Journal of English Studies

volume 9

2011

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES • Logroño • v. 9 (2011) • 291 págs. • ISSN 1576-6357

UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES

Volume 9 (2011)
ISSN 1576-6357

***JES* is published and distributed by:**

Universidad de La Rioja - Servicio de Publicaciones
Calle Piscinas, s/n
26004 LOGROÑO (España)
Tel.: (+34) 941 299 187 Fax: (+34) 941 299 193
E-mail: publicaciones@unirioja.es
http://publicaciones.unirioja.es

***JES* is available electronically at:**

http://publicaciones.unirioja.es/ej/jes/jes.shtml

Exchange issues should be sent to:

Biblioteca Universitaria - Hemeroteca
Universidad de La Rioja
Calle Piscinas, s/n
26004 LOGROÑO (España)

Subscription rates:

Spain: 15.00 € Other countries: 18.00 €

Old issues:

Spain: 12.00 € Other countries: 15.00 €

Journal of English Studies is published once a year. JES has reached a formal agreement with EBSCO Casias, Inc. (doing business as EBSCO Publishing) and the Gale Group.

Journal of English Studies is currently indexed in the following international databases and directories:

- A Bibliography of Literary Theory, Criticism and Philology
- Annual Bibliography of English Languaje and Literature (ABELL)
- Bibliography of European Journals for English Studies (BEJES), published by the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE)
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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME 9 (2011)
ISSN 1576-6357

UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA
Servicio de Publicaciones
LOGROÑO (España)

***Journal of English Studies* /**
Universidad de La Rioja, Servicio de Publicaciones . —
Vol. 9 (2011)- .— Logroño : Universidad de La Rioja,
Servicio de Publicaciones, 2011 .— v.; 24 cm
Anual
ISSN: 1576-6357
1. Lengua inglesa I. Universidad de La Rioja, Servicio de Publicaciones
811.111

Edita: Universidad de La Rioja.
Realiza: Servicio de Publicaciones
Logroño 2011
ISSN: 1576-6357
Depósito Legal: LR.382-1999
Imprime: Compobell, S.L.
Impreso en España - *Printed in Spain*

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CARMELO CUNCHILLOS JAIME (IN MEMORIAM)

The poster and photos that follow correspond to an act in memoriam of Professor Carmelo Cunchillos Jaime. This tribute took place at the University of La Rioja last 25 March 2011, one year after he left us. A tree in his honour at the same place where he used to park his car was planted. After the planting of the tree, various speeches were given and several photos and videos were shown. Finally, a reception by the Department of Modern Languages was hosted. The whole act attempted to remember Carmelo, the caring teacher, the thorough academic and the lovable man.

The Editor

Photo 1. By José Díaz-Cuesta.

Photo 2. By Servicio de Comunicación (University of La Rioja).

Photo 3. By Servicio de Comunicación (University of La Rioja).

Carmelo Cunchillos
memoria, presencia, emoción

Viernes 25 de marzo de 2011
Edificio de Filología Universidad de La Rioja
17.00 h Plantación de un árbol
18.00 h Acto en recuerdo del profesor Cunchillos
19.30 h Vino

ORGANIZA

UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA

Departamento
de Filologías Modernas

Imagen: Croma Fotógrafos

Poster. By Servicio de Comunicación (University of La Rioja).

Journal of English Studies,
vol. 9 (2011) 9-11

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 13-28

THE WOMAN THAT TURNED INTO A BALL OF FIRE AND WHIPPED ACROSS THE SKY AT NIGHT: RECREATING HISTORY AND MEMORY IN THE DIASPORA

María Alonso Alonso*
University of Vigo

ABSTRACT. *This paper is focused on interpreting the way in which writers belonging to the Caribbean Diaspora use folklore to investigate concepts like 'time', 'space' and 'history' in their ancestors' culture which nowadays appears foreign to a them due to the transterritorialisation that they suffer. David Chariandy's* Soucouyant *(2007) –among others– will be carefully analysed as an example of novel that uses a folkloric female figure to revise and rewrite the history of colonial and postcolonial women that were persecuted and discriminated against in their countries of origin due to gender and class prejudices. The result of this study suggests that, as Chariandy (2006) indicates, this community has developed tactics to transform even the most traumatic diasporic experiences into instruments of research on, in Umberto Eco's words, "a past that if it cannot be destroyed, at least it is necessary to revisit it without naivety." (Villanueva and Viña-Liste 1991: 36).*

Keywords: Diaspora, folklore, transculturation and neo-culturation, cultural fictions and stories of cultural haunting.

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LA MUJER QUE SE CONVERTÍA EN BOLA DE FUEGO Y RECORRÍA A TODA VELOCIDAD EL CIELO POR LA NOCHE: RECREAR LA HISTORIA Y LOS RECUERDOS EN LA DIÁSPORA

RESUMEN. *Este trabajo se centra en ofrecer una interpretación de la forma en la que escritores/as pertenecientes a la diáspora caribeña utilizan el folclore para investigar conceptos como 'tiempo', 'espacio' e 'historia' en la cultura de sus antepasados ya que ésta se manifiesta como foránea dada la transterritorialización que sufren.* Soucouyant *(2007) –entre otras–, de David Chariandy, será cuidadosamente analizada como ejemplo de novela en la que se utiliza una figura folclórica femenina para revisar y reescribir la historia de mujeres en contextos coloniales y poscoloniales que fueron perseguidas y discriminadas en sus países de origen por causa de prejuicios de género y clase. El resultado de este estudio sugiere que, como Chariandy (2006) indica, esta comunidad ha desarrollado tácticas para transformar incluso las experiencias diaspóricas más traumáticas en instrumentos de búsqueda de, en palabras de Umberto Eco, "un pasado que si no puede ser destruido, al menos es necesario revisarlo sin ingenuidad." (Villanueva y Viña-Liste 1991: 36).*

Palabras clave: Diáspora, folclore, transculturación y neo-culturación, ficciones culturales e historias de obsesiones culturales.

Received 25 April 2010
Revised version accepted 11 March 2011

As Derek Walcott once said: "amnesia is the true history of the New World" (Burnet 2000: 81). In postcolonial terms, this means that narratives are interspersed with and rely heavily upon the use of historical flashbacks, which sometimes imply the remembrance of a painful episode that has been repressed or has been manipulated and needs to be reinterpreted. Thus, personal evocation acquires a symbolic dimension where time evolves from a past that survives *in illo tempore* through folklore. Alternatively, the time represented by historical evocation is connected with official records; however, it is important to take into consideration the perspective from which a text is narrated. In the mythic awareness of postcolonial and diasporic communities, time does flow consistently due to what Ortíz (2002) called Western semi a-culturation of indigenous communities, also known as *transculturation*. Accordingly, this term refers to the different stages of the process of passing from one culture to another, but this does not imply a severe a-culturation in the strict sense of the word. It rather makes reference to the creation of new cultural implications that Ortíz names as *neo-culturation* (134). As will be seen, history is usually a fluid mental continuum that changes from one historical period to the next, which might assist a community to create its own distinct spaces depending on the lights and shadows that they want to highlight for

their own benefit. Therefore, historiography is revealed through literature as a tool for discovering what has been hidden by previous generations. Moreover, folklore constitutes an element to preserve the intangible identity of a community. In a postcolonial context, magic and folklore represent transgression, irreverence and defiance to the colonial influence and the imposed literary models. Consequently, the use of folklore in literature might be regarded as an attempt to recover the stolen cultural legacy, to claim an independent identity and to denounce historical abuse. This is the reason why this article aims to analyse the way in which writers belonging to the Caribbean Diaspora use folklore as a tool to investigate their past. This is done in order to reconcile themselves with a history that in many cases haunts them due to the forced silences imposed by the previous generations who tried to forget or hide certain traumatic experiences that marked their exile.

As a matter of fact, authors of cultural fictions have to deal with constant "changing meanings in which seemingly distinct human cultures encounter one another's 'otherness' – in conditions of profound inequality" (Kolodny 1992: 13). Kolodny talks about inequality in this case because the dialogue existing between these two cultures takes place in the territory of a specific one and, therefore, relegating the other to a secondary place. Despite this, the concurrence of the host-culture and the diasporic-culture is inevitable and, using Shapiro's words, "the encounter between two subjects is not between two 'I's, but two 'we's, and each 'we' is a narrative construction" (1997: 194).

This article will be primarily divided into two main parts. Firstly, the novels of Mootoo and D'Aguiar will be analysed to illustrate the way in which the figure of the *soucouyant* is connected with the representation of marginal women in certain contexts. Secondly, the work of Chariandy seems to go one step further and articulates the main plot around the myth of the *soucouyant* to investigate the implications of time and history in second generation immigrant writing through the use of folklore. But before focusing on the texts which will be analysed in this paper, it is necessary to iterate some of the reasons to choose these works. *Cereus Blooms at Night* (1996) is the first novel written by Caribbean-Canadian Shani Mootoo and tells the story of an old lady who is living in an unknown island which has many reminiscences with the Caribbean due to the vegetation and the weather, although the location of the story is deliberately left ambiguous. In this case, the main protagonist of the novel is considered to be a *soucouyant* by the whole community, which marks her borderline position in society but, as will be seen, there are a series of factors that mark her consignment to alienation that are directly connected with her labelling as a *soucouyant*. Another example of borderline character connected with the figure of the *soucouyant* is one of the characters in English-Guyanese Fred D'Aguiar's *Dear Future* (1996). In this case, the folkloric element of the novel is directly connected with the figure of a

witch doctor, which is also something very significant to take into consideration in this study regarding the marginal representation of women under the shape of fantastic characters. But the novel that, without a doubt, will be the focus of this paper is Trinidadian-Canadian David Chariandy's *Soucouyant* (2007). This novel will serve to analyse and probe that folklore is used in many cases to dig and investigate into historic and familial traumas through literature. *Soucouyant* is a good example not only to exemplify the way in which Caribbean folklore is reinterpreted in diasporic and postcolonial terms, but also to show the way in which cultural haunting might assist second generation immigrant writers to revise certain historic episodes in their family that have been deliberately silenced in order to make trauma disappear.

Mythographically speaking, a *soucouyant* is a Caribbean folkloric figure that seems to appear frequently recurrent in diasporic writing. It usually represents marginal women as it is commonly considered to be a female who looks like an old person and lives an apparently ordinary life in the outskirts of a city or village. But at nights, this woman turns into a ball of fire and travels across the sky to suck the blood of her victims while they sleep. It is supposed that the best way to identify a *soucouyant* is to look for an old neighbour that appears the next morning with bruises all over her body as if she had been beaten up the night before.

In diasporic literature, the figure of the *soucouyant* normally emerges in relation to women that carry some kind of cultural or familial burden. This misfortune usually reduces them to being alienated characters, rejected by society and pushed into the background. In many cases, we find examples of this social repudiation under the shape of rumours that work in many cases as the carrier of prejudices against marginal women from generation to generation. In most cases, the line that separates rumours from facts is extremely thin and this turns gossip into something actually occurring in a realistic context. This is, for example, the case of Shani Mootoo's *Cereus Blooms at Night* in which Mala, the female protagonist of the novel, is considered to be a *soucouyant* by the locals. References to her figure, as will be seen, are used by parents to prevent children from doing certain things. These kinds of elements seem to exist in most cultures in order to make children fear to do things such as going out at night alone or staying up until too late. This is probably the reason why in different cultures we find figures such as the Galician *Tártaro*, the Spanish *Coco* or the English *Bogeyman*. In this particular case, a *soucouyant* could be considered as the female version of her European male counterparts, which is quite significant in terms of gender characterisation.

In Mootoo's novel, Mala is subjected to a cruel social discrimination during all her life due to the terrible situation she experiences at home. This situation is known and accepted by the villagers who do nothing during Mala's childhood

to prevent her father committing incest with her. As it usually happens, marginal women who are rejected by society are, in many cases, victims of the indifference of those around them and do absolutely anything to prevent certain situations. In the case of *Cereus Blooms at Night*, the reader is presented with Mala's traumatic childhood from the outset. The narrator introduces the sexual abuse that the protagonist suffers from her father very early in the novel through constant flashbacks. This has the effect of shifting the context from the present, where Mala is a very old woman living in a geriatric hospital, right back to her childhood. Through these flashbacks the reader discovers her family history and, above all, that she is the victim of her father's terrible sexual assaults from a very early age; something that the whole village knew but did not prevent. The social response to child abuse in this case is marginality. Mala is consigned to oblivion which favours her otherness and her labelling as a *soucouyant* who, according to rumours that exist in the village, whips across the sky at night to "track an offending child into its hiding place and tear out its mind" (*Cereus*: 113).

In other cases like in Fred D'Aguiar's *Dear Future*, the figure of the *soucouyant* also seems consistent but in this case it is used to refer to a witch doctor. Like in Carpentier's novel *El reino de este mundo*, published for the first time in 1949, the African-Caribbean magical view of the world is represented here in a folkloric manner through the spiritual superiority of the quack. In *El reino de este mundo*, it was Maman Loi who bridged the gap between the supernatural and the physical; in *Dear Future*, Miss Metage is the one who serves this purpose when she is visited after official medicine failed to cure Red Head from a terrible accident that he suffered and which gave him "his name and visionary capacity" (*Dear*: 3). Rumours, once again, work as a carrier of culture because even though Miss Metage is socially respected as she is the witch doctor of the village, she also has to carry the stigma of being considered a woman who "flew on a broom and turned into a ball of fire in order to get through keyholes to babies' cots" (*Dear*: 28). She also lives in the edge of the village and, even though she is appreciated due to her spiritual superiority, her condition as a witch doctor makes her marginal. Actually, considering that the previous quotation is uttered by Red Head, who is the child protagonist of the novel, this rumour might also be a sign of the ambivalent process to which Miss Metage is being subjected to the extent that she is identified with a *soucouyant*.

After this brief introduction around the figure of the *soucouyant* in the previously mentioned Caribbean diasporic texts, this paper will focus on a specific novel that perfectly illustrates the way in which folklore serves to recreate history and memory in the Diaspora. *Soucouyant* is the first novel written by Caribbean-Canadian David Chariandy. The story is set in Toronto and narrates the return home of a son who has to look after his mother who suffers from dementia and who

involuntarily starts revealing the family's disturbing history. The magical element of the novel appears very early in the narration when Adele, the protagonist's mother, assures her son that she met a *soucouyant* in real life when she was living in Trinidad, her country of origin. It is at this point when the two levels of the narration – the public and the private – intermingle by using constant flashbacks from the time of the narration in Canada to the time of the main story plot in Trinidad. Thus, the official history of Trinidad that is constantly recalled represents the public, whereas the family history that is slowly reconstructed by the son represents the private. Even though these two levels seem independent, there is a close connection between them because public or official history is constructed sometimes by the omission of private or unofficial histories of suffering peoples. Indeed, Chariandy (2008) himself considers that it is necessary to rethink what the past means to discover what has been omitted from the official records. This is even more important in the case of diasporic communities due to the detachment and dislocation from cultural referents experienced by immigrants.

The two levels of narration previously referred also correspond with two of the main concepts of the novel: history and memory. In *Soucouyant*, the official Trinidadian and the non-official family histories are built through fragmented evocations of personal experiences. If the narrator is able to reconstruct Trinidadian history around the figure of the *soucouyant* this is because Adele suffers from a neurological illness that affects memory. Dementia in this case is the catalyst to explore the fragility of cultural memory. As a matter of fact, forgetting is in many cases a strategy used to silence personal experiences of abuse and violence. Therefore, Adele's control to keep her painful past silenced vanishes due to the fact that she suffers from dementia and it is then when she starts revealing all the memories that she has been keeping in her subconscious. Actually, forgetting is a common procedure that people used to get on with life without having to remember all the painful, embarrassing or traumatic experiences that they have had during all their life. This is exactly what happens in many diasporic communities. Diaspora is usually linked to extreme living conditions where escaping, emigration or exile becomes the only way of survival and this is why all these stories are silenced in many cases by those who suffered them.

In *Soucouyant*, Adele represents this diasporic painful experience. Her forgetting-to-forget helps her son to construct the family history from the small details that she reveals. The novel succeeds in showing this process of reconstruction as fragmented and slow where, once more, the mother, a female figure, is the carrier of the family history. This reconstruction takes place through Adele's son, who is the one that gives form to all the sketches that he recollects from what his mother says concerning her encounter with a *soucouyant*. Moreover, this reconstruction goes from present to past, or what is the same, from Adele's son own experiences

in Canada, to his mother's experiences between two countries and two cultures of encounter, and ending with his grandmother's in Trinidad.

As this paper stated from the outset, folklore and mythography are research instruments used by some diasporic writers, especially second generation immigrant writers, to investigate into the history of their countries of origin. The figure of the *soucouyant* in general is an intrinsic part of Caribbean folklore but for the main protagonist in Chariandy's novel, it is a foreign word that haunts him. Accordingly, a *soucouyant* could be considered as the representation of the protagonist's Caribbean legacy that happens to be unrelated to him because it does not represent him anymore. This is why he needs to interpret the supernatural phenomenon that his mother talks about in rational terms. Apparently, the protagonist of *Soucouyant* has to confront his own rational code when this is directly challenged through his perception of the supernatural that his mother describes when she talks about her encounter with a *soucouyant*. In this case, the materialisation of the marvellous dimension of the Caribbean for the protagonist is nothing but the confrontation between his mother's faith-based view of the world and his own interpretation of that code. In a Caribbean context, the existence of *soucouyants* is not questioned by the locals because it is an intrinsic element of their everyday life. What is more, a *soucouyant* for a Caribbean person is not even a folkloric superstition but part of their cultural reality. Notwithstanding this, the same experience agitates Western rationalism because it challenges this system of belief, which is exactly what happens to Adele's son when he questions his mother's encounter with a *soucouyant*. Therefore the *soucouyant* in the novel is not only a myth belonging to the Caribbean folklore but it stands out as the representation of Caribbean culture and history in a public level, as well as the protagonist's family past experiences in a private level. Both levels under the shape of this mythical figure appear to be completely mysterious and exotic for the protagonist due to the detachment that he suffers from his culture of origin and from his own family.

According to what has been previously said, folklore in this case is the tool that the narrator uses to investigate into the protagonist's history. Since Adele's son is the focaliser of the narration, the reconstruction of the public historical level starts from the protagonist's nearest present to the further past. Canada is used in the novel to exemplify the migratory movements that characterised the last decades of the 20th century. First, the narrator seems to follow the official version offered by the Canadian government:

> Canada relies, as it has throughout its history, on immigrant labour not just to expand but to continue to exist. Immigrants are at the heart of its cultural and economic identity. Multiculturalism does not deny that immigration remains the flow of labour to capital, and not the flow of idealists to an idea [...] Multiculturalism in Canada posits a plurality of origin, of heritage, and of contribution, and if its

> disadvantage has been the persistence of an Anglo-Canadian central referent, its advantage has been a level of dignity for migrant labour unmatched by any other immigrant nation. (*Soucouyant*: 133)

But as the protagonist starts digging into his family past, he discovers how Canada, as an example of multicultural country, has not been as idyllic as official reports want to show. This is the point in which Adele's arrival in the country to work as a domestic manifests as the first traumatic point of friction in her silenced history. Racism in Canada is obviously not a new phenomenon and white-only signs were actually common even during the last century. Soon after she arrived in the country, Adele encountered one of her most disturbing moments when she entered a white-only shop to buy a meringue pie which she always aspired to purchase when she passed by a restaurant and saw displayed "many desserts and often a lusciously tall lemon meringue pie" (*Soucouyant*: 49). Adele had always been fascinated by the word 'meringue' after reading it in magazines and hearing it in movies and on the radio. Unfortunately for her, she had never been able to taste that "fluffy sweetness as exotic [for her] as snow" (*Soucouyant*: 49). The exotic was what the meringue pie represented for Adele: the exoticness of being in Canada, a foreign country. But one day, she was able to gather the courage that entering a restaurant with a white-only sign on the entrance required and decided to buy one of those pies. Consequently, as soon as the bells on the door of the restaurant announced her entrance, Adele, as a black woman in Canada, was immediately racialised and labelled as the *other* due to her skin colour:

> 'Look what just walked in', a voice says.
> Nobody comes to seat her. She's not sure what to do, and so she moves toward an empty table. She sits down and still nobody comes. Finally, a man with salt-and-pepper hair and a nice white shirt slides into the seat. He asks if she wants to fuck. He asks again, and she hears but doesn't hear, and she looks around again [...] The man leaves and another man approaches. He's the owner and he softly explains that this is a family restaurant and that no coloured or prostitutes are allowed to eat here. (*Soucouyant*: 49)

"Coloured" and "prostitutes" are given the same status and clearly segregated from what the owner considers appropriate for a family restaurant. But, continuing with the narrator's dismantling of the Canadian official discourse of the nation as being an example of inclusive policy in which several different cultures coexist in harmony, the novel even dares to question the very existence of Canada as a nation. Accordingly, one of the most interesting points in the novel is the destruction of the foundational myth. Many countries embellish their history to give it a mythological aura that will symbolise splendidly their constitutional make up as a nation. But it should also be borne in mind that history implies a high

degree of subjectivity due to its constant selection and manipulation. To keep this mythological aspect of history, the cruellest accounts are usually silenced. *Soucouyant* contests the Canadian official foundational myth by exposing the injustices over which the nation was created. This is possible thanks to the figure of Miss Cameron who explains to the protagonist that Canada was founded mainly after stealing the land from the First Nations:

> I learned about the 'Toronto Purchase' of land from three Mississauga chiefs in 1787, but also how no document describing a neighbouring 'Scarborough Purchase' has ever come to light. I mostly learned about our community of Port Junction, which was established early in the 1800s when several United Empire Loyalists migrated up from the US to set up the first farming settlements to the east of the fledgling town. (*Soucouyant*: 103)

Once the protagonist fragmentally reconstructs the history of Canada, his homeland, by questioning the official version that the government offers in its records, the narrator goes further by focusing on Adele in order to follow this same process with Trinidadian history, which in this case will be recalled through the protagonist's family history. It is in this part that the two levels of narration clearly intermingle into a single one where the private, in this case, serves to represent the public. Therefore, Adele's family history stands out to illustrate Trinidadian official history. Once again, in this fragmented part of the narration, the storyline is centred on the figure of the *soucouyant* who represents in the novel the very essence of Trinidadian cultural legacy since, as it has already been mentioned, it symbolises the protagonist's haunting past.

In the public domain, Trinidadian history is presented through the colonisation, exploitation and abuse of the island and its inhabitants. Miss Cameron is once again the catalyst for the protagonist's curiosity about the country where his mother and grandmother were born. He learns from official documents that Trinidad was an extremely important colony for the British Empire from an economic point of view due to the richness of its territory that included the production of sugar, coffee and, above all, oil which represented "three-quarters of the oil for the entire British Empire" (*Soucouyant*: 106) around 1917. But Trinidad was also amazingly seductive for many nations due to its importance as a strategic military point in the Caribbean. This is probably the main reason why during the Second World War the Americans took advantage of European instability and established their military base in the island.

Regarding the official version of history, the novel directly questions the validity of this discourse by presenting two versions of the same story that recreate the construction of the North American military base in Trinidad. The fact that there are two sides of the same coin, one official and the other silenced, implies

a high degree of manipulation in which obscure episodes in history are not only hidden but also negated:

> These historians and activists also would point out that a significant number of the blacks and South Asians who were expelled from Chaguaramas during the constructions of the base were never properly compensated. Many state workers were forced to abandon their livelihoods and homes for desperately needed pittances, and a great many, in fact, received no more compensation than one-way transportation to 'approved' sites such as the struggling fishing village of Carenage. [...] But other historians would offer what they described as a more 'balanced' perspective on these events. After all, the world was at war, and proper measures needed to be taken, even if this meant inconveniencing a few illiterates who, most likely, would not have grasped the severity of the situation, had it been explained to them. And in any event, the American presence appeared to offer genuine benefits to at least some of the local inhabitants. Those eking out a meagre living on struggling plantations had the chance to earn Yankee dollars as road workers, maids, and latrine differs. (*Soucouyant*: 178-179)

Violence and abuse mark the presence of foreign control in the island all the way from its recent past to its early history. The two islands of Trinidad and Tobago, as many other islands in the Caribbean, were colonised firstly by the Spaniards who decimated the Arawak population that inhabited the land. Once the Spanish lost interest in these islands, other foreign nations took control and installed a plantation system through which thousands of African slaves arrived to work in the fields. After the abolition of the slave trade and the massive migration of the black population, Chinese, Portuguese and East Indians entered the islands as workforce. Finally, the gradual independence of Trinidad and Tobago was achieved starting in the 1930s after the establishment of the US military bases in Chaguaramas and Cumuto, an episode extremely important in *Soucouyant*, and ending with the declaration of independence from the United Kingdom in 1962. But it was in the 1980s when the main mass migration movements to Canada and the US followed the Black Power riots that emerged from a high social and political instability caused by the oil bust and the North American military interventionism.

As Varela (1996: 253-268) points out in her work on the aesthetic implications of magical realism, the reconstruction of the past through history implies a strong need of returning and all the accounts that the narrator brings back to the present acquire a mythical magnitude. Varela talks about mythical magnitude in relation to the function of folklore which, according to her, is transformed through memories moving its perception from sensorial to mythical. In order to do this, it is necessary to merge the past into the present and, thus, the concept of time vanishes and the past is then transformed into a mythical present through memory. Hence, this return *ad originem* represents a new dimension for the

existence of Adele's son in which the recreation of historical accounts transforms the present.

The evocation of the furthest past is constructed in *Soucouyant* through evocations of family history. Therefore, this part of the essay is going to leave aside the public level mentioned in previous paragraphs where Trinidadian official history is revisited by the protagonist in order to focus on the private level of the narration that will serve to fill in historical gaps and to give voice to the silenced particular stories of Trinidadians. It is in this section where Adele's dementia plays a fundamental role due to the fact that her forgetting-to-forget is the catalyst for the fragmented recount of her traumatic experiences. From the first stages of her mental deterioration, before it becomes severe, Adele starts giving some hints about her encounter with a *soucouyant*. These experiences help the narrator to construct the protagonist's family history back in Trinidad, where this encounter took place.

Regarding the relation that exists between cultural fictions and national identity, there seems to be an agreement among critics in highlighting the strong connection that exists between mythography and folklore, as well as between these and patriotism or national identity (Gennep 1982, Kirk 1985, Coupe 1997, Neeson 1998). This is why myths and folklore are in many cases considered as the sediment of the imagery of a community that developed from ancient received truths and beliefs. Generally speaking, the main role of myths and legends in a community is to give answers to natural, social and biological phenomena. Actually social imagination plays a really important role in the creation and transmission of folkloric elements. This idea was already developed by Ricoeur who considered that "imagination may function to preserve an order [although it] may have a disruptive function" (Coupe 1997: 96). He considered that the function of imagination to preserve an order in society is represented by the ideology of a group, which is directly connected with national identity. Indeed, some of the most determinant factors that favoured the constitution and transmission of myths and legends is chauvinism at national, local or even familial levels. This is probably the reason for the increasing interest in studying folkloric elements in different communities during the 19th century. Gennep (1982: 8) puts the onus on the political content of folklore and on the contribution of myths and legends on the building of national identities. Folklore nowadays is one of the main tools that a community has in order to reinterpret their mythic cultural and national past by means of their historical present which, paradoxically and as Bhabha highlights, "destroys the constant principles of the national culture that attempts to hark back to a 'true' national past" (1990: 303). This reinterpretation might imply a high degree of selection and manipulation done in order to accommodate a national past that sometimes might not correspond with the image that is aimed to offer

in the present. When the construction of a specific national culture is achieved after ignoring or consciously hiding the violence that was required to found that community as a nation, the evocation of those selected episodes by a group of people (second generation immigrant writers in this case) challenges the official historical version of certain dominant cultures.

Past and present are, therefore, constantly related in the legendary imagery of a community. Mnemotecnia serves as the instrument to formulate legends that will recover the past through collective and individual memory. Myths and legends link the general with the particular because, obviously, these are two connected concepts. Particular experiences are the result of general circumstances, and general experiences are made up from small particular accounts. Magical realism and marvellous realism are, in this case, the vehicles of connection between past and present in literature to bring together the folkloric inheritance of a community.

In relation to the magical dimension of the *soucouyant* in the novel, it should be emphasised that the first time Adele mentions this folkloric figure is through indirect references such as the following: "'Chaguaramas', she explained. 'She loss she skin at the military base in Chaguaramas. She wore a dress of fire before it go ruin her'" (*Soucouyant*: 24). Adele's early memories from when she was just a child come back to the present from her subconscious. She recalls the vision of this female figure that, as is suggested, had an accident in which her dress burnt causing severe injuries in her body. But this is just the beginning. For Adele, as for her son, the *soucouyant* represents their haunting past. Thanks to the oral transmission that is going to take place in the text, her family history does not fall into oblivion; actually, if Adele did not reveal these memories, these experiences that haunt the family members would vanish with her death and would never be recovered.

From the middle of the novel onwards, the narration clearly focuses on interpreting Caribbean folklore in the Diaspora by using a marvellous realistic literary technique. Adele's son hardly pays attention to what his mother says about her encounter with a *soucouyant*. It is from the moment in which the protagonist starts feeling interested in Trinidadian history that he starts listening to what his mother says and tries to put two and two together.

Soucouyant as an example of a return *ad originem* novel succeeds in presenting and questioning the image of Canada and Trinidad as multicultural nations. This representation, as already explained, is made from mixing the public and private levels of historical accounts in the novel. It is interesting to note the fact that the public level that is illustrated through official history symbolises the written legacy of a community (that in most cases must be questioned due to the high degree of manipulation that history implies); contrarily to this, the private level is represented in many cases by the intangible oral heritage that most communities have and

which is here constructed through folklore. This novel, as many other diasporic writing, involves a mixture between textual and social analysis which illustrates the importance of immigrant peoples in establishing what Bhabha (1990) called the nation-space. This idea of identity draws attention to some of the hidden and silenced traumatic consequences of postcolonial past and forced migration in the delimitation of a physical and imaginary representation of that nation-space. For Hall (1995), second and third generation immigrants have an extremely important role in the process of identity building because for him identity is not in the past to be found, but in the future to be constructed. What Hall implies with this statement is that people should not interpret identity as draconian but as a process that is in continuous formation. Therefore, the past should indeed be revisited but without disregarding the importance of the present moment and the future in the interpretation of a community's identity.

Finally, in relation with the historical connection that has existed between Trinidad and Canada, Harley (1996) offers an excellent study on the importance of culture in the construction of identity in the Diaspora. First of all, he questions the assimilation of the Caribbean as a single region commenting that, even though there are obvious historical and cultural links, the national interests that differentiate the Spanish, French and English speaking regions are quite significant. Regarding Trinidad, it seems that *Soucouyant* succeeds on representing this multicultural dimension of both topographical references in the text. Accordingly, as Harley notes, Trinidad has always been a cosmopolitan island with a rich artistic outpouring. Still, ethnicity in Trinidad and also in most parts of the Caribbean, as Fischer states, is a concept which is continuously being rediscovered and reinvented as it is a "process of assuming an ethnic identity [through] a pluralistic, multidimensional, or multifaceted concept of self: one can be many different things, and this personal sense can be a crucible for a wider social ethos of pluralism" (Harley 1996: 121). But, unfortunately, this is not always as ideal as Fischer theorises. In *Soucouyant* there is a clear example of race and class lack of solidarity where not even race and national identity serve to maintain this positive attitude towards fellowship. This example of cultural incoherence is embodied in Mrs. Christopher who is an occasional character in the novel but who represents this sense of lack of social affinity. The first time she appears in the text is as an ambivalent character; at a first moment, she seems to care for Adele's welfare, but at the same time, Adele reacts suspiciously towards her: "'Now that woman ... that older woman there. She frighten me quite a bit'" (*Soucouyant*: 87). Soon after, the narrator includes in the text some bits of this character's past. She went to Canada for the same reasons as Adele's, to work as a domestic. Mrs. Christopher and Adele were friends before they received their landed status, that is to say, before they were legal immigrants. They planned a trip to the mountain to see the snow, which

is a fascinating phenomenon for a Caribbean person, but something happened during that excursion; something that the protagonist's mother never revealed but something painful enough to forget or hide from the others. After Adele's death, Mrs. Christopher does not show any empathy towards the situation which Adele's son finds himself, despite the difficulties that both women suffered due to their immigrant status in Canada. It is even to the point that Mrs. Christopher asks Adele's son for economic compensation for having looked after her friend when Adele was living alone.

Summing up, Chariandy's intention with his first novel, according to his own words, was to illustrate the cultural problematic that second generation immigrant writers have to deal with. A strong sense of disaffection and unsuitability saturate this kind of literature with a constant presence of ghosts and haunting creatures that come from another world to threaten them. He considers that this haunting is directly linked to second generation immigrant writers' ethnic legacy that enters into confrontation with their Western scepticism. Forgetting offers to first generation immigrants a relief because history is often a cruel nightmare. Therefore, forgetting represents an urgent need to come into terms with daily life. Actually, Chariandy insisted on the danger of forgetting the dramatic consequences of colonialism in so many places. Adele has in *Soucouyant* a painful story of her own past that wants to hide to her siblings and for this reason she tries to forget that traumatic past but the irony is that her dementia constitutes her process of forgetting-to-forget and, thus, she starts revealing all those repressed and suppressed memories. Chariandy also commented on the fact that, despite the reflection of second generation immigrants' ethics, their parents' past haunts them due to the everlasting silences and gaps left in history. First generation immigrants in many cases want to tell romanticised stories about their homeland but the next generations do not want to hear that. It is when the story of the past has not been told adequately that ghosts appear. The author also considers that when someone is forgetting stories of the past, someone else has to remember them; otherwise these accounts would eventually disappear. This is exactly what happens in *Soucouyant*, where the protagonist represents the importance of oral tradition or storytelling for the preservation of history. This is why second and third generation immigrants have to revisit and reinterpret what their parents keep hidden in their subconscious. Their role in their society is incredibly important from an anthropological point of view and that is why cultural fictions, as in this case, serve to preserve past and history by their reinterpretation in the Diaspora.

In *Soucouyant*, as well as in *Cereus Blooms at Night* and in *Dear Future*, the marvellous realistic atmosphere created through the figure of the *soucouyant* is the instrument that the narrators use to explore and transgress boundaries, as Zamora and Faris point out, "whether the boundaries are ontological, political,

geographical or generic" (1995: 5). Folklore here represents what Brogan (1998) refers to as "stories of cultural haunting", where the myth is "an enigmatic transitional figure moving between past and present, death and life, one culture and another (6). In Chariandy's and Mootoo's works, the *soucouyant* is a cultural figure that haunts the protagonists in order to survive, otherwise the family horror would fall in oblivion with the death of the matriarch who is the last person in the family saga who knows the true story of their past.

ACKNOWLEGMENTS

With the support of the European Social Fund and the General Secretariat of Universities of the Department of Education of the Galician Autonomic Government (Xunta de Galicia).

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 29-54

APHORISMS AND PHILOSOPHY: CONTEXTUALIZING APHORISTIC TEXTS - ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT SUBJECT-MATTER

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ABSTRACT. *This article analyses two current beliefs about the subject matter and the text-context relation of aphorisms. It is a commonly claimed that aphorisms are philosophical texts and that aphorisms are texts that function in isolation from any context. My hypothesis is that, instead of being descriptions of textual features, these beliefs act as conventions that prepare the field of reference for contextualizing texts and thus trigger a proper generic reading for certain kinds of aphoristic text. By helping to demystify some of the technical means of aphoristic writing (whose results are frequently described as concentrated or distilled wisdom), this hypothesis will highlight the importance of allusiveness for the current mainstream of aphorisms,. From the perspective of this article, aphorisms appear more as certain kinds of textual parasites, feeding off 'contextual wisdom', rather than being philosophical pills from the "wisdom of the ages".*

Keywords: Philosophy, literature, genre theory, cultural studies, aphorisms.

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AFORISMOS Y FILOSOFÍA: CONTEXTUALIZANDO TEXTOS AFORÍSTICOS: PRESUPUESTOS SOBRE TÓPICO-CONTENIDO

RESUMEN. *En este artículo se analizan un par de creencias actuales sobre tópico-contenido y sobre la relación texto-contexto del género aforístico. Es muy común creer que los aforismos son textos filosóficos y que son textos que funcionan aislados del contexto. Mi hipótesis es que éstas creencias no describen rasgos textuales, sino que son creencias que actúan como convenciones para preparar la contextualización de los textos y que predisponen a una lectura genéricamente apropiada de ciertos tipos de aforismos. Esta hipótesis resaltará la importancia de la alusión para el tipo más común de aforismo, desmitificando los medios técnicos de la escritura aforística (cuyos resultados son frecuentemente descritos como sabiduría destilada o concentrada). Desde la perspectiva de este artículo, el aforismo aparece más como cierto tipo de parásito de la 'sabiduría contextual', que como una píldora filosófica de la "sabiduría de los tiempos".*

Palabras clave: Filosofía, literatura, teoría de los géneros, estudios culturales, aforismos.

Received 6 September 2010
Revised version accepted 18 April 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

The popularity of some features of aphorisms (such as a "philosophical" content) causes them to be mistaken as objective attributes of the genre. As aphorisms have been used by lawyers and, since Hippocrates, by medical doctors to fulfil communicational needs of their professional practices, one can argue that different groups of users of the genre utilize it in their own particular ways –with their own particular uses and conventions. In this context, one could simply believe that new historical uses of the generic codes should enrich the genre by adding more variations to its functions. However, the continuity of all functions cannot be taken for granted. On the contrary, it can be expected that some uses will become more popular than others at different times in the history of the genre - the existence of generic functions may depend on the needs of its historic groups of users. In other words, the current popularity of some features over other features is but an historical development of the aphoristic genre and we should avoid generalising current characteristics to the whole group of existing aphoristic texts.

This article examines two current common assumptions about aphorisms: *aphorisms are philosophical* and *they are texts that exist before or without context*. I will argue that such assumptions are, actually, conventions that help to decode the most popular type of aphoristic texts and have determined our current way

of thinking about the genre. I will also propose that these assumptions suggest a specific aphoristic text-context relation and that such a relation implies the importance of certain technical aspects of the aphoristic craft, over commonly held assumptions about aphoristic content.

2. SOME CURRENT BELIEFS ABOUT APHORISMS: INHERENT CONTENT AND ABSENCE OF CONTEXT

In July 2010, a general search for books of aphorisms on the website of Waterstone's Booksellers Limited produced 222 entries.[1] Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* aside, less than ten percent of the results of the search (fourteen entries) were not related to philosophical or literary matters. Twelve of those books related to medical issues and more than ninety percent of the entries could be classified within literature (mostly poetry), philosophy or, so called, (moral) wisdom.

This panorama tallies with what can be seen in anthologies of aphoristic texts. A review of collections by Gross, Auden and Kronenberg or L. P. Smith shows texts by authors such as Shakespeare, Montaigne, Goethe, Hobbes, Emerson, Gracián, Bacon, Joubert, Valéry, Blake, Kafka, Kant, Nietzsche, Plato, Dostoevsky, Schopenhauer, Milton, Epicurus, Cervantes, Buber, Tolstoy, Jonson, Voltaire, Saint Augustine, Lichtenberg, Ortega y Gasset, Krauss, Santayana, Lec, Cioran and so on. Few scientists can be found among the quoted authors: in L. P. Smith's anthology there are none and in Auden's collection we can locate three - if one counts in the same category as Pasteur, thinkers such as Galen and Leonardo da Vinci. However, in Galen and Leonardo's case, the subject of the texts is not exclusively scientific.[2]

That these selections of aphoristic texts have been made without including the whole aphoristic field is obvious. Nevertheless, it is important to observe that collections like these do not even bother to typify their texts as either literary or philosophical, but merely as aphorisms. Such descriptive practice dismisses the existence of other groups of aphoristic texts, such as medical or legal ones, leading to the false impression that the whole generic group can be equated with only

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[1] http://www.waterstones.com/ [accessed 14 July 2010].

[2] These are the texts by those three authors:

- *Pasteur:* "In the field of observation, chance favors only the prepared minds" (347).
- *Galen:* "He cures most in whom most have faith" (212).
- *Leonardo:* "Vows begin when hope dies" (56), "Inequality is the cause of all local movements" and "Force is only a desire for flight: it lives by violence and dies from liberty" (98), "Nature never breaks her own laws" (99), "Where the spirit does not work with the hand there is no art" (292), "Experience does not err; it is only your judgment that errs in expecting from her what is not in her power" (326), "Small rooms discipline the mind; large ones distract it" (368) (Auden and Kronenberg 1964).

some of its humanistic branches. This reduction is not only to be inferred from the content of anthologies; it can also be found stated by highly competent users of the genre.[3]

In his book *The World in a Phrase*, James Geary proposes 'The Five Laws of Aphorisms'; among these, the fifth establishes that "It Must Be Philosophical" (Geary 2005: 18).[4] In the article 'El aforismo o la formulación de la duda', Ricardo Martinez-Conde writes that: "*El aforismo no es sino una forma filosófica cuya rotundidad y autonomía son el resultado del trabajo del pensamiento* [The aphorism is fundamentally a *philosophical form* which achieves resonance and autonomy by an effort of thinking]" (Martínez-Conde, 1999; my emphasis). D. Atlas writes: "the aphorism is a mode of philosophical discourse […]" (Atlas 2005). In addition to this, it seems that the alleged philosophical character of the aphorism situates it apart from other similar kinds of texts; for instance, the writer of the book of aphorisms *Todo es una fuga,* Salvador Hernández Padilla, says when talking about the difference between aphorisms and witty phrases:

> *El aforismo es una especie de cápsula filosófica y tiene un mensaje más profundo que la frase ingeniosa*. [The aphorism is a kind of philosophical pill which has a deeper meaning than a witty phrase].[5] (Garcia Hernández 2005)

It is worth saying that this concept of philosophy is not confined to the academic practice of the discipline. Furthermore, some of Foucault's words suggest an uneasy relation between academic philosophy and aphoristic texts:

> The actual history of Nietzschean thought interests me less than the kind of challenge I felt one day, a long time ago, reading Nietzsche for the first time. When you open *The Gay Science* after you have been trained in the great, time-honoured university traditions –Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Husserl – and you come across these rather strange, witty, graceful texts, you say: Well I won't do what my

[3] For a discussion on the topics of this paragraph, see my article "Aphorisms: Problems of 'Empirically Based Research'" (forthcoming in *Orbis Litterarum: International Review of Literary Studies*).

[4] Talking about this fifth rule for aphorisms, Geary also writes:

> Like Bacon, he [Schlegel] believed this kind of fragmented philosophizing more accurately reflected the shifting, scattershot nature of thinking –and the experience of life itself. Aphorisms, he said, are the 'true form of the Universal Philosophy' and contained 'the greatest quantity of thought in the smallest space'. […]
>
> Aphorisms are signposts along the route to becoming a philosopher. […] Aphorisms are literary loners, set apart from the world because they're like porcupines, bristling with prickly philosophical spines. (Geary 2005: 18-19)

[5] This idea is partially echoed in an article published by James Fenton in *The Guardian Review*:

> There is a difference between being witty –quick with the repartee and the insight – and having an aptitude for aphorisms. It may be that an aphorism is the product of much hard work, that it is tried out and revised, honed in the notebooks before being shown (if ever) to the public. (Fenton 2007: 15)

> contemporaries, colleagues or professors are doing; I won't just dismiss this. What is the maximum of philosophical intensity and what are the current philosophical effects to be found in these texts? That, for me, was the challenge of Nietzsche. (Foucault 1988: 33)

In relation to aphoristic texts, the concept of philosophy rather seems to embrace a field of which a word such as 'wisdom' can be used without hesitation: "Our need for words of wisdom […] is ancient, as old as "the wisdom of the ages" itself, which is why the aphorism is the oldest written art form on the planet". (Geary 2005: 20)

> The wisdom of the wise and the experience of the ages is preserved, into perpetuity, by a nation's proverbs, fables, folk wisdom, maxims, aphorisms and quotations (William Feather*).
>
> Why aphorisms? Because they're just the right size to hold the swift insights and fresh observations that are the raw data of the wisdom of ages. (Geary 2005: 9)
>
> APHORISM, n. Predigested wisdom (A. Bierce*[6])

In this sense, it is not surprising to find that Raymond Williams' book *Keywords* has an entry of 'Philosophy,' in which one can read:

> **Philosophy** has retained its earliest and most general meaning […] At different times it has taken on subsidiary senses, as in the widespread post-classical sense of practical wisdom […]. The common use of **philosophical**, in phrases like **taking a philosophical attitude**, is of this kind, and usually in practice equates **philosophy** with *resignation*. […]. **Philosophy** has also been a common name for any particular system of ideas, defined by a specific description. More common is the increasing use of **philosophy** in managerial and bureaucratic talk, where **philosophy** can mean general policy but as often simply the internal assumptions or even the internal procedures of a business or institution: from the **philosophy of selling** through the **philosophy of motorways** to **the philosophy of supermarkets**. (Williams 1983: 345-36; my emphasis)

In this context, the question of discerning exactly what 'a philosophical brief text' can be is a very difficult one. I imagine that the answer should not be related to a single idea of philosophy, but rather to an eclectic cluster of notions suitable for different groups of readers, for which texts by Wittgenstein or Joubert as well as the little thoughts in a gift shop or the words in Chinese biscuits could count as examples.

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[6] Every quotation marked with * is from the website *ANYARA - Aphorisms in the Light of Astrology: Thousands of wise, witty and inspiring quotations identified by the Zodiac sign of the author*, at http://koti.mbnet.fi/neptunia/index.htm [accessed 11 February 2006], in which no more references are provided.

It can be said that the knowledge of the aphoristic genre demonstrated by Gross, Auden and Kronenberg, Smith and Geary guarantees that the reason for the reduction of aphoristic topics to philosophical ones is something more complex than simple ignorance. The explanation, however, is not immediately obvious.

The mere existence of medical and legal aphorisms proves that the philosophical status of the genre is not an ontological fact, but rather an assumption of a group of users of the aphoristic communication, *i.e.* a cultural practice. I believe that such an ontological assumption is not a mere mistake, but a functional feature of a way of seeing aphoristic texts, a convention for contextualizing a certain type of text. I will argue that the fields of reference in which certain types of aphoristic text might make sense are identifiable by assuming that the genre is 'philosophical' (whatever that means) and not, for instance, technical. The reader of *philosophical* aphorisms 'knows' where to look for meaningful relations in order to contextualize contents. Logically, this assumption is only functional for one group of readers and their usual and canonical texts and, in order to sustain it, other types of aphoristic texts need, somehow, to be dismissed. Therefore, this textual feature should be seen as a narrower code (a convention) within the wider boundaries of the codes of the genre.

The hypothesis that proposes existing conventions[7] as aids to particular readings of texts leads to one of the most interesting issues in the study of aphoristic texts: the relation between text and context. I would like to present this issue by using a general contrast between the relations of two different kinds of text and their contexts.

The similarities between aphorisms and other texts, such as proverbs, seem, paradoxically, to stress their differences in terms of the relation between texts and contexts. It may be argued that proverbs are texts which come after context, because they rely on conversational situations to make sense –being usually just a rhetorical addition to what has already been said. On the other hand, as a written genre, aphoristic texts occur outside of conversational contexts and, when one reads aphorisms, the aphoristic text itself might be the first and the last linguistic construction of the whole process. Furthermore, their brevity, surrounded by blank space, has produced the impression that they exist before, or even *without*, any context. In his article 'The Aphorism', Manfred Wolf writes: "Many celebrated passages [of Shakespeare] derive their power from what aphorisms do not rely on, their context. […] aphorisms can, should, and do exist on their own" (Wolf 1994: 432). Frederic Munné provides another example of the same idea plus a logical pirouette:

[7] 'Convention' is used here, and in the whole chapter, in the sense of "a stylistic or formal device, or element of subject matter, which is characteristic of a particular genre or period. […] (Such use does not) cover the systems of rules or 'codes' that underlie the production of *all* meaning." (Duff 2000: x-xi).

