rulers of Arda, the Powers of the World, the Guardians of the World, the Lords, the Lords of Valinor, the Lords of the West, the Authorities, the Deathless, the Gods and the Enemies beyond the Sea. Ilúvatar, to give one last example, is also known as Eru, Eru Ilúvatar, the One and God. Our author's interest in languages led him to designate the same thing in several ways. Therefore, many towns, characters and places have various names. Sometimes, this verbosity slows down the rhythm of the story.

The practice of mentioning characters with several names is typical of mythical narrations and chivalric literature, where we can find heroic epithets (for example, "El de la barba vellida" or "El que en buena hora cinxó espada," referring to the Cid Campeador). In this way, in the Nordic tradition, Odin is given more than fifty names, some of which refer to events in his adventures.

The abundance of personal and place names in Tolkien's fiction must be placed in the context of his philological vocation, which was often a hindrance rather than an assistance to his novelistic side. He even thought of writing the whole trilogy in Elvish, one of the languages he had invented. It can be said that in Tolkien's fiction the Word comes first and the story follows. The writer states this idea in a similar way when he says in a letter compiled by Carpenter (1981: 219) that "The invention of languages is the foundation. The 'stories' were made rather to provide a world for the languages than the reverse. To me a name comes first and the story follows".

The care taken in the detailed descriptions, the attempt to explain the psychological motifs behind the characters' behaviour, the huge wealth of references that the narrator periodically updates in order to facilitate the reader's understanding, are usages typical of the realistic technique that when applied to a work of romance fantasy such as *The Lord of the Rings* make it less lively and fresh. A stylistic feature that clutters the prose in Frodo's story and makes it more artificial is the practice of creating proper names by using a capital letter for the first letter of common nouns. In this way, we find place names such as the Sea, the City, the Gate, the Door, the Road, the House or the Darkness. The same thing happens with time references such as the Elder Days, the Wandering Days, the Younger Days, or just the Days; or with names of objects such as the One, the Seven, the Nine, etc. The emotive climate of the story rises considerably when the

narrator tries to confer a unique nature on so many beings, objects, places and concepts. Many of the sentences and expressions in *The Lord of the Rings* are saturated with capitals: "The Jewels were coveted by Morgoth the Enemy, who stole them and, after destroying the Trees took them to Middle-earth" (III, 388). Or also: "Samwise the Strong, Hero of the Age" (III, 216) or "O Bilbo the Magnificent" (H, 277), expressions that when applied to a member of the childlike race of the hobbits become ridiculous. We also read: "Mordor draws all wicked things, and the Dark Power was bending all its will to gather them there. The Ring of the Enemy would leave its mark, too, leave him open to the summons. And all folk were whispering then of the new Shadow in the South" (I, 91). The abuse of capitalization, instead of creating the illusion of transcendence, makes the style pompous. What is more, the use of archaic forms such as "ye" and "hath" and the inversion of nouns and adjectives clutters some passages in *The Lord of the Rings*. Nevertheless, the archaic style is not predominant throughout the story, but is used in episodes relating to the world of elves and men –in short, those inspired by epic fantasy (chiefly books II and III).

In the foreword to his mammoth work, *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien asserts that the main flaw of his book is that it is too short (I, 10). The author probably regrets his book's brevity because it is impossible to include his entire narrative universe in just one novel. *The Silmarillion* is an attempt to complete this literary cosmos. Frodo's story is not a novel characterized by brevity or narrative economy. We have not detected any subject to be developed, but rather, we censure the repetition in the use of some narrative formulas and the functional duplicity of some episodes. Our criticism of the book's excessive length can also be justified by the fact that to fully understand Frodo's story, we have to refer to information external to the main body of the narration. *The Lord of the Rings* is indeed a sequel to *The Hobbit* that forms part of the geographical and temporal context developed in *The Silmarillion*. Moreover, it has been found necessary to amend the narrative part of Frodo's story with a foreword, a prologue and several appendices that reduce the narrative's autonomy. In order to know who the Valar are –quoted several times (II, 341; III, 138; III, 304)– we have to refer to appendix A (III, 390). In a similar way, we can read in this appendix: "the Valar laid down their Guardianship and called upon the One" (III, 392). "The One" is Ilúvatar (God). However, this name does not appear in the body of the story. To know the identity of this character we have to read *The Silmarillion*, which was published posthumously by one of the sons of the author. The Valar took part in a battle called *The Battle of the Valar*, which is quoted on just one occasion in Frodo's story (III, 138), but we can only know about it if we read *The Silmarillion*.

Tolkien adopted an attitude that was characteristic of nineteenth-century Romantic authors. When confronted with technological progress and the crisis of traditional human values, he decided to focus his attention on the Middle Ages as a source of mythology and higher religious-social morals. The influence of medieval literary references and the use of the medieval period as a source of inspiration means that Richard West was making no exaggeration when he qualified Tolkien (as well as C.S. Lewis and T.H. White) as a "medieval contemporary author" (West 1975: 9-10, 15).

Tolkien found inspiration in the myths and sagas from the past, but never claimed any patent of originality. In this way, he followed the creative tradition of Antoni Gaudí, for whom originality consisted of revisiting origins. It is necessary to diminish the importance of Tolkien's creative capacity, because many small incidents in the novels are chiefly inspired by medieval works. We must remember, for instance, the episode of the Arkenstone, the precious stone that Bilbo steals from the dragon Smaug's treasure. This episode is reminiscent of the cup stolen from the dragon and handed over to the king in *Beowulf*. The search for literary models turned Tolkien into an artist who recreated more than created; who imitated more than invented. Tolkien reformulated the narrative materials from tradition, although sometimes he did not manage to fully integrate his narrative schemas.

In the Middle Ages Tolkien found a stable period with historical and cultural order. In it, he could take refuge from modern society, which was changing at a breakneck pace. In the study of ancient languages, which, not being alive, do not change, Tolkien found a predictable, coherent world that was subject to known rules. He also felt secure in the literary gatherings of the Inklings, a safe environment with friends who shared his liking for centenary traditions. There are also religious reasons for our writer's interest in the Middle Ages. In this period, religious faith had possibly taken deeper root in people's minds and everyday activities, in their rites and daily tasks, than in the materialistic twentieth century.

The author of the fantasy of Middle-earth consciously distanced himself from the literary trends of his time. His work neither develops nor updates the aesthetic criteria of the writers who immediately preceded him, nor does it follow the main currents of his contemporaries. The most important references our author makes are to medieval works. It is significant, to that effect, that in the foreword as well as in the prologue to *The Lord of the Rings* Tolkien avoids using the term *novel* to refer to the work he is introducing. This word began to be used in a generalized way after 1840. Before this date, the designation *romance* was more typical. So, to refer to *The Lord of the Rings* Tolkien speaks about *tale, book, history, sequel to The Hobbit, story, mythology and legends*, but never *novel*. He never applied this label

to his literary works in his letters. Besides, in one of them, dated in October 1971, he states that he is not worried about the situation of the English novel because his "work is *not* a 'novel,' but an 'heroic romance' a much older and quite different variety of literature" (Carpenter 1981: 414). Tolkien also separated voluntarily from the artistic tendencies of his time when he created an imaginative world from medieval elements and to describe it he forced the syntax with the use of archaic inversions in the passages relating to chivalric nobility, particularly in the dialogues[3].

3. CONCLUSIONS

In *The Lord of the Rings* Tolkien incorporated a chivalric plot with a quest that is typically folkloric in its conventions and characters. As previously stated, this combination is not a seamless one. So, the main plot –the destruction of the Ring– is a derivative of the plot involving the war against Sauron's armies. Characters in *The Lord of the Rings* are more serious and transcendental than they are in *The Hobbit*. Frodo's mission is much more important than Bilbo's and involves a greater degree of personal sacrifice. In a parallel process, the narrative form itself becomes more serious. In *The Lord of the Rings*, the narrator exaggerates his descriptions and he risks making meaningless expressions. The chapters are longer in Frodo's story, and the narrative tension increases; the characters speak with heightened rhetoric, etc.

Tolkien's fantasy has sipped from the sources of epic fantasy and children's fiction. These genres have an enormous semiotic potential, thanks to the fact that they incorporate ancestral myths and signs. These literary forms use symbols that have a universal validity. This is why they have easily survived history. Because of this development of traditional literary forms, we can apply to Tolkien the popular saying according to which mediocre writers imitate, and good ones copy.

The use of popular structures and narrative motifs in Tolkien's fiction contributes to appreciation among its readers, who are familiar with the heroic pattern: the hero embarks on quests, enters a wood full of dangers, receives the help of supernatural auxiliaries, and defeats villains of formidable strength. The chivalric novel has prepared the reader for the ceremonious rituals, the magnificent forms of verbal expression, the moral chivalric code, the *anagnórisis*, etc. Tolkien's fiction rewards the reader who is familiar with the popular narratives that inspire the structure of its literary fantasy.

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3. So, we can read expressions of this kind: "*Mourn not overmuch! Mighty was the fallen, meet was his ending. When his mound is raised, women then shall weep. War now calls us!*" (III, 145) or "As a father you were to me, for a little while" (III, 314).

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RATER DISCREPANCY IN THE SPANISH UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE EXAMINATION

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ABSTRACT. *This study investigated the level of inter-rater and intra-rater reliability of thirty-two raters in the evaluation of the composition subtest of the English Test (ET) in the Spanish University Entrance Examination (SUEE). Raters were asked to evaluate ten compositions holistically on two different scheduled data collection sessions (PRE and POST). The results show that although there are no significant differences between the holistic PRE and POST scores, there exists a substantial discrepancy across raters in relation to consistency and harshness of scoring. On the contrary, results reveal that, in general, raters are self-consistent in the evaluation of compositions. On the basis of these results, and given the way SUEE scores will affect the career of a candidate, it is believed that much more emphasis should be placed on establishing an acceptable level of inter-rater reliability in order to ensure that SUEE results are as fair and consistent as possible.*

It is well established that some raters are consistently harsher in their assessment of a candidate's ability than others […] From the point of view of the candidate, it becomes a matter of luck whether they are assessed by particular raters. A candidate may draw the most lenient member of the rating team and benefit as a result or, alternatively, s/he may draw the harshest member and may suffer the consequences of this. (Wigglesworth 1993: 305).

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, direct tests of writing have become standard practice for the assessment of second language (L2) writing abilities (Shohamy 1995; Tedick 1998). According to Cumming (1997), the writing of expository or narrative

compositions has now come to be considered an important indicator of students' English proficiency in second language academic contexts. From a communicative perspective to language instruction, compositions are considered to be realistic and communicative tasks. In fact, validity and good impact on teaching are some of the main advantages attributed to direct tests of writing such as compositions (Moss 1994).

At the same time, among different methods of evaluating compositions, holistic assessment has gained wide acceptance in second language testing. This method requires raters to make a single, global judgement based on the overall impression the text produces (Nagy *et al* 1988). However, its reliance on human interpretation has made holistic scoring a major area of controversy in writing assessment (Charney 1984; Cumming *et al* 2001).

The intrinsic weakness of direct tests of writing, therefore, lies in the fact that at all stages they are a wholly human endeavour (Hamp-Lyons 1990). This makes objective assessment of compositions very difficult. Such tests require subjective evaluations. Thus, most research emphasis has been placed on establishing the reliability of scoring among raters (i.e. inter-rater reliability) in order to show that compositions can be scored as fairly and consistently as possible (Weigle 1994; North and Schneider 1998; Lumley 2002).

However, fluctuations in scores associated with rater factors are extensive (Huot 1990; Lumley and McNamara 1995; Weigle 1998; Gamaroff 2000; Kondo-Brown 2002; Amengual 2003; 2004). Furthermore, raters are recognised to be one of the main sources of measurement error in assessing a candidate's performance (Milanovic *et al* 1996; Herrera 2001). To overcome the problem of rater reliability, many researchers advocate a further refining of the descriptive evaluative criteria and the procedures for scoring by means of training raters and maintaining consistent agreement among those raters (i.e. inter-rater reliability).

Rater reliability studies have not only addressed the issue of inter-rater reliability or agreement between different raters but also on intra-rater reliability or agreement between the same rater on the ratings assigned to compositions. Since trying to reconcile raters' subjectivity with objective precision seems extremely difficult to achieve, rater reliability has been defined as the greatest bugbear in assessment (Moss 1994; Gamaroff 2000).

Despite rater reliability concerns, the qualities and current status of written composition in evaluation practices has remained central to the English Test (ET) in the Spanish University Entrance Examinations (SUEE). Therefore, holistically oriented composition tasks are a conventional measure used to assess L2 writing in the ET. But are ET scores as reliable as they should be? This is one of the main

questions we should ask ourselves given the effect of those scores on students' lives and the social consequences derived from them. If we are to draw conclusions on the basis of the uses and interpretations of ET scores (Messick 1992) one of our major professional concerns should be to ensure that those scores are fair and, therefore, reasonably reliable (ILTA 2000; Alderson and Banerjee 2001).

1.1. THE TEST

The testing context for this study is the composition subtest of the English Test (ET) in the Spanish University Entrance Examination (SUEE). The ET is taken as a screening norm-referenced test to enter a Spanish university and according to Herrera (1999: 90) its main aim is to discriminate as reliably as possible. Therefore, the ET is expected to rank students according to their proficiency and spread students out into a normal distribution so that their performances may be compared.

The ET consists of four or five different subtests based on a reading passage. Although there might be some slight variations in the design of the ET across Spanish universities, the ET includes a composition subtest where students are required to perform a brief composition task (e.g. about 150 words) on the students' choice between two prompts related to the subject matter of the initial reading passage. The time allowed for the total completion of the ET cannot exceed an hour and a half.

Owing to practical obstacles such as the limited time that raters can devote to the marking of the ET, compositions are rated impressionistically by individual raters. A common set of evaluative criteria is used by raters but they are so flexible and open that "each rater comes to rely on his own method" (Vaughan 1991: 121).

Raters are expected to score examinations within the first five days after the date of the ET. They are qualified teachers working either at the University or in Secondary Education. However, they have not received any training for large scale-assessment.

Even so very little is known about the level of inter-rater reliability in the evaluation of compositions in the ET. This is a very strange and worrisome state of affairs given the way SUEE results will affect students who want to gain entrance to the faculty of their choice.

2. PURPOSE

The central purpose of this study is to investigate the degree to which differences among raters (i.e. inter-rater reliability) exist in the composition scores

of the ET. It also explores differences in rater consistency within the same rater (i.e. intra-rater reliability). To investigate this latter point we will use a pre- and post- design. Specifically, the following research questions were posed:

1. What level of agreement exists among all raters in relation to the total composition scores (i.e. inter-rater reliability)?

2. Is there a significant difference between the average total composition scores assigned by raters?

3. What level of agreement exists within the same rater on different occasions (PRE and POST) (i.e. intra-rater reliability)?

3. METHOD

3.1. SUBJECTS

Thirty-two raters participated in this study. In selecting the raters, consideration was given to their professional background and experience in marking the SUEE compositions. All of them had participated in previous SUEE administrations and were qualified University and Secondary Education teachers. Following the SUEE policy, none of the raters had followed any training program for evaluating ESL compositions.

3.2. MATERIALS

Ten compositions were randomly selected from a pool of 136 compositions from a previous administration of the SUEE, all of them written on the same prompt for the sake of comparability. The reading passage which formed the basis of the composition was a brief description of the city of London. The actual essay topic was *Write a composition of 100-150 words on the following topic: a holiday in London mentioning the places you would visit and why.* Each of the original compositions was numbered from 1 to 10. They were then photocopied and given to each rater in exactly the same order, so as to avoid any effect for order of presentation on marking behaviour.

3.3. PROCEDURES

All raters took part in two individually scheduled data collection sessions, as follows:

1) One in February 2000 (PRE).

2) One in May 2000 (POST).

These data collection sessions are described briefly below.

a. *PRE*: Raters were asked to score the same 10 SUEE essays holistically on a scale from 1 to 10 (whole numbers only) in the same prescribed order of presentation. No specific marking criteria were given. The raters were asked to do the task as if they were evaluating the ET compositions for the SUEE. Raters took from 1 to 2 weeks to correct the essays.

b. *POST*: Three months later, all raters were given the same set of ten compositions they had rated in the PRE data collection session although they were not informed of this fact. In fact, some raters did not remember having read the essays before. Raters were again required to assign a holistic score to the compositions on the same scale (from 1 to 10, whole numbers only). It is important to note that this time compositions had been arranged in a different random order of presentation, so as to avoid contamination of previous results. Raters were then asked to rate the compositions in the same prescribed order. The order of presentation for the essays in the PRE and POST data collection sessions was the following:

PRE: C1   C2   C3   C4   C5   C6   C7   C8   C9   C10
POST: C10 C8   C3   C7   C9   C5   C2   C1   C6   C4
Cn refers to composition 1, composition 2…etc.

Composition results were collected within one to two weeks after the beginning of the POST collection session. The specific purposes and details of this research were not revealed until all the ratings had been completed.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results for the two research questions listed earlier are reported below:

4.1. ARE HOLISTIC SCORES REASONABLY RELIABLE?

In order to answer the first research question, a simple comparison was firstly made of the holistic scores awarded by the 32 raters to compositions in the PRE and POST sessions respectively. Table 1 below summarises the descriptive statistics obtained:

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard deviation
Holistic-PRE	32	4.10	2.90	7.00	4.85	1.08
Holistic-POST	32	2.80	2.80	5.60	4.55	0.67

Table 1. *Descriptive statistics: Holistic scores PRE and POST.*

As it can be seen from the data, the mean global scores is found to be slightly higher in the PRE ($\overline{x}$ = 4.85) than in the POST ($\overline{x}$ = 4.55) session. However, there is far more variability among raters in the PRE scores (SD = 1.08) than in the POST scores (SD = 0.67), as indicated by the higher standard deviation figure in the PRE session. In other words, scores tend to be less homogeneous and therefore less consistent in the PRE than in the POST session. The range of scores is also wider in the PRE (4.10) than in the POST (2.80).

It should be stressed here that in the context of the SUEE a difference of 3 and 4 points across compositions on a 10-point scale might be considered rather extreme, especially if we consider the dramatic consequences those results might have on students' lives, as we have pointed out above.

The first correlation statistic employed in this study was the standard parametric Pearson correlation which was calculated for the average composition totals (PRE and POST) assigned by raters (Table 2). Although correlations were found to be significant at the 0.01 probability level, the Pearson correlation figure (*r* = 0.508), indicates that, in general, the amount of agreement among raters is rather low.

Pearson		Holistic PRE	Holistic POST
Holistic PRE	Correlation coefficient Sig. (unilateral)	1.000	0.508**
Holistic POST	Correlation coefficient Sig. (unilateral)	0.508**	1.000

** p < 0.01 (unilateral).

Table 2. *Holistic scores correlations (PRE and POST).*

Reliability was further addressed by exploring the intra-class correlation to determine the degree of relationship of overall scores among raters. Table 3 below

shows the intra-class correlation estimate for the essay totals of all raters in both occasions (PRE and POST). The figure obtained here ($\rho_I = 0.6556$), which is a truer measure of actual agreement than the Pearson correlation figure, is slightly more encouraging. However, following Fleiss[1] criteria (1986), an intra-class correlation of 0.6556 is still rather modest overall. On the basis of these correlation figures (both r and ρ_I), it seems that the overall level of agreement among raters is not particularly strong. Furthermore, according to Hatch and Lazaraton (1991: 534) a correlation lower than 0.75 in cases like this one where ratings were given without any predetermined evaluative criteria or training would indicate that raters had applied dramatically different evaluative criteria.

Consistency level
Intra-class correlation mean = 0.6556
95.00% C.I.: Lower = 0.2944 Upper = 0.8319
F= 2.9033 DF = (31, 31, 0) Sig. = 0.0020 (Test value = 0.0000)
Reliability Coefficient
N of cases = 32
α = 0.6556

Table 3. *Intra-class correlations for the composition totals (PRE and POST) of all raters.*

4.2. Is there a significant difference between the average composition scores assigned by raters on both occasions (PRE and POST)?

A paired t test on the differences between the average composition PRE and POST totals was carried out to examine this question. The results, as shown in Table 4 below, indicate that there are not significant differences between the holistic PRE and POST scores ($t = 1.84$, $p = 0.075$). Thus, despite the wide spread of scores around the mean (SD = 9.1) the differences between the average global ratings are not significant. However, it is worth noting that this result is on the threshold of significance at the 0.05 probability level. This suggests that this result may be attributable, in part, to the small size of the data set.

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1. According to Fleiss criteria (1986) a correlation <0.40 indicates a low level of agreement; a correlation of 0.41-0.75 indicates a regular-good level of agreement and a correlation of 0.76-1.00 indicates a clearly high level of agreement.

	Differences							
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Confidence 95% Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig.
				Lower	Upper			
Pair HPRE-HPOST	2.9688	9.10684	1.60988	– 0.314	6.2521	1.844	31	0.075

*HPRE and HPOST refer to Holistic PRE scores and holistic POST scores respectively.

Table 4. *T-Tests for paired samples.*

4.3. WHAT LEVEL OF AGREEMENT EXISTS BETWEEN THE SAME RATERS ON PRE AND POST SCORES?

Table 5 shows the frequencies of point differences between PRE and POST scores for each rater. As it can be seen from the table, the majority of raters' POST scores (n = 24) were within 0 and 1 points of their corresponding PRE scores. Furthermore, the average difference between the PRE and POST scores of all raters was less than one point (0.7). These data show that, in general, the level of agreement between the same raters on both occasions (PRE and POST) is quite high. That is to say, raters seem to be self-consistent, the most crucial quality in a rater according to Wiseman (1949) and Oller (1979).

Points \ Raters	0	1	2	3	4	Total Mean difference (PRE-POST)
R1		1				1.8
R2		1				0.5
R3		1				1.9
R4	1					0.7
R5	1					-0.3*
R6	1					0.9
R7	1					-2
R8				1		-0.4

R9		1				0.6
R10		1				0.4
R11				1		-0.5
R12		1				0.7
R13		1				0.1
R14	1					0.6
R15			1			-0.8
R16	1					-0.2
R17			1			-0.3
R18		1				1.7
R19	1					0.8
R20		1				1.6
R21		1				1.3
R22		1				-1
R23					1	-0.4
R24	1					0.1
R25		1				-0.3
R26		1				-0.4
R27			1			1.9
R28		1				-0.2
R29				1		-0.2
R30	1					0.3
R31	1					0.7
R32			1			-0.1
TOTAL	10	14	4	3	1	23.7

* The negative sign is due to the fact that scores were higher in the PRE than in the POST session.

Table 5. *Point differences between PRE and POST ratings of compositions.*

However, four raters (R15, R17, R27 and R32) were identified as having a PRE-POST rating difference of 2 points on a 10-point scale and four other different raters registered a PRE-POST rating difference of three and four points (R8, R11 R29 and R23) on the same scale. R23, in particular, was the less consistent since her scores were four points away from the PRE scores on the same compositions. This latter fact is a cause for concern in the context of the SUEE where the ET scores will

provide a qualification that will affect the career of a candidate, as it has already been mentioned above.

A scatterplot was used here to help identify the behaviour of each rater in relation to the mean. From the shape and slope of the ellipse, we can see that there is some evidence of a positive relationship between the PRE and POST scores. That is, as the candidates' scores on PRE increase so do their scores on POST.

However, the diagram also reveals certain dispersion of scores around the mean. This indicates some discrepancies in the behaviour of raters between the PRE and POST scores. R27 and R13 are identified as *outliers*. R27 seems to be extremely lenient since his average score is above 7 points on a 10-point scale. R13, on the contrary, seems to be extremely harsh since her average score is lower than 3 points on the same scale. An estimate of the reliability and consistency of the rater's scores would, perhaps, be useful in determining whether the rater should participate satisfactorily on future SUEE rating process occasions.
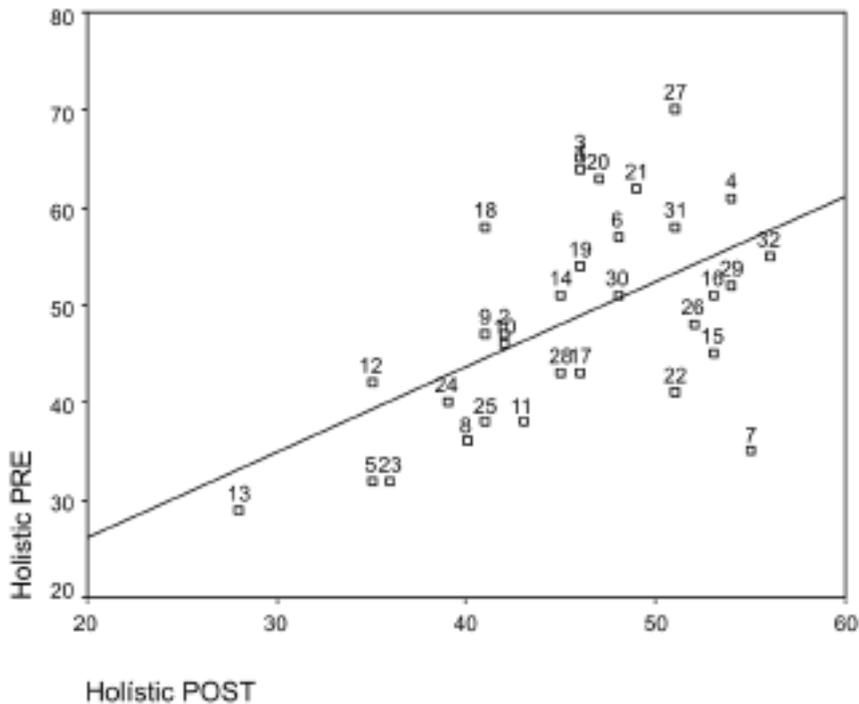
Figure 1. *Scatterplot of PRE and POST holistic scores.*

5. CONCLUSION

While both the Pearson correlations and the intra-class correlations for the composition totals of all raters are all significant at the 0.01 probability level (see Tables 2 and 3), they are still rather modest overall. This suggests that the level of agreement among raters is not particularly strong. Thus, it seems that raters have different rating styles and can greatly differ in their assessment of compositions.

The t test results (see Table 4) also reveal that there are no significant differences between the holistic PRE and POST scores. However, any conclusions drawn from these results must be regarded with caution since individual differences among raters are ironed out in the averaging process. In fact, the wide range of scores among compositions (see Table 1) indicate that there are important differences in the behaviour of raters in relation to consistency and harshness of scoring. The variability of scores across raters that has been discovered in this study should lead us to call into question the practice adopted by the SUEE of basing judgements of candidates on single ratings, particularly if we consider the dramatic personal consequences for students, who may be unfairly deprived of gaining entry to the faculty of his/her choice, which depends on these results.

With regard to intra-rater reliability, it is interesting to note that the level of agreement of each rater on both occasions (PRE and POST) is quite high. Despite some exceptions, it seems that raters, in general, are internally consistent. But then, there are still some outliers or extreme cases where "we cannot be sure that the rater will not mark differently before breakfast (a good or bad one) than after." (Gamaroff 2000: 45).

Although it is evident from the data that the rating process is complex, it also seems clear that it is difficult to derive consistent results from untrained raters due to the large randomness associated with their scores (Weigle 1994). If reliability of scores concerns us and we discover that our rating behaviour is fairly inconsistent we should take steps to redress this situation. Training raters may be a good solution to modify and improve evaluation practices. Failing that, the traditional technique of double ratings with an averaging of raw scores seems amply justified (Wigglesworth 1993; Weigle 1994; Lumley and McNamara 1995). However, there is no room for this assessment technique in the context of the SUEE due to the increase in economic costs involved in the process. A more feasible alternative which requires little additional time and expense would include, for example, the refinement of the evaluation criteria so as to modify rater expectations and raise awareness of the need for inter-rater agreement.

The results and conclusions of this study are naturally tentative. However, it is hoped that this research will allow us to reconsider the central importance of rater consistency in evaluation marking and can serve as a model for further research on the design of techniques addressed to eliminate undue influences on scores.

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"WILL YOU TO MY DISCOURSE VOUCHSAFE AN EARE?":[1]
WOMEN DRAMATISTS' NEGOTIATION OF GENDER AND GENRE
ON THE PUBLIC STAGE AROUND 1700

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ABSTRACT. *Despite the growing influence of women in the theatrical world during the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century, women dramatists working for the public stage were accused of lascivious behaviour, as a result of the public setting of the playhouse in which their self-expression could be heard. In their tragedies* The Royal Mischief *(1696),* The Fatal Friendship *(1698) and* Antiochus the Great; or, The Final Relapse *(1701) the female dramatists Mary Delarivier Manley, Catherine Trotter and Jane Wiseman negotiated female utterance in several ways. Moreover, these women dramatists' legitimisation of woman's public voice and their own public theatrical voices was accompanied by their revision of tragic generic conventions concerning error, closure, transgression and transcendence. In these respects these women playwrights contributed to processes of cultural transformation with regard to gender and genre.*

1.

The admittance of female actresses to the English public stage in 1660 was followed by a period in which women started to become involved with writing for the public theatre:[2] Frances Boothby wrote a tragicomedy, *Marcelia; or the*

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1. The quotation is taken from Elizabeth Polwhele's tragedy *The Faithful Virgins* (act I), a play which was performed on the London public stage by 1670, "apoynted to be acted by the dukes Company of Actors" (f.49). MS. Rawls Poet. 195. Ff. 49-78. The Bodleian Library.

2. There is some dispute about the exact date when the first English actress performed on the public stage; however, on the basis of evidence from Pepys' diary, historians agree that this date could be December 8, 1660, when an as yet unidentified woman played the role of Desdemona in a production of *Othello, the Moor of Venice*. See Beate Braun 1995: 110-114.

Treacherous Friend for the public stage by 1669, and Elizabeth Polwhele and Aphra Behn had plays performed by the early 1670s.[3] However, since Boothby only wrote one tragicomedy, and since Polwhele already ceased her activities as female playwright by 1671, for a long time Aphra Behn was the only woman writing plays for public performance.[4]

Some tragedies were written by women between 1678 and the 1690s, but these were specifically presented as drama that was not meant to be staged. Anne Lee Wharton wrote *Love's Martyr, or Witt above Crowns* (1688), which was intended as closet drama, that is, a play designed for private reading. The tragedy is addressed to Mrs Mary Howe, being embedded in the traditions of female address, for Wharton (1685: A1v) concludes that her address to Mrs Howe "cannot aspire to the name of dedication". Wharton also claims that the play was "never deserved nor was ever designed to be publick" Likewise, Anne Finch wrote *The Triumph of Love and Innocence* (1688) as a play which was not meant for public staging.

According to some historians, the fact that by the 1680s women writers resorted again to closet drama can be explained by the disappearance of direct patronage and support of the public theatre by the monarchy. While James II shared his brother's passion for the theatre, the troubled years of his reign from 1685 to 1688 saw a general reduction of his engagement with theatrical activity (Howe 1992: 6-8). The shift from an aristocratic to a bourgeois public theatre may have made it more difficult for respectable, educated women to enter the stage as writers, for Elizabeth Polwhele and Aphra Behn could use their Royalist connections as routes of access.[5] However, it may well be the case that this generation of women playwrights were discouraged from having their plays staged because the public

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3. The first page of the manuscript provides evidence that Polwhele's *The Faithfull Virgins* was performed on the public London stage: "This tragedy apoynted to be acted by the dukes Company of Actors" (f.49). However, the date of *The Faithfull Virgins* cannot be determined specifically. Harbage's *Annals* (1964) state that the play was written and performed sometime between 1661 and 1663. According to Milhous and Hume (1977: 41), performance of the play probably took place around 1670 even if "the author was probably quite young".

4. As Marta Straznicky (1997: 703) argues, "one of the more striking ironies of English dramatic history" is that "the first era to have women become professional playwrights was also the first to foster a thoroughly privatized closet drama".

5. Polwhele, for instance, dedicated her comedy *The Frolicks* to prince Rupert, who may "spurn" her comedy "into nothing, if in anything it can offend you" (Milhous and Hume 1977: 57). Prince Rupert was an old friend and fellow cavalier exile of Thomas Killigrew, principal owner and manager of the King's Company, and Rupert's mistress was "the beautiful Margaret Hughes (or Hewes), who acted major roles for the King's Company from 1668 to Spring 1670" (Milhous and Hume 1977: 35). Therefore, Polwhele dedicated her work to a person who had good connections in the theatre world, and who could help her play on to the stage. Although Polwhele appears to have had a production of her third play in mind, there is no record of its performance.

theatre was not respectable. Some actresses, such as Nell Gwynn, Frances Knight, Elizabeth Barry and Elizabeth Boutel, were notorious for their extramarital affairs (Howe 1992: 34), and had the reputation of being almost prostitutes: "Chestnut-man'd Boutel whom all the Town F-ks" (Pearson 1988: 27).

Furthermore, after the performance actresses were literally sexually available to the male spectators in exchange for money. Men could easily go behind the scenes where the girls were undressing, the actresses not being offered protection against male assault.[6] Male visitors would often pay to "chat with the actresses back-stage" (Bevis 1988: 34), thus offering money in return for intimacy with the actresses in the same way as they would pay prostitutes for sexual services. This practice was often referred to in the epilogues of Restoration plays. For example, in the epilogue of Dryden's *Tyrannick Love* (1670: K1v) the actress Nell Gwyn alludes to the fact that the gentlemen in the audience will soon come to see her backstage to satisfy their lust: "Gentlemen, make haste to me,/ I 'm sure ere long to have your company". In the epilogue of Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens* (1677: L2v) even more explicit references are made to the backstage sexual intercourse with male members of the audience: "Our women who adorn each Play,/Bred at our Cost, become at length your prey". Because the theatre was generally associated with promiscuity, women dramatists were often accused of lasciviousness as well, Aphra Behn being an example in case.[7]

Despite an earlier decline in the number of women writing for the public stage, it is an undeniable fact that the mid 1690s were marked by an explosion of plays by women that were presented in the public theatres. As Allardyce Nicholl (1992: 75) states, from December 1695 to December 1696 "audiences saw no less than five new plays by female writers […] Mrs Trotter's *Agnes de Castro*, Mrs Manley's *The Lost Lover* and *The Royal Mischief*, and Mrs Pix's *Ibrahim* and *The Spanish Wives*". In subsequent years, apart from Mary Pix, Delarivier Manley and Catherine Trotter, who wrote several other plays for the public stage, Susannah Centlivre and Jane Wiseman had tragedies and comedies performed in the public theatres. The enormous output of plays by women for the stage seems to have resulted from women's increasing influence as theatre managers by 1695. In March of that year a conflict over wages led the leading actors Thomas Betterton, Elizabeth Barry, Anne Bracegirdle, Mrs Bowman and Mrs Leigh to break away from the United Company, securing a license

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6. See Howe (1992: 33): "regulations against backstage visitors were ineffectual".

7. In Prior's "A satyr on the Modern Translators" (1684), printed in *Money Masters all Things: or, Sartirical Poems* (1698: 119-20), Behn was depicted as a prostitute: "Then let her from the next inconstant lover,/ take a new copy for a second Rover/ describe the cunning of a jilting whore,/ From the ill arts herself has us'd before".

to start their own company, Betterton's Company, in which the four actresses gained shares (Howe 1992: 29). The fact that Catherine Trotter's and Delarivier Manley's plays were performed by Betterton's company suggests a relationship between the influence of the women actresses in theatre management and the emergence of women's plays on the public stage.[8] Despite this growing influence of women in the theatrical world during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, women dramatists working for the public stage ran the risk of being accused of lascivious behaviour. Writers of conduct books in late seventeenth-century England appear to have agreed on the quality that represented ideal femininity: modesty in speech. In *The Ladies Calling* (1673), Richard Allestree (1985: 43) commands that "a woman's tongue should indeed be like the imaginary music of spheres, sweet and charming, but not to be heard at a distance"; in other words, woman's voice should not be too emphatically present. Likewise, in *The Ladies Dictionary* (1694), Robert Codrington (1985: 40) argues: "I could content myself to wish in young gentlewomen those three perfections which Socrates desired in his disciples: discretion, silence and modesty". Whereas a woman's silence was generally seen as a mark of proper feminine submissiveness and chastity, woman's speech was commonly associated with lewd conduct. In view of the dominant idea that " It suits not with her honour for a young woman to be prolocutor" (Brathwaite 1631: Tt1r-v), a woman whose voice could be heard in public would often be accused of promiscuity.

Obviously, women dramatists' voices were audible in the public setting of the theatre in the form of the monologues and dialogues that they had written and that were frequently spoken by reputably loose women directly addressing a real audience: the actresses on stage. While the voice of the female dramatist was not directly audible on the Restoration public stage,[9] the epilogue to Aphra Behn's tragedy *Abdelazer, or the Moor's Revenge* (1677) indicates that the discourse expressed by the actress was often linked to the female playwright's voice: the actress impersonating Miss Ariell is presented as the defender of Behn the dramatist and the representative of the playwright's voice and views: "And for our Poetess will intercede".

The question arises how these women dramatists negotiated their own public voice as women dramatists in the light of the common equation of female self-expression with promiscuity, and in view of the reputation of their mouthpieces,

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8. In *Three Augustan Women Playwrights* Constance Clark (1986: 332) contends that these plays by the new generation of women writers were part of mainstream theatre.

9. As Ros Ballaster (1996: 268) claims: "the one figure who is emphatically *not* physically present on the stage in performance is the author herself, who appoints surrogates in the shape of actors to present prologues and epilogues on her behalf".

the actresses, as sexually loose. Did these women dramatists endorse the dominant ideal of feminine silence in their plays as the means to cloak their own transgressive public voices; or, rather, did they seek to legitimise female utterance?

In this paper I will look at the ways in which women dramatists around 1700 negotiated their assumption of public theatrical discourse. As I hope to demonstrate through a reading of the tragedies *The Royal Mischief* (1696) by Delarivier Manley[10], Catherine Trotter's *The Fatal Friendship* (1698) and Jane Wiseman's *Antiochus the Great; or, The Final Relapse* (1701)[11] these women dramatists implicitly justified female self-expression by pointing out the social ideal of feminine silence as a tool through which men sexually manipulate and oppress the female sex, and by depicting female self-expression as an empowering quality for women through which they may gain control over their own lives. Moreover, these women dramatists legitimised female public discourse by associating women's speech with sexual and moral virtue in contrast with men's dishonourable words.

Furthermore, as I will show in the second part of my paper, these dramatists' legitimisation of women's public voice and their own public theatrical voices entailed a reconstruction of generic conventions. I will point out how these women playwrights' subversion of the common ideas about female speech is accompanied by a reconstruction of the current tragic codes of error, closure, transcendence and transgression. Through this analysis of women dramatists' contribution to transformations of gender and genre, I aim to point to the significant role played by these "female wits" in the processes of cultural change taking place during the early years of the long eighteenth century.

2.

A close look at tragedies by Delarivier Manley, Catherine Trotter and Jane Wiseman reveals that women dramatists writing for the public stage around 1700 deconstructed and challenged rather than supported the dominant ideology of feminine silence. Catherine Trotter's *The Fatal Friendship* (1698) exposes the common association between female self-expression and lasciviousness as the instrument through which men seek to oppress the female sex.[12] In her tragedy the

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10. Manley had an argument with the Drury Lane Company over the production of this play. This had prompted her to offer the play to Betterton at Lincoln's Inn Fields. As a result of her action, she was satirised by the Drury Lane actors in *The Female Wits* (1696). See Marcie Frank (2003: 121).

11. Wiseman's tragedy was performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in November 1701, but printed in 1702. See Emmett L. Avery (1960: 16).

12. As Anne Kelley (2002: 11) has suggested, critics have generally overlooked the "radical feminocentrism".

heroine Felicia dares to speak up against her brother who wants to marry her off to the old Count Roquelaure, not being aware of his sister's secret marriage to the Count's son, Gramont. When Felicia dares to contradict her brother Bellgard as far as her consent to marriage is concerned, Bellgard initially responds to this defiance of his power by unjustly labelling his chaste and legally wedded sister a prostitute: "No, strumpet, he but served his lust with thee/Too wise to marry where he found no virtue" (III, ii). As the scene indicates, Bellgard seeks to regain his control over his sister and exact her obedience by interpreting her assertive speeches as signs of promiscuity. Furthermore, Trotter links her female characters' silence to their submission to the male sex. For instance, at first Felicia dares not confess her secret marriage to Gramont to her brother out of fear of the anger that she may provoke through her disobedient, unfeminine sexual agency: "Should I confess my marriage?/ Oh no, his fiery temper could not brook it" (I, i).

While Trotter clearly exposes the connection between woman's silence and a man's dominance over her, Wiseman implies that a woman who fails to speak up is rendered powerless. When her virtuous heroine Berenice is caught in a private interview with her former betrothed Ormades in order to reject his passion for her, she will not plead her innocence and faithfulness to her husband in order to defend her honour: "Let those whose Vertue stands in need of Art,/ Flie to such mean Designs to inhance their Merit;/ Mine needs no Floss; for Heaven and these can tell/ How inblamable I stand" (IV, i). However, Berenice's refutation of an assertive speech of self-defence leads to her suffering and further oppression by her husband Antiochus: Antiochus slays the virtuous Ormades and has Berenice confined.

Manley makes a similar point, creating the impression that a woman is disempowered by her silence. Bassima, who believes that "speaking is a crime" (III, i) fails to defend her own virtue when her husband Levan Dadian, Prince of Colchis, unjustly suspects her of adultery. Consequently, she is imprisoned and has her eyes put out. By contrast, the other female character, Homais, is shown to have more control over her fate as a result of her outspokenness. She manages to direct the events of the plot throughout the play. Her eloquence secures support from the armed forces, who defect to her side, and who submit to her orders, as is revealed by their words: "Your orders shall be straight obeyed" (V, i).

While Manley, Trotter and Wiseman challenge the social idealisation of feminine voicelessness by identifying woman's silence with oppression, they also deconstruct the common equation of female silence with virtue and obedience as well as undermine the association of woman's words with wantonness. In *The Fatal Friendship* a woman's silence is represented as a sign of disobedience and as concealing sexual agency. The widow Lamira, whose husband had laid down in his

will that his wife would lose all her possessions if she were to remarry, will not publicise her marriage to Gramont in order to escape poverty. Her silence about her wedding is not only shown to be the result of men's oppression of women, but also covers up her acts of sexual independence and disobedience to her husband's will. Disconnecting woman's silence from the notions of obedience and sexual passivity, at the same time Trotter dissociates woman's self-assertion from sexual looseness. While Felicia openly expresses her defiance of her brother's command to marry the Count, voicing her "strong reluctance […] For this unequal match" (I, i), she is at the same time a "dear example of fidelity" (IV, i) rather than dishonest, being bound to Gramont by a Priest "by all lawful bonds" of wedlock (III, ii).

Manley challenges the dominant gender discourses by pointing out that a woman who converses in private with any other man than her husband is not necessarily guilty of infidelity. Although Bassima meets her former lover Osman in private, she does not betray her husband. Her conversations with Osman are of an innocent nature, Bassima voicing her refusal to surrender to Osman's love and stressing her faithfulness to her legitimate husband, Levan Dadian: "For fenced about with chastity and glory,/ Which like a magic circle shall enfold me/ You must not hope to pass the sacred round" (III, i). The fact that Bassima, who fears "death of honour" (III, i) and who is "innocent as angels are,/ Free from the stain or wish of evil" (IV, i), is accused of adultery, issues from the distorted perceptions and hypocritical, false natures of those around her. Osman's wife Selima is blinded by an unjustified jealousy, which is stirred by Ismael, who seeks to obtain Selima's love by deliberately destroying Bassima and Osman's reputations. Levan Dadian's mistrust of his wife's virtue appears to be a projection of his own false, adulterous nature, for he has slept with Homais at an earlier stage of the play. The validity of the dominant gender ideology, which connects woman's transgressive speech with sexual incontinence, is questioned, for it is shown to be rooted in blindness, to be a projection of man's own lascivious nature and to be abused as a tool of manipulation.

A similar deconstruction of the dominant gender ideology can be found in *Antiochus the Great*. While Berenice has a private interview with her former beloved Ormades, who she had to abandon in order to obey her male relatives, she seeks to establish her virtue in this conversation, renouncing her former passion for Ormades and emphasising her constancy to her spouse. Antiochus' unjustified suspicion of his wife's faithfulness is caused by Artenor who deliberately spreads false rumours about Berenice's adultery so that his sister Leodice may regain Antiochus' affections: "I must prepare her for the great Design […] Hint what thou hast heard/ With subtilty and caution, to Antiochus" (I, i). At the same time, the king

is shown to be very inconstant himself, having abandoned his mistress Leodice, the mother of his son, for Berenice, and making amorous confessions to Leodice when he is married to Berenice. Thus it is suggested that Antiochus' mistrust of his wife is a figment of his own lascivious nature. While Berenice is represented as a chaste wife, she is also depicted as having a "transporting voice", "charms" in her "Words" and "bewitching Accents" (I, i). Wiseman undermines the conventional connection between woman's eloquence and wantonness, showing that the well-spoken Berenice is sexually virtuous.

Interestingly, while these female dramatists dissociate woman's self-expression from promiscuity, they identify men's words with bawdiness and unfaithfulness. In this respect they use a representation of male discourse that was common in seventeenth-century plays by both male and female dramatists, such as, among others, John Ford's '*Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633) and Margaret Cavendish's *The Unnatural Tragedy* (1662).[13] In *The Royal Mischief* Ismael's words are often concerned with his lascivious sexual desires. He argues that he does not want to die before having enjoyed many beautiful women sexually: "I should never touch the West till I had/ bathed, nay, wantoned, in that sea of pleasure" (II, i). Furthermore, he voices fantasies about women who willingly cast off their modesty to make themselves sexually available:

> They like the forward and the bold.
> For virtue in such is like their form,
> Only exterior beauty, worn to deceive
> The credulous world and buy opinions
> From the common rout.
> But when they meet a lover to their wish
> They gladly throw the borrowed veil aside
> and naked in his arms disclose the cheat (II, i).

Moreover, although on the whole Osman is a virtuous character in the play, he nevertheless seeks to seduce the married Bassima into an adulterous affair:

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13. In Ford's tragedy Giovanni uses his eloquence to corrupt his sister. He claims that his animal desire for his sister can be excused, as her "lips would tempt a saint; such hands as those,/ Would make an anchorite lascivious"(I, ii, 212-213). What occurs here is that Giovanni signifies Annabella's body as corrupting sexual purity, whereas, ironically, it is he who seeks to spoil Annabella's sexual innocence. In Cavendish's tragedy Frere openly speaks of his incestuous lust for his sister, and tries to persuade her into an incestuous relationship with him. In response to his sexually immoral plea she angrily remarks: "Brother, speak no more upon so bad a subject, for fear I wish you dumb: for the very breath that's sent forth with your words, will blister both my ears" (V, 31).

"Who would not be ten thousand years a wretch/ To be one hour a God?" (III, i). In Wiseman's tragedy, Antiochus' speeches are implicated in adultery and deceit, for, when married to Berenice, he promises Leodice to renew his affair with her; a promise which he does not keep. Besides, when at last Antiochus changes his mind again in favour of Leodice he deliberately omits to tell her how his affections have been shifting all the time: "I'll not relate what Accidents have past,/ Till I have done what's worthy of my Change/ Lest she should think Revenge my only Motive" (V).

The contrast between men's deceitful, dishonourable speeches, on the one hand, and the female character's honest, virtuous words, on the other, in the tragedies is further enhanced by the fact that some of the male characters and their speeches are represented as irreligious. In Manley's *The Royal Mischief* Osman calls the way in which Ismael celebrates the wanton nature of the female sex "blasphemy" (II, i), considering the virtue of women like Bassima. In Wiseman's *Antiochus* Leodice claims that Antiochus' betrayal of their relationship implies that he is "false to every God, as well as me" (III, i). In Trotter's *The Fatal Friendship* Felicia argues that she does not want to be "impious" to her husband by abandoning him; this is in contrast with the fact that Gramont consented to a bigamous marriage through which he has "broke his faith" (V, i) with her. This association of the male *dramatis personae* and their speeches with impurity and blasphemy contributes to Manley's, Trotter's and Wiseman's positive, legitimising portrayal of female utterance.