> *Los aforismos de Nietzsche […] son textos descontextualizados o sea des-contextos y por tanto multi-contextos* [Nietzsche's aphorisms are text decontextualized, i.e. without-context, *therefore* (with) multi-contexts. (Munné 2001; my emphasis)

In "The Rhetoric of the Aphorism", G. S. Morson tells us that aphorisms are a type of quotation and that they are not supported by context:

> 3. We may regard aphorisms, maxims, witticisms, and other short forms as particular genres of "quotation," and "quotation" as the general term for memorable short expressions. […]
> 13 […] As it becomes a quotation, a cited line must, so to speak, *learn to stand on its own, without the support of context*. (Morson 2006: 250-251; my emphasis)

P. E. Lewis, writing about the maxims of La Rochefoucauld, states: "Conclusion without introduction, *the maxim is a short-circuit*, the epitome of the *pensée détachée*, removed not only from any context but, in its inviolable literality from ordinary language itself" (Lewis 1997: 25).[8]

In a very influential essay –which is worth examining at length– Roland Barthes even imagines that aphorisms are texts separated from discourse (*coupée du discours*). He turns exclusively to the properties of their internal structure to elucidate such a peculiarity:

> *Non seulement la maxime est une proposition coupée du discours, mais à l'intérieur de cette proposition même, règne encore un discontinu plus subtil; une phrase normale, une phrase parlée tend toujours à fondre ses parties les unes dans les autres, à égaliser le flux de la pensée; elle progresse somme toute selon un devenir en apparence inorganisé; dans la maxime, c'est tout le contraire; la maxime est un bloc général composé de blocs particuliers ; l'ossature –et les os sont des choses dures – est plus apparente : spectaculaire. (Barthes 1972: 71; my emphasis)*

Barthes goes on to start a very interesting structural analysis of maxims, in which he describes their metrical characteristics, the closed –*fermée*- quality of their brevity, their semantic contrapositions and other internal relations. In order to explain how *the maxim* produces its meaning, Barthes focuses his attention on just the visible extension of the texts, "toute la structure de la maxime est visible,

[8] Lewis continues:

> A description (of the maxim in its external aspect) tends to consecrate, as it were, the fixity of the text in an essentially static context of isolation. Each maxim is unique, a text in itself, a stylistic gem immediately perceived as literature. The formal independence of each text within the work makes it necessary to relate the maxims on the basis of their internal structure, to look for a pattern or paradigm around which the text of each maxim is constructed. (Lewis 1977: 25-26)

dans la mesure même où elle est erratique". He thinks that the structurally closed quality of maxims allows a very singular mental operation:

> Dans la maxime, l'intellect perçoit d'abord des *substances pleines*, non le flux progressif de la pensée. […] j'ai le sentiment (d'ailleurs profondément esthétique) d'avoir affaire à une véritable économie *métrique* de la pensée, distribuée dans l'espace fixe et fini qui lui est imparti (la longueur d'une maxime). (1972: 72; my emphasis)

He also thinks that the internal composition of the very singular elements that that structure embraces:

> Quels sont ces blocs internes qui supportent l'architecture de la maxime? Ce ne sont pas les parties d'ordinaire les plus vivantes de la phrase, les relations, *mais bien au contraire les parties immobiles, solitaires*, *sortes d'essences* le plus souvent substantives, mais parfois aussi adjectives ou verbales, dont chacune renvoie à un *sens plein*, *éternel*, *autarcique* pourrait-on dire. (1972: 71; italics mine)

One can say that the route of this examination goes from outside to inside. It begins by noticing the visible extension of the structural machinery of maxims and then zooms in on its elements. Such elements are the key for Barthes' answer. Consequently, his explanation of the great efficacy of the maxim identifies the extraordinary qualities of its internal components (*substances pleines*); which as well as being 'sorts of essences' are independent of grammar and syntaxes:

> La maxime est un objet dur, luisant –et fragile – comme le corselet d'un insecte… De quoi est-elle faite, cette structure ? De quelques éléments stables, parfaitement indépendants de la grammaire, unis par une relation fixe, qui, elle non plus, ne doit rien à la syntaxe. (1972: 71; my emphasis)

Following the argument, we may conclude that the brevity of maxims supports closed structures that are cut off from discourse, structures that by establishing structurally hard and internal restrictions allow the boom of meaning: "la structure est là, qui retient la sensibilité, l'épanchement, le scrupule, l'hésitation, le regret, la persuasion aussi, sous un appareil castrateur" (1972: 71).

The influence of Barthes' essay may be shown by the frequency with which it is quoted as an important reference in articles of divulgation. However, when I read this structural explanation for the first time, despite it seeming fairly impressive, I still could not suppress a rather childish suspicion in my head. It was really difficult for me to accept that the explanation of a rather impressive production of meaning was, paradoxically, due to that peculiar brevity –one which was cut off from a major discourse. (How could all that kind of magic be reduced to such a small and closed thing?).

My position is slightly different to the one sustained by Barthes, Morson and others. I do not believe that aphorisms are isolated from any context, but that some aphorisms do not rely on immediate linguistic context –that they instead, let us say, 'invoke' their appropriate contexts. Within the appropriate cultural context, their apparent contextual isolation can be perceived by their users as a signal to trigger a proper generic reading. Some words of a French scholar, in an article about the subject, give us a glimpse at the effects of blank space as a signal to readers of the genre:

> *Une maxime a-t-elle un contexte? Elle n'en a pas et elle les a tous: un événement, une personne, une autre maxime, toutes les autres maximes, la tradition aphoristique… C'est son ambiguité mais c'est aussi sa position première.*
> *Dans le système de la langue tout a du sens. Même le silence. Dans celui de l'écriture, le blanc aussi signifie.*
> *Le contexte de la maxime est ce blanc dans lequel viennent résonner toutes les autres. C'est dans l'oubli du savoir antérieur qu'une connaissance se forme; c'est sur fond d'absence qu'une perception se forme. Sur quelles absences la maxime et l'aphorisme s'appuient-ils?* (Déchery 1995: 8)

To make use of my hypothesis that proposes that *for aphoristic texts, isolation from immediate linguistic surroundings functions as the appropriate context to trigger a generic reading*, we should introduce some distinctions for the treatment of the problematic concept of *context*.

In *Linguistic Criticism*, Roger Fowler distinguishes three types of context: *context of utterance*, *context of culture* and *context of reference*. According to him, context of utterance is "the physical surroundings or 'setting'; the distribution of the participants vis-à-vis one another […]; the channel employed […]". Context of culture is "the whole network of social and economic conventions, all the institutions and the familiar settings and relationships, constituting the culture at large, especially in so far as these bear on particular utterance contexts, and influence the structure of discourse occurring within them". Context of reference is "the topic or subject-matter of a text. (The subject-matter which is referred to is often known in linguistics as the *field* or *domain* of a text.)" (Fowler 1996: 112-114).

The Barthesian belief that maxims are isolated from discourse or the idea of Manfred Wolf that "aphorisms do not rely on their context" can be described in different and more specific terms by using Fowler's categories. Aphoristic texts have a rather unusual context of utterance among written genres - the blank space- which can produce the impression that they are texts *without* or, at least, *before* any context. Although, "It may be plausible to say that the context of *utterance* is peculiar in some literary genres […] all discourse has a definite context of *culture*, which may –I would say 'ought to'– be studied as an influence

on the linguistic structure of literary texts, and as a guide to their interpretation" (Fowler 1996: 114). On the other hand, accustomed to other types of context of utterance in which text is surrounded by more text, some critics may dismiss the codes of the aphoristic tradition. Understandably, when their attention is not directed towards the text but to its environment, their unawareness of the multi-layered complexity of relations of text-context might lead these critics to confuse their observation of an absence of any other text with an absence of any contextual surrounding. Once this 'visual effect' has produced such confusion, the explanation may take the form of two different hypotheses: aphoristic texts exist ***without*** or, at least, ***before*** context.

The existence of hypotheses which seem to be equating or reducing *context* to *visual linguistic surrounding* underlines the necessity of explaining relations between some aphoristic texts and their contexts. Such a necessity can be satisfied by pointing out the relation between context of culture and context of utterance and the relation between context of utterance and context of reference. Quite simply, the knowledge of the genre held by its users constitutes a cultural context in which aphorisms' context of utterance becomes functional. For the users of the aphoristic tradition, context of utterance is not atypical and as soon as they scan the page, they 'know' what sort of text they are dealing with. However, their knowledge is cultural and, as the case of the above assumption (that aphorisms are philosophical) illustrates, it might be biased. To talk about the second type of relation, we must keep in mind that relations between context of utterance and context of reference always occur within the larger frame of a cultural tradition. Currently, the widespread convention that aphorisms are philosophical, establishes what sort of topics the texts are dealing with. The majority of contemporary users will assume that aphoristic subject matter is philosophical and they might look at that field as the context of reference in which texts should come into their full meaning.

As has been shown above, the type of aphorisms we are talking about is currently so dominant that it is relatively easy to become familiar with its conventions. Thus the process of interpretation is simplified: users customarily identify aphoristic texts as signs of an inherent philosophical content. Despite this, the link between aphoristic brevity and philosophical content is contingent and the currently accepted belief about aphoristic contents is just a characteristic of the way of seeing texts of a particular group. Nonetheless, when users are not conscious of the use that they are making of familiar conventions, it is relatively easy to mistake a cultural way of seeing something for the objective nature of such a thing.

3. A WRONG BELIEF BUT AN EFFECTIVE CODE: APHORISMS AS A PHILOSOPHICAL GENRE

It is difficult to think of a good reason for maintaining that some topics refuse absolutely to be communicated through textual brevity.[9] However, evidence that some groups of users have benefited from it more than others, suggest that it does not suit all communicative purposes equally. Nevertheless, this cannot be related to certain essential functions of texts without further examination. Statements claiming ontological qualities for aphorisms determined by their subject matter are rather dubious. When a group of users employ textual brevity to communicate their particular messages, they develop a way of seeing it which is linked to the ways they use it. They modify textual brevity by fitting it into their own particular cultural contexts, determining its functional properties as a communicative channel. In other words, objective textual brevity is never experienced as it is, but apprehended within a tradition. If the brevity of Hippocratic texts was useful to facilitate memorization of information, current philosophical aphorisms might point to other aims. It may even be argued that their probable goal is to generate thinking; something quite different from producing repetition. All this points to the fact that the functions of (brief) texts are not determined by inherent properties or characteristics of those texts, but determined by the needs of a group of users.

If what has been said is true, however, statements about the *objective qualities* of aphorisms have a great value for this research. They can be seen not just as expressions of conventions of the tradition they belong to, but also as a clue to the functions that aphoristic texts perform for a group of users. Users' beliefs about what aphorisms *are* will match the texts' functions. In the case of philosophical aphorisms, for instance, we will need to examine the supposed philosophical character of texts to try to find out what are the functions of aphoristic texts accepted as philosophical. The question will still be complex, because the diversity of the themes associated with philosophy is vast – both from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view – and it might be expected that aphoristic functions will change according to the ideas of philosophy held by different groups of users. In

[9] I am aware that I have been using 'textual brevity' and 'aphoristic texts' as interchangeable concepts up to this point, but a little explanation of their differences and similarities will be necessary from now on. I understand 'textual brevity' as a mere description of a visual impression regarding the size of texts –I acknowledge the fuzziness of such a description but I do not believe that a clear definition exists–, we can recognize aphorisms as brief texts as we can other kinds of text, such as slogans, proverbs, epigrams, fragments and so on. On the other hand, 'aphoristic texts' is a concept belonging to a smaller field which includes 'originally-intended-aphorisms' and 'aphoristic quotations' (see my article "Aphorisms: Problems of Empirically Based Research"). However, this concept embraces the idea of a generic tradition where the other does not necessarily do so – in other words, I am assuming that, at a certain point in their history, some brief texts have become 'aphoristic' for a group of users.

summary, I would argue that there are no general functions for aphoristic texts; furthermore, one could anticipate that even talking about *a philosophical function* for aphoristic texts would only be a rough generalization.

In this sense can be said that functional advantages of textual brevity will vary depending on communicative purposes. No exception should be made when talking about philosophical purposes (whatever this means). The issue of what sort of philosophical messages could be better communicated by using aphorisms is not a matter for this chapter; nonetheless, a sample of texts, written mostly by philosophers, will give some idea of the diversity of characteristics attributed to 'philosophical' aphorisms. For instance: texts with a kind of formal coincidence with truth, the space of a 'speculation which overcomes ideologies' ('riflessione che supera le barriere delle ideologie') or assertions of the wisest men:

> Why we should bother at all with aphorisms – especially since they can be so frustratingly elusive, allusive, and inconclusive. The first reason, I suggest, is that it is these very qualities that truth itself seems to possess. (May 2005: xiv)

> Frammento e aforisma nel loro bilicarsi tra letteratura e filosofia, individuo e collettività, si pongono oggi in ultima analisi come il *luogo* di un sapere *plurale*, di una riflessione che supera le barriere delle ideologie nella continua tensione al l'*essere* autentico dell'uomo. (Pavarini 1996: 565)[10]

10 A couple of more quotations on this matter:

> the writing in Aphorisms hath many excellent virtues, whereto the writing in Method doth not approach.
>
> 7. […] for Aphorisms, except they should be ridiculous, cannot be made but of the pith and heart of sciences; for discourse of illustration is cut off; recitals of examples are cut off; discourse of connexion and order is cut off; descriptions of practice are cut off; so there remaineth nothing to fill the Aphorisms but some good quantity of observation: and therefore no man can suffice, nor in reason will attempt, to write aphorisms, but he that is sound and grounded. […] Aphorisms, representing a knowledge broken, do invite me to enquire farther. (Bacon 1869: 172)
>
> The aphorist does not argue or explain, he asserts; and implicit in his assertion is a conviction that he is wiser or more intelligent than his readers. (Auden 1964)

As a matter of interest, one can read a very suggestive and lucid idea for organizing philosophical uses of aphorisms, in their relation to literature, in "The Aphorism as a Stylistic and Epistemological Ideal" by Josef Fruchtl:

> The relation between philosophy and literature or, less specifically, between philosophy and art can be arranged in general according to three, and in particular to six, relationship patterns. The first is an *antagonistic* or *disjunctive* pattern […]. The second general relationship pattern is that of *complementarity* or *compensation*. […]. The third general pattern is that of *dedifferentiation* or *diffusion* […] the aphorism as a linguistically distinctive mode of expression […] is not predestined to dedifferentiate or diffuse the domains, but can be equally employed for the antagonistic and complementary patterns of relations. (Fruchtl 1997: 171-172)

Understandably, the existence of diverse philosophical aphoristic texts constitutes a complication of the question, since it can be expected that such diversity implies the existence of different text-context relations – thus, the existence of different properties of aphoristic texts as a communicative channel. For instance, aphorisms from the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* seem to have different relations with the immediate linguistic context than those from La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims*. Most *Tractatus* aphorisms rely on other texts from the collection; for example, the text 4.013 is a commentary on the previous one:

> 4.013 And if we penetrate to the essence of this pictorial nature we see that this is not disturbed by apparent irregularities (like the use of # and [flat in musical notation] in the score).

For these irregularities also picture what they are to express; only in another way. Therefore, text 4.012, being part of the context of utterance, is the logical reference of 4.013:

> 4.012 It is obvious that we perceive a proposition of the form *aRb* as a picture. Here the sign is obviously a likeness of the signified. (Wittgenstein 2002: 65)

Without denying the aphoristicity of the texts, the title of Wittgenstein's book is an explicit genre indicator which implies a structural frame for the collection of those brief texts. The same does not happen in *Philosophical Investigations* (assuming for a moment that these texts can be taken for aphorisms), because the idea of treatise does not precede the reading of the book; however, the numeration of texts proposes a reading order. In contrast, the writer of the *Maxims* does not seem to propose a specific reading order or ask the reader to identify the general frame behind his collection of texts; for instance, maxims 25, 26 and 27:

> 25 *Il faut de plus grandes vertus pour soutenir la bonne fortune que la mauvaise.*
> One needs greater virtues to hold out against good fortune than bad. (8)

> 26 *Le soleil ni la mort ne se peuvent regarder fixement.*
> Neither the sun nor death can be looked at steadily. (8)

> 27 *On fait souvent vanité des passions même les plus criminelles ; mais l'envie est une passion timide et honteuse que l'on n'ose jamais avouer.*
> One often prides oneself on even the most criminal passions; but envy is a timid and shameful passion which one never dares confess. (8)

Furthermore, it would seem that: "*Chaque maxime est indépendante en droit et en fait (elle vaut pour elle-même et elle est citable) et n'a donc pas besoin des autres pour exister. Mais il y a une résonance de forme avec les autres maximes*."

(Déchery 1995: 7). Therefore, the first type of aphoristic texts (Wittgenstein's texts) does not seem to exist as texts without or before context or as texts which invoke their contexts; in contrast, the *Maxims* seem to do so. In conclusion, the idea that aphorisms are somehow isolated from their context does not apply to the whole group of philosophical texts called aphoristic and, moreover, these books of aphorisms seem to be looking for different kinds of (appropriate) readings. In other words, it would seem that these types of text have different functions as communicative channels.

It can be said that the idea behind this argumentation is simple: any group of users provides and determines the uses of its aphoristic texts according to their cultural background. For instance, in the case of Hippocratic aphorisms, one could see that, to be fully meaningful, such texts would have been interpreted within a context constituted by uses and knowledge of a specific group of medical practitioners. On the other hand, for the case of philosophical aphorisms, the situation might be essentially the same, but a complication has to be added: in contemporary society, different readers may have a very different understanding of what philosophical aphorisms are -one can easily imagine a way of grouping readers with regard to such understandings. It should be added that each group constitutes for itself a (cultural) context for the uses of the genre. Considering this and with regard to philosophical aphorisms, one should expect that different groups would write texts with different characteristics, suitable for different communicative functions. I imagine that the same assumption (that 'aphorisms are philosophical') will have a different effect on the written production of professional philosophers than on that of, for example, people with no formal education and very strong religious beliefs.

4. SOME WORDS ABOUT FOWLER'S CATEGORIES AND SELF-REFERENCE

There is a different kind of complication which should be acknowledged here. It concerns the definition of the context's conceptual categories that we have been using. Fowler's model is convenient in that it shows the multi-layered complexity of the idea of context; however, one has to accept a certain fuzziness when his categories deal with some examples. For instance, Wittgenstein's texts would trouble expectations of a clear distinction between context of reference and context of utterance.

It has been said that context of reference is "the topic or subject-matter of a text. (The subject-matter which is referred to is often known in linguistics as the *field* or *domain* of a text.)" (Fowler 1996: 114). And, also, it has been said that context of utterance is "the physical surroundings or 'setting'; […] the channel employed" (Fowler 1996: 112). The fact that one of Wittgenstein's aphorisms (text 4.013) refers

to another aphorism (text 4.012) from its own "physical surroundings or 'setting'" shows that the contexts of reference and utterance of text 4.013 appear to be the same. The complication could be raised in any other case in which a part of a text has as its "topic or subject-matter" (or field of reference) its own context of utterance.

The last example suggests that there is a main complication to Fowler's model when dealing with short aphoristic texts that refer to themselves. In cases like this it appears that the context of reference of a self-referential utterance is not only its general context of utterance, but the very utterance itself. Since paradoxes are very common among aphoristic texts, self-reference could seem to be a big enough issue to prevent us from using Fowler's categories. For this reason, it is advisable to view such a complication from a different perspective.

When readers accustomed to the genre pick up a book of aphorisms, they necessarily bring expectations of the genre to the reading. For instance, they might expect paradox because they know it is habitual within the genre. In this sense, it is significant that, in different contexts, the same piece of language will be construed by users in different ways: 'I am a liar' written in a book of logic (or a similar text in a book of aphorisms) might have a different relevance to the reader than the same sentence written in the confessions of an unfaithful partner. By using genre indications and other paratextual means, these types of books alert readers to the relevance of their statements' self-referentiality. In the other type of context, being fussy about logical features of any sentence of the confession would be the last idea to come into the mind of a deceived partner. In both cases, understanding of the context triggers an appropriate reading. However, it could be argued that, in the particular case of aphorisms, readers' understanding the context(s) relies on assumptions that are previous to the act of reading itself. For example, it has been shown that the assumption which establishes the aphoristic texts' field of reference (that aphorisms are philosophical) is previous to the reading process. On the other hand, if assumptions about features of the language of aphoristic texts (see below) are triggered by the book as a context of utterance, then readers have an idea about this type of context that, logically, precedes the reading process. In other words, the generic understanding of the contexts that an average reader of aphorisms holds, is culturally given and, therefore, prior to the reading process itself; in contrast, a betrayed partner could not say the same.[11]

[11] This might count as part of the awareness that users have of genre called genre-consciousness. Duff defines genre-consciousness as: "The awareness of genre displayed by particular author or period: an awareness which has both a conscious component, manifest in the explicit use made of generic categories and terminology by writers, critics, booksellers, publishers, librarians and other cultural institutions; and an unconscious element, suggested by the attempts of many writers, readers and critics, especially in the modern era, to conceal or repress their dependence on genre. The forms which genre-consciousness takes, and the intensity with which it is experienced, are subject to both personal and historical variation." (Duff 2000: xiii)

In general, generic assumptions provide a framework to read texts and, as the example of paradoxes suggests, one could argue that such a framework has to be functioning, even defectively, to allow (some pieces of) language to become problematic for a conceptual description such as Fowler's one. In the act of reading, self-referential aphoristic utterances do not become their own contexts of utterance, because the generic understanding of such a context is a prior condition to the relevance of self-reference. It is only, when discussing categories to organize and describe these generic assumptions, that one may be troubled by some particular texts. Without denying that his model provides a useful tool to gain awareness of the complexity of the subject, we can acknowledge the logical complications of Fowler's concepts.

5. QUANTIFYING TWO CURRENT ASSUMPTIONS TO DELIMIT THE SCOPE OF MY HYPOTHESIS

We can recapitulate the core of the analysis of this article by naming the two assumptions that, as generalizations for the whole group, have become erroneous beliefs about aphoristic texts:

a) Aphorisms are philosophical
b) Aphorisms exist isolated from any context

At this point, we can put things more accurately by adding a quantifier to both assumptions and rephrasing **b)**:

a1) some aphoristic texts are philosophical
b1) some aphoristic texts give the impression of being isolated from any context

My hypothesis that *assumption **a)** is a convention to contextualize aphorisms*, has to be adjusted to this panorama. The current mainstream of aphoristic texts includes the belief *aphorisms are philosophical* and obviously such an assumption aids the process of the contextualization of type **a1)** texts, but it works particularly well for texts which fulfil the conditions of both **a1)** and **b1)**. We can identify this (sub) group as:

c) some aphoristic texts are philosophical *and* give the impression of being isolated from any context.

Since the majority of aphoristic texts are philosophical anyway (i.e., type **a1)** texts), the hypothesis that assumption **a)** leads reading expectations to the proper aphorisms' contexts of reference is rather dull; but, when applied to texts **c)**, it becomes more interesting: it enhances the peculiar *text–context of reference* relation of this particular type of aphoristic text. It is within the context of such a group of texts that assumption **a)** becomes an indispensable tool of interpretation.

A collection of aphorisms such as the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* helps to illustrate this point. These texts are philosophical but they do not give the impression of being isolated from other texts in their context of utterance. That should also explain why *Tractatus'* texts are usually not quoted out of the context of the book. As it occurs with treatises, to be meaningful, most of the sentences from the book need the other sentences. It can be said that the experience of reading Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* is very similar to reading Spinoza's *Ethics* and, in generic terms, it is even comparable with readings of other philosophical treatises.[12]

In contrast, for aphoristic texts of the type **c)**, assuming that they are philosophical makes a crucial difference of interpretation, because this belief determines readers' expectations in a specific direction. For instance, readers know that, in principle, these texts should not be seen as a channel for presenting facts or quantitative data: "Aphorisms are not bland generalizations about life, the universe, and everything". (Geary 2005: 15); nor do these texts carry memorisable technical knowledge or specific instructions; for example:

> *Sí, es necesario padecer, aun en vano, para no vivir en vano.*
> Yes, one must suffer, even in vain, so as not to have lived in vain. (Porchia 2003: 7-8)

> *Las certidumbres solo se alcanzan con los pies.*
> Certainties are arrived at only on foot. (Porchia 2003: 52-53)

In addition to this, the assumption that they should be read as independent from a bigger linguistic textual frame denies the possibility of these texts being

[12] For instance, Berel Lang's words about the point of view of the implied authors of philosophical treatises can be also applied to the *Tractatus*: "(the implied author of treatises) speaks of experience and evidence which is not distinctively his own even when he uses the first person. His voice is bracketed, neutralized: he speaks not for himself but as an observer, recounting descriptions of facts, the referents to which are quite independent of his own existence. He thus assumes that other observers will report on the objects of his attention as he does, once he has directed their attention to them; in his descriptions, the authorial 'we' often replaces the 'I' –not out of humility but in order to expand the writer's authority. […] Often, first-person pronouns are eliminated altogether in favour of impersonal ones […] or in favour of the passive voice by which the implied author claims a position vis-à-vis the objects of discourse identical to that of all possible observers: the facts of the matter speak for themselves, in no way determined by any action of *his*" (Lang 1980: 452)

seen as part of a specialized methodology, based on rigorous rules of logic and coherence or as part of a consistent textual corpus. Furthermore, readers know that texts do not present an 'objective' point of view; on the contrary, they can expect discursive practices that allow authorial subjectivity: (Aphorisms) are deeply personal and idiosyncratic statements, as unique to an individual as a strand of his or her DNA (Geary 2005: 15).

Readers should be prepared to deal with figurative, elliptical or even ambiguous language; and, when looking for sense, the clue that, beyond the text, philosophical themes are the area under discussion, is not redundant, because it orientates their search. In other words, knowing the context of reference triggers cultural responses associated with such a field.

In summary, two functions of the assumption 'aphorisms are philosophical' can be identified. First, the assumption helps readers to see texts as belonging to a stock of traditions of thinking, beliefs and ideologies that are referred to by the word 'philosophical'. Second, it orientates the generic reading process towards establishing associations between texts and a stock of traditions. The first function is clearly an epistemological one: when readers assume that aphorisms are philosophical, they will see them in a specific way, as texts that somehow deal with the topics of philosophy. The second function is a semiotic one, it applies only to type **c)** texts and it triggers a generic reading attitude in which the reader is disposed to seek meaning within a system of codes and conventions - by using the text as a clue to find sense and by looking for the probable relations that the text establishes with the tradition that it can be associated with. In other words, the assumption helps to contextualize texts by announcing the existence of important, although not evident, relations between these texts and their context of reference; *i. e.*, it is an assumption that suggests how to use this kind of text.

6. DISTILLED OR BORROWED WISDOM? THE TECHNICAL MEANS OF APHORISMS

On another level, all this suggests that if we are to understand how type **c)** texts work, we might not only focus on their supposed content ("The wisdom of the wise and the experience of the ages"), but also on technical means to establish relations between texts and their contexts of reference. The idea of the aphorism as pure and concentrated wisdom is one that currently enjoys a considerable popularity.[13] The emphasis of such an assumption has also stipulated an aura of

13 It could be argued that the current aura of wisdom around aphorists has been promoted by the confusion of categories (that has mixed up different types of epistemic texts, such as proverbs with aphorisms) and by Nietzsche's strident opinions about his work:

> He who writes in blood and aphorisms does not want to be read, he wants to be learned by heart.

wisdom or authority for aphoristic creators[14] and it has strongly determined the focus of hypotheses about their creative work. For instance, in "The Rhetoric of the Aphorism," G. S. Morson speculates about sources and creators and rhetoric of the aphorism:

> 3. One does not speak an aphorism, one voices it. It seems to come partly from outside oneself. The dark god of light speaks through us as he speaks through the Delphic oracle. In many cases, the speaker, like the Pythoness, does not quite seem to grasp the significance of what he says. (Morson 2006: 260)

The Wisdom appears to someone who senses it as exceeding his understanding and perhaps as doing him no good. Oedipus assumes that wisdom can be used: this is why he is a man of action. But the deepest truths are too mysterious to act upon. Tieresias' aphorism: "Wisdom is a dreadful thing when it brings no profit to its possessor. I knew this well, but forgot".

An aphorism is not so much proclaimed, as posed. Oedipus learns: the wisdom was there, but it hid itself. It is now partly visible, but ultimately still obscure.[15]

The extraordinary character of the aphoristic writer is also suggested in the

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> In the mountains the shortest route is from peak to peak: but for that you must have long legs. Aphorisms should be peaks: and those to whom they are addressed should be big and tall of stature. […]
> Who of you can at once laugh and be exalted?
> He who climbs upon the highest mountain laughs at all tragedies, real or imaginary.
> Courageous, untroubled, mocking, violent – that is what wisdom wants us to be: wisdom is a woman and loves only a warrior. (Nietzsche 1977: 17)

[14] It is significative that in "Hard lines with a Slow burn", an interview with an aphorist, Susan Mansfield writes:

> Don Paterson begins by apologising that he doesn't talk in sentences. I tell him not to worry, nobody does. (Mansfield 2004)

[15] Morson continues as follows:

> 5. An aphorism's source sometimes seems to partake of mystery. We know almost nothing of Lao Tzu (Old Master, a name that is not his true name), who is shrouded in mystery. Pascal's thoughts are traditionally the product of his "nights of fire," in which he was seized by a truth beyond himself. Wittgenstein intimates that his basic ideas have come to him outside of rational discourse, so that they cannot be communicated except to someone who has experienced the same truths. […]
> 8. We also sense it to be fitting that collections of aphorisms are often made by others. Pascal did not assemble the *Pensées*, nor Heraclitus his fragments, nor Lao Tzu the *Tao Te Ching*. It is as if the author were constantly engaged in interminable probing, or lost in the mystery, and so could not return for a complete statement, which therefore had to be assembled, with no great authority, by others.
> 9. […] The aphorism is spoken by a dark God in the incomplete language of mystery. […]
> 10. Because it is about what cannot be known, the rhetoric of the aphorism is often negative: the way that can be spoken of is not the true way; "pure and perfect sorrow is as impossible as pure and perfect joy (Tolstoy)." (Morson 2006: 260-261)

article "Paradox in the Aphorisms of La Rochefoucauld and some Representative English Followers," in which Harold Pagliaro writes:

> The best remembered aphorists have *contrived to state new truths* in brief and telling ways. Less fascinated than most authors with leaf, twig, and branch, they strike immediately for the pith. Almost every reader of their work first pays tribute to this concentration of effort with the repeated shock of joy and enlightenment that marks his response. It seems likely that such writers try *to achieve a compression of statement* that corresponds to the instantaneous character of their insights. Like Dante, they are stirred by the hope of *economizing glimpses of eternity* into single-worded statements; unlike him, they never quite despair of doing so. (Pagliaro 1964: 42; my emphasis)

In contrast to the common belief that writing aphorisms is an act of compressing wisdom, highlighting the importance of manipulating text-context relations in aphoristic texts type **c)**, would suggest that the use of techniques of reference should be researched as a key aspect in comprehending such texts. Although one could think that we are only switching attention from content (wisdom) to the technical means of aphoristic communication, this perspective of research is indeed opposed to current ideas about the genre. For instance, if we do not postulate wisdom as the inherent content of aphorisms, then the concept of allusion can (and should) become more important than a metaphor such as distillation or the ideas of reduction or compression, which have frequently been used to describe the writing process of aphoristic texts. It is clear that concepts like 'distillation' suit the preconception of the genre as concentrated wisdom within a small format; and from this perspective, it makes sense to think that the key problem, when crafting aphorisms, is how to obtain the essence of wisdom so that it can be poured into a small flask:

> **Aphorism**, a statement of some general principle, expressed memorably by *condensing* much wisdom into few words […]. (Baldick 1990; my emphasis)

But, if allusion is an important part of the solution, the craft of the aphorist, instead of being a kind of purification of knowledge, would seem rather to have something of a pirates' occupation: hooking and exploiting the wisdom of others. On the other hand, the idea that an important creative skill of aphorists is to link texts and background of reference, differs appreciably from the idea that the aphoristic craft is a process of reduction in which compressing a text is more important than creating it. Making relations by using aphoristic codes and conventions seems to be a parasitic ability, though a less simple one than a mere compression of text. Thus, without denying in principle the aphorist's wisdom, loose statements about it should be guarded against, keeping in mind that a

creative manipulation of second-hand knowledge can impress unduly. It may be important to make clear that my intention here is not to underrate aphoristic writers' qualities, but to avoid hasty generalizations about their knowledge and abilities, that can be created by overpacked words such as wisdom, truth or thinking.[16] Furthermore, it can also be expected that an enquiry into aphoristic means of reference will help us to rethink some general beliefs about aspects of the relation between aphorisms and truth (see below) and, also, about some texts' reading effects.

In general, aphorisms are considered the expression of a general truth:

> **Aphorism**, a terse statement of a truth or dogma; a pithy generalization, which may or may not be witty. The proverb (*q.v.*) is often aphoristic; so is the maxim (*q.v.*). A successful aphorism exposes and condenses at any rate a part of the truth, and is an aperçu or insight. […] The aphorism is of great antiquity, timeless, and international. […] the common stock of wisdom and knowledge everywhere has scattered these nuggets of truth in the writings and sayings of many civilizations. (Cuddon 1977)[17]

This popular belief has to take into account the frequent contradiction of aphorisms' truths. As has been noticed by some, it is not difficult to find aphorisms that patently contradict with each other; William Mathews says: "All maxims have their antagonist maxims; proverbs should be sold in pairs, a single one being but a half truth".* [18] On account of this, it could be argued that if there is not a consistent

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[16] It is difficult to agree with generalizations in any event; for instance, what the Finnish aphorist Yrjö Kivimies' states about the genre: "Creating aphorisms is a danger for culture, because it turns us away from deep and far-reaching thinking, that culture is based on."* Such a statement seems to me to be a simplification as dubious as its contrary, the famous Nietzschean text about the eternity of aphorisms:

> To create things on which time tries its teeth in vain; to endeavour to achieve a little immortality in form, *in substance*– I have never been modest enough to demand less of myself. The aphorism, the apophthegm, in which I am the first among Germans to be a master*, these are the forms of 'eternity'; my ambition is to say in ten sentences what everyone else says in a book - what everyone else does *not* say in a book… (Nietzsche 1998: 75)

* Other translations of this sentence emphasize the sense of superiority over temporality: "in which I am the first master among Germans".

[17] See also:

> A pithy observation which contains a general truth (Pearsall 2002)
>
> Any principle or precept expressed in few words; a short pithy sentence containing a truth of general import; a maxim. (OED 2000)
>
> An aphorism is a pithy statement or maxim expressing some general or gnomic truth about (human) nature. (Wales 2001)

[18] This observation is valid for other brief texts of epistemic content:

> Proverbs often contradict one another, as any reader soon discovers. The sagacity that advises us to look before we leap promptly warns us that if we hesitate we are lost; that absence makes the heart grow fonder, but out of sight, out of mind. –Leo Rosten.*
>
> Almost every wise saying has an opposite one, no less wise, to balance it. –Santayana, *Essays*.*
>
> Proverbs contradict each other. That is the wisdom of a nation. (Lec 1962)

body of knowledge to which type **c)** aphoristic texts can refer, but a stock of traditions of thinking, beliefs and ideologies, incompatibility should be expected. Moreover, the incompatibility will be of different kinds; for instance, it would not only relate to the situation of deciding between the appropriateness of one of two opposed statements (as in the case mentioned by Leo Rosten, see previous note), but also to the case of two general statements that exclude each other for any particular situation (for instance, one suggesting that, for human beings, the existence of god is a disgrace and another claiming that, on the contrary, it is the best of luck). In the first situation of incompatibility, there is a problem of application; in the second one, the opposition is of an ideological nature. Logically, if different systems of beliefs coexist as a field of reference, then there is not a consistent whole which could grant coherence between aphoristic texts. It could be said that this argument seems to be superfluous, when one remembers that, usually, generic texts do not have to express a homogeneous system of thinking just because they are classified within the same genre. However, the emphasis on the contradiction of some aphoristic texts is a sign for the need for an explanation. Furthermore, it shows an aspect of the current way of seeing this kind of text -in which the idea of truth and the idea of coherence that usually follows it-, are part of the common assumptions.

7. CONCLUSIONS

I believe that our cultural way of seeing, determines the current understanding of aphoristic texts. Therefore, in this analysis of beliefs about the subject-matter of aphoristic texts, I have given preference to a belief that enjoys great popularity (that aphoristic subject matter is inherently philosophical) over a particular hypothesis (for example, Stern's idea that the degree of integration of subject-matter with form, provides a criterion of the aphoristic identity (Stern, 1963: 196-198)). Thus my working question is not one with an ontological emphasis, such as *what are aphorisms*, but with an epistemological one, such as *what are aphorisms **for us** (as*

Umberto Eco, of contradictory aphorisms, tells:
(Pitigrilli) drew up lists of maxims by different authors, which certainly contradict each other, and yet seemed always to express an established truth [Inoltre egli elencava massime di autori diversi, certamente contraddittorie tra loro, e che purtuttavia sembravano sempre esprimere una verità assodata]:*

> One only deceives oneself out of optimisms (Hervieu).
> *One is more often deceived by diffidence than by confidence* (Rivarol).
> People would be happier if kings were philosophers and philosophers were kings (Plutarch).
> *The day I want to punish a province I will have it ruled by a philosopher* (Frederick II).

(Eco 2004: 68) and *(Eco 2002: 76)

a group of users). This perspective determines an approach in which the important point is not what aphoristic texts are essentially themselves, but how they work for their users –*i.e.* how users make *some* aphoristic texts work. It has been shown that consensus about a common way of seeing aphoristic texts has been mistaken for the objective characteristics of the aphoristic genre. Nonetheless, my critique does not aim to deny the value of commonly accepted perceptions, but instead looks to draw attention to the danger of making conjectures by confusing our habitual ways of thinking with the *nature* of things. Furthermore, I assume that clarifying such habits is a necessary prelude to any agreement about this subject.

There are different types of aphorism and, therefore, the statement 'aphorisms are philosophical' is a sweeping generalization that ignores the variety of this generic tradition. As the abundance of one species does not allow us to take it as the whole genre, one could try to save this proposal of characterization by arguing that the philosophical aphorism is a branch of a group of so-called aphoristic texts in which one can also find, for example, the technical aphorism. A version of this way of seeing aphorisms, implies the assumption that their communicative functions relate intrinsically to spheres of specific activities; thus, if there are communicative functions of science, literature and philosophy, then we should have scientific aphorisms, literary aphorisms and philosophical aphorisms (*see* Stern, 1963). Unfortunately (besides the objection that this way of classifying a communicative genre, which replicates our current division of fields of knowledge, is as provisional or/and artificial as such division), this proposal has disadvantages. The difficulty in answering the question *what is philosophy* relates to some of them: it is easy to imagine complications when making distinctions between the philosophical field and other fields (for instance, between philosophy and literature) and within the philosophical field itself; thus, it would be difficult to reach general agreement on what is and what is not a philosophical aphorism and to establish distinctions between different types of philosophical aphorisms. In addition, it can be the case that different fields of knowledge share similar communicative functions, for instance didactic functions, making it somewhat clumsy to label didactic brief texts as a philosophical or as a literary genre because of their content, when such texts seem to be functionally the same. In other words, a dismissive claim such as 'the aphorism is philosophical' is as similarly awkward as saying 'the essay is a philosophical genre.'

The fact that aphorisms have currently been identified with the label from a field of knowledge, could explain some flaws in the ongoing theoretical discussion on the genre. As I hope this article has shown, on a semiotic level, it also explains how the label 'philosophical,' although very vague, is very effective as a convention to decode most of the aphoristic texts currently read and produced. In this context, ideas related to the most popular types of text have been generalized

to the whole generic group. As this generalization suits current publishing interests very well, goes unchallenged, and is even promoted by expert users of the genre (such as editors and writers), one can expect that it will survive its exceptions helping the decoding process of the mainstream of aphoristic texts and, of course, overshadowing a clearer understanding of the whole subject.

As an afterthought, it can be added that the word "philosophical" applied to brief, so-called aphoristic texts hints at the history of a generic textual tradition of epistemic contents, which actually goes beyond boundaries of past and present philosophy. Since La Rochefoucauld, modern and contemporary developments of aphorisms have changed or weakened the epistemic characteristics of the genre - see, for example, the *Maxims* and Don Paterson's *The Book of Shadows*. However, such historical background to the genre constitutes a resource for aphorists and they can take advantage of it to communicate with their audience - either to write according to their generic expectations or against them: the practical understanding of writers of aphorisms allows them to manipulate -and change - codes of the genre. Such a process of change has made most critical definitions of the genre anachronic. It is not surprising that those who rely on them to wholy understand aphorisms, are usually amazed at the unsurpassable complications of theorizing about the genre (see, Eco, 2004: 62-64).

Finally, turning to the first belief analysed in this chapter - that *aphorisms seem to exist without or before context* -, we have seen that such an idea comes from a poor understanding of the text-context relations, which allows the confusion of the visual surroundings of an aphorism with its context. From a general perspective, this idea is also related to another common belief about aphoristic texts that *aphorisms are self-contained*[19] (another generalization that dismisses texts with another text-context of utterance relation, such as *Tractatus*' aphorisms -and which would be the theme of another analysis). Studied on its own, the belief that *aphorisms exist without or before context* would seem plausible, but when it is set among common beliefs on the genre (such as codes and conventions), it becomes naïve. Quite simply, for those who read aphoristic texts, the belief that *aphorisms are philosophical* provides that missing context: the philosophical one.

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[19] See for instance: "Now we assume that the aphorism is distinct and self-contained – that it is a prose genre of its own; and by 'self-contained" we mean nothing more mysterious than that as it is printed on the page it requires no further words, on that page, before or after it, to achieve its effect, which is an illumination of mind." (Stern 1963: 194)

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 55-73

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF DEFINITIONS FOR LSP DICTIONARIES

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ABSTRACT. *Definitions are the pivotal parts of dictionaries. Every lexicographer always strives to write definitions which are not only accurate but also comprehensible to dictionary users. Nevertheless, as shown in this paper, the definitions used in the current LSP dictionaries have not been able to suit the needs of their users. Therefore, it is necessary to create a typology of definitions for LSP dictionaries which can be referred to by lexicographers when writing definitions. The typology is created by implementing the lexicographical function theory which focuses on satisfying user needs. The typology takes into account both text production and text reception functions, as well as encyclopaedic and foreign language competences of the users. The proposed typology is expected to serve as a model which can be referred to by lexicographers when deciding on how to write definitions for LSP dictionaries in general, and ESP dictionaries in particular.*

Keywords: Lexicography, LSP dictionary, ESP, lexicographical functions, text reception and text production.

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HACIA UNA TIPOLOGÍA DE DEFINICIONES PREVISTAS PARA DICCIONARIOS DE LENGUAJE ESPECIALIZADO

RESUMEN. *Las definiciones constituyen el eje principal de los diccionarios. Cualquier lexicógrafo siempre pretende redactar definiciones que son no solo precisas sino también comprensibles para los usuarios. No obstante, como se desprende de este artículo, las definiciones usadas en los diccionarios existentes de lenguaje especializado no han podido cumplir con las exigencias de los usuarios. Por lo tanto, es necesario crear una tipología de definiciones destinadas a los diccionarios de lenguaje especializado que puedan aplicar los lexicógrafos a la hora de redactar las definiciones. Esta tipología se crea en base a la implementación de la teoría de funciones lexicográficas que se centra específicamente en satisfacer las necesidades de los usuarios tomándose en cuenta las funciones de tanto la producción como la recepción así como los conocimientos enciclopédicos y de lenguas extranjeras de los usuarios. La tipología propuesta se prevé que les sirva de referencia a los lexicógrafos en sus consideraciones de cómo redactar definiciones para diccionarios de lenguaje especializado en general y de inglés para propósitos específicos en particular.*

Palabras clave: Lexicografía, diccionarios para lenguaje especializado, inglés para fines específicos, funciones lexicográficas, recepción de textos y producción de textos.

Received 01 February 2011
Revised version accepted 18 April 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

Most dictionary users consult dictionaries to find definitions of words they have problems with. Consequently, definitions are the most commonly used lexicographical descriptions of lemmata or entry words in dictionaries (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 163). The role of definitions is even more crucial in LSP dictionaries in general and ESP dictionaries in particular, because the lexicographers need to have a good command of the specific subject-field or to work together with the subject field specialists in writing the definitions.

An investigation of the definitions used in one type of LSP dictionaries, i.e. financial dictionaries reveals the facts that the lexicographers have not taken into consideration the dictionary functions and users when writing definitions. As a result, the dictionaries have not been able to satisfy the needs of the users optimally. The problems rooted in the current financial dictionaries may result from the lack of theoretical foundation when creating the dictionaries. Several lexicographers have urged the necessity to use a sound lexicographical theory in the conception and construction of lexicographical tools (for a detailed discussion,

see Verlinde and Leroyer 2010: 1-5). Therefore, when writing the definitions for LSP dictionaries, lexicographers should start their work by considering a theoretical approach which can give the highest benefit for the potential dictionary users.

2. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

In this article, the underlying theory used to formulate the typology of definitions for LSP dictionaries is the lexicographical function theory. There are two main reasons for choosing this theory. The first is its transformative nature. Tarp (2008: 84) explains that this theory is transformative because it does not only lead to improved dictionary concepts, but it also lays a solid theoretical foundation for reviews and criticism of dictionaries that do not perform their role optimally as utility tools. Its transformative nature also means that it does not rely on the solutions offered by current dictionaries but strives to produce new and better solutions to lexicographical problems. The second reason for selecting this theory is its focus on dictionary users. As mentioned in Section 1, the current financial dictionaries are unable to provide optimal help to their potential users, which may be due to the lack in user-centred research.

The lexicographical function theory has been developed at the Centre for Lexicography of Aarhus School of Business, Denmark, since the early 1990s (see Tarp 1992, 2002, 2008, Nielsen 1994, Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995, 2002, 2003, and Bergenholtz and Nielsen 2006). This theory has been mentioned as one of the important and more recent contributions in the field of theoretical lexicography (Gouws 2007: 66). In addition, Tono (2010: 1) states that the lexicographical function theory "is very theoretical in orientation, but, at the same time, very practical in actual applications." Therefore, this article selects this function theory as the theoretical foundation.

The modern theory of lexicographical functions requires lexicographers to determine the function of the dictionary at the initial stage of creating the dictionary. Tarp (2008: 81) defines a lexicographical function as "the satisfaction of the specific types of lexicographically relevant need that arise in a specific type of potential user in a specific type of extra-lexicographical situation." In relation to the topic of this article, the lexicographical function can be defined as the satisfaction of the need to find the meaning of a word; this need arises when a dictionary user has a problem with a particular word and consults an LSP dictionary to find the solution of his/her problem.

Before presenting the application of the lexicographical function theory in writing definitions, this article will first continue by reviewing some examples of definitions used in the current financial dictionaries in the English language. The review tries to visualize the experience of the potential dictionary users when

consulting the financial dictionaries to find the solutions to their lexicographical problems. The considerations on the dictionary functions and the user competences, which are the principal elements of the lexicographical function theory, are used throughout the review in order to establish the value of providing definitions which are suited to the need of the users.

3. REVIEWING EXAMPLES OF DEFINITIONS USED IN THE CURRENT FINANCIAL DICTIONARIES

A list of definitions taken from several financial dictionaries can be obtained from *The Free Dictionary* website by Farlex. Table 1 shows the search result for the definitions of the term *common stock* in this dictionary website (http://financial-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/ accessed on 8 December 2010). Since this dictionary is available for free and does not establish its specific user group, we can assume that most of the users of this dictionary are lay-people, or those who do not have expertise in finance. Imagine a layman who wants to know the meaning of the term *common stock* and is presented with the search result in Table 1.

Table 1. Search result for the definitions of *common stock*

Securities that represent equity ownership in a company. Common shares let an investor vote on such matters as the election of directors. They also give the holder a share in a company's profits via dividend payments or the capital appreciation of the security. Units of ownership of a public corporation with junior status to the claims of secured/unsecured creditors, bondholders and preferred shareholders in the event of liquidation. Copyright © 2004, Campbell R. Harvey. All Rights Reserved.
A class of capital stock that has no preference to dividends or any distribution of assets. Common stock usually conveys voting rights and is often termed *capital stock* if it is the only class of stock that a firm has outstanding (that is, the firm has neither preferred stock nor multiple classes of common stock). Common stockholders are the residual owners of a corporation in that they have a claim to what remains after every other party has been paid. The value of their claim depends on the success of the firm. Wall Street Words: An A to Z Guide to Investment Terms for Today's Investor by David L. Scott. Copyright © 2003 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

Stock in a publicly-traded company that entitles holders to vote in the annual meeting, to elect the board of directors, and to generally exercise control of the company. While common stockholders are important in terms of their level of control, they have the least precedence in the event of liquidation. That is, if the company goes bankrupt, common stockholders do not receive any money until all bondholders, other debt holders, and preferred shareholders are paid in full. Likewise, common stock is not entitled to a guaranteed dividend. Farlex Financial Dictionary. © 2009 Farlex, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
When you own common stock, your shares represent ownership in the corporation and give you the right to vote for the company's board of directors and benefit from its financial success. You may receive a portion of the company's profits as dividend payments if the board of directors declares a dividend. You also have the right to sell your stock and realize a capital gain if the share value increases. But if the company falters and the price falls, your investment could lose some of or all its value. Dictionary of Financial Terms. Copyright © 2008 Lightbulb Press, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
A security that represents ownership in a corporation; holders of common stock exercise control by electing a board of directors and voting on corporate policy. Common stockholders are on the bottom of the priority ladder if a company fails. In the case of liquidation, common shareholders get paid after bondholders, preferred shareholders, and other debtholders. In the United Kingdom, common stock is called ordinary shares. Investopedia's Guide To Wall Speak, Edited by Jack Guinan. Copyright © 2009 by Investopedia®. Used with permission of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
Shares in the ownership of a corporation that are entitled to residual dividends, after bonds and preferred stock have first received interest and dividends. A common stockholder usually has a vote in deciding company affairs, including the election of a corporation's board of directors. Copyright © 2008 H&R Block. All Rights Reserved. Reproduced with permission from H&R Block Glossary

When looking at the search result in Table 1, the user may be confused of choosing the right definition from the six different definitions provided. In addition, the user will have to spend much time to read the whole definitions. A good dictionary, especially an online dictionary, should be able to quickly give the correct answer to the user's question (Bergenholtz and Gouws 2010: 119).

Presenting six different definitions will mean that the correct answer cannot be obtained quickly. Thus, such a dictionary cannot qualify as a good dictionary.

If we refer to the research made by Tono (2001: 161) that users always tend to choose the first definition when they are presented with several options, we can assume that this user will choose the first definition listed in Table 1. If we look at the way the definition is written, in particular the use of terms in the definition, it is unlikely that the user will be able to understand it. The first definition, which is written by Harvey, a professor of finance from Duke University, is suited for experts or perhaps, to some extent, to semi-experts in finance, but not for laypeople. Therefore, it is necessary for the dictionary to specify their intended user group, so that people who do not belong to that user group will not waste their time using the dictionary.

An example of a financial dictionary that specifies its user group is the *Finance and Business Dictionary* by QFINANCE. In the first page of the dictionary website, we can find a statement that the intended users of this dictionary are finance professionals (http://www.qfinance.com/dictionary accessed on 8 December 2010). The following is the definition of the term *common stock* taken from this *Finance and Business Dictionary*.

> **common stock**
> a stock that provides voting rights but only pays a dividend after dividends for preferred stock have been paid.

The definition may not be easily understood by lay-people because of the use of technical words (e.g. dividend and preferred stock) in the definition, but it is adequately comprehensible to finance professionals or experts who are the target users of the dictionary. It can be argued, however, that it is unlikely for an expert in finance to have a text reception problem and consult a financial dictionary to find the meaning of a financial term (Bergenholtz and Kaufmann 1997: 102). Therefore, a text reception LSP dictionary intended for experts in their subject field may not be quite useful. This *Finance and Business Dictionary* can be more useful if it is for text production. Unfortunately, as we can see from the dictionary article above, the lemma *common stock* is not accompanied with additional data which can help in text production. Some examples of the additional data which are useful for text production are word class, collocations, and derivatives (for a detailed discussion, see Tarp 2008: 149-153). In addition, the definitions in the *Finance and Business Dictionary* are not written according to the full-sentence structure, which is useful for text production dictionaries, especially in assisting the users with the grammatical patterns of the words (Rundell 2006: 740). The following section explains the language structures which should be considered by LSP lexicographers when writing definitions for text production and text reception dictionaries.

4. DEFINITIONS BASED ON DICTIONARY FUNCTIONS

Before establishing the language structure which is most suitable to be used when writing definitions for text production and text reception LSP dictionaries, it is necessary to describe the two language structures widely used in LGP (language for general purposes) or learner dictionaries. The merits and demerits of these two language structures will then be associated with the dictionary functions in order to determine which type of language structure is more suitable for which dictionary function. The two language structures which are widely used in LGP dictionaries are: substitutable definitions and full sentence definitions. The description of these language structures are given in the following paragraphs.

To illustrate the difference between the substitutable definitions and full sentence definitions, consider some definitions of the verb *raise*. A dictionary that uses a substitutable definition will define the verb *raise* as 'to lift, push, or move upwards' (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1987). A dictionary that uses a full sentence definition will define it as 'If you raise something, you move it so that it is in a higher position' (*Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary* 2006). One of the advantages of the full sentence definitions is the implicit ability to tell the users about the structure of the words. In this example, the full sentence definition enables the user to guess that the verb *raise* needs to be followed by an object. A user who is familiar with the term *transitive* will know from the definition that it is a transitive verb. In contrast, the user cannot draw the same inference if the dictionary uses a substitutable definition. Given this advantage, Cowie (1999: 169) calls the full sentence definition a sophisticated outgrowth. In addition, Rundell (2006: 740) notes that most of the current English monolingual dictionaries have widely used the full sentence definitions, whereas substitutable definitions are claimed to be the feature of traditional lexicography.

Table 2. The primary structure of the full sentence definition

FIRST PART				**SECOND PART**	
Operator	**Co-text (1)**	**Topic**	**Co-text (2)**	**Operator**	**Comment**
	a	house		is	a building in which people live
when	artists	exhibit			they show their work in public
	a	pure	substance	is	not mixed with anything else
if	something happened	often			it happens many times or much of the time

The idea of full sentence structure in writing definitions in English monolingual dictionaries was introduced into COBUILD dictionaries in 1987. Sinclair (1991: 124-125) mentions that the primary structure of full sentence definitions is divisible into two principal parts as shown in Table 2. In this table, Sinclair uses the term *topic* to refer to the lemma.

The two-part structure in Table 2 places the defined words in contexts where the words are used. Therefore, it can be assumed that the full sentence definitions are useful for text production dictionaries. Although Rundell (2006: 739) states that monolingual learner dictionaries are intended to satisfy both text production and text reception functions, the full sentence structure used in monolingual learner dictionaries seems to work better in text production than in text reception.

Table 3 compares a full sentence definition with a substitutable definition for a lemma which can be found in an LSP dictionary, in particular a financial dictionary. In the first column of Table 3 is the full sentence definition which is a modified version of the definition given in the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (2001). The original definition from the *COBUILD* dictionary is 'If one thing merges with another, or is merged with another, they combine or come together to make one whole thing.' On the second column of Table 3 is the substitutable definition which is created by the author of this article. The financial term or lemma used in this comparison is the verb *merge*.

Table 3. Comparing the full sentence definition with the substitutable definition

Full sentence definition	Substitutable definition
Merge If one business merges with another, or is merged with another, they combine or come together to make one whole business.	**Merge** to combine two or more businesses into one.

The full sentence definition is longer than the substitutable definition because it contains two parts instead of one. In addition, it has to be noted that a full sentence definition does not only mean simply writing a definition in a full sentence, but it also has to be able to show the common structure of the lemma. This is usually carried out by considering the concordance results or the KWIC (Key Word in Context). In the above example, the language structure in the full sentence definition informs the users that the verb *merge* can be used in active and passive forms, and is followed by the preposition *with*. Therefore, the full sentence definitions are important for text production, but they are not very useful for text reception where the users only need to know the meaning of the term in the quickest way.

The substitutable definition comprises only the comment of the second part in Table 2. Therefore, as shown in Table 3, the substitutable definition provides a shorter definition and focuses directly on the meaning of the word. The substitutable definition consists of fewer words, so users do not need to spend much time reading it. In a text reception situation, a user is reading a text and s/he needs to find the meaning of a particular word in the fastest possible way, so that s/he can continue his/her reading process right away. Therefore, it is a good idea to provide a definition that is as concise as possible. This means that for a text reception function, the substitutable definitions can be considered as being more suitable to satisfy the needs of the users than the full sentence definitions.

Based on the explanation above, it is reasonable to conclude that the function of a dictionary determines the kind of language structure to be used in writing the definitions. This is illustrated in Figure 1. If the main function of a dictionary is for text production, it is advisable to use the full sentence structure in writing the definitions. If the main function of a dictionary is for text reception, it is better to use the substitutable definitions. After determining the language structure of the definitions, the next step is to consider the content and the language used in the definitions. This is closely related to the user competences, which are explained in the following section. The discussion is focused on the text reception function, not only because most users consult LSP dictionaries to solve their text reception problems, but also in order to make an in-depth analysis of a particular dictionary function.

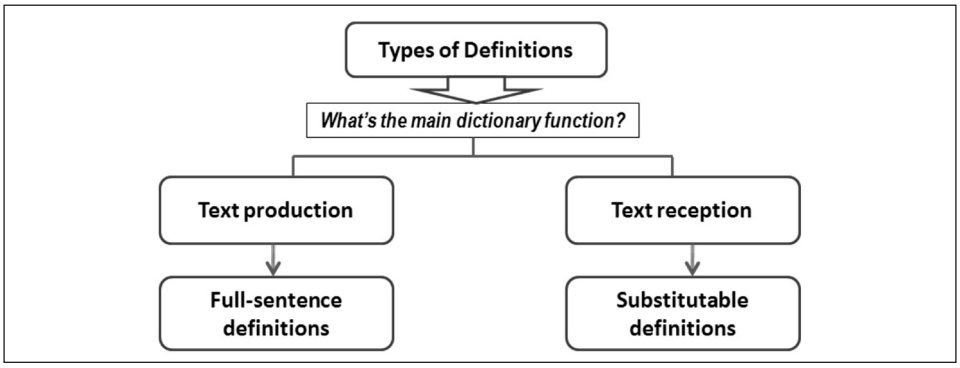

Figure 1. Types of definitions based on dictionary functions.

5. DEFINITIONS BASED ON USER COMPETENCES

LSP dictionary users have different competences and these may influence the way the definitions in LSP dictionaries is written. Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995: 21) distinguish between different groups of LSP dictionary users based on

two types of competences: encyclopaedic (subject-field) competence and foreign language competence. The consideration on the users' encyclopaedic competence is applicable to LSP dictionaries for both native speakers and foreign language speakers. However, the users' foreign language competence is only taken into account when creating LSP dictionaries targeted for foreign language users. Since there are more users of English financial dictionaries who are not native speakers of English, this article will include both the encyclopaedic and foreign language competences in proposing a typology of definitions for LSP dictionaries.

Based on their foreign language competence, LSP dictionary users can be classified into advanced, intermediate and beginner levels. These different levels of competences determine the language that should be used in writing the definitions. If the targeted dictionary users are at a beginner level in the foreign language, it is advisable to use the users' native language in defining the lemmata. Conversely, if the users are at an advanced level in the foreign language, it is recommended that the foreign language is used in defining the lemmata. The problem is when the users are at an intermediate level in the foreign language, because there are some lemmata which are better explained in the native language and some other in the foreign language (for a detailed discussion, see Kwary (2010: 1112-1118). Figure 2 illustrates the typology of definitions which takes the dictionary functions and the users' foreign language into consideration.

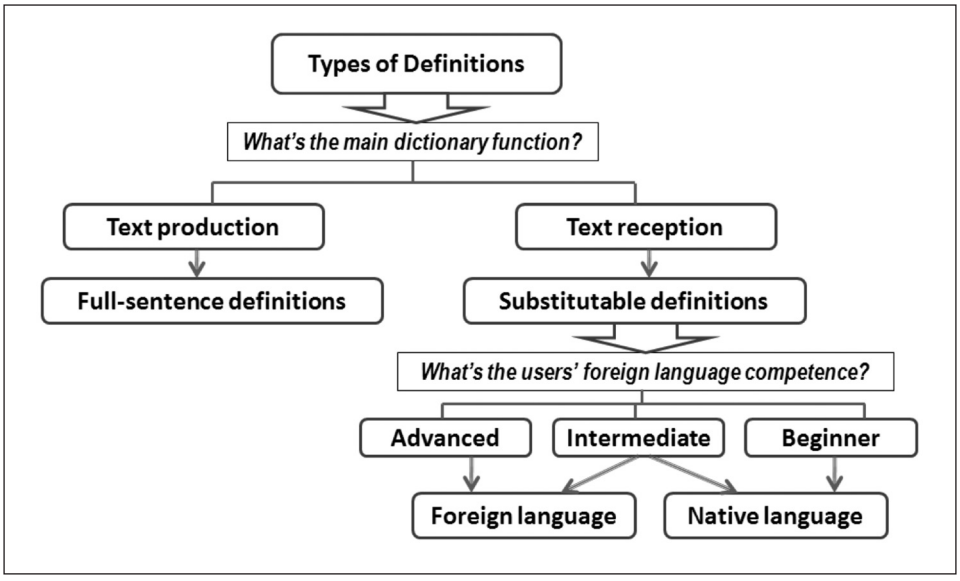

Figure 2. Types of definitions based on the dictionary functions and the users' foreign language competence.

Next, according to their encyclopaedic or subject-field competence, LSP dictionary users can be categorized into experts, semi-experts, and laypeople (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 21). Accordingly, LSP dictionaries targeted at users with different competence category should contain different types of definitions as well. Bergenholtz and Nielsen (2006: 299) give the following example for the definition of the term *gene* if the user is a layman and is reading a text on gene technology.

> **gene**
> the basic unit of inheritance which is transmitted from parents to offspring.

In the same situation, if the user is a semi-expert, Bergenholtz and Nielsen (2006: 300) suggest the following definition:

> **gene**
> a gene is a DNA sequence ending a mRNA (protein), tRNA or rRNA.

The above examples show that the main difference in the definition for layman and for semi-expert is not in the length of the definitions but on the exactness and the scientific terms used in the definitions. The definition given to a layman will not be useful to a semi-expert, due to the lack of exactness; whereas, the definition provided for a semi-expert will not be understandable to a layman due to the lack of knowledge of the subject-field and the use of technical vocabulary. Those examples confirm that users who have different levels of mastery of the subject field require different types of definitions.

The necessity to provide different definitions for users with different subject-field competences is not only applied to scientific dictionaries such as a dictionary of gene technology exemplified above. The same requirement should also be applied to other LSP dictionaries. For example, imagine a user who is reading a financial text, finds the term *common stock* and consults a dictionary to find its definition. If this user is a layman, s/he should be presented with the following dictionary article:

> **common stock**
> a type of share in a company that gives the owner the right to receive an amount of money from the company, and the right to vote at meetings.

If the user is a semi-expert, a more exact definition is required, such as the following:

> **common stock**
> A type of share that gives the owner the right to receive an amount of money according to how much profit the company has made, and the right to vote at stockholder meetings.

The definition for a semi-expert, as shown above, gives a more exact definition regarding the amount of money that the stockholder can receive (i.e. based on how much profit the company has made). If the user is an expert, the dictionary should provide the following definition which is even more exact and uses technical vocabulary which is understandable to an expert.

> **common stock**
> A type of share that gives the owner the right to a dividend, and the right to vote at stockholder meetings.

The term *dividend* is used in the expert definition to provide the user with a more exact method of calculating the money received by the stockholder and to enable the user to identify the amount of the money in a financial statement. For practical reasons, however, text reception dictionaries rarely use expert definitions because, as stated by Bergenholtz and Kaufmann (1997: 102), experts in the particular subject field will not have text reception problems. Therefore, LSP lexicographers who make dictionaries with text reception function should consider whether to use the layman definitions or the semi-expert definitions depending on the subject-field competence of their targeted dictionary users.

In text production, however, LSP lexicographers may need to consider using the expert definition as well if their targeted dictionary users are experts, because experts may have text production problems. For example, a financial professional does not have a problem to understand the meaning of the term *security* in the financial sense. However, this financial professional might want to know whether this term is countable or uncountable, in other words, whether there is a plural form of this term or not. The incorporation of the encyclopaedic and foreign language competences in writing definitions for LSP dictionaries is described in the next section.

6. A TYPOLOGY OF DEFINITIONS FOR LSP DICTIONARIES

The decision on how to write definitions for LSP dictionaries requires a clear-cut typology or classification on the types of definitions which are suitable to the dictionary function and the user competences. Figure 3 presents a proposal for a typology of definitions for LSP dictionaries. The typology is divided into three stages which comprise questions that should be considered by LSP lexicographers when determining the type of definitions they should use in the dictionaries.

As shown in Figure 3, there are three questions that lexicographers should consider before writing the definitions for the LSP dictionaries they are going to create. The first question to be asked is what the dictionary function is. As explained in Section 4, if the main function of the dictionary is for text production,

it should use the full sentence definitions, whereas if the main function is for text reception, it should use the substitutable definitions.

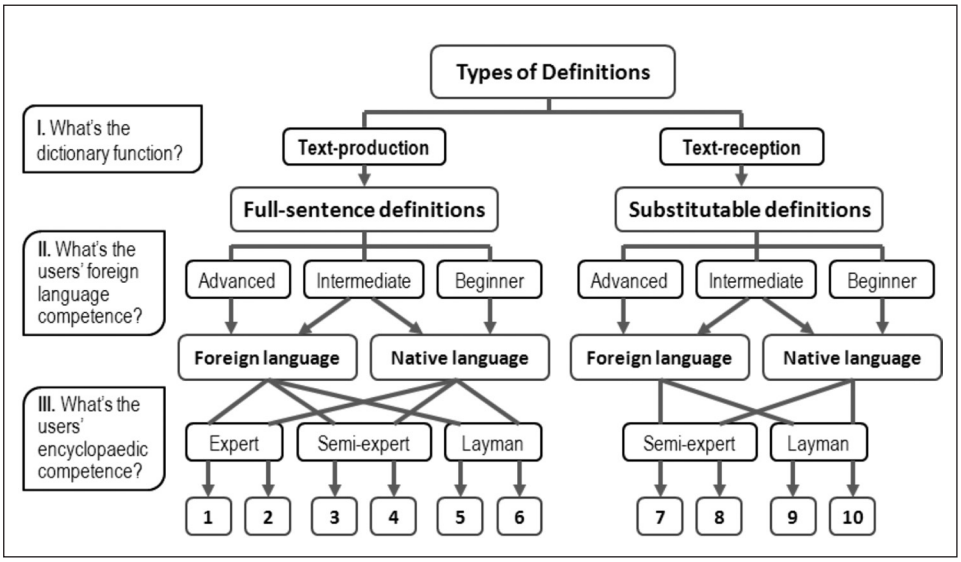

Figure 3. A typology of definitions for LSP dictionaries.

Next, the second question to be asked is what the users' foreign language competence is. At this stage, the users can be categorized into three groups or levels: beginner, intermediate, and advanced. If the users are at a beginner level in the foreign language, the definitions should be written in the native language of the users. If the users are at an advanced level in the foreign language, the definitions should be written in the the foreign language. If the users are at an intermediate level in the foreign language, two options should be provided: definitions in the users' native language and in the foreign language.

Finally, the last question is what the users' encyclopaedic competence is. For this type of competence, the users can be classified into layman, semi-expert and expert if the dictionary is for text production. However, as explained in Section 5, if the dictionary is for text reception, the users can be grouped into either layman or semi-expert. Consequently, lexicographers have the following ten options that they can choose when writing the definitions for LSP dictionaries:

1. Full sentence definitions, written in the foreign language, with content suitable for experts.
2. Full sentence definitions, written in the native language, with content suitable for experts.

3. Full sentence definitions, written in the foreign language, with content suitable for semi-experts.
4. Full sentence definitions, written in the native language, with content suitable for semi-experts.
5. Full sentence definitions, written in the foreign language, with content suitable for laypeople.
6. Full sentence definitions, written in the native language, with content suitable for laypeople.
7. Substitutable definitions, written in the foreign language, with content suitable for semi-experts.
8. Substitutable definitions, written in the native language, with content suitable for semi-experts.
9. Substitutable definitions, written in the foreign language, with content suitable for laypeople.
10. Substitutable definitions, written in the native language, with content suitable for laypeople.

These various options might be difficult to implement altogether in printed dictionaries. However, it is not the case for online dictionaries, because one dictionary website can accommodate more than one option that the users can choose by simply clicking a particular button. One database for an online dictionary has the ability to accommodate more than one dictionary. For example, the online financial dictionary by Farlex, mentioned in Section 2, accommodates six financial dictionaries as follows:

1. *Hypertextual Finance Glossary*, 2004.
2. *Wall Street Words: An A to Z Guide to Investment Terms for Today's Investor*, 2003.
3. *Farlex Financial Dictionary*, 2009.
4. *Dictionary of Financial Terms*, 2008.
5. *Investopedia's Guide to Wall Speak*, 2009.
6. *H&R Block Glossary*, 2008.

It is a good idea to integrate different dictionaries into one dictionary website. However, the different dictionaries should not only be selected based on their availability, but on their potential benefits for the users. If they are not beneficial to meet the needs of the users, they should not be included. In this case, it is recommended to accommodate dictionaries which support one another and beneficial for the users. An example on how to implement the typology in Figure 3 into an online LSP dictionary is described in the following paragraphs.

Take, for instance, a lexicographer who is going to make an English dictionary of finance which is aimed at university students in Indonesia. Since Indonesian students studying in business schools in Indonesian universities do not need to write their assignments in English, they do not really need a dictionary for text production. However, since they have to read a lot of financial texts in English, they need a dictionary which can help them solve their text reception problems. Therefore, at stage one in Figure 3, the lexicographer decides that the main function of the dictionary is for text reception and will use substitutable definitions.

Next, the lexicographer needs to determine the users' foreign language competence. The students, who are the intended users, have learned English as a foreign language for at least six years, so they cannot be considered at a beginner level, and it will be too exaggerating if they are classified into advanced users of English. Therefore, these users can best be categorized as intermediate in their foreign language competence. Being in an intermediate level, the users can sometimes understand the definitions if they are written in English, and sometimes in Indonesian. Consequently, the lexicographer decides to write the definitions in two languages: English and Indonesian.

Finally, the lexicographer should decide whether these users are lay-people or semi-experts. University students who are in their freshman year can be categorized as lay-people, those who are in their sophomore and junior years can either be called lay-people or semi-experts, and those who are in their senior year can be considered semi-experts. It means that the lexicographer should write the definitions in two types: layman definitions and semi-expert definitions.

To sum up, this online financial dictionary for these Indonesian students should integrate the four options, numbers 7 to 10, in Figure 3. It does not matter whether these four options are called four dictionaries or four tools, as long as they are useful to help the users solve their lexicographical problems. These four options can be converted into four buttons with the following headings:

(1) Layman definition
(2) Semi-expert definition
(3) Definisi untuk orang awam
(4) Definisi untuk semi-ahli

Every lemma in this dictionary has to be accompanied with the four types of definitions mentioned above. It means that there are four possible results for each search action made by the users. For example, if a user has a problem to understand the term *issue* and consult this dictionary, the possible results of the search action of this user are as follows, depending on which button this user clicks:

Layman definition → The number of shares on offer to the public.

Semi-expert definition → A series of stocks or bonds that have been offered to the public.

Definisi untuk orang awam → Sejumlah saham yang ditawarkan ke masyarakat umum.

Definisi untuk semi-ahli → Serangkaian saham atau obligasi yang telah ditawarkan ke masyarakat umum.

The first option, *Layman definition*, is the best option for users who are in their freshman year and have an English language proficiency at an upper-intermediate level. These users feel comfortable about reading definitions in English but do not know much about finance, i.e. low encyclopaedic competence. This means that for the term *issue*, the *Layman definition* ('The number of shares on offer to the public') is the most appropriate one to satisfy their needs to understand the financial terminology. These users can understand this definition because they are quite fluent in English and the definition does not use financial terminology which is incomprehensible to these users.

The second option, *Semi-expert definition*, is the best option for users who are in their senior year and have an English language proficiency at an upper-intermediate level. These users have a good knowledge of finance and feel comfortable in reading English definitions. However, they may want to know the more precise definition of a term. In this case, they can use the option *Semi-expert definition* ('A series of stocks or bonds that have been offered to the public') to satisfy their needs. These users can understand this definition because they are quite fluent in English and they know the meaning of the terms *stocks* and *bonds* which are used in the definition to make it more precise and suitable to the needs of these semi-experts.

The third option, *Definisi untuk orang awam* ('layman definition in Indonesian'), is the best option for users who are in their freshman year and have an English language proficiency at a lower-intermediate level. These users have low competence in comprehending English language texts, and have not learned much about finance. Therefore, the option *Definisi untuk orang awam* ('Sejumlah saham yang ditawarkan ke masyarakat umum') is the best option to satisfy their needs because it is a lot easier for them to understand the definitions if they are given in Indonesian than in English. In addition, the definition is only written using general words, so it is easy for them to understand it.

The fourth option, *Definisi untuk semi-ahli* ('semi-expert definition in Indonesian'), is the best option for users who are in their senior year and have an English language proficiency at a lower-intermediate level. These users have learned a lot about finance, but only in the Indonesian language. They do not

feel comfortable reading the English definitions due to their low English language proficiency. Therefore, they would prefer the option *Definisi untuk semi-ahli* ('Serangkaian saham atau obligasi yang telah ditawarkan ke masyarakat umum') to satisfy their needs. These users can understand this definition very well since it is in the Indonesian language.

In addition to the four options mentioned above, the lexicographer may consider providing another button, i.e. *Terjemahan* ('equivalents in Indonesian'), or integrating the equivalents at the beginning of the definitions which are written in the native language of the users. This option, however, is related to text translation function which is beyond the topic of this article. The main focus of this article is on writing definitions, not on translations. Therefore, the lexicographical functions discussed are the text production and text reception. The discussion has resulted in a typology of definitions, shown in Figure 3, which can be used by lexicographers when deciding on how to write the definitions in LSP dictionaries.

7. CONCLUSION

The type of definitions used in one LSP dictionary should be different from that used in another LSP dictionary if the two dictionaries have different functions and different user groups. This article proposes a typology of definitions which contain ten options or types of definitions that lexicographers can choose when deciding on how to write definitions for LSP dictionaries in general, and ESP dictionaries in particular. The typology comprises three stages: dictionary functions, users' foreign language competence, and users' encyclopaedic competence. This typology is expected to help lexicographers write and address the right definitions for the right dictionary users. Consequently, the dictionaries created will be able to provide optimal solutions to the users' lexicographical problems.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 75-96

WEAK AND SEMIWEAK PHONOLOGICAL POSITIONS IN ENGLISH*

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ABSTRACT. *The paper argues that, besides the distinction between strong and weak phonological positions, a further dichotomy of weak and semiweak positions is justified in English, manifesting itself in consonant lenition as well as vowel reduction and syncope. Namely, a consonant/vowel immediately following the metrical head is more prone to lenite/reduce than a later consonant/vowel. An extensive discussion of the relevant data, taken from t-allophony and vowel reduction, as well as the introduction of the novel results of an investigation of schwa syncope in British English are provided. The analysis is set in a subbranch of Government Phonology called Strict CV (or CVCV) phonology, in which a licensed position is strong, a governed position is weak, and one which is both licensed and governed is semiweak. It is also shown that previous accounts of some of the data, making reference to foot adjunction structure, handle the observed facts inadequately either because they are unable to predict the observed patterning of strong vs. semiweak realisations, or because they allow for reduction where it is not on record.*

Keywords: English phonology, lenition, vowel reduction, syncope, Government Phonology, CVCV phonology.

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* The very first draft of the paper was presented at the First International Conference on the Linguistics of Contemporary English (ICLCE1) in Edinburgh on 23-26 June 2005. I am grateful to the audience there, as well as to Miklós Törkenczy, Péter Szigetvári, Szilárd Szentgyörgyi and two anonymous reviewers, for their comments on various later versions.

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POSICIONES FONOLÓGICAS DÉBILES Y SEMI-DÉBILES EN INGLÉS

RESUMEN. *Este artículo sostiene que, además de la distinción entre las posiciones fonológicas fuertes y débiles, es posible establecer una categorización adicional entre las posiciones débiles y semi-débiles en inglés, que se manifiesta en un debilitamiento de la consonante, así como en una reducción vocálica y síncopa. En concreto, una consonante/vocal que aparezca inmediatamente después al núcleo métrico está más sujeta al debilitamiento que una consonante/vocal posterior. En este trabajo se exponen los datos más relevantes de manera detallada, extraídos de la alofonía de la t y la reducción vocálica, a la vez que presentan nuevos resultados obtenidos de la investigación de la síncopa de la schwa en inglés británico. El análisis se realiza dentro de en una sub-rama de la Fonología de Rección llamada Strict CV (o CVCV) Phonology, en la que una posición intrínseca es fuerte, una posición sujeta a rección es débil, y una que es tanto intrínseca como sujeta a rección es semi-débil. También se demuestra que investigaciones anteriores sobre algunos de los datos que aquí se presentan, y que hacen referencia a la estructura de adición a la base, dan cuenta de los hechos observados inadecuadamente, ya sea porque el análisis no predice los patrones de realizaciones fuertes vs. semi-débiles observados, o porque permite la reducción donde no ha sido registrada.*

Palabras clave: Fonología inglesa, debilitamiento, reducción vocálica, síncopa, Fonología de Rección, Fonología CVCV.

Received 01 May 2010
Revised version accepted 20 January 2011

1. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In English, the phoneme /t/ undergoes a wide range of processes under various conditions in all the native accents. For example, in most dialects it exhibits some degree of aspiration word-initially and before a stressed vowel (i.e., in foot-initial position, e.g., *Tom*, *atómic* [t^h]), traditionally analysed as fortition or strengthening, whereas it typically weakens or lenites in, e.g., foot-internal intervocalic and word-final positions. This process of lenition may manifest itself in various forms across speakers, registers, styles and accents, from a simple reduction of the degree of aspiration to (pre)glottalisation (e.g., *but*, *cat* [ʔt]) or the full replacement of the /t/ with a tap or flap (e.g., *átom*, *city* [ɾ] in the so-called tapping dialects like most forms of North American English), the glottal plosive (called glottalling, e.g., *átom, city* [ʔ] in London English), a coronal or glottal fricative (e.g., *city* [s] or *cat* [h] in parts of the North of England), or even zero (e.g., *but* in forms of Irish English). Consequently, the foot-initial position is frequently characterised as phonologically strong, while those favouring lenition phenomena are phonologically weak. The

present paper argues that a further division of the latter case into two subtypes, weak (proper) and semiweak is necessary for the appropriate description of the observed facts.

Many have noticed (e.g., Withgott 1982, Jensen 1987, Harris and Kaye 1990, Burzio 1994, Steriade 2000, Jensen 2000, Davis 2003, 2005, just to mention a few) that in English (word-internal) dactylic sequences the unstressed position immediately following the foothead is more prone to reduce than the next syllable. For instance, in *capáci̲t̲y* or *édi̲t̲or* aspiration is more acceptable than in *á̲t̲om* or *glí̲t̲̲t̲er* (e.g., Kahn 1976: 165 fn.17, Hooper 1978, Selkirk 1982, Kenstowicz 1994: 69, Kreidler 1989: 110-111, Vaux 2002 and references therein). Harris and Kaye (1990: 261) also note that in words with two successive potential lenition sites, e.g. *compé̲t̲i̲t̲ive*, the second is less prone to glottalize or tap than the first. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 below provide an extensive discussion of the relevant data.

In addition, as observed by Withgott (1982) and Jensen (1987), taps may be suppressed in certain positions, e.g., the underlined t̲'s tend to be aspirated rather than flapped in *mìli̲t̲arístic, sàni̲t̲isátion, mònoto̲nícity, Mèdi̲t̲erránean, Wìnni̲p̲esáukee, Nàvra̲t̲ilóva, àbra̲c̲adábra,* etc. They are contained in the third syllable of word-internal dactylic sequences, i.e., between the other unstressed syllable of their ternary foot to the left and the stressed syllable of the next foot to the right. This systematic absence of lenition in American English in the third position of nonfinal dactyls has been dubbed the Withgott-effect, and in morphologically derived words like *mìli̲t̲arístic* it is allegedly caused by the absence of lenition in the base *míli̲t̲àry* as a result of Paradigm Uniformity (PU) (Steriade 2000).

Although Davis (2003, 2005) claims that tap suppression only takes place in non-final dactyls and final dactyls like *sánity* are excluded from its scope, I will argue below that there is no significant asymmetry between final and non-final dactylic sequences. My suggestion, then, is that a distinction can be drawn between the 'weak' position immediately following the head of the foot and a 'semiweak' position following it, irrespective of where in the word the sequence is situated. I base this claim on evidence coming from various sources of the fact that, although in final semiweak positions the frequency of tapping is somewhat higher and VOT in case of aspiration is shorter, flapping does not apply in such a uniform fashion as in the preceding weak positions: word frequency and speech style can exert their influence there, much the same way as word-medially.

Vowel reduction, i.e., the weakening of vowels under zero stress, appears to exhibit the same pattern. It is Burzio (1994: 113, footnote 14) who first pointed out that in English, foot-medial open syllables are affected by reduction to a greater extent than foot-final syllables. In the total reduction of a vowel from schwa to zero, i.e., in cases of deletion or syncope, too, a stronger tendency is attested for a first schwa to syncopate (e.g. *fúnctio̲nary* in the British English pronunciation)

than for a second one (e.g. *fúnctionary*). Section 4 below introduces the results of an investigation of such data.

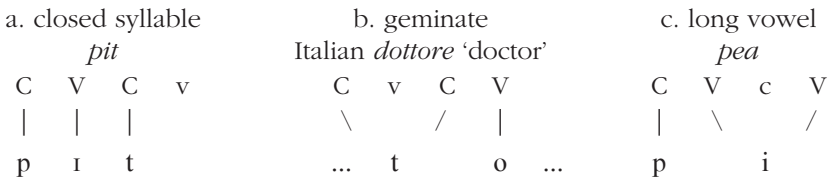
The present paper proposes to relate all these (apparently disparate) phenomena to a general distinction between weak and semiweak positions, originally introduced for Dutch in e.g. van Oostendorp (2000): the first unstressed position is weak, the second is semiweak. I argue, against Davis (2003), that there is no asymmetry between the behaviour of word-internal and final dactyls: the same strong-weak-semiweak pattern is detectable in both *mìlitarístic/Nàvratilóva* and *compétitive/vánity*. In addition, pretonic unstressed syllables do not exhibit the same degree of phonological strength/weakness: word-initially they are generally stronger (as in *potáto*, with almost as much aspiration on the /p/ as on the first /t/) than medially (as in *Wìnnepesáukee*). Therefore, foot-based adjunction analyses, propagated in Withgott (1982), Jensen (1987, 2000), Davis (2003), etc. are inadequate either because they predict the same amount of aspiration in *Wìnnepesáukee* as in *potáto*, or because they allow for a reduced vowel in a monosyllabic foot. Moreover, given the symmetrical behaviour of *mìlitarístic* and *vánity*, it is desirable that the two receive the same treatment, but the mechanism adjoining the third syllable of the dactyl to the right is clearly unavailable in *vánity*.

The paper is structured as follows. After the theoretical background is sketched out in Section 1.2, Section 2 introduces the concept of weak and semiweak positons in Dutch. Sections 3 and 4 argue for the relevance of the same distinction in English, with examples from t-lenition (Sections 3.1, 3.2) including the 'Withgott-effect' (Section 3.3) and from vowel reduction and schwa-syncope (Section 4). Then Section 5 provides the CVCV analysis, and Section 6 concludes the discussion.

1.2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

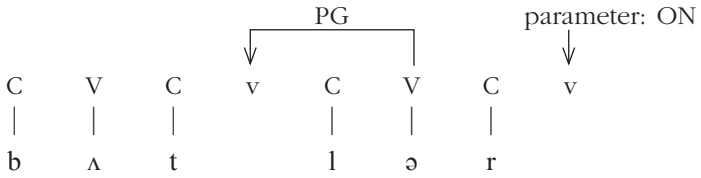
The analysis is couched within the theoretical framework called Strict CV (or CVCV) phonology (Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004, etc.), a branch of Government Phonology (GP – Kaye et al. 1985, 1990, etc.), introducing a new type of phonological skeletal structure, in which syllabic constituency and timing are merged into a skeletal tier consisting of strictly alternating C and V positions, and parametric variation in syllable structure is expressed with reference to the licensing of empty positions rather than branching. A ‚closed syllable', then, will have its final consonant followed by an empty nucleus (the morpheme-final version of which is dubbed Final Empty Nucleus (FEN) – cf. (1a)), while consonant clusters including geminates (1b) and vocalic sequences including long vowels (1c) will be composed of two C slots and two V slots, respectively, sandwiching an empty position each.

(1)[1]



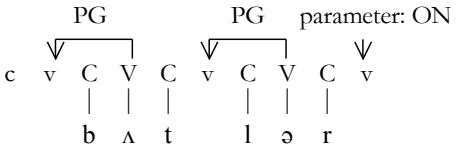
Empty positions, however, are not allowed in languages to proliferate freely. Crucially to our present discussion, a parameter circumscribes the presence of final empty nuclei (FENs) in languages: the ON setting (as in English, cf. (2) below) allows for (phonetic) consonant-final words in the language, the OFF setting, on the other hand, implies the absence of such words (as in Italian or Japanese). The other force which is able to silence v's is called Proper Government (PG). Via PG, a nonempty nuclear position licenses an empty one adjacent on the nuclear projection. The direction of PG is assumed to be governed by a parameter, but all reported cases illustrate the iambic type. Cf. (2).

(2) English *butler*



Proper Government is not only operative word-internally, but its other key function is to take care of the left edge of words. Lowenstamm (1999) proposes to represent the beginning of the word, traditionally denoted by #, as an empty cv span (called the boundary marker). (3) below is the version of (2) amended accordingly.

(3) English *butler*



[1] I am adopting Szigetvári's (e.g., 1999) notation, which uses upper-case letters for non-empty positions, and lower-case letters for empty ones.

Besides government, segments also contract another lateral relationship called licensing. In (4), I list the major theoretical assumptions concerning the two forces.

(4)

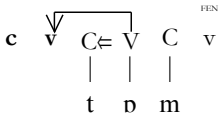
a. Vocalicness is loud, not only acoustically but also in the sense that V slots in the phonological skeleton aim at being pronounced. (Szigetvári 1999: 62)
b. Consonantalness is mute, if nothing intervenes a C position will stay silent. (Szigetvári 1999: 62)
c. Government spoils the inherent properties of its target. (Szigetvári 1999: 66)
d. Licensing comforts segmental expression of its target. (Ségéral and Scheer 1999: 20)
e. Stressed vowels are unable to govern into non-peripheral units.
f. The government whereby a vowel affects a preceding *consonant* operates on the melodic level.

It follows from (4a-d) that a licensed C finds itself in a phonologically strong position, while C's which are governed and C's which are neither governed nor licensed are expected to lenite. (4e) is responsible for the lack of weakening (in English at least) before stressed vowels, i.e., foot-initially, and (4f) ultimately derives cross-word cases of lenition, irrelevant to the present topic. To translate this to describe the facts of t̲-lenition introduced above, a /t/ is aspirated in a phonologically strong position, viz. when licensed but ungoverned; this situation emerges before stressed vowels (since, in accordance with (4e), they are unable to govern into a preceding CV slot, e.g., *at̲ómic*, cf. (6b) below) and word-initially (when the vowel's governing potential is used up by the requirement to silence the empty v in the boundary marker, e.g., *T̲om* – cf. (3) above and (5) below). There are two types of phonologically weak positions, one is before an empty v, which is roughly before a consonant and word-finally – in such cases consonants remain ungoverned and unlicensed and exhibit 'consonantal' lenition (they devoice, deaspirate, debuccalize, etc.), i.e. t̲'s are (pre)glottalised, cf. *but̲ler* in (3). The other weak position is that of foot-internal intervocalic C's, which receive both government and licensing from the following (unstressed) vowel; here consonants tend to move towards vocalicness (they become more sonorous), e.g. t̲'s are flapped, as in *at̲ómic*, cf. (6a) below.

The representations in (5)-(6) below illustrate the relevant cases. The absence of word-initial lenition stems from the fact that the boundary marker is present and requires silencing: the first nonempty C of the word is licensed only (indicated by '⇐' – cf. (5)). Before stressed vowels within words, the /t/ escapes government

again since (4e) is operative: a word-internal CV unit is non-peripheral (6b). Lenition by government, usually manifesting itself as tapping/flapping, is predicted to occur before unstressed vowels word-medially (6a).

(5) *Tom*



(6) a. *átom* b. *atómic*

I claim that, based on Ségéral and Scheer's (1999) and Szigetvári's (1999) definitions of government and licensing as two antagonistic forces (4c-d), the theoretical framework just sketched out is capable of expressing the relative weakness of the weak position of the dactyl, rather than the relative strength of the semiweak position. This way, it accounts for all the observations enumerated above without making reference to foot structure.

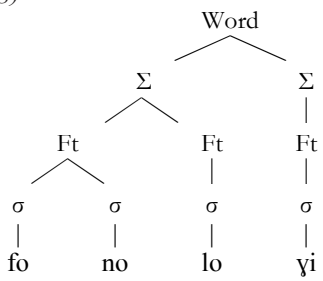
2. WEAK VS. SEMIWEAK POSITIONS

The distinction between weak and semiweak phonological positions was introduced for Dutch by van Oostendorp (2000: 147-148) to describe the propensity full vowels exhibit to alternate with schwa in stressless positions (basically, in free variation, the difference between reduced and unreduced pronunciations being one in style registers). What the Dutch data show is there are two types of unstressed position: one which is more prone to reduce ('weak') and another with less frequent reduction ('semiweak'). This is illustrated by the possible pronunciations of the Dutch word for 'phonology'.

(7) *fonologie* 'phonology'
very formal: [ˌfonoloˈɣi]
less formal: [ˌfonəloˈɣi]
even less formal: [ˌfonələˈɣi]
but: * [ˌfonoləˈɣi]

The conclusion to be drawn is that the syllable *-lo-* is more resistant to reduction: it is in semiweak position. The usual analysis of this absence of reduction in the final syllables of word-internal dactyls makes reference to foot structure, as shown in (8)[2]. Since feet are maximally binary, *-lo-* remains unfooted unless it erects a foot itself. As a result, both *fo-* and *-lo-* are footheads, and are therefore expected to be strong, as opposed to *-no-*, which forms the recessive position of the first foot. The two metrically prominent syllables (*fo-* and *-gie*) are different from *-lo-*, however, since they are heads of superfeet (**Σ**=superfoot).

(8)



In van Oostendorp's OT account, two separate constraints are proposed relating to footheads: one ensures that no reduction takes place in heads of feet (*fo-* and *-lo-*), the other bans reduction in heads of branching feet (and applies to *fo-* only). While [ˌfonoloˈɣi] and [ˌfonəloˈɣi] do not violate either, and [ˌfonələˈɣi] violates the first one only, the unattested *[ˌfonoləˈɣi] would both violate the first constraint and contain an unreduced vowel in a non-foothead position.

3. WEAK AND SEMIWEAK POSITIONS IN LENITION IN ENGLISH

3.1. TAPPING AND GLOTTALLING DATA IN HARRIS AND KAYE (1990)

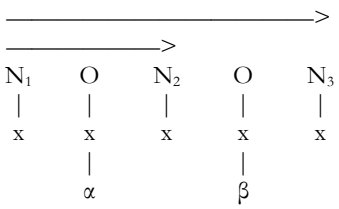
In their survey and GP analysis of t̲-lenition in New York City (NYC) English (tapping) and London English (glottalling), Harris and Kaye (1990: 261) note the remarkable behaviour of words with two successive potential lenition sites, e.g. *compétitive*. Here, two t̲'s are followed by an unstressed vowel each, therefore both are expected to lenite. However, as Harris and Kaye observe, the second /t/ can only undergo weakening if the first one does so, too. This is illustrated for London glottalling in (9), but corresponding results are reported for tapping in NYC.

[2] (8) is a reproduction of Figure (17) in van Oostendorp (2000: 148).

(9) *compétitive*
compe[t]i[t]ive
compe[ʔ]i[t]ive
compe[ʔ]i[ʔ]ive
*compe[t]i[ʔ]ive

Notice the parallelism between (7) and (9). Harris and Kaye are at a loss how to interpret this "'chain' of reduction". They provide a non-CVCV GP account of NYC English tapping and London glottalling, in which lenition affects consonants trapped between two vowels contracting what they take to be a licensing relationship emanating from the foothead and targeting other vowels within the same foot. In this respect, there is no difference between the two t's, as illustrated in (10): N_1, the stressed vowel, licenses both N_2 (sandwiching α), as shown by the shorter arrow, and N_3 (sandwiching β), as shown by the longer arrow. In fact, they use this as the motivation for lenition in both *polítical* and *sánity*.

(10)



However, the data can be reinterpreted as another manifestation of the weak vs. semiweak distinction: there is a stronger tendency to lenite in the weak position (*compétitive*), whereas the semiweak position (*compétitive*) is more resistant to reduction.[3]

3.2. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POST-TONIC AND LATER POSITIONS

There is ample evidence that even in cases when only one lenition target is available, the behaviour of the immediate post-tonic consonant and that of the following position are asymmetrical. Several speakers of American English have reported that a /t/ immediately following the stressed vowel (e.g. *Ítaly*) *must* be a flap, a later /t/ (e.g. *sánity*) *may* be a flap. Hooper (1978), for example, claims that only post-tonic consonants are ambisyllabic, which is reflected by the fact that only such t's are flapped (as in *kítty*) as opposed to intervocalic consonants not

[3] Notice that this statement goes straight against Szigetvári's (1999: 47), which asserts that "in a word like *competitive* the two t's are subject to the same type and degree of lenition".

preceded by the stressed vowel (as in *serénity*, which contains an aspirated /t/ for Hooper). As we have mentioned above, a number of authors find aspiration in words like *capácity* or *éditor* more acceptable than in words like *átom* or *glítter* (e.g. Selkirk 1982, Kreidler 1989: 110-111, Kenstowicz 1994: 69, Vaux 2002 and references therein). To quote Kahn (1976: 165 fn.17): "In some words which appear to be entirely on a par structurally with words like capital, failure to tap is not quite serious an affront to the American ear as the absence of flap usually is. Compare better, capital with marital. Even in the case of the latter word, however, /D/ is preferred greatly", whereas "[in immediate post-tonic position] as in better, unflapped /t/ is unnatural even in very careful speech" (ibid: 94). In a phonetic study, Patterson and Connine (2001), when listing the six possible phonetic environments of a medial /t/, only consider the immediate post-tonic position as the 'flap environment', as in *wáter*, *párty*, and list the intervocalic unstressed position (as in *párity*) under a separate heading, excluding it from the focus of their study. Vaux (2002) observes the difference between *consérvative* (with flapping) and *sédative* (without) – whatever causes this variation, it clearly affects the second unstressed position after the tonic.

I conclude that for these speakers (and authors), this is a difference between weak and semiweak positions: the later /t/ is in semiweak position, and as such is more resistant to reduction.

3.3. THE 'WITHGOTT-EFFECT"

Withgott (1982) was the first to highlight and analyse tap suppression in certain positions. She recorded that the /t/ is flapped in *càpitalístic*, as expected, but aspirated in *mìlitarístic, sànitisátion, mònotonícity.* She pointed out that while *capitalistic* is morphologically related to *capital*, where the /t/ is already flapped, the untapped t's are all found in a derivative where there must be an untapped /t/ in the base due to stress on the syllable whose onset the /t/ is (*mílitàry, sánitìze, mónotòne*). She also argued that a cyclic analysis (i.e., one relying on the morphological complexity of these words) is not appropriate since aspiration (instead of lenition) is attested in words like *Méditerránean, Wînnipesáukee, Nàvratilóva, àbracadábra*, which are morphologically independent. She proposed an adjunction analysis: stray syllables always attach to *adjacent* feet. Accordingly, *po-* in *potáto* adjoins to the right while in words like *àbracadábra*, after the localization of footheads, there remain two stray syllables inbetween; the first is adjoined to the left, while the second adjoins to the right. In this way, the second unstressed syllable following the stress becomes foot-initial, therefore strong. This is a modification of Hayes (1982), where both stray syllables are assumed to adjoin to the left.

Jensen (1987) pursues the same idea as Withgott[4]. He brings supporting arguments from native intuition (informants were asked to divide words like *àbracadábra* into two parts), and verifies the results with instrumental measurements of the duration of stop release in the same words, only to underpin Withgott's intuitions. He concludes that the third syllables of such words are footheads, since only foot-initial voiceless plosives are aspirated. The stray syllable adjunction rules he assumes are explicitly formulated in Jensen (2000: 210), where he derives the difference between *càpitalístic* and *mìlitarístic* in terms of a cyclic derivation of stress and foot structure. In the first cycle in *capitalistic*, the only possibility is for (*capital*) to be assigned a dactylic foot (enclosed in the parentheses), which is preserved in the second cycle, yielding (*capita*)(*listic*). In both instances the /t/ is foot-internal. In *military*, however, two feet are produced in the first cycle ((*mili*)(*tary*)). In the second cycle, the foot (*ristic*) is formed on the right and stray *-ta-* adjoins to the right, giving (*mili*)(*ta*(*ristic*)).

Although it has the same effect, Withgott's and Jensen's solution is just the opposite of van Oostendorp's in (8) above.

Steriade (2000: 322-326) also addresses the problem, though she approaches it from a completely different angle. She claims that Paradigm Uniformity (PU) is at work here. PU promotes the invariance of some sound property within a paradigm, and is defined as given in (11).

(11) Paradigm Uniformity

> All surface realizations of μ, where μ is the morpheme shared by the members of paradigm x, must have identical values for property P. (Steriade 2000: 313)

Tap suppression in words like *militaristic* is a PU effect, Steriade claims: it is the paradigmatic extension of the unflapped stop of *military*, more precisely, of the [extra-short closure] feature the flap does, but the stop does not, possess. To show that the Withgott-effect is systematic, Steriade presents the results of a survey she carried out with 12 speakers of American English, who were asked to read out the following (often nonce) words.

(12) a. Bases: *positive, primitive, relative, negative, voluntary*
Derivatives: *positivistic, primitivistic, relativistic, negativistic, voluntaristic*
b. Bases: *rotary, fatal, fetish, totem, notary*
Derivatives: *rotaristic, fatalistic, fetishistic, totemistic, notaristic*

[4] He does not refer to Withgott, though.

Derivatives in *-istic* are expected to display stem invariance effects since the morphological operation producing them is highly productive, and they are (fully) compositional. In the bases in (12a), speakers differ as to whether *-ive* and *-ary* are stressed – consequently, whether the /t/ can be flapped. The quality of the /t/ in the bases is predicted to determine the one in the derivatives. In the words in (12b), however, all intervocalic t̲'s should be tapped, being followed by stressless vowels. In the survey the words in (12a) were mingled with the words in (12b) to minimize the influence of similar words on each other, and also to check whether the informants were not producing artificially untapped pronunciations. The results showed virtually no exceptions to base-derivative correspondence, i.e., whenever there was a tap in the base in the examples in (12a), there was a tap in the derivative, and whenever there was an untapped /t/ in the base, it was unchanged in the derivative.

In monomorphemic strings PU is irrelevant, and, as Steriade observes, t̲'s are generally tapped in unstressed position in words like *mèrit̲ocrátic, hèmat̲ogénesis, pèrit̲onítis, hèmat̲ocýstic*. She insists that *Mèditerránean* is a unique underived form in which the tap is suppressed; her explanation is that the orthographic geminate <rr> is interpreted by speakers as an indication of secondary stress on the preceding vowel. Unfortunately Steriade does not comment on Withgott's other examples, which do not contain orthographic geminates in the relevant position at all (cf. *Winnipesáukee, Nàvratilóva, àbracadábra*). Vaux (2002) adds *Vìnatiéri* to the list, and cites *lòllapalóoza* from Davis (2001). Among others, Jensen (2000) and Davis (2003, 2005) insist that this reflects a regular pattern, which goes against Steriade's analysis.

What is of really high relevance to the present discussion, however, is what Steriade remarks in her endnote 4: tap suppression does not obtain in syllables that directly follow the tonic, as in word pairs like *stat̲ístic – stàt̲istícian*; in the second item in these pairs a tap usually appears and, generally, there are very few instances of non-tapped t̲'s in the V_v context: "[...] constraints that induce tapping are more stringent (i.e. more highly ranked) in the immediate post-stress position than elsewhere. PU effects surface only when the tapping constraint is weaker." (Steriade 2000: endnote 4.) In light of the foregoing discussion, this remark can be interpreted to argue that examples of tap suppression (whether or not they are manifestations of PU effects) are only found in the semiweak position, irrespective of morphological structure.

Davis (2003) claims that there is an asymmetry between final and nonfinal dactylic sequences. Based on data from flapping, aspiration and expletive infixation, Davis finds that only nonfinal dactyls contain a strong third syllable. He ignores the variation described above and states that in words like *cápital, serendípity, chárity* the /t/ is "clearly flapped" (ibid: 278). He also cites Van Dam and Weaver

(2001), who show that the voiceless stops /p/ and /k/ at the beginning of the final syllable of words like *América, Connécticut, Oédipus* are lightly aspirated and have neither the degree of aspiration that accompanies a foot-initial voiceless stop nor the aspiration that is attested in nonfinal dactyls like *Mèditerránean*. He concludes that this is due to the fact that the stops in words of the *cápital* and *América* type are foot-internal.