3.

Challenging and revising the at that time common views on female self-expression, Manley, Trotter and Wiseman prove to have revised the Restoration generic conventions of tragedy as well. Furthermore, their reconstruction of tragic error, transgression and transcendence involves a subversion of gender roles and gender ideas. This becomes clear when we compare and contrast the characterisation and tragic closure in *The Royal Mischief*, *The Fatal Friendship* and *Antiochus, the Great* to two earlier written tragedies by Nathaniel Lee*: The Rival Queens* (1677) and *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1681).

In English Restoration tragedy the tragic errors committed by female *dramatis personae* are usually a transgressive assertion of voice combined with sexual defilement outside the bonds of marriage. In *The Rival Queens* Roxana, the mistress of Alexander the Great, contrasts with his feminine wife Statira. Whereas Statira represents the legal wife who is marked for a modesty of sexuality and

speech, Roxana is marked for her verbal aggressiveness: "hear me speak/ And mark me well, for fate is in my breath" (IV, i, 104-105). At the same time, Roxana has tempted Alexander into an adulterous affair: "because I practiced charms/ To gain the king" (IV, i, 188-189). Her adulterous sexuality and loose tongue appear to be her tragic errors through which she loses Alexander's love, who comes to despise her: "So will thy tongue undo all womankind" (III, i, 307-309). In *Lucius Junus Brutus* tragic error also appears to be a woman's destruction of her sexual honour. Shockingly, however, in the case of the female *dramatis persona* Lucrece, the error for which she must kill herself is a sexual defilement for which she is not responsible, since she was raped by Sextus. Lucrece considers herself bearing "the name of an Adultress" after her rape, and, to avoid having to "live beneath so loath'd an Infamy" she stabs herself to death.

The generation of female dramatists writing for the public stage by the end of the Restoration and the beginning of the eighteenth century clearly redefine tragic error in the sense that they represent the dominant gender roles and gender views as tragic mistakes. In *The Royal Mischief* Levan Dadian's tragic error is his suspicion of his wife's innocence despite her interview with Osman, as voiced in his moment of tragic recognition: "And Bassima that monster she was made./ O injured saint, dart from thy Heaven upon me" (V, i). Exposing the dominant gender discourses by connecting the hero's recognition of his tragic error to an awareness of the injustice of these dominant representations of female speech, Manley combines her reconstruction of the conventional representation of tragic error to a criticism on gender notions.

At a first glance Trotter seems to repeat the conventional Restoration tragic error as woman's transgression of the boundaries of feminine silence. Felicia claims that she has caused misery due to her unrestrained tongue: "Alas, 'tis I have caused your infamy,/ My inconsiderate passion has exposed you./ What madness moved me to reveal the fatal secret!/ Was that a remedy!" (IV, i). However, at the same time this conventional depiction of female tragic error is undermined by Gramont's reply that Felicia has not sinned through her outspokenness, and by the fact that Felicia's honesty contrasts to Gramont's deceit which involved him in bigamy. In fact, the play indirectly suggests another daral flaw, namely adherence to gender conventions. Bellgard makes the mistake of misreading his sister's disobedience as a sign of her wantonness, so that the common equation between female self-assertion and promiscuity is exposed as an error.

Whereas tragic female characters who overstep the norms of femininity, such as Roxana, are usually portrayed in a negative way, Manley, Trotter and Wiseman display more sympathy for their female transgressors. While Trotter's Felicia goes

against feminine submission by her sexual independence in choosing her own husband and by her disobedience to her brother, she is nevertheless a character who deserves the audience's sympathy. In comparison with Gramont's and Bellgard's secrecy and falsehoods, Felicia proves to be more honest. Her sin is also attenuated by the fact that she has become legally wedded to the lover that she has chosen, thus fitting in with the norms of propriety. Futhermore, in the final scene of the play emphasis is laid on Gramont's tragic error in the sense of his betrayal of both Felicia and Lamira: "he was by nature honest, just, and brave,/ In many trials showed a steady virtue,/ Yet by one sharp assault at last was vanquished" (V, i). Transgression is thus mainly associated with the male protagonist Gramont.

Manley and Wiseman both depict women who are involved in an adulterous relationship. However, sympathy is created for the motivations underlying these women's entanglement in extramarital affairs. Leodice's endeavour to win back Antiochus' love, in spite of his marriage to Berenice, is shown to be connected to the fact that Antiochus had first exchanged vows with her, and with the fact that they had lived together like husband and wife with their son. Her poisoning of Antiochus issues from her desire to be forever united with Antiochus, albeit in death, and from her urge to avoid public shame as the rejected lover:

> Inconstant Monarch, what could I do less?
> Was I not scorn'd when Banish'd?
> Now a Prisoner […]
> Yet think not 'twas Revenge alone that sway'd;
> I too have drunk my Fate, and cannot live. (V, i)

Apart from this, Leodice's transgressive behaviour is balanced by her strong maternal affections and care. Leodice does not allow her servant to die with her so that her child will be looked after properly after she has died herself: "Oh, gold! Give me the Bowl; I had forgot my Child/ Thou must survive to guard his Innocence" (V, i). Moreover, before she dies Leodice expresses her regret at her sin of poisoning Antiochus, and is subsequently forgiven by him: "But why was not my fatal hand withheld? […] Why dropt it not the black misguided Bowl?" (V). Thus, Kendall is right in stating that "Wiseman invites her audience to sympathize with the ragings of Leodice" (1988: 116), who is not represented as innately evil. Similarly, while Manley's Homais argues that "My life, my soul, my all is fixed upon enjoyment" (I, i), and while she commits adultery with Levan Dadian, Manley at the same time evokes understanding for Homais' unfaithfulness. Being the victim of an arranged marriage to an extremely possessive, impotent, elderly

husband who confines her to his castle, Homais is "a woman, made/ Passionate by want of liberty" (I, i).

The three women dramatists also rewrote the conventions concerning the tragic closure. At the end of most Restoration tragedies the sexually and verbally transgressive woman is punished in several of the following ways: by being killed, by being silenced, by being transformed into a powerless being without autonomy over her own life or control over the plot, or by being confined to oblivion. Lee's Roxana conforms to the tragic stereotype of the wordy woman who is eventually deprived of her command over language. At the beginning of the tragedy Roxana possesses the ability to assert her voice despite Alexander's efforts to silence her. At the end of the play Roxana exclaims: "And that the memory of Roxana's wrongs/ may be forever printed in your mind" (IV, i, 101-102). In other words, she wishes to remain a discursive presence in Alexander's thoughts. Despite Roxana's longing to signify herself as the remembered lover, Alexander denies her the status that she aims at. His remark "let her not be named" (III, i, 427) shows that he relegates her to the feminine realm of silence and forgetfulness. He imposes a figurative death upon her by denying her any existence in speech. Roxana also loses control in her role of plotter. Although she succeeds in her plot of mortally wounding Statira, Roxana's aim to win back Alexander fails utterly. It is Alexander who achieves direction over Roxana's fate in their final meeting. She must submissively "fly forever" from Alexander's sight when he commands: "Fly with thy pardon, lest I call it back" (V, i, 218-225). Disappearing from Alexander's life, Roxana silently disappears from the stage, thus being erased from the theatrical scene.

Manley and Wiseman revise the conventional tragic closure in many respects. Although Homais' ending accords with the fate conventionally reserved for the tragic transgressive female characters in that she dies, she transcends the silencing and erasure of identity that awaits her in death. Homais' death is preceded by her strong self-assertion. Homais suggests that it is her husband's fault that she has become adulterous, successfully shifting responsibility for her transgression to him: "Thou dotard, impotent in all but mischief,/ How could'st thou hope, at such an age, to keep/ A handsome wife?" (V, i). Whereas Roxana wishes to be the lover who is remembered, but fails in achieving this desired identity in her final appearance, Homais succeeds in establishing and controlling a self as a sympathetic adulteress. In contrast with Roxana whose disappearance from the stage suggests a complete obliteration of her identity, Homais argues that her death will not end her power, creating the impression that she will "feast at large" in an afterlife where at last she will be wedded to her lover Levan Dadian: "Be

thou shade and let us mingle then/ Oh, I shall reign / A welcome ghost, the fiends will hug my royal mischief" (V, i). Thus, Homais transcends mortality as well as the control that her husband sought to exercise upon her.

Like Homais, Wiseman's Leodice transcends mortality. For one thing, Leodice controls her death; not only because she commits suicide, but also because she seems to be very consciously voicing her moment of death as if she were ready for it: "Death is at hand, 'tis wel, I feel him here:/ Welcome thou kind reliever of the Wretched,/ Met by the Brave, and only shun'd by Cowards" (V, i). By contrast, Antiochus feels that his time is cut short, so that he does not appear to be in command over death: "I do forgive thee, but can stay no longer" (V, i). Second, Leodice overcomes mortality in that she appears back on the stage after her death to speak the epilogue. While usually the epilogue is expressed by an actor or actress in their own person, in Wiseman's play it is clearly indicated in the stage directions that Leodice reappears to have the last word: "A Husband's Wrongs are always paid in kind: men's Stratagems but small Advantage get,/ And injur'd Women seldom die in Debt". This re-appearance of Leodice beyond the grave suggests a transcendence over death, which has not been able to silence her for good. Furthermore, voicing her idea that a man who abuses women deserves to be punished appears to be a justification of Leodice's revenge on him.

Berenice's fate at the tragic closure also marks a reconstruction of the conventional tragic plot. Usually, when the Restoration tragic heroine has lost her beloved she kills herself in order to follow him in death. For instance, in *Lucius Junius Brutus* Teraminta stabs herself to death when her husband Titus is dying: "Look here, my Love; thou shalt not be before me" (V, II). A remarkable difference between the plot in Lee's tragedy and Wiseman's tragedy is that Wiseman's heroine Berenice does not proceed to kill herself when her beloved Ormades has passed away. At the end of the play she is still alive and looking to the future, although she adopts a feminine part, forswearing the crown and returning it to her father: "But here I quit the gaudy empty Title: […] And I am happy to resign the load[…] And lay my Crown at my Great father's feet" (V).

CONCLUSION

In Elizabeth Polwhele's tragedy *The Faithful Virgins* (ca. 1670) the unfaithful Isabella, forced to abandon her vows to Cleophon by her family, requests her former betrothed to "Vouchsafe an Eare" to her "discourse" (I), so that she may explain her situation. Cleophon responds to these assertive commands by stating: "What can you treat of but how false you Are?" (I), implying that when Isabella

raises her voice it is only to acknowledge her wantonness, and silencing her imploring voice.

Issues of speech, silence and sexual virtue are also central to the tragedies written by Polwhele's successors: the women dramatists Manley, Trotter and Wiseman. As we have seen, in their plays, acted out on the late Restoration and early eighteenth-century London stage, these female dissociate woman's words from sexual looseness, they represented wit as an empowering quality through which women can survive, and thus present a woman's "Discourse" as a legitimate form of self-expression worth vouchsafing an "Eare" to. Furthermore, they unmask the dominant gender ideologies as projections of the immoral male mind as well as tools which men abuse to uphold their power over women. As such, *The Royal Mischief*, *The Fatal Friendship* and *Antiochus the Great* contain an emerging feminist consciousness.

Rewriting gender ideas about female utterance, these women dramatists also challenged the generic boundaries of tragedy which confined women to a restricted number of roles and representations. In their plays tragic error and recognition are not related to a woman's transgression of feminine norms; instead, the two generic elements are connected to ideas about womanhood which are exposed as false. In addition, these female "wits" have rewritten the conventions of the tragic closure which relegate women to silence and absence, while expressing more sympathy for those female characters who do not stick to feminine propriety. Manley's, Trotter's and Wiseman's active engagement with the processes of cultural transformation concerning gender and the tragic genre therefore make it essential for scholars of the period to "Vouchsafe an eare" to their dramatic "Discourse".

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ABUSE AND AUTHORITY IN THE *CHESTER CYCLE*:
A SOCIALLY-BASED DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT. *The aim of this paper is to describe the relationship between the derogatory function of language –as the maximum lexical expression of the language of abuse and authority– and the social values of the late Middle Ages. To this end, the Chester Cycle, a speech-based body of work, has been analysed. Given that, as many authors state, the lexicon or vocabulary is the subsystem that best transmits the connection between language and society, I have selected lexical items and phrases representing oaths, insults and expletives for the purpose of my analysis. The semantic study of the items and sequences collected reveals that the social, religious, political, economic and cultural trends of the period are manifested through the use of abusive forms of address and other linguistic expressions of self-assertion.*

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper examines how the language of abuse and authority as represented by insults, oaths and animal metaphors mirrors the socio-cultural values of medieval times. It is an attempt to study, from a sociological point of view, the language of the characters who participate in the different pageants of the *Chester Cycle*. To represent such thematic concerns formally, the paper will be divided as follows: section 1 will contain a description of the extra-linguistic background to drama in the late Middle Ages. Section 2 will outline a theoretical framework relating to the social nature of the language of abuse and authority itself. Section 3 will present the corpus of data, describing its compilation and will present a semantic analysis. Finally, in section 4 I will propose my conclusions.

1. EXTRA-LINGUISTIC CONTEXT: THEATRE AND LIFE

Local tradition mentions the Chester Cycle for the first time around 1368. The first written reference dates back to 1462, almost a century later. The last performance of the cycle took place in 1575.[1] The values of the late Middle Ages, therefore, constitute the socio-cultural background to the performance of this dramatic piece. In this respect, two external circumstances have to be considered: the effects of medieval nationalism on the vernacular and the gradual secularisation of drama. Drama in the Middle Ages constitutes the collective medium for expressing the seminal principles of medieval thought[2] in two opposite ways, either praising them or satirising them. Obviously, language is the vehicle of transmission. In drama, language use is aided by images in which prototypical characters reinforce the message contained in their discourse. The social significance of language is therefore double, in the sense that it manifests itself as representative of a particular character's behaviour but, also, as the maximum expression of medieval thought. The secular representation of the Christian liturgy is, in fact, the most striking social aim of the Mystery Cycles.

Since the fourteenth century there has been a general consensus regarding the presentation of religious principles through the performance of different Biblical episodes (both Old and New Testament). This has been done in a pedagogical manner in order to popularise intellectual concepts using the vernacular, that is to say, the language spoken by the illiterate who should be taught the doctrine of the Church. As Turville-Petre (1996: 27) states: "the fact that it [a text] was written in English rather than in Latin meant that it was open to a general readership". This was also one of Wycliffe's main aims, resorting to genres other than the dramatic. The language employed by the characters was a means of getting the audience involved in the actual performance and of communicating the social, cultural and religious conventions of the period. Despite the fact that

> Drama was used as a part of the Church's liturgy and ritual from very early times, it would soon move outside the physical restraints of the church (…). Although remaining under the doctrinal control of the church, the new playwrights were able to develop their own interpretations of well-known scenes and characters. The increasing number of parts meant that it was no longer possible, as with the old liturgical drama, for all the actors to be clerics; laymen (and, in rare cases, laywomen) not only participated but, in larger towns and cities, took responsibility for the organisation and production (Higgins 1994: 11).

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1. Kroll (2003: 338) even states that the Chester Shepherds' play was "most likely composed during the first quarter of the sixteenth century".

2. Based upon the theological and philosophical theories of authors such as St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas or William of Ockham.

This means that, though still serving the purposes of the Church, there is a progressive secularisation of drama that will be felt in the language used to convey didactic messages.

The late Middle Ages (14th-15th centuries) are a period of intense nationalist activity during which the vernacular tongue is defended as a standard of cultural identity (Crespo 1996). It is a period of gradual consolidation for the English language in most spheres of life (excluding the academic one). This is aided by interminable military confrontations (*The Hundred Years' War* against France), the activities engaged in by religious reformers such as Wycliffe and the Lollards, the literature written by Gower, Chaucer or Hoccleve, key socio-economic changes (*the Black Death, the Peasants' Revolt*), the expansion of the urbanisation process and various migratory movements and external factors which fostered the development of English to the detriment of any other foreign tongue.[3]

There is an identification between speech community and nation, which Turville-Petre (1996: 27) expresses in these terms: "author and audience became united in their nationality, and the clerical writer was able to appeal to the laity through a sense of nationhood, through a perception of shared social values, as in a commonly understood language". This reaffirmation of the vernacular can, for instance, be traced in the linguistic sequences of abuse and authority found in the texts. The actual linguistic usage together with the characters' interaction reveal social abuse and the use of authority, the social conventions and rules to be followed by speakers as members of a community in medieval life. Drama transforms common actions into theatrical performances (Kroll 2003).

Furthermore, this process brings about a change in the overall linguistic function of those dramatic pieces devoted to both education and entertainment. The didactic purpose is highlighted by the participation of non-religious people. The language of abuse and authority transmits both vernacular self-confidence and religious knowledge.

2. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE OF ABUSE AND AUTHORITY

A study of the language of abuse and authority requires the consideration of two aspects: the communicative situation in which the characters interact and the corresponding linguistic code with special forms and functions. In the first case a

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3. From the second half of the fifteenth century, the printing press also contributed to the expansion of the vernacular.

speaker may play a relevant social role which endows her/him with authority and which may result in an abuse of that authority. The main power stakes are social status and/or role. Other factors such as age and sex may also play an important role. Moreover, speakers can make use of their linguistic code with different functions in a situation of this type: the *imperative function* (order, command), the *persuasive function* (threats, persuasion, obligation), the *derogatory function* (expletives, insults, vituperations) or the *denominative function* (vocatives and attention markers).

In the present study I am concerned with the derogatory function. Expletives, insults and other types of deprecatory items are used when a verbal exchange reaches its climax. This linguistic mechanism is an attempt to strengthen the social identity of the participants involved, *i.e.* the speaker and the listener/s. The speaker consolidates his/her authority by verbalising derisive terms or sequences. Likewise, this particular framework characterises and classifies the listener (Crespo 2003).

Some linguistic expressions denote authority through their use as insults, oaths and expletives[4], strengthening the predominant system of values and revealing the socio-cultural background that lies behind language. They transmit information about a particular form of behaviour and linguistic code. All this demands a linguistic analysis of the characters' speech as members of a particular community. They are socially marked in accordance with medieval parameters. These characters enact biblical scenes using the different stylistic levels of the native tongue. The religious characters in the pageants embody prototypical human forms of behaviour which are common in everyday life, such as those related to abuse and authority. Some characters express authority in themselves, namely omnipotent figures such as God, Jesus and the angels. They occupy the top of the social pyramid in the medieval world. Consequently, their language is supposed to correspond to a high, aureate diction. Those placed at the bottom of the pyramid (shepherds, wives, the antichrist) employ colloquialisms and vulgar diction in general. Expletives, oaths and insults of any kind normally reveal the speaker's intention of reinforcing his/her personality in the conversation and his/her position as member of a community.

3. METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

For the purpose of this paper I have worked with the Early English Text Society Edition of the *Chester Cycle* first published by Lumiansky and Mills in 1974. All the plays, including the appendices, have been studied.

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4. The chronological development of these forms (denotation-connotation axis) has been taken into account.

It is the purpose of this analysis to assess how many different forms of either oaths or insults occur in the *Chester Cycle* and to look at the connection between this information and the external world. However, I shall not be concerned with the frequency of occurrence of each of these forms. It is not the object of this paper to determine their proliferation by means of an absolute quantification of repeated forms but to carry out a relative, qualitative study. These expressions originated from lexical items and, as is well known, the lexicon or vocabulary of a language is the subsystem by which the relationship between language and society may be best traced (Jihnzi 1992; Moskowich-Spiegel 1995; Romano Mozo 2001).

The forms found here have been classified as oaths, insults and other. Table 1 below shows the corresponding number of instances:

Insults	38
Oaths	35
Other	30

Table 1. *Number of different occurrences for each type.*

Insults and oaths occur in almost the same number and can be interpreted as alternatives for manifesting contempt, authority and abuse. *Other* encompasses abstract lexical items which convey a similar meaning: *power, treason* and *villainye* are some examples.

Each type may have a greater either religious or secular referent. In what follows I will focus on insults and oaths.

3.1. INSULTS

The analysis of insults involves their semantic categorisation, as shown in table 2:

Secular	**Religious**
Sexual referent	Pagan referent
Status referent	Moral referent[5]
Intellectual referent	

Table 2. *Semantic categorisation of insults.*

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5. The prevailing moral values were understood to be Christian.

Most instances represent secular insults (25 forms). The general denomination *secular* may in turn be subdivided into insults of sexual, status and intellectual referent.

Terms of abuse with a clear reference to sexual promiscuity include *whoore* and *stytton stallon. Whoore* alludes to female sexuality and is used in the plays as in example 1 below:

(1) Balaak to Miles
Spare thou neyther ryche ne poore
wyddowe, mayde, ne ylke *whoore*;
yf shee bee fresh of coloure,
bringe her with thee, I saye. (380-383) *Moses and the Law; Balaack and Balaam*; Balaam.

There seems to be a reference to the female sex in general. Balaak and Miles are representing members of the low classes. In this conversation Balaak makes use of a common way of classifying women, identifying, from a male perspective, the social roles they play, that is to say, widow, maiden or whore.

Stytton stallon makes reference to lascivious male conduct, represented by the metaphorical extension of "stallion". It is a term of abuse that denotes sexual promiscuity which, in turn, derives from the connotative association with the animal:

(2) Secundus Mulier to Secundus Miles
Saye, rotten hunter with thy gode,
stytton stallon, styck-tode.
I reade that thou no wronge us bode
lest thou beaton bee. (313-316) *The Slaughter of the Innocents*; Innocents.

The insult, as illustrated in example 2 above, uttered by a woman and addressed to someone belonging to the same social group, provokes a comic effect which helps to release the dramatic tension of a religious performance.

Insults referring to status, namely, *begger, caytiffle, rybauld, harlott, quean, wretch* (for *wretch* see example 6 below) share a common semantic feature, that of referring to low-born people. The fact of occupying a position at the base of the socio-economic hierarchy connects them with miserable, bad behaviour. The denotative meaning of status words is relegated to a less important position when those words are employed as contemptuous forms of address. This is what Lewis, in his 1960 publication *Studies in words,* called "the moralisation [and I would add "deterioration"] of status words". Examples (3) to (5) below illustrate this usage:

(3) Cayne to Abell

Say, thou, *caytiffe*, thou congeon,

weneste thou to passe mee of renowne?

Thou shalt fayle, by my crowne, of masterye yf I may. (601-604) *Adam and Eve; Cain and Abel*; Cain.

The denotative sense of *caytiffe* as "captive, prisoner" is the basis for its extension into "miserable or unfortunate person", that is to say, a poor man in both senses, of spirit and possessions. The fact that the character who embodies wickedness (Cayne) insults the character representing human goodness (Abell), is a symptom of irony and social devaluation.

(4) Antichristus

Rybaldes, rweled out of raye!

What ys the Trenyte to saye? (490-491) Manuscript P, the Peniarth "Antichrist".

In (4) the Antichristus uses *rybaldes* as an insulting word. It represents the standard of opposition to all rules of decorum. In fact, *rybaldes* is defined in the *MED* as

a) A person of low social status; a menial; **king of ribaudes, = king of harlotes** [see **harlot** n.**4.**(b)]; (b) a foot soldier; one of a band of irregular soldiers employed to ravage the countryside in advance of the army.

b) A wicked person; a scoundrel, villain, rascal; also, the devil; also, the name of a fiend; (b) a dissolute person, lewd person, debauchee, carouser, wastrel; also, a loose woman, harlot, strumpet; also, lechery personified [last quot.]; **womman ~**; (c) a foul-mouthed person, scurrilous speaker; also, a jester, an entertainer; (d) as an abusive form of address.

All these meanings were current in late Middle English as illustrated in the *MED* through references to contemporary texts. This means that in the performance of the *Chester Cycle* it could easily be interpreted as an abusive form of address. Example (5) contains a further illustration:

(5) Prima Mulier to Primus Miles

Whom callest thou '*queane*', scabde dogge?

Thy dame, thy daystard, was never syche.

Shee burned a kylne, eych stike;

yet did I never non. (297-300) *The Slaughter of the Innocents*; Innocents.

The semantic evolution of *queane* in (5) can be described in two stages:

<div align="center">

woman

↓

lowborn woman

↓

harlot (term of abuse)

</div>
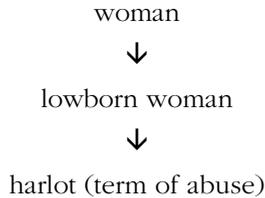
The first stage covers the general referent which is narrowed down to a specific kind of woman, characterised by her low social status. The next stage encompasses the deterioration of this status word. The *MED* definition offers further evidence of this: **"**(a) A woman; (b) a lowborn woman, quean; also, a harlot; also as term of abuse; (c) an old woman, a crone; (d) ? in place name".

The items pertaining to the intellectual referent group can be regarded as insulting, because they reveal a lack of intellectual capacity (*fool, golys, goose, congeon* –as in example 3 above–*, madmen*), the use of knowledge for evil purposes (*wysard*) or an extraordinary ability or development of one of the senses which can be regarded as jocular in a mocking situation (*babelavaunt*). This can be seen in examples (6) and (7):

(6) Antechristus
Oute on the, *wysarde*, with thy wylis,
for falsly my peple thowe begylus.
I shall the hastely honge,
and that lurdayn that stondys the bye– (371-374) *Manuscript P, The Peniarth "Antichrist"*.

(7) Tertius Judeus to Cayphas
Syr Cayphas, herken nowe to mee!
This *babelavaunt* would our kinge bee,
whatsoever hee sayes nowe befor thee. (21-23) *The Trial and Flagellation*; Trial.

Treason and evil-doing are present in the Antichristus' discourse. Paradoxically, the reference to these religious topics contrasts once again with the character who mentions them. If in (6) *wysard* is used as an insulting word from a moral perspective, –"a person possessing great wisdom" who makes use of it to beguile–, in (7) humour is transmitted through the lexical item *babelavaunt*. It seems to be connected with *bauble* and *baublery* meaning "childish foolery or

trifling business". Some obsolete expressions recorded in the *OED* point to the existence of combinations containing this item and meaning "to make a fool".

Still within "secular insults", *golys, dogge, goose, lyon, hownd, lardan*[6] (see the spelling variant *lurdayn* in example 6 above) are some examples of what I have called animal metaphors, and could be interpreted as belonging to the intellectual type. There is an extension of metaphorical meaning by means of the additional feature [+ human]. The qualities or characteristics of the animal are just transferred to a human being. This transfer from [+ animal] to [+ human] implies a debasement, hence their use as terms of contempt:[7]

(8) Antechristus
    Whrecchis! *Golys*! Ye ben blent.
    Goddis Son I am, from hym sente.
    Howe darr you maynten youre entente,
    sithe he and I ben won? (513-516) Manuscript P, The Peniarth "Antichrist".

(9) Herodes
    What the devell should this bee?
    A boye, a growme of lowe degree,
    shouId raygne above my ryalltee
    and make me but a *goose*, (...) (201-204) *The Three Kings*; Magi.

These abusive terms are grounded in the perceptual, functional or emotional associations established by the speakers among the denotative characteristics of animals and what they simbolise. The individual perception of reality does not fit into fixed patterns but shifts according to the external world. This is certainly true of animal metaphors so intimately connected with culture (Stern 1931; Lewandoska-Tomasyck 1985; Crespo 1996; Nevalainen 1999; De la Cruz 2001). In this respect, references to animals, birds or beasts in the *Chester Cycle* merely mirror the socio-cultural values of medieval times. Lions, for instance, symbolise nobility, power and, from a theological point of view, the sin of pride. A gull (example 8) is an immature or inexperienced bird; lack of experience is taken as a synonym for foolishness, stupidity. This is a quality assumed to be shared by geese also (example 9). Hence,

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6. As a general Christian principle, animals were considered inferior to humans in terms of moral status. Linguistically, however, limited or improper intellectual activity among humans was identified with this baser animal nature.

7. This debasement as a consequence of a metaphorical extension can also be frequently traced in references to women. Insults such as *basilisk, viper, carrion* or *howlet* are some examples. For more information see Crespo 1996.

the interpretation of "simpleton" or "foolish person", when the term is applied to people. In broad terms, the significance of these metaphors could serve to assert an individual's values. In fact, though in an opprobrious sense, these insults reveal different manifestations of the human being. The goal of these metaphorical processes could entail a covert exaltation of the individual and his earthly dominance.

Some insults of a religious nature were also found (12 cases). A group of them contains obvious pagan references. They are mainly assigned to anti-Christian, anti-papal, anti-Church of Rome practices: *sinner, ragnayll, heretikes, hypocrites, heathen, lowlars* are some examples, as illustrated in (10) and (11) below. They refer to Biblical episodes about the transgression of doctrinal values and represent prototypical groups that embody the distortion of the Christian faith. The use of these nouns as insulting words reveals the degree of integration of religious matters in the English medieval collective consciousness. In addition, entertainment is guaranteed by the reversal of all those values. It is a Judeus and the Antechristus who talk about heathens and lollards.

(10) Secundus Judeus
        Thou shalt abye, by my bone,
        or thou *heathen* passe.
        Helpe, fellowe, and gather stones
        And beate him well, for cockes bones. (255-258) *The Blind Chelidonian*;
        The Raising of Lazarus; The Blind Man.

The extra-linguistic reference is clearly seen in *lowlars*:

(11) Antechristus to Doctor
        These *lowlers*, the would fayne me greeve
        and nothinge one me the will leeve,
        but ever be readye me to repreeve
        and all the people of my lawe. (428-431) *Antichrist*.

In a time of turbulent movements and religious schisms, the name used to designate Wycliffe's followers, the main opponents of the postulates of the Church, is seen as a term of contempt and disparagement. The others are taken from biblical history. They represent the traditional disruption of God's word and law. Paganism was hitherto displayed through these insults. Opposition to paganism and to its sinful moral values was the trend of the period. This was the doctrine implicit in the didactic purpose of medieval drama and is linguistically manifested thus.

Ragnayll in (12) below is used to embody metaphorically the evil behaviour of a human being. The term derives from the OF name of a Saracen king in Romance (*MED*). There is a link, therefore, between this insult and paganism. It constitutes another implicit religious reference by means of an abusive term.

(12) Antechristus

Ragnayll, thowe art my dere!

Nowe fare I wonder evull.

Alas, alas, were is my powere?

Alas, my wytt ys in a were. (651-654) Manuscript P, The Peniarth "Antichrist".

There is another group based on moral referents. It encompasses general terms of abuse with the semantic feature of treason and deceit lying behind the deprecatory tone with which they can be uttered. Since such behaviour is to be condemned by Christianity, these items exhibit a different degree of religious connotation: *populard, traytour, scabde dogge* (see example 5 above)*, thiefe, rotten hunter, fayture, tormentour, roysard.*[8] Examples (13) and (14) illustrate two of them in use and context:

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8. Since *populard* is the only term discussed here, I include the *MED* definitions for the rest of the terms:

Traytour. a) "One guilty of high treason against king (or ruler), realm, or people: (a) one who plots or accomplishes the death or disherison of the king or who conceals knowledge of such a plot; (b) one who kills or plots to kill a relative of the king or one of his magnates; (c) a violator of the king's wife or daughter; (d) one who aids the enemies of the king or the king's army or the foreign enemies of his country or city; a renegade; a deserter; also, one who hands over his king or city to an enemy by treachery; (e) a betrayer of royal or military secrets; a spy; (f) one who levies war against the king, a rebel; an insurrectionary, a revolutionary; (g) a preacher of religious sedition, a traitor to the established order, a heretic; (h) one who commits an offense construable as high treason: a counterfeiter of the royal coinage; an accroacher of the king's power; a defier of the king's law; a thief of the king's goods; a corrupt magistrate; an insubordinate underling; also, more loosely, a criminal, an outlaw, a felon; also with diminished force as a term of mere abuse; **as (a) ~**, as if one were guilty of treason; (i) in proverbs and prov. Expressions.

b) (a) A sinner, an evildoer; **~ to god, godes ~**; (b) a violator of the obligations of a divinely ordained office: an impious king; a wicked or negligent cleric; an unjust or church-robbing knight; etc.; also, an official persecutor of God's people; **~ to (of) god (crist, treuth), godes ~**; (c) a sorcerer; – prob. error for **tregetour** n".

Scabde (dogge): a dog "(a) Afflicted with scabies; suffering from some eruptive skin disease; scabby, mangy, etc.; (b) of the eyelids: suffering from redness, itching, inflammation, etc.; (c) inflamed; purulent, ulcerated; (d) having a scab; (e) *fig.* afflicted (with sin); (f) in terms of contempt: dirty; contemptible, wretched."

Thiefe: (a) One who steals, a thief, robber; also *fig.;* **~ of preie**; (b) one who robs by stealth, a sneak thief; also *fig.;* also, one who steals by cheating others; **night ~** [see also **night** n. **6.** (d)]; (c) one who robs by force or the threat of force, a mugger; a brigand, bandit; also *fig.;* also, one who robs by breaking into a house; (d) a pirate; also, a slaver; **~ of the se, se ~**; (e) a poacher; one who steals livestock; **~ of bestes**; (f) one who practices simony or usury; (g)one who withholds improperly what

(13) Balaack to Balaham

> Thow preachest, *populard*, as a pye:
> the dyvell of hell thee destroye!
> I bade thee curse my enimye;
> therefore thow come mee to. (312-315) *Moses and the Law; Balaack and Balaam*; Balaam.

(14) Pilatus

> Fye, theeffe; fye, *traytour*;
> fye on thee, thy truth ys full bare!
> Fye, feynd; fye, feature;
> hye hence. Fast I read that thou fare! (266-269) *The Resurrection*.

Populard, an originally Old French term, already quoted in the Old Testament, means "hypocrite" or "traitor" (*MED*). In this context it is applied to a character, Balaham, who is supposed to behave, speak and lie like a priest; hence, the restriction of meaning: "cursed priest". Religious criticism is implicit. Furthermore, the use of terms of opprobrium to convey the idea of treason in the religious sense of an evil deed manifests the disapproval of how the pervasive strong piety of medieval times is present in all spheres of life. Whereas Balaack mocks Balaam because of his similarity with a *populard*, Pilatus represents the religious and social authority that uses the same linguistic devices.

3.2. OATHS

Oaths constitute the framework under which the characters' self-confidence grows. The verbal force of these vulgarisms establishes the basis for a link between actors and audience; in broad terms, between theatre and life.

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should be given to others as charity; one who appropriates for himself what is not properly his; one who takes something without need; also *fig.;* also, one who takes credit unjustly, a braggart [quot. c1450]; an accessory to a theft [quots. 1340, 1st & 2nd]; **~ felaue**; (h) one of the two thieves crucified with Christ; (i) **noiinge to a ~** [misreading of L **nocentes feri** as **nocentes furi**].

Hunter: (a) A hunter; esp. one who hunts deer, boar, hare, etc.; also, a fowler; **blast of hunteres**, a group of hunters; (b) *fig.* a violent thief, robber; a devil, **hunteres bende (bond)**, the Devil's snare; **~ of men**, an oppressor, a tyrant; (c) **fish ~**, a fisherman; **~ clothes**, hunting garb; **~ spere**, a hunting spear; (d) in surnames and place names [see Smith *PNElem*. 1.270].

Fayture: A deceiver, imposter, cheat; esp., a beggar or vagabond who feigns injury or disease; **false faitour**; –often used as a term of abuse.

Tormentour: a) (a) A torturer; an officer charged with executing cruel punishments, esp. an executioner; also, a devil who tortures souls in hell; **knight ~**; (b) ?a soldier; – prob. mistransl. of L **tiro**.

b) An oppressor, a persecutor; one who causes pain or distress; ?also, a betrayer or treacherous person [quot. a1425].

Roysard: A trickster, deceiver.

Oaths can be classified as follows:

Religious	Secular
Good	Medieval code values
Evil	Earthly/Ordinary referent

Table 3. *Semantic categorisation of oaths.*

In the *Chester Cycle* two kinds of oaths can be identified: of a secular or a religious nature (as in the case of insults), depending on the significance of the lexical structure that generates the oath. When two items are combined in a lexical structure at least one of them provides the audience with a clue as to whether the expression is of one type or the other (*by God omnipotent*).

In this mixture of fiction and reality it is religion that plays a relevant role and constitutes the main leit-motif for uttering oaths. In fact, most instances are of religious content (22). As Hughes (1991: 55) puts it:

> An astounding volume of religious asseveration, ejaculation, blasphemy, anathema and cursing, both personal and institutional, fraudulent and genuine, poured forth in the course of the Middle Ages. The word of God, so signally absent from the older heroic asseverations, was used and abused, elevated, debased and distorted as never before. The sacred was made profane in a way which seems to us utterly paradoxical, particularly when one considers this debasement in relation to the major counter-trend of medieval literature, namely the elevation, glorification, indeed near deification of woman in the "Petrarchan" convention.

This is an attractive contrast for the audience who eventually demand to learn from novelties. The novelty may simply be the satisfaction of seeing the imposed canons turned upside down.

A further sub-classification within religious oaths is also possible if we take into account the main referent contained in the oath and the principle of Manicheism that lies behind medieval culture: Good vs Evil. *Good* includes expressions invoking God, Jesus, Christ, Saint John or the fathers as in *by God omnipotent, for Jesus sake, by Christe, by sayncte John* or *by my fathers kynn,* as in (15) to (17) below:

(15) Noes Wiffe to Noe
    By Christe, not or I see more neede,
    though thou stand all daye and stare. (103-104) *Noah's Flood.*

(16) Noes Wyffe
   But I have my gossips everyechone,
   one foote further I will not gone.
   They shall not drowne, *by sayncte John,*
   and I may save there life. (201-204) *Noah's Flood.*

(17) Secundus Judeus
   By my fathers kynn,
   noe parte hasse thou therin;
   but, or I hethen wynne,
   this coate shalbe myne. (125-128) *The Passion.*

Oaths uttered by a woman, as in the case of Noah's wife, intensify the mocking treatment of the female sex and their lack of authority. However, as was mentioned before for insults, these oaths confirm the deep religiosity of society in general since it was uncommon for women to belong to the literate elite in the Middle Ages.

There are even explicit references to faith or grace and concepts of religious spirituality, as can be seen in (18) and (19):

(18) Tertius Pastor
   By my fayth, hee was some spye,
   our sheepe for to steale.
   Or elles hee was a man of our crafte,
   for seemely hee was and [wounder] defte. (394-397) *The Shepherds.*

(19) Petrus
   Be thou so bould, as thrive I,
   to hould my maister here in hye,
   full deare thou shalt hit abye
   but thou thee heathen dight.
   Thy eare shall of, *by Goddes grace,*
   or thou passe from this place. (327-332) *The Last Supper; the Betrayal of Christ;* Betrayal.

Some "minced forms" (Hughes 1991: 66) of the type *for cockes soule, for cockes blood, for cockes face,* in which the word *cockes* represents an euphemistic variant of God, may also be included here:

(20) Herodes to Jesus
   Speake on, Jesu, *for cockes blood,*

for Pilate shall not, by my hood,
do the non amys; but mend thy mood
and speake somwhat with mee. (183-186) *The Trial and Flagel-lation.*

Between these two forms of expressing blasphemy and profanity, a gradually increasing degree of irreverence can be traced. Especially irreverent are those expressions that mention parts of the body: *for cockes blood, face*, although the use of the euphemism minimises the religious impact of these "intimate references to the person and sufferings of Christ" (Hughes 1991: 56).

Evil occupies the other end of the scale with demotic expressions such as *what the divell, what devill of hell, the devylles owne* or *in twentye devylles waye*. Opposition to the dogmas of Christianity also flourishes in oaths that allude to paganism and other religions: the existence of heathens, pagans and allusions to Mohammed*, by Mahound, by saynct Mahound*:

(21) Herodes to Secunda Mulier
Alas, *what the divell* is this to meane?
Alas, my dayes binne now donne!
I wott I must dye soone. (417-419) *The Slaughter of the Innocents.*

(22) Noe[9] to Noes Wyffe
Come in, wife, *in twentye devylles waye,*
or ells stand there withowte. (219-220) *Noah's Flood.*

(23) Secundus Miles to Herode
But for to kyll such a conjoyne
mee shames sore, *by saynct Mahound,*
to goe in any place. (166-168) *The Slaughter of the Innocents.*

Example (23) is another instance of the ironic treatment of paganism: Mohammed is paradoxically classified as *saynct*, so sacred a matter for the Christian faith. It juxtaposes two opposite creeds in an imprecation, a linguistic device which expresses ironically the principles that rule over the external world.

Instances of secular oaths are less numerous (13). They can also be considered as representative of the medieval code of values. Thus, for a knight or anyone intending to ascend the social ladder, the defence of honour, honesty and truth was

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9. The good or evil referent of an oath does not depend on the character's nature (good-bad) but on the circumstances of its expression. It is a pragmatic aspect that has not been studied in this paper.

of paramount importance. Consider, for example, (24) to (26), in which the aforesaid values are mentioned:

> (24) Primus Pastor to Secundus Pastor
> Fye, man, *for shame*!
> Call him Tudd, Tybbys sonne,
> and then wyll the shrewe come; (...) (64-66) *The Shepherds.*

> (25) Tertius Judeus
> And here are, *by my pon,*
> nayles good wonne
> to nayle him upon
> and he were my brother. (157-160) *The Passion.*

> (26) Cayne to Deus
> And yf I lenge, *by my lewtye,*
> I muste bee bonde and nothinge free -
> And all for my follye. (638-640) *Adam and Eve; Cain and Abel;* Cain.

Shame implies disapproval of ignominious conduct or loss of esteem[10] whereas the two remaining lexical items, namely, *pon* and *lewtye*,[11] denote decency, rectitude, justice, honourableness, compromise.

Apart from this group of secular abstract qualities of high social consideration, other more earthly or common matters can be traced in oaths:

> (27) Secundus Judeus to Jesus
> Thou shalt abye, *by my bone,*
> or thou heathen passe.
> Helpe, fellowe, and gather stones
> and beate him well, for cockes bones. (255-258) *The Blind Chelidonian; the Raising of Lazarus;* The Blind Man.

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10. I have included here what could be considered a religious oath to illustrate the degree of importance of religion in the medieval code of values, though *shame* is an abstract concept and should not be placed at the level of *Christ* in *by Christe* or *God* in *by God omnipotent*.

11. Both terms are defined in the *MED* as follows:

Pon: ? Security, ? keeping.

Lewtye: (a) Uprightness, honorableness, honesty; truth; justice, fairness; **in ~**, uprightly, justly; **don ~**, to do justice, deal uprightly; (b) loyalty, faithfulness; (c) allegiance; **holden ~**, to stick to one's allegiance, act in accordance with an oath of allegiance; **kepen ~ with**, owe allegiance to (sb.); **sweren ~**, swear allegiance (to sb.); (d) loyalty or uprightness personified; (e) **bi mi ~**, on my honor; upon my word, certainly; **bi thi (oure, your, his) ~, for thi (your) ~**; (f) **in (god) ~**, truly, certainly; (g) ? as adj.: loyal, true; (h) as surname.

(28) Herodes to Jesus
      Speake on, Jesu, for cockes blood,
      for Pilate shall not, *by my hood*,
      do the non amys; but mend thy mood
      and speake somewhat with mee. (183-186) *The Trial and Flagellation.*

(29) Cayne to Abell
      Thou shalt fayle, *by my crowne*,
      Of masterye yf I may. (601-602) *Adam and Eve; Cain and Abel*; Cain.

The combination of religious and secular oaths in drama reveals the interaction of religious and secular matters in the socio-external reality. Examples (29) and (30) illustrate this alternate use in a character's discourse. At any rate, in *by my bone,* it is a Jew who reproduces those allusions to Christ's anatomy that were examined before. It is just the corresponding profane version. The imitation of religious patterns may also help to explain the nature of *by my hood* and *by my crowne*. Both *hood* and *crown* can be regarded as metonymical expansions of *head*, representing the two opposite poles of the social pyramid: upper (*crown*) versus low (*hood*).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The language of abuse and authority has been studied in this paper in terms of the use of the derogatory function as a means of expressing the social background to the late Middle Ages. In this sense, the linguistic analysis has been restricted to insults, oaths and some animal metaphors. Insulting and swearing are the two main verbal actions by the speaker to exert abuse and authority. The meaning of these expressions reveals the tendencies and the characteristics of the external world –with either a physical or a philosophical presentation– as has been shown earlier in the explanation of some of them.

The analysis of the forms used in the derogatory function of language reveals that the number of insults and oaths is approximately the same. Their first sub-categorisation, secular vs. religious, sets up an opposition between them: insults are mainly secular, while religious oaths predominate over secular ones. This confirms what Hughes, in his 1991 book entitled *Swearing,* stated although he did not enter deeply into the analysis of secular insults. However, as has been shown here, some of these secular insults cannot be regarded as strictly secular but merely as transpositions of religious expressions. Oaths –exclamatory and authoritative in

tone–, which are uttered to reinforce the speaker and intimidate the listener, seem to be more firmly grounded in religiosity than insults.

Moreover, apart from this initial sub-categorisation, there is an assorted range of referents based on sex, status, intellectual ability, the lay medieval canon, Manicheism and earthly matters, which contributes to further categorisations.

In summary, the study of the derogatory function of language through insults, oaths and animal metaphors (not included as a separate section but analysed within the first group), with all the taxonomies that can be established, provides us with a valuable source of socio-historical and cultural reference, most notably in relation to the level of integration of moral doctrines, social differences and an incipient tendency to secularise everyday life in the burlesque treatment of serious matters.

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FROM AITHIRNE THE IMPORTUNATE TO ROBERT McLIAM WILSON: A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW ON THE IRISH SATIRIC TRADITION[1]

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ABSTRACT. *Among the multiplicity of genres and modes Irish authors have cultivated, it seems that satire has prevailingly flourished throughout the history of Irish literature. From the first invectives of Aithirne the Importunate to the works of contemporary authors such as Robert McLiam Wilson or Colin Bateman, satire has been an indissoluble component of the social, political and religious life of Ireland. It is no wonder, thus, that some of the most prestigious Irish writers –namely Jonathan Swift, Richard Sheridan, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, Austin Clarke, or even James Joyce– have been unanimously praised and recognised as satirists. My purpose in this paper will be to trace a preliminary overview on the role satire has played in the Irish literary tradition, focusing on several authors and on how their targets and rhetorical strategies have evolved from Aithirne's early invectives. Therefore, this paper will purport to analyse issues such as the tumultuous relationship between Ireland and Great Britain, the unquestionable authority exerted by the Church, and the way recent novelists envisage the so-called Northern Irish "Troubles".*

In his seminal book *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art*, Robert C. Elliott (1966: 3-48) pinpoints the historical foundations of the mode, arguing that this long-standing tradition seems to find its origins in Greece, Arabia, and Ireland. Most scholars agree that the mode traces back to these three sources, although its evolution confirms that satire has departed from these initial stages and has progressively adapted to the ongoing political, economic and social contexts in

which it has found expression. However, it is worth noting that Elliott recognises Ireland as a long-established core of satiric production, bearing in mind that critics have tended to favour English, French, German or, even, American satire in detriment of other more marginal contexts. Although the most outstanding Irish satirists have been prolifically analysed, it seems that there have been very few attempts to examine the profound renovation Irish satiric literature has undergone as regards thematic, stylistic and commercial considerations. The aim of this paper is to delineate a succinct preliminary overview of the historical progress of the mode, from the early invectives of Aithirne the Importunate to the most recent satires of the Northern Irish novelist Robert McLiam Wilson. This study will pursue the elucidation of the targets Irish authors have most recurrently satirised and of the apparatus of rhetorical strategies they draw on in order to bestow literary craftsmanship upon their novels, poems or plays. In this vein, references will be made to questions such as the suffocating presence of the Church in Irish history, the tense colonial relationship between England and Ireland during the eighteenth century or the Northern Irish strife depicted in the so-called "Troubles" literature.