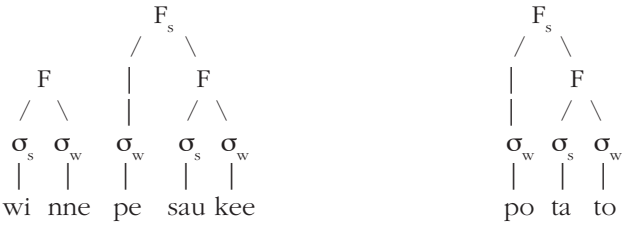
In contrast, in nonfinal dactylic sequences the third syllable is adjoined to the right, and therefore it is not foot-internal but foot-initial (in the same way as in Withgott 1982 and Jensen 2000). He argues that both Jensen (2000) and Pater (2000) independently contend that a voiceless stop in that position is indeed aspirated in American English, and again refers to Van Dam and Weaver's (2001) study considering the voice onset time of the voiceless stop at the beginning of the third syllable in the words *Winnepegósis*, *Mèditerránean*, and *Nèbuchadnézzar*. They found that these stops had an average voice onset time of more than 50 milliseconds, which is almost as aspirated as pretonic stops, and definitely more aspirated than voiceless stops at the beginning of stressless syllables immediately after the stressed syllable in words like *múppets* and *móccasins*, with very short voice onset times, less than 20 milliseconds on average for the non-coronal stops (the coronal flap is even briefer).

Expletive infixation, i.e., the infixation of an emphatic element like *fuckin', frickin, bloody, bloomin'*, etc. (first described in Aronoff 1976) can also be used to detect foot boundaries. The generalization regarding expletive infixation is that the expletive occurs before the foot boundary, e.g. *po-fuckin'-tato, Ne-fuckin'-braska*. McCarthy (1982) observed that words like *Winnepesáukee* show variation with respect to this process: both *Winne-frickin-pesaukee* and *Winnepe-frickin-saukee* are possible, which suggests that both *-pe-* and *-sau-* are footheads. McCarthy's observation regarding the variant forms appears correct and robust, as Davis (2003) says, adding *mili-fuckin'-taristic* and *milita-fuckin'-ristic*. However, applied to *càpitalístic*, only the form *capita-frickin-listic* is judged to be acceptable, with the expletive after the foot-final third syllable. The form *capi-frickin-talistic* appears illicit, especially if the flapping of the /t/ of the original third syllable is maintained.

Notice that the data regarding expletive infixation is only relevant as an argument for the different footing of *mìlitarístic* and *càpitalístic*, which Davis (2005) sees as a PU effect: like Steriade, he claims that the flap in càpitalístic can be accounted for by paradigm uniformity with *cápital*. However, unlike Steriade, he argues that the expected regular pattern is the one found in *mìlitarístic*, that is, aspiration in the third syllable of a word-internal dactyl due to its foothead status, and it is *càpitalístic* that exhibits flapping because of uniformity of foot structure with *cápital*. This explains aspiration in underived words like *Nàvratilóva*, too,

which was left unanalysed by Steriade. A weakness of Davis's (2005) treatment of foot structure and aspiration is illustrated in (13): in the representations taken from his paper, the superfoot is the same whether it is word-initial (as in *potáto*, see (13b)) or not (as in *Wìnnepesáukee*, see (13a)), although undoubtedly aspiration is stronger word-initially.

(13) a. *Wìnnepesáukee* b. *potáto*

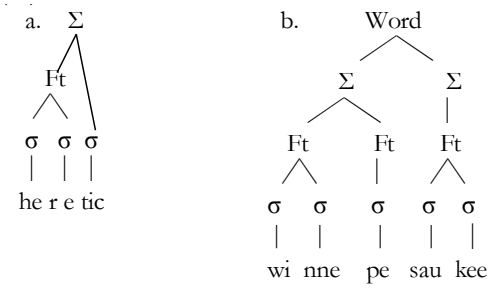


Of course, expletive infixation is unable to test the assumed asymmetrical behaviour of final and nonfinal dactyls, since infixation is not possible when no foot boundary follows, as in *vánity*. What remains as an argument for Davis is t-allophony, which is considerably weakened by the data cited in the preceding section, suggesting that there is not such an asymmetry. So much so that Anderson and Ewen (1987: 83) propose a similar superfoot-structure for words like *héretic, aríthmetic*, where the underlined /t/ is aspirated rather than tapped. Their figure 2.97 is reproduced below in (14). It shows that within trisyllabic feet like *heretic*, they assume that since metrical structure in English is binary, the stressed vowel (in *he-*) first forms a so-called subfoot (*here-*, indexed with 1), and then a superfoot (indexed with 2). The consonant immediately following the stressed vowel (/r/) is foot-internal and therefore ambisyllabic (i.e., belongs to two syllables at the same time, that is why it is surrounded by brackets in (14)), whereas the next consonant (/t/) is exclusively syllable-initial because it is shielded from becoming ambisyllabic by the bracket closing the subfoot.

(14) $_2[\ _1[[he[r]e]]_1\ [tic]]_2$

The basic difference between Davis' *Winnepesaukee* in (13a) and Anderson and Ewen's *heretic* in (14) is in the direction of adjunction for the formation of the superfoot. In this respect, Anderson and Ewen's model resembles van Oostendorp's analysis of Dutch *fonologie* in (8) above; in (15), similar representations are given corresponding to *heretic* (15a) and *Winnepesaukee* (15b).

(15)



(15a) is the arboreal representation of (14), while (15b) is a total analogue to *fonologie* (8). In both, the third syllable of the dactyl is adjoined to the left; the difference is that in (15b) it forms a foot itself. This is due to the fact that Anderson and Ewen make use of the distinction between ambisyllabicity and absolute onsethood to derive the difference between the /r/ and the /t/, whereas to van Oostendorp this option is unavailable, all single intervocalic consonants being unambiguously parsed as onsets for him, he could only make *pe* stronger than *nne* by assigning it to a foot. This is the only way we can keep up the parallelism between final and nonfinal dactyls (viz., the third syllable is adjoined to the left) *and* make the /p/ in *Wînnepesáukee* foot-initial (to account for its aspiration). The objection arises then, that if *pe* is a foothead, which it is in (15b), how is it able to reduce its vowel to a schwa? This is not normally expected from footheads. Notice that the final syllable of *héretic* should retain its non-foothead status for the same reason: compare it to *hésitàte*, for example, whose final syllable *must* erect a foot and consequently its vowel cannot reduce, and the initial /t/ of *-tate* is mandatorily aspirated and/or untapped. The vicious circle has closed: we are back with *-pe-* in *Wînnepesáukee* adjoined to the left without projecting an intervening foot level – complete analogy with (15a), i.e., no difference between final and nonfinal dactyls, but then why is that third syllable stronger than the second?

We conclude that a foot-based analysis is inadequate to account for the asymmetry between weak and semiweak positions on the one hand, and for the symmetry between final and nonfinal dactyls on the other. If one gets rid of ambisyllabicity as a theoretical device, neither possible adjunction analyses are fully satisfactory: they either predict the same amount of aspiration in *Wînnepesáukee* as in *potáto* and/or *hésitàte*, or they allow for a reduced vowel in a monosyllabic foot.

4. WEAK AND SEMIWEAK POSITIONS IN VOWEL REDUCTION AND SCHWA SYNCOPE

This section aims to provide an attempt at finding the English analogues of Dutch *fonologie*, that is, traces of the weak-semiweak distinction in vowel reduction (to schwa or zero). It is Burzio (1994: 113, footnote 14 – also cited in van Oostendorp 2000) who first pointed out that in English, foot-medial open syllables are affected by reduction to a greater extent than foot-final syllables. That is, for a word like *Tàtamagóuchi*, the pronunciation *(tætəma)gouchi* is preferable to *(tætamə)gouchi*, i.e., if one of the two unstressed vowels of the first foot (parenthesized) remains unreduced, it is more acceptable for the first (underlined) to reduce. The words *(rigama)role, (panama)* are claimed to behave analogously. This observation is totally analogous to the Dutch example in (7) above, and is straightforwardly interpretable as the tendency in semiweak position for vowels to be more resistant to reduction. Moreover, if *pánama* is analogous to *Tàtamagóuchi*, then this is additional evidence of the absence of asymmetry between word-internal and final dactyls, argued for in the previous section.

Burzio (ibid.) apparently finds a parallel situation as regards vowel syncope, that is, schwa-deletion: in *mèmorizátion*, so Burzio, the first foot contains two schwas in a row, out of which only the first can undergo syncope, i.e., *(mem'ri)zation* is a possibility, while **(memor')zation* is not. Before arriving at too hasty conclusions, however, one must recognize that *memorization* is not the most fortunate example since, besides the well-known rarity of immediate pre-stress syncope in other than word-initial syllables, which renders the deletion of the schwa of *-ri-* (followed by primary-stressed *-za-*) highly improbable, the segmental context (*r_z*) does not support its deletion, either.

To avoid such factors inhibiting vowel deletion, I carried out a survey with words like *fúnctionary* and *nátionally*, where a sequence of two unstressed (therefore syncopatable) vowels appears in the right segmental context (i.e., CvS1vS2v, where C is less sonorous than S1, which is in turn less sonorous than S2; S=sonorant consonant, and the third vowel is also unstressed). I used EPD[5], LPD, and native informants to find out about the preferences of schwa deletion in such words. Unfortunately, there are not much more than 60 words that qualify for the present purposes, and this small number of examples is made even smaller by the fact that the majority of the sample consists of derived words, in the case of which Paradigm Uniformity (PU) effects can influence the choice of pronunciation. Also, the application of syncope is heavily influenced by word frequency (cf. Hooper 1978): less frequent words strongly resist it even if all the phonological

[5] Thanks to Péter Szigetvári for making it available for online browsing.

conditions are met, and natives are unable to judge nonsense words. Still, there remain a few examples in which the weak-semiweak distinction is able to manifest itself in spite of the morphological pressure, e.g. *confféctionery* and *fúnctionary* (-ʃnəri being more frequent than -ʃənri).

It is evident that schwa syncope in English is a complex phenomenon, influenced by a host of nonlinguistic or nonphonological factors. In addition, the quality, more specifically the sonority distance, of the consonants flanking the syncope site may affect a vowel's proneness to delete. Nevertheless, a generalization can be made to the effect that, in words of less transparent morphological structure at least, the weak-semiweak distinction seems to be justified.

5. ANALYSIS

It has been demonstrated above that previous foot-based accounts of the configurational aspect of lenition fail to properly describe the strong-weak-semiweak tripartite distinction.[6] In what follows I present an alternative analysis, using the Strict CV framework as introduced in Section 1. I heavily rely on Ségéral and Scheer's (1999) and Szigetvári's (1999) definitions of government and licensing as two antagonistic forces. I claim that, crucially, it is not the third syllable of dactyls that is *stronger* than the second, it is the second that is *weaker* than the third. To explain this, I propose that once stress assignment designates a vowel to be (primary or secondary) stressed[7], at least the following three features ensue: it (i) falls under the rubric of (4e) above ("Stressed vowels are unable to govern into non-peripheral units"); (ii) resists the Proper Government (PG) emanating from a following filled vowel, and instead (iii) distracts the licensing charge of the following vowel[8]. This results in grave consequences for the immediately following CV-unit. On the one hand, the vowel there will never be able to properly govern another one, and therefore its PG will always hit its C; on the other hand, the vowel's licensing is diverted from the C by the stressed nucleus: the consonant is expected to exhibit a strong tendency to undergo vocalic lenition. Meanwhile, the obligation to license the metrical head exhausts the vowel, so much that it becomes weaker, i.e., easier to reduce or delete. In contrast, later unstressed vowels are free to properly govern either their onsets or the preceding unstressed vowel (reducing it even further), and also to license their onsets. Therefore, such nuclei are stronger, and their onsets are both licensed and governed: these C's are

[6] The nonconfigurational aspects are word frequency, PU, and the like.

[7] A possible model of how that happens is sketched out in Szigetvári (1999) and Scheer (2004: 613ff).

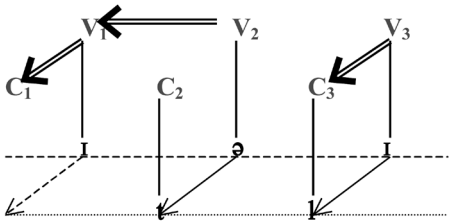
[8] V-to-V licensing has been proposed to be responsible for long vowels (Szigetvári 1999) or for vowel length alternations and to facilitate the survival of schwa (in French, at least) (Scheer 2004). The one sketched out here is yet another possibility, viz., that its target is dependent on stress relations.

able to lenite, since they are governed, but they do so in such a way that licensing, supporting their melodic expression, reaches them as well.

In sum, the weak-semiweak distinction observed for consonants is due to the difference between the governed unlicensed and governed licensed position: the former is weaker than the latter. In the case of nuclei, on the other hand, the distinction results from the fact that the unstressed vowel immediately following the stressed one is forced to deplete its licensing potential via a marked relationship, V-to-V licensing on the nuclear projection. The novelty of this analysis lies in its emphasis on the relative weakness of the weak position of the dactyl, rather than the relative strength of the semiweak position.

In (17), (18) and (19) below, a possible representation of governing and licensing interactions is sketched out. As I propose in (4f) that V-to-C government takes place between melodies, and it has long been believed that V-to-V relations are contracted on the nuclear projection, but V positions only have one shot of government and licensing each, which results in the complementary distribution of V-to-V government (i.e., PG) and V-to-C government on the one hand, V-to-C licensing and V-to-V licensing on the other, it is apparent that this complex network of lateral relations existing on various levels of representation (i.e., tiers) can be best modelled in three dimensions. This is demonstrated by the representations of *Italy* /ˈɪrəlɪ/ (17), *...petiti...* (from *competitive*) /ˈpʰɛrətʰɪ/ (18) and *Italy* /ˈɪtˀlɪ/ (19). The upper level is the CV-tier (typed in grey): this is where skeletal positions communicate. The CV-tier itself is however made up of two tiers, the C-tier (where C positions are adjacent, in, e.g., consonant harmony systems) and the V-tier (the former "nuclear projection", where V positions interact, irrespective of the enclosed C's). The melodic tier (typed in black) is structured analogously: it is composed of vocalic melodies (along the broken line) and consonantal ones (along the dotted line). Government applies on either the V-tier or the melodic tier, whereas licensing is exclusive to the CV-tier. The skeletal positions are in cases other than floaters linked to their respective melodies by vertical association lines, as usual in autosegmental representations. These association lines are of utmost importance since they ensure that a skeletal slot and its melody are in fact one and the same object, together constituting the segment. Thus, PG is associated with the V-tier by definition, but the same governing relation may hit a consonant on the melodic tier (at the lower level) and effect lenition. Notice that all binary relations in such a model are strictly local, even PG.

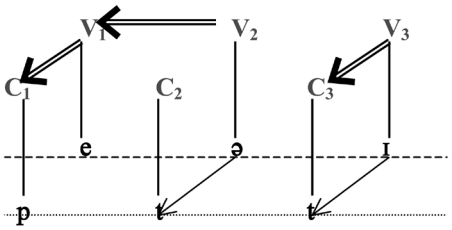
(17) *Italy* /ˈɪɾəlɪ/



In *Italy*, when the second vowel (V_2) is not properly governed and is therefore pronounced, the final vowel (V_3) governs the melody of the preceding consonant (/l/) (single arrow), but it also licenses it (double arrow): the consonant finds itself in a governed licensed position, that is, it is semiweak. C_2, however, is weak since it is governed only; V_2's licensing is consumed by V_1, the metrical head, which in turn licenses C_1, and also attempts to govern it, but as it is empty, this government can only manifest itself in connected speech when the preceding word ends in a consonant, e.g., *hat͟e Italy* (with the underlined /t/ potentially tapped).

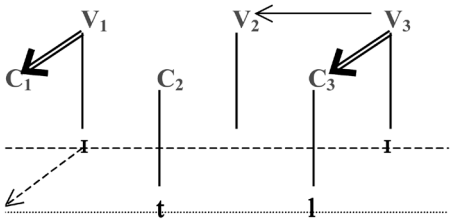
Now consider the example of the strong-weak-semiweak distinction in tapping, the relevant portion of *competitive* /ˈpʰɛɾətʰɪ/ in (18). The /p/ is licensed only (and aspirated as a consequence), since stressed vowels cannot govern into non-peripheral units. This is a strong phonological position. C_2, however, is weak, for the same reasons as the /t/ in *Italy* in (17), and C_3 is semiweak because it receives both government and licensing: it is expected to vacillate between a tap, an unaspirated voiceless plosive, and an aspirated one.

(18) …*petiti…* (from *competitive*) /ˈpʰɛɾətʰɪ/



Finally, *Italy* /ˈɪtˀlɪ/ illustrates PG (between V_3 and V_2), which results in the underparsing of V_2's melody (indicated by the empty box). Governed vocalic positions are phonetically uninterpreted and are deprived of all their governing and licensing capacities. Therefore, C_2 is ungoverned unlicensed, and as such is expected to lenite consonantally, i.e., undergo glottalisation.

(19) *Italy* /ˈɪtˀlɪ/



The advantage of this model over previous ones is that it does not only cover all the observations enumerated in the preceding sections, but it does so in such a way that it makes use of notions and principles (enumerated in (4) above) which have been independently motivated in the literature, and it conforms to the fundamental tenets of GP and CVCV phonology.

6. CONCLUSION

The paper makes two fundamental claims. On the one hand, it is extensively argued for that the distinction between weak and semiweak phonological positions seems to be justified in English, too, besides other Germanic languages like Dutch, which exhibit the same type of stress-sensitive pattern of lenition. On the other hand, it is shown what weaknesses earlier foot-based analyses suffer from, and how the CVCV framework, more specifically, the notion of government and licensing as two relations of opposing effect, is capable of expressing the tripartite distinction between strong (licensed ungoverned), weak (unlicensed governed) and semiweak (licensed governed) phonological positions. The fourth logical possibility, that of an unlicensed ungoverned position, is also weak but triggers lenition along a different trajectory.

This model also explains what happens in word-initial unstressed syllables, traditionally analysed as degenerate feet or as unstressed syllables adjoined to the right, e.g. in *potato*. Since such syllables display a hybrid-like behaviour, with a strong consonant but a weak vowel, neither of the two proposals describe them properly. In contrast, it falls out naturally from the present analysis that this is indeed the expected state of affairs: although the vowel is unstressed and therefore reduced, its licensing charge is not diverted from its onset consonant as there is no stressed vowel to the left; its government, however, avoids the C because the silencing of the boundary marker is of higher importance. Consequently, the /p/ of *potato* finds itself in a licensed ungoverned, i.e. strong, position in the same way as the pretonic /t/.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 97-108

EDITING MIDDLE ENGLISH MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS: THE CASE OF GLASGOW, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS HUNTER 509[1]

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ABSTRACT. *It has been pointed out that the editing of a scientific treatise should be "an extended and challenging exercise in judgment, requiring an earnest commitment to scholarship" (Keiser 1998: 110). In the present article, the challenges and steps involved in the process of editing a specific Middle English medical text, G.U.L. MS Hunter 509, are dealt with. After a brief introduction to the manuscript, the stages previous to editing are discussed. These include transcription, of which the main difficulties are addressed and possible ways to overcome them put forward, lemmatisation and morphological tagging. Then, the two types of edition that have been carried out, printed and electronic, are presented. A comment on the glossary and list of lemmas closes the article.*

Keywords: Middle English, medical treatise, Gilbertus Anglicus, editing, lemmatisation, morphological tagging.

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[1] Research for this article received financial support from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (grant number FFI2008-02336/FILO "Grupo Consolidado") and from the Autonomous Government of Andalusia (grant number P07-HUM-02609). I am grateful to the Keeper of the Special Collections Department at Glasgow University Library for kindly permitting the reproduction of photographs of the manuscript.

EL PROCESO DE EDICIÓN DE MANUSCRITOS MÉDICOS EN INGLÉS MEDIO: EL CASO DE GLASGOW, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS HUNTER 509

RESUMEN. *Se ha señalado que el proceso de edición de un tratado científico debería considerarse "an extended and challenging exercise in judgment, requiring an earnest commitment to scholarship" (Keiser 1998: 110). En el presente artículo, se detallan las distintas etapas de las que se compone dicho proceso, así como las decisiones tomadas, en la edición de un texto médico específico escrito en inglés medio, contenido en el manuscrito G.U.L. Hunter 509. Tras una breve introducción, se exponen las principales dificultades a la hora de transcribir el texto, así como posibles soluciones. Tanto la transcripción como la lematización y el etiquetado morfológico son actividades previas a los dos tipos de edición acometidas, impresa y electrónica. Finalmente, se concluye haciendo referencia al glosario y a la lista de lemas.*

Palabras clave: Inglés medio, tratado médico, Gilbertus Anglicus, edición, lematización, etiquetado morfológico.

Received 31 January 2011
Revised version accepted 12 April 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

The manuscript under consideration is G.U.L. Hunter 509 (hereafter *H509*), housed in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow University Library (press-mark V.8.12). It holds the work entitled *System of Physic* from folios 1r to 167v. The first part comprises a treatise on the four humours (ff. 1r-3v), followed by a discussion on uroscopy and a further exposition of humours and complexions (ff. 3v-14r). The larger part, from folios 14r to 167v, contains the Middle English Gilbertus Anglicus, an adaptation written in prose ca. 1400 of the *Compendium medicinae*, which was compiled by Gilbertus Anglicus, or Gilbert the Englishman, at around the middle of the thirteenth century. Apart from being one of the most important works of early mediaeval medicine and a reflection of the situation of medical science of its age and country, it is the oldest complete treatise on general medicine written by an English author which is extant (Handerson 1918 (2005: 17)). The *Compendium* was one of the standard references for physicians until the seventeenth century and also an academic text. It covers disorders of the human body and the ordering follows the usual method of the time, which is a *de capite ad pedem* structure (i.e., the discussion of sicknesses starts from the head and moves downwards to the feet). This is in the same encyclopaedic tradition of Arabic writers such as al-Majusi and Ibn al-Jazzar, and Salernitan predecessors such as Johannes de Sancto Paulo (Glick *et al.* 2005: 196).

At the end of the manuscript, there are several medical recipes or remedies for migraine in a different hand (ff. 168v-169r), an additional note (f. 171r), and mixed recipes and annotations in various hands (f. 171v). An assessment of the script (Esteban-Segura 2008b) and dialect (Esteban-Segura 2010) suggests that the main text was copied during the second half of the fifteenth century, around 1460.

2. TRANSCRIPTION

The first stage prior to editing involved the transcription of the text. Part of this was done directly from the manuscript, but the microfilm and electronically digitised images were also used for the process and for further stages of revision. Although transcribing may seem a mechanical and even an easy task at first sight, this is far from reality since the process has complications.

One of the most obvious has to do with the length of the text. The manuscript comprises more than 170 folios (some of them repeated), so the total of pages amounts to more than 350. Another of the problems concerns the handwriting or script, since graphs differ considerably from present-day ones and some can look very similar (thus giving rise to ambiguity) such as, for example, letter-forms <t> and <c> in the words 'aft*er*ward' (figure 1), 'scarsnesse' (figure 2) and 'etyn' (figure 3).

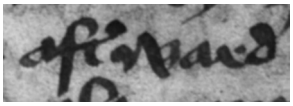


Fig. 1. 'aft*er*ward'

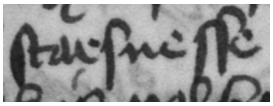


Fig. 2. 'scarsnesse'

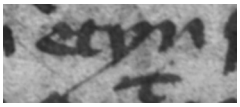


Fig. 3. 'etyn'

Apart from this, the same graph is employed for *þ* and *y* throughout the text with the resulting vagueness when transcribing unknown terms. For figures 4 and 5, there are several possibilities: *'þreos'/'yreos'; 'þiees'/*'yiees'. Looking up words in dictionaries and putting them in context were key elements to solving the problem.

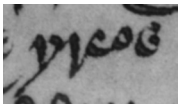


Fig. 4. 'yreos'

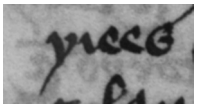


Fig. 5. 'þiees'

Abbreviations and special signs are mainly standard but sometimes several readings are possible as, for instance, when a word contains or, more typically, ends with a flourish, which can stand for a number of possibilities, such as *e* (in

'eere', figure 6), *er* (in 'p*er*it*er*ie', figure 7) and *re* (in 'þed*re*', figure 8). Also, as seen in the example of 'p*er*it*er*ie', a horizontal stroke through the descender of <p> makes reference to the same letters as the flourish does, *er* in this case.

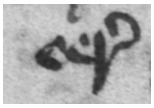


Fig. 6. 'eer*e*'

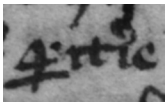


Fig. 7. 'p*er*it*er*ie'

Fig. 8. 'þed*re*'

The same symbol can be employed for different letters or groups of letters, as in 'sq*ui*na*n*tum' (figure 9) or 'd*ri*nesse' (figure 10): the sign represents both the vocalic group *ui* and the consonant plus vowel *ri*. This symbol also refers to most of the letters in the word 'x*risti*' (figure 11). In a parallel way, a round curl on the line can denote both *con* ('*con*forteþ', figure 12) and *us* ('woman*us*', figure 13).

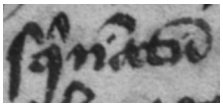


Fig. 9. 'sq*ui*na*n*tum'

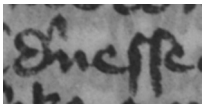


Fig. 10. 'dr*i*nes*s*e'

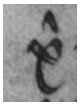


Fig. 11. 'x*risti*'

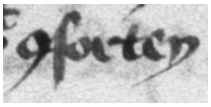


Fig. 12. '*con*forteþ'

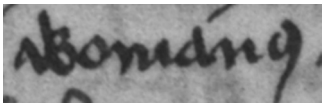


Fig. 13. 'woman*us*'

A similar case takes place with expansion marks indicating a nasal, which may signify *m* or *n*. In those instances in which there was ambiguity, it was solved by finding out how the word was written elsewhere in the text without expansion; when the two options were possible, the most frequent form was selected. This is illustrated with the words 'emplastre' and 'enplastre'; both variants occur in the text but, since those with *m* have more occurrences than those with *n*, *m* was preferred and used for expansion ('e*m*plast*r*es', figure 14).

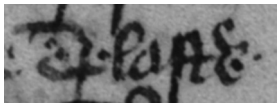


Fig. 14. 'emplastres'

It is difficult to establish whether horizontal strokes through final ascenders have meaning or not; on occasions, they may just represent an otiose mark whose

only function is decoration. Despite this, they have been expanded to *e* for the sake of consistency ('wrothe', figure 15).

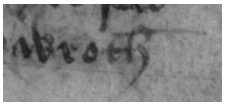


Fig. 15. 'wrothe'

Minims are also problematic given that they are not separately made and the scribe does not always dot letter *i*; therefore ambiguity is bound to arise, as several combinations are possible. With unknown words, all potential combinations had to be looked up in the dictionary. Instances of this are the minims in words such as 'mussilage' (figure 16), which can be interpreted in different ways (*'inussilage', *'niussilage', *'ninssilage'), or 'cathmie' (figure 17), with several alternatives as well (*'cathnne', *'cathune', *'cathime'). In such cases, the sense of the word within its context as well as linguistic information have been crucial in order to determine the right option.

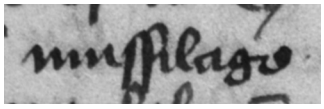


Fig. 16. 'mussilage'

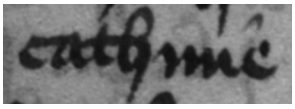


Fig. 17. 'cathmie'

Punctuation is a difficult matter too, first for the quantity of marks, which slowed down the process of transcription considerably, but also because sometimes it was complicated to differentiate a mark from a stain in the folio. The most employed marks are the punctus (figure 18), the punctus elevatus (figure 19) and the virgule (figure 20), which may also be double (figure 21) or appear in different combinations with the punctus (figures 22-23).

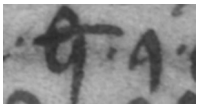


Fig. 18. Punctus

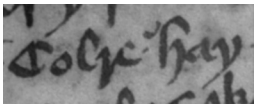


Fig. 19. Punctus elevatus

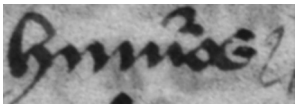


Fig. 20. Virgule

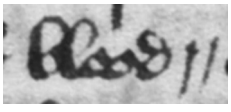


Fig. 21. Double virgule

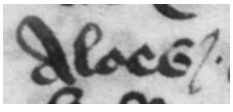


Fig. 22. Virgule and punctus

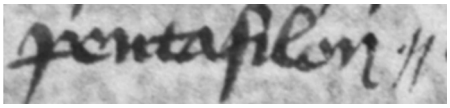


Fig. 23. Punctus and double virgule

Symbols for apothecaries' weights are sometimes confusing, especially when there is a long list of symbols, ingredients and numerals, in which case a correct interpretation so as to decide the elements that go together becomes essential (figure 24).

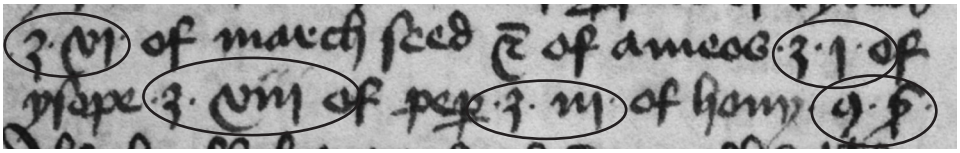


Fig. 24. Apothecaries' weights and numerals

3. LEMMATISATION AND MORPHOLOGICAL TAGGING

Once the text was transcribed, it was lemmatised and morphologically tagged. These tasks have been done using an Excel spreadsheet, where the transcription was pasted, separating a word per row. *H509* forms part of a corpus of Middle English scientific prose (see 4.1. below); thus, for the purpose of lemmatising, the *Middle English Dictionary* (Lewis *et al.* 1952-2001, in McSparran *et al.* 2001-), henceforth *MED*, has been employed, since it provides a standard headword that can be applied to all the texts in the corpus. The fact that new texts are being added to the corpus and that texts come from far-flung areas of the country (and hence, display different dialectal features) was decisive for seeking "a more typical English spelling" (Moffat 1998: 240) for the headwords. Besides the lemmas, the tags include information regarding the word-class and also the accidence where relevant (tense, number, gender, etc.). As just mentioned, the first entry in the *MED* was chosen for the lemma, so every single one had to be looked up in this dictionary.

The tagging has allowed a proper understanding of the text and finding out or detecting problems or mistakes in syntax, morphology, etc. This information has been helpful for the edition and also used to build the glossary. In addition, it offers the possibility of generating lists of frequencies, concordances, and so on.

Table 1. Concordances generated for adjective *cold* (arranged by *Lemma* column)

Lemma	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	Keyword	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	Reference
cōld, a	•	The	water	•	js	coold	and	moyst	/	liquide	and	1*r*, 10
cōld, a	•	The	erþe	•	js	coold	•	and	dryȝe	•	[h]euy	1*r*, 10
cōld, a	•//	ffleu//me	•	js	•	coold	•	and	•	moyst	of	1*r*, 15
cōld, a	kynde	•	Malencolie	•	is	coold	•	and	dry	•	of	1*r*, 20
cōld, a	•	and	kyndly	he	is	coold	•	and	moist	of	nature	2*v*, 10
cōld, a	þe	watyr	þe	wyche	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	in	2*v*, 10
cōld, a	þe	erþe	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•//	Þe	1*rb*, 10
cōld, a	hold	[it]	•	for	here	coold	•	dredful	hert	/•	And	1*vb*, 5
cōld, a	And	•	bi cause þat	þei	[ben]	coldere	•	of	brayn	•	þan	1*vb*, 5
cōld, a	•	þat	age	•	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•	Elde	2*rb*, 1
cōld, a	•	and	þat	age	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	Þese	2*rb*, 5
cōld, a	•	and	þat	age	is	<coold·>	and	moist	//	Sanguyn	folk	2*rb*, 20
cōld, a	driȝe	•	heruest	/	is	coold	and	driȝe	•	Wynter	•	2*vb*, 10
cōld, a	driȝe	•	Wynter	•	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	•	2*vb*, 10
cōld, a	•	Westwynd	•	þat	is	coold	and	moist	/	Norþenewynd	•	2*vb*, 20
cōld, a	/	Norþenewynd	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	//	Þese	2*vb*, 20
cōld, a	and	driȝe	•	West	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	Northe	3*r*, 1
cōld, a	and	moist	/	Northe	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	//	Colrik	3*r*, 1
cōld, a	regnþ	malencolie	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•	and	3*r*, 25
cōld, a	regnþ	fleume	•	þat	is	coold	and	moist	and	so	is	3*v*, 1
cōld, a	old	folk	duel//lyng	/	in	colde	cuntrees	•	namely	in	wyntres	5*r*, 10
cōld, a	wyntres	tyme	•	in	vsyng	coold	and	moist	dietyngis	of	þe	5*r*, 10
cōld, a	leene	old	folkes	•	in	coold	and	driȝe	tymes	•	þat	5*v*, 15
cōld, a	siche	maner	of	dietyng	as	coold	þinge	and	driȝe	•/	Be	5*v*, 20

Table 1 presents a fragment of the concordances generated for the adjective *cold*. The lemma appears in the first column to the left, then the context of the five previous words, the occurrence or keyword in the middle, the five subsequent words, and finally the reference to the electronic edition (see 4.1. below), which includes the folio (whether recto or verso) and line where the word appears. The number of lines comprises five of them; therefore line 10, for instance, may refer to lines from 10 to 14. The concordances can be arranged in different ways. In Table 1, the classification has been done according to the *Lemma* column; the order that the word follows in the text is supplied. This can provide information about the usage of the word throughout the text; for example, if it is more frequent in some parts than in others or whether it is lacking from any fragment, as well as other type of data. In Table 1, we can observe that the adjective *cold* is mostly predicative. Thus, concordances can be useful to carry out morpho-syntactic studies.

Table 2. Concordances generated for adjective *cold* (arranged by *-1* column)

Lemma	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	Keyword	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	Reference
cōld, a	And	•	bi cause þat	þei	[ben]	coldere	•	of	brayn	•	þan	1*vb*, 5
cōld, a	•//	ffleu//me	•	js	•	coold	•	and	•	moyst	of	1*r*, 15
cōld, a	siche	maner	of	dietyng	as	coold	þinge	and	driȝe	•/	Be	5*v*, 20
cōld, a	hold	[it]	•	for	here	coold	•	dredful	hert	/•	And	1*vb*, 5
cōld, a	old	folk	duel//lyng	/	in	colde	cuntrees	•	namely	in	wyntres	5*r*, 10
cōld, a	leene	old	folkes	•	in	coold	and	driȝe	tymes	•	þat	5*v*, 15
cōld, a	kynde	•	Malencolie	•	is	coold	•	and	dry	•	of	1*r*, 20
cōld, a	•	and	kyndly	he	is	coold	•	and	moist	of	nature	2*v*, 10
cōld, a	þe	watyr	þe	wyche	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	in	2*v*, 10
cōld, a	þe	erþe	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•//	Þe	1*rb*, 10
cōld, a	•	þat	age	•	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•	Elde	2*rb*, 1
cōld, a	•	and	þat	age	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	Þese	2*rb*, 5
cōld, a	•	and	þat	age	is	<coold·>	and	moist	//	Sanguyn	folk	2*rb*, 20
cōld, a	driȝe	•	heruest	/	is	coold	and	driȝe	•	Wynter	•	2*vb*, 10
cōld, a	driȝe	•	Wynter	•	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	•	2*vb*, 10
cōld, a	•	Westwynd	•	þat	is	coold	and	moist	/	Norþenewynd	•	2*vb*, 20
cōld, a	/	Norþenewynd	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	//	Þese	2*vb*, 20
cōld, a	and	driȝe	•	West	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	Northe	3*r*, 1
cōld, a	and	moist	/	Northe	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	//	Colrik	3*r*, 1
cōld, a	regnþ	malencolie	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•	and	3*r*, 25
cōld, a	regnþ	fleume	•	þat	is	coold	and	moist	and	so	is	3*v*, 1

Table 3. Concordances generated for adjective *cold* (arranged by *Keyword* column)

Lemma	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	Keyword	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	Reference
cōld, a	•	and	þat	age	is	<coold·>	and	moist	//	Sanguyn	folk	2*rb*, 20
cōld, a	old	folk	duel//lyng	/	in	colde	cuntrees	•	namely	in	wyntres	5*r*, 10
cōld, a	And	•	bi cause þat	þei	[ben]	coldere	•	of	brayn	•	þan	1*vb*, 5
cōld, a	•//	ffleu//me	•	js	•	coold	•	and	•	moyst	of	1*r*, 15
cōld, a	siche	maner	of	dietyng	as	coold	þinge	and	driȝe	•/	Be	5*v*, 20
cōld, a	hold	[it]	•	for	here	coold	•	dredful	hert	/•	And	1*vb*, 5
cōld, a	leene	old	folkes	•	in	coold	and	driȝe	tymes	•	þat	5*v*, 15
cōld, a	kynde	•	Malencolie	•	is	coold	•	and	dry	•	of	1*r*, 20
cōld, a	•	and	kyndly	he	is	coold	•	and	moist	of	nature	2*v*, 10
cōld, a	þe	watyr	þe	wyche	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	in	2*v*, 10
cōld, a	þe	erþe	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•//	Þe	1*rb*, 10
cōld, a	•	þat	age	•	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•	Elde	2*rb*, 1
cōld, a	•	and	þat	age	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	Þese	2*rb*, 5
cōld, a	driȝe	•	heruest	/	is	coold	and	driȝe	•	Wynter	•	2*vb*, 10
cōld, a	driȝe	•	Wynter	•	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	•	2*vb*, 10
cōld, a	•	Westwynd	•	þat	is	coold	and	moist	/	Norþenewynd	•	2*vb*, 20
cōld, a	/	Norþenewynd	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	//	Þese	2*vb*, 20
cōld, a	and	driȝe	•	West	is	coold	•	and	moist	/	Northe	3*r*, 1
cōld, a	and	moist	/	Northe	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	//	Colrik	3*r*, 1
cōld, a	regnþ	malencolie	•	þat	is	coold	•	and	driȝe	•	and	3*r*, 25

Data can also be arranged according to the *-1* column (Table 2), which shows that the most typical construction is the third person singular of the present indicative of the verb *ben* plus the adjective *cold*, or ordered by the *Keyword* column (Table 3), thus grouping all the different variants alphabetically.

4. EDITION

Once the processes of transcription, lemmatisation and morphological tagging of *H509* were completed, the next step was the editing of the text. Two types of edition have been produced: an electronic one and another on paper.

4.1. ELECTRONIC EDITION

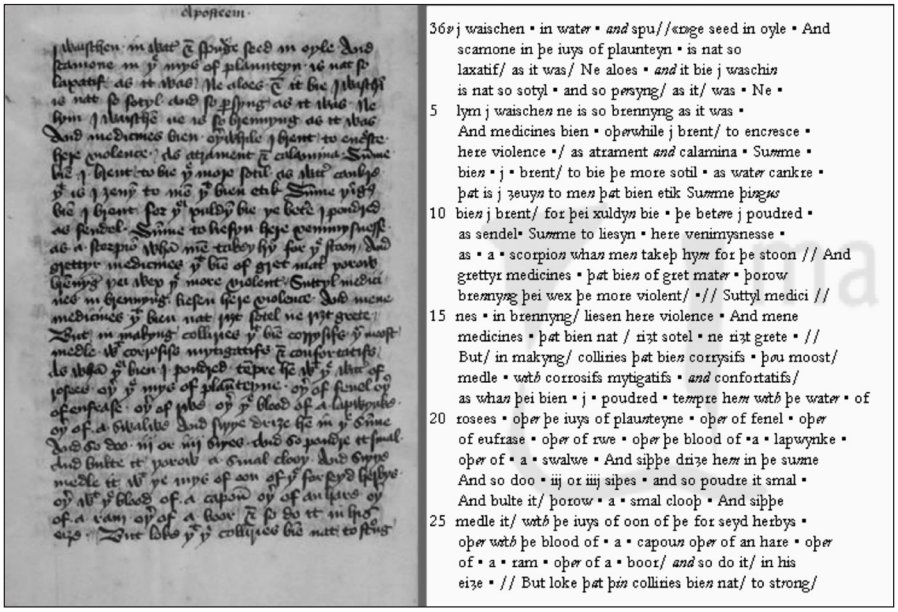
The electronic edition of the manuscript forms part of several research projects carried out at the University of Málaga in collaboration with the Universities of Murcia, Jaén and Oviedo (Spain), and Glasgow (United Kingdom).[2] The aim of this series of projects is to transcribe and edit hitherto unedited Middle English medical texts, mainly from the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow University Library. The transcriptions have been used to compile a corpus of scientific prose which at the moment amounts to approximately 1,200,000 tokens, although it is being expanded.

The results of these projects are available at the webpage <http://hunter.uma.es>,[3] which has been designed to bring the user as close as possible to the different manuscripts, since their high-resolution digitised images can be consulted online. Thus, when turning the page, for instance, the feeling experienced is similar to that of doing it in the original book, sound effects included. The transcription of a folio can be viewed next to its digitised image; if it is a recto, the transcription appears to the left, whereas if a verso, it appears to the right (figure 25).

This electronic edition follows the conventions of the diplomatic or semi-diplomatic editorial method, in which a single manuscript is selected and there is not an attempt to establish the "best" reading of the original work from which the witnesses derive. The manuscript is transcribed and reproduced closely so that the outcome is as faithful to that particular witness as possible. Therefore, the layout has been preserved, with the only exception of the insertion of the number of lines, which has been indicated to the left. The original punctuation

[2] The research projects are the following: "Compilación de un corpus electrónico de manuscritos ingleses medievales de índole técnica" (HUM2004-01075), from 2004 to 2007; "Corpus de referencia de inglés científico-técnico en el período medieval inglés" (P07-HUM02609), from 2008 to 2012; "Desarrollo del corpus electrónico de manuscritos medievales ingleses de índole científica basado en la Colección Hunteriana de la Universidad de Glasgow" (FFI2008-02336/FILO "Grupo consolidado"), from 2009 to 2011.

[3] Also accessible at: <http://hunter.filosofia.uma.es/manuscripts>. 2007-2008. University of Málaga.



36v j waischen ▪ in water ▪ *and* spu//rge seed in oyle ▪ And
scamone in þe iuys of plaunteyn ▪ is nat so
laxatif/ as it was/ Ne aloes ▪ *and* it bie j waschin
is nat so sotyl ▪ and so persyng/ as it/ was ▪ Ne ▪
lym j waischen ne is so brennyng as it was ▪
And medicines bien ▪ oþerwhile j brent/ to encresce ▪
here violence ▪/ as atrament *and* calamina ▪ Summe ▪
bien ▪ j ▪ brent/ to bie þe more sotil ▪ as water cankre ▪
þat is j ȝeuyn to men þat bien etik Summe þingꝛ
bien j brent/ for þei xuldyn bie ▪ þe betere j poudred ▪
as sendel▪ Summe to liesyn ▪ here venimysnesse ▪
as ▪ a ▪ scorpion whan men takeþ hym for þe stoon // And
grettyr medicines ▪ þat bien of gret mater ▪ þorow
brennyng þei wex þe more violent/ ▪// Suttyl medici //
nes ▪ in brennyng/ liesen here violence ▪ And mene
medicines ▪ þat bien nat / riȝt sotel ▪ ne riȝt grete ▪ //
But/ in makyng/ colliries þat bien corrysifs ▪ þou moost/
medle ▪ with corrosifs mytigatifs ▪ *and* confortatifs/
as whan þei bien ▪ j ▪ poudred ▪ tempre hem with þe water ▪ of
rosees ▪ oþer þe iuys of plaunteyne ▪ oþer of fenel ▪ oþer
of eufrase ▪ oþer of rwe ▪ oþer þe blood of ▪a ▪ lapwynke ▪
oþer of ▪ a ▪ swalwe ▪ And siþþe driȝe hem in þe sunne
And so doo ▪ iij or iiij siþes ▪ and so poudre it smal ▪
And bulte it/ þorow ▪ a ▪ smal clooþ ▪ And siþþe
medle it/ with þe iuys of oon of þe for seyd herbys ▪
oþer with þe blood of ▪ a ▪ capoun oþer of an hare ▪ oþer
of ▪ a ▪ ram ▪ oþer of a ▪ boor/ *and* so do it/ in his
eiȝe ▪ // But loke þat þin colliries bien nat/ to strong/

Fig. 25. Digitised image of folio verso with transcription

has been kept, as well as capital letters and spelling variants. Scribal errors, such as cancellation or expunction, are maintained and the same has been done with word-division. Letters or words which are written above or below the line as a form of scribal correction are marked by means of angular brackets in the edition. Notes in the margins and heading titles are shown by passing the cursor or mouse pointer over them.

Abbreviations and apothecaries' weights have been expanded and the expansion indicated by italics. Some letter-forms, for instance <s> or <r>, have different graphs depending on the position that they occupy within the word. This distinction, however, has not been preserved in the transcription, which is graphemic rather than graphetic. Obsolete spellings, such as the runes *yogh* and *thorn*, have been retained however. In the manuscript, as said previously (section 2), a similar graph is used for both *þ* and *y*, but they have been distinguished in the edition.

4.2. PRINTED EDITION

The main characteristics of the printed edition, which differs from the electronic one, will be presented in this section.[4] This edition takes elements from both

[4] This edition forms part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation (Esteban-Segura 2008a).

the diplomatic and critical editorial methods. It is diplomatic in the sense that only one manuscript has been considered. However, MS Hunter 307, also in Glasgow University Library, and an edition of MS Wellcome 537 (Getz 1991) have been consulted when there were illegible words in *H509* in order to help reconstruct the missing information. Aspects of the critical method are that there is editorial interpretation in the modernisation of punctuation, the correction of scribal mistakes or the modification of the layout, for example.

One of the difficulties when editing the text was once again punctuation. The use of marks is heavy, frequent, and sometimes confusing, so a deep analysis and comprehension of the text was essential in order to punctuate it according to modern practice.[5] Punctuation, therefore, has been modernised together with the use of capital letters. Word-division has been altered, but it has been indicated by means of hyphens or in the apparatus if elements of the same word have been disjoined. Scribal mistakes have been corrected but also signalled in the apparatus. As with the electronic edition, the transcription for the printed one is also graphemic.

The layout has been altered and is presented in running text and not line by line. This is more convenient both for publishing, as it saves paper, and for readers accustomed to traditional books.

Two apparatus references are given at the foot of the page. In the first one, scribal errors are included, as well as editorial corrections, which have been indicated in the text by means of square brackets. Heading titles found at the top of each folio have also been included in this apparatus reference, in addition to catchwords. The second apparatus comprises the marginalia. However, not all pages have the two of them; the second one in particular is sometimes missing, since marginalia is not present in all folios.

5. GLOSSARY AND LIST OF LEMMAS

Middle English editions of texts are normally accompanied by glossaries, which may gather all lexical and function words found in them (only the former have been included in this case) and provide the equivalent in Present-Day English. Due to the multiple spellings of a single word, the entry in the *MED* has been adopted (which is also the method employed in the electronic editions for the research projects above-mentioned). For translation, the *MED* and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner 2004) have been taken as references. If the term exists in Present-Day English but is labelled as an obsolete one, a synonym for it has been furnished on most occasions. In addition, when the term is not clear or has changed its meaning with regards to Present-Day English, a brief

[5] The punctuation system found in H509 is analysed in Esteban-Segura (2009).

definition is supplied. For botanical terms, the equivalent is given first and then, where possible, their botanical family, genus and species are included. Finally, the edition of *H509* is also provided with a list of lemmas in which lexical as well as function words and all their variants with the number of occurrences are listed.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 109-123

FRANCES BURNEY AND FEMALE FRIENDSHIPS: SOME NOTES ON *CECILIA* (1782) AND *THE WANDERER* (1814)

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ABSTRACT. *British eighteenth-century fiction is rich in presentations of female friendship, a literary convention which permeated all genres and the works of women writers with different ideological backgrounds, ranging from Mary Wollstonecraft's radical views to Jane Austen's conservative ones. This paper analyses the* oeuvre *of the well-known novelist, playwright and diarist Frances Burney (1752-1840) by taking into account Janet Todd's ideas on female ties and the female spectrum in Burney's productions. The English authoress took part in a feminist polemic. Here I maintain that the complexity of the relationships between women in* Cecilia *(1782) and* The Wanderer *(1814) is directly influenced by class and social constraints. On the other hand, there is an evolution towards a more benevolent view of woman which needs revision.*

Keywords: Frances Burney, Burney Studies, women's literature, nineteenth century, friendship in literature, British literature.

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FRANCES BURNEY Y LAS AMISTADES FEMENINAS: ALGUNAS NOTAS SOBRE CECILIA (1782) Y THE WANDERER (1814)

RESUMEN. *Las amistades femeninas aparecen frecuentemente representadas en la ficción británica del siglo dieciocho. Esta convención literaria se extendió por todos los géneros y por las obras de escritoras de distintos contextos ideológicos, desde los presupuestos radicales de Mary Wollstonecraft al conservadurismo de Jane Austen. Este trabajo analiza la obra de la conocida novelista, dramaturga y diarista Frances Burney (1752-1840) tomando como referencia las ideas de Janet Todd sobre los vínculos femeninos y el universo femenino en las obras de Burney, quien participó en una polémica feminista. Aquí se sostiene que la complejidad de las relaciones femeninas en* Cecilia *(1782) y* The Wanderer *(1814) está influida directamente por la clase y restricciones sociales. Por otro lado, existe una evolución hacia una visión más benévola de la mujer que debe ser revisada.*

Palabras clave: Frances Burney, Estudios sobre Burney, literatura de autoría femenina, siglo diecinueve, la amistad en la literatura, literatura británica.

Received 16 February 2011
Revised version accepted 11 April 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

Frances Burney or Madame D'Arblay (1752-1840) was a famous eighteenth-century woman writer who achieved great success after the anonymous publication of her first novel, *Evelina* (1778). In her lifetime, and, as the daughter of the famous musicologist Dr. Charles Burney — the author of *The History of Music* (1776-89) —, Frances met diverse artists and intellectuals, such as the lexicographer Dr. Samuel Johnson, the playwright Richard B. Sheridan or the actors David Garrick and Samuel Foote. She also moved in aristocratic circles and spent five years at court as Queen Charlotte's Keeper of the Robes (1786-91). Despite writing several comedies (*The Witlings* [1779], *The Woman Hater* [1802], *Love and Fashion* [1798] and *A Busy Day* [1800-2]) and tragedies (*Edwy and Elgiva* [1788-9], *Hubert de Vere, The Siege of Pevensey* and *Elberta* [composed between 1789-91]), Burney was mainly known as a novelist praised by literary critics who considered her as the founder of the novel of manners. Admired by her contemporaries Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen for her satiric portraits, Burney struggled to be seen as *authoress,* an active participant in the production and dissemination of a feminized genre, the novel, which she did not associate with frivolous diversion and which she vindicated in the prefaces to *Evelina* and *The Wanderer*. Burney's works have been edited and reedited since the nineteenth century and are now being rediscovered thanks to The Burney Society — a competitor of The Jane

Austen Society — , which includes researchers as eminent as Dr. Peter Sabor and Dr. Margaret A. Doody, Burney's main biographer. In the last decades we have witnessed the publication of many books about Burney, her comedies have been repeatedly staged and feminist scholars have cherished her productions (Clark 2009: 105-6, Clark 2010: 173-4) to the point that the life and works of other family members, such as Sarah Harriet, Frances's younger half-sister, have caught the scholars' attention and are broadening the field of the Burney Studies nowadays. Besides, there has been a change in critics' attitudes towards Burney's fiction, so, more than as a love stories writer, Burney is currently regarded as an ambitious novelist and a student of aggression and obsession who "sees in her characters the grotesque and the macabre symptoms of a society's own perverseness and of the wildness in the human psyche that leads to the creation of such strange creatures as society itself" (Doody 1988: 3).

Burney represented the female voice as a voice of value, she fictionalised what is taken to be feminine and was particularly concerned with women's subordination to men. While Burney wrote much about women, it is surprising, however, that the study of communities of women in Burney has been a relatively neglected area in comparison with other ones. What is more, there is a generalised tendency to deny the existence of affectionate female bonds in Burney's productions, and, most of the times, scholars insist on Burney's ambiguity and uncomfortable position towards female friendships. Feminists have perceived in *Cecilia* the period's deeply anxious sexual ideologies (Epstein 1989: 200), and her last production depicts women as the greatest oppressors since "they vent their frustrations on anyone weaker than they are" (Cutting 1975: 56). Both Claudia Johnson and Miranda Burgess consider Burney a more conservative writer than it seems, and the former argues that Burney's fiction implies a horror at the disruptions effected by sentimentality and that female affectivity — and female subjectivity itself — is cast into doubt as culpable, histrionic and grotesque. For Johnson, Burney abhors virile females and the heroine's suffering reproaches these females (1995: 16-17)[1]. More recently, Sharon Long Damoff has stated that "in *The Wanderer*, Burney continues her exploration of benevolence as it relates to women — their willingness and failure to give it, and, most especially in this work, their failure to help another one and their vulnerability in accepting aid from men" (1998: 241), and, according to Barbara Zonitch, Burney is interested in the alternative social "replacements" for aristocratic protection in the modern world, including a self-supporting community of women which does not subvert the aristocratic order itself (1997: 33-32, 79). As Doody sees it, in Burney, even matriarchy is shown as potentially more oppressive for young women than patriarchy (1988: 139).

[1] See also Burgess (2000: 110).

In her illuminating book on female ties in Samuel Richardson, John Cleland or Mary Wollstonecraft, among others; Janet Todd adopts an interdisciplinary gendered-based approach and distinguishes five types of female friendship in eighteenth-century literature serving numerous functions: "They balanced a skewed psychology, ease loneliness, teach survival, and create power. At the same time they nudge women into development, where marriage can only bewilder or become a too sudden closing of the gulf society has formed between the sexes" (1980: 315). Though Todd considers Burney as "the main painter of sentimental friendship in England and France in the late eighteenth century" (1980: 311), she briefly mentions the friendship between Juliet and Lady Aurora, whom she considers as "discreetly supportive" (1980: 316). Her attention is exclusively devoted to Elinor Joddrel, a ridiculous feminist "mocked by her exaggerated actions, her uncontrollable passions, and her desperate shiftings from principle to love" (Todd 1980: 316), and Todd excludes other possibilities. For this scholar, Burney vitiated the substance of romantic friendship which is seen as limited in *The Wanderer*: "Elinor, though given room to show her force, is rejected and Aurora herself is more a rapturous shade of Juliet than an equal. Women in both *Cecilia* and *The Wanderer* may console each other and compensate for loss, but they can rarely spur to action" (1980: 317).

This article leaves female mentors, seductive and witty women or "tricksters"[2] aside to focus on the dynamics of young women's relationships in Burney's novels.[3] Instead of analysing females alliances as erotic ones or following Nancy Chodorow's idea that they derive from mother-daughter emotions and are an expression of women's general relational capacities (1978: 200), we will concentrate on the fact that these relationships — "the only one[s] the heroine actively constructs" (Todd 1980: 2) — are the place where the woman writer could negotiate with and between the dominant images of female identity in patriarchal society[4] and are in consonance with the pull between strategies of rebellion and apparent submission typical of Burney's fiction where characters simultaneously embody sameness and difference. As Dale Spender argues, both Burney and Edgeworth invested their works with ethical concerns and showed the tensions between social demand and individual conscience (1986: 273) which

[2] For Audrey Bilger, tricksters are a weapon used by Burney, Wollstonecraft and Austen to kill off the ideal woman and criticise society's absurd demands upon women. Mrs. Selwyn in *Evelina*, Lady Honoria Pemberton in *Cecilia*, Mrs. Arlbery in *Camilla* and Elinor Joddrel in *The Wanderer* are tricksters who defy rules of conduct, mock male authority and laugh as they do so (Bilger 1998: 88-89).

[3] For an exploration of other kinds of relationships, see Cutting (1977), Haggerty (1995) and Looser (2005).

[4] Heidi Hartmann defines patriarchy as the "relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (qtd. in Sedgwick 1985: 3).

largely determine the representation of female friendships. Instead of rejecting Todd, here there is an attempt to redefine her position and complete her analysis. Female friendships are not restricted to grotesque Elinor and sweet Lady Aurora.[5] On the contrary, they constitute a rather complex issue difficult to systematize and which also appears in *Cecilia*. Furthermore, I discern an evolution from the view of women as competitors (*Cecilia*) to a more benevolent approach of women as companions or almost copies of the protagonist (*The Wanderer*), a point which is especially relevant when we examine Burney's dependency on men (her father, Dr. Johnson, Samuel Crisp) and the efforts of women writers at that time to be recognised in the literary realm.

2. *CECILIA* OR THE FETICHISATION OF THE RICH

Selfishness and hypocrisy define the world depicted in *Cecilia*, where everybody wants to imitate the life of the upper classes. The protagonist is a virtuous heiress whose fortune is left in the hands of three incompetent trustees: Mr. Harrel, a man obsessed with living above his possibilities and completely indebted; Mr. Briggs, who is rich but lives as a poor man; and Mr. Delvile, a selfish aristocrat. The heroine has been brought up by an irresponsible uncle who imposes the condition that, if she wants her patrimony, her surname Beverley cannot be changed after marriage. The victim of an oppressive society — and no longer an *ingénue* like Evelina — , Cecilia will have to choose between her feelings towards Mortimer, Mr. Delvile son, and her economic independence. The story is enriched with many intertextual references to William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Merchant of Venice*, and it has repeatedly been pointed out that *Cecilia* reveals Frances's internal conflicts with the mentors who strongly opposed her career as a playwright (Darby 1997).

When Cecilia goes to London, she stays with Mr. and Mrs. Harrel (Priscilla), whose friendship is more formal than real, as Doody stresses (1988: 113-115), and who is a predecessor of Lady Delacour and Helen Stanley, the protagonists' confidantes in Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801) and *Helen* (1834) respectively. The narrator contrasts Cecilia and Priscilla very clearly from the outset: though amiable and obliging, the later has no wit neither great qualities (Burney 1988: 21). The Harrels' home in Portman Square functions metonymically as the symbol of their status and insertion in the fashionable world, which Priscilla is reluctant to leave. Conscious of her position, Priscilla is appalled by the Cits' familiarity. Cecilia's efforts to persuade her of the necessity of a change of life seem useless since "*she* [Mrs. Harrel] *did nothing but what every body else did*, and that it was

[5] For a reading of Elinor as Juliet's alter ego, see Fernández Rodríguez (2008: 52-53).

quite impossible for her to *appear in the world in any other manner*" (Burney 1988: 193). The protagonist pities her friend, she recalls their previous intimacy and unsuccessfully manages to "shew more fortitude, and conjuring her [Mrs. Harrel] to study nothing while abroad but oeconomy [sic], prudence and housewifery" (Burney 1988: 394). Meanwhile Priscilla is astonished by Cecilia's prudery and stoicism: "'You are indeed a noble creature! I thought so from the moment I beheld you; I shall think so, I hope, to the last that I live'" (Burney 1988: 425).

Priscilla stands for duplicity and manipulative friendship (Todd 1980: 4). Her interest in controlling Cecilia anticipates the cruel world that the heroine will face in *The Wanderer*. Besides, as Katherine Rogers insists, eighteenth-century women were forced to give up their wishes and to acquiesce: it was unwomanly to assert herself or to criticise the social circumstances (1990: 56). Women would rather stick to the ideal delineated by sermons and conduct books which praised obedience, modesty and chastity and condemned self-assertion. Mrs. Harrel's profligacy transgresses cultural expectations taking into account that the domestic woman regulated the capital brought home by his partner and that she was valued as long as she was able to manage the household economy. Burney's view of existing marriages is not satisfactory: Mr. Harrel uses Priscilla as an instrument to get money from the protagonist by appealing to their friendship (Burney 1988: 391).[6] Priscilla is always related to Cecilia, and, in the suicide scene in Vauxhall, she revealingly appears as Cecilia's sister when "they stood close to each other, listening to every sound and receiving every possible addition to their alarm" (Burney 1988: 414). Another important point concerning Priscilla is that, after her husband's death, she cannot exercise her right of testator, becoming a vivid anticipatory image of what Cecilia can suffer if she makes a bad choice. Although Priscilla is not a good moral guide, as Helen Thompson states (2001: 160), thanks to her, Cecilia reflects on the behaviour of the rich against whom Burney articulates a powerful criticism related to Giles Arbe's defence of the artist in *The Wanderer:*[7]

> "Who then at last, thought Cecilia, are half so much the slaves of the world as the gay and the dissipated? Those who work for hire, have at least their hours of rest, those who labour for subsistence, are at liberty when subsistence is procured; but those who toil to please the vain and the idle, undertake a task which can never be finished, however scrupulously all private peace, all internal comfort, may be sacrificed in reality to the folly of saving appearances!" (Burney 1988: 360)

[6] For Claude Lévi-Strauss the relationship of reciprocity which is the basis of marriage is not established between men and women but between men by means of women (1969: 116), and Eve K. Sedgwick goes further to state that in any male-dominated society, there is a special relationship between male homosocial (*including* homosexual) desire and the structures for maintaining and transmitting patriarchal power (1985: 25). Marriage is just one of those structures.

[7] The gentleman denounces Juliet's exploitation and difficulties to entertain the well-off (Fernández Rodríguez 2007: 142-143).

Class comes to the fore, and defines a different friendship. Henrietta Belfield is in many aspects Mrs. Harrel's opposite in *Cecilia* at the same time that she represents a young authoress' aspirations to be recognised in the literary market, as Catherine Gallagher (1994) and Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace (1994) have already emphasised by focussing on Belfield, Henrietta's brother, and on the Fable of the Genius added now as an appendix to this edition (Burney 1988: 943-945). Probably the most courageous female in *Cecilia*, Henrietta has been scarcely studied by critics despite her revolutionary assertion before Cecilia: "'those to whom I belong have more fortitude and higher spirit. I wish I could imitate them'" (Burney 1988: 209). If Priscilla is unconscious of the world she lives in, Henrietta represents the over-conscious woman and female sacrifice on behalf of the male branch of the family since Mrs. Belfield has never denied her son a present and totally ignores that Belfield was deceived by his administrator (Burney 1988: 222). The friendship between Cecilia and Henrietta may spring from an intense mother-want on both sides because mothers are inefficient, or because other women have acted as betrayers or oppressors. If we follow Todd's analysis, Belfield's sister is a mutilated daughter, neglected by her family, and she symbolically becomes Cecilia's daughter (1980: 2-3, 312).

Cecilia is surprised by Henrietta's common sense (Burney 1988: 345), and Henrietta calls her "*her brother's noble friend*" (Burney 1988: 345). She idealises and is attracted by the upper classes, and much later she equals Mortimer with the heroine ("'*You* only are like him! always gentle, always obliging!'" ([Burney 1988: 776]) Chodorow argues that adolescents, in transition, may desire the heterosexual love object of their best friend, because their identification rather than a sense of complementarity shapes desire and that that desire is often transformed from the wish *to be like* to the wish *to be with* that friend (1994: 53). This is precisely what happens to Henrietta who has a levelling spirit and admires the rich simply because they do not have problems and their lives are far from ordinary: "'Whatever has but once been touched by their hands, I should like to lock up, and keep for ever! though if I was used to them, as you are, perhaps I might think less of them'" (Burney 1988: 775). Henrietta helps Burney to introduce the possibility of an alliance between the middle and the high classes. According to the girl, there is some benefit when the classes join together: "'the rich would be as much happier for marrying the poor, as the poor for marrying the rich, for then they would take somebody that would try to deserve their kindness, and now they only take those that know have a right to it'" (Burney 1988: 777). However, as soon as Henrietta suspects the existence of a liaison between Mortimer and Cecilia (Burney 1988: 799), her feelings resemble Cecilia's ones towards her beloved Mortimer, who only finds one fault in Henrietta: "'We sigh for entertainment, when cloyed by mere sweetness; and

heavily drags on the load of life when the companion of our social hours wants spirit, intelligence, and cultivation'" (Burney 1988: 571).

The heroine appreciates Miss Belfield because she has finally found "a friend to oblige, and a companion to converse with [...] her constant presence and constant sweetness, imperceptibly revived her spirits, and gave a new interest to her existence" (Burney 1988: 794). The idea that Henrietta may marry Mortimer enables Cecilia to compare herself with Belfield's sister and to see the girl's worth. For Jane Spencer (2007: 34-36), the Johnsonian influence in the heroine's reflections look forward to Austen's free indirect discourse:

> "If", cried she, "the advantages I possess are merely those of riches, how little should I be flattered by any appearance of preference! And how ill can I judge with what sincerity it may be offered! Happier in that case is the lowly Henrietta, who to poverty may attribute neglect, but who can only be sought and caressed from motives of purest regard. She loves Mr. Delvile, loves him with the most artless affection; — perhaps, too, he loves her in return, — why else his solicitude to know my opinion of her, and why so sudden his alarm when he thought it unfavourable? Perhaps he means to marry her, and to sacrifice to her innocence and her attractions all plans of ambition, and all views of aggrandizement: — thrice happy Henrietta; if such is thy prospect of felicity! to have inspired a passion so disinterested, may humbly the most insolent of thy superiors, and teach even the wealthiest to envy thee!" (Burney 1988: 362-363)

Both Priscilla and Henrietta encourage introspection and are favourably treated at the end of *Cecilia*. The former is criticised, but she marries a rich man and continues shining in society: "quickly forgetting all the past, thoughtlessly began the world again, with new hopes, new connections, — new equipages and new engagements!" (Burney 1988: 940). On the other hand, Henrietta is eventually rewarded rather than punished and becomes assimilated to the upper classes thanks to her marriage to Mr. Arnott, one of the protagonist's suitors. We will see now that what distinguishes *Cecilia* from Burney's last novel is that in *The Wanderer* philanthropy extends to humanity in general, and that, more than generosity or ingenuousness, it is disinterestedness that characterises female friends in Burney's mature fiction.

3. SYMPATHY AND WOMEN

Burney published *The Wanderer* thirty-two years after the appearance of *Cecilia* and after the loss of her dear sister Susanna (1800) married to Captain Molesworth Phillips and an appalling mastectomy to save her life (1811). Frances and her husband, the Catholic constitutionalist and Lafayette's good friend General Alexandre Piochard d'Arblay, had spent some years on the Continent with the

hope to recover some estates, and, when *The Wanderer* appeared, Frances had to face harsh criticism in England.[8] The authoress's last production can be defined as a mixture of the Aethiopic, the Bizantine and the philosophic novel. It deals with the adventures of a strange woman who arrives disguised on the French coast and prays admission in a boat to England where she meets the underside of British society. As the story progresses, we know that Juliet Granville is the daughter of an English aristocrat and a virtuous young lady and that she has been secretly educated in a French convent. Though Burney had sworn to the custom officers in Dunkirk that "the Work had nothing in it political, nor even National […] possibly offensive to the Government" (qtd. in Burney 1991: xi), *The Wanderer* became Burney's most political novel. For Epstein, in *The Wanderer*, "the absorption of the political into the personal, rather than evading, permits Burney to analyse explicitly the ideological impact of French revolutionary politics on the European condition" (1989: 177). On the other hand, in Burney's last novel, the strong sense of the injustice of society's attitude towards women questions the validity of political and societal institutions.

Leaving Selina apart, the heroine has two good friends in *The Wanderer*: Lady Aurora, a stock character typical of a sentimental narrative, and Juliet's French friend Gabriella. Different women writers, such as Charlotte Lennox in *Euphemia* (1790), had also dealt with sentimental friendship defined by Todd as a close, effusive tie, revelling in rapture and rhetoric, which can replace heterosexual love and is a means to engage the female reader. According to Todd, thanks to the sentimental female friendship, the novel displays its didactic aim (1980: 3), and Lady Aurora appears precisely when Burney feels freest as a writer[9]. Towards the end of the narrative, the reader discovers that she is Juliet's biological sister — after his first wife's death, Lord Granville remarried —, and Lady Aurora and Lord Melbury turn to be Juliet's half-siblings. Lady Aurora sticks perfectly to the idea of the "proper lady" defined by Mary Poovey and familiar to any nineteenth-century reader: "completely without sexual desire and delicate to the point of frailty, […] the Victorian Angel of the House was to be absolutely free from all corrupting knowledge of the material — and materialistic — world" (1984: 34-35). For Katharine Rogers, Lady Aurora distils purity, self-control and tenderness, while Juliet's experience sets her apart from this stereotype (1990: 173). Like Edgeworth, Burney believed in perfectibility, and Lady Aurora's presence is necessary in the novel for two reasons. First, she gives comfort to a heroine who is continually

[8] For an overview, see Doody (1988: 333-335).

[9] However, the publishers urged her to finish *The Wanderer*, and Frances confessed in a letter to Charles Burney: "tired I am of my Pen! Oh tired! tired! Oh! Should it tire others in the same proportion —alas for poor Messrs. Longman & Rees! — and alas for poor ME!" (22nd June 1813, quoted in Hemlow 1958: 337).

abused both by the upper and the middle class ladies, ranging from the aristocrat Mrs. Ireton to the mantua maker Mrs. Hart and the milliners. Second, Burney never loses a certain degree of idealism in her productions — in fact, it was suspected that *Cecilia* was written by Dr. Johnson, the author of *Rasselas* (1759). Lady Aurora appears as a counter-figure in the novel, one of the few compassionate females surrounding Juliet. According to Joyce Hemlow, this character was probably based on Amelia Locke (1958: 341), a lady much beloved by Frances and her sister Susanna, who could also have inspired Lady Aurora (Thaddeus 2000: 204) bearing in mind that her urgent need to be close to Juliet resembles very much the affinity between Frances and Susanna[10].

Betty Rizzo remarks that the "call of blood" — or *cri de l' âme* —, was a topos common in French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drama and in the English novel of the second half of he eighteenth century. This call of the soul, which appears when kindred spirits like Lady Aurora and Juliet meet, recognises the claims of merit over those of rank (Rizzo 2007: 131)[11]. In fact, Lady Aurora sympathises with Juliet's sufferings and wants to become her banker. The young aristocrat is frequently referred to as an angel (Burney 1991: 135, 829, 846), and many conventional scenes in which Juliet meets Lady Aurora are described with sentimental rhetoric culminating when she discovers that Juliet is her sister (Burney 1991: 817). Lady Aurora enjoys the life that the heroine should legally have had — up to a point she is what Juliet is not — and the Melburys are portrayed as true aristocrats who spend their time touring around Great Britain, visiting health resorts or devoting themselves to upper class diversions such as conversation, theatrical discussions, strictures and declamation (Burney 1991: 552). All these activities keep them close to Juliet, an accomplished artist also called 'The Ellis', who can sing, play the harp or perform diverse theatrical roles. Lady Aurora is totally different from the interested Miss Arbe, so the narrator itself distinguishes between authentic rank and formality: "her every feeling, and almost every thought, were absorbed in tender commiseration for unknown distresses, which she firmly believed to be undeserved; and which, however nobly supported, seemed too poignant for constant suppression" (Burney 1991: 117).

Like in Lady Aurora's case, Gabriella is definitely less real than other women in *The Wanderer*. The female archangel (Gabri-*ella*) is linked to Juliet/Ellis by her name, and she functions as her French half-sister because Gabriella's mother

[10] What is more, the Italian castrato Gaspare Pacchierotti considered the sisters "but one Soul — but one Mind — You are two in One" (quoted in Chisholm 1998: 13), and, before Susan's marriage to an officer in the Marines, Frances wrote: "now I consider that we are no longer destined to pursue our kittle snug Garret scheme & end our lives 2 loving Maiden cats" (quoted in Doody 1988: 109).

[11] Similarly, Johnson maintains that the yearning for the intimacy of maternal and/or female sympathy is potent in Burney's novels and recurs with the intensity of repetition compulsion. Burney brings homoerotic fervours within the bonds of the patriarchal family (1995: 178-179).

was Juliet's original protector. Gabriella interests us for two reasons: on the one hand, she is a mother who has lost her child buried by the sea (Burney 1991: 385). On the other hand, Gabriella expresses herself in French, which Burney mastered at that time after her exile in France. The British authoress felt somehow compromised with her husband's country after having written the philanthropic and scarcely known nowadays essay *Brief Reflections Relative to the Emigrant French Clergy earnestly submitted to the humane Consideration of The Ladies in Great Britain* (1800). By positively portraying a French *emigrée*, cultural alterity is seen from an uncommon point of view in Burney's fiction — if we compare it with the images of the French in *Evelina*, for instance —, and the close connection between Juliet and Gabriella is already explained by the later to Sir Jaspar: "'We were brought up together! — the same convent, the same governess, the same instructors, were common to both till my marriage'" (Burney 1991: 640).

Juliet and Gabriella share many features in common: the later will be as alienated in England as Juliet is, and she is also introduced with her face covered. Like the protagonist, Gabriella experiences the limitations of disguise: instead of a source of emancipation, her attire restricts her movements because she is an outcast. Furthermore, both Juliet and Gabriella have French husbands like Burney herself. Belonging to an old French family and the daughter of a Marquise, Gabriella was forced to leave her country during the Revolution with a false name as Juliet did. Gabriella remains as an example of a lady of quality impelled to depend on herself. Like Lady Aurora, the French lady is related to the heroine's anagnorisis, and it is Gabriella who reveals Juliet's rank (Burney 1991: 641). Despite "all alteration of attire and appearance" (Burney 1991: 391), Gabriella preserves her distinguished air and form, and is compassionate towards those "who had lost the resources of independence which she yet possessed, — youth and strength" (Burney 1991: 401). The reader never obtains a detailed description of this woman, who is "'no great recommendation'" (Burney 1991: 384) according to Miss Matson, and meets Juliet at the churchyard where she prays in French for her dead child (Burney 1991: 386). However, the narrator explains that she had "a tragic expression of constant woe in her countenance" (Burney 1991: 635), and Juliet summarises her personality to Sir Jaspar:

> "Her excellencies, her high qualities, and spotless conduct, might make the proudest Englishman exult to own her for his country-woman; though the lowest Frenchman would dispute, even at the risk of his life, the honour of her birth. Sprung from one of the first houses in Europe, a house not more ancient in its origin, than renowned for its virtues; allied to a family the most industrious, whose military glory has raised it to the highest ranks in the state; herself an ornament to that birth, an honour to that alliance". (Burney 1991: 636)

The Wanderer is preoccupied with issues of women's professionalism and patronage, echoing Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of The Rights of Woman* (1792). It centres much on women's contribution to British economy during the Industrial Revolution. Gabriella corresponds to the social type of female friendship related to the heroine's realization in society, and co-operation and social rise are prominent here (Todd 1980: 4). Juliet and Gabriella settle in the later's small room in Brighthelmstone and earn their bread by doing needle-work (Burney 1991: 394). Later they decide to set up in London, which implies facing economic problems to assimilate themselves to the commercial class in a respectable but not genteel enterprise. When Juliet and Gabriella start a private business to support themselves and credit nearly destroys Juliet's livelihood, Burney is offering a realistic picture. Despite her efforts, Gabriella suffers as many professional difficulties as her friend does in her wanderings (Burney 1991: 622-623), and they still write to each other after Juliet's marriage to Albert Harleigh.

4. CONCLUSION

By changing the critical focus from romance to friendship, we have seen that Burney had an ambivalent and contradictory vision of female friendship and that communities of women are always a problematic alternative in her *oeuvre*. All female friends are victimised by patriarchal hegemony in different ways and have little social and legal agency. Like in radical authoresses — Wollstonecraft in *Mary: a Fiction* (1788) or Elizabeth Hamilton in *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800) —, the doubling technique provides the opportunity to explore actions forbidden to a more proper lady. Gender studies still have to examine how Burney's views possibly influenced later Victorian women writers, such as George Eliot and Elizabeth Gaskell in their famous feminocentric novels. In Burney's second work, there is an astute assessment of human relationships and the heroine's *Bildung* is possible because the female individual moves beyond community into her own subjective world and considers herself in relation to other women. As she grew older, the British authoress turned to a more positive — and generous — portrait of female bonds and co-operation. Therefore, in *The Wanderer*, the mixture of realism and idealism and the introduction of the figures of the benevolent aristocrat and the professional foreign woman affirm rather than deny Burney's reliance on female communities. At the same time that these alliances encourage intimacy and mutual sharing of a domestic environment they also express women's intense yearning for freedom, which once more confirms Burney's genius.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 125-141

WHAT MEN AND WOMEN DO WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT LOVE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF "WHAT WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT LOVE" BY RAYMOND CARVER

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ABSTRACT. *Many people, like the protagonist of Dorothy Parker's short story "Too Bad," wonder "what did married people talk about, anyway, when they were alone together?" Raymond Carver's short story "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love" is the literary rendition of the ways in which married couples talk. This essay analyses this short story taking into account sociolinguistic aspects related to men's and women's linguistic behaviour and the speech strategies each gender uses, so as to explore if these characters accurately reflect real life speech patterns or not.*

Keywords: Discourse analysis, Raymond Carver, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love," sociolinguistics, cross-sex talk and married couples.

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DE QUÉ HABLAN LOS HOMBRES Y LAS MUJERES CUANDO HABLAN DE AMOR: UN ANÁLISIS SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICO DE "WHAT WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT LOVE" DE RAYMOND CARVER

RESUMEN. *Mucha gente, al igual que la protagonista del relato de Dorothy Parker "Too Bad" se preguntan "de todos modos, ¿de qué hablaban los matrimonios cuando estaban a solas?" El relato de Raymond Carver "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love" es la reproducción literaria de las maneras en que las parejas casadas se comunican. Este ensayo analiza este relato teniendo en cuenta aspectos sociolingüísticos relacionados con el comportamiento lingüístico de los hombres y de las mujeres y las estrategias discursivas que cada género usa para explorar si estos personajes reflejan con exactitud hábitos discursivos de la vida real.*

Palabras clave: Análisis del discurso, Raymond Carver, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love," sociolingüística, charla entre sexos y matrimonios.

Received 4 November 2010
Revised version accepted 3 February 2011

> What did married people talk about, anyway, when they were alone together? She had seen married couples… at the theatre or in trains, talking together as animatedly as if they were just acquaintances. She always watched them, marvelingly, wondering what on earth they found to say.
> Dorothy Parker: "Too Bad"

1. INTRODUCTION

As Dorothy Parker's quote above illustrates, literature has often made use of married couples' conversations so as to illustrate the state of a marriage. Of Anna Karenina's husband we know that, despite his joy for his wife's return home, he cannot voice his happiness but makes a sarcastic remark instead. Similarly, a recurrent technique in movies to convey the impression that a marriage is on the rocks is presenting a couple not speaking to each other at all, like in *American Beauty* (1999). Writers have been pulled between two opposite forces to express their characters' feelings – some have been too prolix, even on the verge of boredom; others, as Jane Austen did in *Pride and Prejudice*, have chosen to report what went on rather than let characters actually speak out their emotions. This essay analyses the short story by Raymond Carver "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love" taking into account sociolinguistic aspects related to men's and women's linguistic behaviour and speech strategies in order to explore if Carver's characters accurately reflect real-life speech patterns or not. Given the complexity

of this task and the scope of this essay, I will focus on the following aspects: the expression of feelings, agreement and disagreement, asking questions, and the use of hedges and profanity.

Raymond Carver re-created in a number of his short stories conversations between one or more married couples, such as "What's in Alaska," "Tell the Women We're Going," "Feathers," "Neighbors," "After the Denim," or "Put Yourself in My Shoes," just to name a few. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love" deals with a cross-sex, seemingly casual conversation involving two married couples, Terri and Mel, and Nick (who is also the narrator) and Laura. The four of them are in their second marriage, have professional careers and have known each other for quite a long time. It is significant that the four participate (although the women characters hardly ever take the floor, as we will see) in the same conversation, thus standing in marked contrast to the Lynds' study of Muncie, Indiana, in which they discovered that, when socializing, husbands and wives tended to divide themselves so as "to talk men's talk and women's talk" (Chafe 1991: 135). This could be explained because this is a very reduced group and therefore, all of them can sit together at the same table. The fact that Terri and Laura are professional women (actually, Nick met Laura "in a professional capacity" [Carver 1981: 173]) should be noted too. This is especially significant because many now seminal works on married couples' verbal interaction such as Mirra Komarovsky's or Lillian Breslow Rubin's studies were based on working-class subjects while sociological studies have revealed that class is as important as gender in shaping friendship (Walker 1994: 258). Analysing the friendships of professional women, Helen Gouldner and Mary Symons Strong (in Walker 1994: 259) discovered that most middle-class professional women's socializing was done with their husbands or with other couples, as it is the case in this story.

The setting is at one of the couples' (Terri and Mel's) and the main and only topic discussed by these couples is love, since all the other sub-topics discussed are closely related to love – domestic violence and its relation to love, different conceptions of love (Platonic, physical, in the Middle Ages, spiritual, real), the end of love (e.g., divorce), suicide and the willingness to die for love. The very participants in the conversation have some doubts about how they begun talking about love – "we somehow got on the subject of love," the narrator says (Carver 1981: 170) and Laura wonders "how'd we get started on this subject, anyway?" (Carver 1981: 171) It seems the topic was brought up by Mel, who talks the most and because the next sentence after "we somehow got on the subject of love" is "Mel thought real love was nothing less than spiritual love" (Carver 1981: 171). Thus hinting that Mel might very possibly be the one who brought it up. Were this the case, this would confirm Fishman's findings that "between cross-sex, intimate couples […] a couple's conversational topic is essentially the man's choice" (in

West and Zimmerman 1983: 102) with the proviso that in this case the conversation is between two couples and not just one. Curiously enough, that the topic chosen by Mel is love contradicts folk beliefs that men are not only less likely than women to raise topics related to personal emotions or concerns but, what is more, they try to prevent the discussion of "sensitive topics of discussion" (Leto de Francisco 1998: 179-181).

That they are drinking gin while talking might be a factor contributing to the fact that their conversation is about love, since alcohol helps people to lose their inhibitions and speak more freely. Actually, in a given moment Terri asks her husband if he is getting drunk (Carver 1981: 177), and Nick, the narrator, later on acknowledges: "maybe we were a little drunk by then" (Carver 1981: 183). Carver, who had a first-hand experience of alcoholism (he was a recovering alcoholic and both his first wife and his father were alcoholics too), often included in his fiction the excessive use of alcohol to symbolize the problems that plague his characters. Thus, more often than not, in Carver's fiction "alcohol is a kind of empty substitute … that neither nourishes nor nurtures but distorts and confuses" (Moramarco n.d.).

2. THIS WORD LOVE

In Carver's short stories, "love is a darkly unknowable and irreversible force, a form of sickness not only complicating but dominating the lives of characters. Characters are alternately bewildered, enraged, suffocated, diminished, isolated, and entrapped by love" (Nesset 1991: 293-294). From Carver's first volume of short stories, *Will You Please Be Quiet, Please?*, "love and its maladies are for Carver already an 'obsession' (he hated the word 'theme')" (Nesset 1991: 293). Given the predominant space of love in Carver's literary universe, it is not strange that the word "love" (either as a noun or as a form of the verb to love) is used a total number of fifty-eight times in this short story, of which twice are in reported speech (Terri repeating her ex-boyfriend Ed's words in both instances) and once is said by all of them when they drink a toast to love. This extensive use of the word love is indicative of how much love "has been so beaten down in twentieth century discourse, particularly the rhetoric of advertising and popular culture, that it's hard to know what anyone means by it anymore. … [Love] occurs often in the titles of porno movies, religious sermons, new age self-help guides, romantic novels, and tv shows" (Moramarco n.d.).

Mel uses the word love a total of forty times, amounting to 69% of the cases, nothing surprising given that he is the most talkative participant in the conversation and the one who seems to have introduced the topic to begin with. In contrast, Terri says it thirteen times (22%), Laura three (5 %) and Nick, twice (3 %). This goes against the pervasive belief that men do not feel comfortable

when talking about feelings and that they try to avoid this type of conversations. That Mel is the participant that speaks the most has several other implications. To start with, it helps destroy the popular myth of women's talkativeness (Coates 1986: 31) that exists in most Western cultures. Being the one who talks the most involves a dominant behavior and increases the likelihood that one's topics succeed (Spender in Leto de Francisco 1998: 179). Confirming this, Mel not only controls all the conversation and is the most talkative speaker but also the whole conversation dwells with the topic of love or sub-topics related to it. Once he has introduced his topic, he does not let the other participants drop it. What is more, this constitutes a means by which controlling and silencing the other participants in the conversation (Leto de Francisco 1998: 180).

3. QUESTIONS

In this short story, when it comes to questions, men and women approximately ask the same amount of questions. Out of the total of forty-three instances of questions, men ask twenty-four of them (amounting to 56%) and women, nineteen (44%). This is especially significant because although the male characters (in particular, Mel) do most of the talking, the women ask almost as many questions as the men, which is more or less predictable since the hearers are the participants more likely to ask questions asking for information, clarification, etc.[1]

The functions performed by these questions are the following ones:

— Disagreement – 1.1, 1.2
— Asking for information – A, E, F, G, I.1, I.2, J, K.1, K.2
— Keeping the conversation going – F, N
— Question tag – B, D, J
— Rhetorical questions – 3, 8, 9.1, 9.2, 10.1, 10.2, 13, 16, C
  • Asking for clarification – 4, 5, E, L
— Involving hearers in conversation, trying to prompt a response from hearers – 2, 6.1, 7, I.3, I.4
— Asking for others' opinion – 2.1, 2.2[2]

[1] Each letter corresponds to a turn of a female speaker, whereas numbers have been used to identify turns of male speakers. In appendix A, the corresponding quotations appear with the identity of the speaker specified and the page number in which that quotation appears in the short story. Turns including several questions have been subdivided.

[2] I have included the category "asking for others' opinion" under the broader label "involving hearers in conversation, trying to prompt a response from hearers" because although the speaker's purpose when asking questions of any of these categories is the same (dragging the hearers to a more active role in the conversation), in the case of "asking for others' opinion," hearers are explicitly asked to give their opinion, not just to contribute to the talk in other ways (e.g., providing further information, giving details, telling an anecdote or a story loosely or closely related to the topic of love…).

— Asking for confirmation – 11, 12, 14, 15.1, 15.2, 17, 18
— Request – M
— Extending previous question – 6.2

This classification shows that although some types of questions are as likely to be used by the male characters as by the female ones (asking for clarification, extending a previous question or involving hearers in conversation), most types are used by a gender much more often than by the other. Thus, whereas women are more prompt to ask for information in order to keep the conversation going (consistent with Fishman's conclusions of women doing the "shitwork") or use question tags, men in turn ask rhetorical questions and use more questions to show their disagreement with the previous speaker. Questioning the others' assertions is an indirect way of disagreement, which tends to be a linguistic strategy mostly used by women whereas men disagree in a more frequent, open and direct way (Pilkington 1998: 261-263).

4. WHAT MEN AND WOMEN DO WHEN THEY AGREE AND DISAGREE

Out of eleven instances of disagreement, seven correspond to men (i.e., 64%), whereas only four were uttered by women (36%). Disagreement is performed in several ways:[3]

— Criticizing the other speaker, even to the point of abusing and insulting or discrediting the other's opinion or statements – 1.1, 2, 4, 6
— Denying the previous speaker's statement – 1.2, 3.1
— Asserting something in conflict with the previous speaker's statement – A, B, C, D, 5
— Providing facts in contradiction to the previous speaker's turn[4] – 3.2, 4, D
— Questioning the previous speaker's statement – 7

This shows that female characters not only disagree with men less often than the reverse, but that the male characters do it in a more direct way. Regardless of the gender of the other participant(s) in conversation, men "are more likely

[3] Each turn has been considered as a single instance of disagreement. However, since in turns 1 and 3 disagreement is performed in two different ways within the same turn, these turns have been subdivided into turns 1.1 and 1.2 and 3.1 and 3.2, respectively. See appendix B.

[4] I have drawn this distinction between asserting something in conflict with the previous speaker's turn and providing facts in contradiction to the previous speaker's turn because in the former case, the speaker's assertions are not grounded on reasons, whereas in the latter, facts are provided to support these assertions. I have considered these facts as such and not as opinions because Ed's being dangerous has already been asserted since his threats to Mel's life have already been mentioned; his willingness to die for love is, in the same way, confirmed by his suicide – at least in Terri's eyes.

to challenge or dispute their partners' utterances" (Hirschman cited in Maltz and Borker 1998: 419). Terri is the only female speaker who disagrees (just as Mel is the only male speaker disagreeing) and the strategy she employs is making a statement whose validity and truthfulness can only exist given that Mel's previous statement is false as they present two opposite visions of the same fact. In contrast, Mel explicitly denies the validity of Terri's assertions and even reaches the point of criticizing her (regardless of the presence of their friends), attacking her for being silly and romantic (the latter being an ambiguous characteristic, for it can be a both a desirable quality at times, especially in a woman, and scorned in other situations – e.g., in a managerial context) and, in short, simply for having a conception of love that happens to be different and somewhat broader (since Terri allows for the existence of domestic violence under the label of love) than his own. That Mel fails to understand Terri's concept of love is consistent with studies researching married couples' speaking patterns which have consistently reported men's assertions about their difficulties (if not outright inability) in understanding their wives, when not women in general (Kramarae 1981: 10), arguing that men and women are different, a common complaint of both men and women (Walker 1994: 252).

The strength of Mel's disagreement with Terri and his verbal abuse can be accounted for the fact that they are a married couple and with people we are intimate with or have a great deal of confidence in (e.g., our closest friends, our spouse, our parents – especially our mothers) we are more likely to abandon all our politeness and good manners (while reserving them for people we have just met; West and Zimmerman 1983: 106) and be more direct and even rude. The bond of one man and one woman constitutes a peculiar social group since men and women usually live in heterosexual pairs (Coates 1986: 7) and "the pervasiveness of the family makes it seem a natural relationship" (Kramarae 1981: 126). Therefore, since Terri is his wife, Mel is bolder and dares to disagree with her using techniques (verbal abuse, insults, direct attack) he very possibly might not use so readily if disagreeing with Nick or Laura. However, it is strikingly remarkable that when trying to convince Terri of the absurdity of accepting being physically abused by a lover, Mel verbally abuses her, thus assuming that abuse is acceptable as long as it is performed with words and not in the form of beating. This is recurrent in Carver's literary production, which often includes "scenes of emotional menace at the heart of domestic and working-class America. Verbal violence and psychological abuse are the most common forms of animosity in Carver Country. […] women are depicted within a domestic world where family tensions end in violence" (Kleppe 2006: 107). In this story, Terri suffers physical abuse from Ed and verbal abuse from Mel, portraying how violence against women was a daily occurrence in contemporary America at the time this short

story was published (1981). Actually, "in 1985, the U.S. Surgeon General identified domestic violence as a major health problem; in 1988, the year of Carver's death, the Surgeon General declared domestic abuse as the leading health hazard to women" (Kleppe 2006: 124).

In contrast, women are the ones attempting conciliation in this story. That way, in order to reconcile Mel's and Terri's antagonistic positions, Laura calls for appeasement: "I don't know anything about Ed, or anything about the situation. But who can judge anyone else's situation?" (Carver 1981: 172). Not only women are forced to attempt conciliation, they are also more pitiful. Mel cannot hide his dislike for Ed, the man who threatened to kill him and would have done it (or so Mel claims) had he not killed himself first. However, Terri, who was the victim of Ed's physical abuse, still can believe that he did love her, and, moreover, can express pity for him and for his death, which was, more than anything else, a relief for both her and Mel, given Ed's threats and relentless pursuit. And whereas Mel takes no pain in openly criticizing Terri, she, in contrast, not only does avoid criticizing him but dissipates any suggestion of it: "Sweet, I'm not criticizing" (Carver 1981: 177).

In this short story, disagreement occurs far more often than not. Whereas there are eleven examples of disagreement, there are just two instances of agreement, which are the following:

— Terri: "But Mel's right" (Carver 1981: 175).
— Mel: "Terri's right" (Carver 1981: 179).

In both cases, the speaker explicitly sides with the previous speaker's assertion, legitimating it and dissipating any doubt that the other participants in the conversation might have had about the truthfulness of the previous statement. Curiously enough, in the first case it is Terri the one who agrees with her husband and in the second it is Mel who does the same for his wife, thus making it a case of loyalty to one's spouse. This, however, is far from meaning that this is always the case, given the previous instances of disagreement, most of which are due to Terri's and Mel's different conceptions of what love is.

5. PROFANITY AND HEDGES

It is significant that 100% of the profanity contained in the short story is uttered by the male speakers. More specifically, Mel is the one who does all the profanity, which is hardly unexpected since he is the one who does most of the talking as well. The only exception is the profanity Terri uses when reporting Ed's words. But even if we accepted the profanity used in reported speech, there are also instances of Mel's using profanity in reported speech (once again, re-telling Ed's

words). This helps reinforce the folk linguistics assumption that women's language is less coarse and, in turn, more polite due to the social pressure for women not to use vulgar language ever since the Middle Ages, the ideal for women being not to use cuss words (Coates 1986: 19-22). The result is that "even more than slang, this [swearing] has been regarded as men's territory" (Poynton 1985: 73).

Hedges can be used with multiple functions but they are generally classified as a feature of women's speech as a result of "the stereotype of tentativeness associated with [women's] speech" (Poynton 1985: 71). Coates explains women's use of them because of their discussing sensitive topics,[5] their disclosing personal information, for the sake of keeping the collaborative floor, to mitigate the force of their statements, to avoid imposing their opinions on the others, and to allow for room for the addressee(s)'s feelings (Coates 1996: 156, 162-171; Coates 1986: 102). In this short story, out of seventeen instances of hedges, men perform thirteen (i.e., 76%), whereas the remaining four, performed by women, constitute just the 24%.

The mitigating devices used to lessen their statements are:[6]

— Like – A
— May – B, C
— Maybe – D, 3, 4.1[7], 5
— Just – 1, 6, 7, 9.2
— Some – 2
— Such a – 4.1
— I mean / it means – 7.1, 9.1

In the existing literature to the contrary, the men in this short story hedge their utterances more often than women. This can be due to the fact that the men here talk more, and, subsequently, they also have to protect their negative face more often. When analyzing women's talk, Coates (1996: 165) claims that the use of hedges when talking about sensitive topics is vital because, otherwise, given the mutual self-disclosure of participants, talk would be impossible since, due to the characteristics of this kind of topics, statements cannot be said bluntly. Despite the fact that the dominant speaker here, Mel, is a man, I still consider that Coates' hypothesis is at work, for, in this case, the sensitive nature of the topic at hand prevails over the speaker's gender.

[5] Coates' definition (1996: 162) of sensitive topics is the following: "By 'sensitive' I mean that they are topics which are controversial in some way and which arouse strong feelings in people. These topics are usually about people and feelings". Love, being the feeling *par excellence*, clearly falls into this category.

[6] Full quotations appear in appendix C.

[7] In turns 4, 7, and 9 there are two instances of mitigating devices within the same turn.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Whether there can be sincere cross-gender communication has been a matter that has for long occupied many pages in American literature. Already in the eighteenth century, Charles Brockden Brown in his novel *Alcuin* (1798) wrote that "all intercourse between [the sexes] is fettered and embarrassed. On one side, all is reserve and artifice; on the other, adulation and affected humility. […] The man must affect a disproportionate ardour; while the woman must counterfeit indifference or aversion" (quoted in Waterman 2010: 30). "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love" by Raymond Carver deals with cross-gender conversation and the inherent difficulties in it. With the proviso that this is a conversation taken from a short story and not a real-life conversation, there are several conclusions that can be drawn in regards to cross-gender communication in late-twentieth-century America. According to the existing literature, when husbands and wives take part in the same conversation, men are the ones who speak the most and rather than joining in a multi-party conversation, women talk to their husbands and men talk to their wives. Also, instead of engaging in conversation with other women, "in the mixed-gender groups women in general spoke less and interacted less with each other than with men" (study by Elizabeth Aries, reported in Kramarae 1981: 147). Consistent with most studies, the male characters in this short story are the ones who choose the topic of the conversation and control its subsequent flow in such a way that not only does this topic succeed but it is also the only subject matter talked about during the rest of the conversation. Only once the topic has been thoroughly discussed to the limits of its possibilities, will it be possible for the participants to move on and engage in a different topic or activity – in this case, going out to dinner. This confirms Leto de Francisco's (1998: 182) conclusion that "the men seemed to have more control in defining the day-to-day reality of these couples' communication styles, and the women did more of the adapting". That way, social order, in which men have more privileges, is imitated (Coates 1986: 121), Mel being the most talkative speaker because "men, the speakers of the dominant style, have more rights and privileges. They exhibit their privileges and produce them in every conversational situation" (Troemel-Ploetz 1998: 447). As a result of this, women are not equal in conversation (West and Zimmerman 1998: 107), their status in spoken interaction being similar to that of children talking to adults on the grounds of their limited (or non-existent) power to control the course of the conversation (West and Zimmerman 1998: 165-175).

Men, in order to control the course of the conversation and to prevent their topic from being dropped, hold the floor most of the time, a matter of "prime importance" for men (Poynton 1985: 28), making the longest turns (by far) and trying to silence disagreeing voices in an active and open way by using

verbal abuse and strong criticism. The longest turns belong to men, and, more importantly, to the host. Additionally, confirming this, Terri speaks far more than Laura and so does Mel in comparison to Nick, which could be influenced by the fact that they are at Terri and Mel's house. At a given moment, Mel's monologue sounds like a lecture on love (Carver 1981: 176-177); it is not only his longest turn, but the longest turn in the story. Despite conceptions of men's sparingness and women's talkativeness, "while the evidence is not conclusive, the literature suggests that men talk as much or more than women when the sexes converse" (West and Zimmerman 1998: 108) and this short story seems to confirm it. This stands in marked contrast with the typical stereotype of women as tireless talkers despite "a number of recent studies [that] demonstrate that […] in conversation interaction between men and women, far from men never being able to get a word in edgeways, they usually have the upper hand" (Poynton 1985: 26), a stereotype whose foundation must lie in the fact that "the yardstick against which women's talk is, in fact, measured, is that of **silence**" (bold hers; Spender quoted in Poynton 1985: 67).