Similarly to Greek and Arabian satire, the origins of the mode in Ireland were associated with sorcery and superstition. It was believed that the effects of satires were disastrous for the people who were their objects. For instance, the invectives the Greek satirist Archilochus directed at Lycambes and her daughter were so venomous that they, unable to overcome this public vexation, ended up committing suicide. In Arabia, in times of war, troops were usually headed by a satirist who, by means of a *hijá* or lampooning verse, aimed at depriving the enemy of its morale and bravado. As Elliott (1966: 15) states: "The satire was like a curse, and it was as important an element of waging war as the fighting itself. Arab tribesmen thought of the *hijá* as a weapon which rival poets hurled at each other as they would hurl spears". The legendary background of Gaelic Ireland also mythologised the figure of the satirist, who occupied a social position that run sometimes parallel to that of kings, clergymen and noblemen. His invectives were feared, since they did not only cause psychological damage but, especially, a visible physical deterioration in the form of blisters and blemishes. In his authoritative article on early Irish satire, F. N. Robinson (1971: 14) suggests that:

> Attention must be called rather to what concerns the satire itself –to the poet's effort to find an excuse for his attack, to his final punishment for unjust satire, in spite of his ruse, and to the detailed account of the blemishing effect of his maledictory verse. (Pimples, blushes, or other kinds of disfigurement produced by satire have been several times referred to).

Among the many satirists that encumbered the key role performed by satire at this stage, Aithirne the Importunate was the most outstanding. His verses were not distinguished for the use of sophisticated rhetorical figures, but for their cursing or incantational effects, which turned out to be devastating for those who did not comply with the satirist's demands. In this respect, Robinson points out that citizens were obliged to pay tributes in order to soften his wrath and to prevent him from composing his destructive satires.[2]

So far, the term satire has been vaguely used to embody a kind of verbal or written composition conceived of as an instrument for public or personal humiliation. Nevertheless, it seems very complex to devise a consistent method for differentiating purely satiric accounts from lampooning verses in early Irish literature. It could be argued that these primitive satiric expressions lacked the stylistic patterning required to filter this anger and aggression into literary creation. Contrarily to what certain theorists suggest, Alvin B. Kernan (1965: 5) has defended that satire is not exclusively a critical weapon through which writers ridicule the vices that flare up in society, but a piece of art which involves a complex exercise of rhetoric. The process of transformation experimented by Irish satire turned the shapeless invectives of Aithirne the Importunate into the polished and meticulous social, political and religious anatomies of two of the most prominent Irish satirists of the eighteenth century, Jonathan Swift and Richard B. Sheridan. The literary and historical context in which they were immersed favoured the appearance of satire in most artistic realms. In this sense, their time is recognised as the turning point for satiric writing, especially in England, although it was also thoroughly seconded by the achievement of authors such as Rabelais in France or by the so-called "Connecticut Wits" in North America. The atmosphere of political corruption, economic decadence and cultural and religious emptiness endorsed the publication of an insurmountable number of satiric pieces, including novels, poems, pamphlets, journalistic articles and paintings.

Still trying to come to terms with the uneasiness provoked by the satires of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, this is the period in which John Dryden, Alexander Pope, Dr Arbuthnot and Samuel Johnson, among others, contributed to the renaissance of a mode that had been ostracised by the authorities and also by most writers, who preferred the neoclassical literary standards to the apparent coarseness of a marginal expression. Traditionally considered part of the English literary canon, Jonathan Swift's repercussion in the development of the mode is unquestionable. His

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2. The stories deriving from the figure of Aithirne the Importunate are innumerable. Most of them coincide in attributing the satirist a ruthless and merciless disposition, especially fierce when his love advances were not corresponded.

universality might explain why his Irish origins have been usually ignored when examining the sources of his satires. However, his sour-sweet relationship with Ireland, which led him to love and admonish his country almost simultaneously, provided Swift with a series of motifs and symbols that recurrently emerge in his entire literary production (Bullitt 1953: 39).[3] This double-sided relationship led him to write aggressive pamphlets against the paralysis Ireland was going through and also to condemn the colonial exploitation exercised from Great Britain. This motif became the central object of satires such as *The Drapier's Letters* (1724-25), and *A Modest Proposal* (1729), which George R. Levine (1995: 19) considers to be instances of Swift's most profound involvement in Irish matters. These writings show Swift's satire at its most penetratingly ironic stance, in which the cruelty of his proposals comes to symbolise the brutality exerted from the metropolis.

A Modest Proposal and *The Drapier's Letters* can be studied as dissections of the colonial evils perpetrated by Great Britain, which essentially attempted to debilitate the Irish economy and to aggravate the shortages Irish citizens were enduring at the time. In both of them, Swift explores the perplexing nature of Britain's relation with Ireland, in which the former dealt with the latter in the same terms as with any other of its African or Asian colonies. In this respect, the British colonial rule over Ireland has been a singular case due to the racial, linguistic, cultural and even political affinities between the two nations. In these two works, Swift adopts a detached position and incorporates a series of satiric devices that sought to disguise his critique behind a veil of irony and indirection. His essay *A Modest Proposal* presents the voice of an eighteenth-century projector who puts forward measures in order to do away with starvation in Ireland, being the selling of young children the only option he devises in order to improve the country's unbearable situation. His fervent support of cannibalism arises as a brutal metaphor of Britain devouring Ireland: "For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, although perhaps I could name a country which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it" (265). The essay excels in satiric strategies such as irony,[4] animalisation –through the comparison of breastfeeding

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3. For a detailed study of Swift's satiric techniques, see Bullitt (1953).

4. The shocking response *A Modest Proposal* had among readers was partially due to the difficulties many of them had in order to discern the ironic implications of the text. According to Edward and Lillian Bloom (1979: 88-89): "Even Swift's ironies must be approached with caution: we must be alert, that is, to distinguish between his hopes for a just Ireland and the objective, horrendous reality of an oppressive Ireland […]. In this essay, Swift's moral hopes encompassed an even profounder vision, which should be associated with the shadowy speaker of *A Modest Proposal*". For a thorough analysis on the misinterpretations of irony in satirical literature, see Knight (1985).

women with "dams"– and multiple scatological details which enhance the satiric grotesquery of the proposal.

The Drapier's Letters also condemn British imperialism and revolves around similar issues. In this case, Swift conceals his name under the pseudonym M. B. Drapier, an Irish worker who, unable to accept the British exploitative economic policy, sets out to write incendiary letters haranguing his fellow-citizens to react against British impositions. His satire centres on Wood's new guidelines for coinage, which sought to make the Irish economy less competitive by devaluing its currency. As the following excerpt illustrates, the four Drapier letters prove to be a passionate defence of his nation against the aggression of England: "It would be hard if all Ireland should but put into one scale, and this worry fellow Wood into the other; and Mr. Wood should weigh down this whole kingdom, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their pockets; and that is more than the English do by all the world besides" (229). Once again, Swift turns to indirection and camouflage in order to launch his satiric attack. The creation of a pseudonymic identity responds to the controversial situation in which eighteenth-century satirists were involved. Theoretically, the authorities have been apparently unconcerned by the impact certain satiric works could have inasmuch as they did not air political or institutional corruption. However, satirists have been severely prosecuted, especially in the eighteenth century, a period in which licensing acts were passed to regulate and, even, prohibit the writing and publication of seditious libels or satires.[5] This explains why, in order to avoid punishment, satirists have tried to deviate the attention of the establishment either by creating false identities or by setting the action in imaginary or remote lands.

As suggested above, the eighteenth century stimulated the flourishing of a considerable number of skilful satirists. In this same context, the drama of Dublin-born Richard B. Sheridan was one of the best exponents of the revitalisation Irish satire was going through at the time being. Although he situates most of his plays –especially *The Rivals* (1775), *The School for Scandal* (1777), and *The Critic* (1779)– in an English context, Sheridan always infused them with a conspicuous Irish spirit, which enabled him to portray the English middle and upper-classes from an ironic viewpoint. His plays are normally embodied in the so-called "sentimental comedy of manners", a denomination that partially overshadows the satiric components that characterise his entire playwrighting career.[6] Among all his works, *The School for*

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5. The relationship of satire with the political circles has historically been very complex. For further information as regards this issue, see Carretta (1983), Griffin (1990) and Dyer (1997).

6. In this respect, we should note what Leonard Leff (1986: 65) argues: "When critics discuss his second major work, they often use Congreve and Restoration drama as theatrical touchstones, yet under the surface of Sheridan's chastened comedy of manners lie characters and actions distinctly sentimental".

Scandal is the most celebrated and acclaimed one. This play, which borrows theatrical influences from Molière, Jonson or Middleton, relies on a double plot in which the two courses of action complement each other until its resolution. The satiric universe Sheridan creates lies basically on the utilisation of fantasy and distortion, two strategies that are essential for the presentation of characters as caricatures. In effect, the social examination Sheridan carries out in the play is, to a great extent, caricaturesque, especially visible in the way characters are named. In this vein, *The School for Scandal*, apparently a mild and humorous approach to eighteenth-century English society, is a straightforward attack directed at the follies and pettiness of its upper classes, only interested in debasing the integrity of other people by means of their slanderous comments. Names perform, therefore, a fundamental role, since they hint at both the psychological and behavioural profile of most characters. Lady Sneerwell, Mrs. Candour, Charles and Joseph Surface, Backbite or Crabtree personify, thus, the targets Sheridan bitingly satirises: on the one hand, the contrast between appearances and reality –epitomised by Mrs Candour, who, in spite of her name, contrives most of the rumours that arise in the play; and, on the other, the tendency towards scandalmongering, which impels these characters to discredit other people.[7] As Lady Sneerwell suggests in these lines, gossiping is and should be morally acceptable:

> Lady Sneerwell Yes, my dear Snake, and I am no hypocrite to deny the satisfaction I reap from the success of my efforts. Wounded myself in the early part of my life by the envenomed tongue of slander, I confess I have since known no pleasure equal to the reducing others to the level of my own injured reputation. (Act I, Sc. i, 2)

Although the Irish satiric tradition has been traditionally related to male authors, women writers have also contributed to consolidate the mode. In this respect, Maria Edgeworth emerges as a highly gifted satirist, who, like many other Irish writers, perceived the controversial relationship that existed between England and Ireland at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Although Edgeworth spent long periods in England the presence of Ireland in her novels and essays was constant. Her writings are characterised by a sense of joviality that derived from her own personality, which, according to Audrey Bilger (1998), usually

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7. Arthur Asa Berger (1997: 84) paraphrases Harry Levin in order to emphasise the importance that names have for the overall development of *The School for Scandal*: "Comedy has habitually set great store by onomastics, the science of naming, and by what the Germans called *redended namen*, speaking names. In English we may call them charactonyms, names that describe the characters".

exuded optimism and good humour.[8] Besides her best-known pieces *Castle Rackrent* (1800) and *Belinda* (1801), Edgeworth is the author of a number of works that explore subjects related to education, the role of women in society and the state of Ireland. One of these writings, *An Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802), condenses all the traits that conform a satiric writing. *An Essay* examines the way Irish people are marginalised due to their peculiar use of English and their rural background. The essay is endowed with subtle ironic nuances, in which the author criticises the long-ridden superiority complex England has historically shown towards Ireland.

However, instead of opting for a combative tone, Edgeworth purposefully presents the Irish as though they were inferior and dependent on the British wisdom and guidance. The reader soon realises that Edgeworth's intention was to revitalise the Irish language and lifestyle and to reinforce that the British sense of superiority was no longer tenable. *An Essay*, in this sense, is full of examples in which Irish speakers are either discriminated or forced to speak English:

> The mistaking of a masculine for a feminine noun, or a masculine for a feminine, must, in all probability, have happened to every Englishman that ever opened his lips in Paris; yet without losing his reputation. But even when a poor Irish haymaker […] mistake a feminine for a masculine noun […] it was sufficient to throw a grave judge and jury into convulsions of laughter. (86)

Irony, as Cicero (qted. by Behler 1990: 77) understood it, meant primarily to state one idea yet to imply a different one. Bearing Cicero's premise in mind, Edgeworth's use of irony in this work exemplifies the evolution Irish satire had experimented from the gross invectives of Aithirne the Importunate.

Throughout the twentieth century, an era in which, according to many critics, satire has experienced a moment of crisis, Ireland has proved that the satiric spirit remains an indissoluble part of its literary scenario. In this sense, the abundance of satirists in this period somehow makes up for the nineteenth-century deficit, in which very few authors could be regarded as proper satiric authors. The incursions of twentieth-century Irish satire into the dramatic, poetic and novelistic realms empower the theory that views the mode as Protean, heterogeneous and

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8. In her brilliant study *Laughing Feminism: Subversive Comedy in Frances Burney, Maria Edgeworth, and Jane Austen*, Bilger (1998) delineates both a psychological and literary profile of three authors who shared multiple common characteristics. For instance, they never accepted the patriarchal impositions of their age, which undercut their literary and personal possibilities. Moreover, Bilger asserts that the sense of humour in women was considered a social threat and an indication of the woman's bad reputation or taste. This explains, Bilger asserts, why Burney, Edgeworth and Austen reacted against the so-called "conduct-books for women", where authors recommended the norms and patterns of behaviour women should follow in order to become suitable wives and mothers.

unstable. As in the eighteenth century, the socio-political and economic situation of the country has induced many writers to employ this literary form in order to question and satirise both domestic and foreign affairs. The themes contemporary Irish satirists deal with go parallel to Ireland's historical evolution throughout this century and, paradoxically, we can observe that there are not many substantial differences with respect to the satires published by Swift, Sheridan or Edgeworth in preceding years. In order to circumscribe the object of study, we will attempt to explore succinctly issues such as the Irish Church, the still conflictive relationship between Ireland and Great Britain and the Northern Irish "Troubles" in connection with the satires of George Bernard Shaw, Austin Clarke, Seamus Heaney and Robert McLiam Wilson.

George Bernard Shaw appears as one of the most prolific playwrights in the twentieth century. His work, like that of other Irish authors, has been repeatedly included within the English literary canon, although some of his plays do intersperse a remarkable Irish spirit. Known worldwide for *Pygmalion* (1914), Bernard Shaw's career was marked by his political involvement, which helped him to be aware of the situation his country was living through and also to publish vehement satiric writings. *John Bull's Other Island* (1904) and *The Simpleton of Unexpected Isles* (1934) constitute a core of plays that encompass an ample variety of Irish themes, among which it is worth referring to the still unresolved British-Irish question (Park 1965; Morgan 1972). *John Bull's Other Island* is perhaps the play on which Bernard Shaw's satiric gifts and political disappointment converge in order to achieve a punctilious depiction of the British landlordism in Ireland. In four acts, the play describes the business travel to Ireland of two civil engineers –Broadbent and Doyle– whose headquarters are established in London. The reason that pushes them to go to Ireland is Broadbent's desire to set up a successful enterprise and to return to England after having amassed a fortune. To satirise the innumerable ill-practises committed by English landlords in Irish territories, Bernard Shaw recurs to an apparently colonial discourse, which proliferates in the utilisation of clichés and stereotypes associated to Irish citizens. However, by means of using derogatory formulas, Bernard Shaw sought to reveal the derision with which Ireland was treated by England at the time:

> Broadbent   May I put this way? that I saw at once that you are a thorough Irishman, with all the faults and all the qualities of your race: rash and improvident but brave and goodnatured; not likely to succeed in business on your own account perhaps, but eloquent, humorous, a lover of freedom, and a true follower of that great Englishman Gladstone. (Act I, 123)

The irony of *John Bull's Other Island* lies in the way Shaw, by means of overemphasing these Irish stereotypes, manages to mock at concepts and beliefs about the British idiosyncrasy that had been unquestioned so far. Broadbent's casuistry emerges as the metonymic representation of England's self-assigned superior and patronising stance with respect to Ireland. However, Doyle, an Irishman himself, soon deflates this belief when he establishes a caustic comparison of the typical Englishman with caterpillars:

> Doyle   Well, the Englishman does what the caterpillar does. He instinctively makes himself look like a fool, and eats up all the real fools at his ease while his enemies let him alone and laugh at him for being a fool like the rest. Oh, nature is cunning, cunning! (Act I, 135)

The inclusion of animal imagery in this passage responds to very traditional satiric parameters in which authors purport to present an exaggerated vision of the object of their criticism by means of dehumanising it. Rick Eden (1987:590) refers to Kernan and Pinkus when they deal with the deployment of this kind of images in satire: "Both Kernan and Philip Pinkus have noted that satire commonly diminishes human targets by comparing them to animals or machines […] Such metaphor reduces satiric antagonists to a level of nonrational or even insensate existence".

If Bernard Shaw's satiric plays concentrated on the external problematisation of the Irish question, Austin Clarke's poetry is characterised by a profound introspection into the evils of Irish society during the twentieth century. Clarke's life was strongly determined by his tense relationship with the political, religious and educational establishment. This fact led the poet to adopt satire as the best means for communicating his inner bitterness and disenchantment with the current state of Irish affairs. Among the many issues Clarke satirised in his poems, there is one that is paramount in his entire literary production: the Irish Church. In this respect, Pérez García (2001: 535) points out that the suffocating atmosphere this institution had imposed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries –which ended up creating a sort of religious *status quo*– sought to watch over the ordinary life of citizens, primarily in terms of sexuality and beliefs. Most of Clarke's satiric poems gravitate around the religious question, but there are two that illustrate the poet's position with respect to the Irish Catholic Church: "The Envy of Poor Lovers" (1955) and "Martha Blake at Fifty-one" (1963).

"The Envy of Poor Lovers" criticises the hindrances a married couple has to endure in order to enjoy a satisfying sexual life. All their actions and movements are scrutinised by the vigilant eyes of the Church, which forces them to hide in

the most recondite spots. In several ironic outlets, Clarke emphasises the lack of privacy this couple suffers when they want to be alone:

> Lying in the grass, as it were a sin
> To move they hold each other's breath, tremble,
> Ready to share that ancient dread –kisses begin
> Again– of Ireland keeping company with them. (39)

Through an exaggerated statement in which the poetic voice affirms that the whole Ireland accompanies this couple in their most intimate moments, Clarke augments the satiric insight of the poem. The poet rounds up its ironic tone asserting that even this sinless relationship brings about the exclusion of the couple from the sacramental precepts imposed by the Church: "State-paid to snatch away the folly of poor lovers / For whom, it seems, the sacraments have failed" (39).

"Martha Blake at Fifty-one" is a more sarcastic and, sometimes, disgusting poem, in which Clarke describes the last days of a pious woman whose death is impending. After an entire life devoted to pray and to comply with the dictates of the Church, Martha enters a religious hospital to receive medical assistance. However, the appalling reality of this institution lets Martha down, aggravating her illness until she eventually expires. For this poem Clarke drew on extensive scatological allusions that confirm the institution's vilifying atmosphere:[9]

> She suffered from dropped stomach, heartburn
> Scalding, water-brash
> And when she brought her wind up, turning
> Red with the weight of mashed
> Potato, mint could not relieve her.
> In vain her many belches,
> For all bellow was swelling, heaving
> Wample, gurgle, squelch. (47)

Once more, Clarke's satire exposes the fragile foundations of the Irish Catholic Church, unable to supply the attention a patient deserves. The nuns anxiously await Martha's end, who dies alone and unattended. This poem reveals Clarke's skepticism towards the Church, a feeling that is summarised in the following lines: "The ward, godless with shadow, lights, / How could she pray to God?" (50). It is no wonder, thus, that Clarke, perceiving how nuns and priests relinquished their duties, cast serious doubts on the theological foundations of the Irish Church.

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9. In his illuminating chapter on Austin Clarke as a satirist, Terence Brown (1988: 137) also abounds on the use of scatology for satiric purposes in "Martha Blake at Fifty-one".

To put an end to this paper, it could be worthwhile to recount briefly the state of satire in the last three decades of the twentieth century. Among the many practitioners of the mode, I would like to centre mostly on the poetry of Seamus Heaney and the recent fiction of Robert McLiam Wilson. Due to the Northern Irish background of both authors, their satiric contributions are somehow concerned with the sectarian disputes brought about by the "Troubles". Although Heaney's poetry is not often associated with the mode, there are some instances in which the Northern Irish author mirrors the conflict in a pungent satiric way. Within Heaney's prolific poetic production, "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" –included in his collection *North* (1975)– combines the bitterness produced by the outburst of the Northern Irish conflict with underlying ironic undertones that question the way the "Troubles" were being approached. In the poem, Heaney constructs a satiric attack that reveals the futility of the conflict, in both the Protestant and Catholic side, which means that the range of his satiric attack widens considerably since he aims at satirising any kind of religious or political bigotry. The following lines illustrate the poet's position with respect to the conflict:

> But that would be ignore other symptoms.
> Last night you didn't need a stethoscope
> To hear the eructation of Orange drums
> Allergic equally to Pearse and Pope. (58)

However, Heaney's target points to how mass media have generally dealt with the "Troubles". "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" constitutes a powerful condemnation of the trivialisation to which the Northern Irish conflict was exposed to in the early seventies. McMinn (1980: 113-14) believes that this is the ultimate consequence of how certain journalists and writers have analysed the "Troubles" at that time from an excessively limited viewpoint, provoking, thus, the distortion of the reality of the conflict. Heaney ironises about the image of Northern Ireland journalists convey and questions the objectivity of their reports:

> Where media-men and stringers sniff and point
> Where zoom lenses, recorders and coiled leads
> Litter the hotels. The times are out of joint
> But I incline as much to rosary beads. (57)

Robert McLiam Wilson's second novel *Eureka Street* (1997) continues Heaney's censoring attitude towards the sensationalism that surrounds the "Troubles". McLiam Wilson is the representative of a new trend of Northern Irish novelists whose literary production is characterised by a more relaxed, humorous and satiric tendency when

facing the miseries of their land (Graham-Yoole 1994; Patten 1995; Corcoran 1997). *Eureka Street* comprises a wide-ranging variety of satiric targets, although the novelist reflects upon issues that are common to many Northern Irish authors: the futility of the Protestant-Catholic duality, the media frivolousness about the conflict and the role performed by the Church in the Northern Irish society. The story focuses on Catholic Jake Jackson and Protestant Chuckie Lurgan, whose vital experience is diametrically opposed. Jackson appears as the personification of failure, whereas Lurgan epitomises the figure of the successful self-made man. In this vein, *Eureka Street* satirises the stigmatised and clear-cut boundaries that have historically divided Northern Ireland, and which were being perpetuated by certain political or military sectors. This fact leads McLiam Wilson to paint satirically dantesque situations such as Chucky Lurgan's –a naturally-born Protestant– looking forward to shaking hands with the Pope:

> The people around Chuckie went wild with delight and, as the Pontiff passed by where he was standing, Chuckie threw out his hands amongst the forest of stretching limbs and brushed the Pope's own fingers […] His hand buzzed with surplus blood, it felt suffused, electrified by the touch of fame, the touch of serious global celebrity. (30)

As well as Heaney, McLiam Wilson satirises the journalistic activities carried out in Northern Ireland. However, Wilson's portrait is even more acid, since he turns to a crude realism in order to describe the almost predatory attitude of mass media and their frivolous treatment of the Northern Irish reality. The author envisages that their only interest is to reproduce the most morbid and shocking images in order to capture a wider audience:

> Wifeless, childless, Robert simply refused to live with it. He refused to deal with it. Afterwards, television crews, doing pieces about the grieving relatives, used him gleefully for the first couple of weeks. The dead wife and two little girls made such a good story. In the months that followed, with Robert's stubborn resistance to comfort or happiness, the TV crews avoided him. His passionate grief, his lack of development, his unreasonable and untelegenic refusal to forgive didn't make such a good story. (224)

The presence of the satiric mode in the historical evolution of Irish literature cannot be eschewed if we are to understand the way certain authors understand the particular idiosyncrasy of their country. Humour, wit, parody and satire are terms that are applied not only to the contributions of Irish authors, but, generally speaking, to the Irish people. It is no wonder, thus, that from the earliest literary

manifestations, satire has interwoven in the narrative, dramatic, and poetic production of a great majority of Irish writers. This paper has tried to explore the extent to which the surrounding circumstances have been key matters for the ample use of satire in Irish literature, and, also, how this mode has undergone a profound transformation from the primitive invectives of Aithirne the Importunate to the rhetorical invention and stylisation of Swift, Clarke and McLiam Wilson. Since the validity of satire mostly depends on the context in which it is produced, the development of the mode in Ireland has adopted a kind of mirror-like dimension, in which the most important political, social, religious, and cultural events have been reflected, or distorted, by the pungent look of these and other eminent satirists. The continuous emergence of notable satirical writers makes it impossible to gather all of them in just a few pages: authors such as Oliver Goldsmith, James Joyce, Brian Friel, Roddy Doyle, Patrick McCabe, Glenn Patterson, or Colin Bateman, among others, are part of a long-standing tradition of satirists in Ireland, which, fortunately enough, does not give any sign of exhaustion.

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THE CHANGING ROLE OF 'SUPPORT' AND 'CONTIGUITY'.
THE HIDDEN FACET OF THE PREPOSITION 'ON' IN OLD ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT. *The simple relations model pervades most semantic treatments of the topological prepositions in, on and at. Concerning the preposition on, the pertinent literature has established two features, support and contiguity, which allegedly applies to all its uses. However, in Old English the preposition on categorises location in large geographic entities, i.e., nations. In the current paper we claim that such spatial relationships cannot be described in terms of support and contact and, therefore, the simple relations model is not adequate for a diachronic description of the preposition on. We also demonstrate that the selection restrictions that ruled the distribution of the prepositions in and on in Old English, in the locative relations derived from cognitive maps, are still partially active in present-day English. Thus, we conclude that the single relations model has to be reconsidered as a valid theoretical device to account for the current uses of the topological prepositions.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In most Old Saxon and West Saxon documents *on* excludes the preposition *in*. However, in *The Old-English version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (henceforth *Ecclesiastical History*) the prepositions *in*, *on* and *at* have a rather restricted distribution. This can be viewed in part as a dialectal feature due to the Mercian character of the text. In fact, in Northern texts, the proportion of *in* to *on* rose significantly. We believe that in these texts the selection restrictions determining the distribution of these prepositions started to become fixed.

While the usage of the preposition *at* in Old English is quite similar to present-day English (Lundskær-Nielsen 1993), determining the uses of the prepositions *in* and *on* is a much more complex question. The preposition *in* started to be used at

a stage of the language when the preposition *on* was firmly established. In this new stage, both prepositions divided up the various types of spatial relations that so far had been expressed by the preposition *on*. From the beginning, the preposition *in* obtained a more relevant role in the expression of locative relations, its use resembled in general terms that of present-day English. However, that is not the case with the preposition *on* which alternated with *in* to express location in geographic entities such as countries, regions, cities and even buildings. Thus, it seems that of the three main topological prepositions *on* is the one that has undergone major diachronic developments. Consistently with the main postulates in cognitive linguistics, we claim that the alternation of the prepositions *in* and *on* with the same type of entities is not arbitrarious but must respond to the speaker's need to express her implicit concerns. Therefore, this alternation, in our view, is the result of a restricted distribution, whose underlying selection restrictions must be established. As we will see, the establishment of these selection restrictions is not compatible with the simple relations model. The simple relations model underlies most work on locatives (Cooper 1968; Bennet 1975; Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976; Boggess 1978; Jackendoff 1983; Herskovits 1986). The basic features *support* and *contiguity* are generally assigned to the preposition *on*. We will show in this paper that these features do not exhaust all the uses that this preposition presents in Old English. Therefore, we recognise that latter changes in the use of *on* are more often limitations in the semantic range that it had in Old English rather than extensions of it. Another point at issue in this paper is whether the simple relations model suggested for *on* applies to all the uses of this preposition in present-day English, for which it has been primarily intended.

2. METHODOLOGY

On the methodological level, we have examined all the occurrences of the preposition *on* with a number of objects that denote a varied range of spatial categories in the Ecclesiastical History. Specifically, we have focused on the objects with which the preposition *on* does not collocate in present-day English. The entities studied fall under the general category "large geographic entity" and are the following: *Gallia* "Gaul", *Briten* "Britain", *eðel* "country", *mægð* "province" and *ríce* "kingdom". For reasons of space, it is not possible to give a full analysis of all the examples in this paper, so I shall confine myself to exposing the results obtained from the examination of *Gallia* and *Briten*. I must note that the facts derived from the analysis of the other landmarks are consistent with those results.

We have used Miller's 1890 edition, as it is regarded as the most complete. This edition constitutes almost in its entirety a reproduction of the Tanner Manuscript. As a source to construct our corpus of spatial expressions containing the preposition *on*, the *Ecclesiastical History* offers a number of advantages. First, being a historic narration it is remarkably long, which allows us to obtain a reasonable number of examples, without having to rely on other sources. Second, its narrative character provides broad contexts against which to draw generalisations, specifically concerning the alternation of different prepositions in expressions which are apparently alike. This factor is particularly relevant taking into account that preposition alternation usually responds to unexpected context dependencies (Herskovits 1986: 15). These context dependencies are connected with the speaker's –in this case the translator's– viewpoint of a scene or situation. Third, it is a non-fiction prose text, which precludes the presence of some prepositions to respond only to stylistic motivations. Finally, the topological preposition *on*, whose usage is at issue, is well represented in the text.

For the sake of contextualising the spatial expressions analysed, the whole sentence where each expression occurs has been included in our corpus. However, for the sake of brevity not all these expressions will be included here, only some of them when we find that they are useful to illustrate an argument. The greater attention is paid to the object of the preposition, since, as it will be seen in the following section, they have the highest responsibility for segmenting prepositional senses.

In the next section, we offer an outline of how the advent of cognitive linguistics has affected the analysis of prepositions, particularly regarding the description of the categorisation properties of the preposition *on* in present-day English. A revision of the different semantic treatments which this preposition has been subject to will serve as a background against which we can compare the state of this category in Old English. Then, we expose the main guidelines followed in the examination of the corpus and the results obtained. Finally, we discuss these results and we attempt to account for motivations that led to the present organisation of the category, taking as a point of departure the evidence in Old English.

3. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND THE CATEGORISATION PROPERTIES OF THE PREPOSITION *ON* IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

The advent of cognitive linguistics with its emphasis on the speakers' fundamental role in the organisation of spatial relations has brought the study of prepositions into a new light. Factors that were not even considered within the

standard linguistic machinery have acquired an active role in the description of the semantic content of these lexical items; for instance, the speakers' perception, their interaction with space and subsequent conceptualisation of the spatial relations. This means that when it comes to a diachronic study of prepositions dialectal factors or stylistic variance depending on the author are to be considered, but they are not the only relevant conditions when it comes to explaining apparently random uses.

The subject and object of the prepositions are syntactic notions that mirror the order that the relevant entities occupy with respect to these elements; the subject precedes whereas the object follows the preposition.[1] Nevertheless, in this paper we will use the terms introduced in Langacker's (1987) *Cognitive Grammar*, *trajector* and *landmark*. These notions involve perceptual features that are pivotal to the conceptualisation of spatial relations. The trajector is movable and of small size, when compared to the landmark, whose position is stable and is larger. The trajector is the thing whose location is specified. On the other hand, the landmark constitutes an excellent reference, it is the background against which to locate the trajector, which receives the higher focus of attention. These two notions can also be paralleled with the figure and ground distinction advanced by Talmy (1978).

Regarding the semantic treatment of the preposition *on* in the literature, it is worth noting Annette Herskovits' (1986) work on the topological prepositions *in*, *on* and *at*. In her account, the ideal meaning of the preposition *on* is defined by the spatial features *support* and *contiguity*. One of the fundamental use-types this linguist proposes for the preposition *on* is "spatial entity supported by physical object". She explains that this use emphasises the important role played by force and resistance to force in the organisation of grammar. We believe that these two notions, exertion of force and resistance to force should be considered as the central characteristics of this preposition, since it is inherent to a large number of relationships encoded by *on*. Even the relationships for which Herskovits suggests distinct use-types, show these relevant notions. For instance, *the children on the bus* is, according to Herskovits, a case of "physical object transported by a large vehicle" or *do not put your dirty fingers on my clean suit* is an example of the use-type "physical object contiguous with another". In our view, in both the weight the trajector applies on the landmark and, therefore, the notions of exertion and resistance to force are also involved here.

Herskovits identifies one use-type of the preposition *on* as being "spatial entity located on geographical locations". As noted above, location on geographi-

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1. With the exception of the phenomenon known as preposition stranding.

cal entities as expressed by the preposition *on* is one of the focuses of attention of this paper. Herskovits argues that the notions of support and contiguity are not central to this use-type. We contend that this is due to the fact that support in particular is a relationship that we learn through bodily experience and can only be attested to by means of visual input. Concerning contiguity, as Piaget and Inhelder (1956: 8) put it: "it has not been shown in any particular field, such as the visual, that perceptual continuity retains the same character at all levels of development".[2] In other words, as the cognitive development of the child progresses, the relationships of contiguity obtains a higher degree of schematisation. However, there are two different types of abstracted contiguity, which vary according to their liability to comprehension. For instance, let us think of a map, we are used to characterising two countries as contiguous because they share part of their boundaries. However, we would hardly speak of a point standing for a town situated in a country as contiguous to the country. To sum up, vertical contiguity that we find between a book and a table, when the book is on the upper surface of that table, is not to be extrapolated to geometric relationships such as that of a point lying on a plane, let alone support.

In present-day English, the competing roles of surrounding versus support in relationships perceived visually is what determines the activation of a specific preposition in the codification of a scene. Consider the following examples from Herskovits (1986: 143):

(1) a. *the potato on/in the dish*

   b. *the man on/in the chair*

The degree of applicability of one of the options depends on the extent to which surrounding or support are relevant to the situations. However, when it comes to geometric relations such as the ones that build up mental maps, surrounding and support are not really the competing notions motivating the choice of one of these two prepositions. There are geographic entities that can be preceded by any of these prepositions, for instance: *prairie*, *land*, and *continent*. The cases of alternation of the prepositions *in* and *on*, to express location in these landmarks cannot be misunderstood with situations like 1a. and 1b. These landmarks cannot be apprehended visually in their totality, therefore location in them is conceptualised through the help of cognitive maps (0'Keefe 1996). In other words, to decide

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2. The topological notion of continuity as Piaget uses it is synonymous with that of contiguity. Here, in order to be consistent with the terminology used within the framework of cognitive linguistics we will use the latter.

whether an entity is *on the prairie* or *in the prairie* is not a question of either support or surrounding being more salient. In fact, surrounding and support even after reaching a remarkable degree of schematisation are not the type of relationship that one is likely to include in a mental map of a locative situation. In present-day English, the number of landmarks denoting an area that can be preceded by both prepositions is relatively low. In contrast, in the Old English dialects in which these two prepositions show a restricted distribution, the number of spatial relationships in which they can alternate is remarkably higher. As support and surrounding are not the parameters defining this alternation, we have studied the contexts in which these spatial expressions occur to find the motivations underlying their distribution.

4. EXAMINATION OF CORPUS AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

As mentioned above, we have examined all the instances of the preposition *on* in the *Ecclesiastical History* with complements denoting large geographic entities. This choice is not random since we attempt to find the contextual factors that motivated the collocation of the preposition *on* with entities it no longer occurs with in present-day English. Our working hypothesis is that the semantic content of these expressions must show characteristics that are somehow connected with the present usage of the preposition. It goes without saying that in order to set up the selection restrictions that determine the choice between *on* and *in* in the relevant phrases it is also necessary to study the examples with the preposition *in*.

For the analysis of all these categories, we have established a number of common procedures. First, we have verified that the distribution of *in* and *on* did not respond to specific morphosyntactic surroundings. Concerning case, both prepositions govern dative and accusative, and, as expected, in the *Ecclesiastical History* they appear with the two cases. It must be noted that even though the accusative is usually associated with motion and the dative with location, in this literary work there is not a regular correspondence between the cases and these meanings. As a consequence, both prepositions participate in motion and locative expressions, then this factor was disregarded as playing any role in their distribution. In none of the expressions studied does the presence of one preposition depend on the case frame of a verb. These examples would have not been included in our corpus because in those situations there are often special conditions on prepositional choice. We have also taken into account the presence of determiners in the complements of the prepositions to see whether the presence of a definite or indefinite entity pointed to differences in preposition usage. In this

sense, we must say that the names of countries have to be considered as inherently definite landmarks, thus particular attention was paid to common nouns such as *eðel*, *mægð* and *ríce*. As the others, this factor did not seem to be decisive in the distribution of these prepositions either. The next step was to look into the semantic content of the sentences and of the broader context where these prepositions occur.

Someone could make two basic objections. First, that the choice of these prepositions does not necessarily respond to any selection restriction, but rather to changes of hand. In this sense, it must be pointed out that the pages of the *Ecclesiastical History* where these two prepositions alternate is too high to attribute their distribution to the randomness of individual variation. Although we do not want to affirm that one-hundred per cent of the cases are exempt from the individual's choice influences. The second objection is the fact that the *Ecclesiastical History* is a translation from a Latin original. In order to check whether such dependence has biased the use of *in* and *on*, we have compared all the expressions that compose our corpus with their Latin equivalents and we have not found any repeated synchronicity in this sense, for example, the Latin preposition *in* motivating the presence of *in* and thus the absence of *on* in the Old English text.[3] In his study of the case values governed by prepositions in Old English, Belden (1897) also confirmed that the Latin work had not determined the choice of prepositions in this literary work.

Once all these questions had been settled we started studying the data consistently with the trends posited for prepositional analysis within the framework of cognitive linguistics (Dirven 1993; Herskovits 1982, 1986; Brugman and Lakoff 1988; Sandra and Rice 1995; Wilkins and Hill 1995; Regier 1996; Rice 1996; Levinson 2002). Therefore, in our analysis, we have considered questions such as the perspective the speaker takes of a scene and the modalities involved in the conceptualisation of a spatial relationship, i.e. visual input versus cognitive maps.

There are 47 instances of *Briten* preceded by the prepositions under analysis; 22 with the preposition *in* and 25 with the preposition *on*. Considering the parameters provided by the standard linguistic machinery nothing in the semantics of the sentences where these expressions occur seems to motivate this difference. But when looking more thoroughly at the broader context, sometimes even the sentence was enough, we have noticed interesting regularities in the usage of both.

When the story includes a lot of visual details of the actions happening in one place, this place is introduced with the preposition *in*. This accounts for 17 examples where this preposition occurs. Significantly, in chapter XII of the First

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3. The Latin version used for this comparison is that by Goold (1930).

Book, the military conquest of Britain by the Picts, the Angles and the Saxons is narrated in a very descriptive and visual way. In connection with this passage, consider the following example:

(2) *þa heo micel wæl on Ongolcynne geslogon, ymb feower feowertig wintra Ongolcynnes cymes **in Breotone*** (1 12.54.17).[4]

"there they made a great carnage of the Angles, about forty-four years after the arrival of the Angles **in Britain**."

In the rest of the examples with the preposition *in*, five, we have attested the presence of a recurrent factor, in all of them the boundaries of the landmark were particularly salient. For instance, in the First Book the cruel tactics of Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria, used against the Britons are narrated. By so doing two spaces are clearly opposed Britain versus Northumbria. The salience of the limits sepa-rating these two regions within the same island is self-evident.

As regards the preposition *on*, it is certainly not coincidental that it occurs in all the expressions where the narrator takes a remote perspective of the facts and, thus, of their location. The first use-type identified can be designated "enumeration of events". In fact, when lists of events are provided their location is systematically expressed with *on*, in the case of *Briten* we have found four examples with the preposition *on* and none with *in*. There is a section of the *Ecclesiastical History* known as *Headings*, there the contents of all the chapters that make up the Five Books are summarised in a telegraph-like style:

(3) *XI. Ðæt se arwurþa wer Swiðbyrht **on Breotone** , Wilbrord æt Rome biscopas wæron Fresna ðeode gehalgode* (BedeHead 5.22.32).

"XI. That the venerable Swithberht **in Britain** and Wilbrord at Rome were consecrated as bishops for Friesland."

The preposition *on* also occurs with *Briten* when the location in this region is accessed through a cognitive map. As Herskovits (1986) explains, maps represent the geometric idealisations that speakers use to conceptualise some spatial relationships. In this kind of conceptualisation, a higher degree of abstraction holds and thus, spatial entities are represented as points, lines or planes. This situation applies to the rest of the examples in which the preposition *on* occurs with *Briten*. However, within this general state of affairs we have found three different circumstances in the 21 examples where a mental map is needed

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4. These numbers indicate book, chapter, page and line of Miller's edition. The line being that containing the relevant preposition.

to account for the preposition *on*. It is reasonable therefore to assume that they constitute three further use-types of these prepositions in Old English. First, there are four examples where the narration is located in a region and at some point they refer to a case of location in a different place using the preposition *on*, while the point of observation is still kept in the same region. Our thesis that the location with the preposition *on* does not play a central role in the discourse situation is supported by the fact that in one of the examples this information is presented between commas in Miller's edition, which emphasises its non-defining value. We have included here the whole paragraph where this case occurs, because we believe it serves to better illustrate this use-type:

(4) *Ða gecas him geferan, ða þe aæghwaeðer ge on hiora dædum ge on gelæ-rednesse frome scearpe wæron Godes word to bodienne to lærenne, ealle ða þing gearwada ða ðe sciplíðendum nedðearflicu gesewen wæron, þa com sume dæge on ærmorgen to him an þara gesewen wæron, þa com sume dæge on ærmorgen to him an þara broðra, se wæs iu* **on Breotene** *Bosles discipul ðegn Gode þæs leofan sacerdes, mid ðy he ða se ilca Bósel wæs regolweard in ðæm mynstre in Mailros, under Eatan þem abbude, suæ sue we beforan sægdon* (5 9.410.3).

"When he had chosen companions, who both in conduct and learning were energetic and sagacious to teach and preach God's word, and when all things had been prepared which seemed necessary for voyagers, there came to him one day early in the morning one of the brethren, who formerly **in Britain** had been a pupil and attendant of Boisel, the priest well beloved of God, when prior of the monastery at Melrose under abbot Eata, as already mentioned."

This use-type can be defined as "cognitive map indicating an external perspective". We are using the phrase *external perspective* to emphasise that the location at issue is accessed from another location, where the narrator's view is placed. I have designated the second use-type identified in this connection "cognitive map indicating neutral perspective". There are nine examples of this use-type. In one of them Bede is telling that a ravenous hunger started in Constantinople and from there it extended to *Briten*. The activation of a mental map is immediate to the reading of the passage, so that it is possible to understand the process of the development of the trajectory. Once Britain is conceptualised as a plane, further localisations in this land are expressed using the preposition *on*, as the example below shows:

(5) *Æfter þyssum com gód gear, swa eac micel genihtsumnys wæstma* **on Breotone** *lond, swa nænig æfteryldo syððan gemunan mæg* (1 11.48.25).

"After this came a good year, and such abundant crops **in Britain**, as no age since can record."

The main distinction to be drawn between this use and the former is that in this case the reference to the location is not made from a place previously stated, rather it seems that the narrator is viewing the facts as he points at the different sites where they take place on a map. The third use-type connected with the activation of cognitive maps is defined as "multiple location". The peculiarity of this use is that the trajector is made up of many individual elements, thus it is conceptualised as a set of points located over a plane. Consequently, no visual details are provided either of the trajector or of the landmark. We have just found one example of this use-type:

(6) *Ðeos sibb áwunade on Cristes cyrican, ða þe* **on Brytene** *wæron, oð ða tide þe se Arrianisca gedweolda aras* (1 8.42.11).

This peace ever continued in the churches of Christ, which were **in Britain** up to the time when the Arian heresy arose.

The last use-type we have identified in relation to this landmark responds as well to an idealisation of spatial relationships. We will call this use-type "idealisation of large-scale motion". This motion is to be distinguished from the one that we effect inside a house, for example, where we are aware of crossing the thresholds that bound the different rooms and of the operations involved in performing that motion, such as opening doors or avoiding obstacles in the way.[5] Instead, motion through miles of kilometres is viewed in a different manner, it is obviously more easily conceived as a line. This is related to general knowledge of the world, for instance, using the map analogy, if one draws the trajectory to be run between two countries we cannot represent its exact form or predict the obstacles that we may come across on the way. Also the trajectory exhibits a high degree of stylisation as corresponds to our creation of maps. This stylisation holds as well to the points that segment the trajectory, namely the source and the goal. In the *Ecclesiastical History* there are seven occurrences of this use-type with *Briten*. For the sake of example, we include one below:

(7) *Ða Angel þeod Seaxna wæs gelaðod fram þam foresprecenan cyninge,* **on Breotone** *com on þrim myclum scypun;* (1 12.50.20).

"At that time the Angels and Saxons were called in by the aforesaid king, and arrived **in Britain** with three great ships."

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5. In spatial cognition these operations are designated *navigation*.

As regards the second landmark analysed, *Gallia*, we expected before exa-mining the different spatial expressions where it occurs, that geometric concep-tualisation and context dependencies would yield the same use-types identified for the preposition *on* in connection with *Briten*. In total there are 19 cases of this landmark in collocation with the prepositions *in* and *on*. The examples of *in*, 13, outnumber considerably those of *on*, six. Consistently with our findings regarding *Briten*, the preposition *in* occurs in those cases, 11, where the opposition between two different spaces obtains particular saliency. For instance, at one point, Bede relates the story of a Gaulish bishop who enraged by a British king decided to leave Britain and come back to *his agene leode*. The opposition between those two countries establishes the difference between a foreign land and where *his own people* reside, which is made evident by the presence of the preposition *in*. Besides, the characterisation of a geographic place by referring to their inhabitants contributes to enhance a feeling of proximity:

(8) *gewat þa of Breotone hwearf eft in his agene leode **in Gallia rice*** (3 5.170.5).

   "he left Britain and returned to his own people **in Gaul**."

There are two examples where close perspectives to the facts that occur in Gaul are taken, accordingly, the narrator provides a detailed visual description of the existing characters, their physical properties and interactions in the world. One of the examples is inserted in a short story about a mother who in an attempt to save her children from a certain death in Britain sends them to Gaul. The narrator gives us access to a great deal of information concerning what happened to the children once in Gaul. Furthermore, Gaul opposes Britain as a safe place, this opposition may also act as a relevant factor motivating the choice of the preposition *in*. This indicates that constraints from context on preposition choice do not operate in isolation but they concur, even though, with different weight.

Concerning the use-types under which the examples of preposition *on* in collocation with *Gaul* fall, as predicted, they show a remarkable coincidence with those posited after the examination of *Briten*. As many as three examples are present in an enumeration of events. As noted earlier, this kind of narration is quite rough and deals with events in a punctual way, they are not developed, just mentioned. Consider the example below:

(9) *VIIII. Ðæt ricsiendum Gratiano Maximus se casere wæs **on Breotene** acenned, eft mid micle weorede ferde on Gallia rice* (BedeHead 1.6.21).

   "IX. That in the reign of Gratianus the emperor Maaximus was born **in Britain**, and again proceeded to Gaul with a vast host."

There is another example that is part of a biography. In biographies narrators usually take a remote perspective of the spatial and temporal locations referred to. The example belongs to a digression made by Bede to narrate the life of Wilfrid:

(10) *Ðone he eft nalæs æfter miclum fæce sende* **on Gallia** *rice mid geðohte geðafunge Oswioes his fæder* (5 17.456.30).

"And after a short time he sent him **to Gaul** with the counsel and consent of his father Oswio,"

It is of interest to note that all the cases of spatial and temporal location that we have found in that biography show the preposition *on*. The scarce provision of details presented of Wilfrid's life is announced in advance by Bede:

Be ƿysesses byscopes lifes stealle foreweardum we sculon feaum wordum gemyngian, ƿa ƿe be him gedon wæron (Book V, chapter XVII, page 450).