As Kramarae puts it, the pervasive image we generally have of manhood has it that "a **real** man is strong and silent and does not talk about his troubles, feelings, and pain" (1981: 11; bold hers). Yet, the topic chosen by Mel is, curiously enough, love and despite the general assumption that men do not feel comfortable when discussing this kind of topics, it soon turns out to be a favorite topic of his, almost his hobbyhorse. Obviously, Mel has thought about love at length (as he acknowledges towards the middle of the conversation: "Sometimes I have a hard time accounting for the fact that I must have loved my first wife too" [Carver 1981: 176]), as most men most probably do, but the remarkable thing here is that he has no problem in openly discussing it with his wife and a couple of close friends. Contrary to folk beliefs and stereotypical images that men engage in physical or sports-related activities while not discussing personal issues whereas women friends talk about intimate matters, it seems that "when specific friendships are examined, it becomes clear that men share feelings more than the literature indicates, whereas women share feelings less than the literature indicates" (Walker 1994: 246-247, 254).[8]

At times, Mel's long turns (almost monologues in some cases) even have an *ex cathedra* quality ("I'll tell you what real love is" [Carver 1981: 176]), showing a teacher-like behavior, as if he were lecturing an ignorant audience who knew

[8] "75% of the men reported engaging in nongendered behavior with friends – all of whom reported that they spoke intimately about spouses, other family members, and their feelings. Furthermore, one third of those men reported that they engaged in other nongendered behavior as well as intimate talk" (Walker 1994: 253). Yet, "about 40% of the respondents reported that men were not as open as women" (Walker 1994: 251).

nothing of his latest and revolutionary discovery. This patronizing attitude of Mel towards his wife and friends is what several women "termed 'patronizing,' 'put down' and 'teachy' behaviors by their husbands. Paternalistic statements are said to limit another's behavior through what are presented as well-meant intentions" (Davis cited in Leto de Francisco 1998: 181). That Mel is a cardiologist, somehow seems to give him a special status or expertise over the others. Women, in contrast, avoid "playing the expert," as Coates (1996: 160-161) calls it. When speaking about love, Mel chooses to ignore that what he is doing is just giving his own opinion (which is a personal one and can be disagreed with, as Terri actually happens to do). What is more, he is not talking to people with no knowledge of what love is and what it implies (as it could be the case if he were talking to very young children, for instance) but to grown-up people who, just like he has, have also undergone the experience of a failed marriage, a divorce and have re-married and, consequently, also have a "qualified" opinion on it. Moreover, he even acknowledges the fact that he might be no expert on the matter, even questioning his own and the others' knowledge about love: "'What do any of us really know about love?' Mel said. 'It seems to me we're just beginners at love'" (Carver 1981: 176). Nevertheless, this does not prevent him from lecturing his "audience". Instead of letting the other participants in the conversation – who for most of it are forced to play the role of hearers – take an active part in it and share their own experiences and views, he lectures them.

This is so much the case that when Terri tries to explain her (different) conception of love, Mel attacks her and tries to convince her of her foolishness for having such ideas while imposing his own ideas on love, which he tries to force her to accept as the only valid ones. In Mel's attempts to convince Terri of what love is like and his reluctance to accept her reasons we find Mel exerting his power since "power is the ability to impose one's definition of what is possible, what is right, what is rational, what is real" (Fishman quoted in Poynton 1985: foreword). Terri's attempts to explain how and why she considers it possible to reconcile wife-beating and real love in the same relationship fail because Mel rejects over and over again that possibility, despite Terri's pleading for him to be more open-minded and trying to understand: "'He did love me though, Mel. Grant me that,' Terri said. 'That's all I'm asking. He didn't love me the way you love me. I'm not saying that. But he loved me. You can grant me that, can't you?'" (Carver 1981: 172). While Mel can see only one way of loving, Terri is able to perceive that there might be more than just one way. Mel's refusal to accept somebody else's reasoning creates a misunderstanding grounded on the fact that "male-female conversation is always cross-cultural communication," which provokes that "it's difficult to straighten out such misunderstandings because each one feels convinced of the

logic of his or her position and the illogic – or irresponsibility – of the other's" (Tannen 1998: 435, 437).

Terri's attempts to express her point of view fail, not only on the grounds of Mel's stubbornness to accept a vision of love alternative to his own, but also because language, as a social construct, is male-made and it is not appropriate at times to express women's experiences since language has been made and shaped by men. In contrast, women have been forced to use it even though it does not serve women as well as it serves men because "the male system of perception, which is represented in the language used by both men and women, does not provide a good 'fit' for the women's expression of their experiences" (Kramarae 1981: 1-2). This is due to the fact that

> men, in determining the 'acceptable' values and assumptions (which include the inferior status of women), subject women to experiences that men are not subjected to; but men's language structure does not include the ready means for women to express the thoughts and behavior that result from their subjugation. While women have had to learn the language structure of the dominant group, men have seldom had to discern or have wanted to discern the women's model of the world. (Kramarae 1981: 9)

As a result, Safilios-Rothschild proposes that there might be "two 'realities,' the husband's subjective reality and the wife's subjective reality – two perspectives which do not always coincide. Each spouse perceives 'facts' and situations according to his [or her] own needs, values, attitudes, and beliefs" (quoted in Kramarae 1981: 129).

To conclude, just like in most instances of everyday life, in this short story, when engaging in cross-sex conversation, men assume the control, preventing others (i.e., women) from doing so in such a strong way that other voices (especially those voices which disagree[9]) are silenced in an attempt to keep the current state of affairs in which women occupy a position subordinate to men's and have to struggle to have their voices not only heard but taken into account in a world made by men for men and in which women's role has to be constantly negotiated (if not fought for) using a range of strategies going from conciliation to open disagreement. Carver, a neorealist who ever since his first short story collection was interested in the limitations of language, offers in "What We Talk About When We Talk About Love" a vivid and realistic portrayal of married couples' verbal interaction in contemporary American society.

[9] Not necessarily just women, but also members from minorities, religious dissenters...

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS

1.- Mel: [1.1] "Make up what? [1.2] What is there to make up?" 171

2.- Mel: [2.1] "What about you, guys? [2.2] Does that sound like love to you?" 171

3.- Mel: "What do you do with love like that?" 170

4.- Nick: "What do you mean, he bungled it?" 173

5.- Nick: "How'd he bungle it when he killed himself?" 173

6.- Mel: [6.1] "Can you believe it? [6.2] A guy like me?" 173

7.- Mel: "To go to the hospital, you know?" 173

8.- Mel: "What do any of us really know about love?" 175

9.- Mel: [9.1] "How do you explain that? [9.2] What happened to that love?" 177

10.- Mel: [10.1] "Am I wrong? [10.2] Am I way off base?" 177

11.- Mel: "All right?" 177

12.- Mel: "Right?" 177

13.- Mel: "You know something?" 178

14.- Mel: "Then we're going to dinner, right?" 180

15.- Mel: [15.1] "You know? [15.2] Right, Terri?" 180

16.- Mel: "You know what?" 180

17.- Mel: "You know, that hat that's like a helmet with the plate that comes down, and the padded coat?" 185

18.- Mel: "How does that sound?" 185

A.- Terri: "How'd we get started on this subject, anyway?" 171

B.- Terri: "Mel always has love on his mind. Don't you, honey?" 171

C.- Laura: "But who can judge anyone else's situation?" 172

D.- Terri: "You can grant me that, can't you?" 172

E.- Laura: "But what exactly happened after he shot himself?" 173

F.- Laura: "What happened?" 174

G.- Laura: "Who won the fight?" 174

H.- Terri: "Isn't that a laugh?" 175

I.- Terri: [I.1] "How long have you been together now? [I.2] How long has it been?" [I.3] A year? [I.4] Longer than a year?" 175

J.- Terri: "Mel was, weren't you, honey?" 175

K.- Terri: [K.1] "Are you getting drunk? Honey? [K.2] Are you drunk?" 177

L.- Laura: "What does that mean, honey?" 185

M.- Laura: "Is there something to nibble on?" 185

N.- Terri: "Now what?" 185

APPENDIX B: INSTANCES OF DISAGREEMENT

1.- Mel: [1.1] "My God, don't be silly. [1.2] That's not love, and you know it". 171

2.- Mel: "Terri's a romantic. Terri's of the kick-me-so-I'll-know-you-love-me school. Terri, hon, don't look that way". 171

3.- Mel: [3.1] "Poor Ed nothing. [3.2] He was dangerous". 172

4.- Mel: "He was dangerous. If you call that love, you can have it". 174

5.- Mel: "I sure as hell wouldn't call it love". 174

6.- Mel: "If that's love, you can have it". 174

7.- Mel: "Make up what? What is there to make up?" 171

A.- Terri: "Say what you want to, but I know it was". 171

B.- Terri: "It may sound crazy to you, but it's true just the same". 171

C.- Terri: "He did love me though, Mel". 172

D.- Terri: "It was love. Sure, it's abnormal in most people's eyes. But he was willing to die for it. He did die for it". 174

APPENDIX C: HEDGES

A- Laura: "It sounds like a nightmare". 173

B- Terri: "It may sound crazy to you, but it's true just the same". 171

C- Terri: "Sure, sometimes he may have acted crazy". 171

D- Terri: "In his own way maybe, but he loved me". 171

1.- Mel: "I just wouldn't call Ed's behavior love". 171
2.- Mel: "They were in some shape". 179
3.- Mel: "Maybe I won't call the kids, after all". 185
4.- Mel: "Maybe it isn't such a hot idea". 185 (2 hedges)
5.- Mel: "Maybe we'll just go eat". 185 (2 hedges)
6.- Nick: "It just means what I said". 185
7.- Nick: "It means I could just keep going". 185 (2 hedges)
8.- Mel: "Honey, I'm just talking". 177
9.- Mel: "I mean, we're all just talking, right?" 177 (2 hedges)

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 145-163

MULTICULTURAL TEAMWORK AS A SOURCE OF EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AND INTERCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT. *This paper delves into multicultural teamwork as a source of experiential learning. It starts with a theoretical consideration of work in global teams, with a particular stress on the possibilities they offer for experiential learning on a cooperative and collaborative basis.*
From a practical sphere, the paper presents part of the results yielded by a study on multicultural teamwork dynamics in which the opportunities these types of groups provide for learning on the spot are explored in the light of the team members' development of key components of intercultural competence.
The paper concludes with a reflection on the relevance of experiential learning for multicultural team workers' life-long learning.

Keywords: Multicultural teamwork, experiential learning, cooperative learning, intercultural (communicative) competence, (intercultural) knowledge, (intercultural) attitudes, (intercultural) skills/abilities.

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1. This work was produced within the parameters of the Project ICOPROMO – Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility, Programme LEONARDO DA VINCI, conceptualised, designed and coordinated by Manuela Guilherme, Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra, with the following participants: Clara Keating, Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra, Evelyne Glaser & Alexandra Kaar, Universität Linz, María del Carmen Méndez García & María Luisa Pérez

EL TRABAJO EN EQUIPOS MULTICULTURALES COMO GERMEN DEL APRENDIZAJE EXPERIMENTAL Y DEL DESARROLLO INTERCULTURAL

RESUMEN. *En este artículo se contemplan las posibilidades que ofrece trabajar en equipos multiculturales para favorecer el aprendizaje experimental. El punto de inicio es la consideración teórica sobre aspectos relevantes del trabajo en equipos globales, donde se ponen de manifiesto las oportunidades que el mismo ofrece para un aprendizaje experimental basado en la cooperación y en la colaboración de sus miembros.*

Desde una perspectiva más práctica, se presentan parte de los resultados obtenidos al respecto en un estudio realizado acerca de la dinámica de trabajo en equipos multiculturales en el que se exploran las oportunidades que estos equipos ofrecen para un aprendizaje in-situ a la luz del desarrollo de aspectos claves de la competencia intercultural de sus miembros.

En la conclusión se reflexiona sobre la relevancia que el aprendizaje experimental cobra en el aprendizaje permanente de los miembros de equipos multiculturales.

Palabras clave: Trabajo en equipos multiculturales, aprendizaje experimental, aprendizaje cooperativo, competencia (comunicativa) intercultural, conocimiento (intercultural), actitudes (interculturales), destrezas / habilidades (interculturales).

Received 16 March 2010
Revised version accepted 17 January 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

The last decades have brought about unparalleled changes at political, socioeconomic, cultural and technological level that have paved the way to the emergence of a "new world order" (Glaser *et al.* 2007) marked by an international flow of trade, people and ideas. Whether this new environment of internationalisation is seen as an opportunity or as a threat (Glaser *et al.* 2007) depends on both the general perspective the nation state has towards otherness and the individual circumstances and viewpoints themselves. Every community and every individual are undergoing these changes at their own pace and implementing their own tools. There are, nonetheless, general trends such as

Cañado, Universidad de Jaén, Terry Mughan & Katalin Illes, Anglia Ruskin University, Annelli Kansanen, International Management Education, Guenther Zoels, Voes-Alpinen Industrieanlagenbau, and João Paulo Barbosa de Melo, Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquica.

2. We would like to thank all the informants for their time, patience, and the valuable data with which they provided us. We would likewise like to thank the institutions they work or have worked for: Valeo (Jaén), Cruz Roja Jaén (Red Interlabora), Sun Microsystem (Madrid), Granada Acoge, European Commission (Brussels), European Space Agency (Frankfurt), CEAR (Madrid), ONU (Mexico), Unicef (Madrid), Linares Acoge, ACNUR (Madrid) and Braun Medical (Barcelona).

the emphasis laid on language education, the creation of bilingual and plurilingual programmes in originally monolingual societies, or the consolidation of European exchange programmes (e.g. Erasmus). The results of each of these are slowly beginning to be evinced although, in general, it could be said that the young generation of Europeans is more prepared to deal with internationalisation than their predecessors.

2. WORKING IN GLOBAL TEAMS: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE

The presence of money, space, staff, time and the necessary tools constitute the common grounds in the creation of workgroups. However, teams may differ in a wide array of aspects, such as the number of members, the face-to-face or *virtual* composition of the team, its temporary or permanent existence, or its cultural diversity, to mention but a few. If the emphasis is laid on cultural diversity, a distinction can be made between token, bicultural and multicultural groups. In token groups (Earley and Gibson 2002), all the members but one share the same culture; in bicultural groups (Bachmann 2006), there is a balance between team players from two distinct cultural backgrounds; transnational, multicultural or global teams, on the other hand, contain participants from three or more communities.

All teams have commonalities towards the final goal of achieving success, the main difference among them being the greater number of variables and complexities in teams working across cultures. Cultural diversity may have both positive and negative effects on the group. On the positive side, it is important to note the presence of wider cognitive and behavioural patterns, which affect the process of task execution; the negative side seems to materialize in the interpersonal or affective domain, which becomes evident at the level of social group interaction (Bachmann 2006).

Successful transnational team membership tends to be associated with the display of very specific attributes or competences. In this respect, and from the point of view of personal or individual development, Chang and Tharenou (2004: 65-70) identify five main competences that need to be developed by a global teamwork leader or manager: cultural empathy, learning on the job, communicative competence, generic managerial skills and personal style; all of them with, possibly, the exception of the fourth element, could also be applied to all multicultural team members. The development of individual competences such as appropriate linguistic and communicative skills, cultural empathy, conflict resolution skills or learning on the job seem to be essential for transnational teamwork. In fact, given the amount of uncertainty and ambiguity inherent in

an intercultural and plurilingual work environment, learning from experience or learning on the job emerges as a sine qua non for global teamwork.

Experiential learning is defined in the literature in a twofold way. On the one hand, Rogers (1969) equates experiential learning with significant learning and opposes it to cognitive or meaningless learning. Basically, this classroom-bound distinction reflects the dichotomy between academic learning or *knowledge about something*, and practical learning or *knowledge about how to do something*.

On the other hand, experiential learning is learning on the spot or "education that occurs as a direct participation in the events of life" (Houle 1980: 221). Kolb and Fry (1975) and Kayes *et al.* (2005a) consider that experiential learning depends on four factors:

> To learn from its experience, a team must have members who can be involved and committed to the team and its purpose (concrete experience), who can engage in reflection and conversation about the team's experiences (reflective observation), who can engage in critical thinking about the team's work (abstract conceptualization) and who can make decisions and take actions (active experimentation). (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 335)

Even though this model of experiential learning has been found to be somehow limited (Kelly 1997), Kolb and Fry's main contribution is to bring to the foreground the importance of informal learning.

Experiential learning has been conferred an unprecedented importance across disciplines, from education, management, computer/information science, psychology, medicine and nursing, to accounting or law (Kolb *et al.* 2000). The theory of experiential learning was initially linked to teamwork by Lewin in the 1940s (Kayes *et al.* 2005a) and has recently been given much consideration in connection with the workplace and the business world (Sims 1990, Beckett and Hager 2002, Nancy and Kathleen 2002). As a matter of fact, experiential learning becomes a chief aspect of global team research since "negative factors associated with teamwork can be overcome when teams become able to learn from experience" (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 331).

In this sense, transnational teamwork necessarily has to be regarded as a collective, cooperative, collaborative and social learning experience. Collaboration in global teams materialises as a culture-determined and culture-bound phenomenon (Bachmann 2006, Gluesing and Gibson 2004). Since culture permeates global teamwork, cultural diversity invariably has an effect on cognition, affection and social behaviours. Cognitively, heterogeneous groups are able to bring more perspectives, suggestions and alternatives, but they also need more time to make decisions and solve problems (Bachmann 2006). Affectively, Bachmann (2006) acknowledges that team players' accounts waver from high individual satisfaction

and commitment to stress, lack of trust and great uncertainty. In the social sphere, research indicates that the four phases of the experiential learning cycle will only be meaningful to team players if the conditions for building shared meanings are met.

One prerequisite for team members to learn from experience is the creation of a conversational space that allows for a free exchange of opinions and for group reflection and self-analysis (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 332, Baraldi: 2009). Interaction allows individuals to express their interpretation of the world and how they feel towards it, hence giving way to the surfacing of a shared or common workgroup reality (Bachmann 2006). This has to be coupled with the appearance of shared mental models which facilitate coordination, cooperation, mutual trust and respect (Bachmann 2006).

Another condition is the development of mature groups where functional tasks are shared (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 333-336, Kayes *et al.* 2005b: 357-361). This is achieved by the combination of different elements. First of all, experiential learning entails learning about the purpose. Sharing a purpose confers a group the characteristic of being a team and not a collection of individuals. In this sense, it is essential for the team to cater for both individual and collective needs. This is precisely how "group cohesion" (Bachmann 2006) can be attained, once team members feel that they are similar in salient features and experience alignment and goal agreement (Eikenberry 2007: 259). Second, role ascription and the context in which the task is to be carried out constitute additional sources of learning for team players (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 345-348). Role ascription seems to vary as the group settles, with individualistic roles standing out in the initial phases and more group-oriented roles which tend to contribute towards a more balanced distribution of power at later stages. As to the context, constant adaptation to the dynamics of the team is needed as roles and tasks evolve.

Third, learning about the process implies sharing knowledge and creating new knowledge, but also being able to express one's emotions, feelings and viewpoints from different perspectives (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 348-349). Experiential learning in teams correlates with the development of particular behaviours and skills such as the capacity to manage psychological stress (related to aspects such as culture shock, adjusting to a new culture and maintaining self-esteem), the ability to communicate successfully, and the ability to establish interpersonal relationships (Fowler and Blohm 2007: 347). Additional abilities comprise strong technical skills and competence, the ability and willingness to collaborate and share credit, the ability to trust others, and the ability to participate in and lead effective meetings (including the capacity to provide feedback) (Eikenberry, 2007: 264). Indeed, Kayes *et al.* (2005a: 349) underscore the actions taken to reach the team's purpose and, in particular, the creation of processes to provide feedback as vital aspects

both for the process of analysing and reflecting on the course of action and as a tool to increase team members' motivation. Fourth, being a member of the group turns out to be a privileged source of experiential learning. This happens on the basis of group composition (size, diversity and compatibility, cohesion, learning style, etc.) and also, interestingly, as a result of psychological membership (Kayes *et al*. 2005a: 343-344). Team players will only learn if they feel, psychologically, on safe grounds; in essence, this psychological reassurance is built upon feelings such as trust and inclusion. Eikenberry (2007: 259) refers to this phenomenon as "commitment to the team and to the others" and expresses that high levels of commitment interrelate with aspects such as belief (in each other and in the team), agreements (to the set of behaviours that are acceptable to the team), trust (in team members and leadership), and support (for team decisions and each other). As Eikenberry puts it "we need people to get to know each other better. Once we have done that, we will be fine" (2007: 262). In order for experiential learning to be efficient in multicultural teamwork, Eikenberry defends the need to promote relationships among team members; this allows them to learn from each other's strengths, find ways to capitalize on those strengths and get comfortable with asking for help.

Experiential learning is not only shaped as *informal learning*. It also occupies a relevant position in intercultural team training. Experiential principles and assumptions seem to constitute the backbone of team training: "if there is any area or training and development in which experimental approaches are used, it is in team building" (Eikenberry 2007: 257). More specifically, Burke *et al*. (2005) defend experiential training for multicultural team leaders.

Hence, experiential learning and training seem to be inextricably associated with the workplace and the business world. The all-important role it plays mirrors key aspects of multicultural teamwork dynamics such as communication, leadership and teambuilding. Experiential learning impinges on team members' individual and social learning processes. In short, global teams have the potential of constituting a rich source for experiential learning as team members are in a constant dialectic process of sense-making by means of conversation and interaction with other team players.

3. THE STUDY AND SAMPLE OF SUBJECTS

The study reported on here is part of a large-scale investigation conducted within the framework of the 2003-2006 ICOPROMO Project, approved and funded by the European Commission Leonardo da Vinci programmes. ICOPROMO, Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility, has aimed at providing students and professionals with tools to develop intercultural competence for professional

TEAM MEMBERS ACCESSED BY THE SPANISH PARTNER					
Nº	**NATIONALITY**	GENDER	**AGE**	**AREA (name of institution/corporation, location)**	**TYPE OF INTERVIEW**
1	Spanish	Female	34	Business (VALEO, Jaén, Spain)	Face-to-face
2*	Spanish	Female	35	NGO (RED CROSS, Jaén, Spain)	Face-to-face
3*	French	Male	32	Business (SUN MICROSYSTEMS, Madrid, Spain)	Face-to-face
4	Spanish	Female	41	NGO (GRANADA ACOGE, Granada, Spain)	Face-to-face
5*	Spanish	Male	35	Intergovernmental Relations (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Brussels, Belgium)	Face-to-face
6	Spanish	Male	28	Business (SUN MICROSYSTEMS, Madrid, Spain)	Telephone
7*	Spanish	Male	37	NGO (CEAR, Madrid, Spain)	Face-to-face
8	Spanish	Male	31	Business (EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY, Frankfurt, Germany)	Telephone
9	Colombian	Male	32	NGO (CEAR, Madrid, Spain)	Face-to-face
10	Spanish	Male	34	Intergovernmental Relations (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, Brussels, Belgium)	Telephone
11*	Spanish	Female	36	Intergovernmental Relations (UNITED NATIONS, Madrid, Spain)	Face-to-face
12	Spanish	Female	31	NGO (UNICEF, Madrid, Spain; Mexico city, Mexico)	Face-to-face
13	Spanish	Female	49	NGO (LINARES ACOGE, Jaén, Spain)	Face-to-face
14	Spanish	Female	29	Intergovernmental Relations (ACNUR, Madrid, Spain)	Face-to-face
15*	Dutch	Male	24	Business (BRAUN MEDICAL, Barcelona, Spain)	Telephone
16	Icelandic	Male	29	Business (BRAUN MEDICAL, Barcelona, Spain)	Telephone
*have been interviewed twice					

Table 1: The global team members interviewed by the Spanish partner

mobility. At the time this study was conducted the ICOPROMO team was made up of four academic partners[1] and three professional partners[2].

The study presented here corresponds to the line of action taken in 2004, when the academic partners conducted fieldwork among multicultural team members in Austria, Germany, Portugal and Spain to investigate the dynamics of transnational teams. The main goal was to have a first-hand approach to different issues related to the development of intercultural competence in multicultural team players. In order to obtain valid and comparable data the ICOPROMO team agreed that a) the study would take place among members of global teams with at least one year of experience in multicultural teamwork either in intergovernmental organisations, NGOs, or the business sector; b) the multicultural team members either had to be born in any of these four countries and work in the country itself or abroad, or had to be born elsewhere and work in any of the four countries.

This paper presents the findings obtained in Spain given that each partner was in charge of administering and analysing the data yielded in its own country. The outcome of a comparative study was agreed to be published in a particular volume (Glaser *et al*. 2007). The total number of participants accessed by the Spanish partner are sixteen, seven women and nine men in their 20s, 30s (mostly) and 40s (the minority) from five different nationalities. In order to give validity and reliability to the study, the maximum number of interviewees was limited to two per institution. The table above or Table 1 contains contextual information about the participants - such as their nationality, gender, age and the institution they were working for at the time of the study – as well as about the interview process (number of times each participant was interviewed and type of interview).

Considering the impossibility of collecting data through structured and unstructured observation within the teams for practical reasons, it was decided that the best research tool for the ICOPROMO purposes, gaining an insight into the development of intercultural competence in actual multicultural team dynamics, would be interviews. Indeed, it was questionable whether we would have been granted permission for conducting observation; additionally, as table 1 indicates, some of the interviews had to be done by means of telephone conversations given the distance between the academic partners' institutions and the interviewees' place of work.

The qualitative data obtained was considered to be highly relevant for the purposes of the project and this is why the team decided to complement it later with further quantitative research conducted in 2007 (see Glaser *et al*. 2007).

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[1] Portugal (Universidade de Coimbra, coordinator), Germany (Universität Göttingen), Austria (Universität Linz), and Spain (Universidad de Jaén).

[2] Finland (International Management Education), Austria (Voes-Alpinen Industrieanlagenbau, now Siemens), and Portugal (Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquica).

The choice of interviews as a research tool rests on their versatility and on the possible new light they may shed on issues that had not previously been contemplated by the interviewer. The ICOPROMO team was aware that interviews have limitations, such as the fact that individuals may try to be *politically* correct and avoid speaking about a particular issue and even the fact that they may strive to conceal their real feelings and opinions (and this is a factor we sometimes encountered); a further disadvantage is the amount of time needed to contact interviewees, set a date for the interviews, gather and transcribe the data and analyse the heterogeneous responses. Needless to say, the team employed the content analysis technique to classify and examine the data. For the sake of validity and reliability, a one-to-one model of structured interviews was selected, even though open questions were never excluded and were indeed formulated during the process.

In each of these four countries, two rounds of interviews took place from February to July 2004. The first round of interviews conducted among sixteen interviewees, ranged from 25 to 40 minutes and explored general aspects of teamwork dynamics and intercultural competence such as the characterisation of the multicultural teams the interviewee had been involved in, the ways of communicating and coordinating work, issues of efficiency, reasons for conflict (if any) and possible actions taken to solve them, and issues of influence in global groups (Appendix 1 contains the guiding questions formulated to the participants).

The first round of interviews yielded an extremely valuable and rich amount of data in different areas of interest – such as the relationship between the vehicular team language and power (Méndez García and Pérez Cañado 2005), verbal and non-verbal aspects in intercultural communication (Pérez Cañado and Méndez García 2007), and further key issues of group dynamics like intercultural interaction, intercultural responsibility, emotional management or diversity management (Glaser *et al.* 2007, Guilherme *et al.* 2010) to name but a few. Accordingly, the ICOPROMO team decided to proceed to a second round of interviews. In the four countries, the second round of interviews shorter than the first on average, was carried out among six of the interviewees approached in the first round marked with an asterisk in Table 1, two belonging to each field (intergovernmental organisations, NGOs and the business sector). The decision of selecting six interviewees per country rested on both methodological and practical criteria. The ICOPROMO team assumed that it would be neither feasible nor desirable to interview all the individuals that had participated in the first round of interviews as the aim of the second round was not to obtain completely unexplored data but rather to confirm or refuse what we considered to be the most outstanding findings of the first round. As to the selection of informants the Spanish partner was convinced that the study would be more valid and reliable if

interviewees were diverse and heterogeneous. Therefore, in the selection process the Spanish partner contemplated, among others, the following variables:

— Gender: a balanced number of males and females.
— Nationality: participants from different nationalities.
— Region: individuals working in different parts of Spain and abroad.
— Experience: interviewees with a restricted and with an extensive experience in multicultural teamwork.

It was agreed that six questions should guide the interview and should appear in the following order (the guiding questions used by the Spanish partner appear in Appendix 2): a) a question particular to the interviewee and derived from his/her first interview; b) two national questions; c) three transnational questions. The second of the two national questions formulated by the Spanish partner aimed at gaining insight into one of the issues that was widely debated during the first round of interviews: the importance of multicultural teamwork for personal and professional growth. This way we managed to gather many of the fundamental cognitive, attitudinal and skill factors of teamwork dynamics as a source of experiential learning which individuals had commented on at-length during the first round.

The leading question centred around the possibilities multicultural teamwork offers when it comes to acquiring knowledge, changing attitudes and developing specific skills or abilities. This paper reports on the results obtained on the basis of the formulation of this final question during the second round of interviews. The goals of this part of the study were the following:

— To find out the possibilities global group work offers for experiential learning, both understood as an individual and, mainly, a cooperative process.
— To ascertain the potential of multicultural teamwork for intercultural relations and intercultural learning.
— To discover specific instances of intercultural communicative competence (as a make-up of knowledge, attitudes and skills) developed by global team members which have resulted from experiential learning in their particular work context.

The two rounds of structured interviews were configured to reveal significant aspects of experiential learning in groups, such as the role of conversation, interaction and mediation to reach intercultural understanding (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 332, Bachmann 2006, Baraldi 2009); the different domains contributing to group cohesion (Bachmann 2006); the establishment of interpersonal relations and rapport (Eikenberry 2007); the acquisition of knowledge and the development of attitudes, skills and behaviours (Kayes *et al.* 2005a, Eikenberry 2007, Fowler and Blohm 2007); the commitment to the group and to the others (Eikenberry 2007); or the mechanisms for exchanging ideas and providing feedback (Kayes *et al.* 2005a).

This paper primarily focuses on multicultural teams as a source of experiential learning that favours the development of the different components of intercultural competence. The findings will be presented according to the paradigm of intercultural competence proposed Byram *et al.* (2002), which has many commonalities with some of the categories underlined by Kayes *et al.* (2005a), Eikenberry (2007) and Fowler and Blohm (2007).

4. FINDINGS: LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE IN MULTICULTURAL TEAMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Multicultural teamwork constitutes a valuable opportunity for transnational team members' experiential learning, personal growth and intercultural development.

Informants were willing to expand on the personal benefits they constantly derive from such a versatile work environment in the course of the two rounds of interviews, although they did so in a much more informal and unstructured way in the first round (mainly to illustrate different issues concerning global team dynamics). The data yielded comprehends diverse components of intercultural communicative competence development in the following three main areas such as knowledge, attitudes and skills (following Byram *et al.* 2002).

4.1. INTERCULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

Multicultural teams are unanimously seen as an excellent *source of cultural knowledge or information*. The member from a particular culture appears as the carrier of cultural elements like customs, history or gastronomy[3].

> *La información (…) el aprendizaje de sus costumbres (…) Mira, he conocido lugares, historia, gastronomía. (2.2)*

Global teams likewise promote participants' learning about new *viewpoints and lifestyles*. Shared perceptions (Bachmann 2006) are determined by a reflection on how group members represent each other, their world view and norms.

> *Lo que sí es los países, pero es una cosa más social ¿no? No tiene nada que ver con el trabajo, pero sí que también te expliquen cosas de su país, de cómo funcionan las cosas y cada uno explica su guía. (2.5)*

One of the most outstanding elements of a culture is its language, and interviewees make clear that the *development of their plurilingual competence,*

[3] The numbers in brackets indicate, in this order, the round of interview (first or second) and the number of interviewee (1-16 in the first round and 1-6 in the second).

now a topical issue in Europe (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, 2001), not only rests on other team members as a source of information, but also seems to pave the way to the creation of a relaxed atmosphere and the building of trust. Therefore, Kayes et al.'s assertion that experiential learning in teams is greatly dependent on the creation of a conversational space (2005a) is here given a further dimension. If the command of the vehicular team language is a prerequisite for communication, the establishment of a conversational space undeniably benefits from a basic command of expressions in the languages of other team members and an interest in their culture.

> *Otra cosa era que, para entablar las conversaciones, se rebajen las barreras entre las personas de las diferentes nacionalidades era el intentar aprender palabras de los otros idiomas, aunque no fuera del idioma que está usando. A los alemanes les gustaba mucho que les dijese cuatro tonterías en alemán y a los italianos también les gustaba que les dijeras tonterías en italiano o que les preguntases cosas de su país. (1.6)*[4]

Another area which stands out is *gaining knowledge specific to the position held or the function fulfilled*. Achieving this strong technical competence (Eikenberry 2007) is coupled with learning about the process and about the task (Kayes et al. 2005a: 346-348):

> *Conocimientos muchísimos –obviamente las materias que se trabajan en esta organización, que no eran la que trabajaba antes. (2.2)*

Similarly, the study corroborates that, cognitively, the cultural diversity implicit in global teams helps their members give consideration to new perspectives. Hence, they are likely to *contribute with a wider variety of alternatives* (Bachmann 2006). A sample, for instance, is problem-solving:

> *Well, as to 'knowledge', of course, you are able to acquire different problem-solving skills that are based on different cultural approaches. (2.6)*

To sum up, on the cognitive domain, experiential learning in the global workplace has the potential to foster citizens' global education, widening their horizons and assisting them in their acceptance of diverging viewpoints as long as the foundations are laid on a mediated, collaborative and co-operative exchange. This, unquestionably, plays a major part in the alignment of team members' frames

[4] Even though this paper focuses on the results obtained in the second round of interviews, as it has been previously stated, the second round echoes and expands on important aspects which cropped up in the first round. Therefore, some illustrative quotations have been extracted from the first round of interviews for the sake of clarity, consistency and depth of analysis.

of reference or interpretation (Bachmann 2006) and facilitates the process of sharing knowledge and creating new knowledge (Kayes *et al*. 2005a). Both turn out to be crucial facets of experiential learning in teams.

> *Es enriquecedor desde el punto de vista cultural, desde el punto de vista de otras formas de pensamiento, otras formas de aproximación a los problemas y a solucionarlos. (2.3)*

4.2. INTERCULTURAL ATTITUDES

In a comparative study of European project groups Chevrier (2003: 7) acknowledges that attitudes such as *openness*, *patience* and *self-control* make for effective multicultural teamwork. In our study, *curiosity* is seen as an excellent starting point in multicultural teamwork. Its potential as a driving factor cannot be underestimated (Berlyne 1950):

> *Por curiosidad…, por riqueza misma (…). Hay que tocar, probar, ver cómo funcionan las cosas. (1.3)*

The Spanish sample brings up attitudes such as *tolerance*, although some of the interviewees acknowledge possessing it before participating in the transnational group. Tolerance encapsulates the meaning of accepting otherness and also, according to the informants, personal adaptation, a more demanding and self-conscious phenomenon. In the professional realm, tolerance is also associated with pushing personal preferences to the background and taking on a more collectivistic stance (Bachmann, 2006, Kayes *et al*. 2005):

> *Quizás más que tolerancia, para que entiendas, es como adaptación propia (2.2)*
> *Mira, la tolerancia tienes que (…) una de las cosas importantísimas que hay es eso, intentar individualizar mucho menos las cosas y pasar a verlas en un plano colectivo, en un terreno colectivo como trabajadores de grupo, ¿sabes?. (2.2)*

Empathy, the feeling of concern for others, is more complex than tolerance, going beyond the mere acceptance of others and leading to a shift in perspective. Multicultural team members value empathy as a major disposition for real understanding and, as a consequence, speak about the need of putting oneself into somebody else's shoes and embracing other ways of looking at the world:

> *Pues mira, muchísima empatía. (2.2)*
> *Ponerme más en su lugar. (2.1)*

Interviewees believe that their intercultural experience in the workplace aids them to *adopt some of the attitudes* they see in colleagues. Importantly, collaborative learning experience reduces or even *eliminates prejudices*.

> *Desde luego hay actitudes de otros que no he cogido y que no me gustan nada y, claro, esas no las cojo, pero cojo las que supongo que me enriquecen a mí. (2.3)*
> *Te quita prejuicios. (2.3)*

In spite of this, team members do not see *flexibility* (Bachmann 2006) as a natural phenomenon, but rather as a goal towards whose achievement the individual has to put considerable effort and about which s/he has to learn:

> *As to the attitudes, of course, if you have to work in a multicultural environment, you have to be able to be flexible, and this flexibility is not only sometimes a gift from God or something embedded in your genes but something that you learn. (2.6)*

To summarise, the Spanish sample confirms the all-important role of specific attitudes in successful multicultural team workers: tolerance (Chevrier 2003: 145), openmindedness (Chevrier, 2003: 145), flexibility (Lagerström and Andersson 2003: 91, Marschan-Piekkari *et al*. 1999: 422, Bachmann 2006) and empathy (Glaser *et al*. 2007). Likewise, in terms of attitudes, this study agrees with Chang and Tharenou's (2004: 65-70) competences of *cultural empathy* and *learning on the job*, the former stressing the recognition of difference in perspective, and the latter embodying attitudes such as flexibility, adaptability or tolerance. Even though most of these attitudes are not explicitly acknowledged by experts on experiential learning such as Kayes *et al*. the data reveal that multicultural group work demands the emergence and display of the aforementioned attitudes which, in this sense, are clearly determined by and, in turn, give way to the necessary conversational space. It is through these central attitudes that the team will allow for the indispensable expression of inner needs and feelings (Kayes *et al*. 2005a: 349).

4.3. INTERCULTURAL SKILLS OR ABILITIES

DiStefano and Maznevski (2000: 52) use the term "empathy in practice" or "listening to others and responding to them", to refer to the ability to decentre, which implies suspending judgement and fighting against the human tendency to view difference as bad or inferior. *Putting oneself in somebody else's shoes* or *second intuition* is envisaged as one of the main abilities in a multicultural teamworker; it originates in *shifting one's culture-bound stance*, not as easy a skill as it may seem since it requires leaving aside elements from one's culture, language and even one's mind. This series of minute and constant adjustments seem to stem from the ability to truly listen and inevitably lead to thinking in a different way:

> *Cosas que he aprendido, pues sobre todo el aprender a ponerme a veces en el lugar del otro, puesto que a veces perciben las cosas de distinta manera*. (2.2)

> *Aprendes otras formas de pensar diferentes (…) otras formas de aproximación a los problemas y a solucionarlos. (2.3)*

The development of intercultural competence necessitates anchoring new knowledge and competences on previous ones in a constant dialectic process of learning, unlearning and relearning (Glaser *et al.* 2007). As a consequence, the *skill of comparing* one's knowledge and viewpoints with the way other people see the world (Byram *et al.* 2002) is vital:

> *A veces aplicar cosas que me parecen buenas de la vida de mis compañeros a mi vida. (2.1)*

Changing one's mind goes hand in hand with the skill of *personal adaptability*, of making the effort to cope with the necessary adjustments to deal with and truly understand the other (Bachmann 2006), a two-way process which does not work if there is no will on both sides; hence the need for a conversation space which allows cooperative learning (Kayes *et al.* 2005a).

> *La adaptación personal a las formas de ser del otro. (2.2)*
> *Yo creo que eso tiene que ser absolutamente un periodo de adaptación total y mutua. (2.2)*

Adopting the *ability to be flexible* (Bachmann, 2006) and *developing problem-solving skills* are interestingly related by one interviewee to the relevance of correctly using the devices of verbal and non-verbal communication. This goes along the lines of Henderson (2005: 71-72), who confers a great importance to the capacity to recognise routines and rituals, and the skill to discover and correctly interpret contextual cues or signals (Glaser *et al.* 2007).

> *The main skill that you acquire is the ability to be flexible and to approach a different problem both in terms of verbal or written communication with others and also from the substantive perspectives from a number of different angles. (2.6)*

Communication and flexibility occupy a relevant position at all levels, verbal and non-verbal. There are aspects some members of the group need to alter if they want to keep up with team members from different cultural backgrounds whose ways of doing things are demonstrated to be more fruitful. In Eikenberry's (2007) terms, this is the ability and willingness to collaborate and share credit and it can only surface in a climate of trust and safety (Kayes *et al.* 2005a: 342) where team players are able to develop the capacity to manage psychological stress (Fowler and Blohm 2007):

> *Los nórdicos suelen ser más meticulosos (…) Entonces, pues hacer las cosas de una manera distinta, dejar las cosas menos a la improvisación y más a la preparación (…)*

Los españoles somos más dados a improvisar y a no prepararnos las reuniones. (2.3)

Developing the appropriate *communicative skills* or, in other words, exhibiting the ability to communicate effectively (Fowler and Blohm 2007), in a broader sense, arises from the rapport established with the interlocutor to the extent of considering his/her current state of mind in order to cautiously select the suitable register to be used. As a French interviewee states, for him, it is relatively easy to proceed to this selection in a relatively short span of time with his own fellow countrymen, but it takes much more care and time to reach conclusions when somebody comes from a different cultural background.

> *Lo que me ha mejorado, por ejemplo, a la hora de hablar con otra persona, dedicar al principio un poquito de tiempo para saber quién es y en qué estado está (…) dedico un tiempo a saber con quién estoy hablando y en qué estado está y, según eso, decido el registro que voy a usar con él. (2.4)*

To conclude, multicultural team work favours the development of intercultural abilities which cater for a variety of situations and which lead global team members to cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and trust. An elemental factor in the creation of this climate at work is the promotion of non-task-related communication activities, social rituals or ceremonies linked to the ability to establish interpersonal relations (Fowler and Blohm 2007) so as to build a sense of a community (Bachmann 2006, Gluesing and Gibson 2004). In our sample *fostering mutual respect and establishing personal links* with the members of one's multicultural team are acknowledged to be exceptionally useful for relationship-building in this particular work context. Specific instances include organizing meetings, professional and extra-professional activities, or trips fostering participants' getting to know each other more deeply:

> *Convivencia con eso, con tema lúdico, en la que haya que compartir forzosamente tiempo y espacio. (1.6)*

5. CONCLUSION

In spite of the fact that some time has elapsed from the moment when the interviews were conducted, the authors are convinced that the competences brought to the foreground by the informants – which are likewise widely acknowledged in the literature – seem to be central in the development of intercultural competence based on experiential learning in multicultural work placements. Therefore, it is believed that the temporal dimension can probably be looked at as a relatively irrelevant factor in this respect.

The interviewees in the Spanish sample confirm, following Chang and Tharenou (2004) or Kayes *et al*. (2005a), that multicultural teamwork affords individuals numerous possibilities to learn on the job and this greatly adds to their life-long learning. Respondents seem to make the most of the opportunities their workplace offers them to carry out their own experiential learning. The construction of an appropriate communication space (the cornerstone of experiential learning according to Kayes *et al*., 2005a) will only materialise if the climate and conditions of the work context allow team members to improve and develop their intercultural competence. Consequently, multicultural teamwork presents the potential to assist the team member to develop the appropriate tools to become a real ethnographer and truly learn from experience.

The foundations of experiential learning rest on a great dose of reflection on the concrete experience and on abstract conceptualization leading to active experimentation. The study shows how intercultural learning in global work contexts greatly correlates with the four stages of the never-ending experiential learning cycle (Kayes *et al*. 2005a: 334) in a constant learning, unlearning and relearning process (Glaser *et al*. 2007) of cooperation, collaboration and mediation.

To what extend the collective (melting pot) or the individual (tossed salad) needs to prevail in a balanced global team is an issue worth being considered as Bachmann (2006) advises against the dangers of homogenization vs. the dangers of having a "collection of individuals" rather than a team. What seems to be evident is that interpersonal demands (Kayes *et al*. 2005a) are more persistent in transnational teams than in any other type of workgroup.

Multicultural or intercultural encounters become a highly inspiring experience, not only at the professional but also at a deep personal level:

> *La multiculturalidad te da mucha riqueza de perspectivas, y de visión. Aprendes mucho, te hace percibir cosas que te enriquecen mucho porque es otro punto de vista totalmente de enfrentar los problemas pero que muchas veces dices 'pues a lo mejor es más acertado que el que yo estoy teniendo', y puedes llegar en un momento dado a decir, entre los dos, 'vamos a poner un poco de lo mío y otro poco de lo tuyo' y sale algo todavía más rico. (1.11)*

To put it in a nutshell, a present thriving force and the working force of the future, multicultural teamwork offers numerous possibilities for experiential and life-long learning both as an individual and, chiefly, as a collective phenomenon leading to the development of truly intercultural citizens.

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APPENDIX 1

ICOPROMO: Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility

First Round of Interviews

Guiding questions[1]

1. ¿Podría usted caracterizar brevemente los equipos multiculturales de los que ha formado parte? ¿Qué culturas estaban representadas en el/los equipo/s? ¿Durante cuánto tiempo han estado funcionado el/los equipo/s multicultural/es?
2. ¿Cómo se comunicaban/comunican entre sí y coordinaban/coordinan su trabajo?
3. ¿Qué equipos multiculturales fueron/son los más eficaces? ¿Por qué? En caso de haber formado parte de un solo equipo multicultural, ¿lo encontró eficaz? Justifique su respuesta.
4. Si surge algún tipo de conflicto en un equipo multicultural, ¿cuáles cree usted que son las principales causas según su experiencia?
5. Si ha contestado afirmativamente a la respuesta anterior, ¿qué hizo usted como individuo y qué hizo su equipo como grupo para solucionar estos problemas o conflictos?
6. ¿Existían/existen miembros en su/s equipo/s multicultural/es que hayan sido/sean más influyentes que otros? En caso afirmativo, ¿a qué causas atribuye usted esta situación?
7. ¿Cómo pueden los miembros de un equipo ser preparados para mejorar el trabajo en grupos multiculturales?

[5] The guiding questions are reproduced in the Spanish version since all the interviews, with the exception of one in both rounds, were conducted in Spanish.

APPENDIX 2

ICOPROMO: Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility

Second Round of Interviews

Guiding questions

1. Pregunta personalizada para cada entrevistado, basada en la conversación mantenida en la primera entrevista.
2. Algunos entrevistados comentan que las diferencias nacionales en un equipo multicultural son inexistentes. Otros estiman que tales diferencias existen y que son perceptibles (la gente parece saber, generalizando, cómo son los españoles, franceses, marroquíes, etc.) ¿Cuál es tu opinión?
3. Una gran parte de los entrevistados —si no todos— apuntan que la experiencia en un equipo multicultural ha sido enriquecedora. ¿Qué opinas al respecto? ¿Qué conocimientos has adquirido? ¿Han cambiado tus actitudes? ¿Qué habilidades o destrezas has desarrollado?
4. Si tuvieras la posibilidad de seleccionar a los integrantes de tu equipo multicultural, ¿qué cualidades tendrías en cuenta?
5. ¿Estás de acuerdo con que una participación efectiva en un grupo multicultural requiere una actitud / actuación democrática? De ser así, ¿se pueden suscitar temas como los derechos humanos, los derechos de las mujeres, etc.? ¿Podrías especificar cómo crees que se pueden abordar esos temas en un contexto laboral? ¿Cómo los has tratado tú según tu propia experiencia?
6. A menudo, tomando como referencia la 'teoría' y la 'práctica', escuchamos que en un equipo multicultural o multilingüe los hablantes nativos de la lengua de comunicación empleada probablemente tendrán una posición privilegiada en debates y discusiones y tendrán cierta ventaja con respecto a los demás. ¿Has experimentado este hecho? ¿Cómo crees que los hablantes nativos y no nativos de la lengua vehicular del equipo pueden solucionar este problema?

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 165-182

PROPOSITIONAL GERUNDS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

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ABSTRACT. *This paper offers a characterization of Propositional Gerunds in English and Spanish that hinges on the different feature specification of the gerund morpheme in each language. I first propose an analysis of the construction in English as a defective clausal structure (AspP or TP), which can optionally project a [+N] feature in a GerP. Then I justify the same syntactic analysis for Spanish, but in this case the adverbial source of the V-ndo head prevents the projection of this nominal feature.*

My proposal is that most of the peculiarities of Propositional Gerunds in both languages actually follow from their defective structure and from the feature specification forced by the gerund suffix in each case. Along these lines I contrastively account for the syntactic positions in which a Propositional Gerund may appear, and also for its main structural characteristics, as the morphological Case of its subject or the (im)possibility of temporal/aspectual modification in the construction.

Keywords: Propositional Gerunds, defective category, grammatical feature, parametric variation, English/Spanish.

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LOS GERUNDIOS PROPOSICIONALES EN INGLÉS Y EN ESPAÑOL

RESUMEN. *Este artículo ofrece una caracterización de los Gerundios Proposicionales en inglés y en español fundamentada en la diferencia categorial del morfema de gerundio en cada una de estas lenguas. Se propone un análisis de la construcción en inglés como una estructura oracional defectiva (TP o AspP) que puede opcionalmente proyectar un rasgo [+N] en una categoría funcional GerP. Igual estructura defectiva se justifica para el español, con la diferencia de que aquí el origen adverbial del sufijo –ndo impide la proyección de ese rasgo nominal.*

La propuesta concreta que defendemos es que la mayor parte de las propiedades de los Gerundios Proposicionales en las dos lenguas se sigue de su carácter sintácticamente defectivo y de su particular especificación de rasgos. Con estas premisas justificaremos las distintas posiciones sintácticas en que la construcción puede aparecer, así como sus principales propiedades estructurales, tales como el caso morfológico de su sujeto y la (im)posibilidad de presentar modificación temporal o aspectual propia.

Palabras clave: Gerundio Proposicional, categoría defectiva, rasgo gramatical, variación paramétrica, inglés/español.

Received 8 November 2010
Revised version accepted 22 December 2010

1. INTRODUCTION

As is widely acknowledged, English *-ing* forms have a category-ambiguous nature. The following examples, adapted from Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1291), show their gradience from deverbal nouns to participles:

1. a. Some paintings of Brown's
   b. Brown's paintings of his daughter
   c. Brown's deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch
   d. I dislike Brown's painting his daughter
   e. I dislike Brown painting his daughter
   f. I saw Brown painting his daughter
   g. Painting his daughter, Brown noticed that his hand was shaking
   h. Brown painting his daughter that day, I decided to go for a walk
   i. They caught Brown painting his daughter
   j. The man painting the girl is Brown
   k. The silently painting man is Brown
   l. Brown is painting his daughter

The morpheme *–ing* has a variety of functions, which go from the sheer

nominalizer to the expression of progressive aspect. These multifunctional properties are rooted in the linguistic evolution of the form. Present day gerund is a descendant of the Old English present participle and of the verbal noun, which merged into one single form in *–ing* (cf. Denison 1993; Fanego 2004). From the former, it has inherited its adverbial and adjectival uses, and from the latter its nominal ones, that is, the fact that it can be used in every position which can be occupied by a DP (i.e. subject, object of the verb and object of the preposition). This double nature has also led to certain terminological indeterminacy. In traditional grammars, it is not unusual to find a distinction between the terms *Gerund* and *Present Participle*, restricting the former to the forms which have "both nominal and verbal features" and the latter to those that "don't have any nominal features, but verbal features exclusively" (Schybsbye 1965: 61). Quirk *et al.* (1985) systematically use the label *ing-participle clause,* while Huddleston and Pullum (2002) employ the general term *Gerund-participial clauses* for all, but both grammars distinguish those uses which can be said to be nominal from those which are not. V-*ing* constructions with a Genitive subject have also been termed *Gerundive* or *Gerundival* clauses (cf. Milsark 1988), and those with PRO or an Accusative subject, *Clausal gerunds* (cf. Johnson 1988 and Pires 2006).

In this paper I'll focus on the constructions which occupy the middle part of the list in (1), that is, those which denote states of affairs and are therefore syntactic instantiations of a proposition (1c-i), using the general term *Propositional Gerunds* to refer to them (henceforth, PG). I will discuss their syntactic properties and also explore the differences between these structures and the corresponding forms in Spanish. The hypothesis I would like to endorse here is that propositional gerunds have basically the same phrase structure in both languages, and that their differences just reduce to the (potentially) nominal character of the English form due to the historical sources of its *-ing* suffix.

As examples (1c) – (1f) show, PGs can project in argument positions normally associated to DPs, but even in these contexts the verbal nature of the *–ing* form is unarguably manifested in its capacity to Case-license the object, and to be modified by typical verbal adjuncts (cf. the AdvP *deftly* in 1c, or the temporal DP *that day* in 1g). But it is a fact that, despite their clausal nature, PGs differ significantly from other propositional constituents like *that*-clauses or *to*-infinitives. The syntactic status of these two is clear: they are full clauses and, as such, they may be introduced by a complementizer (*that* or *for*, respectively) and possess a complete illocutionary layer.[1] This layer will minimally contain two categories (the standard term CP still being used for convenience to integrate the two): a

[1] A full clause is here understood as a sentential category that comprises a thematic layer (the verbal projections, roughly vP and VP), an inflectional layer (the inflectional projections, crucially (a split) TP with independent or dependent reference), and an illocutionary layer (the discourse domain, an articulated CP).

category Force Phrase, which encodes the illocutionary force of the proposition and hosts a binary feature [±assertion], and a category Mood Phrase, headed by the binary feature [±indicative].[2] As for the difference between *that*-clauses and *to*-infinitive clauses in this respect, the former can be characterized as [±assertion] and [±indicative], whereas the later will be unmarkedly introduced by the features [-assertion] and [-indicative] (see Ojea 2008 for details):

2. They said [$_{\text{ForceP [+assertion]}}$ THAT [$_{\text{MoodP [+indicative]}}$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ SHE WAS READY AT TEN]]]
3. They insisted [$_{\text{ForceP [-assertion]}}$ THAT [$_{\text{MoodP [-indicative]}}$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ SHE BE READY AT TEN]]]
4. I'd prefer [$_{\text{ForceP [-assertion]}}$ FOR [$_{\text{MoodP [-indicative]}}$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ HER TO BE READY AT TEN]]]

Turning now to PGs, they tend to be grouped with *to*-infinitives as non-finite sentences, but there is enough empirical evidence to support that they don't have the same constituent structure: thus, contrary to *to*-infinitive clauses, PGs can be introduced by both [±assertive] predicates (5), are not associated with a complementizer (6) and can never be introduced by an interrogative phrase (7):

5. I remember/suggested going there
6. He remembers *that/*for going there
7. *He remembers where going

PGs, then, might be said to lack a CP layer, that is, they are defective clausal categories without an illocutionary shell and, therefore, unmodalized. This in turn serves to explain some of the semantic differences between *to*-infinitive complements and PGs after certain predicates: in general, *to*-infinitives convey a meaning of potentiality (given the illocutionary features that introduce them and the modal reading of the particle *to*), whereas PGs refer to actualised situations.[3]

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[2] The feature [±assertion] alludes to the speaker's degree of commitment to the proposition in terms of asserting it or, alternatively, expressing some inquiry, suggestion, order… In Rizzi's seminal account of the left periphery of the clause in English (cf. Rizzi 1997), it is assumed that CP splits into Force Phrase and Finite Phrase, the latter signalling the (non) finiteness of the clause. My analysis here uses MoodP instead of Finite Phrase, since a mere look at languages morphologically richer than English (for example, Spanish) shows that the (non) assertive nature of the clause ultimately conditions its grammatical mood; that is, I believe that a category MoodP qualifies as a more natural complement of ForceP than Rizzi's FiniteP.

[3] In contexts where *to*-infinitives and PGs are syntactic alternatives, for example after emotive predicates such as *like*, *love*, *hate* or *prefer*, the implication follows that PGs will be used to express general preferences (i), whereas the infinitive option will be selected in constructions like (ii), where the modal auxiliary *would* favours a sense of potentiality (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985)

i) I love *going/to go* out with you
ii) I'd like *to go* out / **going* out with you

Assuming then that PGs are defective clausal structures (with no CP), their internal structure will just comprise: a) an inflectional layer that contains a Tense projection and a category AspP with a [–perfective] feature, and b) a thematic layer with a vP, where the external argument of the verb (and prospective subject of the sentence) sits, and a VP, where the internal arguments are projected:

8. $[_{TP}$ [+person] T $[_{AspP}$ Asp$_{[-perfecive]}$ $[_{Vp}$ Subject v $[_{VP}$ V-*ing* Object]]]]

Here I'll argue that PGs can project up to TP or just up to AspP and that, given the sources of the suffix *-ing* in English, they can also merge with a functional category GerP that acts as a nominalizer (cf. Panagiotidis and Grohmann 2005). With this analysis I seek to explain some of the defining formal properties of the construction, such as the possibility for it to be an argument or an adjunct of the matrix predicate, or the Case of its subject (Null, Accusative, Genitive or Nominative).

Section 2 explores the structure of argument PGs in English, that is, those PGs that appear in subject or object position. Section 3 analyzes adjunct PGs, and Section 4 extends the analysis to Spanish PGs with a double-folded goal: to provide empirical support for some of the assumptions in the previous sections, and to systematize the differences among the PGs in the two languages in terms of their feature-checking requirements (ultimately related to their different linguistic origin). In section 5, I present my conclusions.

2. ARGUMENT PGS IN ENGLISH

PGs not only differ from full clauses in their syntactic structure but also in their distribution. For example, when full clauses appear as the subject of a sentence:[4]

a) They do not invert with the auxiliary in direct questions:
   9. a. *That John came* surprised everybody
      b. *Did *that John came* su*rprise everybody?*
   10. a. For you to abandon the job surprised everybody
      b. *Did for *you to abandon the job* surprise everybody?
b) they can be extraposed from the subject position:
   11. a. *It* surprised everybody *that John came*
      b. *It* surprised everybody *for you to abandon the job*

Note also the different readings obtained, in this sense, after verbs like *try* or *intent*:
iii) He tried going to bed early (=actual fact) vs He tried to go to bed early (=attempt)

[4] The examples from (9) to (11) have been taken from Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 114), and those in (12) and (13) from Huddleston (1988: 63).

c) They cannot be the subject of a small clause unless under extraposition:

12. a. *I consider *that he will abandon the job* unimportant
    b. I consider *it* unimportant *that he will abandon the job*
13. a. *This made *to accompany them* a waste of time
    b. This made *it* a waste of time *to accompany them*

(Full) clausal subjects, then, behave quite differently from DP subjects, and this has led to the proposal that they do not in fact occupy the canonical subject position (i.e. that they do not sit in (Spec, TP)), but in a non-argumental position above it (see Haegeman and Guéron 1999 and references therein). I will not pursue this issue further here, but I'd like to point out that, significantly, PGs contrast with full clauses precisely in the three contexts above, that is:

a) They invert with the auxiliary in direct questions when they are the subject of the main sentence:

14. Does *her being a solicitor* matter very much?

b) They cannot be extraposed from the subject position:

15. *It matters very much *her being a solicitor*

c) They can be the subject of a small clause:

16. She considered *attempting it* a waste of time

Clearly, PGs align with DP subjects in this respect, and not with full clauses. The same situation holds for the position of complement of a preposition, which is forbidden to full clauses but, as expected, allows for PGs:

17. Mary escaped before *[$_{CP}$ to tell the story]
18. Mary escaped before *[$_{CP}$ that she told the story]
19. Mary escaped before [$_{TP}$ she told the story]
20. Mary escaped before [$_{TP}$ telling the story]

This DP-like distribution must result from some peculiarity in the syntactic structure of PGs, and there have been varied attempts in the generative tradition to characterize it (cf. Wasow and Roeper 1972, Horn 1975, Akmajian 1977, Stowell 1982, Reuland 1983, Baker 1985, Abney 1987, Milsark 1988 and Pires 2006, among others, for specific proposals). I adhere here to the view defended by Panagiotidis and Grohmann (2005) which sees argument PGs (cf. examples 1c-f above) as mixed categories with a clausal/verbal layer and a SWITCH that nominalizes the projection and that they call GerP. GerP bears an uninterpretable verbal feature that has to be checked against the interpretable verbal feature of the V-*ing* form, and, most significantly, an interpretable [+N] feature that guarantees the nominal

behaviour of the category since it forces an uninterpretable Case feature in the projection that will have to be valued in one of the positions accessible to Case valuation (i.e. subject or object position).

One of the most salient properties of these argument PGs is the fact that they may allow for a covert subject (canonically, PRO) or for a lexical subject in the Accusative or the Genitive Case. Consider, in this respect, the following examples:

21. I won't risk PRO/him/his going alone to that place
22. I would suggest PRO/him/his getting up earlier
23. I hate PRO/him/his reading poems aloud
24. I remember PRO/him/his singing in that party

From Horn (1975) it is customary to distinguish among PRO-*ing*, Acc-*ing* and Poss-*ing* clauses, and there appears to be a considerable variation among speakers of English in their judgement of the three morphological possibilities. But, in general, Poss-*ing* is seen as more DP-like than the other two, and this is why Panagiotidis and Grohmann (2005) treat this construction as a fully nominalized clause that projects a DP-layer over GerP and licenses a Genitive subject there. The (simplified) phrase marker of a Poss-ing clause will then be:

25. I hate [$_{DP}$ his $D_{[GEN]}$ [$_{GerP}$ $Ger_{[+N]\,[uV]}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~his~~ [$_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{vP}$ ~~his~~ $reading_{[+V]}$ poems aloud]]]]

The derivation in (25) is convergent since the verb *reading* can check the uninterpretable [uV] feature in the head of GerP, and the subject of the PG, *his*, unmarkedly values its Genitive case in (Spec,DP). The nominal feature in GerP, in turn, ensures that the construction will only be found in Case sensitive positions.

As for PRO-ing or Acc-ing clauses, they still have a nominalizer GerP but lack the dominating DP projection and, accordingly, the capacity to license a Case for the subject different from the standard options in untensed sentences, that is Null Case or Accusative after certain ECM predicates, as *risk*, *suggest*, *hate* or *remember* above:

26. I hate [$_{GerP}$ $Ger_{[+N]\,[uV]}$ [$_{TP}$ him/PRO T [$_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{vP}$ him/PRO $reading_{[+V]}$ poems aloud]]]

The peculiarities of argument PGs in English can then arguably follow from their status as mixed categories with a GerP whose [+N] feature determines its distribution, and an optional DP that accounts for the Case variability of the subject. Since the complement of GerP is a TP, the rest of the properties of

the construction follow from standard assumptions. Thus, there will be an EPP requirement (codified in a [+person] feature in the specifier of TP) that forces the projection of an expletive when no other subject is available:

27. He bothered about there being few people present

And, since they have a Tense-chain, they will allow for the sentential negation *not* (28), or for the aspectual auxiliaries *have* and *be* (understood as modifying elements inside the T-chain; cf. Gueron and Hoekstra 1995) as in (29):

28. Not selling the house now will be rather problematic for him
29. His having abandoned his daughter caused a great commotion

Finally note that the nucleus of the T-chain is a Tense operator distinct from the matrix Tense operator but dependent on it; the time interval of the argument PG will then be constrained by the meaning of the main verb and the temporal information of the matrix sentence:[5]

30. I perfectly remember locking the door as I left the house (PG anterior to matrix predicate)
31. Mary worried yesterday about coming to dinner tonight (PG posterior to matrix predicate)
32. Brown hates walking in the city at night (PG coincident with matrix predicate)

Propositional gerunds can also be productively found in English as complements of perception verbs:

33. I smelled [Hank spreading the mud] (I didn't necessarily smell Hank)
34. We heard [the farmer slaughtering the pig] (We didn't necessarily heard the farmer)

These examples (from Dik and Hengeveld 1991: 253) strongly support the standard analysis of this construction in terms of complement selection of a proposition and not of an individual, since their interpretation shows that the DP (*Hank* or *the farmer*) is not the entity directly perceived but a participant of the *–ing* predicate. This is even clearer in examples as (35), since expletive *it* cannot but be the subject of the PG with the meteorological verb *rain*:

[5] The example in (31) has been taken from Pires (2006: 71).

35. I saw [it raining]

The complements of perception verbs will then be PGs with a lexical subject, but these PGs exhibit some significant differences with respect to the other argument PGs analysed so far. In particular, they do not allow for aspectual auxiliaries or any temporal modification of their own (36) and exclude non Accusative subjects (37):

36. *I saw Peter having closed the door
37. *I saw PRO/Peter's closing the door

Given these restrictions, these PGs can not be treated syntactically as ordinary (nominalized) TPs, even though semantically they resemble clauses and show a conventional subject–predicate relationship. I'll suggest that they constitute what has been termed a *small clause*, a type of construction which has been the focus of significant attention in the generative literature.[6]

From the seminal work of Stowell (1981), it has been standardly assumed that the two constituents of the small clause denote closed propositions, and that they project a category headed by the predicate.[7] A point of controversy among those who admit this constituent structure is whether small clauses are just the projection of a lexical head or should be introduced by a functional category, and, if the latter holds, what particular category it is. Significantly, it has been noted in this respect that what the matrix predicate selects in its small clause complement is not the syntactic category of the predicate but its aspectual features.[8] This would lead to the assumption that small clauses are dominated by an AspP projection whose head features are selected by the matrix predicate and need to be valued by the subordinate one.

If the PGs found in the complement position of perception verbs are small clauses, they can be said to exhibit an extra degree of defectiveness from the ones explored above (i.e. they are not only CP defective, but also TP defective), and this may well explain the differences between them. Their analysis will schematically be as in (38):

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[6] The label "small clause" has been employed in the generative tradition to refer to the smallest propositional projection, that is, the one consisting of just a predicate with its subject.

[7] For an alternative view, see Williams (1983).

[8] For example, in the case of adjectival small clauses, certain verbs, such as *judge,* select individual level predicates whereas the complement predicate in others, such as *expect*, can only be stage level:

i) Mary judged him intelligent / *bad tempered

ii) Mary expected him *intelligent / bad tempered

For an analysis of small clauses along these lines see, among others, Kitagawa 1985, Hernanz 1988, Demonte 1991, Jiménez 2000 and references therein.

38. $V_{perception}$ [$_{GerP}$ $Ger_{[+N]\ [uV]}$ [$_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{VP}$ DP V-*ing*]]]

Since there is no TP, there will not be a T-chain either and, accordingly, no aspectual auxiliaries (cf. 36). As regards the Case of the subject, it must be Accusative (cf. 37) since it is valued in the domain of the inner VP shell of the transitive matrix predicate under ECM conditions.[9]

Finally, note that this analysis of the complements of perception verbs as small clauses predicts that the matrix predicate can select the feature [-perfective] on AspP (as in (33)-(35)), or alternatively, the value [+perfective], the contrast between PGs and bare infinitive clauses stemming from this option:

39. I saw [$_{GerP}$ $Ger_{[+N]\ [uV]}$ [$_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-imp]}$ [$_{VP}$ Peter closing the door]]]
I saw [$_{GerP}$ $Ger_{[+N]\ [uV]}$ [$_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[+imp]}$ [$_{VP}$ Peter close the door]]]

3. ADJUNCT PGS IN ENGLISH

PGs can also appear as in positions excluded to DPs, as adjuncts of the matrix predicate (cf. 1 g-i above). As argued, they will be TP or AspP depending on their degree of defectiveness but they will differ from argument PGs in that they don't have a [+N] feature in their phrase marker, and, accordingly, don't project a GerP (or a DP).

When they are non-integrated, they are TPs since they can display the sentential negation (40) and have their own temporal/aspectual modification (41):[10]

40. [$_{TP}$ PRO^{α} not knowing the answer], $John^{\alpha}$ felt at a loss
41. [$_{TP}$ PRO^{α} having left the room], Tom^{α} was acclaimed by everybody

And, since their Tense-chain is external to that of the main clause, their time reference is independent from that of the main predicate and can be simultaneous, anterior or posterior to it (cf. 42, 43 and 44, respectively):[11]

42. $Peter^{\alpha}$ had been present during the recording, [$_{TP}$ PRO^{α} relaying instructions to the presenter]
43. [$_{TP}$ PRO^{α} closing the door], he^{α} disappeared into the night

[9] This ECM behaviour (common to all small clauses) is confirmed by the fact that the subject of the PG will raise to the subject position of the main clause when the matrix verb is passive (and therefore unable to license Acc case): *Peter was heard singing*.

[10] Example (40) is from Guéron and Hoekstra (1995: 95).

[11] Anteriority in non-finite clauses is customarily signalled with the auxiliary *have* (cf. 41); if this is not present, only a reading of immediate anteriority will be possible.

44. She$^{\alpha}$ closed the book, [$_{TP}$ PRO$^{\alpha}$ leaving it on the table]

As for the Case of the subject in these non-integrated PGs, the prediction is that it cannot be Genitive (since no DP layer is projected) or Accusative (there is no ECM configuration), and therefore, that only Null Case, the one unmarkedly validated in non-finite clauses, will be possible here (compare with the options in (21)-(24)):

45. [$_{TP}$ PRO$^{\alpha}$ / *John's / *Him having left the room], Tom$_{\alpha}$ was acclaimed by everybody

But in this configuration it is also possible to find a lexical subject in the Nominative Case, something unexpected under the current theory which links Nominative Case to morphological finiteness in Tense (cf. 1h):[12]

46. [$_{TP}$ His hands gripping the door], he let out a volley of curses.
47. Elaine's winking at Roddy was fruitless, [$_{TP}$ he being a confirmed bachelor]

I would like to assume, following López (1994), that non-integrated sentential modifiers can have an uninterpretable strong feature [+absolute] in T, a feature which formalizes the distinction in traditional grammars between "free adjuncts" and "absolute constructions" (cf. Kortmann 1991). This feature triggers overt movement of the verb to T and licenses a Nominative-bearing DP in (Spec, TP). This possibility seems to be implicitly connected to the fact that the tense operator that heads the Tense-chain in these constructions is independent from that of the matrix predicate; it thus patterns with standard tensed clauses in this respect and, accordingly, allows for the same Case feature (Nominative) in its specifier:

48. A T$_{[+Absolute]}$ may license a Nominative Case in its Spec

Note that only non-finite sentential categories projected in a non-integrated position (i.e. outside the scope of the matrix predicate) will display this [+absolute] feature and, with it, the capacity to license a Nominative subject. Therefore, a Nominative subject will never be found in *to*-infinitive sentences, given that they cannot appear in these positions in English; on the contrary, non-integrated past-particle clauses will pattern with PGs in this respect: (e.g. *The dinner finished, they went to a different room*). These facts strongly suggest that Nominative Case should be linked to independent temporal reference, and not exclusively to finiteness.

[12] Example (46) has been taken from Huddleston *et al.* (2002: 1265) and (47) from Reuland (1983: 101).

Finally PG adjuncts may also function as subject/object predicatives that is, as adjuncts integrated in the main clause as a secondary predication referring either to the subject or to the object:

49. He came in [greeting everybody]
50. Ed caught the guard [beating the prisoner]

As in the case of the complement of perception verbs, my proposal is that the PGs in (49)-(50) are TP-defective, that is, they are small clauses and thus only project up to AspP, as represented in (51) and (52):

51. He$^{\alpha}$ came in [$_{AspP}$ Asp$_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{VP}$ PRO$^{\alpha}$ greeting everybody]
52. Ed caught the guard$^{\alpha}$ [$_{AspP}$ Asp$_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{VP}$ PRO$^{\alpha}$ beating the prisoner]

As expected, these PGs do not allow for aspectual auxiliaries or any temporal modification of their own (since they lack a TP-chain; see (53)), and cannot license a lexical subject either, the empty pronominal PRO (co-referent to the subject or the object of the main sentence) being the only option here (cf. 54):

53. *He came in [having greeted everybody]
54. He came in [PRO / *his wife's / *his wife greeting everybody]

Recapitulating so far, I have shown that the main properties of PGs in English follow from their particular phrase structure (i.e. as defective clausal structures up to AspP or TP), and from the grammatical features that they project in the functional category GerP when they appear in argument positions. Figure (55) summarizes the different options:

55. PGs in English

TP	PHRASE MARKER	SUBJECT IN THE PG	T-CHAIN
Argument	([$_{DP}$ D$_{[GEN]}$) [$_{GerP}$ Ger$_{[+N]\,[uV]}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{AspP}$ Asp$_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{vP}$ V*ing*	Genitive/Accusative/ Null	Dependent
Non-integrated adjunct	[$_{TP}$ T$_{([+absolute])}$ [$_{AspP}$ Asp$_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{vP}$ V*ing*	Null/ Nominative	Independent

AspP	PHRASE MARKER	SUBJECT IN THE **PG**	T-CHAIN
Argument	$[_{GerP}$ $Ger_{[+N]\ [uV]}$ $[_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ $[_{vP}$ V*ing*	Accusative (ECM)	___
Integrated adjunct	$[_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ $[_{vP}$ V*ing*	Null	___

Syntactic defectiveness defines the construction as such, because PGs are non-finite structures which differ from full clauses in quite evident ways. But the possibility to be introduced by a nominalizer GerP is clearly a language particular property related to the historical development of the V-*ing* form, whose origin as a verbal noun has conferred it certain nominal properties canonically absent from verbs. Expectedly the category GerP will not be found in the gerund forms of a language diachronically different from English. This is the case of Spanish, and, as I´ll show, most of the differences between the two languages in the construction follow from this particular difference in their phrase structure.

4. PGS IN SPANISH

Spanish gerund form V-*ndo* comes from the Oblique Case (*Ablativo*) of a verbal form in Latin, and thus has always had an adverbial nature (cf. Bassols De Climent 1992). Therefore, the gerund suffix in Spanish will never project a functional category GerP with a [+N] feature and, accordingly, PGs here will not be found in argument position. The options in Spanish will then be reduced to:

56. PGs in Spanish

TP	PHRASE MARKER	SUBJECT IN THE **PG**	T-CHAIN
Non-integrated adjunct	$[_{TP}$ $T_{([+absolute])}$ $[_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ $[_{vP}$ V*ndo*	Null/ Nominative	Independent

AspP	PHRASE MARKER	SUBJECT IN THE **PG**	T-CHAIN
Integrated adjunct	$[_{AspP}$ $Asp_{[-perfective]}$ $[_{vP}$ V*ndo*	Null	___

When adjunct PGs project up to TP in Spanish, they function as external modifiers of the matrix predicate, licensing Null Case in the subject position:

57. PRO$^{\infty}$ yendo para casa, Juan$^{\infty}$ se encontró con su vecina

As in the corresponding cases of English, being a TP, the construction can display the sentential negation *no*:

58. No sintiéndose apoyado, decidió abandonar

Besides, being a non-integrated modifier, its Tense-chain is external to that of the main clause; this means that its time reference is independent from that of the main predicate, and, as in English, can be simultaneous or immediately anterior to it:

59. Sonriendo, María se acercó a la ventana
60. Cerrando la puerta, Juan desapareció en la noche

But, as (61) shows, contrary to English, a reading of posteriority seems to be totally impossible in Spanish (cf. Bello 1981: 322):

61. *Juan cerró el libro, dejándolo sobre la mesa

One should note in this respect that this is not a restriction particular to the construction but connected to the impossibility for suffix *-ndo* to signal future in any context, not even in analytical progressive forms (cf. **El tren está saliendo a las doce*).[13]

Non-integrated PGs in Spanish can also display a [+absolute] feature in T, thus licensing, as in English, a Nominative subject. In these constructions the order in Spanish is VS and not SV, but, once again, this difference is not particular to the construction but has to do with a parametric distinction between the two languages, probably related to the feature [+person] in the specifier of TP, which is weak in Spanish and thus checked in the covert Syntax (i.e. after Spell Out):[14]

62. Faltando Juan, la fiesta resultaría aburrida
63. Llegando María, todos se callan

[13] A future reading is nevertheless possible in non-progressive imperfective forms in Spanish:
i. El tren sale mañana a las doce.
ii. Mañana tocaban en Madrid, pero el concierto se suspendió.

[14] See Ortega Santos (2008) for a detailed account of the differences between English and Spanish in the projection of the subject.

In Spanish there also exist sentences which closely resemble (33)-(35) above:

64. Vi a Pedro cerrando la puerta

Since I argued there that, after perception verbs, PGs in English are small clauses (AspP) introduced by a GerP with a [+N] feature, sentences like (64) seem to challenge my assumption that the V-*ndo* form in Spanish never projects a nominal feature. But there is reason to believe that (64) does not have the same structure that its counterpart in English whose analysis, repeated here for convenience, was:

65. I saw [$_{GerP}$ Ger$_{[+N]\ [uV]}$ [$_{AspP}$ Asp$_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{VP}$ Peter closing the door]]

The assumption was that the complement of the perception verb *saw* was the state of affairs *Peter closing the door* and that the PG contrasted here with the bare infinitive only in aspectual terms (cf. *I saw Peter close the door*). But in (64) what is perceived is not the activity, but the entity *Pedro* at the time when he was in the middle of the activity. Therefore, in this construction the perception verb selects an individual as its complement and not a proposition, which means that the V-*ndo* complement must be treated here, as expected, as a non-nominal category, i.e. as a predicative adjunct as those analysed in (49)-(50) for English:

66. Vi a Pedro$^{\alpha}$ [$_{AspP}$ Asp $_{[-perfective]}$ [$_{VP}$ PRO$^{\alpha}$ cerrando la puerta]]

Some empirical facts argue for this different constituent structure after perception verbs in Spanish. Consider (67) and (68):

67. *Vi lloviendo
68. *Vi todo mi optimismo desapareciendo

As represented in (66), the verb *ver* needs a referential DP (the perceived entity) in its complement position. In (67) there is no DP, and the event *llover* by itself cannot qualify as the object of the verb (note the contrast with the corresponding example in English: *I saw it raining*); as for sentence (68), the ungrammaticality results from the features of the object DP, which is abstract and, therefore, not the perceivable entity the verb requires.[15]

[15] Actually, when the object of a perception verb in Spanish is intended to be a particular state of affairs, and not an entity, a full clause (i.e. a finite clause or an infinitive complement), must be used; this is why, contrary to (67) and (68), the following examples are grammatical:

i. Vi que llovía / llover
ii. Vi que mi optimismo desaparecía / desaparecer mi optimismo

Adjunct predicative PGs in Spanish are then TP-defective and project only up to AspP. They can refer to the object as in (64) or to any other argument in the matrix sentence, as the subject in (69) or the prepositional complement in (70) (examples taken from RAE, 2009: 2043), and since they do not project a TP, they will not allow for aspectual auxiliaries or any temporal modification of their own (cf. 71):

69. Llegó llorando
70. A veces pienso en él fumándose un enorme puro
71. *Llegó habiendo llorado

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have claimed here that under the common term Propositional Gerund one can find a number of different structures, all of which denote states of affairs and are syntactically defective. They project up to TP or just AspP, and arguably many of the formal properties of the construction follow from this degree of defectiveness. This is common to both Spanish and English PGs and explains their striking similarities in structural terms.

But the double nature of suffix *–ing* in English as a result of its historical origins allows for a type of nominalized PGs in this language which are found in argument positions and contrast significantly with full clauses there. They constitute mixed projections where the TP or AspP category merges with a GerP (and optionally with a DP) whose [+N] feature forces an uninterpretable Case feature that has to be valued in a Case-licensing configuration, that is, in subject or object position. Spanish PGs, on the contrary, will never project this [+N] feature (or the GerP associated to it), and this explains the main differences between the two languages, namely the fact that Spanish PGs will never be found in argument positions and that they will never have an Accusative or Genitive subject.

It has been frequently argued (cf. Liceras *et al.* 2008) that success or failure in L2 acquisition hinges crucially on the ability to acquire functional categories, features and feature strength different from those present in the L1 grammar. If this is so, my approach to PGs in English and Spanish may have contributed to isolate the few properties of the construction which are language specific, thus paving the way for a pedagogically appropriate account of them for L2 learners.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 183-197

DISCOURSE MARKERS AS A STRATEGY OF CODE-MIXED DISCOURSE IN A GALICIAN-SPANISH-ENGLISH COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT. *The present paper will try to study the point a specific bilingual community (Spanish-Galician-English in London) is at in the bilingual continuum, whether it is in transition to code mixing or rather there is an emergence of a mixed code, which we can infer from the use of functional elements such as discourse markers and interactional signs. The data consists of four conversations among Spanish/Galician/English bilinguals. All participants belong to the bilingual community under study and can be considered complete/full bilinguals (i.e. with fluency in all languages used). One of the key issues in the data is that there are significant patterns of discourse that were separated from markers framing it in language: English markers framing Spanish discourse. This is an indication of code mixing – where a structural pattern that has been grammaticised at the textual level can be perceived.*

Keywords: Code alternation, code mixing, discourse marker.

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LOS MARCADORES DEL DISCURSO COMO ESTRATEGIA DEL DISCURSO MIXTO EN UNA COMUNIDAD GALLEGO-ESPAÑOLA-INGLESA

RESUMEN. *Este trabajo estudia en qué punto del continuo del habla bilingüe se encuentra una comunidad bilingüe concreta (español-gallego-inglés en Londres). Una característica que puede ser determinante para describirlo es el uso de los marcadores del discurso y los signos de interacción. El estudio se compone de cuatro conversaciones entre bilingües en español, gallego e inglés. Cada segmento es de aproximadamente una hora de duración y los temas son conversaciones informales grabadas. Todos los participantes pertenecen a la comunidad bilingüe y se pueden considerar bilingües completos (es decir, funcionales en todos los idiomas que utilizan). Uno de los temas clave en los datos es que existen patrones significativos en el discurso, siendo el más característico que los marcadores lingüísticos en inglés enmarcan el discurso español. Esta es una indicación de la mezcla de códigos – se percibe un patrón estructural gramaticalizado en el nivel textual.*

Palabras clave: Alternancia de códigos, código mixto, marcadores del discurso.

Received 29 November 2010
Revised version accepted 11 April 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

The term "bilingual" includes different definitions and concepts. Generally speaking, the term refers to the ability of communicating in two languages. However, there are many individual differences between ability and use that vary across a continuum. In order for linguists to define the term, the moment of acquisition of the different linguistic varieties has always been key in determining the type of bilingualism, i.e. a person who learns two languages from birth is denominated "simultaneous bilingual", as opposed to a person who learns a second language which is referred to as a "consecutive bilingual". In addition, if the definition is applied to the competence in each of the varieties at use, the term is generally described on a continuum, in which the ideal bilingualism stage would be the "balanced bilinguals", who are those equally fluent in two languages. However, even if someone is highly proficient in two or more languages, his or her so-called "communicative competence" or ability may not be and in fact hardly ever is fully balanced. As Baker (2006) states, defining exactly who is or is not bilingual is essentially elusive and ultimately impossible. For this reason, many theorists are now beginning to view bilingualism as a spectrum or continuum of bilingualism that runs from the relatively monolingual language learner to

highly proficient bilingual speakers who function at high levels in both languages (Garland 2007).

One of the most striking features of bilingual speech is the alternation of the different linguistic varieties that speakers have at their disposal. Code alternation typology includes "code-switching", as well as "code-mixing". Ascertaining whether we are dealing with code mixing or code switching in bilingual code alternation is again complex. The starting point for this paper must thus include an explanation of how these concepts are understood, specially as it is not rare to read "code mixing" being used synonymously with "code switching". Research from a decade ago has given new meaning to the term "code mixing" which had not been explained until then; Maschler (1998: 125), among others, defined code mixing or a mixed code as "using two languages such that a third, new code emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structurally definable pattern", whereas the term "code switching" would be used for juxtapositions with pragmatic and functional meaning (Auer 1999). Taking into account the different types of code alternation phenomena, research has been carried out in order to find out which type of alternation occur in specific bilingual communities (Pena 2006). In this direction, discourse markers and interactional signs play a highly significant role, as they could be determinant to reach conclusions about the bilingual stage and continuum at which individuals and, subsequently, their community may be.

2. THE COMMUNITY UNDER STUDY

The present paper will try to study at which point in the continuum a specific bilingual community is; whether they are in transition to code mixing or rather if there is an emergence of a mixed code that we can infer from the use of these functional elements. For this reason, a bilingual community was chosen to examine its use of discourse markers. The data consists of four conversations among Spanish/Galician/English simultaneous bilinguals in London. Each segment is about one hour long and are taken from casual conversations that took place in London in 2000. All participants belong to the bilingual community under study and can be considered complete/full bilinguals (i.e. fluency in all languages used).

The data used for the research was based on face-to-face interaction. Participant observation and tape recordings were made of conversations occurring in actual social encounters. Although this type of fieldwork procedure normally concentrates on the stylistic dimension of linguistic variation (e.g. same speaker's language choice in a range of situational contexts), for the purpose of this research, various speakers who supposedly have similar linguistic features were studied in similar situational contexts but in conversations ranging from topics such as work to

family or friends. The data gathering approach chosen was a mixture of 'overt'[1] and 'covert'[2], where one of the participants was in charge of the recording and, accordingly, knew they were being tape recorded (in all cases, she managed to hide the tape recorder) but the rest of the participants did not. After the recordings, permission was asked to all participants in order to have their approval to publish the data without their names, as some instances of the conversations contain personal comments.

2.1. THE GALICIAN COMMUNITY IN LONDON

Galicia is located in north-western Spain. It has two co-official languages, Spanish and Galician. It is taught bilingually alongside Spanish in both primary and secondary education, and is used as the primary medium of education at universities in Galicia. Most of its population is bilingual.

During the 1960s and 70s a very large number of Spanish immigrants settled in London. The majority of these were from Galicia. Today, it is estimated that there are 35,000 Galicians living in London. Most of these people had no studies and went to work as waiters, cooks or cleaning personnel in hotels and hospitals.

Although by the end of the 80s many went back to their towns in Galicia, a large number settled down in their adoptive country. Some own their own houses, have their own businesses and have adapted to London fairly well. There is a Spanish bilingual school in London (I.E.S. Vicente Cañada Blanch, founded in 1972) with almost 500 students, of which 80% are second and some third generation Galicians in London.

The first generation settled in London, has given way to a large second generation who has mostly studied and proceeded to higher education. The difference between them and their parents is that they are all fluent in English and Spanish, they normally speak English at work and with their English friends and Spanish or Galician at home or with Spanish friends. Their friends are not limited to other Galician or Spanish people, and their lifestyles are normally the same as that of any other British Londoner. This second generation is employed within a broad spectrum of industries.

The second generation members used for this study consisted of 10 speakers (eight females and two males) in the age range of 23 to 28. They all studied at the Spanish bilingual school in London, have lived in this city all their lives, their

[1] Approach used for the gathering of data in which the fieldworker asks formally for permission to carry out the fieldwork to the participants and is normally considered an outsider.

[2] Data gathering approach in which the fieldworker first assumes some participant role provided by the setting and begins formal research when some kind of informal and mutually beneficial relationship is established with the people in the field.

parents are Galician, they speak either Galician or Spanish at home and while on holiday and during various trips to Spain. They use English at work and in their daily activities. They all have university studies and work or study in London.

3. DISCOURSE MARKERS

As Stenström (1994) points out, when people talk they use a set of extremely frequent (single and multi word) items to start, carry on, and terminate a conversation. Some of these items constitute turns of their own, others link turns together, while still others serve as stallers, frames and empathizers within turns and many of them can do more than one thing in discourse. Discourse markers serve to start a conversation, to introduce and mark the end of a topic, to introduce a digression and mark the resumption of an old topic and to signal the end of a conversation.

According to Maschler's careful categorization (1998: 127):

> …in order to be considered a discourse marker, the utterance in question is required first of all to have a metalingual interpretation in the context in which it occurs (that is, rather than referring to the extralingual world, it must refer metalingually to the realm of the text or to the interaction between its participants). The second requirement has to do with structure: the utterance in question must appear at intonation-unit initial position, either at a point of speaker change, or in same-speaker talk, immediately following any intonation contour which is not continuing intonation (i.e. not after a comma in the transcription). It may occur after continuing intonation or at non intonation-unit initial position only if it follows another marker in a cluster.

In the data many instances were found of items, which could be considered what Poplack (1981) or Romaine (1995), among others, considered 'tag-switching' and which are also called discourse markers. According to Romaine (1995: 122) "tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language" and Poplack (1981) points out instances of tag-switching, when speakers insert a tag – a non-functional, usually unrestrained utterance, as in the English 'you know', 'I mean', 'like' – from one language into another. They are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions and therefore, can be easily inserted at different points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules.

3.1. DISCOURSE MARKERS IN THE DATA

In the recorded conversations 208 discourse markers were found. 197 were English words inserted into Spanish utterances, 5 were Galician words inserted

Table 1 (Lexical items in switches)

Tag/Discourse marker	Number of times used
You/I know	65
Yeah	51
Man	12
(I'm) sorry	7
I'm/You're/He's/It's like	7
Shit	6
I swear	4
And	4
Because/cos	4
(But) anyway	4
Though	3
Pobriño	3
You know like	3
Right	3
Tía	3
Okay	2
Pero	2
Really	2
And then	2
All right	2
Oh, wait!	2
So	2
And then	1
Apparently	1
Somehow	1
Exactly	1
Oh, my god!	1
And everything	1
Whatever	1
Carallo	1
Shut up	1
Poor thing	1
You what!	1
Muller	1
Please	1
Mum	1
Well	1
Actually	1
Basically	1
Ain't it?	1
Hello!?	1
¡Qué coñazo!	1

either into English or Spanish and the rest (6) were Spanish words inserted into English.

The most frequently used markers were found mostly in long turns where the participant spoke about emotional or private issues and the highest frequency tags (*you know, yeah*) were used by the same person. The following table (Table 1) lists all the lexical items found in switches, incorporated due to the importance discourse markers are proving to have in determining whether we are dealing with code switching or code mixing, as previously explained.

The most frequently used item is *you know,* which is a discourse marker which can be described as an emphatizer, used to engage the listener and make her/him feel part of the conversation. It often appears at the beginning or end of a turn, but also to change footing, to change the frame of events:

Example: Yo me crié / *you know* / me conoce desde que era pequeña[3]

The frequent use of *you know* implies the participant's need to achieve a positive response from the interlocutor and to bring her/him into the conversation, onto closer ground where the other participant feels and understands the exact point of what the speaker introducing the discourse marker is trying to convey.

Example:

P1: mamá mamá *you know* / a mí lo que me jodía es que mis amigas me decían ah tu eres hija única

P2: yeah

In return, the listener uses 'yeah' (the second most frequently used item) as an interactional signal, to let the speaker know that s/he is following the conversation and remains interested.

In the participants' conversations, most discourse markers and interactional signals are switched into a code different from the one being used in the utterance. Not only are they used as in monolingual speech, to serve their discourse function, but also to emphasise and assert this function. In the case of *you know* inserted into a Spanish utterance, the speaker could very well have used the Spanish *sabes* which has the same structural and argumentative properties. Discourse markers, be they fillers (*I mean, you know...*), frames (*right, anyway, now...*), hedges (*actually, obviously, really...*) or links (*and, but, because, so...*), as well as interactional signals (*yes, sure, gosh*) are thus used to express a change of footing or used as a contextualisation cue. As a result, one might erroneously conclude that they indicate the alternations being used correspond to code switching; however, they are not lexical but structural elements which acquire a different value by being used in a different language to the surrounding one. They serve to structure a different language code than the others at work, i.e. they structure the new mixed code.

[3] The transcription rules followed in this study combine the orthographic system with transcription conventions from the model used by ethnomethodologists in Conversation Analysis (Jefferson 1974).

Other studies on the topic present similar conclusions. For example, Oesch Serra (1998: 101-122) analyses Italian/French mixing and discusses the emergence of a mixed code by showing that structural elements, such as discourse markers and connectives, acquire different values in bilingual speech from those in the monolingual modes; and Maschler (1998: 125-155) shows that the emerging English/Hebrew mixed code can be recognised by the separation of discourse markers and conjunctions through language, i.e. discourse markers in Hebrew and conjunctions in English.

As Stroud (1992: 124) notes, when analysing Taiap-Tok Pisin bilingual data, the function of discursive elements is "to maintain the floor, and structure information into bounded units... a means of segmenting... talk and signalling the introduction of new information". As stated above, in the particular bilingual community under study, they are mainly used to mark a contrast between the codes being used, especially to set off a change of footing and for the purpose of creating a new structural mixed code.

Following the work of Oesch Serra (1998) and Maschler (1998), as referred to above, we can conclude that discourse markers tend to occur in the same position and for the same function as they would in monolingual use (i.e. they are placed according to the surrounding language's grammatical norms) and this fact can prove that we are dealing with a mixed language mode which is at an initial stage.

4. BILINGUAL SPEECH

The term 'code alternation' covers all instances of locally functional usage of two languages in an interactional episode. It may occur between two turns or turn-internally, it may be restricted to a well-defined unit or change the whole language of interaction and it may occur within a sentence or between sentences. Two types of code alternation phenomena are 'code switching' (code alternation with functional and contextualisation meaning) and 'code mixing' (code alternation where there is no functional or contextualisation meaning but it becomes a code of its own). Furthermore, the mixed code can evolve into grammaticalised forms (Spanglish from the US has many examples, such as "me dieron el saco" "they sacked me") denominated 'fused lects'[4].

4.1. DISCOURSE MARKERS IN BILINGUAL SPEECH

According to Maschler (1998: 137) there are three issues when dealing with the question of when code switching grammaticises into a new mixed code: if

[4] Term introduced by Auer (1999) to refer to the grammaticisation of code alternation.

the ad hoc switch is a recurrent pattern, if there is some structural pattern which can be distinguished in the new code and, thirdly, if the switched elements in the mixed code maintain the function they had in the language in which they are uttered or are used as in the surrounding language. From his analysis of Hebrew/ English discourse markers in bilingual data, he states that the options for choosing a marker from either language decrease the more specialised that marker is, i.e. the more specialised a marker is, "the more likely it is to be used exclusively in only one of the languages and therefore the more we would expect it to have undergone grammaticisation in the mixed code" (1999: 141).

In the bilingual participants under study's language behaviour these issues are clearly reflected in the data. The pattern of use of discourse markers being juxtaposed is recurrent; elements are almost exclusively in English surrounded by Spanish conversation. There is evidence that juxtapositions are following a pattern which is on its way to becoming structured as such, although it has not fully sedimented, the speech behaviour seems to be at a point at which code switching has definitely been implanted and code mixing occurs but not as much, or not in the same way, as in other more stable bilingual communities with a longer language alternation tradition. Evidence of this is that many of the alternations in the code mixing utterances carried functional meaning, which made it very difficult to ascertain where they belonged; they were not prototypical code mixing instances, but somewhere in between code switching and code mixing.

In the data, a change of activity type normally includes a discourse marker: a move to a new conversational action can be made by the use of a discourse marker, which can introduce a different language of interaction. Schiffrin (1987) and other linguists studying discourse markers have shown that the need to create conversational boundaries motivates the use of discourse markers and when no conversational action boundary takes place (as in the case of the use of conjunctions) there is no language switch.

In order to investigate how code mixing turns into fused lects we can either check where it initially originated (i.e. how the particular community being analysed used language alternation in the past and how this language alternation evolved), which would be difficult to tell unless the analyst has been gathering data from a bilingual community for entire generations, or we can analyse particular cases of code mixing which are moving to fused lects to try to establish what is prompting this transition. This transition usually has a starting point, such as the juxtaposition of relatively unbound elements of grammar, like discourse markers, conjunctions, or certain adverbials which serve to modify the utterance (i.e. with discursive rather than referential function); for example, in Chicano data we may find all Spanish discursive elements replaced by English ones, so that the Spanish system of discourse and text organisation is replaced by the English one.

The following example clearly shows an English discourse marker replacing a Spanish one ('you know' is inserted into the Spanish language of interaction being used at that point):

1 P2: estaría guay que en esa época hubiese yo qué sé un concierto o algo y con *you know* §

2 P1: § El Último de la Fila //

3 P2: ¿está?

This discourse marker, which can be described as an *emphatizer* (it involves the listener), is the most widely used in all the data; it can be used to engage the listener and make her/him feel part of the conversation, as in the above example. It often appears at the beginning or end of a turn, but also to change footing, to change the frame for events as in the following extract:

P1: ... yo me crié *you know like* // me conoce desde que era pequeña ...

Translation: I was brought up you know like / / he knows me since I was small

It is also used elsewhere when the speaker appeals for feedback. It sometimes appears in long turns, usually to call attention to the listener:

5 P1: ... mamá mamá *you know* / a mí lo que me jodía es que mis amigas me decían ah tu eres hija única

6 P2: *yeah*

In return, the listener uses 'yeah' (the second most frequently used discursive item) as an interactional signal, to let the speaker know that she is following the conversation and remains interested.

As stated above, in the participants' conversations, most discourse markers and interactional signals are switched into a code different from the one being used in the utterance. Not only are they used as in monolingual speech to serve their discourse function, but also to emphasise and assert this function. In the case of 'you know' inserted into a Spanish utterance, the speaker could very well have used the Spanish 'sabes' which has the same structural and argumentative properties.

Interjections and discourse markers are normally inserted in the 'other' language being used. Examples of this are frequent throughout the data:

P8: *ahhh / okay*!

8 P7: *yeah*! entonces cuando la tía se iba a volver / ellos no querían que yo me fuera / me estaban ofreciendo mogollón de chollos en la compañía / pero nada / no había nada fijo / *and I just went / come on / you know!*

9 P8: *yeah*!

10 P7: ¡no! ¡a dónde voy a ir / aquí me mandan a Madrid y a Méjico *man* !

11 P7: ¡y a mí me da el palo! el viernes / cogí un cabreo / cogí un cabreo con ella // y ella al final me decía venga salimos // era la una de la mañana / y

estábamos aquí / y le decía // *oh wait*! ha pasado la una de la mañana pero tiene sentido!

12 *P7:* pero me cabreó (4") ya le voy un día le voy a decir es que siempre un sábado vamos a ir y le voy a decir */ no man!* me vas a dejar *you know* a las dos de la mañana porque tú tienes que irte a casa

P7: y gente que está en Camariñas (( )) *yeah!*

The same also applies to discursive markers, which tend to be used in the other language available to bilinguals (throughout the data, the participants tend to use English discourse markers in Spanish surrounding passages). Below are instances from these conversations, in which discourse markers in alternation are very frequent. It is especially noticeable that almost all of them belong to P10, who uses them constantly:

14 P10:¡yo que sé / hombre // pero no hay chollos *ain't it?*

15 P9:*shittt*! /// ¡qué chulo!

16 P10:*yeah*! ///

17 P9:¿y Yolanda?

18 P10: pero una pasada / fue / cuando ella vino de Salamanca /// nos encon- salimos a tomar algo ella Ana y yo // *yeah*? // y después / después *I went on my year abroad* y volví // *anddd* // yo volví en su cumpleaños ese noviembre y yo volví en diciembre y le traje un regalo de cumpleaños // se lo dejé en casa de Montse //

19 P10:

§ está hasta las pelotas de ella *yeah*? / y ahora Yoli le dice ¿¡síií por qué te acuerdas!? y Montse is just like */ yeah yeah! you know /* se nota mogollón y ella nada

20 P10:es que todo es una mierda *though* / cierra a las dos y media o así

21 P10:fue fue ¡ufff! / fue una pasada mira / él / desde semana santa él tenía // ¡una mala tos! / él cada dos segundos él hacía ahm ahm */ yeah and that was it / and then* mi tío mi tía le comió el coco vete al médico vete al médico / fue al médico y le dijo / ah / es / un catarro mal curado *yeah*? /// y después fuimos a España / *yeah*? // porque además el año anterior yo me lo había pasado siempre con él / como estaba en La Coruña

In turn 22, below, the participant uses English in line 3 to add extra information (that she was studying) to set the situation, surrounded by Spanish. She then inserts a few English words that she probably normally uses in this language (*recruitment agency, manager*) or it may be a lack of competence in that particular situation (job hunting, which she has always done in London and therefore might not know the equivalent in Spanish). She also uses discourse markers in English, as well as reported speech. In isolation these alternations do have pragmatic force; however, the turn as a whole loses this force and the contextualisation cues become very

subtle. It is quite clear that this is not a code switching exchange, but a mix due to the structural load and loss of meaningful juxtapositions:

P7: yo antes fumaba sólo Marlboro // y cogí un catarro / antes de Navidades /// ¡fatal! / y no me curé bien // y el día de Navidad me volvió pero fatal // llegué *I was studying at the time yeah*? /// y llegué /// y yo trabajaba // dos días a la semana trabajaba en aaa / en el *recruitment* / en el *recruitment agency* // yyy / y yo cogiera el trabajo en *Decaux yeah*? y me dijera el *agency* que yo llegara el lunes y ya me sentía mal no pero / pero era el *manager // Sophie* no vengas mañana *because you know I'd rather you go to Decaux / then come to us because you know / it's more important for you to keep your job in Decaux and you're not gonna get it again* // y yo yo / no */ I'll be fine*! // llegué el martes / fatal /// pero tomé las pastillas *yeah* y fui a trabajar / en el *recruitment agency* / y el miércoles me levanté / la cabeza // me daba / mira de esto que mueves un poco y te hace / bum bum bum bum bum

The same occurs in the following turns, in which P7 mixes English for reported speech and discourse markers, yet the changes from Spanish to English (and vice versa) are not predictable at all:

P7: ¡claro / es que quedó cao! / *you know* / y paso de eso pero es una cosa que aprendí y yo sabía que yo podía tomarme otro y tal / y ella no / *you had enough // I went / well I'll have it! / he just looked up* / super enfadado *and I went saying fucking (( )) and she goes* // venga vamos *come on // let's go! / and I said* ¡vamos! *and we went to get money* y aparece él // *oh how did it go? and he goes oh I'm not getting anything like these // and he / apparently last Friday pay day and they went out and apparently* ella no se acuerda // *apparently* que él le dijo (( ))

P7: yyy / entonces cuando volví la llamé *yeah? and I said come by* tal y cual *and we made up (( )) and then she goes* me marcho pa' la semana *or whatever and I go fuck I just got in and she goes /* escríbeme

P7: ¡claro! *and she goes /* escríbeme *and I said* ¡sí joder escríbeme y te escribo! / y me escribió *// and I didn't like that // and I went at least two weeks ago again and anteayer ví a los padres* /// y yo estaba // ¡hola hola! *you know //* Antonio y tal */// you know* ¿qué tal está Julio? y ellos ¡ahhh está muy bien! // se viene en agosto y yo y ¿cuándo viene? a finales // ¡me va matar! / ¿por qué? / porque escribió dos veces y aún no le escribí // y el padre ¡cómo te pasas! y yo ¡no! ¡he empezado la carta / *but I'm just come on! shit!*

5. CONTEXTUALIZATION CUES

Every day, speakers use a repertoire of vocal and non-vocal (gestures, prosodic cues, etc.) means to express themselves. These semiotic resources, which can be

denominated 'contextualisation cues', are crucial in order to create the proper context in which the verbal message is to be understood. Contextualization is vital for communicating effectively and it can include such aspects of context as the speech genre, speech act, key (i.e. the style, tone or manner in which a speech act is carried out), topic, roles of speakers, social relationship between participants, modality, etc.