"With regard to the early circumstances of this bishop's life, we shall mention in a few words what befell him."

The cases of location in digressions such as biographies that are included by an author in a narration to provide further details about one of the characters are peripheral to the central description of facts. In biographies, the relevant aspects are the character's deeds and achievements, dates and places usually play a lesser role. This factor motivates a smaller involvement of the speaker with the locative expressions at issue, which is consistent with a remote perspective. This can be considered as a further use of the preposition *on* in the *Ecclesiastical History*: "locatives in peripheral accounts".

As in the case of *Briten*, we have found with *Gallia* one example of the use-type *cognitive map indicating an external perspective*. The narrative focus is in Rome and the return of one character to Gaul is conceived from that primary location, which emphasises the remote view underlying this spatial relation. Note in the following example that the visual details of the actions correspond to what is going on in Rome, where the point of observation is located:

(11) *mid ƿy he ƿa fela monƿa ƿær gesæligum gelesum geornlice abysegad wæs, ƿa hwearf he eft* **on Gallia** *rice to Dalfino ƿam bysceope his freonde,* (5 17.454.27)

"And when he had zealously occupied himself for many months there in successful study, he returned again **to Gaul** to his friend bishop Dalfinus"

Finally, as in the case of *Briten*, we have also found an example of location of one point of a trajectory. The source of such trajectory has been established by Bede at Rome, the goal at Britain and the landmark at issue here is a point in between:

(12) *Mid þy he þa wæs eft hweofende to Breotone, he becom* **on dælas Gallia rices***, þa wæs he gehrinen gestonden semninga mid untrymnesse* (5 17.462.1).

"When he set out on his return to Britain, on arriving **in the districts of Gaul** he was suddenly seized and attacked with illness."

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUDING ISSUES

The previous section as a whole makes it clear that by the first half of the 10th century in some dialectal areas *in* did not dominate the category *large geographic entities*. Rather, the analysis reveals a surprising situation, the preposition *on* in Old English is used to express location in nations. This contradicts the most commonly accepted ideas associated with *on*, which is contiguity with a surface or with a line and support of the trajector by the landmark. However, if we consider that in present-day English *on* is also used to locate in geographic entities, i.e., *island*, *peninsula*, *land*, *continent*, *plain*, *prairie*, etc. we may not find those cases in Old English so surprising after all. We, cognitive linguists, in our attempt to demonstrate that even the lowliest grammatical morpheme is meaningful, usually posit multiple senses for these items and treat them as complex lexical categories. The reaction to this situation is to establish a single sense or core from which all the other senses of the category originated, this core sense is called by Herskovits (1986) *ideal meaning*. According to Herskovits, the ideal meaning, with a certain degree of tolerance, should apply to all the use-types of a preposition. As for other linguists, for her the ideal meaning of the preposition *on* is defined by the features support and contiguity. But Herskovits (1986: 147) is forced to acknowledge that these two features as far as location in a geographical entity is concerned, "though not very remote, are not central". In our view, these two features do not apply to most cases of location on a map, rather they are inherent to the spatial relationships encoded by *on* that are apprehended visually. Therefore, attempting to put all the use-types of a preposition under a single definition may be artificial. Boggess (1978) already noted that support and contiguity basically apply to the prototypical case of *on*, where the trajector rests on a free, horizontal, upward facing surface of the landmark. According to Boggess, other uses of *on* must be regarded as deviations from the prototype, therefore, we should consider carefully whether the two features mentioned above really apply to these semantic extensions. We believe that the prototype is generated at the perceptual level since the characteristics that

it shows are more salient. Lundskær-Nielsen (1993: 102) in his study of the prepositions *in*, *on* and *at* in Old and Middle English already pointed to the determinant role of visual relationships in establishing the meaning of these prepositions: "Although quantitatively this category is rather insignificant, it is nevertheless here that the beginning differentiation of spatial meaning between the three prepositions is seen most clearly, viz. *æt* ('close to/ near by'), *in* ('inside') and *on* ('on top of a surface'); this remains an important distinction in ModE."

The prepositions *in* and *at* in present-day English have inherited from Old English part of their capacity to alternate to encode the different perspectives that a speaker can take from a situation (*John is at the shop* vs. *John is in the shop*). We claim that the distribution of *in* and *on* with some landmarks is also governed by the need to express different views of, perhaps, objectively the same scene. Herskovits (1986) pointed out that in contrasting pairs such as *the potato on/in the dish* what matters is the extent to which *surrounding* is relevant in the relation. In the same fashion, in Old English, the alternation of *in* and *on* in the expression of location in geographic entities depended upon the activation of relevant facts associated to the interior of the landmark, i.e. its internal structure versus its consideration as a plane. In other words, the relevant question was whether the speaker took a remote or a close-up perspective of a situation. The historical development of these two spatial categories has constrained their flexibility to adapt themselves to the speaker's perspective in present-day English. With some geographic entities such as *countries* the alternation that we found in Old English would yield ungrammatical constructions if preceded by the preposition *on*. However, the constraining action of time has not gone so far as to make this phenomenon reach the level of the exceptional. Boggess (1978: 55-6) noted that the alternation between these prepositions is more frequent than we may think in principle: "[T]his tendency of contact locatives to signify two-dimensional restriction of location and little else accounts for the ease with which <u>in</u> and <u>on</u> can be interchanged in many such cases". However, we only agree partially with Boggess when she asserts that all the relations derived from mental maps that are categorised by *in* and *on* signify location in a two-dimensional landmark. This is true in the case of countries where the degree of salience of their boundaries constrains the choice between *in* and *on*. For example, due to the familiarity of maps we are usually aware of the shape of countries. The salience of their boundaries accounts for the use of the preposition *in* when referring to location in one of them. In contrast, other geographic entities such as plains are not so clearly drawn in maps, sometimes they are just represented by assigning a section of the map a different colour from the background, with no boundaries delineating its exact extension. Therefore, there is much more in this distinction than just *two-dimensional*

restriction of location, which is almost like saying that these prepositions are in free variation. Lindkvist (1978) was already concerned with the consequences of the familiarisation of the speakers with maps in the conceptualisation of geographic spatial relations. According to Lindkvist, when geographical knowledge was slight distant lands were apprehended by most people in a vague way. This may account for the freedom of the users of the Old English language to use both *in* and *on* when locating in countries. As the boundaries of a remarkable number of countries have progressively become clear for speakers, the preposition *in* has taken over the function of locating in these entities.

But the alternation of the prepositions *in* and *on* is still governed in some cases by the same factors that were active in Old English. Consider the following examples from Herskovits (1986: 147):

(13) a. The players on the football field

b. The grape pickers in the field

According to her, with football field "one cannot substitute *in* for *on* to express general location, for no discernible reason other than convention." However, if one thinks of the typical context in which one interacts with a football game, we can find the motivations underlying this use. When watching a football match it is usually seen from a certain height or on television, the football players are often seen as moving points over a surface. In fact, visual details play a peripheral or limited role, what matters is the potential trajectory of the ball to the goal. This implies a high level of schematisation that we have attributed to the historical use of this preposition. Regarding 13.b, the speakers are likely to have a more visual apprehension of the scene.

Finally, the prototypical use of the preposition *on* was already quite established in Old English (Lundskær-Nielsen 1993), therefore, we should be able to find some features in that use motivating its behaviour concerning location in a geographic entity. Consider when one happens to be *in* a city, one feels surrounded by all the elements that compound the internal structure of that city –buildings, parks, trees, or cars–. Definitely, we feel located *in* the interior of a geographic entity. However, when looking out of the window of an aeroplane that has just taken off, the same city will appear to us as a planar entity with some elements placed *on* its surface. Then the relationships encoded by the preposition *on* are connected with a perspective that is more remote than that characterising the situations encoded by *in*. More to the visual level, from a certain distance we can see that a book is on a table, whereas to be able to affirm that an object is inside a box we need to be quite close of the box in order to attest the existence of such relationship of enclosure.

We claim that these factors played an conclusive role in determining the selection restrictions of *in* and *on* regarding location in large geographic entities in Old English and to a lesser extent still today. Regarding future developments of this alternation in geographic locations, it is beyond the task of a linguist to foresee whether it will continue to decrease in favour of the preposition *in*. As a matter of fact, the process has already started, as the data in Old English shows. This was also already noticeable in Middle English, as Lundskær-Nielsen (1993: 140) stated. Some 13th century texts show that the frequency of the preposition *on* expressing location in large entities was progressively being restricted and challenged by the preposition *in*.

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WOLVES, SHEEP AND *VATOS LOCOS*: REFLECTIONS OF GANG ACTIVITY IN CHICANO LITERATURE[1]

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ABSTRACT. *The difficult social and economical reality of many barrios in the city of Los Angeles, and the outgrowing anger provoked by this situation in many Chicano youngsters, has resulted in the emergence of a strong gang activity. Violence, crime and a deep sense of frustration lead the lives of the members of these groups, who, in an attempt to fight a system that does not count on them, choose to live the dark side of life. The gang, albeit its highly hierarchical system of organization, becomes the safe haven in which these angry young Chicanos seek for shelter and protection, in an often self-destructive way.*
Always Running (1993) by Luis J. Rodriguez and Locas (1997), by Yxta Maya Murray, expose the extreme and harsh existence of Chicano gangs, its internal and external fights for power, and the subsequent fatal consequences that these often provoke upon its members. The different visions of gang life, symbolized by their male and female protagonists, respectively, offer a rough, though extremely human vision of the dark side of the barrio.

> I got nothing to lose, I'm going all out
> The due's never stop, I refuse to play by the rules
> Uptight when you stepping into the night right
> Pigs rolling up shining a bright light.
> Nothing better to do than fuck with the pride
> When you hide behind your badge and gun and ride.
>
> (Lyrics from *(Nothin 2 Loose) Goin all out*, by Chicano rap band Cypress Hill)

Territorial, social, cultural and linguistic conquest have marked the existence of the first inhabitants of the territories of the Southwest of the United States. Many

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Chicanos, consciously acknowledging their situation of global colonization, have managed to overcome the painful effects of the usurpation of their culture and identity, by way of different means, such as literature and arts, amongst others. Nonetheless, the fate of all the members of the Chicano community has not been this rewarding and productive. This is the case of many Chicano youngsters, who have transformed the *barrio* in the symbol of the reconquering and regaining of a territory that was once stolen from their ancestors.

The difficult social and economical reality of many *barrios* in different cities of the United States, and the outgrowing anger provoked by this situation in many Chicano adolescents, has resulted in the emergence of a strong gang activity. Violence, crime and a deep sense of frustration lead the lives of the members of these groups, who, in an attempt to fight a system that does not count on them, choose to live the dark side of life. The gang, albeit its highly hierarchical system of organization, becomes the safe haven in which these angry young Chicanos seek for shelter and protection, in an often self-destructive way.

Always Running (1993) by Luis J. Rodriguez and *Locas* (1997), by Yxta Maya Murray, expose the extreme and harsh existence of Chicano gangs, its internal and external fights for power, and the subsequent fatal consequences that these often provoke upon its members. The different visions of gang life, symbolized by their male and female protagonists, respectively, offer a rough, though extremely human vision of the dark side of the *barrio*. The aim of this work is hence, to examine the diverse themes and subsequently, realities, that the two novels illustrate, as well as to explore the male and female portrayal of gang activity and life.

From their outset, both novels coincide in the representation of the *barrio* as a tough, difficult place to live in, where kids experience a high rate of school failure, and are thus more easily introduced into criminal activities. Diego Vigil (1993: 96-97) gives a clear definition of life in the *barrio* where the first gangs where organized:

> The barrios in which the earliest, most firmly established Chicano gangs developed were well-demarcated settlements of Mexican immigrants. They were located in geographically isolated areas that other settlers and developers had bypassed as less appropriate for habitation, and were further isolated by cultural, racial, and socioeconomic barriers enforced by ingrained prejudices of the Anglo-American community. The isolation imposed by these conditions exacerbated the problems that barrio residents faced and, at the same time, rendered the barrios more impermeable to outside influences. The nuclei of the gangs that emerged in these barrios were comprised of street youths who saw

little to aspire to in their parents' difficult circumstances and received little guidance from other adults.

This situation is clearly exposed in the two novels which are the subject of this study. *Always Running*, by Luis J. Rodriguez, published in 1993, portrays the autobiographical experience of the author, who has personally been an active member of gang activity, and chooses to recount his life experience pursuing a highly instructive aim, as a result of the discovery of his son's gradual involvement in gang life. The novel starts with a reflection on the part of the author of the previously mentioned extreme situation for Chicano youngsters in the *barrio*, which is clearly discernible in the high rates of education failure among the group. As Rodriguez (1993: 7-8) strongly denounces at the beginning of the novel,

> In East L.A. and in schools like Chicago's Clemente were some of the nation's highest drop-out rates. Youth unemployment hovered around 75 percent in the most neglected areas. […] With little productive to do, drug selling becomes a lucrative means of survival. A 10-year-old in Humboldt Park can make $80-$100 a day as a lookout for local dealers. The drug trade is business. It's capitalism: Cutthroat, profit-motivated and expedient. Also, the values which drive gangs are linked to the control of markets, in a way similar to what has created borders between nations. In communities with limited resources like Humboldt Park and East L.A., sophisticated survival structures evolved, including gangs, out of the bone and sinew tossed up by this environment.

The inevitability of the gang activity is somehow implied in the previous words, even though the novel itself stands out as a call for Chicano youngsters to avoid the implicit subconscious acceptance and assimilation of their deprived situation, which is a product of strategies aimed at the discrimination and criminalization of these groups, who eventually turn their wrath towards their own community. Words, literature in this particular case, are proposed by the author as one of the best means to combat and face these circumstances. Concomitantly, the lack of control of language becomes, together with that of other social and economical rights, one of the elements that, as understood by Rodriguez, provoked his involvement in a *vida loca*, as a result of the deviance it implies in mainstream, white-controlled institutions such as the school. As Rodriguez (1993: 27) clearly portrays in the following words:

> In those days there was no way to integrate the non-English speaking children. So they just made it a crime to speak anything but English. If a Spanish word sneaked out in the playground, kids were often sent to the office to get swatted

or to get detention. Teachers complained that maybe the children were saying
bad things about them. An assumption of guilt was enough to get one punished.

As a consequence of this discriminatory exclusion and relegation of the
children, the need of belonging becomes a strong urge in them. The gang, or *clicka*,
becomes therefore a safe refuge in which these rejected young kids seek shelter,
respect, and ultimately, recognition. Concurrently, the rage that they have grown as
a result of this painful experience, becomes one of the axis around which gang life
evolves. Unadapted and having fully assimilated their situation of non-belonging,
they quickly turn into delinquency and crime as a means of economic survival and
retaliation against a system that has violently mistrusted and discarded them.

But the practice of the exclusion does not always find its source from external,
mainstream institutions, as in the case of Rodriguez's life, but it may also be found
in the gang itself, as it is harshly portrayed in Murray's novel, *Locas*, published in
1997. It is the story of Lucía and Cecilia, two women whose destinies are marked
by the existence of a gang called Los Lobos in Echo Park, a *barrio* in East Los
Angeles, and the strong gender-based hierarchies that the all masculine members of
the *clicka* impose upon *their* women, who are depicted as *sheep*. The animalization
of the protagonists into wolves and sheep, and the implications that this provokes,
render the story and the reality portrayed in the work with a very violent tone,
which surpasses tremendously Rodriguez's novel in this aspect. Wolves and sheep
live in a constant battle, in which the most powerful ones, the male wolves, use
their sheep as a means of gaining respect and honor. The stories of these two
women are presented at the outset of the novel as parallel, for they share a wolf,
Manny, the gang leader, who is Lucía's boyfriend and Cecilia's brother. Both women
become representative of the rejected minority within a strongly established, highly
hierarchized microcomunity, the gang, and each of them will eventually become the
symbol of contrasted attitudes towards *la vida loca*. Lucía will opt for adopting the
life of a wolf, and therefore, her masculinization will stand for the attitude that the
gang adopts towards mainstream society, because, "the gang has often been
thought of as a monolithic institution in which physical force (who is strongest) is
the primary criterion in gaining and maintaining power within the organization"
(Sánchez Jankwoski 1991: 88). Her stance towards the imposed role for women is
clearly depicted in her following thoughts:

> There was maybe fifteen girls hanging around the Lobos, stuffing their chi-chis
> into tight dresses and making tamale dinners and keeping their vatos happy in
> bed, trying to get knocked up. Most of them was worthless lazy-brains.
> Milkmakers. There's Rafa's girl Monica, who gave him a little Paco, and of
> Popeye's sheep gave him another boy. You couldn't walk half a block without

> seeing some fifteen-year-old *mamacita* dragging a kid by the hand and lugging another one in her belly. That mess ain't for me. I saw them baby faces crying and Lobos all smoking cigars like high-rollers, but it didn't make me moony or jealous. When I'm around babies I get cold and skittish like a racehorse who sees a deer mouse. But I guess Manny liked the way it looked. Whenever he'd hear about a new baby, he'd flick me a look like he's getting his own ideas. (Murray 1997: 41)

Lucía, just as Rodriguez and his friends, decides to defy her imposed destiny and fight it from within, gaining control and creating her own feminine gang. She is from this moment on, depicted as a highly rational, witty, wolf-like woman, whose only aim is that of having control over Los Lobos and their important cocaine dealing business. She is bloodthirsty for power and ready to step on her own man and even die or kill for it. Cecilia, on her part, who is all throughout the novel presented as psychologically dependant on her brother Manny, who provides her with a status within the gang, will eventually, in an absolutely opposite way, desire to fulfill her role of sheep, having kids and spending her free time sharing talk and experiences with the rest of the sheep of the hood. She longs to become a "good girl", who,

> want[s] to assume traditional complementary roles towards males. They look forward to a future as Good Wives, dependent financially and emotionally upon a man, living in a clean, decent apartment (perhaps not quite in the area of town to which they aspire) with children who are well dressed and who will grow up to better themselves in a respectable job as clerks or carpenters. Although this girl associates with a boy from the neighbourhood gang, her aim is to save him from his rowdy friends who are clearly a bad element, bringing out the worst in him. (Campbell 1991: 7)

But the treatment of the source of the discrimination and the need for belonging is not the unique theme in which the two novels differ. Power and its materialization, as well as its implications and depiction are also different in them. As stated previously, Rodriguez, whose work and real life experience is much more positive, instructing, and therefore, mild, opts for presenting the need to gain power over words and cultural education as the most suitable form of survival to the subtle genocide imposed by the mainstream society and ultimately, by themselves (as in the case of the Lomas and Sangra gangs, members of the same *barrio*), over these kids. The very idea of having decided to recount his experience as a means of educating his son and the rest of the boys involved in *la vida loca*, is a clear proof of his position. Thus, he develops, when he attends

high school, a very strong Chicano ethnic and cultural consciousness, as observed in the following words:

> More Chicanos became involved in ToHMAS. We started our own *folklórico* group in which Carmen San Juan taught the students some basic Mexican and Flamenco dances. Esme and I started a *teatro* group, based on what the Teatro Campesino of César Chávez's farm workers union were doing in rural California. Our *teatro* group, however, had an urban slant.
>
> I wrote the three plays we performed. One involved a dramatic verse monologue of a Chicana about to be arrested by the cops. Another involved a one-act about being proud of our culture. But the most controversial one dealt with getting Lomas and Sangra to stop fighting each other. (Rodriguez 1993: 177)

Lucía, on her part, who is the symbol of an uncontrolled rage against those who have despised her, once she is allowed to smell the scent of power and control, will ferociously fight for it. Manny trusts her to be responsible of the gang's economic accounts, and this will give her enough power and knowledge so as to be ready to get it all. She abandons the state of naivety and sheeplike, submissive attitude that she had once adopted, and the fact of acquiring knowledge over the gang activities leads her to an extremely violent rush for power and control. At the same time, she wants to fight the role imposed upon her, which is clearly depicted by Mark Tottem (2000: 31) in the following words:

> Gender role socialization in patriarchal capitalism is theorized to associate aggression, dominance, independence, and violence with masculinity and power. Femininity and powerlessness are believed to be associated with passivity, dependence, nurturance, and non-violence. Most girls are taught to focus on the maintenance of social relationships and the importance of serving others. Most boys grow up believing that they are entitled to power and privilege because they are males.

Drugs and violence are two of the themes that are very explicitly portrayed in both novels and become directly related to power, even though, once again, Murray's novel becomes more violent than Rodriguez's one. The latter's gang, although organized and committed to crime and violence, is depicted as more childish or innocent than that of the girls' and Los Lobos'. Drugs in Rodriguez's gang are part of the deviance from the imposed rules of behavior and belonging, whereas in the case of Los Lobos and Lucia's story, drugs obviously become the source of power and economic and individual control over the rest of the members of the gang.

Violence, drug abuse and commerce and power are explicitly portrayed in both novels, even though, as observed previously, Murray's text continuously portrays a much more aggressive and brutal vision of gang life and activity. In conclusion, we could state that the degree of violence with which certain aspects of gang life are deployed is one of the main points in which both novels differ. On the other hand, Rodriguez's work proposes a positive, instructive ending, whereas Murray's one closes with a very negative, pessimistic vision of gang life. Nonetheless, there is something essential that makes the two novels differ absolutely, the fact that Murray's work is pure fiction and its characters recreations of members of an imaginary gang, whereas Rodriguez's narration accounts for his own personal experience, which becomes synonym of the reality of many Chicano youngsters who are already involved in gang life or are potential gang members. This fact renders Rodriguez's novel with a strength that widely surpasses Murray's work. Once again, reality is stronger than fiction.

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SYNTACTIC DISCONTINUITY IN A DYNAMIC MODEL OF EXPRESSION RULES[1]

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ABSTRACT. *This journal article addresses the question of the implementation of a dynamic model of expression rules in Functional Grammar (Dik 1997a, b) by considering sintactic discontinuity in Old English, a topic which has far-reaching methodological and theoretical implications and bears on the current debate in the FG community, namely the top-down orientation of a discursive model of grammar. To begin with, this journal article provides a reflection on the role of syntax in FG and revises some aspects of previous approaches to expression rules that are relevant for the discussion of discontinuity. Discontinuous constituency, which is characterized in terms of three functional principles, is considered in the more general setting of the dynamic model of expression rules. The conclusion is reached that the functional features of any tree containing discontinuous constituents must specify the target, the degree of implementation and the degree of overlapping of discontinuous constituency. To round off, this journal article focuses on the implications of these conclusions for Functional Discourse Grammar by discussing parallel processing in the grammatical and the conceptual components.*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses the question of the implementation of a dynamic model of expression rules in Functional Grammar, hereafter FG, by considering syntactic discontinuity in Old English.[2]

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2. For an account of several aspects of Old English syntax on functional principles, see Martin Arista (2001a, b).

Bakker (2001: 49) makes the following provision for syntactic discontinuity in the dynamic model:

> A second point that is not problematic for the dynamic model is the one demonstrated in example (15) ["that speared man kangaroo big"-JMA], more in general: any form of discontinuity in the expression of elements stemming from one underlying constituent. There does not seem to be any principled problem with expressing the respective elements of some underlying entity, say: a term, at different intervals during the expression process. The only condition is that they can be specified in an explicit manner, with the right set of operators, which is a technical rather than a linguistic matter.

What the following discussion underlines is that the question of syntactic discontinuity is not simply a technical matter. It has far-reaching methodological and theoretical implications. Moreover, it bears on the current debate in the FG community, namely the top-down orientation of a discursive model of grammar.

One of the most significant questions that syntactic discontinuity poses is the one of non-iconic syntax. Bakker (2001: 35) assumes iconicity between the underlying expression and the linguistic expression, which is not the case with discontinuous constituency. Even though Bakker does not rule out non-iconic syntax, this author considers trees with unrestricted daughter nodes *flat*. In this paper I hold that for a theory of constituency to be truly dynamic it is necessary that non-iconic syntax is also accounted for.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a reflection on the role of syntax in FG and stresses the pending task of syntactic constituency. Section 3 reviews some aspects of previous approaches to expression rules that are relevant for the present discussion. Section 4 addresses the question of the definition of discontinuous constituency, which is characterized in terms of three functional principles. Section 5 deals with discontinuous constituency in the dynamic model of expression rules. The conclusion reached is that the functional features of any tree containing discontinuous constituents must specify the target, the degree of implementation and the degree of overlapping of discontinuous constituency. Section 6 focuses on the implications of these conclusions for Functional Discourse Grammar by discussing parallel processing in the grammatical and the conceptual components. To round off, some conclusions are drawn in Section 7.

2. A BRIEF REFLECTION ON THE ROLE OF SYNTAX IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

Functional Grammar (Dik 1997a, b) has been concerned with the functional explanation of universal phenomena of language for a quarter of a century and has

contributed to the linguistic debate in an outstanding manner in areas like predication, transtivity and voice, operators, satellites, non-verbal predication and discursive functions, to mention just a few. The focus so far has been on semantics and pragmatics, not on syntactic structure. In the realm of syntax, FG has taken part in the discussion of clausal relations that has occupied syntacticians from several schools for the last thirty-five years, while this theory has postponed the engagement in syntactic structure to the moment when its functional credo could not be denied. Constituent order represents an exception in this respect.[3] Unlike syntactic constituency, constituent order has been dealt with since relatively early in the development of the theory. After Dik's (1980: 23) seminal proposal on LIPOC (language-independent preferred order of constituents), a number of functional principles governing the ordering of clausal constituents followed in Dik (1997a). Such principles are ingenious and elegant when the main concern is with clausal relations like the pragmatic functions Topic and Focus. If the main aim is to provide a syntactic description, however, Dik's principles of constituent ordering fall short because the motivation of syntax might be mistaken for syntax itself: saying that constituents with special pragmatic functions tend to occupy initial or final positions does not describe the syntactic constituency of the clause under analysis; neither does it explain such constituency. A similar criticism could be applied to expression rules as a whole. In my opinion, Dik's (1997a) morphology is oversimplified because the principles of morpheme ordering are identified with the principles of word and phrase ordering, which neglects the fundamental fact that morpheme ordering has phonological consequences that do not play a role in the ordering of words and phrases.[4] In a similar vein, phonology is oriented towards the assignment of pragmatic functions. Paradoxically, pragmatic function assignment is, to a large extent, reduced to relative order and suprasegmentals, while little attention has been paid to other resources like special morphology, special words and duplication. All in all, however, the discussion of focalizing constructions in Dik (1997b) evidences a significant move in this respect.

3. PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO EXPRESSION RULES

I revise previous approaches to expression rules very briefly. The emphasis will be on constituent order, not only because it has been the main concern of FG in previous research, but also because this paper is about constituency problems.

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3. See Van Valin (1990) and Butler (2003a, b).
4. But see Bakker and Siewierska (2002) on the diachrony of adpositions and the development of case markers out of prepositions within the dynamic model of expression rules.

Dik (1980: 125) defines functional patterns as sequences of designated positions to which the constituents of predications are brought by placement rules, given their functional and structural properties within the predication. (1) is a functional pattern, in which S, V and O represent pattern positions and P1 a special position.

(1) Theme, P1 (V) S (V) O (V), Tail

The simplicity of (1) is due to the fact that Dik's aim was typological validity. Although Connolly (1991: 54) considers Dik's functional patterns useful for typological work, this author opts for a more detailed approach for intralinguistic purposes that makes use of a full inventory of syntactic categories and functions. Connolly (1991: 51) replaces functional patterns with syntactic templates like (2):

(2) P1 N1 N2 N3 N4

In Connolly's (1991) proposal, functional patterns are derived from syntactic templates, which enjoy a primitive character. Syntactic templates do not draw functional distinctions such as Subject (S) vs. Verb (V). Instead, syntactic templates distinguish pattern positions such as N1 from special positions such as P1. Placement rules relate every function (Topic, Focus, Subject, Indirect Object, Direct Object, Complement and Predicator) to all five positions (the special position P1 and the four pattern positions).[5]

Connolly (1991) represents the Aristotelian intermediate position between function and structure: while concerned with the assignment of pragmatic funcions and communicative distinctions between unmarked and marked realizations, Connolly proposes a structural-functional description clearly rooted in the Anglo-Saxon grammatical tradition represented by Quirk et al (1991).[6]

Bakker (2001) makes a bold contribution to this discussion: by means of one of the favourite metaphors of linguists of the last two centuries, namely the tree metaphor, Bakker has reintroduced the topic of structure, that is, trees, nodes and branches, into the functional agenda. Bakker (2001), like Connolly (1991), keeps the orthodox distinction between underlying representations, which contain functional

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5. The organizing principle is vacancy: if the leftmost position is empty, the consitutent is inserted into it; otherwise, it is aligned in the following position to the left (Connolly uses the term *pushdown*). The variable T determines the number of pattern positions in the template of a language. The condition *if vacant*, which allows for the insertion of a constituent into a position, prevents duplications and gaps. For more information, see Connolly (1991).
6. By means of IFF -if and only if- rules, Connolly (1991) assigns marked and unmarked positions to phrasal and clausal elements. Connolly (1991: 69) considers discontinuous postmodification marked with respect to continuous modification.

and lexical information, and expression rules, which guarantee formal features of form, order and prosody. Bakker insists on the interdependence of form and function by stating that templates constitute structures in which the relevant functional and lexical information is directed towards the right place. Since the order of expression is from left to right, the appropriate template is always selected, in such a way that the underlying expression is assigned the right slot, without gaps or duplications. According to Bakker (2001), a dynamic expression rule component requires five principles: the top-down principle (constituent structures are developed top-down), the left-to-right principle (constituents are developed from left to right), the depth-first principle (leftmost constituents are completely expanded before rigthmost constituents are considered), the inheritance principle (operators are available from a given node to the top of the node) and the perlocation principle (operators may move up to higher nodes).

4. DISCONTINUOUS CONSTITUENCY: FUNCTIONAL AND FORMAL FEATURES

At this point of the discussion, it is not out of place to make two remarks on Old English constituent order. Firstly, Old English allowed orderings of constituents that are no longer grammatical in Present-Day English, such as verb-initial statements like (3):

(3)
Wæs todæled in foreweardum Danieles dagum
was divided in the following of St. Daniel day
in tua biscira West Seaxna lond
into two bishoprics the West Saxon land
"The West Saxon land was divided into two bishoprics on the following day of St. Daniel" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 959)

And, secondly, some of these constituent orderings might be explained as intermediate stages in the evolution from SOV to SVO basic order (Dik 1997a: 413). An example in point is the following. Notice the clause-final position of the past participle:

(4)
Seo is Legaceaster gehaten
it is Chester called
"It is called Chester" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 893)

This paper, however, does not concentrate on examples in which discontinuity might be reduced to V2 or VX rules. On the contrary, most of the examples that follow are difficult to come to terms with in a strictly positional approach.

Discontinuous constituency, or syntactic discontinuity, is defined in this paper as a violation of, at least, the functional principle that follows (Dik 1997a: 402):

THE PRINCIPLE OF DOMAIN INTEGRITY

Constituents prefer to remain within their proper domain; constituents prefer not to be interrupted by constituents from other domains

In some instances, discontinuous constituency also conspires against the following functional principle (Rijkhoff 1986:100):

THE PRINCIPLE OF HEAD PROXIMITY

The head of a domain prefers to be contiguous to the head of its superordinate domain

An example in point is:

(5)
Ond ða geascode he ðone cyning lytle werode on wifcyðða
And then discovered he the king with a little troop with a mistress
on Merantune, ond hine ðær berad
at Merton, and him there rode
ond ðone burh utan beeode ær hine ða men
and the town surrendered before him the men
onfunden ðe mid ðam kyninge wærun
discovered that with the king were
"And then he discovered he that the king was with a little troop with a mistress at Merton, and he rode after him and the town surrendered before the men who were with the king discovered him." (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 755).

In (5) the integrity of the domain of the term phrase *ða men ðe mid ðam kyninge wærun* 'the men who were with the king' is broken by the verbal predicate *onfunden* 'found', which constitutes a violation of the Principle of Domain Integrity. On the other hand, the head of the term phrase *men* 'men' and the head of its superordinate domain, the verbal predicate *onfunden* 'found', are

adjacent, which is consistent with the Principle of Head Proximity. The following example illustrates the simultaneous violation of both functional principles:

(6)
ða ridon hie ðider, ond his aldormon Osric, ond Wiferð his ðegn,
then rode they there, and his aldormon Osric, and Wiferd his thane,
ond ða men ðe he beæftan him læfde ær,
and the men that he behind him left before
ond ðone æðeling on ðære byrig metton ðær se cynning ofslægen læg
and the prince in the town met where the king dead lay
"Then they rode there, and his ealdorman Osric, and his thane Wigfrith, and the men that he had left behind him, and found the prince in the town where the king lay dead." (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 755)

In example (6) the linguistic expression *ða ridon hie ðider, ond his aldormon Osric,* then they rode there, and his aldormon Osric' does not follow the Principle of Domain Integrity, since the Subject of *ridon* 'ride', is multiple and appears to the left and to the right of the verbal predicate. Moreover, the head of the term phrase, *hie ond his aldormon Osric* they and his aldormon Osric', is partly separated from the head of the superordinate domain by additional material (*ðither* 'there'). In the same example, there is a violation of the Principle of Domain Integrity in the non-adjacency of the term head *byrig* the town' and its verbal restrictor, *ðær se cynning ofslægen læg* 'where the king lay dead'. Additionally, the linguistic expression *ðone æðeling on ðære byrig metton* '[they] met the prince in the town' does not comply with the Principle of Head Proximity, given that the term head is non-adjacent with the head of its superordinate domain, the verbal predicate.[7]

Another general principle is relevant for a functional definition of discontinuous constituency, namely the Principle of Iconic Ordering (Dik 1997a: 399):

THE PRINCIPLE OF ICONIC ORDERING

Constituents conform to GP1 [The Principle of Iconic Ordering-JMA] when their ordering in one way or another iconically reflects the semantic content of the expression in which they occur.

This general principle may be specified for the purposes of discontinuous constituency as follows. Constituents represent expansions from hierarchical

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7. Notice that no position-filler is left in canonical position by the displaced subconstituent, either in Old English or in Present-Day English. See Givón (1993 vol II: 143) and McCawley (1998: 104).

semantic structures called *underlying predications*: argument positions of verbal predicates plus satellite positions of predications, propositions and clauses receive expression. This expression can be either iconic or non-iconic: iconically, what belongs together semantically remains together syntactically; iconically, too, units receive single expression. The first member of the following pairs represents the iconic version, the second member of the pair being non-iconic:

(7)
a. The old argument that war was the only option was trotted out.
   The old argument was trotted out that war was the only option.
b. Fred retired and Fred wrote a novel.
   Fred retired and wrote a novel.
c. The bike bumped into the van.
   It was the bike that bumped into the van.

If the view that iconic expression requires adjacency and single expression is adopted, (7.a) does not meet the condition of adcencency of the nominal head and the verbal restrictor; (7.b) does not meet the condition that all semantic participants receive full expression; and (7.c) does not meet the condition that semantic participants are expressed once.

Structurally, discontinuous constituency implies non-adjacency. This is not enough, though. Although the geometry of discontinuous constituency is its most obvious characteristic, there are other characteristics that cannot be overlooked, including at least the notions of hierarchy and dependence. The transformational tradition has regarded constituency as the result of two dimensions: the vertical and the horizontal dimension. In the vertical dimension (the y axis) immediately smaller constituents depend on immediately larger constituents, whereas in the horizontal dimension (the x axis) previous constituents precede subsequent constituents. Such a theory of constituency neglects a fundamenal factor: hierarchy. At the same time, such a theory of constituency mistakes semantic dependence for syntactic implementation. Dependence is a semantic property: predicates take arguments, which depend semantically on predicates; arguments fill semantic slots of predicates, but the syntax of the relationship of dependence is a derived question, not a primitive one. Hierarchy, on the other hand, is a syntactic property. Hierarchy implies that elements are compulsory or optional. In other words, hierarchy is the property that distinguishes lower from higher levels of implementation: a given constituent may consist of a head or of a head plus several dependents. Even though the notion of head has generally not found much favour in FG, the dynamic model of expression rules has reintroduced it. Moreover, the discussion of

discontinuous contituency reinforces this notion, since the head is the element that tends to occupy the canonical position in the order of the clause while the dependents (term operators or restrictors) tend to be displaced to the right. This is the case with the following example:

(8)
Ond hiera ðe æðeling gehwelcum feoh ond feorh gebead,
and of them the prince each money and life offered,
ond hiera nænig hit geðicgean nolde
and of them none it accept would
"And the prince offered each of them money and security, but none of them would accept them" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 755)

The head of the term phrase is the element that typically occupies the canonical position of the term phrase in discontinuous constituency. The linguistic expressions *hiera ðe æðeling gehwelcum feoh ond feorh gebead* 'of them the prince each money and life offered' and *hiera nænig hit geðicgean nolde* 'of them none it accept would' are parallel, both following the pattern SOV. In the former, the Object-Recipient is discontinuous and consists of the head *gehwelcum* 'each' in canonical position, following the Subject; and *hiera* 'of them' in non-canonical position preceding the Subject. In the latter linguistic expression both head and non-head take up Subject position.

It is also the case that multiple heads which semantically belong together typically result in discontinuous constituency. This is illustrated by the following example:

(9)
ðær wearð Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda,
there was Sidroc earl slain the old,
ond Sidroc eorl se gioncga ond Osbearn eorl,
and Sidroc earl the young and Osbearn earl
ond Fræna eorl, ond Hareld eorld
and Fræna earl, and Harold earl
"There earl Sidroc the Old was slain, and Sidroc the Young, and earl Osbearn and earl Fræna and earl Harold" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 871)

The long multiple head in this example is divided into two parts by the verbal predicate *ofslægen* 'slain'. Considering the linguistic expression *ðær wearð Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda,* 'there earl Sidroc was slain the old', *Sidroc se alda* is dicontinuous, like the verbal predicate *wearð ofslægen* 'was slain'. The head *Sidroc*

eorl 'earl Sidroc' remains in canonical position. Pragmatically speaking, there is a displacement of information towards the end of the expression. As I have already remarked, the pragmatic motivation cannot be mistaken for the syntactic description, which involves syntactic discontinuity.

Along with the domain of the term phrase, the verbal predicate is the other constituent that typically undergoes discontinuity in Old English. The nature of such discontinuity, however, is substantially different: whereas the head typically keeps the canonical position in discontinuous term phrases in such a way that a restrictor or an operator is displaced, the copula or the grammatical operator tends to take up the canonical position if the verbal predicate is discontinuous. Relevant examples of copula and operators, respectively, are:

(10)
a. *∂a wæron hie mid metelieste gewægde*
   then were they by want of food reduced
   "Then they were reduced by want of food" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 893)
b. Ac hi hæfdon ∂a heora stemn gesetenne
   but they had then their service ended
   on hiora mete genotudne
   and they food used up
   "But they had already ended their service and used up their food" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 894)

In (10.a) the copula *wæron* 'were' occupies the canonical position, the verbal predicate *gewædge* 'reduced' being clause-final; similarly, in the first clause in (10.b) the grammatical operator *hæfdon* 'had' appears in canonical position while the verbal predicate is clause-final. In the second clause in (10.b) the operator is not expressed because it is shared with the first clause.

5. DISCONTINUOUS CONSTITUENCY IN THE DYNAMIC MODEL OF EXPRESSION RULES

At the pre-theoretical level, the implementation of a dynamic model of expression rules requires a basic choice between language constructions and language expressions. By *construction* I mean the Bloomfieldian concept of construction, which involves a recurrent association of form and meaning. The concept of construction, therefore, encapsulates a purely theoretical notion that interacts with the concept of linguistic expression in such a way that a given

expression may partake in more than one construction. If the methodological choice, as in Dik (1986) and Bakker (2001), is to describe and explain actual language, the concern must be with expressions rather than with constructions. The study of linguistic expressions allows for an overall approach to the phenomena of language whereas the focus on restricted areas of the grammar may result in partial solutions of linguistic problems. Consequently, what I suggest is to opt for linguistic expressions.

The next pre-theoretical step for implementing a dynamic model of expression rules is to classify linguistic expressions. For the purposes of expression rules, linguistic expressions can be divided into structurally-oriented expressions and functionally-oriented expressions. This is tantamount to saying that linguistic expressions are profiled in two different ways: structure-profiled and function-profiled. Most expressions are structurally-oriented. They keep a high structural profile, whereas their functional profile is low. Some expressions are functionally-oriented. Conversely, functionally-oriented expressions keep a low structural profile and show a high functional profile. Figure 1 illustrates this classification:

	STRUCTURALLY-ORIENTED LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS	FUNCTIONALLY-ORIENTED LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS
STRUCTURAL PROFILE	**high**	**low**
FUNCTIONAL PROFILE	**low**	**high**

Figure 1. *Structural and functional profile of linguistic expressions.*

This is not to say that certain expressions have structure only whereas others enjoy both structure and function. One of the cornerstones of the functional tradition is precisely to acknowledge the functional value of linguistic units at clause level, below clause level and above clause level. What I mean is that functionally-oriented expressions display a higher functional profile because they opt for expresiveness at the expense of straight structure, thus calling for a higher processing effort than expressions with a straight structure but less expressive power. Linguistic expressions that display syntactic discontinuity as it is defined in section 4 constitute functionally-oriented expressions, while expressions involving continuous syntax qualify as structurally-oriented expressions.

Shifting to purely theoretical questions, the tree of a functionally-oriented expression is fully specified. Typically, its functional information should include, at least, three items: the target of the expression, its degree of implementation, and the degree of overlapping of intervening constructions. Let us discuss them in turn.[8]

Considering the target of the linguistic expression, it is necessary for the functional information to identify the (sub)constituent that undergoes discontinuity. Expression targets can be semantically, syntactically or pragmatically constrained. The zero relative construction in Old English, for instance, is restricted to certain verbs of state (Visser 1963-73: 11; Mitchell 1985: 186). This is a semantic restriction. Syntactic restrictions include zero anaphora in coordination, to give just one example.[9] Since I assume non-synonymy between continuous and discontinuous constituency, discontinuity must stem from pragmatic considerations of communicative co-operation between speaker and hearer. In other words, the target of the linguistic expression is chosen in a top-down fashion.[10] Let us consider example (11):

(11)
Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oð hie alle lægon
but all continuously fighting were until they all lay dead
butan anum Bryttiscum gisle, ond se swiðe gewundad wæs
but one British hostage, and he severely wounded was
"But they kept on fighting until all lay dead, except one British hostage, and he was severely wounded" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 755)

In the preceding example, the target of the expression is the Subject of the verbal predicate *lægon* 'lay'. The discontinuity between *hie alle* 'they all' and *butan anum Bryttiscum gisle* 'except one British hostage' is motivated not only by the afterthought but also by the coordinative expression *ond se swiðe gewundad wæs* 'and he severely wounded was', in which *se* 'this' is co-referential with *gisle* 'hostage' in the afterthought.

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8. It remains a task for future research to decide if the tree of structurally-oriented linguistic expressions might be simplified by means of default choices.

9. Throughout this paper I hold the view that there is not conclusive evidence for stating that Old English is a language with a generalized V2/V-final order, but see Pintzuk (1999) and Fischer et al. (2000). It logically follows that there is no syntactic restriction on the target and degree of implementation of verbal predicate discontinuity.

10. Note that the target of the expression is not identifiable with the pivot or the controller of the construction in the sense of Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). Pivots and controllers typically coincide with the noun phrase in which the complexity of the construction originates and, consequently, the functional relations of the clause can be explained with reference to the privileged syntactic arguments in the role of pivot or controller of the construction.

With reference to the degree of implementation of the linguistic expression, syntactic discontinuity may display different degrees. Such degrees should be accounted for by the functional information of the tree. All of them are quantitative. The degree of discontinuity of a linguistic expression can be measured by means of the number of constituents that break into the discontinuous constituent. The degree of implementation of the linguistic expression operates basically in a top-down direction. In the following examples, one constituent breaks into the verbal predicate in (12.a), whereas up to three constituents separate *hæfde* 'had' and *tonumen* 'divided' in (12.b). Consequently, the degree of implementation of the linguistic expression is higher in (12.b) than in (12.a):

(12)
a. *ða hergas wæron ða gegaderode begen to Sceobyrig on Eastseaxum*
   the hosts were then gathered at Shoebury in Essex
   "Then the hosts were concentrated at Shoebury in Essex" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 893)
b. *Hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu tonumen*
   had the king his army in two divided
   "The king had divided his army into two sections" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 894)

As regards the degree of overlapping of the linguistic expression, structurally-oriented and functionally-oriented linguistic expressions are classified functionally, on the basis of the types of predicates considered by the theory: verbal, nominal, adjectival and adpositional (following Mackenzie 2001). This functional classification allows for the treatment of construction overlapping. I explain this by means of the following example:

(13)
ða wearð geond eall Englaland swylc tacen on
there was around all England such a token on
heofenum gesewen swilce nan man ær ne geseah
heaven seen as no man before not saw
"There was all over England such a token seen as no man ever saw before"
(*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 1066)

In the previous example, two instances of discontinuous constituency coexist: there is non-adjacency in the verbal predicate *wearð gesewen* 'was seen' and in the term phrase *swylc tacen swilce nan man ær ne geseah* 'such a token as no man before not saw'. Discontinuity is not likely to overlap with itself. Much more

frequently, it overlaps with constructions like gapping, as the following example shows. In example (10.b), which I repeat below as (14) for convenience, the discontinuity of the verbal predicate *hæfdon gesetenne* 'had ended' overlaps with the omission of the operator of the verbal predicate *genotudne* 'used up'.[11]

(14)
Ac hi hæfdon ða heora stemn gesetenne
But they had then their service ended
on hiora mete genotudne
and their food used up
"But they had already ended their service and used up their food" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 894)

As I have already pointed out, a significant characteristic of discontinuous constituency is its non-synonymy with continuous constituency. The choice between the continuous and the discontinuous term phrase in linguistic expressions like (13) is not random: it has a functional import or, more generally, must be externally motivated. Throughout this paper the central idea is that discontinuous constituency originates in choices at the highest linguistic level, the discursive level. From the top to the bottom, upper choices fuel lower choices and constituents remain together or are split in cascade. The only exception to the non-synonymy approach to discontinuous constituency might be found in diachronic processes in which a language has favoured one structure over other structures which are in competition with it. In the following example the verbal predicate is continuous in (15.a) and discontinuous in (15.b)

(15)
a. *Her Herebriht aldormon wæs ofslægen from hæðnum monnum*
   Here Herebriht earl was slain by heathen men
   "This year Herebriht was slain by the heathen" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 838)
b. *ðær wæron eac oðre VII broðru be naman gecigde*
   There were also other seven brothers by name called
   "There were also other seven brothers called by name" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 867)

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11. The degree of overlapping that a certain linguistic expression undergoes might be determined both in a top-down and in a bottom up fashion, but this constitutes another task for future research.

The intermediate or final position of the past participle forms *ofslagen* 'slain' and *gecidge* 'called' respectively represent what Kroch (1989) calls *grammars in competition*: there is a moment in the evolution from OV to VO order in which the speaker can opt for inserting the past participle post-verbally or finally.[12] Assuming that the assignment of pragmatic functions in (15.a) and (15.b) is the same, diachrony-competing structures might be the only exception to the principle of non-synonymy as applied to syntactic discontinuity.

Summarizing, discontinuous expressions have been classified as functionally-oriented and, as such, they have been characterized as requiring functional specifications of target, degree of implementation and degree of overlapping.

Bakker's (2001) principles and nodes provide the information relevant for hierarchy and dependency relations: relative position (the left-to-right principle), degree of implementation (the depth-first principle), and morphosyntactic cohesion (inheritance and perlocation, that is, operator scope). Constituents are generated in a top-down fashion. The development of constituents takes place in the unmarked order and is governed by the depth-first principle (leftmost slots are completely expanded before the expansion of rightmost slots begins). Inheritance and perlocation features guarantee that operators are attached to the selected constituent and that their scope reaches the top node of the constituent.

The dynamic model of expression rules does not allow for empty nodes. All of them require instantiation. Instantiation follows the linear principle of *left-to right* and the top-down principle of *depth-first*. The simultaneous operation of both principles determines that the leftmost element must reach terminal form before the rightmost element is considered. In order to preserve these two principles, it is necessary to consider the notion of parallel processing. In this line, Bakker (2001: 49) admits:

> Psychological models of speech suggest that a purely left-to-right model is too simplistic. There is ample evidence, not in the least from the analysis of speech errors, that language processing in the speaker takes place in a parallel fashion: roughly, while a first part of the sentence in being expressed, a second part may still be in the process of being semantically conceptualized, while a third part is still at a prelinguistic stage (cf. Levelt 1989).

In the remainder of this paper I explore parallel processing as applied not to different parts of a sentence, but to a single constituent of a clause. Parallel

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12. See Pintzuk (1999) and Fischer et al. (2000).

processing, in this approach, consists of the simultaneous instantation of a single constituent in two slots. Let us apply this proposal to the following example:

(16)
Hie wurdon ∂a gebrohte to ∂æm biscope
they were then brought to the bishop
"Then they were taken to the bishop" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Anno* 1014)

In (16) the copula *wurdon* 'were' and the verbal predicate *gebrohte* 'brought' are not adjacent to each other, thus involving discontinuous constituency.

A sketchy representation of the constituent tree of (16) introducing parallel processing is given in (17). Vertical arrows represent processing: top-down generation, left to right development, depth first and operator scope. A single vertical arrow represents linear processing, whereas two vertical arrows mean parallel processing.[13]

(17)

	1: SENTENCE
	2: P1
	3: PRONOUN

4: VFIN

5: SATELLITE: TIME

6: VNFIN
7: DIRECTION: TERM

Hie wurdon ∂a gebrohte to ∂æm biscope
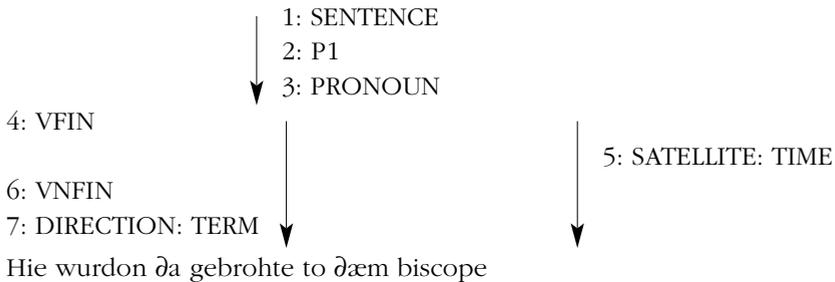
In (18) barriers (Bakker 2001) are inserted. Downward barriers make the segment inserted into the canonical position (the copula) inaccessible to lower nodes and upward barriers that make the displaced element (the verbal predicate) inaccessible to higher nodes. The horizontal arrow represents barrier insertion:

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13. Abbreviations, after Bakker (2001), are used with the following meaning: P1 (clause-initial position), VFIN (finite form of the verb), VNFIN (non-finite form of the verb) and FcnFtrs (functional features).

(18)

1: SENTENCE
2: P1
3: PRONOUN

4: VFIN

5: SATELLITE: TIME

6: VNFIN

7: DIRECTION: TERM

Hie wurdon ∂a gebrohte to ∂æm biscope
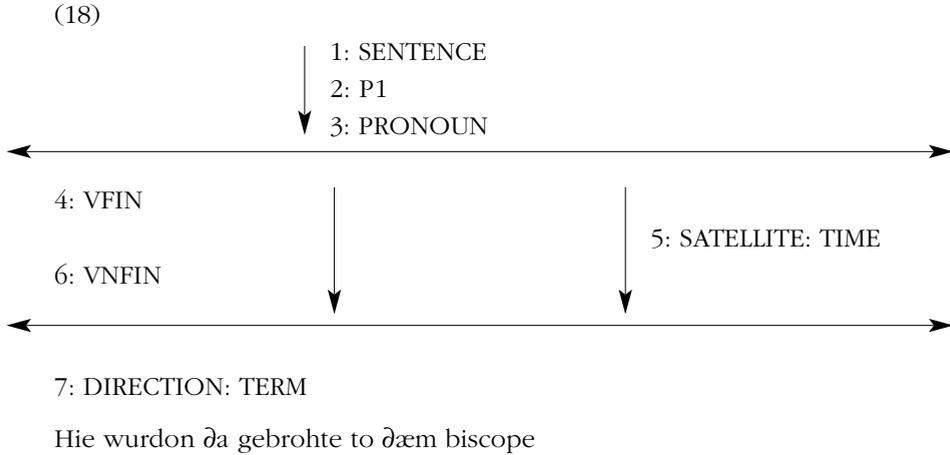
I have already remarked that the tree of a expression with a high functional profile is fully specified. Its functional features should include, at least, three items: the target of the expression, its degree of implementation, and the degree of overlapping of intervening constructions. (19) contains the functional features corresponding to target, degree of implementation and degree of overlapping of node 4:

(19) FncFtrs:
        TARGET: V, N4-N6
        IMPLEMENTATION: 1, N5
        OVERLAPPING: no
Hie wurdon ∂a gebrohte to ∂æm biscope

(19) is interpreted as follows: the target of discontinuity is the verbal predicate, whose finite part is implemented in node 4 and whose non-finite part is implemented in node 6. The implemetation tells us that one constituent, represented by node 5, breaks into the verbal predicate. The overlapping stipulates that there is a single instance of discontinuity and that the rest of the expression is not functionally-oriented. Although functionally we have adverbial insertion (the Time satellite ∂a 'then') with the subsequent discontinuity between the copula and the verbal predicate, the notion of degree of discontinuity is cognitively relevant, since as regards short term memory matters are different. I go back to this question in section 6.

6. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

Hengeveld (2004 a, b) has put forward a radically new version of Functional Grammar called *Functional Discourse Grammar* (FDG) which is organized top-down, that is, a framework that proceeds from the speaker's intention to the linguistic articulation. From the perspective of generation, FDG consists of three components, the grammatical, the acoustic and the conceptual component. The grammatical component describes the interpersonal, representational and formal characteristics of linguistic expressions. The acoustic component provides audible form to the output of the grammar. The conceptual component is extralinguistic but may trigger certain grammatical features. From the parsing perspective, FDG includes the addressee into the model, thus considering a fourth component called *the contextual component* that is shared by the speaker and the addressee. The previous discussion of discontinous constituency in Old English may shed some light on the interaction between the conceptual and the contextual component. The main argument is that the conceptual component makes extralinguistic choices of processing effort whereas the contextual component provide (more) structurally-oriented or (more) functionally oriented profiles. Both componens operate simultenously in such a way that the processing choice and the relevant profile trigger certain grammatical features, including syntactic discontinuity.

The speaker's intention is to modify the world in a certain way by using a linguistic expression (Dik 1997b: 410). In order to associate form and meaning, the speaker plans ahead the linguistic expression, which may be mainly oriented towads form or towards function, depending on whether its functional profile is low or high, respectively. Formally-oriented expressions are default expressions that require less planning than functionally-oriented constructions. Functionally-oriented expressions have, by definition, a structurally-oriented counterpart and display higher structural complexies, thus requiring more processing effort and, typically, parallel processing.

(20)
a. I hate bananas/I hate them, bananas
b. I like bananas/It is bananas that I like
c. I like bananas/What I like is bananas

Extraposition, clefting and pseudo-clefting, which involve constituent duplication, require a more costly planning strategy, but they are potentially more effective for communicative purposes. Topicalization is also more costly in terms of planning strategy, even though it does not entail constituent duplication:

(21) I like bananas/Bananas I like

From the perspective of the hearer, parallel processing is also more demanding if one takes into account the short-term memory effort that is required.

In the grammatical component, linguistic expressions that have been planned with a functionally-oriented strategy must meet the requirement of having a structurally-oriented counterpart. Moreover, the test for the orientation to function is provided by the acoustic component: functionally-oriented expressions take at least as much articulation time as their structural counterparts. Notice that functionally-oriented expressions do not originate in function assignment: voice alternations resulting from object function assignment do not give rise to functionally-oriented expressions. Neither do second argument alternations that stem from object assignment allow for a choice between structurally and formally-oriented expressions.

Parallel processing follows the natural principle of left-to-right ordering. It involves the simultaneous instantation of a single constituent in two slots, in such a way that a subconstituent is non-adjacent to the constituent to the left. Parallel processing is cognitively plausible, since it is the semantic and syntactic dependent that non-adjacently follows the head, not the other way around. More importantly, parallel processing is not incompatible with the depth-first principle. On the contrary, it reinforces the notion of constituent and draws a clear distinction between the slots that constituents and subconstituents occupy and the nodes that precede such slots throughout the derivation.

7. CONCLUSION: THE PRINCIPLE OF LINEAR PROCESSING

In the preceding sections I have argued that, in order to provide an account of Old English syntactic discontinuity by means of a model of expression rules that is ultimately compatible with the overall organization of FDG, it is necessary to distinguish a processing effort choice from a profile choice. The processing effort choice, if the reasoning is correct, takes place in the conceptual component, whereas the profile choice belongs in the contextual component. Both components operate simultenously, thus opting for more processing effort and high functional profile (and the associated low structural profile) or less processing effort and high structural profile (and the associated low functional profile). Afterwards, the relevant grammatical features are triggered and inserted into the grammatical expansion of the underlying predication. This is tantamount to saying that the processing effort choice is essentially cognitive: linear processing is cognitively less costly and semantically iconic, whereas parallel processing is cognitively more costly and

semantically non-iconic. The impact of linear and parallel processing on syntax is not straightforward. Parallel processing is structurally marked, since discontinuous structures involve higher structural complexity than continuous structures; but it may be textually unmarked, given that continuous structures might be less frequent than discontinuous ones in some contexts, including, most probably, non-specific relativization in English intransitive clauses introducing a New Topic like:

(22) A woman came in whom I had met before somewhere

The conceptual component drastically restricts parallel processing. This may be stated by means of a functional principle like the following:

THE PRINCIPLE OF LINEAR PROCESSING

The conceptual component restricts parallel processing.

This principle stipulates that the restriction on parallel processing is cognitive, not grammatical. Syntactically speaking, nothing prevents expressions from containing more than one instance of discontinuous constituency. For the cognitive reasons given in this section, it seems plausible that the conceptual component limits the maximum of discontinuous constituency allowed per expression to two, one being the preferred option. In grammatical terms, discontinuous constituency distributes freely with any construction, except with itself.

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ANALYSING STANCE IN AMERICAN AND SPANISH BUSINESS MANAGEMENT RAS: THE CASE OF SENTENCE-INITIAL 'RETROSPECTIVE LABELS'[1]

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ABSTRACT. *When writing research articles (RAs), scholars can use certain lexico-grammatical traits that enable them to encode their attitudes, judgments and opinions, thus functioning as markers of stance. It is believed that sentence-initial nouns preceded by a deictic –'retrospective labels' in Francis's terminology (1986, 1994)– can be considered one of those traits. The aim here is to explore whether there are any language-driven differences in the use of 'retrospective labels' as markers of stance within a particular disciplinary discourse, namely, Business Management. 'Retrospective labels' were analysed in a corpus of 12 RAs on the above-mentioned discipline, 6 in American English and 6 in Spanish. The focus is placed on the contrastive analysis of the frequency of use of these 'retrospective labels', the type of head nouns and modifiers which most frequently form part of them and the extent to which these 'retrospective labels' convey attitudinal meaning. As a general implication, it is believed that the differences drawn from analyses of this type should be borne in mind by Spanish Business Management scholars when writing their RAs in English.*

1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally assumed that there are a number of lexico-grammatical traits in research articles (RAs) that reveal the presence of a writer in the text and through which writers establish a particular interactive relationship with their readership, conveying their attitudes, judgments and opinions. Those traits that can be considered markers of 'writer's stance' (Biber *et al.* 1998a; Hyland 1999) or 'evaluation' (Hunston 1993, 1994, 2000)[2] perform, then, a significant interpersonal function, signalling the writer's attitude and contributing to the construction of a convincing argument. It is believed that the use made of markers of stance or evaluation can be dependent both on the discipline of the RA and on the language in which it is written.

The most widely-researched markers of writer's stance in RAs are hedges (Salager-Meyer 1994; Hyland 1996a, 1996b; Crompton 1997, 1998, among many others). Other specific interpersonal markers that have attracted the scholars' attention are imperatives (Swales *et al.* 1998), reporting verbs (Thompson and Ye 1991), direct questions (Webber 1994; Chang and Swales 1999), the use of personal pronouns (Chang and Swales 1999; Kuo 1999; Breivega *et al.* 2002; Hyland 2002), references and metatextual comments (Breivega *et al.* 2002). However, as Charles (2003) points out, nouns as stance markers have yet not received much scholarly attention, despite their potential evaluative force.

It is believed that those nouns which encapsulate a preceding argument and are accompanied by a deictic –'retrospective labels' (Francis 1994)[3]– might act as significant stance markers. 'Retrospective labels' perform an outstanding textual, cohesive function. Through these labels writers re-take previously stated information and present it as given in thematic position, which enables them to build on it and, therefore, to continue developing their argument. Besides this discoursal function, 'retrospective labels' might also perform an interpersonal function, (i) indicating the readers how to interpret the preceding piece of information, and/or (ii) encoding the writer's attitude towards what has been previously stated. Through 'retrospective labels' authors might try to ensure that their texts are understood and interpreted as intended. In the following examples

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2. "Stance refers to the ways that writers project themselves into their texts to communicate their integrity, credibility, involvement, and a relationship to their subject matter and their readers" (Hyland 1999: 101). "Evaluation may be defined as anything which indicates the writer's attitude to the value of an entity in the text" (Hunston 1993: 57-58).

3. In her 1986 work Francis refers to these lexical items as 'anaphoric nouns'. 'Retrospective label' can be considered a similar linguistic concept to Halliday and Hasan's 'general nouns' (1976), Winter's 'metalanguage nouns' (1992), Ivanič's 'carrier nouns' (1991) and Flowerdew's 'signalling nouns' (2002).

the 'retrospective label' clearly signals the writer's interpretation of the previous stretch of discourse and indicates the reader how it is to be understood.

Example 1

We also restricted our sample to late movers that were clearly able to make an entry into the U.S. market. As suggested by Robinson *et al.* (1994), we distinguished firms that were actually able to make an entry into the market from those who attempted but failed in their attempt to enter. *This definition of an entrant* […]. (SMJ2)[4].

Example 2

Makadock (2001) notes that picking and deploying resources should not be viewed as alternative, but rather as complementary perspectives for achieving desired strategic outcomes. How do *these two approaches* interact in the context of acquisitions? (JM1).

Example 3

Whetten, Lewis y Mischel (1992) aunque tomando algunos aspectos de la definición anterior, considera, sin embargo, la imagen en el sentido de cómo les gustaría a los agentes externos ver la organización. *Esta orientación* destaca […]. (DyO1).

Example 4

De los resultados parece deducirse una consideración positiva de la in-volucración de la familia en la empresa, pero manteniendo cierta racio-nalidad en sus relaciones. *Esta idea* […]. (AD1).

This interpersonal potential of 'retrospective labels' cannot be disregarded if the reader wants to fully ascertain the writer's argumentation.

As stated above, it is here believed that not only the discipline but also the language in which RAs are written and, more broadly, the culture in which each set of articles is produced and distributed, might condition the use made of stance markers, including 'retrospective labels', taking an 'intercultural rhetoric' approach (Connor 2004a, 2004b). In this sense, a contrastive analysis of these linguistic units in RAs from a single discipline will be here proposed. Sentence-initial 'this/these/such+Noun' constructions will be analysed in a corpus of

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4. The information in brackes indicates the RA from which the example has been taken.

Business Management RAs originally written in English and in Spanish. The aim here is to adopt a contrastive point of view and analyse: (1) the frequency of use of these 'retrospective labels' in both languages, (2) the types of head nouns more frequently used in each language, (3) the kind of modifiers more frequently included as part of the 'retrospective labels' in both sets of articles, and (4) the extent to which these 'retrospective labels' convey an attitudinal meaning.

2. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The analysis of 'retrospective labels' will be carried out in a comparable corpus, which is in fact formed by two sub-corpora: (1) a corpus composed of 6 RAs on Business Management written in American English and (2) a corpus composed of 6 RAs on Business Management written in Spanish.[5] The number of words and sentences of each sub-corpus is presented in the Table below:

	English	Spanish	Total
Number of words	42,122	29,754	71,876
Number of sentences	1,647	788	2,435

Table 1. *Description of the corpus.*

The same criteria have been followed for the compilation of both sub-corpora so that they lend themselves to a contrastive analysis. Accordingly, both the English and the Spanish sub-corpora are composed of RAs written by native speakers, published during the years 2003 and 2004 and covering a similar domain or field, namely, applied studies to Business Management. As Corpas Pastor (2001: 158) states, a comparable corpus is "aquel corpus que, en relación a otro u otros corpus de lenguas distintas, incluyen tipos similares de textos originales. Al haber sido compilados de acuerdo con los mismos criterios de diseño, dichos corpus permiten la equiparación lingüística de sus elementos integrantes".

In the English sub-corpus all 'this/these/such + Noun' constructions in thematic position and in the Spanish sub-corpus all the instances of sentence-initial 'este/esta/ estos/estas/tal/tales/dichos/dichas + Noun' constructions were searched for. Their context was then analysed to decide whether they could be considered tokens of 'retrospective labels' or not. Throughout this selection process the two criteria stated

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5. The title of the RAs, the name of the author, the year of publication and the journals in which the articles were published can be consulted in Appendix 1.

by Francis (1986: 3-4) in order for a noun to be considered an "A-noun" were very much taken into account:

> First, it must be functioning as a pro-form and as such be an anaphorically cohesive device, referring metadiscursively to a stretch of discourse preceding it in terms of how the writer chooses to label or interpret the latter for the purposes of his/her argument. Second, it must also face forwards: it must be presented as the *given* information in terms of which the *new* propositional content of the clause or sentence in which it occurs is formulated.

In this way, some examples such as 'this paper', 'this study', 'this research', 'este trabajo', 'este estudio' or 'esta investigación' that refer to the authors' current research and not to a previous stretch of discourse were dismissed, as well as those instances that did not project the argument onwards. Francis (1986: 31) further states that A-nouns are new lexical items. Therefore examples such as the following ones in which the head noun of the 'retrospective label' is a *verbatim* repetition of a previous lexical item were disregarded:

> *Example 5*
>
> [...] individuals become emotionally exhausted when they do not have enough *resources* to meet work demands. *Such resources* may include [...]. (JM2)

> *Example 6*
>
> En los últimos años hemos sido testigos de *un creciente interés* por el tema de las empresas familiares por parte de los académicos pero también de los empresarios, [...]. *Este creciente interés* [...]. (AD1)

> *Example 7*
>
> Una de las principales razones por las que las empresas temen externalizar alguna de las funciones de su sistema de información es *la incertidumbre* que esta decisión conlleva. *Esta incertidumbre* [...]. (AD2)

Those instances of 'retrospective labels' that are preceded by an Adjunct (e.g. 'However, *these findings*' (SMJ1), 'En concreto *esta falta de significatividad*' (DyO1)) were counted as tokens since they still link a previous stretch of discourse with a subsequent one and, together with the Adjunct, they can be analysed as 'multiple Themes' (Halliday 1994: 52-54, Thompson 1996: 133-138). Those 'retrospective labels' that form part of the Theme but which do not constitute its head were also counted as tokens (e.g. 'The development of *such a contingency perspective*' (SMJ2),

'One interpretation of *this finding*' (JM1) 'Los orígenes de *esta idea*' (DyO2)). Finally, those labels that had the same referent were only counted once.

3. TOKENS OF 'RETROSPECTIVE LABELS'

The total number of 'retrospective labels' found in both sub-corpora is presented in Table 2. In order for the counts to be comparable, they have been normalised[6] per 100 sentences in Table 3:

English sub-corpus		Spanish sub-corpus	
AMJ1	7	AD1	2
AMJ2	10	AD2	4
JM1	14	DyO1	5
JM2	6	DyO2	3
SMJ1	17	REDyEE1	6
SMJ2	12	REDyEE2	5
Total	66	Total	25

Table 2. *Tokens of 'retrospective labels' in sentence-initial position in both sub-corpora.*

English sub-corpus		Spanish sub-corpus	
AMJ1	3.78	AD1	2.43
AMJ2	4.00	AD2	3.44
JM1	4.03	DyO1	3.73
JM2	4.00	DyO2	2.77
SMJ1	3.99	REDyEE1	2.89
SMJ2	4.19	REDyEE2	4.76
Total	24.65	Total	20.02

Table 3. *Tokens of 'retrospective labels' in sentence-initial position normalised per 100 sentences.*

_____

6. "'Normalization' is a way to adjust raw frequency counts from texts from different lengths so that they can be compared accurately" (Biber *et al.* 1998b: 263). A normalisation per 100 sentences seems to be the most suitable procedure to ensure an accurate comparison because, first, the linguistic phenomenon analysed is sentence-initial, therefore there cannot be more than one instance per sentence and, second, the number of sentences that compose the English sub-corpus is much greater than the number of sentences in the Spanish sub-corpus.

The total counts, as well as most partial counts, show that the use of 'retrospective labels' is slightly greater in the English sub-corpus than in the Spanish one. American scholars pack a preceding piece of discourse and present it as the Theme of the following sentence more frequently than Spanish scholars. In using more 'retrospective labels' American scholars can be seen to proceed more linearly, contributing to guiding their readers in their decoding process, following a 'writer-oriented style' (Kaplan 1966, 1987, 1988). Spanish scholars, however, make less use of 'retrospective labels', favouring a more 'reader-responsible style', that is, contributing less prominently to facilitating the reading process.

As Francis (1986: 36) points out "by encapsulating previous discourse in this way, A-nouns function interactively as organisational signals, providing the reader with signposts to guide him/her through the discourse". Spanish scholars, then, can be seen to provide fewer 'organisational signals', which might result in a greater decoding effort on the part of readers who have to deduce the relationship between different parts of the discourse. It can be inferred from this that when using a 'retrospective label' writers implicitly state their views and interpretations on something previously stated and, thus, they establish a particular relationship with their readers.

The difference in frequency of use of 'retrospective labels' could be partly explained in terms of different rhetorical preferences in the two languages and cultures to which the two sets of RAs belong. In her comprehensive research of premise-conclusion retrospective labels in economics and business RAs, which included the analysis of fuzzy (i.e. This), implicit (i.e. conjuncts) and explicit (i.e. deictic + noun in all positions, not just sentence-initial) retrospective labels, Moreno (2004) also found that Spanish scholars tend to make a scarcer use of explicit retrospective labels, which are the ones that concern us here.

4. TYPES OF HEAD NOUNS IN 'RETROSPECTIVE LABELS'

As Francis (1994: 88) states "any noun can be the head noun of a label if it is unspecific and requires lexical realization in its immediate context […]". That is, any noun can potentially become the head of a 'retrospective label', whether it is realised as such or not depends on its textual context. All types of head nouns in 'retrospective labels' appearing in the corpus have been listed and arranged according to their frequency in Appendix 2. Particular attention will be paid here to the distinction between metalinguistic and non-metalinguistic nouns[7] acting as heads in 'retrospective labels'.

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7. "These [metalinguistic labels] are nominal groups which talk about a stretch of discourse as a linguistic act, labelling it as, say, an *argument*, a *point* or a *statement*" (Francis 1994: 83).

In line with Charles (2003) findings, most head nouns, in both sub-corpora, appeared just once in the corpus. In her disciplinary contrastive research on the use of 'retrospective labels' in theses, Charles (2003) found that metalinguistic head nouns appeared twice as much in Politics as in Materials theses, that is, they were more frequently used in the discourse of a social science discipline than in the discourse of a pure science discipline. In the corpus analysed here, however, it has been found that metalanguage head nouns are very scarce, even though the RAs that compose the corpus also belong to a social science. Only two examples of metalanguage head nouns (*This definition* and *These claims*) have been found in the English sub-corpus and only one example has been found in the Spanish sub-corpus (*Esta afirmación*). Charles (2003) offers two reasons for the greater use of metalanguage nouns as heads of 'retrospective labels' in the discipline of Politics: its text-based nature and the fact that knowledge is reiterative in this discipline, which enourages scholars to take up a position in relation to others' works. In the RAs analysed, however, knowledge seems to be constructed cumulatively, which is more common of natural sciences as Charles (2003) claims. Although Business Management scholars revise the previous literature on the discipline and take up positions in relation to it, they contribute to the discipline by developing and testing new hypotheses and devising enlightening case studies. It can be said that whereas Politics can be considered to fall under the *pure* social sciences disciplinary sub-grouping put forward by Becher and Trowler (2001: 36), Business Management can be considered to fall under the *applied* social science sub-grouping. This shows the importance of carrying out discipline-specific analysis, since linguistic and rhetorical differences can also be found even when comparing closely linked disciplines.

The similar outcome in both the English and the Spanish sub-corpora in relation to the use of metalinguistic nouns as heads of 'retrospective labels' can lead us to conclude that the type of 'retrospective label' used might be dependent on the discipline being analysed, whereas the frequency of their use might be more dependent on the language and cultural context in which the research is reported.

It has been observed that in both corpora the head noun of 'retrospective labels' is, very frequently, a nominalisation.

	English sub-corpus	Spanish sub-corpus
Nominalised head nouns	23 (46.93%)	10 (45.45%)

Table 4. *Nominalisations as head nouns in 'retrospective labels'.*

Out of the 49 different head nouns in the English sub-corpus, 23 types (46.93%) are nominalisations. In the case of the Spanish sub-corpus, 10 out of a total of 22 are also nominalisations, amounting to 45.45%. These nominalisations can be considered instances of what Halliday (1994) calls 'grammatical metaphor', i.e. incongruent realisations of qualities and processes as entities. These grammatical metaphors facilitate the accruement of lexical information in the 'retrospective label', "allowing a lot of information to be presented as a single given package" (Francis 1994: 96). The following examples illustrate the lexically dense stretches of language grammatical metaphors as heads of 'retrospecive labels' give way to:

> *Example 8*
>
> *Such enhanced efficiency achieved through more frequent favor exchange* may give employees […]. (AM2)

> *Example 9*
>
> *These positive associations between incentives and firm performance* give credence […] (SMJ1)
>
> More recently, *this presumed ability of a pioneering firm to pose hurdles for subsequent entrants* has been seriously questioned. (SMJ2)

> *Example 10*
>
> *Estas opiniones externas negativas* además se [...]. (DyO1)

> *Example 11*
>
> *Con esta caracterización del entorno que rodea a la PYME* muchos empresarios piensan que [...]. (REDyEE2)

The accruement of lexical items in 'retrospective labels' will be further explored in the next section.

5. MODIFIERS IN 'RETROSPECTIVE LABELS'

As Francis (1994: 95-96) states, the modifiers that accompany 'retrospective labels' can perform an ideational function: "they add to the meaning of the head noun by classifying it or defining it, making its participant role more explicit", a textual function: "textual modifiers contribute directly to the organizational role of labels" or, most commonly, an interpersonal function: "they evaluate the propositions they encapsulate". Only modifying adjectival and nominal groups

were looked into. In the English sub-corpus, out of a total of 66, 18 'retrospective labels' contain a modifying adjective or noun, whereas in the Spanish sub-corpus 7 'retrospective labels' out of a total of 25 have been found to contain a modifier of this type. Here are some examples of such modified 'retrospective labels':

> *Example 12*
>
> Makadock (2001) notes that picking and deploying resources should not be viewed as alternative, but rather as complementary perspectives for achieving desired strategic outcomes. How do *these two approaches* interact in the context of acquisitions? (JM1)

> *Example 13*
>
> If employees adopt a highly generous pattern of favor exchange, they may accrue social status, but their productivity may also decline. Conversely, if employees obtain reciprocation for favors they are owed, it may improve their productivity, but decrease their social status. *This apparent paradox* [...]. (AMJ2)

> *Example 14*
>
> En el desarrollo del modelo estructural que proponemos el valor de marca viene influido por la acción de los diferentes esfuerzos de marketing de las empresas. *Estas relaciones causales* condicionan [...]. (REDyEE 1)

> *Example 15*
>
> Esta imagen se mejoraría en la medida en que consiguiesen autofinanciarse, ya que pondrían de manifiesto que los servicios ofrecidos son importantes para el sector y generan los ingresos suficientes como para que estas organizaciones subsistan. *Este último hecho* enfatiza [...]. (DyO 1)

Adjectival and nominal modifiers have been classified according to whether they perform an ideational function (example 14), a textual function (examples 12 and 15) or an interpersonal function (example 13). In that classification process the context of each 'retrospective label' was carefully examined. The results are summarised in Table 5 below:

	English sub-corpus	Spanish sub-corpus
'Retrospective labels' containing a modifier	18 (27.27%)	7 (28%)
• Ideational modifiers	7 (38.88%)	3 (42.85%)
• Textual modifiers	2 (11.11%)	2 (28.57%)
• Interpersonal modifiers	9 (50%)	2 (28.57%)

Table 5. *Classification of modifiers in 'retrospective labels'.*

The percentage of 'retrospective labels' containing a modifier is very similar in both sub-corpora (27.27% in the case of the English sub-corpus and 28% in the case of the Spanish sub-corpus). Ideational modifiers are the most common type in both sub-corpora. Although Moreno (2004) looked into different types of modifiers, not only adjectival and nominal ones, she also found ideational modifiers to outnumber interpersonal and textual ones both in her English and in her Spanish corpora.

Against Francis (1994: 96) statement that modifiers in 'retrospective labels' most frequently perform an evaluative function, Spanish Business Management scholars do not tend to use modifiers to evaluate previous stretches of discourse or at least not to the same extent as American scholars. Moreno (2004) found no examples at all of textual or interpersonal modifiers in her Spanish corpus. In any case the scarce (or no) inclusion of interpersonal modifiers in 'retrospective labels' can be interpreted as a further signal that Spanish scholars prefer their readers to infer the writer's stance rather than making it explicit to them.

6. EPISTEMIC AND ATTITUDINAL 'RETROSPECTIVE LABELS'

It is believed that choosing a 'retrospective label' to package a preceding stretch of discourse could in itself be interpreted as an interpersonal action: "given that all labels are constructions of the writer, it follows that their discourse-organising function will reflect the purposes and views of the writer and hence indicate the writer's stance" (Charles 2003: 317). 'Retrospective labels' as markers of stance can convey epistemic or attitudinal meanings (Biber *et al.* 1998a). The attitudinal or evaluative meaning of the 'retrospective label' can be conveyed either by the head noun itself (example 16) and/or by the modifiers that accompany it (examples 17 and 18). Epistemic 'retrospective labels', on the other hand, are considered to be those which "comment on the status of information in a proposition" (Biber *et al.*

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1998a: 972) but which do not add any evaluative connotations (example 19 and examples 1-4 above). In example 19, for example, the choice of the word *claims* signals the status the writer attachs to the previous information; in this sense, the author's assessment of the truth value of the previous statement would have been different, had the author chosen another head noun such as, for instance, *assertion* or *argument*. This particular 'retrospective label' acts, then, as a marker of the writer's epistemic stance.

> *Example 16*
>
> *This contrast* maps neatly on two theoretical perspectives in strategy –resource picking and capability developing (Makadok, 2001 and Williamson, 1991). (JM1)

> *Example 17*
>
> Most of the research to date has also presumed that the success of the earlier entrant would make it difficult for subsequent entrants to make any significant inroads into the market. More recently, *this presumed ability of a pioneering firm to pose hurdles for subsequent entrants* is [...]. (SMJ2)

> *Example 18*
>
> Así pues, se observa una cierta falta de concienciación sobre la importancia de contar con métodos de evaluación objetivos de la empresa, lo cual puede ser un elemento de importancia fundamental en el futuro a la hora de permitir la incorporación y/o salida de familiares u otros socios en la propiedad de la empresa (De Visscher, 1985; Cabrera y Santana, 2000). *Estas y otras cuestiones fundamentales para el futuro de la empresa familiar* deberían ser abordadas [...]. (AD1)

> *Example 19*
>
> Some researchers argue that an acquisition may offer the opportunity to get rid of managerial deadwood (Walsh & Ellwood, 1991). While *these claims* may be true, the findings of this study suggest that the successful appropriation of knowledge implied by a good acquisition may require maintaining those that know the target operations best –its managers. (JM1)

Biber *et al.* (1998a: 974) point out that epistemic markers of stance outnumber attitudinal ones in the four registers they investigate, namely, conversation, fiction,

news and academic prose. The results obtained in the present research are in line with their findings:

	English sub-corpus	Spanish sub-corpus
attitudinal 'retrospective labels'	11 (16.66%)	3 (12%)
epistemic 'retrospective labels'	55 (83.33%)	22 (88%)

Table 6. *The use of 'retrospective labels' as markers of attitudinal or epistemic stance.*

Again the results show that Spanish scholars are less inclined to present their viewpoints and attitudes straightforward. In that sense it could be argued that American scholars establish a closer or at least more direct interpersonal relationships with their readers. The results again coincide with those of Moreno's (2004) wider analysis. She found (i) that non-evaluative labels were more frequent than evaluative ones in both languages, and (ii) that evaluative labels were more common in the English corpus than in the Spanish corpus, as reported here.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

American scholars in Business Management have been seen to make a slightly greater use of 'retrospective labels' in their RAs than Spanish scholars. The inclusion of these labels enables writers to proceed linearly in their arguments and to guide readers in their interpretation process –as well as to encode their attitudes, judgements and opinions. The greater use made of 'retrospective labels' by American scholars can be considered to be consistent with the general belief that the English language tends to favour a 'writer-responsible style', whereas Spanish is believed to favour a more 'reader-responsible style', that is, Spanish readers are more frequently left alone in their interpretation process.

It has been shown that metalinguistic nouns as heads of 'retrospective labels' are very scarce in both sub-corpora. Nominalisations account for about fifty per cent of all head nouns in both sub-corpora. These similarities in the type of head nouns being used in the English and Spanish sub-corpora can lead us to conclude that whereas the frequency of use of 'retrospective labels' might be dependent on the language/culture in which the RA is produced, the type of 'retrospective labels' used might be more dependent on the disciplinary discourse.

As far as modifiers are concerned, it has been seen that, even though Francis (1994: 96) states that "[t]he most common modifiers in labels […] are those which

encode interpersonal meaning unequivocally", her statement is valid only for the English sub-corpus and not for the Spanish one. In the latter more 'ideational' than 'interpersonal' modifiers have been found. In the same line, fewer attitudinal or evaluative 'retrospective labels' have been spotted in the Spanish sub-corpus. Both findings might be seen to hint at the Spanish scholars' preference to allow their readers to infer the author's viewpoints and attitudes for themselves, which probably leads to a more distant relationship with their readers.

The contrastive analysis presented here shows that there are certain rhetorical differences between English and Spanish RAs at least in this specific discipline, which Spanish scholars need to take into account if they wish to produce successful pieces of writing when drafting their RAs in English. Moreover, the fact that differences have been found between the rhetorical practices of scholars belonging to the same disciplinary community but to two different cultural contexts means that intercultural rhetorical analyses (Connor 2004a, 2004b) are necessary and desirable.

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APPENDIX 1

English sub-corpus:

(AMJ1)   Glomb, Theresa M. 2003. "Interpersonal aggression in work groups: social influence, reciprocal, and individual effects". *Academy of Management Journal* 46 (4): 486-496.

(AMJ2)   Fynn, Francis. 2003. "How much should I give and how often? The effects of generosity and frequency of favor exchange on social status and productivity". *Academy of Management Journal* 46 (5): 539-553.

(JM1)   Saxon, Todd, and Dollinger Marc. 2004. "Target reputation and appropriability: picking and deploying resources in acquisitions". *Journal of Management* 30 (1): 123-147.

(JM2)   Witt, L. A., Martha C. Andrews, and Dawn S. Carlson. 2003. "When conscientiousness isn't enough: emotional exhaustion and perfor- mance among call center customer service representatives". *Journal of Management* 30 (1): 149-160.

(SMJ1)   Sanders, Gerard W. M., and Steven Boivie. 2004. "Sorting things out: valuation of new firms in uncertain markets". *Strategic Management Journal* 25: 167-186.

(SMJ2)   Shamsie, Jamal, Corey Phelps, and Jerome Kyperman. 2004. "Better late than never: a study of late entrants in household electrical equip- ment". *Strategic Management Journal* 25: 69-84.

Spanish sub-corpus:

(AD1)   Cabrera Suárez, MªKatiuska, Petra De Saá, and Juan Manuel García Falcón. 2003. "La empresa familiar en España: una aproximación". *Alta Dirección* 230: 251-259.

(AD2)   Manzano García, Guadalupe, and Francisco Ramos Campos. 2003. "Burnout en instituciones hospitalarias: factores de influencia". *Alta Dirección* 228: 546-556.

(DyO1)   Sánchez García, Javier. 2004. "Conocimiento e importancia de los servicios como determinantes de la imagen de una organización. Una especial referencia al sector de los azulejos". *Dirección y Orga- nización de Empresas* 29: 86-95.

(DyO2)   Marco Lajara, Bartolomé, Francisco García Lillo, and Diego Quer Ramón. 2004. "Factores de éxito y fracaso de la cooperación entre empresas: un enfoque organizativo y estratégico". *Dirección y Orga- nización de Empresas* 29: 161-168.

(REDyEE1)   Villarejo Ramos, Ángel Francisco. 2003. "La importancia del grado de intensidad de la distribución en la determinación del valor de marca de un bien duradero". *Revista Europea de Dirección y Economía de la Empresa* 12 (3): 41-58.

(REDyEE2)   Ribeiro Soriano, Domingo. 2003. "Rendimiento de las PYMES inno- vadoras". *Revista Europea de Dirección y Economía de la Empresa* 12 (3): 119-132.

APPENDIX 2

English sub-corpus

finding(s)	9		objectives	1
logic	6		means	1
results	3		analyses	1
perspective	2		advantage	1
approach(es)	2		claims	1
studies	2		view	1
influences	1		transactions	1
stimuli	1		correlations	1
work	1		strategy	1
characteristics	1		effects	1
procedure	1		associations	1
situation	1		level	1
data	1		process	1
assumption	1		transformations	1
efficiency	1		indicators	1
leeway	1		information	1
predictions	1		proxies	1
responses	1		problem	1
mean value	1		ability	1
observation	1		attributes	1
paradox	1		definition	1
contrast	1		values	1
construct	1		time lag	1
resources	1		focus	1
response rate	1			

Spanish sub-corpus

resultado (s)	2		situación	1
cuestion(es)	2		requisitos	1
relación(es)	2		puntos	1
idea	1		concepto	1
datos	1		incremento	1
lazos	1		dimensión	1
variable	1		análisis	1
orientación	1		marco	1
hecho	1		caracterización	1
falta	1		creencia	1
opiniones	1		valores	1

LANGUAGE ADVISERS AND THEIR ROLE IN SELF-ACCESS CENTRES

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ABSTRACT. *The main objective of this paper is to contribute to the research in a field which to date has not received the attention it deserves: the figure of language advisers and the role they play as facilitators of learning in the context of a self-access centre.*

In spite of not being abundant, the literature on the topic offers some information as to the characteristics of good language advisers including features related to the academic and professional requirements as well as to personal traits.

Based on this data a questionnaire was designed with the aim of gaining insight into how advisers themselves perceive the roles they play as well as detecting the strengths and weaknesses of the work they carry out in self-access centres. The results that may be obtained from the application of this questionnaires can prove an extremely valuable feedback for institutions and people in charge of these centres in order to establish whether there is a need for comprehensive training so as to create a centre made up of fully qualified professionals.

1. INTRODUCTION

A self-access centre[1] (SAC) is usually an unfamiliar context for most language learners in which they have to face a novel situation for which the support and guide of an expert will almost certainly be needed. This expert or language

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1. The literature offers various definitions of what a SAC is. However, many of them lack an important component: the help (either human or material) learners should encounter in the centre to be able to work in it. Therefore, I propose the following definition: 'A self-access centre should be a space which offers learners all the human and material resources needed so that they are able to assume the responsibility to direct their own learning process'.

adviser consequently plays an essential role in this context where the learner has decided to carry out a self-directed learning process.

The presence of the adviser is also justified if we take into account that the ability to self-direct one's own learning has to be acquired due to the drastic change of role learners assume in taking over the reins of their language learning process.

However, we shouldn't make the mistake of asserting that without the help of an adviser, a learner is incapable of carrying out a learning process in a SAC and that, therefore, it is absolutely essential that all users have this support. In doing so, we would be restricting the freedom of choice of those learners who consider this help unnecessary.

Nonetheless, it is essential that SACs count on language advisers who can guide those learners who freely decide to take advantage of this service. From my viewpoint, centres should go even further by attempting to make learners see that the role of an adviser in a SAC is not a carbon copy of that the teacher plays in the classroom setting. Such a misunderstanding could lead some learners to reject this help for fear of finding a similar situation to that of the classroom which they might have voluntarily abandoned in search of a new context allowing them a higher degree of responsibility for their learning process. In this sense, Gardner and Miller (1999: 185) point out that learners should be encouraged to talk to an adviser and suggest that a way to do so is to arrange an obligatory interview for all learners who want to make use of the centre.

This measure, however, seems somewhat extreme to me as it means forcing the user to do something in a context which is supposed to promote learner autonomy and consequently freedom of choice regarding the various aspects involved in the learning process. Moreover, such a situation might in some way resemble that of a classroom context, which has been usually characterized by the teacher's control over all aspects involved in the learning process. It is a more sensible option to allow learners to go voluntarily in search of help and support because in doing so, it will be easier for them to consider the adviser a facilitator of the process and so avoid any of the negative connotations that obligation may bring about.

2. THE *GOOD* LANGUAGE ADVISER

The literature on the topic offers language advisers some advice about the tasks to be carried out in SACs although, as Gremmo and Riley (1995: 161) state, most of it is not based on data obtained from research but rather on the reflections and /or learning of more experienced language advisers. However, what the literature offers should by no means be rejected because, as I have just mentioned, it mainly comes

from professionals with wide experience as language advisers whose contributions can be of great help when it comes to analysing the figure of the adviser in a SAC.

The literature seems to reflect a consensus as regards the need for SACs to offer advisory services (Bailly 1995; Gremmo 1995; Riley 1997) made up of expert and qualified personnel who can provide the users a support of a more human nature in order to reach their objectives. The question, nonetheless, is the meaning of *expert* and *qualified* when talking about language advisers in a SAC. It goes without saying that the role of the adviser is going to differ a lot from that played by the teacher in the classroom setting where, among others tasks, the teacher decides the syllabus, selects the material to be used, the activities and the way to carry them out. This situation changes drastically in the context of a SAC and Gardner and Miller (1999: 182) reflect this change very clearly establishing the differences between a teacher and a language adviser. These differences are the following: i) the teacher uses the term *student* and the adviser the term *learner*; ii) teachers are considered leaders of the students and advisers collaborators in the learning process; iii) in the classroom there is a pre-determined syllabus and in the SAC a negotiated and flexible pathway; iv) teachers teach from a prescribed textbook and advisers orientate learners to an array of materials; v) teacher are assessors of students while advisers discuss with learners different forms to self-assess their progress; vi) teachers are instructors/organisers and advisers reflective listeners; vii) teachers use a variety of teaching aids and advisers show learners how to make use of materials and equipments; viii) teachers monitor a whole class looking for common problems and advisers discuss individual problems; ix) teachers give feedback on learning tasks and advisers encourage learners to reflect on the results obtained in those tasks.

As it can be seen, there are varied and remarkable differences between a teacher and a language adviser and it would not be realistic to expect that the change of role the teacher has to assume could take place overnight and without previous training or preparation. This opinion is also shared by authors such us Little (1990), Riley (1997) and Gardner and Miller (1999). Indeed, Little (1990: 11) expounds the situation in a very direct way:

> It is not easy for teachers to stop talking: after all, if they stop talking they stop teaching and if they stop teaching their learners might stop learning. And it is not easy for teachers to let learners solve problems by themselves, for that takes time and there is always too much ground to cover. Committing oneself to learner autonomy requires a lot of nerve.

Riley's (1997: 122) opinion to this respect is closely related to the underlying idea in Little's words. For Riley, advisers –as language learners– have their own

representations, values and beliefs which inevitably are going to influence their new relation with the learner.

There is no doubt that teachers need a preparation to help them assume their new role and acquire the skills a good language adviser is supposed to have. From his definition of counselling[2], Kelly (1996: 94) considers that this activity will never be successful if teachers keep on trusting their learning techniques and classroom management strategies. On the contrary, advisers need to have several skills that help them change their perspective as regards the dialogue that has to be established between adviser and learner, a dialogue which is far from being similar to the traditional dialogue between teacher and student. In this sense, Kelly differentiates between what he calls macro-skills and micro-skills. The first are related to the general support the language adviser should provide regarding the different aspects involved in the learning process such as the statement of objectives, the variety of options available as far as materials and/or activities are concerned, the evaluation, and so on. Micro-skills are of a more personal nature and include, among others, to empathise with the learners' experience, to repeat their words to confirm understanding and to provide them with an individualized attention.

I agree with Kelly in his consideration that the adviser needs to behave not just as an expert in language learning and, to be more precise, in self-directed learning but also as a *person* who tries to establish with learners a dialogue in which mutual confidence and sincerity must predominate. For the establishment of that dialogue to take place, Kelly (undated) points out that the adviser must be aware of the following aspects: i) mutual confidence must exist in order to avoid the anxiety that the relationship can originate; ii) both the learner and the adviser must feel comfortable with the new situation for the advisory sessions to be effective; iii) both the learner and the adviser must be aware of their new roles; iv) the advisory sessions must be regarded as a chance for the exchange of ideas and not for the correction of mistakes; v) the sessions must lead the learner to become more aware of his situation regarding the learning process and the adviser to reflect on the learner's progress.

These skills pointed out by Kelly can be complemented with a more practical one to which Gardner and Miller (1999: 186) also make reference: it is of key importance that an adviser knows the SAC deeply, including all its resources, so that they are in the position to answer any question learners can posit. Indeed, learners will probably place more trust in an adviser who can provide them with

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2. 'Counselling is essentially a form of therapeutic dialogue that enables an individual to manage a problem (Kelly 1996: 94).

a wealth of information (equipment, materials, etc.) than in one who shows complete ignorance of the place in which he or she is carrying out the task of facilitator of the users' learning process. This mistrust could take learners to avoid the help of the adviser for certain aspects closely related to their learning process.

The information that emerges from the literature suggests that a *good language adviser* must have such a great amount of characteristics as to make us deduce that it is necessary for teachers to receive a training to guide and help them assume their new role. However, as Harding and Tealby (1981) point out, it must be taken into account that the advisory sessions have to be relevant for learners, whose needs can continuously change, and therefore this activity cannot be considered a "static technique that can be learned and then applied" (Gardner and Miller 1999: 189), but rather as a continuing process. In this sense, and in order to provide support to teachers, Gardner and Miller (1999: 189-193) suggest carrying out a program of workshops involving the following aspects: i) orientation, where advisers face typical questions made by users to check their capacity to answer; ii) dealing with technical problems, where advisers are presented with problems of a technical nature to see if they are able to solve them; iii) developing advisory skills, where, among other aspects, the differences between a teacher and an adviser are dealt with; iv) what makes a good adviser, where personality issues would be treated; v) conversations with learners where advisers are encouraged to reflect on the conversations kept with learners; vi) dealing with general problems, where advisers can be presented with any kind of situation they may face in the SAC.

Riley (1997: 128-29) also makes reference to the need for the language adviser to receive a training in three different areas. First of all he talks about the *academic* matter, as he considers that an adviser must have a specialized knowledge in the field of language and in the field of language learning. This opinion is shared by Bosch (1996: 70) who adds that when selecting language advisers something that must be taken into consideration is the interest they show on topics related to learner autonomy.

Secondly, Riley considers that advisers need a *practical* training to help them familiarise with the SAC and, in contrast to the suggestions made by Dickinson (1987) and Gardner and Miller (1999), he considers that this training can only be acquired with practice or with the help of more experienced colleagues. We coincide with Riley in that experience is a fundamental factor to form qualified language advisers but, in my opinion, workshops and other activities of the kind are of great help to promote reflection and the exchange of ideas between the different advisers.

Finally, a part of the training must be devoted to develop useful advisory skills. With that purpose in mind, Riley (1997: 129-30) offers a series of techniques. For example, he suggests attending sessions carried out by other peers and similarly he considers that undergoing the same experience the learner does, that is to say, to become a self-directed learner, will give a more realistic and reliable perspective of the situation. Discussions with peers can also be of great help as well as recording advisory sessions for later analysis.

It would be the objective of another paper to carry out an analysis of different advisory sessions, paying attention to all the above mentioned aspects, in order to be in the position to judge their efficacy. However, what the literature offers does help us extract some basic requirements that have to be met if SACs intend to count on qualified advisers.

3. THE ROLE OF THE LANGUAGE ADVISER IN A SAC: A QUESTIONNAIRE

As it was pointed out above, the literature on the topic shows some necessary requirements that language advisers working in a SAC should meet. With this in mind, a questionnaire was designed (Navarro-Coy 2003) that can be used by the people in charge of SACs as a feedback to detect the weak points of those advisers working in their institution and, given the case, to implement the corresponding work lines for improvement. This questionnaire was used in a study (Navarro-Coy 2003) in which three SACs were analysed. One part of the analysis consisted of the distribution of the questionnaires among the language advisers of the centres. In the next point, its aims as well as the different parts of the questionnaire will be presented.

Needless to say, the questionnaire has to be validated, but it can hopefully serve a double purpose: firstly, to make people in charge of SACs aware of the need to count on prepared personnel to work as language advisers and secondly, to help them have a professional view of the language advisers working in their centres and on the situation of these centres as regards the running of the language advisory system.

3.1. STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire is divided into four sections (A, B, C and D) and they differ from each other both in format and in the objectives they pursue. The first section (see section A in appendix 1) consists of three questions related to professional

issues about the advisers in order to check their experience and preparation as far as their academic training is concerned.

The main aim of section B (see section B in appendix 1) is to check the knowledge advisers have of various general aspects of the SAC such as the timetable, the criteria used for the classification of materials or the working of the equipment. With this purpose in mind, I used a table in which such aspects are reflected on the left side, with the right one offering the options 'YES' and 'NO' for advisers to indicate if they know them. It is important to point out the need for advisers to have a deep knowledge of the SAC in this respect and that is why it was considered more suitable to design this section using only dichotomic questions. Nevertheless, given the case of the ignorance of any of the aspect by the adviser it is possible to complement the information with the answers to question one in section D which attempts to check the training these people have received in order to carry out their tasks as language advisers. An evident lack of this training can lead to the ignorance of certain aspects the SAC involves.

Section C of the questionnaire (see section C in appendix 1) attempts to reflect the extent to which advisers assume their new role and are able to differentiate it from the role they play in the classroom setting. Three divisions (C1, C2 and C3) of this section were designed to try to establish this objective. The first, C1, aims at showing which aspects (both personal and professional) advisers consider to be important in order to carry out their tasks effectively. A Likert scale containing thirteen items was used for this purpose. Each item represents one aspect related to the personal or professional areas and the advisers surveyed must indicate the importance they assign to each on a scale from 0 to 5. In my study, I had a very small sample and this is the reason why I decided to include an even number (six) of grades with the aim of reaching a stronger compromise from the people surveyed. The use of an odd scale always includes a medium grade that can give rise to neutral reactions which may not contribute any significant data (see Del Rincón et al. 1995: 181). However, this last option that includes the medium grade has also been regarded as a way to simplify the task of answering the items in questionnaires.

C2 tries to reveal the differential features between a teacher and an adviser as they are perceived by the latter. To design this part of the questionnaire nine pairs of features were selected each of them containing one which is considered a more characteristic feature of a classroom teacher and the other a more typical aspect of a language adviser. Nonetheless, the questionnaire also offers the possibility of choosing the option *both* which indicates that a specific feature can be attributed to the teacher and to the adviser. I considered it necessary to include this option

as the current trend of many classroom teachers is to act as facilitators of learning, a role which resembles that of the adviser in the SAC.

Using a table adapted from Riley et al. (1989), C3 tries to assess the degree of the learners' self-direction taking into account who makes the different decisions involved in the learning process: the adviser, the learner or both through negotiation.

Finally, the objectives of section D (see section D in appendix 1) are to check, on the one hand, the training advisers have received or consider necessary to receive in order to work in a SAC and, on the other hand, their interest and knowledge on autonomy and what the term involves. This time, the section contains six questions made up in all cases of various open and closed sub-questions. The reason for this design was firstly the need to obtain information of the same nature from all advisers (closed questions) and secondly to give the people surveyed the chance to "express their opinions in depth" (open questions) (Ander-Egg 1997: 275).

4. AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESULTS OBTAINED AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR THE STUDY

As it was mentioned before, SACs should, in my opinion, count on a team of language advisers who can guide and support users throughout their learning process, as the past learning experiences of most of them have probably taken place in a classroom setting with the omnipresent figure of the teacher. Moreover the presence of an adviser can contribute to create a more human learning process avoiding a cool situation in which the learner only interacts with the learning materials of the centre. However, there still seems to be a lack of awareness about the key role played by these professionals in the SACs. As an example, we can talk about one of the centres analysed in the study which, in fact, has no language advisers at all due to the fact (according to the manager) that the enormous amount of students attending the centre would make it have a very large number of advisers, expenses that the centre could not undertake to pay.

This fact led to the distribution of the questionnaires in only two of the centres included in the research. Such centres belong to two different kinds of institutions: one of them is located in a school of languages and the other one in a university.

The SAC of the school of languages has a total of seven language advisers, but only five of them completed the questionnaire. These five advisers have the same academic qualification (a degree in English Philology) and an average of three years' experience as language advisers in this centre.

As regards the SAC in the university context, all the advisers (a total of six) answered the questionnaire. As in the first case, they all have a degree in English Philology but their experience as language advisers is very heterogeneous. In fact, three of them have worked as advisers for 9 and 10 years, one of them for 3 years and the other two for 1 year.

In both cases, the questionnaires were distributed in February 2002 by electronic mail, after getting in touch with the manager of the centre to ask for their cooperation. The questionnaires were given back to the author either by e-mail or through the post.

Next, we will try to reflect briefly some important information obtained from the result of the questionnaires once they had been completed by the language advisers of the two SACs.

Nowadays the roles played by the adviser and the teacher are not (and should not be) as different as some people believe, mainly if we consider the evolution that the teacher figure has experimented in the last decades. This situation was reflected in the results obtained in section C2 of the questionnaire. Such results showed how, in general, the advisers of the centres attributed to both roles certain features that have been usually considered more characteristic of a language adviser. Among such features we can highlight the following: cooperation in the learning process, negotiation of the learning objectives, talking with learners about the different ways to self-evaluate their progress or to provide feedback to the learning tasks. It is nonetheless true that in some cases the advisers showed reluctance to allow learners make some decisions on their own within the classroom setting. This is also reflected in section C4 where we found cases in which the advisers considered more appropriate to make the decisions themselves, for example decisions concerning needs analysis, materials to use and evaluation. From my point of view this reluctance may have its origin in the impositions made by the educational institutions as far as learning programmes, objectives and materials are concerned. This situation can make teachers get used to assuming responsibility in all those aspects and find it, therefore, more difficult to abandon it in situations which require it (namely in SACs).

However, if there is any conclusion we can draw from these results, this would make reference to the great similarity that, according to the advisers surveyed, must exist between the roles played in the SAC and in the classroom, then considering that both figures have to act as facilitators in the learning process.

As regards sections B, C1 and D the results obtained were very promising. These sections deal respectively with the knowledge advisers should have about the centres where they work, the characteristics good language advisers must

have and their knowledge and worries about all aspects involved in the question of learner autonomy.

In the first case (section B), most advisers showed a good knowledge of all the aspects mentioned in the questionnaire which were related to the SACs, aspects such as the timetable, the layout, the languages for which material is available or the criteria used for the classification of that material, among others. This way, the information that advisers can provide to the users of the centres will be much more reliable. Secondly, from the results obtained in section C1 we could observe the great importance advisers gave to certain aspects related to personality (to inspire confidence, to be flexible, to show respect and interest for each learner's situation, etc.). These features can undoubtedly contribute to create a more human language advising and to facilitate the dialogue between adviser and learner. Finally, and even though most advisers claimed to be familiar with and to be interested in the question of autonomy, section D of the questionnaires showed explicitly the advisers perceptions on the need to be provided with a more systematic training to carry out their tasks in the centres in an effective way.

5. CONCLUSION

Having taken the contributions available in the literature as a starting point, we have attempted to offer a global view of different aspects that should be considered important when we talk about the tasks of language advisers in SACs. These aspects, reflected by means of a questionnaire, include different areas, namely personal, professional, technical, etc. neither of which should be rejected when the aim is to analyse the figure of the language adviser.

Once the questionnaires had been answered by the advisers and the results analysed there are some points which can be worth stating:

a) as it was said before, the contributions available in the literature were taken as the starting point for the design of the questionnaire. However, before distributing them among the advisers, it might be a good idea to rely on the contribution of the centres' managers in order to find some possible important aspects the questionnaire may be missing in either of the sections.

b) more specifically, as regards section C2, I have to say from the results obtained that the first three aspects mentioned (uses the term learner, uses the term student, is a leader of students) were widely discussed by the advisers surveyed. This is due to the role played by advisers and teachers

which is nowadays considered to be rather similar, and, in fact, nobody accepted a teacher to be *leader of students*. Some advisers made some comments in this respect, even though this part of the questionnaire was not designed with that purpose in mind. Therefore it could be interesting to include a blank space under the heading *comments* so that they can make the observations they consider appropriate. This option could also be useful in other sections of the questionnaire such as B, C1 and C3 in order to obtain a richer feedback from those people who are really involved in the work of advising users of a SAC.

Finally, I would like to mention that this paper is only a humble attempt at helping those people either in charge of self-access centres or working in them to become more aware (through the completion and later analysis of the questionnaire) of their needs and lacks for the development of the work of language advisers in the centre of their institutions.

APPENDIX 1: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A

1. Academic qualification:

2. Language /s with which you work as an adviser:

3. Time you have worked as a language adviser in the SAC:

SECTION B

Do you know the following aspects of the SAC in which you work as a language adviser?

(Tick the appropriate option)

	YES	NO
Timetable		
Physical layout		
Languages for which material is available		
Criteria used for the classification of material		
All the learning material available in the language in which you are adviser		
Functioning of the equipment (videos, televisions, computers, etc.)		
Possibilities offered by the SAC to carry out other activities such as meeting native speakers, conversation groups, cultural activities, etc.		

SECTION C1

Using a 0 to 5 scale, assess the following aspects according to how important you consider they are in a language adviser (0 = such an aspect is not necessary to be a good adviser; 5 = such an aspect is essential to be a good adviser).

To be patient

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To have a perfect knowledge of the target language grammar

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To inspire confidence

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To be flexible

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To identify with the learners' experiences

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To be very fluent at the oral level

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To be very fluent and accurate at the written level

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To be approachable

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To have a deep knowledge of the target language phonetics

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To know the learning material available on the market

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

To be a very experienced teacher

0	1	2	3	4	5

To show respect and interest for the situation of every student

0	1	2	3	4	5

To have a knowledge of the different methodologies that exist in the field of foreign language learning / teaching

0	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C2

Which of the following aspects would you attribute to a teacher, which to a language adviser and which to both of them?

	Teacher	Adviser	Both
Uses the term 'learner'			
Uses the term 'student'			
Is a leader of students			
Cooperates in the learning process			
Negotiates the learning objectives			
Decides the learning objectives			
Decides the syllabus to follow			
Negotiates the syllabus			
Negotiates /orientates learners from a selection of materials			
Decides the materials to be used			
Evaluates the student			
Talks with learners about the different ways to self-assess their progress.			
Is an instructor / organizer			
Is a reflective listener			
Encourages learners to reflect on the results obtained in the language learning tasks			
Gives feedback on learning tasks			
Uses a variety of teaching aids			
Shows learners how to use materials and equipment			

Section C3

Who makes de decision / Nature of the decision	Adviser	Learner	Adviser and Learner
Learning objectives (what to learn)			
Needs analysis			
Learning timetable (when to learn)			
Learning pace (how often)			
Length (for how long)			
Methodology (how to learn)			
Material to use			
Assessment of results			

Section D

Please, answer the following questions:

1. Are you receiving or have you received any type of training to work as a language adviser in a SAC?

   If this is the case,
   • What did the training consist of?
   • Where did you receive it?
   • Who was in charge of it?

   If this is not the case, indicate if, in your opinion, that situation originates any type of problem in carrying out your tasks as a language adviser.

2. Regardless of whether you have received previous training or not, would you consider it useful to have access to some kind of additional training? In which areas? Why?

3. In the course of your professional career, have you acquired any experience on topics related to autonomy in language learning? If this is the case, please indicate how you have acquired such experience (courses, implementation in the classroom setting, etc.).

4. Please, indicate briefly what the term 'autonomy' means for you.

5. If you could choose between being an adviser, a teacher or both simultaneously, which one would you choose? Please, give reasons for your answer.

6. Do you think it is possible to be the teacher and the adviser of the same students / learners? Why / why not?

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MODIFYING NOUNS: AN ENGLISH-SPANISH CORPUS-BASED CONTRAST OF THREE WORD PAIRS

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ABSTRACT. *The modification of nouns is a problematic area in contrasting English and Spanish. The different typologies to which these two languages belong determine essential differences, such as the unmarked position of adjectives, before nouns in English and after nouns in Spanish. The aim of this study is to set up a list of the most common characterizing resources for nouns in both languages, and establish their different distribution, so that trends in usage can be detected. A number of concordances of three word pairs have been selected from two large monolingual corpora, Cobuild and CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual). The data have been analysed to describe the type of modifiers that occur in both languages. This contrastive analysis provides useful data in areas such as translation, foreign language learning and teaching, or descriptive linguistics. The translation process between English and Spanish is the main focus of this paper.*

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the obvious differences in grammatical patterns that exist between English and Spanish is the qualitative modification of nouns, which we will also refer to as *characterization* in this paper. These differences make of this issue one of the main problems when translating texts of any type from English into Spanish. The typological differences existing between Germanic and Romance languages are clearly observable in this particular grammatical area. The most obvious example is the different unmarked position of the most basic and universal noun modifiers, i.e. adjectives, in these two languages: premodification

by adjectives in English and postmodification in Spanish. Furthermore, related to the different language typologies is the fact that native speakers of different languages refer to the real world using culture-bound strategies that may vary greatly across languages.

In this paper we will examine noun phrases (NP) in English and Spanish. We will analyse a series of NPs in order to establish the different types of modifying structures that appear surrounding nouns in order to determine which of these constructions are the most frequent in each language. We aim at providing information about the linguistic habits of the two language communities that might help establish recommended translation patterns in Spanish for the different grammatical resources found in English.

One of the main objectives of linguistic theories has always been to explain the relationship between semantics and syntax. In other words, there is a need to understand the step that takes us from meaning to form by means of a particular set of syntactic structures. Different authors have dealt with this topic in the second half of the 20th century, among them Tesnière (1959), Sommerfeldt & Starke (1984), Bondarko (1991), Pottier (1992) and Jürgens (1999). All these theories refer to the existence of a multiplicity of syntactic structures available for expressing one and the same meaning "In diesem Sinne verstehe ich Syntax als Organisationsweise von Semantik. Dabei muß betont werden, daß es in der Regel verschiedene syntaktische Strukturen zur Organisation einer semantischen Struktur gibt." (Jürgens 1999: 15). This idea is not only applicable to the mechanisms at work within one particular language, but also to aspects related to translation, since it accounts for the possibility of two different grammatical realisations in two languages conveying the same meaning.

Our study is based on the proposal made by Bondarko (1991) for explaining the interaction between meaning and grammar. This author defines a notion of functional-semantic fields similar to the polysystem theory in descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995). One particular syntactic structure that is considered to be the most central one is attributed to each of these fields. Other syntactic constructions may also be able to convey the same meaning, but they are less common than the first one and thus more peripheral, less central. "Underlying each functional-semantic field is a particular semantic category constituting the semantic invariant which unites heterogeneous language means and conditions their interaction." (Bondarko 1991: 22).

This paper deals with the expression of quality in English and Spanish nouns. We set out to establish the functional-semantic fields of nominal modification in these two languages, designing a framework that clearly distinguishes the most

central syntactic structures in both languages. The subsequent contrast between the two different functional-semantic fields should yield useful information about the different trends in these languages when it comes to modifying nouns and also about the options available when translating from English into Spanish.

With this aim in mind we have decided to use computerised language corpora as working tools. Corpus linguistics has become an essential factor in contrastive studies over the past few years. The enormous amounts of real texts produced by native speakers provide very useful information concerning language in use. The authenticity of these texts validates the results found in the analysis of any linguistic aspect, especially in the case of contrastive studies with a translational approach, where real language use is essential in order to determine the linguistic habits of the target language community. The corpora selected for this paper are the Cobuild Direct and the CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual). Within these two monolingual corpora, the texts that have been employed are those published in the written media (newspapers and magazines) and written in the European varieties of our two working languages.

Our primary working hypothesis considers that there are substantial differences between English and Spanish in what refers to the qualitative modification of nouns, since this aspect is particularly difficult to deal with when translating from one language into the other. There may be more or less similar resources such as adjectives or relative clauses that carry out this particular meaning in both languages, but the distribution and the frequency of use may not be the same. The well-known trend of the English language to prefer premodification, while the Spanish language tends towards postmodification should also be validated in this study.

2. CHARACTERIZATION: DEFINITION AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

Since 1958 in Vinay & Darbelnet's *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* the term *characterization* has been used to refer to the different grammatical resources that may be used in a particular language to add qualitative information to the content of nouns and verbs. "La caractérisation est l'ensemble des moyens par lesquels la langue décrit les gens, les choses et les idées d'une part, et les actions d'autre part." (Darbelnet 1969: 41). In this paper, we deal only with the characterization of nouns, and only with characterization in the attributive position. This is due to the fact that adjectives –the most obvious characterizing resource for nouns– have been shown to occur three times more often in attributive position than in predicative position (Biber et al. 1999: 506).

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Furthermore, the most important differences between English and Spanish lie in attributive modification.

There is no doubt that the internal typological structure of any language will condition all the syntactic aspects related to the expression of a particular meaning. The way a language community perceives the real world and its environment is directly linked to the way the native speakers of that community use language to refer to the real world. This well-known fact is particularly important in characterization. English and Spanish are two genetically related languages that belong to different branches of the Indo-European language family, the Germanic branch and the Romance branch, respectively. This typological fact determines to a great extent a number of issues related to syntax and word order, two crucial factors in the expression of quality in nouns. English is considered to have a structure that is particularly suitable for a graphic description of reality, full of physical details. In contrast, Spanish has traditionally been described as being a language that remains on the level of abstraction, far from any concern for the concrete and objective facts (Vázquez Ayora 1977: 44). This difference is reflected in the lexical dimension of the use of adjectives, and thus in any other modifying structure. The high degree of nominalization present in the English language has an influence on characterization too, since it allows for nouns to be freely used as adjectives. In contrast, Spanish presents a much lower level of nominalization.

There is yet another formal aspect where the different ways of characterizing nouns in English and Spanish are clearly visible, and this is word order. The unmarked position for an adjective in English is before the noun it modifies, while postmodification is the unmarked position in Spanish. Both languages allow for reverse positions, but the semantic nuances change and make these alternative positions clearly marked. In consequence, other possible characterizing resources in these languages will adopt the corresponding unmarked position too, if this is syntactically possible. For example, when nouns are used to modify other nouns, these units with adjectival use appear preceding the modified noun in English (*guest house, lemon cake*), and after the modified noun in Spanish (*hombre orquesta, coche bomba*).

The different ways of describing the real world, the flexibility of the English language to use nouns as adjectives and the opposite unmarked position of adjectives suggest the existence of important differences in the way the expression of quality is organised in these two languages.

Characterization is a very wide semantic field. There are a number of different linguistic resources to carry out the semantic function of nominal modification. Adjectives are the clearest example of grammatical units with this meaning, but they

are by no means the only formal resources that may be used with this purpose. Other word classes can be used in similar ways, "especially nouns, adverbs, and semi-determiners, so that the boundaries of the adjective category are not easy to draw." (Biber et al. 1999: 506).

In attributive position some of the most frequent characterizing resources in English and Spanish are adjectives and adjective phrases (henceforth Adj.P), prepositional phrases (henceforth PP), relative clauses, NPs, non-finite clauses, etc.

The foundation of this paper is a semantic one, since we are dealing with our topic from an onomasiological point of view, i.e. from meaning to form, from the semantics of characterization to the grammatical forms that express it. We will focus here on the different frequency of occurrence and distribution of these constructions on the part of native speakers of English and Spanish.

3. WORKING PROCEDURE

This is a corpus-based study and the two corpora used to obtain the data necessary for the analysis are the Cobuild Direct, the smaller on-line version of the Cobuild/Bank of English corpus, and Spanish corpus CREA. Both corpora contain millions of words, so smaller samples were carefully selected within each one to make our sample corpora comparable. Only written texts were selected, only texts published in the media, and only texts produced in the European varieties of English and Spanish. With these limitations we obtained two subcorpora of approximately 22 million words in each language, thus making the two corpora comparable in size too.

In order to analyse the type of characterization that modifies nouns in English and Spanish, we have chosen a number of three sample nouns with their referential equivalents in the other language, so that we could use these as input for the corpus search. The selected units were *man-hombre, house-casa,* and *time-tiempo*. These three noun pairs represent groups of human nouns, inanimate concrete nouns, and abstract nouns, respectively, and they have been selected because of their high frequency of occurrence in both languages. 500 concordances have been extracted for each example, and all instances have been analysed in order to determine what type of modifying construction appeared next to the node nouns. The results of the descriptive analysis have then been juxtaposed and contrasted. The final aim was to draw conclusions from the data provided that might be useful when translating from English into Spanish.

4. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

4.1. HUMAN NOUNS

The analysis of 500 concordances of the nouns *man* and *hombre* revealed data about the amount of examples that presented qualitative modification in both cases. The percentage of characterized examples is very similar in both languages, approximately 65% of the cases. In the remaining cases these nouns appear alone, or preceded by articles, determiners, numerals, or other non-qualitative modifiers. This indicates that there seems to be a clear trend in speakers of both languages to make qualitative comments when talking about human nouns.

The central part of our contrast focuses on the comparison of the characterizing resources found modifying the selected nouns. Only the resources that present the highest number of occurrences are shown here. Table 1 includes the six most frequent structures found in our corpus samples, which amount to around 70% of the total.

ENGLISH		SPANISH	
man + Relative clause	20.78%	*hombre* + Relative clause	21.95%
Adjective + *man*	20.48%	*hombre* + *de*-phrase	15.85%
Noun + *man*	13.25%	*hombre* + adjective	15.54%
man + Adj.P / participle clause	6.09%	*hombre* + Adj.P / participle clause	8.53%
man + *of*-phrase	5.72%	*hombre* + Adj.P + relative clause	3.65%
2 adjectives + *man*	4.21%	*hombre* + Adj.P + *de*-phrase	3.35%
TOTAL	**70.53%**	**TOTAL**	**68.87%**

Table 1. Characterizing resources for *man* and *hombre*.

Postmodification is the only option in Spanish, whereas three out of six resources in English are premodifying. Relative clauses present a very high percentage of occurrences in both languages, approximately 20%: *the man who led the protest, the man I love*, etc. However, relative clauses are clearly the most central resource in Spanish (*un hombre que consiguió huir de la justicia, un hombre que reclamaba su ayuda*, etc.), while in English the premodifying adjective reaches almost the same frequency of use. There is a stronger trend towards the use of adjectives as modifiers among native speakers of English than

among native speakers of Spanish, always in terms of their respective unmarked position: *a young man, un hombre idóneo*, etc.

In Spanish the PP where the head preposition is *de*, also called *de*-phrase in this paper, has a frequency of occurrence of 15.85%. It is even more common than the adjective as a characterizing form in this language, revealing itself as one of the most common and straightforward options for Spanish speakers: *un hombre de moda, un hombre de suerte, el hombre de confianza*, etc. The formal equivalents in English, *of*-phrases, occur in only 5.72% of the cases: *man of the year, man of the left*, etc. In contrast, the use of a noun as a premodifying structure with adjectival function has a frequency of 13.25% in English, similar to the Spanish *de*-phrase and the single adjective: *museum man, key man, soccer man*, etc. This confirms the hypothesis usually developed by native speakers of Spanish learning English that often noun plus noun compounds in English correspond to structures with *de*-phrases in Spanish. The different preferences of the two language communities are clearly illustrated in this case: while the English language shows a trend towards nominal composition, Spanish uses *de*-phrase as a productive and effective formula for modifying nouns.

The formal equivalent of the English noun plus noun structure (13.25%) does exist in Spanish, but it barely reaches 1.21%, and does not appear on Table 1: *un hombre-congreso, el hombre clave*, etc. Spanish speakers tend to avoid this possibility, favouring other options. About Adj.P and participle clauses, there are no substantial differences between the two languages in contrast here: *a mentally ill man, the man leading the investigation, un hombre inmensamente feliz, un hombre demasiado mayor*, etc. The remaining structures are mostly combinations of two or more resources, but their frequency is relatively small.

The previous analysis has provided all the information necessary to draw the functional-semantic field of the characterization of human nouns in English and Spanish. Considering these data, we may suggest certain patterns that the translator who is working from English into Spanish can follow. If the noun is modified by an adjective or a relative clause, the most common options in English, the Spanish translator should consider relative clauses as the most plausible solution, and *de*-phrases and adjectives as additional options. If the noun is premodified by another noun with an adjectival function, the translator should reject the possibility of a formal equivalent in Spanish, since this resource presents a very low frequency of occurrence. He should rather try to make use of *de*-phrases or single adjectives, which have a similar frequency of occurrence and function. When the English noun is characterized by an Adj.P or a participle clause, this structure is easily transferred into Spanish with a similar construction,

since both resources present a similar frequency in both languages. The most peripheral resources in English, *of*-phrases and the combination of two premodifying adjectives, present similar frequency percentages to the two most peripheral resources in Spanish: adjective (or Adj.P.) plus relative clause, and adjective (or Adj.P.) plus *de*-phrase. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the infrequent occurrences of *of*-phrases will often be translated by the very frequent formal equivalent in Spanish: *de*-phrase.

4.2. CONCRETE NOUNS

The analysis of 500 concordances corresponding to the nouns *house* and *casa* showed that there is a considerable difference in the two languages with respect to the general characterization of these nouns. Slightly over 50% of the occurrences of *house* are modified, whereas this percentage is relatively smaller in Spanish, 34.2%. In our opinion, this fact is due to the high frequency of use on the part of native Spanish speakers of fixed expressions of the type: *estar en casa, quedarse en casa, ir a casa*, etc., where it is not syntactically acceptable to add any qualifying element. In all these cases, *casa* covers the semantic area corresponding to the noun *home* in English, and this could be the explanation for the lower level of characterization of the Spanish noun in this case. However, this represents no major problem here, since our aim is the description of the most frequent modifying resources in English and Spanish when the head noun is an inanimate count object. Table 2 shows the six most frequent characterizing resources found surrounding the nouns *house* and *casa* in our sample corpora.

ENGLISH		SPANISH	
Adjective + *house*	22.77%	*casa* + *de*-phrase	43.85%
Noun + *house*	19.30%	*casa* + adjective	10.52%
house + *of*-phrase	16.98%	*casa* + Relative clause	9.35%
house + Relative clause	4.24%	*casa* + noun	5.84%
house + PP headed by *in*	4.24%	*casa* + PP headed by *en*	4.09%
Adjective + noun + *house*	4.24%	*casa* + adjective + *de*-phrase	4.09%
Noun + noun + *house*	3.08%	*casa* + *de*-phrase + relative clause	3.5%
TOTAL	**74.85%**	**TOTAL**	**81.24%**

Table 2. Characterizing resources for *house* and *casa*.

Again the difference with respect to the position of the modifiers is evident. But the most interesting result refers to the distribution of the frequency percentages for the different resources. *De*-phrases are used in almost half of the cases in Spanish, while the first three resources share approximately the same frequency in English. This difference in typicality of usage will have an important influence in the suggested translation equivalents.

Again the single adjective appears to have a much higher frequency of use in English than in Spanish: *the spacious house, a terraced house, la casa imperial, una casa estupenda*, etc. The noun compounding resource is very common in English here too: *council house, auction house*, etc., whereas the Spanish formal equivalent occurs in 5.84% of cases (*la casa matriz, la casa Mercedes*, etc.). The examples show that this unusually high frequency in Spanish is due to the use of commercial brand names after the head noun *casa*. *Of*-phrases show a relatively high frequency of use in English when compared to the modification of human nouns, and this is due to the number of occasions where political chambers are mentioned, mainly *House of Commons* and *House of Lords*. Other examples found are *The House of Spirits, House of Angels, The House of Love*, etc. It is important to highlight here the relatively small frequency of relative clauses when modifying inanimate count nouns, when compared to the modification of human nouns: *another house somebody gave us, the house they bought, la casa que tiene en Ohio, la casa que tú no me has podido dar*, etc.

Postmodification by means of PPs headed by the prepositions *in* and *en*, in English and Spanish respectively, show a very similar frequency of occurrence of around 4%. This coincidence is due, in our opinion, to the semantic nature of the head nouns. Houses are concrete entities, and they are also relatively big and cannot be moved around easily. In other words, houses are usually set in one specific place, and so the use of these PPs is clearly locative: *her house in London, his house in St. Louis, una casa en Noruega, una casa en medio del bosque*, etc. The premodification by means of an adjective and a noun in English occurs in 4.24% of the cases: *a converted coach house, a Scottish guest house*, etc. Nouns and adjectives are the most common resources individually too, and the lexicalization of certain noun compounds (*guest house*) leads to the fact that when these compounds are to be modified, the most common characterizing resource used is still the single adjective. In Spanish 4.09% of the cases correspond to the combination of an adjective and a *de*-phrase, since those two are the most frequent single resources: *la casa común de la izquierda, la casa natal de Juan Ramón*, etc. The fixed order is determined by the length of the resources: PPs are longer structures than single-word adjectives and thus go after them. The premodification of *house* by means of

two nouns has a frequency of 3.08%, and in these cases, the noun that goes immediately before the head forms a lexicalised unit with it, while the first noun modifies the whole: *a specialist (orchid house), the Carrybridge (guest house)*, etc. Another combination in Spanish is the one formed by *de*-phrases plus relative clauses (3.5%). These are two common resources independently and again relative clauses go after the *de*-phrases because of their greater length and weight in the sentence structure.

The conclusions that may be drawn here refer to the most common characterizing resources in both languages independently. Thus, we are in a position to suggest the most commonly used constructions in Spanish when modifying the same type of noun. If we find in English a single adjective, a premodifying noun, or a postmodifying *of*-phrase, which represent the three most common constructions, any of these resources may be translated into Spanish by means of straight *de*-phrases, which represent almost half of the total occurrences. Nonetheless, there is also the choice of a single postmodifying adjective or a relative clause, as secondary options. In general, we can say that a relative clause in English may correspond to a parallel relative clause in Spanish. The data suggest that some of the cases of premodifying nouns in English may lead to parallel constructions in Spanish, since this type of resource is becoming more and more common in Spanish due to the influence of English. However, taking into account the percentages shown above, the most likely options for noun plus noun constructions in English are *de*-phrases or single adjectives in Spanish. The similar frequencies of PPs headed by *in* and *en* show that this structure may easily be translated by its formal equivalent in the other language. The most common combinations in English are adjective plus noun plus *house* and noun plus noun plus *house*, and the translator can consider as translational options the most frequent combinations in Spanish, *casa* plus adjective plus *de*-phrase or *casa* plus *de*-phrase plus relative clause. The frequency of use of these structures is very similar too.

4.3. ABSTRACT NOUNS

The analysis of 500 concordances of *time* and *tiempo* revealed that these two abstract nouns show a very low frequency of characterization. In my opinion, this is due to the semantics of abstract nouns, since they refer to invisible entities difficult to characterize qualitatively. The percentage of characterization is of 35.6% in English and 18.2% in Spanish. This difference is not easy to explain, but it may be related to polysemy. When the Spanish noun *tiempo* was used meaning *weather*, and not *time*, the concordances usually present characterization: *buen tiempo, mal tiempo, tiempo soleado, tiempo desapacible*, etc. Native speakers of

Spanish may have internalised that *tiempo* is mainly characterized when it means *weather*, and not when it has an abstract referent, meaning *time*.

Table 3 shows the six most common modifying resources for the nouns *time* and *tiempo*, which amount to over 90% of the total of modifying resources.

ENGLISH		SPANISH	
Adjective + *time*	51.68%	*tiempo* + adjective	31.86%
time + Relative clause	15.16%	*tiempo* + *de*-phrase	27.47%
Noun + *time*	12.92%	*tiempo* + Relative clause	23.07%
time + *of*-phrase	7.86%	*tiempo* + time adverb	3.29%
time + time adverb	2.80%	*tiempo* + PP headed by *para*	2.19%
time + PP headed by *in*	2.24%	*tiempo* + apposition	2.19%
TOTAL	**92.66%**	**TOTAL**	**90.07%**

Table 3. Characterizing resources for *time* and *tiempo*.

Postmodification is again dominant in Spanish, whereas the first and third most common resources in English are premodifiers. Only the first three constructions are representative enough to be taken into account at all, since the remaining resources occur in less than 10% of the cases. Single adjectives are the most common resources in both languages, although their frequency in English (*full time, hard time, useful time, borrowed time*, etc.) is much higher than in Spanish (*tiempo perdido, tiempo presente, tiempo libre, tiempo parcial*, etc.). The remaining English resources present relatively low percentages, while the distribution is more homogeneous in Spanish, with the three most common resources sharing similar frequencies. Relative clauses appear in 15.16% of the cases in English: *the time she has lost in ...*, etc. In Spanish, relative clauses occupy the third place, 23.07% of the total: *el tiempo que sea necesario*, etc. Premodifying nouns reach 12.92% in English (*war time, break time, screen time*, etc.), while this same structure appears in Spanish only once in the 500 concordances analysed, and therefore does not appear in Table 3: *un tiempo record*.

Postmodification by means of *of*-phrases occurs in 7.86% of the occasions in English (*the time of his death, at the time of booking*, etc.), and the formally equivalent structure, *de*-phrase, shows 27.47% in Spanish (*tiempo de retórica, tiempo de excusas*, etc.) where it is the second most common construction. In very few examples the noun *time* appears followed by a time adverb in English (*time*

ago, time before), and in Spanish (*tiempo atrás, tiempo después*). This fact is related to the semantic content of the head nouns.

The comparison of these resources and their frequency percentages has led to a number of conclusions concerning the most appropriate choices for the translator when dealing with abstract nouns in English and Spanish. The most central resource employed in English is the single adjective, used in over half of the occurrences. These instances will correspond to any of the three most central resources in Spanish, adjectives, de-phrases or relative clauses. As far as relative clauses are concerned, the figures show that they are common resources in both languages, and we may infer that many of these cases in English will automatically be translated by relative clauses in Spanish too. It is reasonable to consider that most of the noun plus noun structures in English be translated by means of *de*-phrases or single adjectives in Spanish. Considering the percentages in Table 3, *de*-phrases might be used to cover several different constructions in English: premodifying adjectives, premodifying nouns, and *of*-phrases, mainly. Therefore, there is no difference between the two languages in the use of time adverbs to modify the head nouns: *time before, tiempo atrás*. The remaining resources present a very low frequency percentage and are not representative of the characterization of abstract nouns in either English or Spanish.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This paper is a contrastive analysis of the immediate syntactic environment of three pairs of nouns in English and Spanish that represent three groups: human nouns (*man-hombre*), inanimate count nouns (*house-casa*), and abstract nouns (*time-tiempo*). The contrast provided interesting data concerning the functional-semantic equivalents of the most common characterizing resources in English and Spanish, which should be of great importance and usefulness for translation purposes.

The study shows that the linguistic units and combinations that native speakers of English and Spanish employ in order to characterise nouns are not very different from a formal perspective. A similar range of noun-modifying constructions is used with a different distribution. The different distribution of formally similar resources is, in my opinion, the main reason for the translation problems in this semantic area. In spite of the wide range of different grammatical constructions available, very few formal resources account for a very high percentage of the total of noun-modifying structures. So, the five or six most common resources account for between 70% and 90% of the total of modifying forms.

The results confirm the typological difference existing between English and Spanish in what refers to the position of adjectives and other modifying resources. Postmodification is clearly the dominant and unmarked option in Spanish for all three types of nouns, with very low premodification percentages. On the other hand, premodification is the most common and unmarked position in English, in all three cases, although postmodification occurs in the case of longer resources, such as PPs or relative clauses, that require postposition.

Adjectives, which may have been considered initially as universal noun modifiers, are less so than expected. The study shows that native speakers of English use adjectives more than native speakers of Spanish. In Bondarko's terms, adjectives are the most central resources in all three functional-semantic fields in English, while they are central in only one of the Spanish fields for nominal characterization. Relative clauses, on the other hand, are very common only in the case of human nouns, while they show much lower frequency percentages in the characterization of inanimate count nouns and abstract nouns. This pattern is found in both languages, English and Spanish. Relative clauses seem thus to be especially designed to serve their purpose with respect to human nouns.

Nouns modifying nouns in English and *de*-phrases in Spanish are common modifying resources, after adjectives and relative clauses. These two opposed ways of characterizing illustrate the general difference in the description of the real world in two typologically dissimilar languages. Premodifying nouns are the second most frequent resource in two of the functional-semantic fields, and the third in the other field, thus showing a very high frequency of occurrence in all types of nouns. *De*-phrases are the central resource in the functional-semantic field representing inanimate count nouns and the second most frequent one in the other two fields.

The division of nouns into three subgroups has revealed interesting data related to the type of characterizing structures that appear most frequently next to each type of noun. Important differences have been found between the way the three subgroups are modified. Native speakers of English and of Spanish seem to present a clear preference for modifying nouns with a human referent. The levels of characterization are somewhat lower in the case of inanimate count nouns, and extremely low in the case of abstract nouns. This is due to the lexical content of the noun type in particular. Moreover, the higher the levels of characterization, the greater the variety of different modifying structures. In what refers to the chains of modifying resources, there are some combinations that are recurrent. This is due to the fact that those resources that are most commonly used as single modifiers are also very frequently used in combinations with other common

resources. The most common combinations are those containing the first and second most frequent resources individually.

The notion of functional-semantic fields has proved very useful to explain the relationship between a semantic content and the different grammatical realisations that may represent that meaning in two languages. In this paper we have drawn the functional-semantic fields of characterization, and we have suggested possible translational equivalents in Spanish for certain constructions in English with the same frequency of use among native speakers.

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COMPUTERISED CORPORA

• Cobuild/Bank of English: http://titania.cobuild.collins.co.uk/boe_info.html.

• CREA: http://www.rae.es/NIVEL2/recursos.htm.

WHAT KIND OF LOVE IS AT WORK IN *PRIDE AND PREJUDICE* AND *WUTHERING HEIGHTS*?

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ABSTRACT. Pride and Prejudice *and* Wuthering Heights *are two novels where love has a central and important role. However, they portray two different types of love. In Pride and Prejudice there is love and love turns to marriage. The characters in this novel are able to fall in love and defend their love within the boundaries of what is considered socially acceptable. In Wuthering Heights Emily Bronte is intense in her treatment of passion which is a passion that turns to violence. The characters show some of the more deeply buried emotions and tendencies. Love and passion will be analysed using a digitalised copy of both novels to determine what kind of feelings are present in both novels.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Emily Brontë is in many ways the opposite to Jane Austen. She is romantic in temperament, exploring in her novels the extremes of both passion and violence. Although there are some features of romanticism in Jane Austen's novels, her work is essentially Augustan in spirit. She prefers the exploration of the individual within clear boundaries of decorum and restraint (Burgess, 1974; Carter and McRae, 1997).

Charlotte Brontë criticised Jane Austen by stating how love had become more passionate and more central in the novels by the Brontë sisters than in earlier novelists. Jane Austen seemed essentially superficial in the eyes of the oldest of the Brontë sisters. Charlotte Brontë speaks about Jane Austen novels in the following terms:

> She does her business of delineating the surface of the lives of genteel English people curiously well; there is a Chinese fidelity, a miniature delicacy in the painting […] What sees keenly, speaks aptly, moves flexibly, it suits her to study, but what throbs fast and full, though hidden, what the blood rushes through, what is the unseen seat of Life and the sentient target of death- this Miss Austen ignores […] Jane Austen was a complete and most sensible lady, but a very incomplete, and rather insensible (not senseless) woman; if this is heresy-I cannot help it. (Kinkead-Weekes 1986: 76)

What does Charlotte mean by "the unseen seat of Life and the sentient target of death"? I assume that she uses this longwinded sentence to refer to the lifespan of the heart. However, the genteel English people may have a heart as well and the all-important dimension of the human being must be individual, personal, and private both in the elegant houses Jane Austen describes and in the Moors Emily Brontë paints for us. The life of the heart is essentially made up of passions: love on one side, hate on the other and in the middle a wide range of feelings. The kind of love we are likely to find in *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen and in *Wuthering Heights* by Emily Brontë will be the core of this work. The analysis of both works will be carried out from the information gathered through a detailed analysis with the help of a corpus of both novels.

Wuthering Heights, a representation of the very heart and soul of the romantic spirit, is the story of wild passion in the Yorkshire moors and it contains a degree of emotional force and sophisticated narrative structure not previously seen in the history of the English novel. *Pride and Prejudice* presents a world limited in scope, such that the reader can observe –without being made to judge– a group of characters whose emotions are recognisable, whose faults are human and whose traits are familiar. Both novels are universally acknowledged as love stories. However, what types of love are at work in *Wuthering Heights* and *Pride and Prejudice*?

Emily Brontë was intense in her treatment of love and passion. Virginia Woolf describes her view of Emily Brontë's creation: "There is love, but it is not the love of men and women. The impulse which urged her to create was not her own suffering or her own injuries. She looked onto a world cleft into gigantic disorder, and felt within her the power to unit it into a book" (http://www.bluejoh...). On the contrary, Jane Austen's novels are romantic comedies, love stories with happy endings, comedy here understood as "positive, celebratory view of life, one which presents happiness and ideals as possibilities" (Jones 1997: 50). Butler (1997: 201) argues referring to *Pride and Prejudice* that "generations of readers have received its love story as archetypically romantic, and they have been right to do so". Hardy

(1984: xii) states that Jane Austen has greater faith than most writers in the love fully combined with knowledge of self and esteem for the partner. McMaster (1996: 130) compares her to Shakespeare "not just in their playful treatment of the conventions of love, but sometimes in the deliberate choice of situations through which to explore the intricate pains and pleasures of love". The world presented by Jane Austen in *Pride and Prejudice* is a stable civil society (Kelly 1995: 27). According to F.R. Leavis (1972: 15) Jane Austen offers a "comedy of a pre-eminently 'civilized life'"and this 'civilized life' is implicitly understood by Leavis and a whole critical tradition to be the life of the landed gentry, or landed untitled aristocracy (Tuite 2002: 5). Jane Austen deliberately avoids effect, exaggeration and excess. She applied the microscope to human character and motivation, which makes her novels unique as representations of universal patterns of behaviour. The characters in this novel behave according to the rules of society, whereby love and passion are perfectly recognisable and civilised. On the contrary, in *Wuthering Heights*, even civilised and educated people appear to lose the veneer of society, revealing perhaps some of the more deeply buried emotions and tendencies. These opinions are almost universally recognised by critics and scholars. I will try to demonstrate with data why love and passion show differently in both works.

To perform this study I have worked with a digitalised copy of both works and something that they share is almost the same number of words:

– *Pride and Prejudice*: 116.514 words
– *Wuthering Heights*:   118.829 words

What is distinctive between them? We have the number of words (tokens) and the number of different words in each text (types) and by applying the type-token formula –Lexical density - nº types: nº tokens– developed by Cantos and Sánchez (2000) we can obtain the lexical density of both works, this being the number of tokens for *Pride and Prejudice* (*PP* from now on) 116,514 and the number of types 6,220 then shows a lexical density for *PP* of 18.2.

With respect to *Wuthering Heights* (*WH* from now on) the number of tokens is 118.829 and the number of types 9,275, so we have a lexical density of 26.9 which is higher than *PP* meaning that *WH* presents a higher presence of terms and thus a more varied language.

2. *LOVE* AND *PASSION*

However, and considering that the lexical density of *WH* is higher than that of *PP*, there is a clear imbalance as far as the term *love* and its derivatives are

concerned, this imbalance being favourable in *PP*, whereas the term *passion* and its derivatives have a higher presence in *WH* as shown in Table 1

WH	*PP*
Love - 79 Loved - 23 Loves - 6 Loving - 10	Love - 90 Loved - 9 Loveliness - 2 Lovely - 3 Lover - 5 Lovers - 4 Loves - 3
Passion - 17 Passionate - 4 Passionately - 4	Passion - 2

Table 1. Number of occurrences of *love* and *passion* and its derivatives.

Love and its derivatives occur 118 times in *WH* and 116 in *PP*, which shows that there is a clear balance in the terms related to *love* between the two novels opposed to what happens with the term *passion* which appears only twice in *PP* as opposed to *WH* where there are 25 occurrences. However, there is no lover or lovers in *WH*, whereas in *PP* they appear 9 times. Does this mean that we have love without lovers in *WH*? Or perhaps could it be that it is the feelings that matter, not the people who feel them?

However, these data are not significant in themselves. There can be many types of love and many types of passion as well and what we would like to obtain from this analysis is a picture of how both terms are defined in these novels.

According to the Cambridge International Dictionary of English the term *love* is defined as: "To have strong feelings of affection for (another adult) and be romantically and sexually attracted to them, or to feel great affection and caring for (family and friends)" and *passion* as "A very powerful feeling, for example of sexual attraction, love, hate, anger or other emotion".

Working with a corpus linguistics methodology allows us to investigate the meanings of words through the use of concordance listings, which can provide an exhaustive list of all occurrences of a word in context. However, we could be faced with sorting and classifying tens of thousands of entries, trying to find the

patterns of meaning in them. This would be almost impossible most of the time. Rather than manually sorting through concordances, one way of investigating the meaning of certain words is to look at their "collocates": the words that a target word commonly co-occurs with. A strong tendency has been found for each collocate of a word to be associated with a single sense or meaning. Thus, identifying the most common collocates of a word provides an efficient and effective means to begin analysing senses (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998).

All terms under this type of study can have left and right collocates. Left collocates are those co-occurring words immediately preceding the target word. As our main interest in this paper is the analysis of the terms that can help us to define the meaning of love and passion, and this function is usually accomplished in English through adjectives, we will only focus on the left collocates of the terms under scrutiny. Thus, the real meaning of *love* in both novels will be obtained from its left collocates. The most common collocates of the term *love*, which occurs 79 times in *WH* and 90 in *PP*, are shown in Table 2.

PP	*WH*
Healthy	Poor
Dearly	Tender
Successful	Pure
Prosperous	Mere
	Immortal

Table 2. Most common collocates of *love* in *PP* and *WH*.

The collocates of l*ove* in *PP* and *WH* show two different tendencies: in the first novel there is a "positive" trend; *love*, according to its collocates is a feeling which is able to grow on the basis of affection and care: something healthy is something ground on a solid foundation, and something prosperous is something that has been cared for. Prosperous, dearly, successful and healthy are adjectives which imply solid bases, attention, understanding and care. In *WH* the collocates of love give us the idea of something being pitiful, and that people "suffer" from it. As well as in *PP* the collocates were somehow homogeneous, in *WH* what all the collocates have in common is that love is not a feeling of being cared for.

As far as passion is concerned the most common collocates are shown in Table 3.

PP	*WH*
Pure, elevating	Uncontrollable
Force of	Fit of
	Flights of
	Tempest of
	Ungovernable
	Red with
	Inarticulate with
	Flashing with
	In a

Table 3. Most common collocates of *passion* in *PP* and *WH*.

Now, and according to the definition previously given, we have it that *passion* in *PP* is pictured as a very powerful feeling, stronger than love (e.g. "had I really experienced that pure and elevating passion", "to have required the utmost force of passion") whereas it is seen as a very powerful feeling of hate, anger or other emotions in *WH* (e.g. "to cool the fit of passion, for he appeared red and breathless", "She was struck during a tempest of passion with a kind of fit", "in a sudden paroxysm of ungovernable passion"). *Pure, elevating* and *force* collocate well with *passion* and also with *love*, whereas *uncontrollable, fit of, flights of*, etc. collocate well with *passion,* but not with *love.* So *passion* in *PP* is a synonymous term for love, probably a step higher in the scale of love, whereas in *WH passion* and *love* are not synonymous terms.

However, and as M. Stokes (1991) points out, the vocabulary of feeling is, in Jane Austen's prose, richer and denser than those falling under the other main categories she considers in her analysis of Jane Austen's novels (e.g. social context, character, spirits, manners, the head and the heart). As this study aims to present a portrait of *love* and *passion* in both works, I have selected some synonymous terms of *love* and *passion.* Some of the terms selected such as *affection, attachment* and *fancy* can be considered synonymous of both love and passion according to the Oxford Concise Thesaurus. Affection is defined as "a feeling of liking someone or something", attachment as "feeling or affection for someone or something"; and fancy as "to be attracted to someone". None of them share with passion the nuance of hate and anger, so they will be studied as synonymous terms for love. The items selected and the number of occurrences of these terms in both works are the following:

Love		Passion	
PP	*WH*	*PP*	*WH*
Affection - 56	Adoration - 1	Anger - 11	Anger - 11
Attachment - 24	Affection - 13	Emotion - 5	Emotion - 7
Fancy - 18	Ardour - 1	Indignation - 8	Feeling - 18
Friendship - 9	Attachment - 6	Rage - 2	Fury - 7
Inclination - 20	Devotion - 3	Resentment - 17	Indignation - 5
Liking - 2	Fancy - 25	Spirit - 7	Paroxysm - 4
Partiality - 8	Fondness - 6	Vehemence - 1	Rage - 10
Rapture - 2	Friendship - 2		Resentment - 1
Regard - 40	Inclination - 6		Spirit - 29
Tenderness - 2	Liking - 2		Vehemence - 3
Warmth - 8	Partiality - 3		Warmth - 1
	Regard - 12		
	Tenderness - 3		

Table 4. Synonymous terms for *love* and *passion* in both novels.

The number of occurrences of synonymous terms for *love* are 189 in *PP* and 82 in *WH*, whereas the number of occurrences of synonymous terms for *passion* are 51 in *PP* and 96 in *WH*. These figures speak for themselves: *love* and its synonyms have a higher presence in *PP* and *passion* has a higher presence in *WH*. In addition, there are some synonymous terms for love that only appear in *WH* such as: *adoration*, *ardour*, *devotion* that are usually considered the highest forms of love. In the same way the terms *fury* and *paroxism* that only appear in *WH* are also considered the highest forms of passion. *WH* presents the extremes of love and passion, whereas *PP* moves in the realm of what is considered reasonable. I would like to highlight the synonymous terms more frequently used in each novel. As can be seen the most frequently used synonymous term of love is affection in *PP* and fancy in *WH*, whereas resentment is the most repeated synonymous term of passion in *PP* and in *WH* it is spirit.

I would like to point out that even when considering that the number of occurrences of synonymous terms of *love* is higher in *PP* than in *WH*, there are many different terms in *WH*, which supports our previous observation. According to our data *WH* shows a higher lexical density than *PP*. However, this analysis would be incomplete without the collocates of the terms under study.

	PP		**WH**
Affection - 56	More, much, brotherly, diffidence, professed, warm, sisterly, man's, strong an, tender, real, symptom of, assurances of, mutual, mark of, warmest, his, her, your,	Adoration - 1	Her
Attachment - 24	Every, uncommon, an, his (7), Jane's, strong, such an, own, that, serious, her sister's, strong, first, her, assurances of, the	Affection -13	Her(3), marks of, from, of his(2), sweetness and affection, benevolence and affection, deficient, her whole, such.
Fancy - 18	His, I, her, error of, ready to, women, your, creative eye of, my.	Ardour - 1	Compounds of
Friendship - 9	Steady, influence of, be in, your, act of, that, particular.	Attachment - 6	An(2), her, Linton's, his, by
Inclination - 20	Sort of, great (2), least, promising, opposed to, unalloyed, your, slightest, slight(2), no, own.	Devotion - 3	Protestations of, chivalrous, noble
Liking - 2	Transient, a	Fancy - 25	Could, would, my, and this, you might, begin to, may(2), I(7), a fool to, poor, a, some way, appears to (2), his, hardly.
Partiality - 8	Own, blind, sister's, apparent, his, sisterly, former, some, remaining	Fondness - 6	His(2), wild beasts's, the, marks of, into
Rapture - 2	The, welcome with	Friendship - 2	Disguise of, her
Regard - 40	Darcy's(2), her(2), own, excessive, a, least, Mr. Bingley(3), his(2), cease to, your(2), fonder, any, something like, particular, sincere, peculiar, equal, real, pretended, professions of.	Inclination - 6	Own, small, my, no, the

Tenderness - 2	Renewal of, subject of	Liking -2	Not, for
Warmth - 8	The, some, with a, all the, its, such	Partiality - 3	His, natural, by a
		Regard - 12	Learned to, encouraged to, his, to, anyone's, a, her, filial, ready to, your.
		Tenderness - 3	All, deep, indulgent

Table 5. Left collocates of the synonymous terms for *love* in *PP* and *WH*.

If we compare the collocates of the synonymous terms that both novels have in common, it is noticeable that Jane Austen uses as accompanying words a wider range of adjectives than Emily Brontë.

The left collocates of love in *PP* show that the novel develops in a context where there are family and personal relationships (sisterly, women, Jane's, etc.) as well as possessive pronouns (your, his, her, my) whereas in WH there are no terms indicating personal relationships, but only possessive pronouns, fundamentally being his and her, which shows that feelings develop in a very narrow environment within this novel.

The left collocates of synonymous terms for passion in both novels are shown in the next table.

	PP		*WH*
Anger - 11	Without (2), his (3), compassion in, pale with, her, imprudence of, the, my	Anger - 11	My (2), any, your(2), nurse, her, without, his, Heathcliff's, grief and.
Emotion - 5	The, of, his, liveliest, surprise and	Emotion - 7	Violent, hysterical, her, excess of, livid with, burst of, his.
Indignation - 8	Silent (2), swelling with, slight, ladyship's, full of, their, the	Feeling - 18	Displays of, bad, a (2), another, demonstrations of, my, the, different, strong, old, savage, and, no.
Rage - 2	Her, transports of	Fury - 7	Into a, to a, her, in full, maniac's, such a, powerless.

Resentment - 17	Particular, implacable, your, his(3), her (3), roused to, no less, your, inconceivable, symptom of, the.	Indignation - 5	Accent of, with(2), my, growing.
Spirit - 7	Great, bitterness of (2), with, so much, Darcy, their.	Paroxysm - 4	In a, till the, sudden, another
Vehemence - 1	First	Rage - 10	My, with (3), madman's, sorrow and, astonishment an, rousing his, mingled, the.
		Resentment - 1	Little
		Spirit - 29	Her, heavy, spart of, better, poor, wanted, naughty, your, the, her(3), pervading, base, new, sparkling, blackness of, bad in, buoyant, quick, paltry, sweet, her, bad(2), added.
		Vehemence - 3	The, savage, frightful
		Warmth - 1	The

Table 6. Left collocates of the synonymous terms for *passion* in *PP* and *WH.*

Comparing the collocates of passion in both novels we can see that a more varied range of terms appears among the collocates of *passion* in *WH* than in *PP*, on the contrary to what happened with *love*.

Taking into consideration at this point the results obtained, I think there is no reason to be in agreement with Charlotte Brontë when she says that Jane Austen is an insensible woman. *PP* deals with love, in fact it is a love story among mature people. I wonder whether Charlotte Brontë had read *PP* or if she was referring to another novel by Jane Austen. Austen distinguishes between mature love and passion; in fact, the term passion in *PP* appears to be associated to a state in which people are not expected to be reasonable: "My objections to the marriage were not merely those which I last night acknowledged to have required the utmost force of passion to put aside in my own case; the want of connection could not be so great an evil to my friend as to me" (Ch. 35).

On the other hand, the picture presented in *WH* is that of a wild passion between inmature people, incapable of facing the consequences of their own decisions, as is the case of Catherine, who marries Linton but does not want to lose Heathcliff.

Jane Austen seems to adjust private feelings to public ones, whereas Emily Brontë moves only in the sphere of private feelings.

3. CONCLUSION

Despite being accused of insensibility Jane Austen gives us a sensible portrait of love, based on respect and understanding. Her characters are mature people able to defend their feelings even against society. *WH* is not a love story but a passionate one, its main characters being emotionally immature people.

Corpus linguistics provides us with the data necessary to confirm or deny theories based on observation. According to our data love has a higher presence in *PP* than in *WH*, whereas passion, on the contrary, appears more in *WH* than in *PP*.

From the analysis of love, its derivatives and some synonymous terms in both novels we obtain the picture of love in *PP* as something fruitful and prosperous, whereas in *WH* love is presented as something pitiful.

Passion, its derivatives and synonymous terms on the other hand are presented in *PP* as a superior stage of love, whereas in *WH* passion is almost never related to love but to other feelings ranging from anger, rage, resentment or spirit because almost all human feelings are represented in this novel.

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A FUNCTIONAL INTERPRETATION OF LOCATIVE PREFIXES IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT. *This paper explores the adequacy of the Functional Lexematic Model (FLM) for the description and interpretation of bound lexical units with a special insight into the cognitive mechanisms underlying locative prefixation in English. The basic claim here will be that the FLM constitutes an adequate framework for the treatment of morphology as a dynamic rather than as a static encapsulated phenomenon in language and that, with the incorporation of a cognitive axis, the FLM facilitates access to the underlying properties and the structure of the lexicon.*

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Much of the work done in linguistics during the last decades of the twentieth century was devoted to the study of the lexicon. Important contributions like Aronoff's (1985) or Spencer's (1988) within the framework of *Transformational Generative Grammar* depart from both lexicist and syntacticist views of word formation and mark a significant turn in the course of morphology in the eighties and nineties. Inspired by the same course, Dik's *Functional Grammar* (1997) contributes to reinforce the view that the lexicon constitutes a central, rather than a subsidiary, component of the grammar of languages.

As far as derivation is concerned, the Model of Functional Grammar (Henceforth FG) propounds crucial mechanisms and principles. Particularly relevant are Predicate Formation and Stepwise Lexical Decomposition. No methodological framework, however, has been designed for the performance of these mechanisms within the model.

In this paper we will precisely lay out the methodological bases of the *FLM*[2] which seems to exhibit an extremely high degree of adequacy for lexical analysis in general and for the appraisal of the properties that govern the derived vocabulary in particular.

2. WORD-FORMATION AND PREDICATE FORMATION RULES

Though FG avoids transformations, Dik claims that the component of Predicate Formation ¨[…] does require transformations of a sort¨ (1997, *Part I*: 21). Predicate Formation Rules (Henceforth PFRs) serve to derive simple forms like *walk-walker* or *white-whitened* (E.g: *The paper whitened* from *The paper was white*), as well as more complex structures like *This typewriter writes nicely* from *John writes on this typewriter* (1997, *Part I*: 220,349). As De Groot (1987:7) states, therefore, a PFR ¨does not necessarily involve any morphology¨, and hence, the representation of morphological processes by means of transformations does not guarantee any adequate distinction between word formation associated to syntactic processes (E.g.: $white_{Adj}$-$whitened_V$ in *The paper whitened*) and syntactically independent processes of lexicogenesis, derivation proper (E.g: *man-foreman, walk-walker, etc.*). In addition, evidence provided by Cortés (1997a, 1997b and 1997c) about nominalizing suffixes and by Sosa (2004a) about locative prefixation in English indicates that PFRs are not sufficiently powerful to account for the factors that most fundamentally determine the properties and the structure of the derived lexicon. We may certainly propose a PFR for derived forms like, for instance, *superman*, *superstar* and *super-structure*. By adapting the representation of non-verbal predicates from Hengeveld (1992) and Mackenzie (1986), this rule can be formulated as follows:

(1)

input: $pred_p$ $(x_1)_{Loc}$ (x_2) ø

output: $OVER_p$ $(x_1{:}man)_{Loc}$ (x_2) ø

---

2. The methodological framework of the FLM was first designed by Martín Mingorance (1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1990). For the configuration of the Word Formation Component within the FLM, *see* Faber (1991). Faber and Mairal (1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999) and Mairal (1999). Among others, the following publications present relevant work on the treatment of derivation within this model: Cortés (1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c), Sosa (2000, 2004a, 2004b).

where:

x_1 and x_2 represent spatio-temporal entities;

p refers to the prepositional category of the predicate;

Loc refers to the semantic function Location;

ø is assigned to the entity involved in a state (E.g. location)

meaning: 'the entity designated by x_2 is presented as taking a higher position with respect to x_1', x_1 and x_2 being entities of the same typology ('man'…).

E.g: *superman, superstar, super-structure*: 'man OVER man, star OVER star…'

The input specifies a two-place prepositional predicate ($pred_{preposition}$: $OVER_{preposition}$) that embodies the meaning of the prefix (*see* Mackenzie 1986). The first argument (x_1) realises the semantic function Location (Loc: 'place, position') whereas the second argument (x_2: 'entity subject to location') is assigned Zero semantic function (*see* Dik 1997, *Part I: Chapter* 5). Both x_1 and x_2 prototypically designate the same type of first-order (spatio-temporal) entity (*see* Dik 1997, *Part I*: 137). In the ouput predicate, these variables are replaced with the corresponding lexical items: $OVER_p$ (x_1:man/star/structure)$_{Loc}$ (x_2: man/star/structure), expressing that 'the entity x_2 is presented as taking a higher position with respect to x_1'. Since x_1 and x_2 are entities of the same typology, the output reads as follows: 'man OVER/SUPERIOR TO man, star OVER/SUPERIOR TO star, structure OVER/SUPERIOR TO structure…'

The rule in (1), however, does not capture essential features of the derived forms that have a direct impact on the structure of the lexicon:

(2)

(i) It does not prevent the formation of units like *?super-smoker, *supersee*, etc.

(ii) No specifications are provided for the restriction of forms like **hypersuper-market* in favour of *supermarket* and *hypermarket*, or like *fore-active in favour of *hyper-active*.

(iii) Conversely, this rule does not account for the formation of *ad hoc* expressions like *superfather, super-school, super-soul…* formations that are not registered in the corpus and lexicographical records but that obviously constitute part of the speaker's lexical competence (*see* Faber and Mairal Usón 1999).

(iv) It does not capture the restrictions that motivate related combinations like *super/ultrasonic; super/hypermarket…* but not like *super/*ultraman*

In general, it seems that PFRs are not sufficiently *restrictive* and thus they miss relevant regularities of the derived vocabulary. Rule (1) basically expresses that there is a consistent semantic relation of *superiority* underlying the output units (E.g: 'man OVER man', 'star OVER star…'). But, how can we account for the fact that both *foreman* and *superman* may be outputs of rule (1)? Do *foreman, superman, hypermarket, ultraviolet, etc.* characterise superiority in the same way?. As Martin Mingorance (1990: 232-233) observes, even though the model of FG propounds the principle of Stepwise Lexical Decomposition as a means to approach semantic relations within the lexicon (*see* Dik 1997, *Part I*: 99-101), it does not provide any appropriate methodology to access lexical structures:

> […] it is somewhat paradoxical that within FG no coherent methodology has been devised for the onomasiological structuring of the lexicon which would make possible its organization in lexical fields and, consequently, the stepwise lexical decomposition of groups of lexemes of each field.

We will propose the FLM as a more adequate framework to account for the structure of and the interrelations within the derived lexicon. In so doing, we will confine ourselves to the analysis of prototypical formations of Anteriority and Superiority since we believe they clearly illustrate the general structure and the mechanisms that operate in the organization of the locative derived vocabulary. Since this analysis is, however, part of a broader corpus-based research on locative prefixation, we first introduce some general aspects related to the selection of the corpus in the next section.

3. THE SELECTION OF THE CORPUS

From a functional-lexematic perspective, the essential criterion for the selection of derived units is that derived formations must be semantically-motivated units, that is to say, they must constitute combinations of morphemes or *composites* (*see* Marchand 1969: 11-12). This basically means that forms like *precede, antecedent, hypocrite*, etc. dot not represent instances of derivation proper, as opposed to, for instance, *pre-conceive, anteroom, hypotension*, etc., since the particles -*cede*, -*cedent* and -*crite* are not morphemic, they do not constitute form-meaning pairings (cf. *conceive, room* and *tension*).

By applying this criterion, the first step in extracting the data from the corpus has been to collect prefixed formations from *The Tagged LOB Corpus* (*see* Johansson *et al.* 1986) and *The Collins COBUILD English Dictionary* (*see* Sinclair 1995), the latter serving also as reference for meaning check.[3] The number of instances

collected for each locative prefix is presented in *Table 1* below where *LOB* samples are given within brackets while unbracketed numbers indicate the total amount of samples (both *LOB* and *COBUILD*). In a second step, sampled prefixed formations have been grouped into eight lexical classes on the basis of the prototypical meaning they exhibit: Anteriority, Posteriority, Centrality, Superiority, Inferiority, Exteriority, Opposition and Motion. In Section 4 we present the main principles and criteria that determine the organization of lexical units into lexical classes within *FLM*. The full body of data and the general results regarding each of these lexical classes can be found in Sosa (2004a).

Finally, it seems worth noting at this point that prefixed formations appear hyphenated and/or in full form (*see* Table 1). Sosa (2004b) observes that hyphenation systematically correlates with the degree of lexicalisation of the prefixed units. Prototypically, non-hyphenated formations show a higher degree of lexicalisation as compared with full forms. The coexistence of both possibilities in the same unit (E.g. *foreroom*; *fore-room*) is generally interpreted as lexicalisation in progress, but it seems to be also determined by socio-cultural conditions associated to the different varieties of English.

(3)

Domain	Prefixes	Prototypical Formations	Number of formations registered
Anteriority	Ante#	anteroom	*4*
	Fore#	forecourt	*40*
	Pre#	predeterminer	*73 Lob* (31)*
Posteriority	Post#	postdeterminer	*34 Lob (15)*
Centrality	Inter#	inter-parliamentary,	*75 Lob (32)*
	Intra#	intracontinental	*3 Lob (1)*
	Mid#	mid-section,	*36 Lob (29)*
Superiority	Meta#	metaphysical	*4 Lob (1)*
	Para#	parapsychology	*4 Lob (2)*
	Super#	superman	*25 Lob (23)*
	Hyper#	hyper-sophisticated	*5 Lob (2)*
	Ultra#	ultra-sophisticated	*6 Lob (4)*
	Sur#	surmount	*3 Lob (2)*

3. Formations not registered in *The Collins COBUILD* have been checked at other dictionaries: *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995) and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1933, 1989).

Inferiority	Hypo#	hypoallergenic	3 Lob (1)
	Sub#	subculture	48 Lob (35)
Exteriority	Ex#	exorbitant	22 Lob (20)
	Extra#	extraordinary	8 Lob (4)
Opposition	Anti#	antibody	47 Lob (39)
	Counter#	counter-espionage	29 Lob (24)
Motion	Trans#	transexuality	20 Lob (14)

Table1: *prototypical lexical classes for sampled locative formations.*

4. THE LEXICON IN THE FLM: THE COGNITIVE AXIS AND THE SCHEMATA

One of the major obstacles that the linguistic models of the seventies and eighties are faced with concerns the fact that word formation is considered to be a *static* phenomenon, that is to say a phenomenon generally associated to the syntactic component.[4] In contrast, the data provided by Cortés (1997c) and by Sosa (2004a) reveal that derivation is a *dynamic* process (i.e. a complex process simultaneously restricted at all the levels of linguistic description and organization, namely phonology, morphology, semantics, pragmatics and syntax), and that such restrictions operate systematically across the derived lexicon. Furthermore, from a functional perspective, the static view of the lexicon is in conflict with the ordinary communicative strategies the speakers make use of, like metaphors, presuppositions, pragmatic factors, etc. As Rosch (1978) claims, the *categorization* of the reality around us is not a closed and discrete capacity and the way the physical experience is conceptualised depending on a variety of factors (movement of the body, social environment, perception…) is projected onto lexical properties. In this respect, Faber and Mairal (1994: 196) contend, ¨[...] one can arrive at an inventory of conceptual categories and their interrelationships through the structure of language itself, as a reflection of our understanding of reality, or our way of having the world¨.

Much in accordance with this view, the *FLM* incorporates a cognitive perspective (*the cognitive axis*) and propounds a multi-level structure for the lexicon in which cognitive mechanisms are regarded as an essential factor (*see* Martín Mingorance 1985b, 1987a, 1987b, 1990):

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4. For an overview of the most salient lexicist and syntacticist approaches to word formation, *see* Cortés (1997b,c).

(4)

    (i)   The lexicon constitutes a *structure* in the Coserian sense (*see* Coseriu 1986: 212) and comprises at least four interrelated levels or axes: *paradigmatic level*, *syntagmatic level*, *pragmatic level* and *cognitive level*.

    (ii)   The meaning or definition of lexical units lies at the convergence of information provided by these four levels or axes. *Derivational schemata* constitute formal representations of this lexical content.

    (iii)   The lexicon exhibits a hierarchical *onomasiological*, rather than semasiological, organization of lexemes. They are arranged in *domains* and *sub-domains* (lexical fields)*,* from the most basic to the most complex. The full body of this hierarchy constitutes a *macrostructure*, the general layout of which is given below (*see* Faber and Mairal Usón 1994, 1999):

Domain 1

Subdomain - Schema^1:   lexeme-schema; lexeme-schema...

Subdomain - Schema^2:   lexeme-schema; lexeme-schema...

             ………………………..

Subdomain - Schema^n: lexeme-schema; lexeme-schema…

Domain 2

Subdomain - Schema^1:   lexeme-schema; lexeme-schema...

Subdomain - Schema^2:   lexeme-schema; lexeme-schema...

             ………………………..

Subdomain - schema^n: lexeme-schema; lexeme-schema…

             ……

             ……

Domain N

             ....
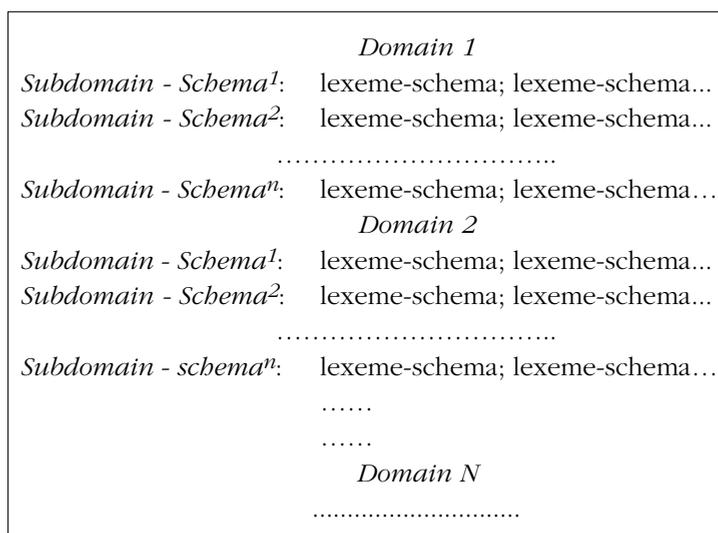
Macrostructure of the lexicon.

    (iv)   From a cognitive perspective, a *derivational schema* constitutes a cognitive pattern, a maximal projection of a conceptual content. Each domain and subdomain, as well as the lexemes they comprise, is therefore associated to a specific cognitive schema (*see* Faber y Mairal 1999: 217 ff.):

DOMAIN: Superiority

Lexemes	Conceptual content: ¨x_2 OVER x_1¨	Cognitive schema
Superman	'man OVER man'	
Superstar	'star OVER star'	
Super-ego	'ego OVER ego'	

$$x_2 \;\big\downarrow\; \text{OVER} \quad x_1$$

The principles outlined above roughly establish that, from a functional-lexematic perspective, information from all the linguistic levels projects onto the derived units, and that derivational schemata constitute appropriate representations of such projections. In the following sections, we will specifically lay the emphasis on how lexeme schemata embody the paradigmatic, the syntagmatic and the semantic-cognitive levels, and how the information they provide ultimately shapes the macrostructure of the lexicon.

4.1 THE SYNTAGMATIC AND THE PARADIGMATIC STRUCTURE OF LOCATIVE DERIVED UNITS

The syntagmatic properties underlying prefixed units are represented by means of prepositional schemata, prepositional predications like, for instance, $[(\text{BEFORE}_P \ (x_1\text{:room})_{Ref} \ )_{Locus} \ (x_{2:} \ \text{room})_{Lcdum}]_{STATE}$ for *foreroom* with the meaning 'room$_{x2}$ BEFORE room$_{x1}$' and where:

(5)

(i)   the variables x_1 and x_2 represent entities, and p specifies the grammatical category of the predicate BEFORE as preposition (*see* Mackenzie 1992).

(ii) the labels *Ref* (Referent), *Lcdum* (Locandum) and *Locus* represent semantic functions. Locative relations involve the participation of three entities that perform the semantic functions *Locandum* (the entity that is subject to location, E.g. x_2: *room*), *Referent* (the entity with respect to which the *Lcdum* is placed, E.g. x_1: *room*) and *Locus* (the entity designating the position the *Lcdum* takes, E.g. *before, at the front of…* x_2: *room*).

(iii) STATE indicates that the predication designates a non-dynamic, non-controlled state of affairs (*see* Dik 1997, *Part I*: 105 ff): 'room BEFORE room', 'man OVER man'…

Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980:35 ff), we assume that such state relations constitute part-whole, *metonymic* conceptualisations in which a part (E.g. x_2: room$_{Lcdum}$) of an entity as a whole (E.g. an architectural setting) is presented as taking a specific position ([*before room$_{Ref}$*]$_{Locus}$).

Interestingly enough, metonymic relations of this sort seem to be ubiquitous across the locative derived lexicon and motivate the rise of *paradigms* (domains or lexical fields), as specified in (4) above (paradigmatic structure). For instance, formations with the prefix *fore#* (E.g. *fore-room, forefinger, forefoot, foreleg, forename, fore-stress*, etc.) share syntagmatic and paradigmatic features with other prefixes (E.g: *anteroom, pre-determiner…*). They all conceptualise the basic relation 'x_2 BEFORE x_1' and they therefore constitute members of the same domain. Much in the same way, *superman, hypermarket, ultraviolet, exorbitant,* etc. designate 'x_2 OVER/ABOVE/BEYOND…x_1'. All of these formations belong in the domain Superiority, even though, as we shall show in Section 5, each prefix instantiates specific degrees of superiority:

(6)

SYNTAGMATIC STRUCTURE:

Anteriority	Superiority
[(BEFORE$_P$ (x_1)$_{Ref}$)$_{Locus}$ (x_2)$_{Lcum}$]$_{STATE.}$	[(OVER?BEYOND$_P$(x_1)$_{Ref}$)$_{Locus}$(x_2)$_{Lcum}$]$_{STATE.}$

PARADIGMATIC STRUCTURE:

Anteriority	Superiority
foreroom: 'room BEFORE room	*superman*: 'man OVER man'
forefinger: 'finger BEFORE/first finger	*hypermarket*: 'market OVER market'
predeterminer: 'determiner BEFORE determiner	*ultraviolet*: 'violet OVER/BEYOND market'
…	

4.2 THE SEMANTIC-COGNITIVE MOTIVATIONS OF LOCATION: THE EXPERIENTIAL ACCOUNT

One of the most relevant properties of the lexicon is that the formations that belong in the same domain appear in hierarchical (onomasiological) order, from the most basic or lowest level to the most complex or highest level:

(7)

PARADIGMATIC STRUCTURE:

foreroom 'room BEFORE room'   LOWEST LEVEL
forefinger 'finger BEFORE fingers'
forefoot 'foot BEFORE feet'

....

forestress 'stress BEFORE stress'

....

foredeck 'deck BEFORE/ON THE FRONT OF deck'

....

forehead 'area BEFORE/ON THE FRONT OF head'

....

foreman: 'man BEFORE man'

....

foresee: 'see BEFORE see'   HIGHEST LEVEL
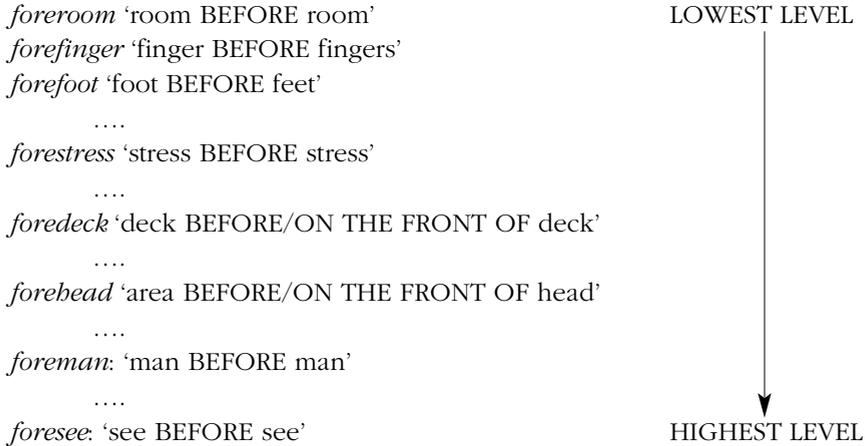
Two basic factors seem to determine this ordering. First, the typology of the entities, that is to say, the way in which the entities are conceptualised as mental constructs (*see* Dik 1997, *Part I*: 137 and Svorou 1993: 5). By incorporating Dik's typology of entities, derivational schemata distinguish first-order entities x_1 and x_2 (E.g: *room* in *foreroom*) that prototypically designate more basic conceptualisations from second-order entities e_1 and e_2 (E.g.: *see* in *foresee*) that conceptualise more complex relations:[5]

(8)

    foreroom: $[(BEFORE_P (x_1:room)_{Ref})_{Locus} (x_2: room)_{Lcum}]_{STATE}$

    foresee: $[(BEFORE_P (e_1:see)_{Ref})_{Locus} (e_2: see)_{Lcum}]_{STATE}$
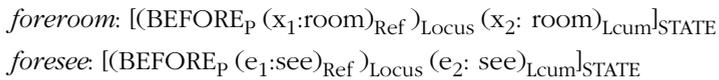
The second relevant factor concerns the semantic properties that characterise the entities. Following the classification of *high-level* or *HPRIM* and *lower-level* or *LPRIM* features established by Aarts y Calbert (1979: 18), the semantic contour of each entity is specified by means of features of the form [+Shape, +Dimensional].[6] Those entities characterized as [-Shape] (with no physical contour) or as [-Artifact]

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5. Entities are classified into four main orders on the basis of the typology of entities proposed by Dik (1997, Part I: 137). First-order entities designate entities that can be located in space and time. Second-order entities designate states of affairs.

6. It seems worth comment that other means of semantic description and representation may be likewise compatible with this framework. Particularly interesting seem to be Pustejovsky´s (1998) QUALIA Structures.

(naturally created entity) are interpreted as conceptually more complex (notional) than those specified as [+Shape] (spatio-temporal entities) or [+Artifact] (manufactured, not naturally formed object):[7]

(9)

$foreroom$: [(BEFORE$_P$ (x$_1$:room<**[+Sh, +Art]**>)$_{Ref}$)$_{Locus}$ (x$_2$: room<**[+Sh, +Art]**>)$_{Lcum}$]$_{STATE}$

$forestress$: [(BEFORE$_P$ (x$_1$:stress<**[-Sh,-Art]**>)$_{Ref}$)$_{Locus}$ (x$_2$: stress<**[-Sh,-Art]**>)$_{Lcum}$]$_{STATE}$

It should be noted that both the typology of entities and the semantic features constitute semantic-cognitive restrictions rather than abstract properties of the linguistic units. Within the approach taken here, this means that cognitive and *experiential* aspects play a fundamental role in the structuring of lexical meaning (*see* Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 77 ff). Thus, for instance, we will claim in Section 6 that, though formations like *foreroom* and *foreman* both entail first-order entities (*room* and *man* respectively), *man* is not conceptualised as a spatio-temporal entity (i.e. a physical entity: 'man physically BEFORE man'), but rather as a conceptual entity involved in a hierarchically determined social grouping which entails 'man who is SUPERIOR TO other men'. This fact explains why *foreman* appears at a higher level, notional level, in (7) above, as opposed to *foreroom*, *forefinger*, etc. that represent spatio-temporal, physical conceptualisations (*see* Svorou 1993: 5 ff.). To illustrate this in more detail, let us sketch out how experiential ontological factors such as Number, Physicalness, Dimensionality and Perspective motivate the existence of different levels of conceptual complexity within the domain Spatial Anteriority.

NUMBER

The formations *foreleg*, *forefinger* and *forefoot* designate a part-whole relation between a definite number, not necessarily two, of first-order entities. The Referent designates 'set of first-order entities' (two or four *legs*, *feet*, *parts*, etc.) and it is the partition one-of-the-*legs/feet/parts* that is foregrounded here rather than the spatial contiguity of two entities (cf. *foreroom*: 'room BEFORE/SIDE TO SIDE WITH room'). Variation in the number of entities, therefore, seems to evoke different spatial conceptualisations, one more basic in which two entities are categorised as contiguous (E.g: *foreroom*), the other more complex in which one entity contrasts with a group of related entities (*forefinger*, *forefoot*, etc.). In the

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7. As registered in the COBUILD (¬stress), stress designates 'emphatic pronunciation of a word or part of a word'.

light of this distinction we propose a subdivision of the domain Spatial Anteriority into two subdomains: first, *Anteriority*→*Contact* (E.g. *foreroom*) and second, *Anteriority*→*Partition* (E.g. *forefinger*). The operator *dN* (definite number) in the schemata below captures such distinctions of number:[8]

(10)

    DIMENSION: Spatial

        DOMAIN 1: Spatial Anteriority

    SUBDOMAIN 1.a) *ANTERIORITY*→*CONTACT*

        1. $[[\text{BEFORE}_P (x_1: <[+Sh,+Art]> (x_1))_{Ref}]_{Locus} (x_2 : < [+Sh, +Art]> (x_2))_{Lcdum}]_{STATE}$

        foreroom

    SUBDOMAIN 1.b) *ANTERIORITY*→*PARTITION*

        1. $[[\text{IN FRONT OF}_P (\mathbf{dN}x_1:< [+Sh, -Art]> > (x_1))_{Ref}]_{Locus} (x_2 : < [+Sh, -Art] >(x_2))_{Lcdum}]_{STATE}$

        forefinger   forefoot   foreleg

PHYSICALNESS

The participant entities in the formations *forename* and *forestress* are characterised as non-physical. The interpretation 'non-physical object BEFORE non-physical object' does not satisfy the spatial analysis suggested in the above examples since, prototypically, only physical objects can be placed side by side with other objects (cf. *room, leg* vs. *name, stress*). Within the subdomain *Anteriority*→*Partition*, therefore, the schemata 1 and 2 represented below, distinguish formations that, on the one hand, share properties of PARTITION rather than of mere CONTIGUITY and, on the other hand, show different semantic properties with respect to the higher-level restriction of Physicalness ([+Sh,-Art]: 'non-artifact with shape' vs. [-Sh,-Art]: 'non-artifact with no shape'):

(11)

    DIMENSION: Spatial

        DOMAIN 1: Spatial Anteriority

      :

    SUBDOMAIN 1.b) *ANTERIORITY*→*PARTITION: Fronting*

        1. $[[\text{IN FRONT OF}_P (\mathbf{dN}x_1:< \mathbf{[+Sh, -Art]}> > (x_1))_{Ref}]_{Locus} (x_2 : < \mathbf{[+Sh, -Art]} >(x_2))_{Lcdum}]_{STATE}$

        forefinger   forefoot   foreleg

        2. $[[\text{IN FRONT OF}_P (\mathbf{dN}x_1: <\mathbf{[-Sh, -Art]}> (x_1))_{Ref}]_{Locus} (x_2 : < \mathbf{[-Sh, -Art]} >(x_2))_{Lcdum}]_{STATE}$

        forename   forestress

---

8. Operators constitute optional grammatical means that do not affect the internal structure of the predication (*see* Dik 1997, Part I: 138).

DIMENSIONALITY

Dimensionality accounts for the fact that objects may be conceptualised as one-dimensional, two-dimensional or three-dimensional entities in an increasing degree of perceptual complexity. While all the preceding patterns categorise objects as unitary one-dimensional entities (*room, finger,* etc.), the derived form *fore-deck* characterises the Referent as a two-dimensional entity (*deck* as a surface), whereas *forehead* categorises the Referent as a three-dimensional entity (*head*). Dimensionality thus emerges as a high-level restriction over the categorisation of unitary objects. In the respective schemata of these formations, distinctions of Dimensionality are expressed by means of the prepositional hyponym ON (surface ON the front part of *deck…*) as opposed to the hyperonym IN/AT THE FRONT OF that characterizes basic formations (cf. *forefinger, foreleg,* etc.):

(12)

DIMENSION: Spatial

  DOMAIN 1: Spatial Anteriority

.

.

SUBDOMAIN 1.b) *ANTERIORITY→PARTITION: Fronting*

1. [[IN FRONT OF$_P$ (**dN**x_1:< **[+Sh, -Art]**> > (x_1))$_{Ref}$]$_{Locus}$ (x_2 : < **[+Sh, -Art]** >(x_2))$_{Lcdum}$]$_{STATE}$

forefinger   forefoot   foreleg

2. [[IN FRONT OF$_P$ (**dN**x_1: <**[-Sh, +Art]**> (x_1))$_{Ref}$]$_{Locus}$ (x_2 : < **[-Sh, +Art]** >(x_2))$_{Lcdum}$]$_{STATE}$

forename   forestress

3.1. [[In/At the Front of→**ON**$_P$ (x_1:<[+Sh,+Art]> (x_1))$_{Ref}$]$_{Locus}$ (x_2:<[+Sh, +Art]>(x_2))$_{Lcdum}$]$_{STATE}$

fore-gallows   fore-loader   fore-deck

3.2. [In/At the Front of →**ON**$_P$ (x_1:<[+Sh,-Art]> (x_1))$_{Ref}$]$_{Locus}$(x_2:<[+Sh,-Art]>(x_2))$_{Lcdum}$]$_{STATE}$

forelock

3.3. [[In/At the Front of →**ON**$_P$ (x_1: <[+Sh,-Art]> (x_1))$_{Ref}$]$_{Locus}$ (x_2:<[+Sh,-Art→subpart] >(x_2))$_{Lcdum}$]$_{STATE}$

forehead   forehand   forearm   forepart

Derivational Schemata affected by dimensionality within Anteriority →Partition

PERSPECTIVE

Closely bound to Dimensionality, Perspective builds on the fact that physical objects are asymmetrical and show *exterior* and *external regions*[9] (*see* Svorou 1993:

---

9. The exterior region of the entity is usually marked by its conceptual shape or outward contour (E.g. the shape of one finger with respect to the other fingers). The external region may be defined as the conceptual space in between various exterior regions (E.g. the space in between the fingers).

16). They may be interpreted as *individual regions* or conceptualised in terms of sub-regions that stand in contrast, either on a *horizontal axis* (front/back, left/right) or on a *vertical axis* (top/bottom, up/down). The underlying patterns representing *foredeck, forelock, forehead* and *foreskin* categorise a specific sub-part (the front) of the Referent which, together with properties associated to dimensionality, subsume all these formations under the sub-subdomain *Fronting* (*see* (11) above). The units *foregallows*, *fore-loader* and *foredeck*[10] designate 'physical object ON the FRONT PART of the surface of a larger object (ship, loader…)' whereas, in *forehead*, the Referent categorises 'the FRONT surface of the head', of a three-dimensional entity, and *foreskin* designates 'area, surface of an entity (body element) ON/AROUND FRONT OF body-part'.

The entire structure of the spatial domain thus seems to develop progressively from, first, prototypical spatial relations between objects conceptualised as unitary entities, second, the more complex specification of the number of entities and their intrinsic properties, and finally, the sub-parts of the entities, altogether ontological factors of experience. The gradual complexity that this hierarchy of spatial configurations involves may be illustrated as follows:

---

10. Lexicographical sources do not register the forms *fore-gallows* and *fore-loader*. Below we quote the selections collected from the LOB corpus and from which we have inferred the meaning 'gallows, loader ON the front part of a two-dimensional object (ship, farm vehicle like a tractor respectively).

23.395 c:\lobtagh\lobt-n3.h 77. […] other craft lay for their lives in the hurricane wind and giant seas. The ton-weight outer board of the net had ripped free of its dog-chain and, swinging inboard from the **fore-gallows**, had crushed the boatswain to a pulp.

26.758 c:\lobtagh\lobt-e3.h 85. […] silo unloaders, feeders, side-unloading trailers and other associated equipment for the new techniques. But the material also handles well with a **fore-loader**, it is said, and has zero grazing possibilities as well.

(13)

One-dimension patterns of contact.

E.g.: *anteroom*

FRONT   BACK

One-dimension patterns of partition (no contact)

E.g.: *forefinger*

FRONT   BACK

Two-dimension patterns. E.g.: *fore-loader*

FRONT   BACK

Three-dimension patterns. E.g. *forehead, foreskin*

BACK

FRONT

BACK

FRONT
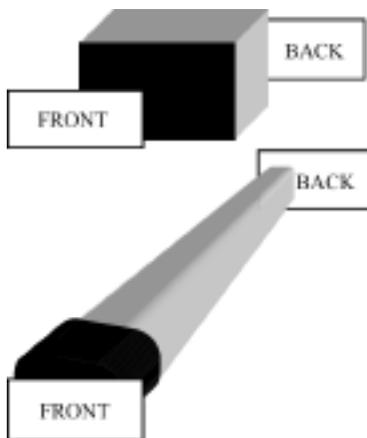
Dimensionality and Perspective in formations with the prefix fore#.

211

What we conclude from this analysis is that the typology of the entities and the semantic specifications entail experiential factors that should be considered as essential criteria in the description and interpretation of locative units. As illustrated above, these factors predict that, taking formations like *foreroom, forefinger, fore-gallows, forehead* and *foreskin*, all of them subsumed under the domain Spatial Anteriority, the unit *foreroom* will be associated to the lowest level within the domain, whereas *forefinger, fore-gallows, forehead* and *foreskin* will follow down as more complex configurations.

5. LOCATIVE DIMENSIONS AND THE ROLE OF METAPHOR

In the preceding sections, we argued that lexemes and their schemata are organized into domains on the basis of semantic-cognitive criteria and that locative conceptualisations are based on a part-whole, metonymic relation. We will now lay the emphasis on the fact that domains are in turn organized into hierarchies, and that *metaphor* constitutes one of the primary resources for lexical structuring at this level.

Locative domains instantiate Spatial, Temporal and/or Notional conceptualisations. We may thus state that Space, Time and Notion constitute *dimensions*, high-level semantic-cognitive restrictions within Location (*see* Langacker 1987:149). Sosa (2004a: 373 ff) observes that domains prototypically associate to the spatial and the temporal dimensions and that the notional dimension emerges from projections or *metaphorical mappings* of the more basic spatio-temporal features. Below we illustrate this progression from spatial and temporal scenarios into notional conceptualisations as a rotation of a *horizontal spatio-temporal axis* towards a *vertical notional axis*:

(14)

Rotation of axes and metaphorical projection, from space/time into notion.

The rotation of the axes involves metaphorical processes through which inherent basic features of horizontal relations ¨are translated into¨ vertical interpretations: BEFORE becomes UP, AFTER becomes DOWN and the prepositional relations BEFORE/FRONT and AFTER/BACK become ON/OVER and BELOW/UNDER respectively (*see* Lakoff and Johnson 1980:14 ff.). Mappings of lexical features, however, seem to be deeply grounded not only in ontological factors (up, down, etc.), but also, and more significantly, in epistemic knowledge.

As an example, consider the form *foreman*. Svorou (1993: 74-75) claims that the experience of social relationships among human beings conforms to an *anthropomorphic model* of hierarchical categorisation. On the assumption that this model activates a general analogy between 'a man BEFORE a man' and 'a man ABOVE, at a higher position OVER a man', *foreman* may be interpreted as a part-whole relation in which *man* stands *notionally*, rather than physically, OVER a *set of men* (cf. *forefinger*). The orientational metaphor formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 15) as MORE IS UP gives way here to HAVING (more) CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP. In what follows, we shall show that the expansion of the metaphor MORE IS UP into *chained metaphors* like MORE IS UPÒ CONTROL IS UP in fact constitutes a recurrent device for the notional interpretation of spatio-temporal relations.

6. METONYMY AND METAPHOR: THE CASE OF *SUPERIORITY*

Thus far, the analysis of locative units suggests that there are two distinct, though interrelated, instruments, *metonymy* and *metaphor*, which are motivated by both ontological and epistemic knowledge and which operate at different levels of the semantic-cognitive structure of vocabulary: *metonymy* is essentially an *intra-dimension* phenomenon affecting the organization of lexemes into domains and subdomains, whereas *metaphor* is prototypically an *inter-dimension* device that motivates the expansion of basic spatio-temporal meaning (*see* Fernández Sánchez 1998):

(15) **METONYMY**	**METAPHOR**
Part: individual entity (man, finger…)	MORE IS UP
Whole: set of individual entities (men, fingers…)	
Domains	***Dimensions***
foreroom	***Spatial***
forefinger	
foreman	***Notional***

Metonymy and metaphor in formations with the prefix fore#

One of the most interesting and clear instances of the role of metaphorical mappings is provided by the subdomain *Anteriority→(Distance)→Superiority*. Formations of Superiority share a set of ontological and epistemic presuppositions associated to the concept of *vertical parallelism*. The two parallel entities are interpreted here as physical entities of the same typology that stand one over the other at a relative short distance in space, they never interact. However, the longer the physical distance between the entities, the higher the superiority of the upper over the lower and, not surprisingly, the longer the conceptual distance between the two. This view of parallelism as a process of gradual development articulates the whole domain of *Superiority* that comprises prototypical formations like *foreman*, *supermarket, hypermarket*, *ultraviolet* and *exorbitant*.

FOREMAN

As in the case of spatial and temporal scenarios (cf. *anteroom*, *forefather*, etc.), the participant entities in *foreman* are first-order entities (E.g: *man* in *foreman*). The specific relation they designate, however, is neither spatial nor temporal, but rather conceptual in nature: if first-order entities prototypically involve spatio-temporal relations (E.g: *forefinger*: 'finger BEFORE finger'), within the *notional dimension*, such entities are located on the *vertical axis* and designate 'entity BEFORE→ON/ABOVE/BEYOND entity' (E.g: *foreman*). These projections justify why the patterns underlying *foreroom* and *foreman*, which seem not to differ essentially from one another, are actually different in *meaning*, they belong in different dimensions. The subscript *Notional Locus* in the schemata below correspondingly indicates that *foreman* is interpreted as a notional formation in contrast to *foreroom*, *forefinger*, etc:

(16)

DIMENSION: Notional

DOMAIN 1: Notional Anteriority→Superiority

.

.

SUBDOMAIN 1.) ANTERIORITY →(DISTANCE)→SUPERIORITY

SUB-SUBDOMAIN 1.a) SUPERIORITY →RELATIVE REMOTENESS

1. $[[(ABOVE_p (x_1: NP +Hum) (x_1))_{Ref}]$**Notional Locus** $(x_2: NP +Hum (x_2))_{Lcdum}]_{STATE}$

foreman: 'individual entity ON/ABOVE individual entity/-ies of exactly the same typology'.

SUPER/HYPERMARKET

Both *supermarket* and *hypermarket* prototypically entail ontological properties related to the size and height of buildings. In *hypermarket*, one entity is conceptualised as being larger than (going beyond the limits of) another entity of the same typology (i.e. *supermarket*) which, in its turn, is larger than *market*. The formation *hypermarket* is thus construed on the basis of *chained metonymies*: '*hypermarket* embeds *supermarket* that embeds *market*'.

(17)

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│           HYPERMARKET                │
│   ┌─────────────────────────────┐    │
│   │        SUPERMARKET          │    │
│   │   ┌─────────────────────┐   │    │
│   │   │      MARKET         │   │    │
│   │   └─────────────────────┘   │    │
│   └─────────────────────────────┘    │
│                                      │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
```
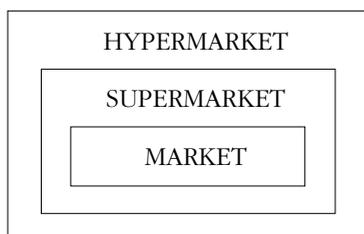
Conceptual image of chained metonymies in super/hypermarket.

Together with the physical interpretation of *super/hypermarket* as 'shopping place, building', however, there is a subtler, but socially rooted reading of these formations as the notional *'to go shopping'*. The activity here substitutes for the object or place which, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:58-59) conforms to the ACTIVITY FOR OBJECT or PLACE metonymy. What is relevant about this metonymy is that, just as buildings are subject to gradation in size and height, once the activity 'shopping' *replaces* the object 'building', the former may be also subject to gradation, this time in amount and intensity: if ontological presuppositions based on size and height trigger degrees of physical superiority (i.e. hypermarket LARGER THAN supermarket LARGER THAN market), epistemic presuppositions related to 'shopping' give rise to degrees of superiority in amount or intensity (i.e. prototypically, the larger the object or place -shopping centre-, the larger the number of goods to buy – more intensive activity).

We will assume that the association of formations like *hyper/supermarket* to more than one dimension constitutes a case of conceptual *polysemy* (*see* Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Since these forms are related simultaneously to Space and Notion, we propose to regard them as part of a *transitional dimension*, the *Spatial-Notional dimension* (E.g. Spatial interpretation: *They are building a new supermarket/ hypermarket in the city*; Notional interpretation: *The European supermarket/hypermarket of strawberry*):

(18)

LOCATIVE **SPATIAL/NOTIONAL DIMENSION**

1) *SUPERIORITY*

  1.a) *SUPERIORITY→INCLUSION*

  (A) DENOMINAL

  1. [(OVER →ON$_p$ (x$_1$: NP+Sh,+Art::building(x$_1$))$_{Ref}$]**Spat/Not.Locus** (x$_2$: NP +Sh,+Art::building (x$_2$)) $_{Lcdum}$]$_{STATE}$

    supermarket (LOB)   hypermarket

ULTRAVIOLET

Like *super/hypermarket*, *ultraviolet* designates a property that *goes beyond* the limits of the basic property *violet* (entity-*Ref*). If we assume that the spectrum of light is conceptualised as a set of parallel perceptual boundaries, *ultraviolet* is radiation that falls outside the range of perception within the spectrum, lying parallel to the upper borderline of *violet*. It thus conceptualises a relation between entities that still share basic properties (i.e. they are all *light*, just as *market*, *supermarket* and *hypermarket* are all buildings) but that differ dramatically with respect to conditions of visual perception:

(19)
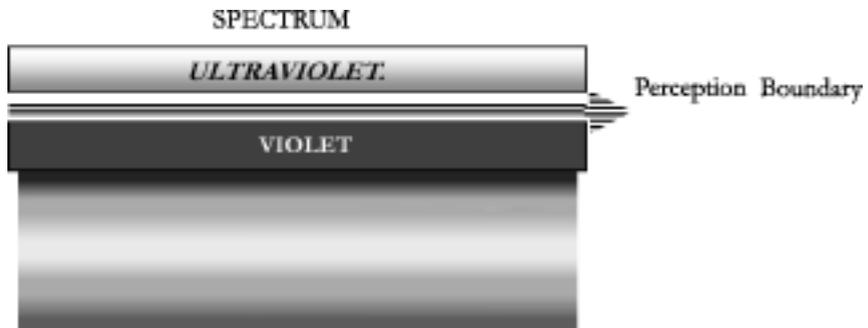
Conceptual image of Ultraviolet

EXORBITANT

Exorbitant expresses 'property of an entity BEYOND/OUTSIDE property of an entity'. Vertical parallelism here takes the form of concentric itineraries as a result of

the circular shape of the orbit: 'circle around and OVER circle'.[11] Like *ultraviolet*, *exorbitant* indicates that one of the entities *goes beyond* the other, that is to say, beyond the range of the orbit. However, while *ultraviolet* is still part of the spectrum, the entity characterized as *exorbitant* is conceptualised as being extremely distant from the orbit, no longer within its scope, and therefore, at a higher position from the Referent. It is precisely the presence of such epistemic presuppositions that allows for the metaphorical interpretation of this unit, widely spread in present-day English standards, as 'exaggeration, extreme degree of...' which seems to be based on the chained metaphor MORE IS UPÒ EXCESS IS ABOVE (E.g. *exorbitant prices, fees, amounts…*). The corresponding conceptual image may be represented as follows:

(20)
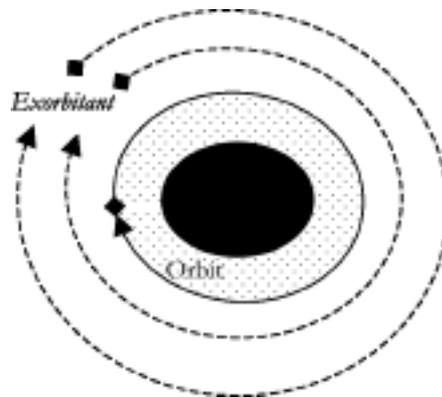
Conceptual image of vertical parallelism in concentric shape. E.g:. Exorbitant

The main conclusion to be drawn from this section is that the prefixes *fore#, super#, hyper#, ultra#* and *ex#* correlate with increasing degrees of superiority and constitute part of a continuum in which such degrees are viewed as progressive, rather than as clear-cut distinctions:

----

11. Concentric relations entail the basic ontological presuppositions of vertical parallelism, including the fact that the spatial scenario is categorised as a two-dimensional setting: trajectories describe itineraries with two ends, be they straight (E.g. horses running parallel in a horse race) or circular (E.g. planets moving parallel within the orbit).

(21)

<div align="center">

Superiority

</div>

Lower degree ————————————————→ Higher degree

fore#,   super#,   hyper#   ultra#,   ex#,

(notional meaning)   *(notional meaning)*

Furthermore, the existence of polysemous interpretations like *super/ hypermarket* indicates that there is also a dynamic transition of both ontological and epistemic information from domain to domain, and/or from dimension to dimension. Indeed, there seem to be no discrete borderlines within the whole macrostructure of the lexicon in which transitions even arise between apparently unconnected domains. Consider, for example, the domains Superiority and Movement (E.g. *transplant* 'movement of a plant from one place to another'). In some denominal formations of Movement like *trans-sexuality*, the entities are interpreted as being extremely separate, remote, no longer parallel, and a new metaphorical mapping from space into notion seems to operate: LOSING A PROPERTY IS GOING TOO FAR BEYOND THE STANDARD PROPERTY. By the action of this metaphor, *trans-sexuality* designates 'sexuality$_2$ FAR BEYOND/ REMOTE FROM/NO LONGER sexuality$_1$', that is to say, going so much BEYOND the social standards of sexual identity means becoming a member of the *opposite* sex. Once again, this complex configuration embodies a *chained metaphor.* LOSS OF PROPERTY IS MOVEMENT AWAY FROM THE PROPERTY MOVEMENT AWAY FROM A PROPERTY IS CHANGE LOSS IS CHANGE:

(22)

<div align="center">

Sexuality$_2$ (E.g Female/Male sex)

↑

Trans-sexuality

Sexuality $_1$ (E.g Male/Female sex)

Transition from Superiority to Movement in Transexuality

</div>

7. CONCLUSION

Far beyond the formal properties of prefixed lexical units, there is sufficient evidence to believe that the underlying mechanisms of metonymy and metaphor consistently determine lexical structure. The functional-lexematic approach has been presented here as a powerful means to capture the role of these two complementary mechanisms.

Through transformations like PFRs, morphological regularities are subject to insufficient restrictions at the same time that irregularities are given no adequate functional explanation.

Now, going back to (2) above, where we stated some of the weak points that PFRs show for an adequate treatment of derivation, we conclude that, first, *ad hoc* formations like, for instance, *super-school*, are motivated by the same presuppositions that generate prototypical formations of superiority. In particular, *super-school* could be interpreted metaphorically as 'school with ideal or optimum conditions to study' on the basis of the ACTIVITY FOR OBJECT metonymy that characterizes prototypical formations like *supermarket* in its notional interpretation ('larger market', 'more goods to buy'). Similarly, ?*superfather* or ?*super-soul* could be reinterpreted as novel formations that follow fixed derivational patterns (E.g. *superman, super-ego: man/father, ego/soul* OVER *man/father, ego/ soul*).

As for *forefinger* and *hyperactive*, we may state that the motivations underlying these formations are the same that restrict **ultraman*, **fore-active*, **hyper-see* or **hypersupermarket*. On the one hand, locative prefixes instantiate specific conceptual scenarios based on ontological and epistemic information. Thus, the prefix *fore#* prototypically designates spatial or temporal conceptualisations of a physical entity and, for this reason, it adjoins nominal and verbal bases rather than adjectival forms (E.g. *forefinger*: 'finger BEFORE finger': 'first, more salient finger'; *foresee*: *see* (an entity) BEFORE *see*: 'see in advance'). In contrast, *hyper#* and *ultra#* prototypically designate degrees of inherent properties with adjectival bases (E.g. *hyperactive:* 'ACTIVE$_{PROPERTY}$ in a high degree'). On the other hand, this division of labour gives rise to a hierarchy of lexemes and, in turn, to a hierarchy of domains and of dimensions that together constitute the lexical macrostructure. Since lexemes are onomasiologically organized, lower-level prefixes cannot combine with higher-level prefixes on the same formation which explains why combinations like **superhypermarket* would not be possible in English. Hence also, the distinction between *foreman* (man OVER man on a social scale) and *superman* (man OVER/BEYOND man on a notional scale), each of which designates specific degrees of superiority within the same domain. Finally, ¨transitional¨ formations like *super/hypermarket* or *transexuality* add to the evidence that location is conceptualised as a continuum and that metonymy, metaphor and polysemy cut across dimensions as a means to expand basic meaning.

As it was pointed out at the beginning of this paper, it has been our central concern to show that the functional-lexematic framework provides a fine-grained methodology that contributes to reinforce the functional perspective adopted by FG.

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REVIEWS

SALLY FITZGERALD, ED. 2004. *EL HÁBITO DE SER*, BY FLANNERY O'CONNOR. INTROD. GUSTAVO MARTÍN GARZO. TRANS. FRANCISCO JAVIER MOLINA DE LA TORRE. SALAMANCA: EDICIONES SÍGUEME. 463 PP.

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An overview of the availability of Flannery O'Connor's work translated into Spanish will confirm that, amongst Spanish readers, she has been far from successful. During the 1970s and 1980s, Esther Tusquets of Lumen publishers undertook the challenge of introducing this writer's brilliant narrative to the Spanish public, making a conscientious effort to share her enthusiasm for O'Connor's prose. However by the end of the 80s, most of the translations of O'Connor's work had been relegated to dusty, back shelves in bookshops. In fact, in the over twenty years that Lumen published O'Connor's work, second editions were only printed for *Wise Blood* and *Everything that Rises Must Converge*.

It suffices to say then, that Flannery O'Connor's fiction has not fared well in Spain. This becomes painfully evident if we compare it to that of Carson McCullers, her Southern contemporary, all of whose work has been translated into Spanish, and whose unfinished autobiography entitled, *Illumination and Nightglare* was translated by Ana María Moix and published by Seix Barral in 2001. Recent appearances of O'Connor's work have been made in Catalonian (*Sang Sàvia*), and in the format of Anthology (*El negro artificial y otros escritos*). However, while all of O'Connor's work –both fiction and non-fiction– has been translated into French and Italian (thus, seemingly ruling out the hypotheses that her literature is difficult

for Catholic readers to come to terms with, or that her work loses its "essence" through translation), Spanish readers have yet to become acquainted with her wonderful essays, compiled in *Mystery and Manners* or an updated, conscientious translation of many of her short stories.[1]

It is surprising, then, that when her work is in such need of revision and *Mystery and Manners* has yet to be translated, Sally Fitzgerald's 1979 edition of the majority of O'Connor's written correspondence should now appear in Spanish. While any newly translated work of O'Connor's is indeed welcome, one wonders why Ediciones Sígueme chose to take on the challenge –and the risk– of presenting Spanish readers with this writer's letters when they have yet to be exposed to her essays. I consider this project to have been an enormous challenge for Francisco Javier Molina de la Torre: Sally Fitzgerald's edition of *Letters of Flannery O'Connor: The Habit of Being* is 617 pages long and, for reasons which I will discuss, an arduous translating task. Likewise, Ediciones Sígueme is to be commended for its decision to tackle O'Connor's correspondence when over the past decade it has been difficult for even those readers in search of her narrative to find her books. *A Good Man Is Hard to Find*, for example, has not been revised since the printing of its second edition in 1986. One might be lucky enough to come across a copy, but this is unlikely as it has been out of print for years. Yet there is hope for the work of Flannery O'Connor in Spanish. I have been told by José Lino Blanco of Ediciones Sígueme that *Mystery and Manners* is in the process of being translated, although that it is still too early to set a publication date. The appearance of *El hábito de ser* is indeed good news for Spanish readers as it seems to indicate a renewed interest in this unique and compelling author.

When *The Habit of Being: Letters of Flannery O'Connor* was first published, it received rave reviews. Scholars and Flannery O'Connor enthusiasts were suddenly awarded the possibility of becoming familiar with diverse aspects of the writer: her illness, her relationships with her mother and friends, her daily routine, her feelings about racial conflicts and politics, and the evolution of her art and her doctrine are some of the topics she discussed with her correspondents. For there are hundreds of letters in this volume, which covers a sixteen-year span from 1948 to the writer's death from *lupus erythematosus*, in 1964. This degenerative and

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1. Manuel Broncano and Julio César Santoyo did a thorough job of re-translating and re-editing O'Connor's novel, *Wise Blood* which was published by Cátedra in 1990 (*Sangre sabia*), and thus, in a sense, brought it back to life. Likewise, Guadalupe Arbona, at Ediciones Encuentro, included three of the author's essays from *Mystery and Manners* in *El negro artificial y otros escritos* along with eight of her thirty-one short stories (2001), but has, to date, been unable to revise O'Connor's short-story collections, due to copyright restrictions.

extremely debilitating disease was to be greatly responsible for the large amount of correspondence she wrote, and although O'Connor had always been a fervent letter writer, even before her illness was diagnosed, she came to depend on this means of communicating with nearly everyone she knew who lived beyond the confines of rural Milledgeville, Georgia. Friends attest to her uncompromising work schedule: mornings were devoted to her fiction, during which she sat in front of her typewriter from nine to twelve, and afternoons were spent on reading and answering letters or receiving visitors (Sessions 1966: 209).

In *El hábito de ser*, we will find letters addressed to editors, publishers, fellow writers (Robert Lowell and Katherine Anne Porter, for example), critics, fans and friends. Of the more than thirty people that O'Connor wrote to over the years, two names stand out as the recipients of the greater part of her correspondence: Maryat Lee, and "A," who was revealed to be Elizabeth Hester in 1998 upon her death. The significant number of letters from these two women, the majority of which are included in this volume, merits a close look. Through this correspondence, we see how these relationships were crucial in helping her to come to terms with her illness and with her need to establish bonds with people outside of her mother's rural home town. The two sets of letters complement each other: we gain insight to O'Connor's art by reading her comments to Hester, hence this correspondence serves a valuable didactic purpose, while the Maryat letters hint at a more authentic, spontaneous Flannery, and are a welcome palliative to the dark intensity of her fiction. Readers not familiar with this author are encouraged to focus on the written exchanges between O'Connor, Hester and Lee as many of the author's fictional themes and much of her artistic motivation can be observed.

Fitzgerald did a remarkable job of tying the groups of letters together with her own observations; providing the reader with the necessary information to allow for a more meaningful, cohesive reading. They present us with an autobiography of sorts, if read in chronological order: "She becomes gradually and ironically […] a part of a long, absorbing, entertaining, edifying story –her correspondence a narrative one can't put down because one is learning, laughing, experiencing the writer's pain or sadness or merriment as one's own" (Coles 1979: 6). Sally Fitzgerald suggests that in order to better understand O'Connor's fiction, one should first read her correspondence. Ralph Wood proposes the reading of her letters and stories simultaneously. Clara Claiborne Park even advises readers to set aside her narrative and to focus on her letters (qtd. Gordon 2000: 226). Yet although not all critics agree on the relevance of this compendium, *The Habit of Being*, which is now on its sixth edition in English, has come to occupy an indisputable place in the study of Flannery O'Connor's fiction.

El hábito de ser, the volume that Ediciones Sígueme has made available to Spanish readers is impeccable on all accounts. Externally, it is appealing both to the touch and to the sight –one might venture to say even more so than the present Noonday edition in English. Yet more significantly, this Salamanca-based publishing house made two important decisions when putting this edition together: the inclusion of a foreword by Gustavo Martín Garzo entitled, "Teoría de la desgracia" in which he expresses his enthusiasm for O'Connor, and the appointment of Francisco Javier Molina de la Torre as its translator.

Martín Garzo, as a well-known and successful Spanish novelist and writer of short stories, will hopefully help to bring Spanish readers closer to the fiction of Flannery O'Connor. In his foreword, he highlights the remarkable short story, "The Artificial Nigger," encouraging readers to discover for themselves through the letters of *El hábito de ser* the essence of her fiction. For O'Connor's art was shaped by her extraordinary circumstances, and these letters give us the chance to come closer to understanding her narrative by merging Flannery O'Connor, the writer, with Flannery O'Connor, the woman.

Mention must be made of the commendable job of translating *The Habit of Being* carried out by Molina de la Torre. Transcribing O'Connor's vernacular speech –which becomes more vernacular the closer the friendship– is no easy task, and at times can simply not be resolved. The tongue-in-cheek humor she uses, intentionally misspelling words at times as a rhetorical device must have presented a serious translating challenge. The following examples give evidence of this: "She says I ought to be able to teach them English […] and I say well I ain't able to" (1979: 31) which is translated as: "Dice que yo debería ser capaz de enseñarles inglés […] y yo le digo: 'Bueno, yo no puedo'" (2003: 45), and "The name of my Dread Disease is Lupus Erythematosus, or as we litterary [sic] people prefer to call it, Red Wolf" (1979: 266) which appears in Spanish without the intentional spelling mistake or capital letters: "El nombre de mi horrorosa enfermedad es *Lupus erithematosus*, o como nosotros, la gente de letras, preferimos llamarlo, El Lobo Rojo" (2003: 214). In general, in this Spanish edition, Flannery O'Connor's run-on vernacular speech has been cleaned up with punctuation and "proper" grammar and spelling. Her not uncommon use of the word "nigger" simply goes unnoticed and is translated by the word "negro" in Spanish. In this specific case, a footnote might have been useful. In fact, Molina de la Torre seems to have been a bit too conservative in his use of notes, given the difficulty of the text and the presumable lack of background of future Spanish readers. He has wisely chosen to leave O'Connor's particular way of addressing and signing her letters to Maryat Lee in

their original form, but once again, might have included some type of explanation regarding the way the two friends played with each other's names.

Future translations of Flannery O'Connor's work will no doubt hinge on the success that *El hábito de ser* among Spanish readers. With the imminent publication of her essays, *Mystery and Manners*, one hopes that this author will finally receive the attention that she deserves –and has up to now been unexplainably denied– here, in Spain. Is it too optimistic to anticipate a future revision of her short stories? Ediciones Sígueme should be applauded for this attempt to afford Flannery O'Connor's work its due relevance, and encouraged to continue along the same line as their efforts will surely prove to be worthwhile in a not too distant future.

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IFTEKHARRUDIN, F., BOYDEN, J., LONGO, J., AND M. ROHRBERGER, EDS. 2003. *POSTMODERN APPROACHES TO THE SHORT STORY*. WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT AND LONDON: PRAEGER. 156 PP.

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Short story theory is nowadays a lively area of critical discussion, but this is a new phenomenon. Until very recently if a monograph on the short story was published, it constituted an isolated orphan among a countless list of titles delving into other narrative forms. "No more than a decade ago," wrote Susan Lohafer and Jo Ellyn Clarey in 1989 "referring to a 'field' of short story criticism would have seemed odd" (1989: vii). The book by Lohafer and Clarey, *Short Story Theory at a Crossroads* set the standard for successive studies that increased in number in the nineties and in the first years of the new millennium. Instead of being exhaustive books, written by a single author with the aim of settling the matter (the works by Walter Allen (1981) or John Bayley (1988) are excellent examples of its kind), the new trend collected the opinions of several experts in one same volume with the basic aim of promoting discussion on the short story.

The book by the pioneering scholar in the academic field of the short story Charles E. May, *The New Short Story Theories* (1994), follows this pattern. It contains classic pieces by authors like Poe or Brander Matthews, together with contemporary texts by writers like Julio Cortázar or Nadine Gordimer. It deals with aspects of definition of the short story, together with historical considerations and

issues of particular practitioners of the form. It offers an open and dynamic presentation of the multiple aspects which characterize the short story.

The recent impulse in short story studies is also indebted to the work done by the Society for the Study of the Short Story, an organization created in the early nineties in order to encourage the analysis of this literary genre. Two of the editors of the volume under discussion, *Postmodern Approaches to the Short Story*, Farhat Iftekharrudin, from the University of Texas, and Mary Rohrberger, from the University of New Orleans, are closely connected with the SSSS. Iftekharrudin is the editor of its journal, *Short Story*, and Rohrberger is co-founder of that same organization, as well as executive director of its biennial international conference. *Postmodern Approaches…* consists, in fact, of a selection of the papers presented at the fifth International Conference of the Short Story held in New Orleans in 1998 under the general sponsorship of the SSSS.

The editors explain in the preface that, since postmodern theory has not been applied systematically to the short story, in the present volume different approaches commonly associated with this mode of contemporary thinking will be used to study the nature of international short stories. This aim is explained in the final paragraphs of the preface, the previous four pages being devoted to a brief history of the modern short story: from the founding figures of Hawthorne, Poe or Gogol, until the most recent and most famous practitioners, like Raymond Carver and Richard Ford. Although the editors define clearly the postmodern short story in the preface, when it comes to the theoretical frame that is going to be applied to the short fiction in the chapters that follow, the first impression is that it covers an ample ground, a vast territory that makes postmodern theory tantamount to any current of thought of the last forty years: deconstruction, structuralism, reader-response criticism, semiotics, etc. The editors give equal weight to "postmodern theoretical issues and themes, such as gender and sexual roles, cultural, postcolonial, linguistic, psychological, historical studies…" (xi).

Certainly the boundaries of postmodernism have never been clearly fixed, but many would react against the ease with which it is used to contain virtually any recent theoretical development. A real engagement with the main issues of postmodernism (disconnectedness, nostalgia for lost meanings, playful superficiality, lack of artistic coherence, critical revisiting of the canon, etc.) is found missing in most of the chapters that constitute the book. Not many key authors of postmodernism appear in the work-cited lists of the different papers, either. Lacan, Barthes and Todorov are mentioned once, but there is no evidence that Lyotard, Foucault, Jameson, Kristeva, Baudrillard or Derrida have been used as a basis for the articles (nor even introductory texts by authors like Ihab Hassan, Linda

Hutcheon or Patricia Waugh). That is not to say that the articles in the book have no academic merit; it is simply that postmodernism was perhaps not really necessary in the title. The three sections that divide the book (Part I: Discovering the Shapes of the Short Story; Part II: Exploring the World of the Short Story; Part III: Encountering Issues of Gender and Sexuality) clearly indicate that this is a standard collection of recent articles on the short story, following the trend of Lohafer and Clarey's book, and therefore not very dissimilar from other recent compilations like *The Tales We Tell. Perspectives on the Short Story* (1998). This latter volume was published, like *Postmodern Approaches...* under the auspices of the SSSS, and Mary Rohrberger appears as one of the editors as well. In *The Tales We Tell* the editors included contributions by established authors like John Barth or Joyce Carol Oates, but apart from that difference, the structure of the book is very similar to *Postmodern Approaches...*: each has sections on the form of the short story, on history and place, on roles and genres, etc. *Postmodern Approaches...*, in short, should be considered as an interesting book with different perspectives on the short story, and as a volume which contains some valuable pieces of criticism, but not as a significant enlargement of the theoretical problems of postmodernism in relation to the short story.

The five articles that deal with aspects of the form of the short story in the first section of the book are highly specialized, and they are aimed at scholars working on the authors whose stories are under scrutiny; there are no introductions to the authors' work, and a general knowledge on their literary production is assumed. Three of these articles are particularly relevant and, against the common trend in the book, they can claim some connection with postmodern theoretical problems. David Sheridan in "The End of the World: Closure in the Fantasies of Borges, Calvino and Millhauser" studies the endings in the stories of a group of very original authors. Frank Kermode's *The Sense of an Ending* is appropriately quoted in the article. In order to analyze their stories properly, Sheridan coins a useful term, AWF or Alternate World Fictions. By this expression not only does he mean those narratives which create new worlds, but fictions which also do not follow conventional rules in terms of linearity of plot. These fictions privilege elaboration: "They are worth displaying for their own sake" (2003: 11), and frequently turn to catalogues or lists which emphasize their unconventional nature. Sheridan poses the problem of how this kind of story achieves closure without the assistance of any kind of outcome of the action, and he is particularly precise at analysing the authors' strategies for ending their short fictions.

Suzanne Ferguson is also one of the contributors to *Postmodern Approaches...*, and her paper "Genre and the Work of Reading in Mansfield's 'Prelude' and 'At the

Bay'" is included in this section. Ferguson has a long-standing interest in short story theory, and has contributed to such important collections as the books by Lohafer and Clarey and the one by Charles E. May mentioned at the beginning of this review. On this occasion she approaches the work of Katherine Mansfield and considers the nature of the stories in two of her books. There have been numerous critical attempts to read the stories in these collections as a sequence, as befits a modernist text. However, for the author of the paper, the stories by Mansfield resist being considered together, and furthermore, they ostensibly project discontinuity and disorder. From the point of view of reader's response criticism, Ferguson studies the kind of negotiation with the text that, for some authors, has to be done in order to get an illusion of wholeness. Her proposal, however, goes in the opposite direction, as she is in favour of accepting its disconnectedness.

The other article which stands out in this section is Andrea O'Reilly Herrera's "Sandra Benítez and the Nomadic Text". The piece by O'Reilly may be of interest not only for readers and scholars of Benítez but for students of the short story as well, as it presents the coinage of another term: epi-story (episode + story), namely, a chapter in a novel which can be studied separately and works independently in the context of the book. The particular nuances that O'Reilly finds in the epi-stories of Benítez's *A Place Where the Sea Remembers* (1993) is a testimony to the skilfulness of contemporary theorists on the short story. Once the basics of the genre have been explored with important attempts towards definition of the short story done during the late 1980s and 1990s, scholars are now paying attention to the rarities, the hybrids, the forms on the margins of short fiction. The other two articles of the section are "The Challenge of 'June Recital': Generic Considerations in the Structure of *The Golden Apples*" by Donna Jarrell, and "Death and the Reader: James's 'The Beast in the Jungle'" by Arthur A. Brown.

The four papers of the second part of the book ("Exploring the World of the Short Story") constitute in fact a postcolonial section. There is an article on Australian writer Janette Turner Hospital, written by Donna J. Davis: "Postmodern Issues in Janette Turner Hospital's Nature-Dominated Short Stories 'The End-of-the-line End-of-the-world Disco' and 'Our Own Little Kakadu'"; a piece on Iranian short fiction, "The Virtuous Complaint: Iranian Short Fiction of the 1960s-1970s" written by Rivanne Sandler; and Donald Petesch is the author of "Jean Toomer's *Cane*". In the last article of the section, "Homi K. Bhabha and the Postcolonial Short Story", Catherine Ramsdell approaches the critic who has most influenced this field of studies in the last decade. Ramsdell puts Bhabha's theories into practice with a discussion of a story by New Zealand writer Bill Manhire, in particular Bhabha's idea of *moving beyond* and his stand against the fixity of binary oppositions.

The third section of the book contains three chapters which deal with issues of gender and sexuality in the short story. In the first article, "Wharton's Short Fiction of War: The Politics of 'Coming Home'", Mary Carney demands a place for women's voices in the male-dominated literature of World War I, choosing Edith Wharton's war writings as the clearest exponents of a neglected list of texts written by women on that topic, including works by Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield and Willa Cather. In the second piece, "Living in a World of Make-Believe: Fantasy, Female Identity, and Modern Short Stories by Women in the British Tradition", Adrienne Gavin studies the clashes between fantasy lives and the real world in the stories of a group of contemporary British women writers. The author provides interesting insights on the connection between female fantasy and the short story: "Fantasy in short stories by women reveals the 'unsaid and unseen' of female experience" (2003: 123). In the third and last article of the collection, "The Fourierist Parables of Guy Davenport", Patrick Meanor shows how Davenport's most successful stories simply carry out the utopian vision of Charles Fourier of an idyllic world where people get carried away by their sexual and emotional instincts.

These last three articles are representative of the collection in that they are well-written, and make their point efficiently, without reaching arresting conclusions. The fact that they deal with issues of gender does not place them in a more privileged position in relation to postmodernism than articles working within any other recent theoretical framework; they could have easily appeared in any contemporary compilation on the short story. Rather than making the articles of the collection fit into an all-inclusive concept, postmodernism, this volume might perhaps have framed them within an international and multicultural context. After all, the move towards diversity in short-story studies was what Mary Rohrberger (Rochette-Crawley 1997: 212) defined in a recent interview as "a logical consequence".

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PANTHER, K-U., AND L. THORNBURG. EDS. 2003. *METONYMY AND PRAGMATIC INFERENCING.* AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA: JOHN BENJAMINS. 280 PP.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The book under review constitutes, to my knowledge, one of the few collections of essays within the cognitive linguistics paradigm that is exclusively dedicated to the relationship of metonymy and pragmatic inference (as the editors show, some other related works on the conceptual, pragmatic, and grammatical role of metonymy are Marmaridou, 2000; Panther & Radden, 1999; Barcelona, 2000; Dirven & Pörings, 2002; and the monograph by Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal, 2002).

As is claimed in the introduction, in the relatively short history of cognitive linguistics, metonymy has often been regarded as a *referential* phenomenon (where a referent is used to stand for another referent) which involves a *stand for* relationship. Nonetheless, the editors are right in that metonymy is better viewed (following Kövecses & Radden's proposal, 1999) as a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity provides mental access to another conceptual entity within a single conceptual domain. However, as Panther & Thornburg admit, this is too broad a definition, and this is why they set out to narrow its scope by including in it only contingent relationships. Then, they show how the term *metonymy* covers different types of inference, for instance, how an attribute of a speech act may stand for the whole speech act, just as an attribute of a person can stand for the person. In fact, they show that metonymy does play a crucial role at the levels

of reference, predication, proposition, and illocution; in this way, metonymy may be seen as a bridge between pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. In general, the introduction is well-written and informative but it lacks some information on the history of metonymy that may provide the reader with the necessary theoretical background for the cutting-edge issues covered in the rest of the book. Thus, the study of metonymy does not appear in the 80s with Lakoff, but there has been some development from a rhetorical conception of metonymy as a figure of speech to the cognitive linguistics view of metonymy as a mental operation which even subsumes different theories of metonymy. Furthermore, some emphasis could have been made on the fact that the study of metonymy, contrary to the case of metaphor, which has always attracted most of the attention, has gained importance over the last years.

2. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF CONTENTS

The overall organisation of the book consists of four parts. The first one concerns the definition of the role of metonymy in inferential utterance interpretation (which comprises the papers by Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez, and Barcelona) and conceptual blends (with Coulson & Oakley's paper). The second part is devoted to the metonymic motivation of grammatical structure (with the papers by Stefanowitsch, Panther & Thornburg, and Köpcke & Zubin). The third part is aimed at exploring the role of metonymic inferencing in linguistic change (it includes the papers by Ziegeler and Okamoto). Finally, part IV attempts to see what metonymies can offer from a cross-linguistic perspective (it contains the papers by Radden & Seto, and Brdar & Brdar-Szabó). At the end, we also find useful metonymy, metaphor, and subject indexes.

In chapter 1, "Cognitive Operations and Pragmatic Implications," the authors make use of the notion of conceptual metonymy and metaphor to explore some possible connections between Cognitive Linguistics, Relevance Theory, and post-Gricean pragmatics in general. Besides reducing metonymies to the types *target-in-source* (the source domain stands for a target sub-domain) and *source-in-target* (a source sub-domain stands for a target domain), Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez claim that metaphor and metonymy are part of what is said (i.e. they are included within explicatures) rather than what is implicated; this does not mean that these cognitive constructs are just *loose ways of speaking* exclusively regulated by the principle of relevance, as Carston (1997, 2000) seems to imply. On the contrary, the authors claim that the relevance-theoretic account must be supplemented by postulating the cognitive linguistics notion of *mapping*. In this sense, after establishing correlations

between these different kinds of mapping and the explicatures they produce, they draw a distinction between *one-correspondence* and *many-correspondence metaphors*, which provides the basis for a metaphor-metonymy continuum. Finally, they put forward the *Domain Availability Principle* to account for those anaphoric relations in discourse that involve referential metonymic shifts, and according to which the *matrix domain* determines the domain of co-reference. Although this is one of the most comprehensible and clearest papers of the book under review, some remarks are in order. First of all, one of the main problems as regards many-correspondence metaphors lies in the fact that there is no principled account of how the hearer knows what correspondences should be taken as intended by the speaker. Then, as regards the classification of metaphors, the authors seem to imply that the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphors are cases of one-correspondence mappings in which attributed animal behaviour is mapped onto human behaviour; from my point of view, this is an overgeneralisation since, for instance, *Aquilles is a lion* might suggest different behavioural features of Achilles (e.g. strength, courage, majesty, etc.). To end with, we doubt whether some of the examples given within the section related to the interaction between metaphor and metonymy could be better explained, if not entirely, on the basis of conceptual blending theory as developed by Fauconnier & Turner (2002).

Chapter 2, entitled "Metonymy and Conceptual Blending," tries to account for the role of metonymy in the process of conceptual blending, a theory recently developed by Fauconnier and Turner. This theory explains metaphor and analogy as the result of a blending process which results from the projection of conceptual structure, correlated on the basis of skeletal information contained in a generic space, from two input spaces into a blend. The blend thus integrates part of the structure from the input spaces into more complex events, thus becoming dynamic. The projections, which may operate in parallel in the case of complex examples, may be based on similarity, identity, analogy, and other pragmatic functions, including metonymy. In their account, the authors analyse different phenomena (idioms, literary blends, sculptural blends, etc.) in order to show that metonymies are crucial in blending since, in creating tighter connections, they help integrate juxtapositions of conceptual structure from distally related domains. In this connection, metonymies (working at the expense of the *topology principle* which requires that the models in the spaces be structurally similar) contribute to the *integration principle*, which is part of the *optimality principle* that ultimately guides and constrains the different projections between the spaces. In general, this paper is more descriptive than explanatory; it does not provide the reader with new theoretical insights, but applies in a lucid manner conceptual blending postulates to a number of linguistic and cognitive phenomena. However, the most

innovative aspect of the paper, i.e. the essential role that metonymy seems to play within conceptual blending, is interestingly analysed although not in great detail. This point and its theoretical significance should be further studied and backed up with more examples.

Chapter 3, under the title "The Case for a Metonymic Basis of Pragmatic Inferencing: Evidence from Jokes and Funny Anecdotes," aims at studying the role of metonymy in pragmatic inferencing by means of analysing the comprehension of jokes and similar types of discourse which, even though they often involve complex inferential mechanisms, are understood at an incredible speed. This is so because, along with Gricean maxims, the inferential processes required for their interpretation are facilitated either by pre-existing metonymic connections (which especially "seem to lie at the very heart of pragmatic inferencing" since they help accomplish the "frame adjustment" which is required to work out the punchline of jokes) in a cognitive frame, or by pre-existing metaphorical connections across frames. In the same way that the editors of the volume, Barcelona makes use of Kövecses & Radden's (1999) idea that metonymy is not a purely referential phenomenon, thus extending its explanatory scope to the domain of pragmatic inferencing. In general, the paper claims that pragmatic processing is notably simplified by the existing metonymies, which provide the hearer with immediate and easy-to-access inferences; that may be true, but we should bear in mind that, no matter the extent to which we generalise the inferences, we will always have to explain how hearers select and go through them. In fact, the storage, functioning, and manipulation of all these aspects constitute difficulties for pragmatic interpretation.

Chapter 4, "A construction-Based Approach to Indirect Speech Acts" attempts to explain how the hearer reaches the interpretation intended by the speaker as regards indirect speech acts (ISAs), such as *Will/can you close the door?* By using some of Sadock's (1974) collocational criteria for conventionalised indirect requests (e.g. the option to insert politeness markers such as *please* or *kindly,* or using the conditional *would/could*), the author arrives at the conclusion that certain aspects of conventionalised indirect requests are not predictable from their form and constituent meaning components, thereby qualifying as constructions (i.e. their illocutionary force is directly linked to their form). Then, Stefanowitsch claims that ISA constructions are totally conventional but, in spite of their partially unpredictable properties, Panther & Thornburg's theory of speech act metonymies (basically, an utterance that refers to any aspect of the model can metonymically evoke the whole model) provides the motivation for the similarity in form between the conventionalised indirect speech acts and the direct speech acts on which they

seem to be based. However, since their pragmatic function is part of their meaning, there is no need for the speaker/hearer to process ISAs metonymically. Finally, Stefanowitsch analyses some neurolinguistic evidence about the interpretation of ISAs, showing how this could account for the analysis of conventionalised ISAs as constructions. In my view, Stefanowitsch's account is somewhat lacking in explanatory and innovative value. Noting the conventional value of some ISA constructions does not preclude the metonymic account from having a strong explanatory value when interpreting the less conventionalised examples. He also overlooks other relevant approaches to the issue of ISAs within cognitive linguistics (e.g. Ruiz de Mendoza, 1999; Pérez, 2001; Pérez & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2002).

In chapter 5, under the name "Metonymies as Natural Inference and Activation schemas: The Case of Dependent Clauses as Independent Speech Acts," the editors of this volume analyse some *if*-clauses that lack a syntactically realised consequent clause (e.g. *If you would like a cookie*, standing for an offer) but that qualify as constructions in Goldberg's (1995) terms as they have a non-compositional conventional sense associated with them. Then, the authors go on to describe three types of conventionalised pragmatic functions of such constructions, namely, deontic (which involve speaker commitment or hearer obligation; e.g. *If you would like a cookie*), expressive (showing surprise, shock; e.g. *Why, if it isn't Susan!*), and epistemic (expressing reasoning, belief; e.g. *If it was a warning*). Furthermore, in order to determine the degree of conventionalisation of these types of clause, the authors apply Grice's cancelability test together with the concept of *mental space* from conceptual blending theory and their approach to indirect speech acts as conceptual scenarios. They conclude that even though conceptual metonymies are natural inference schemas that lead to utterance meanings quickly and effortlessly, regardless of their degree of conventionalisation (no matter how conventional they are, they are automatically activated in the interpretation process), many of these *incomplete* clauses do not require any inferential work; thus, they are quite in line with Stefanowitsch's views. Panther & Thornburg's arguments are persuasive; however, it is the reviewer's belief that this chapter would greatly benefit from taking into account recent developments in the analysis of *if*-conditionals (e.g. Sweetser & Dancygier, forthcoming) within the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm.

Chapter 6, entitled "Metonymic Pathways to Neuter-Gender Human Nominals in German," tries to account for the fact that metonymic principles may interact in complex ways with grammatical gender in German (as part of the diachronic lexical processes that result in *neut*-gender human nouns, and then in the pragmatics of referential tracking). Thus, they show that some affective metonymic models (often conveying negative connotations such as dissaproval, scorn, etc.) work within

certain neuter-marked nominals referring to women. This is a rather surprising fact since German has its own masculine and feminine systems. To close the paper, the authors explore the role played by metonymic scenarios in the choice of anaphoric pronouns in discourse. In spite of the fact that the paper under review would be extremely interesting for a conference or publication on Women Studies and Feminism, it lacks a good sumpsumtive summary or conclusion; the one included just goes on to show the current cultural validity of *neut*-gender terms for women and their projected metonymic ICMs.

In Chapter 7, under the title of "The Development of Counterfactual Implicature: A Case of Metonymy or M-inference?" Debra Ziegeler addresses the issue (and in so doing she criticises Levinson, 1995, 2000) that some statements of past ability or potentiality may metonymically imply both the actuality and the non-ocurrence (counterfactuality) of events in the infinitival complement clause (e.g. *John could solve the problem* may either mean that he solved it or that he didn't solve it). She also claims that *M-implicatures* (in Levinson's terms, inferences that refer to the more marked element of a manner set; e.g. regarding *can* and *have the ability to*, the latter would be the marked one as it is longer and more periphrastic) are not prototypical metonymic inferences since they are not content-to-content relationship, but link the marked form with the negation of what the unmarked one expresses. She also challenges the well-established assumption that *had the ability to* and *could* are synonymous by means of analysing their contexts and forms within a diachronic corpus. She closes the paper by saying that the contrast between the metonymies POTENTIALITY FOR ACTUALITY and POTENTIALITY FOR NON-ACTUALITY is due to pragmatic and scalar factors (of the type *She may be coming vs. She is coming*, in which the former expresses possibility and the latter certainty). Ziegeler's paper is very interesting, informative, and well-written but it touches so many different issues and concepts that it is at points hard to understand and follow. In fact, the density of the article is so high that the author has been led to include an interim summary.

Chapter 8, entitled "Metonymy and Pragmatic Inference in the Functional Reanalysis of Grammatical Morphemes in Japanese," explores the role of metonymy in instances of grammaticalisation in Japanese that involve the reanalysis of complementisers as sentence-final particles, i.e. grammatical morphemes that are common in Japanese and give interesting examples of functional shifts in linguistic forms, besides expressing various pragmatic meanings (e.g. *no, koto* –the focus of the paper–*, to, tte, ka*). For example, the use of *koto* as an SFP is shown to have evolved from *koto* as a COMP by means of functional reanalysis. This evolution involves a shift from conversational implicature to conventional implicature in which, by means of a metonymy, the proposition expressed by *koto* stands for the

proposition together with its conversationally implied modalities –or the pragmatic function of the proposition; in other words, the whole is thus represented by its part. The paper is generally clear and well-written. As the author himself suggests, many other subordinate clause markers should be examined (also cross-linguistically) and historical data provided in order to fully account for these processes of grammaticalisation and reanalysis.

Chapter 9, "Metonymic construals of shopping requests in HAVE- and BE-languages," accounts for how HAVE- and BE- languages (such as English and Japanese respectively) code the notion of "possession" differently, in such a way that the metonymies that link the indirect wording to the intended speech act meaning are different as well. Thus, different speech communities make use of different metonymic reasoning in coding and understanding a request. All this is illustrated by the shopping scenario, which leads to metonymies such as POSSESSION FOR AVAILABILITY –the store is in control of the goods it offers for sale– or TRANSFER FOR TRANSACTION –the object bought is received by the customer passing into his possession. The paper further concludes that HAVE-languages metonymically express the notions of availability and requested transaction as possession, whereas BE-languages construe these notions as existence. Besides establishing a conceptual continuum between possession and existence, the authors show that the different cultural systems of politeness –indirectness vs. deference– even explain the absence or presence of some metonymies (such as TRANSFER FOR TRANSACTION); this may be related to the way of viewing events (DO-languages such as English focus on actions and their results, whereas BECOME-languages such as Japanese focus on processes as happening). This is a very interesting paper which has cast further light onto how different languages and cultures code things in different ways. On the basis of this research, further work should be carried out to determine to what extent culture influences the way things are expressed in a language.

Finally, "Metonymic coding of linguistic action in English, Croatian and Hungarian" examines in detail sentences like *I'll be brief*, which can be understood via a metonymy (in this case, SPEAKER FOR UTTERANCE, a subtype of the more general metonymy AGENT FOR ACTION: "My speech/words will be brief"). In comparing English, Croatian, and Hungarian the authors show that the Croatian and Hungarian languages are more likely to make explicit the linguistic action itself in such a way that whereas these languages tend to avoid predicational metonymies, referential metonymies are common. On the contrary, they postulate that languages which largely exploit predicational metonymies will also make extensive use of referential metonymies. This is a clear, straightforward chapter which presents no flaws at all.

To conclude, this is an interesting collection of essays which has cast further light onto the recent study on the conceptual, pragmatic, and grammatical role of metonymy, besides emphasising the idea that the study of conceptual metonymy provides important insights into language use and language structure.

The volume seems to be mainly aimed at an audience already working within Cognitive Linguistics as it deals with controversial theoretical issues adopting a deep, thorough level of analysis. Actually, the book has helped clarify some problematic issues which lie behind the definition of the role of metonymy in inferential utterance interpretation, conceptual blends, and linguistic change; the metonymic motivation of grammatical structure; and the study of metonymy from a cross-linguistic perspective.

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Example 1:

Johnson (1987: 21) has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers.

Example 2:

"Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy" (Brush 1994: 238).

References within the text should go immediately after the author, both when the quoted passage is incorporated into the text and when the passage is longer than four lines and needs to be separated as an indented quotation. When the name of the author does not form part of the text, it will appear at the end of the quotation between parentheses.

Example 1:

The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood (1981: 387) said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975".

Example 2:

Even Cranny-Francis (1990: 190) points to the subversive potential of the romance plot:

> Romance is often written into texts dominated by other genres, such as SF, utopian or detective fiction, where it may operate as one of the conventions of those genres. Feminist revisions of these genres also use romance and, in dialogue with other generic conventions, it has been used successfully to interrogate the construction of masculinity and femininity and of interpersonal relationships.

Example 3:

> The new subjectivity must be the result of a move through objectivity. Myth before ideology, story before argument are the bases of a critical theory:
>
>> Artists have always been told that they have no real authority, that they live in a world of let's pretend and they just play around with fictions, and their function is to delight and instruct, as Horace says, and they can learn from their own art to delight, and they can't learn how to instruct unless they study philosophy or theology or politics. (Frye 1990: 7)

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(Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

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