Gumperz & Tannen (1979) used the term 'contextualization' in the study of code alternation for the first time, and stated the importance of an effective context in order to communicate. Context, therefore, is not just given as such in an interaction, but is the outcome of participants' joint efforts to make it available. It does not consist of a collection of material or social facts (such as the interaction taking place in such-and-such locality, between speakers with their particular social roles, etc.), but of a number of cognitive schema(ta) or model(s) about what is relevant for the interaction at any given point in time. What is relevant in this sense may exclude or include certain facts of the material and social surroundings of the interaction as they might be stated by an objective on-looker who tries to describe context without looking at what takes place in it, but it may also include information which is not explicit before the interaction begins, or independently of it. These context parameters refer to distinct linguistic activities which are not predictable from the actual utterances or social environment of the interaction at all, and also to knowledge which may be shared by co-participants from the very beginning, but has to be turned from invisible (and interactionally irrelevant) cognitive dispositions of the participants into commonly available grounds on which to carry out the interaction.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The data thus proves that discourse markers are very often accompanied by the bilingual strategy of code alternation. The frequent juxtaposition of these elements in the different codes at the participants' disposal suggests that they are perceived as a unique category by bilinguals. In the particular data used for this paper they are clearly used in English surrounded by Spanish speech.

One of the key issues in the data is that there are significant patterns of discourse, which were separated from markers framing it in language: English markers framing Spanish discourse. This is an indication of code mixing – where a structural pattern that has been grammaticised at the textual level can be perceived. They are recurrent in pattern, they are mainly used for framing speech shifts, to mark a contrast between the codes being used, and especially to set off a change of footing and for the purpose of creating a new structural mixed

code. The fact that they conform to the structural behaviour of the language they are used in and yet highlight the code alternation suggests that there is a grammaticization process taking place. These alternations are frequently repeated and therefore one discourse marking system could end up being replaced by another (Spanish by English).

Discourse markers function as contextualization cues which tie different discourse parts together, highlighting the contrast between the different codes at use. Although contextualization cues would be a key to defining a particular type of language use as code switching, the use of discourse markers as contextualization cues is so frequent and regular that they lose their pragmatic force and functionality, separating their language from the metalingual frame of discourse markers and thus become code mixing. We can conclude, therefore, that the community under study is at a stage of code mixing in which a code of its own, as the use of alternation of discursive elements proves, has evolved and will probably continue to evolve.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 199-222

FROM *CORNER SHOP* TO *CORNER MAN*: CONCEPTUAL RELATIONS AND CONTEXT IN THE CREATION AND INTERPRETATION OF NOUN-NOUN SEQUENCES[1]

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ABSTRACT. *In this paper it will be argued that there are two different and equally relevant factors intervening in the creation and interpretation of noun-noun sequences in English. On the one hand, the concepts denoted by the nouns involved will determine some preferences to combine with other nouns, since certain semantic relations are cognitively salient with each semantic type of noun and are therefore privileged. By means of corpus data it will be shown that there are two main types of conceptual relations holding between the two nouns in a sequence, depending on the semantics of the nouns, namely argument relations and adverbial relations. On the other hand, it will be claimed that conceptual combination is a dynamic process that must take context (either world-knowledge, co-text, or situational context) into account.*

Keywords: Noun compounds, noun phrases, semantic relations, thematic relations, conceptual combination, context.

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[1] The present research has been conducted within the framework of the project FFI 2008-04585/FILO, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Innovation.

DE *CORNER SHOP* A *CORNER MAN*: RELACIONES CONCEPTUALES Y CONTEXTO EN LA CREACIÓN E INTERPRETACIÓN DE LAS SECUENCIAS DE NOMBRE-NOMBRE

RESUMEN. *En este artículo se argumentará que hay dos tipos diferentes e igualmente relevantes de factores que intervienen en la creación en interpretación de las secuencias de nombre-nombre en inglés. Por una parte, los conceptos denotados por los nombres implicados determinarán preferencias para la combinación con otros nombres, puesto que ciertas relaciones semánticas son más relevantes desde un punto de vista cognitivo y son, por tanto, prioritarias. Mediante datos de corpus se mostrará que hay dos tipos principales de relaciones conceptuales entre los dos nombres en una secuencia, que dependen de la semántica de estos nombres, en concreto, relaciones argumentales y relaciones adverbiales. Por otra parte, se sostendrá que la combinación conceptual es un proceso dinámico que debe tener el contexto (ya sea el conocimiento del mundo, el co-texto o el contexto situacional) en cuenta.*

Palabras clave: Compuestos nominales, frases nominales, relaciones semánticas, relaciones temáticas, combinación conceptual, contexto.

Received 01 May 2010
Revised version accepted 04 March 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, the subject under analysis will be introduced by pointing out the controversial status of noun-noun sequences, which can be located at the crossroads between syntax and morphology. In section 3, I will offer a brief revision of some of the traditional proposals to account for the meaning of noun-noun compounds. In section 4, it will be shown that the concepts denoted by the first or the second noun in a sequence will determine the possibility to combine with certain other nouns as well as the frequency of combination with these nouns, so that nouns create some expectancies as regard the likelihood to combine with certain other nouns. In section 5, it will be argued that the expression of the most expected conceptual relations can nevertheless be overridden by contextual factors, like our knowledge of the world, co-text, or situational context. Finally, in section 6 some concluding remarks will be put forward.

2. NOUN + NOUN SEQUENCES: PHRASES OR COMPOUNDS?

Establishing dividing lines between compounds and phrases is beyond the scope of this paper, though mentioning this issue is unavoidable since noun-noun sequences can be treated either as noun phrases with nominal modifiers or as

compounds. There is, in fact, considerable disagreement regarding the treatment of noun-noun combinations and many consider as compounds collocations that others regard as phrases (see Carstairs-McCarthy 2002: 69).

An example of this can be seen in Stockwell and Minkova's (2001: 13) distinction between syntactic and lexical compounds. In their view, syntactic compounds are formed by regular rules of grammar, like sentences, and their meaning can always be figured out, while lexical compounds have to be looked up in a dictionary since their meaning cannot be figured out just from the rules of grammar. Besides canonical examples of compounds like *shoemaker, washing machine, candlelight, birdcage* or *playgoer,* they cite *quartet playing* in *Quartet playing is fun* (as an alternative formulation to *Playing quartets is fun*) as an example of syntactic compound. This implies that many cases that would be regarded as phrases by other scholars are considered a specific type of compound by these authors. On the other hand, lexical compounds would be cases like *ice cream, crybaby, girlfriend, sweetheart, highlight* or *bull's eye*, since their meaning is not transparent. A reason for this morphological approach to all noun plus noun combinations seems to be that some linguists are reluctant to analyse nouns as modifiers within a phrase. Consequently, they do not distinguish structurally between noun-noun compounds and phrases with pre-modifier nouns.

The opposite approach is that of proponents of a syntactic view of noun-noun combinations. For them the very productive class of noun-noun compounds in particular is the output of a syntactic rule, schematised below (Plag 2003: 159 ff.):

NP → article {adjective, noun} noun

This rule states that a noun phrase may consist of an article, an adjective, and a noun, or an article, a noun, and a noun.

The main argument in favour of this syntactic approach is that several of the syntactic criteria which are frequently used to distinguish compounds from free combinations have been shown to fail (Bauer 1998: 77). For example, *public lending right* is possible in English, although it is usually claimed that adjectival modification of the first member of a compound cannot occur; it is also possible to say *cat and dog shows,* although compounds are assumed not to permit coordination. In addition, it is not always the case that they are referentially opaque (e.g. So, I hear you're a real *cat*-lover. *How many* do you have now?) and that they do not allow replacement of the head noun by *one* (e.g. He wanted a riding *horse*, as neither of the carriage *ones* would suffice). In view of this, Bauer concludes that the criteria which are usually assumed to distinguish between these compounds and phrases do not allow us to draw a clear and consistent distinction between a morphological and a syntactic construction. The process by which a

noun phrase consisting of a head noun and a pre-modifying noun is formed is probably similar to the process of noun-noun compound formation, although noun-noun compounds have made their way into the lexicon and are then subject to semantic change:

[…] it is claimed that the criteria to which reference is generally made do not allow us to distinguish between a class of noun + noun compounds and a class of noun + noun syntactic constructions. Rather the two should be treated as *variants of a single construction* (possibly morphological, possibly syntactic), at least until such time as a suitable coherent distinction can be properly motivated. (Bauer 1998: 1) (emphasis mine)

The difficulty in drawing the boundaries between noun plus noun compounds and noun phrases consisting of a pre-modifying noun and a head noun is then a consequence of the fact that the distinction is not clear-cut. However, not all cases of noun plus noun combinations must be regarded as compounds nor is it adequate to deny the existence of noun plus noun compounds and explain all cases by means of syntactic rules. Both noun-noun compounds and phrases with pre-modifier nouns exist but there is a grey area in between full of borderline or unclear cases formed by novel combinations.

Bauer (1998: 81) points out that what we have are two distinct categories which are prototypical categories. This would explain why the criteria used to draw the distinction between phrases and compounds work in some cases, most prototypical cases. Thus, **ice and custard creams* is not possible because *ice-cream* is a lexicalized compound. However, the coordination of *theatre* and *cinema* in *theatre and cinema goers* sounds perfectly alright, since the meaning of the compounds *theatre goer* and *cinema goer* is compositional and can be predicted. Less prototypical cases are then half-way between phrases and compounds: they are created by the same process that creates phrases and the semantic relations involved may be exactly the same in both cases.

As the process by which phrases and compounds are created is the same as well as the semantic relations denoted, the aim of the present paper will be noun-noun sequences, no matter whether some authors consider them as phrases or compounds or whether a combination created as a phrase eventually becomes a compound.

3. NOUN-NOUN SEQUENCES AND SEMANTIC RELATIONS

Different scholars have proposed taxonomic lists of types of semantic relations between compound members. For example, Jespersen (1961: 142-145) made an attempt to classify concrete noun-noun compounds and distinguished different groups of compounds in which the first element denotes any of the following

relations: the place where the second is located (e.g. *garden-party*), what the second is meant for (e.g. *keyhole*), a tool or instrument by means of which the second is brought about (e.g. *gunshot*), something contained in the second (e.g. *mountain-range*), or the material out of which the second is made (e.g. *stone wall*). However, he concludes by saying that "the number of possible logical relations between the two elements is endless", so that "the analysis of the possible sense-relations can never be exhaustive" (138, 143).

Other linguists have provided similar semantic classifications. Marchand (1969: 45-52), for example, establishes different groups on a syntactic rather than semantic basis, although each set covers different semantic groups: (i) The Subject type: e.g. *bulldog* ('B is like A'), *sugar loaf* ('B consists, is made up of A'), *arm chair* ('B has, possesses, contains A'), etc; (ii) The Object type: Affected object, e.g. *steamboat* ('A operates B'), etc, Effected object, e.g. *beet sugar* ('A produces B'), etc; (iii) The Adverbial Complement type: e.g. *corn belt* ('A grows in B'), etc. In a similar fashion to Jespersen, Marchand concludes that "it is no use trying to exhaust the possibilities of relationship; many compounds defy an indisputable analysis" (Marchand 1969: 22).

Adams (1973: 61) offers a rather rich taxonomic list of types of semantic relations obtaining between compound members, like Appositional, Associative, Instrumental, Locative, Resemblance, Composition/Form, Contents, Adjective-Noun, Names, and a mysterious category that she refers to as "Other". Although she includes a very large amount of data as examples of her categories, there is no systematic organization to it.

Levi (1978) identifies nine "recoverably deletable predicates", that is, relationships which any noun-noun compound can potentially embody: CAUSE, HAVE, MAKE, USE, BE, IN, FOR, FROM, and ABOUT. However, she admits that her predicates are so abstract that there is sometimes no way to decide which of the predicates a given form is derived from.

Warren (1978) is probably the most complete descriptive treatment of noun-noun compounds. It is based on a systematic analysis of a large corpus, which allows her to make predictions about the relative frequencies of the different types of compounds.

Adams' (2001: 82-86) sets coincide to a large extent with those established by Levi (1978).

The problem of these and similar attempts at classification is that they rely on rather loosely defined distinctions. For example, the concept "source" may have different meanings depending on the entities involved. In addition, the number of semantic features characterizing the nouns is not limited to one, which means that the relationship between them is not expressible by a single verb, though in real use there will only be one actual meaning.

The lack of agreement on an exhaustive list of relations has led some authors to disregard the relevance of such taxonomies. Plag (2003: 148), for example, argues that "given the proliferation and arbitrariness of possible semantic categories […] such semantically based taxonomies appear somewhat futile", so that "what is more promising is to ask what kinds of interpretations are in principle possible, given a certain compound".

It is clear then that taxonomies should be avoided and interpretation should be given priority. However, the difficulty in reaching consensus on the number of possible relations as well as the lack of exhaustiveness has made some scholars deny the linguistic relevance of some noun-noun sequences.

Selkirk (1982), for example, draws a distinction between verbal and nonverbal compounds. The author defines verbal noun compounds as "endocentric noun […] compounds whose head […] noun is morphologically complex, having been derived from a verb, and whose non-head constituent is interpreted as an argument of the head […]" (23). By "argument" Selkirk means "an element bearing a thematic relation such as Agent, Theme, Goal, Source, Instrument, etc to the head". Some examples of verbal compounds would be *wine-drinker, housecleaning* and *church goer*. On the other hand, nonverbal compounds are those in which the non-heads "add a locative, manner, or temporal specification to the head, but would not be said to bear a thematic relation to, or satisfy the argument structure of, the head" (24). For example, *party drinker, spring-cleaning* or *concert singer* are nonverbal compounds. As regards this second type of compounds, Selkirk argues that "the range of possible semantic relations between the head and the non-head is so broad and ill defined as to defy any attempt to characterize all or even a majority of the cases" and that "it is a mistake to attempt to characterize the grammar or the semantics of non verbal compounds in any way" (25). In her view, the only compounds whose interpretation appears to be of linguistic interest are the set of verbal compounds.

However, Selkirk misses an important fact: non verbal compounds are a very productive class that are created and interpreted by speakers too frequently as to deny their linguistic relevance. As a matter of fact, only a minority of nouns are likely candidates to be the head of verbal compounds, that is, only a few nouns take one or more arguments, which is related to the fact that nouns typically perform different roles from verbs within the clause. Speakers are, nevertheless, able to create and interpret noun plus noun combinations containing a second non-derived noun in the same way as those with a second derived noun, as the examples in (1) illustrate (Costello and Keane 2000: 303):

(1) *Street knife*: an easily concealed knife used by muggers and petty criminals.
Street flower: a small weed that grows through cracks in the pavement.
Street brush: a wide tough brush that street-sweepers use.

People are able to interpret all these combinations using different knowledge about the concept street and the concepts with which it combines. What matters in all these combinations is not that one of the nouns functions as an argument of the other or not but the fact that speakers create and are able to interpret all these combinations easily. Therefore, they are equally relevant from a linguistic point of view.

In a similar vein to Selkirk, Downing (1975, 1977: 839, 841) claims that some kinds of facts underlying compounding need not be included into the grammar, because they derive from cultural values associated with different entities and from the fact that speakers code what they regard as salient in a given context. Unlike traditional treatments, Downing based her work on novel compounds and non-lexicalized established compounds. In her view, context and pragmatic and discourse factors may determine some constraints and preferences in compounding, so that these cannot be captured by the categories proposed in linguistic studies. She declares that "the appropriateness of a given relationship in a given context depends on the semantic class of the head noun, the predictability of the relationship, and the permanence of the relationship" (1977: 828).

The suggestion put forward by Selkirk, and also implicitly by Downing, that some noun-noun compounds are linguistically irrelevant should be taken with care. Whereas the goal in traditional treatments had been to describe patterns found in established sequences, the goal should now be to attempt to predict the interpretation for novel sequences. If the emphasis should be on interpretation rather than on trying to confine sequences to the labels of ready-made taxonomies, any sequence that is used and can be interpreted is linguistically relevant.

4. NOUN-NOUN SEQUENCES AND CONCEPTUAL RELATIONS

In this section it will be argued that conceptual relations play a primary role when two nouns are combined in a sequence. By means of a corpus search it will be shown that there are different types of conceptual relations holding between the two nouns in a sequence, depending on the semantics of the nouns involved.

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Noun-Noun sequences are interpreted in terms of the typical relations linking the two nouns. The different types of relations denoted are usually connected to the distinction between two semantic types of head noun: relational versus non-relational or sortal nouns (Fillmore 1968: 61ff., Plag 2003: 148ff., Keizer 2007: 218ff.). Relational nouns denote relations between a specific entity and another conceptually necessary entity. For example, the entity denoted by *poetry* is closely

related to the concept denoted by the relational noun *writer*. On the other hand, non-relational or sortal nouns denote an entity which is not necessarily related to any other particular entity, that is, when these nouns are combined with another noun, the concept denoted by this noun is not required for the expression to be meaningful. Examples of non-relational nouns would be *man* or *table*.

Many relational nouns are derived from verbs or adjectives and they inherit their argument structure. For example, *writer* is derived from *write* and has an argument with the semantic function of Result. Relational nouns can therefore be compared to verbs since they have an argument structure and impose restrictions on the number, semantic roles and semantic features of their arguments. Consequently, the conceptual relation linking the two nouns in these cases is made explicit through the presence of the verbal element.

Other relational nouns are basic. For example, *surgery* is closely connected with the entity affected by the action denoted, so that the first nouns in sequences with *surgery* are normally interpreted as the entity affected by the action of the second noun (e.g. *brain surgery*). The conceptual relation linking the two nouns is not explicit in these cases, although it is also easily activated.

Finally, non-relational nouns would, in principle, pose more difficulties for interpretation in noun-noun sequences, since the relationship linking these nouns with other nouns in a sequence has to be chosen from a number of equally possible options. For example, *computer man* might be interpreted as "a man that works with computers", "a man that sits by a computer", "a man keen on computers", "a man appearing on the computer screen", and the like.

The various semantic compounding relationships have also been suggested to depend on the semantic class of the head member of the compound, that is, the type of entity denoted, as advanced by Downing (1977: 829). She divides the compounds considered in her paper into five groups (human, animal, plant, natural object, synthetic object) and she offers the most frequent interpretation for the resulting compounds in order to show that "relationships which are of classificatory relevance with respect to one type of entity appear to be irrelevant with respect to another, […]". For example, she remarks that "naturally existing entities (plants, animals, and natural objects) are typically classified, at least in our culture, on the basis of inherent characteristics; but synthetic objects are categorized in terms of the uses to which they may be put" (831). Downing only incorporates one semantic type of entity, since human, animal, plant, natural object and synthetic object are all subtypes of first order entities, which Lyons (1977: 443) defined as those entities that are "relatively constant as to their perceptual properties", that "are located […] in a three-dimensional space", "are publicly observable", "may be referred to, and properties may be ascribed to them [...]".

Drawing partially on Downing, the aim of the following section is to develop

her suggestion by extending the analysis to second order entities, defined by Lyons as "events, processes, states-of-affairs, etc, which are located in time and which, in English, are said to occur or take place", and to places (for a discussion on the distinction between first order entities and places, see Mackenzie 1992). Additionally, the distinction between relational and non-relational nouns will be considered.

I wish to put forward the suggestion that corpus research on the noun-noun sequences in which different semantic types of nouns occur may cast some light on conceptual combination. In order to show the possible conceptual relations between the two nouns in a sequence, the results from a corpus search of the most frequent sequences with a set of different nouns will be offered.[2] Specifically, the nouns *shopping, surgery, table* and *corner* have been searched and 200 noun-noun sequences have been analysed (the 50 most frequent sequences with each search noun). The choice of these nouns was justified by the fact that they denote different types of entities, namely second order entities (*shopping* and *surgery*), a first order entity (*table*) and a place (*corner*). In addition, most of these nouns are relational (*shopping, surgery, corner),* while *table* is non-relational. This variety will allow drawing some conclusions on the interaction between the semantic type of the noun (either in terms of the distinction between relational and sortal nouns, or in terms of the different entity types denoted) and the likelihood to combine with certain other nouns. This sample is intended to serve as an illustration of the kind of survey that can be done on a larger scale to draw generalizations on conceptual combination.

4.2. CORPUS RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF N-N SEQUENCES WITH SHOPPING

In this section, combinations in which *shopping* appears in second position in a noun-noun sequence will be analysed. The corpus results with *shopping* are given in Table 1.

All these combinations of noun plus noun contain the same second noun *shopping*, which denotes the act of going to shops and buying things. This meaning makes it possible for this noun to combine with a number of other nouns whose meaning is relevant to that denoted by *shopping* in some way.

To start with, *food shopping* denotes "the action of going to shops and buying food". In this case, the noun *food* may be seen as satisfying an argument position of the second noun, in spite of the fact that the verb from which *shopping* is derived is usually intransitive (or takes a prepositional object headed by *for*).

[2] The Corpus of Contemporary American English (henceforth COCA) (Daries 2008-) has been used. This corpus allows sorting the results by raw frequency (the default sorting), where the most frequent results appear first.

Table 1. *Top 50 most frequent sequences with* SHOPPING

GROCERY SHOPPING	Location	326	DOCTOR SHOPPING	Theme	13
HOLIDAY SHOPPING	Time	248	CATALOG SHOPPING	Means	12
CHRISTMAS SHOPPING	Time	226	MALL SHOPPING	Location	12
HOME SHOPPING	Location	224	SHOE SHOPPING	Theme	12
COMPARISON SHOPPING	Other[3]	113	WEB SHOPPING	Means	12
STRIP SHOPPING	Location	63	BOUTIQUE SHOPPING	Location	10
WINDOW SHOPPING	Means	63	CENTER SHOPPING	Location	10
FOOD SHOPPING	Theme	54	GIFT SHOPPING	Theme	10
STREET SHOPPING	Location	26	PRICE SHOPPING	Other	10
TV SHOPPING	Means	26	HOUSEHOLD SHOPPING	Purpose	9
PLAZA SHOPPING	Location	25	MYSTERY SHOPPING	N_2 is N_1	9
INTERNET SHOPPING	Means	24	BARGAIN SHOPPING	Theme	8
TELEVISION SHOPPING	Means	23	FORUM SHOPPING	Theme	8
CAR SHOPPING	Theme	22	OAKS SHOPPING	Theme	8
NEIGHBORHOOD SHOPPING	Location	22	PARK SHOPPING	Location	8
CLOTHES SHOPPING	Theme	21	SOUVENIR SHOPPING	Theme	8
SQUARE SHOPPING	Location	20	AVENUE SHOPPING	Location	7
UPSCALE SHOPPING	N_2 is N_1	20	AREA SHOPPING	Location	7
OUTLET SHOPPING	Location	19	COMPUTER SHOPPING	Means	7
STOP SHOPPING	Other	15	DIAMOND SHOPPING	Theme	7
VILLAGE SHOPPING	Location	15	FURNITURE SHOPPING	Theme	7
DISCOUNT SHOPPING	Other	14	IMPULSE SHOPPING	Other	7
SIDEBAR SHOPPING	Location	14	POWER SHOPPING	Other	7
SUPERMARKET SHOPPING	Location	14	CATALOGUE SHOPPING	Means	6
CITY SHOPPING	Location	13	CLOTH SHOPPING	Theme	6

This example provides illustration that a relevant factor in noun plus noun combinations is thematic relations, i.e. relations in which the non-head constituent is interpreted as an argument of the head and denotes participant roles like Agent, Theme, Goal, Result, Patient, and the like. Thematic relations are relevant with combinations containing a derived relational head or verbal head, though the expression of thematic relations is not exclusive to them.

[3] In a few cases where the adverbial relation denoted is not clearly identifiable the label "Other" has been used.

However, most of the other sequences with *shopping* are different from this one. For example, *strip shopping* is "the shopping at a commercially developed area, especially along a highway". *Strip* designates a Location and, therefore, the association that links this noun to *shopping* is adverbial-like. A similar case is *Christmas shopping*. This combination refers to "the kind of shopping typically done at Christmas time". As *shopping* designates an event both the Location and the Time where this takes place are classificatory properties and hence, the combination is a conceptually natural one and its interpretation is easily activated. Sequences with *shopping* may also refer to the Means through which the shopping is done. For example, *web shopping* denotes "a type of shopping by which some goods are purchased on the Web".

In the light of the corpus data, it can be established that there are two main types of relations that the first noun in sequences with *shopping* expresses, namely thematic relations and adverbial type relations, of which the latter type is predominant. The frequency score and percentage of these two types of conceptual relation found with *shopping* are given in Table 2 below:

Table 2. *Percentage of thematic versus adverbial relations in noun-noun sequences with* SHOPPING

	Thematic relations	**Adverbial relations**
Frequency score	184	6597
Percentage	2.70%	96.87%

We can also encounter cases like *upscale shopping,* where the first noun denotes a property of the second noun (in this case, "the shopping is upscale"), although examples like this one are scarce. Additionally, it is possible for the first noun to denote a descriptive characteristic in terms of which both concepts are compared (Clark and Clark 1977, Ryder 1994: 78). For example, *marathon shopping* (attested in the corpus, though not included among the 50 most frequent cases) might refer to "a kind of shopping that shares features with marathons" (for example, speed of the action).

Finally, resorting to context is necessary in cases like *price shopping* or *power shopping,* where it is only by reading the surrounding co-text that an interpretation can be activated (see section 6).

Summing up, different possible associations are found with *shopping*. On the one hand, there are cases like *food shopping*, where one noun satisfies an argument slot of the argument structure of the other and that can be regarded as thematic-relation associations. On the other hand, another more frequent type of association covers cases where one noun denotes an adverbial relation like

Location (e.g. *strip shopping*), Time (e.g. *Christmas shopping*), Means (e.g. *web shopping*), and the like. Finally, there are few cases of associations of the type 'N_2 is (like) N_1' (e.g. *upscale shopping*) or where N_1 denotes a property of N_2 (e.g. *marathon shopping*). Therefore, in spite of being a derived relational noun, the noun *shopping* does not combine more frequently with nouns satisfying an argument slot but with a different type of conceptual relation. This results from the fact that *shopping* is a noun denoting a second order entity, which are located in time and are said to occur or take place. Thus *shopping* (and second order entity denoting nouns) can be classified by the Location where they take place, the Time when they happen, or the participants involved (e.g. *food shopping*), among other features.

4.3. CORPUS RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF N-N SEQUENCES WITH SURGERY

In this section, sequences of two nouns which *surgery* in second position will be analysed. The corpus results with *surgery* are given in Table 3.

Table 3. *Top 50 most frequent sequences with* SURGERY

KNEE SURGERY	Theme	474	WRIST SURGERY	Theme	26
BYPASS SURGERY	Purpose	405	ANKLE SURGERY	Theme	25
HEART SURGERY	Theme	394	OUTPATIENT SURGERY	Theme	25
BRAIN SURGERY	Theme	317	HERNIA SURGERY	Purpose	23
LASER SURGERY	Means	172	BLADDER SURGERY	Theme	21
NECK SURGERY	Theme	169	PLACEBO SURGERY	N_2 is N_1	21
SHOULDER SURGERY	Theme	158	REASSIGNMENT SURGERY	Purpose	21
ELBOW SURGERY	Theme	123	LASIK SURGERY	Means	20
CANCER SURGERY	Purpose	123	STAPES SURGERY	Theme	20
BACK SURGERY	Theme	122	HAND SURGERY	Theme	18
EMERGENCY SURGERY	N_2 is N_1	118	OFFSEASON SURGERY	Time	17
EYE SURGERY	Theme	112	ROUTINE SURGERY	N_2 is N_1	16
SINUS SURGERY	Theme	110	SPINE SURGERY	Theme	15
REPLACEMENT SURGERY	Purpose	96	FUSIONSURGERY	Theme	14
TRANSPLANT SURGERY	Purpose	66	GALLBLADDER SURGERY	Theme	13
BREAST SURGERY	Theme	58	CUFF SURGERY	Theme	12
CATARACT SURGERY	Purpose	52	THROAT SURGERY	Theme	12

EAR SURGERY	Theme	47	ARTERY SURGERY	Theme	10
PROSTATE SURGERY	Theme	45	COLON SURGERY	Theme	10
REVISION SURGERY	Purpose	43	SKIN SURGERY	Theme	10
FOOT SURGERY	Theme	40	LUNG SURGERY	Theme	9
EYELID SURGERY	Theme	35	SEPARATION SURGERY	Purpose	9
HIP SURGERY	Theme	33	STOMACH SURGERY	Theme	9
IMPLANT SURGERY	Purpose	27	CORD SURGERY	Theme	8
VALVE SURGERY	Purpose	26	ARM SURGERY	Theme	8

The corpus data show a predictable fact about *surgery*. This noun is relational and, therefore, it is closely associated to another concept. In particular, the use of *surgery* generally causes the activation of the entity on which the action denoted by this noun is performed, that is, the affected entity and, in fact, sequences like *knee surgery* display the highest frequency score overall. In cases like this one, the first noun can be seen as the argument of the second noun, in spite of the fact that *surgery* is not a deverbal noun.

However, additionally, s*urgery* also combines quite easily with other nouns denoting adverbial type relations, such as the Purpose of the action (e.g. *replacement surgery)* or the Means by which the action denoted by this noun is performed (e.g. *laser surgery*). Besides, *surgery* resembles *shopping* in the denotation of a second order entity and the possibility to combine with a noun denoting Time, as the sequence *offseason surgery* shows. Cases like this one are not relevant with *surgery,* though, as this is the only example found.

The frequency score and percentage of these two main types of conceptual relation found with *surgery* are given in Table 4 below:

Table 4. *Percentage of thematic versus adverbial relations in noun-noun sequences with* SURGERY

	Thematic relations	**Adverbial relations**
Frequency score	2490	1100
Percentage	66.48%	29.37%

Finally, some marginal cases like those found with *shopping,* which can be interpreted as N_2 is N_1, are also found (e.g. *routine surgery*).

4.4. CORPUS RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF NOUN-NOUN SEQUENCES WITH TABLE

The results of the corpus search with the noun *table* are given in Table 5 below.

Table 5. *Top 50 most frequent sequences with* TABLE

KITCHEN TABLE	Location	2541	DRAFTING TABLE	Purpose	82
COFFEE TABLE	Purpose	1631	GLASS TABLE	Composition	81
DINNER TABLE	Location	1060	HEAD TABLE	N_2 is N_1	78
ROOM TABLE	Location	636	TEA TABLE	Purpose	75
DINING TABLE	Purpose	560	LUNCH TABLE	Purpose	73
BEDSIDE TABLE	Location	462	EXAMINATION TABLE	Purpose	71
PICNIC TABLE	Purpose	425	FORMICA TABLE	Composition	69
CONFERENCE TABLE	Purpose	424	METAL TABLE	Composition	69
NEGOTIATING TABLE	Purpose	381	HALL TABLE	Location	64
POOL TABLE	Purpose	377	ROUTER TABLE	Part-Whole	63
BREAKFAST TABLE	Purpose	370	SUPPER TABLE	Purpose	63
CARD TABLE	Purpose	322	WRITING TABLE	Purpose	60
NIGHT TABLE	Time	284	MAHOGANY TABLE	Composition	58
DRESSING TABLE	Purpose	262	BLACKJACK TABLE	Composition Purpose	56
OPERATING TABLE	Purpose	244	POKER TABLE	Purpose	56
SIDE TABLE	Location	234	BUREAU TABLE	Part-Whole	52
BARGAINING TABLE	Purpose	202	COCKTAIL TABLE	Purpose	52
END TABLE	Location	199	PINE TABLE	Composition	52
DINING-ROOM TABLE	Location	175	TRAY TABLE	N_2 is N_1	52
BUFFET TABLE	Purpose	162	WOOD TABLE	Composition	50
CORNER TABLE	Location	162	FAMILY TABLE	Purpose/Size	49
DEFENSE TABLE	Purpose	136	DRAWING TABLE	Purpose	48
OAK TABLE	Composition	108	PATIO TABLE	Location	48
WORK TABLE	Purpose	99	BANQUET TABLE	Purpose	47
PEACE TABLE	Purpose	88	CRAPS TABLE	Purpose	46

The majority of nouns in sequences with *table* denote either Purpose or Location, while in a small number of cases the denotation is Composition and in still fewer cases it is Part-Whole. Additionally, there are some examples where the sequence can be interpreted as "N_2 is N_1".

As can be seen, the first noun in sequences with *table* only expresses adverbial type relations. These findings are not surprising, since *table* denotes a first order entity, more specifically, a synthetic object, which are typically created with some goal in mind and are categorized in terms of their Purpose (e.g. *picnic table*), the Location they occupy (e.g. *bedside table*) or their Composition (e.g. *oak table*) (see Downing 1977: 830-831).

As compared to the nouns *shopping* and *surgery,* the denotation of the first noun in sequences with *table* is not semantically compatible with argument status. However, this is not a generalization for all nouns denoting first order entities. Other first order entities like human beings are often categorized in terms of the occupation they are involved in. Thus when a noun denoting a human entity is deverbal, it is common for this noun to combine with other noun satisfying an argument slot, that is, expressing a thematic relation, resulting in sequences like *poetry writer*. The expression of thematic relations can also be extended to cases in which the noun is non-relational. For example, a *garbage man* is interpreted as "a man that collects garbage", that is, as a *garbage collector,* where the first noun is understood as an argument of the second, although the verbal association linking both nouns is not made explicit in the sequence.

4.5. CORPUS RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF NOUN-NOUN SEQUENCES WITH CORNER

In this section, combinations in which *corner* is combined with other nouns are considered. In this case, the search noun is placed in first position, so that the influence of the semantics of the noun can be checked in the opposite direction, that is, from the first noun to the second one. The results from the corpus search are given in Table 6.

All these combinations contain the same first noun *corner*, which denotes "a place angle formed by the meeting of two converging lines or surfaces", "the space within the angles formed, as in a room" or "the place where two streets meet". This meaning makes it possible for this noun to combine with a number of other nouns for which the meaning denoted by *corner* is relevant in some way. This means that not only the concept denoted by the head noun but also the semantic class of the first noun are relevant factors to be considered in noun plus noun combinations.

In the case of *corner,* the corpus data reveal that the majority of sequences are similar to *corner shop* or *corner table,* that is, the most likely combinations with

Table 6. *Top 50 most frequent sequences with* CORNER

CORNER OFFICE	Place	239	CORNER APARTMENT	Place	16
CORNER STORE	Place	177	CORNER CHAIR	Object	15
CORNER TABLE	Object	162	CORNER DELI	Place	15
CORNER GROCERY	Place	49	CORNER SUITE	Place	14
CORNER LOT	Object	46	CORNER FITTINGS	Object	13
CORNER BOOTH	Object	44	CORNER GAS STATION	Place	12
CORNER ROOM	Place	44	CORNER RESTAURANT	Place	12
CORNER CUPBOARD	Object	35	CORNER KICK	Action	11
CORNER POSTS	Object	35	CORNER KICKS	Action	11
CORNER BAR	Place	34	CORNER BAKERY	Place	10
CORNER STORES	Place	30	CORNER STONE	Object	10
CORNER CAFÉ	Place	28	CORNER STUDS	Object	10
CORNER DRUGSTORE	Place	27	CORNER GROCERIES	Place	9
CORNER POCKET	Place	27	CORNER SEAT	Object	9
CORNER HOUSE	Place	26	CORNER TAVERN	Place	9
CORNER SHOP	Place	23	CORNER DESK	Object	8
CORNER WINDOW	Object	23	CORNER JOINTS	Object	8
CORNER CABINET	Place	21	CORNER MAN	Human	8
CORNER CENTER	Place	21	CORNER SHELF	Object	8
CORNER MARKET	Place	20	CORNER PIECE	Object	7
CORNER OFFICES	Place	20	CORNER SHOPS	Place	7
CORNER POST	Object	20	CORNER BRACKETS	Object	6
CORNER BLOCKS	Object	19	CORNER BODEGA	Place	6
CORNER BUILDING	Object	17	CORNER GROCER	Human	6
CORNER PUB	Place	17	CORNER LIQUOR STORE	Place	6

corner are nouns denoting objects or places specifically designed to be used as the setting for certain kinds of activities (for example, *shops* are created to sell goods).

Corner shop is defined as "a small shop, especially on a corner of a road, which sells common foods and other objects that are useful in the house". *Corner* designates a position or place and this is a property of shops, which can be classified not only in terms of the goods sold but also in terms of the place where

they can be found (cf. *airport shop* or *high street shop*). Therefore, the combination *corner shop*, though not completely transparent nowadays (since there are corner shops that are not situated on corners), was based, at least in its origin, on a possible natural conceptual relationship between both concepts, so that both concepts are closely associated and the correct interpretation is easy to achieve.

A similar case is *corner table*. This combination refers to a class of tables that are specifically designed to be placed in the corner of a room. Being a piece of furniture as they are, tables are decorative objects with specific physical properties (shape, size, composition, etc), placed on specific locations and which have been created with a given purpose. Since Location is a classificatory property of furniture, the combination of *corner* and *table* is a conceptually natural one. Consequently, the first noun creates some expectancies about the types of nouns that can follow in a sequence, because it denotes one of the cognitively important features that can be used to characterize the head noun, that is, an object. A noun denoting Location is, however, not expected to appear in combination with another noun denoting a personal entity. In this respect, Quirk et al. (1985: 1331) point out that while a phrase like *the table for the corner* could yield *the corner table,* a similar phrase like *the man in the corner* cannot yield *the corner man*.

4.6. CONCLUSIONS

The examination of the corpus data reveals that conceptual relations are primary when two nouns are combined in a sequence. For one thing, the type of entity denoted by the head noun will determine which combinations are cognitively more natural with it. Likewise, the semantics of the first noun creates expectancies on the types of nouns with which it is more likely to combine. Conceptual relations linking the two nouns in a sequence vary from thematic relations to other types of relation, like adverbial relations. The distinction between relational or non-relational nouns is not relevant, however, since relational nouns are not exclusively combined with nouns expressing thematic relations. Thus the first noun in sequences with *shopping* or *surgery* is, in many cases, semantically not compatible with argument status: most of the nouns with *shopping,* for example, do not denote participants functionally related to the head but adverbial features like Location, Time, Means or Purpose. In addition, not only relational but also non-relational nouns show preferences to combine with (and are therefore closely related to) other specific nouns. As an example of this, the noun *table* has been shown to have specific preferences to combine with other nouns denoting either Location, Purpose, or Composition.

To sum up, in isolation, noun-noun sequences are created and interpreted following the cognitively salient relations linking the two nouns. However, the remainder of this article will be devoted to show that, in addition to conceptual

relations, there are further factors to consider in conceptual combination. In fact, sequences like *corner man* have been found among the corpus results. This example is remarkable in that it does not instantiate cognitively salient relations between the concepts denoted by each noun. The occurrence of sequences like this one entails that there must be intervening factors different from conceptual relations when two nouns are combined in a sequence, as already advanced by different scholars (Downing 1975, 1977, Levi 1978).

5. NOUN-NOUN SEQUENCES AND CONTEXT

In the lines above it has been argued that conceptual relations are crucial in the creation and interpretation of noun-noun sequences. However, the use of a noun-noun sequence or the activation of the appropriate interpretation might be dependent on the particular context.

There are four different ways in which context may be seen as having an influence on the interpretation of a noun plus noun combination.

Firstly, our knowledge of the world can be a relevant factor to create and interpret a sequence of two nouns. Several scholars agree that the fact that a given combination expresses one of the typical relationships is not sufficient to guarantee the right interpretation since these semantic relations leave out of account most of the specific knowledge required, that is, world knowledge (see Downing 1977, Levi 1978, Adams 2001). Conversely, a given noun-noun sequence might not illustrate the typical relation between the nouns involved. As Adams (2001: 86) remarks, "in most circumstances, compounds […] are easy to invent, use and understand because they name entities in culturally relevant ways".

The kind of world knowledge required to derive an interpretation can be very specific sometimes. As an example of this, consider *corner man*. *Corner man* is attested in the corpus and it is also listed in some dictionaries. However, Quirk *et al.* (1985) mention it as an impossible combination, which is probably connected with the fact that it belongs to a sports context, and to a quite specific sport: a *cornerman*, or simply *corner*, is a combat sports term for "a coach or team mate assisting a fighter during the length of a bout".

Similar examples are *corner girl* (not included in the corpus, though it is attested), *corner grocer* or *corner drug dealer,* both attested in the corpus. A *corner girl* is a prostitute, while *corner grocers* and *corner drug dealers* are groceries and drug sellers, respectively. In cases like these, it is our knowledge of the world that licenses these noun plus noun combinations since we all know that corners are the place where prostitutes work and also the place where groceries and drug are sold, at least prototypically.

Likewise, c*orner* could be combined with actions typically carried out in this location, like selling drug, drinking or kicking a ball. Thus, examples like *corner drug selling, corner drinking* or *corner kick* are also attested, in spite of being more marginal cases than those in which the second noun denotes a place or an object.

Almost any noun is likely to appear in atypical sequences. Further evidence of the role of world-knowledge in noun-noun sequences is provided by the sequence *night table,* where *night* cannot be regarded as expressing a cognitively salient property of tables but can be easily interpreted since it is common in our culture to have tables beside our beds to use at night.

In short, given the appropriate context, any noun could be combined with a variety of different nouns other than the expected ones.

Secondly, noun-noun sequences are a good example of the dynamic construction and interpretation of linguistic expressions. Thus, although a noun-noun combination may normally have a particular meaning, it might have a different one under certain conditions. For example, *holiday shopping* refers to the type of shopping done at Christmas time in the corpus examples, which are similar to that shown in (2):

> (2) There are more consumers waiting to finish their *holiday shopping* on Dec. 24 than any other time in the last five years (COCA, USA Today 2004)

However, provided the appropriate context, this sequence might be interpreted differently. For example, in a text dealing with different means for buying holidays, example (3) could be found:

> (3) Many of us will do *holiday shopping* on the Internet this year

In this case, *holiday* could be seen as satisfying an argument position of *shopping,* that is, that which is bought.

As a different example, *corner* could be found in less predictable combinations than those attested in the corpus, like *corner brush*. A *corner brush* is "a brush designed to clean corners, crevices, and other hard-to-reach areas", where *corner* does not express the typical relation found with this noun. This would be the most natural meaning for *corner brush,* as a cognitively salient property of synthetic objects is their purpose. In this case, a brush is used to clean some surface. In an advertisement about a new cleaning instrument (where the example was found) this interpretation will be kept since there is no clash between the context and the salient relation conveyed by *brush*. However, in a context where the hearer should differentiate between different brushes and pick up the one in the corner,

the same combination of two nouns might have to be interpreted differently, as "brush placed in the corner".

This means that the decision of which features will match the two nouns may occur in an online fashion since the interpretation of *corner brush* largely depends on the surrounding discourse. Although certain relations seen in compounds are privileged, the context overrides the out-of-context meaning and dictates which interpretation is more appropriate (Levi 1978, Gagné *et al.* 2005).

A related effect of context in the online interpretation of a noun plus noun combination was examined by Wisniewski and Love (1998: 197). In their study on the use of relations versus properties in conceptual combination the authors found that prior use of a property versus a relation interpretation strategy increased its subsequent use. For example, after interpreting *knife chisel* as "very sharp chisel", that is, using a property interpretation, subjects tended to interpret a combination like *book magazine* using a property of the first noun, as in "a thick magazine" (instead of "a magazine that reviews or sells books"). Similar cases are found in the corpus. Thus, *television shopping* is easily interpreted as "shopping by means of/ on television", rather than "shopping of televisions", after other sequences like *Internet shopping* or *home shopping,* where the most likely interpretation would be "shopping by means of/ on the Internet" or "shopping from home".

The example of *corner brush,* where the sequence is used to refer to a particular entity, that is, "the brush placed in the corner", brings us to the next case of context conditioning for the use and interpretation of a noun-noun sequence. This use of *corner brush* shows that a noun-noun sequence can refer to some piece of extralinguistic reality, where the sequence is a sort of *deictic* device (Downing 1977: 822).

As a different example, consider the sequence *corner man*. We could think of an appropriate context in which *corner man* would be a felicitous combination with a different denotation from the attested *corner man*. For example, we could imagine a conversational situation in which someone had to identify a man placed at the corner of a church within a group, as shown in (4):

(4) A: Look at the man!
B: Which one?
A: The *corner man*

As Downing points out, these online combinations are based on relationships derived from temporary states of affairs, and are not usable and interpretable from situation to situation but only in the presence of contextual support (the presence of a given referent in the situation that must be distinguished from others licenses the creation of the compound). Most of them do not survive beyond the situation

in which they are created. In addition, they are not long range category labels, i.e. they do not refer to specific subcategories of entities. *Corner man* in the example above does not refer to a class of men in the same way as *corner shop* refers to a specific class of shops.

Furthermore, these combinations are subjected to less severe constraints since they do not exhibit the natural/ dominant relations usually holding between concepts. As mentioned previously, Location is not a cognitively salient property in terms of which human beings are classified.

A different way in which the context has an influence on the interpretation of a noun plus noun combination can be seen in those cases where the primary function of a noun-noun sequence is a discourse referential one. A noun plus noun combination can be used to refer back to some explicit part of the co-text, taking it up again in condensed form, that is, for *anaphoric reference*, as can be seen in example (5):

> (5) Elisabeth ordered Catherine to *brush* the floor of the courtyard, being especially careful with *corners* since the wind tended to push all dry leaves there. She got very angry when she came back and saw that the maid had forgotten the *corner-brush* (my own example).

Kastovsky (1982, 1986) points out that the function of compounds in these examples is that of *syntactic recategorization* rather than a lexical, labelling or naming function.

The meaning of a noun plus noun combination may also be explained further by the following co-text. This is particularly important for writing headlines or advertisement texts. Consider in this respect example (6), where it is only the following context that reveals the meaning of the combination.

> (6) *Corner men* leave Liverpool exposed
> Liverpool's struggle to find quality *full-backs* leaves them looking vulnerable at Chelsea today.
> Benitez, such a defensive expert generally, has inexplicable difficulties finding good *men to play on the flanks of his rearguard*
> (*The Sunday Times*, 26 October 2008)

In the case of noun plus noun combinations like these, contextual dependence is crucial. Turning to the previous examples: in (5) we need to resort to the previous discourse to get to the right interpretation "the brushing of the corners" and, more importantly, to produce such an online compound. In (6) we have to look at the following co-text to get at the interpretation "full-backs" or "men to play on the flanks of his rearguard".

Resorting to the previous or following co-text is also required in some sequences attested in the corpus, like *price shopping* or *power shopping*, as examples (7) and (8) illustrate:

> (7) The United States forbids wholesalers and retailers from buying drugs at lower prices in other countries. Such *price shopping* is encouraged elsewhere, especially Europe. Great Britain fills one of eight prescriptions with drugs imported from other European countries. If the price of a drug is lower in Spain, for example, Great Britain will import the drug from Spain. (COCA, USA Today 1999)

> (8) While many luxury products have entered the consumer mainstream, the idea of luxury has ascended to the level of opulence. It's a movie star concept. Turn on the television or flip through a magazine, and you can see Oscar winners strolling down red carpets in designer gowns and tuxes, or pop-music moguls *power shopping* for clothes, jewels and cars. (COCA, Marion Asnes, *The Affluent American,* Vol. 32, Iss. 13, p. 40, 2003)

While one can probably figure out an interpretation for *price shopping* in the absence of any context, it is only by looking at the accompanying text that the interpretation "shopping at the lowest possible price" is made clear. Other cases like *power shopping* are more context-dependent. As Adams (2001: 88) declares, examples like these illustrate that "a compound guarantees only the fact of a connection in some context of the referents of its components". In agreement with Downing (1977: 828), any model aiming at explaining the compounding process should have to account for the fact that noun-noun compounding is a productive process and that compounding relationships are neither finite nor static, since they vary from context to context.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

What has emerged from the examination of noun-noun sequences with *shopping, surgery, table* and *corner* is that combinations of two nouns reflect different types of conceptual associations existing between the concepts denoted, like thematic relations and adverbial relations. The semantics of the nouns involved will determine some preferences to combine with certain other nouns. More specifically, the type of entity denoted rather than the distinction between relational and non-relational nouns has been shown to be determinant in conceptual combination.

In addition, different types of contextual factors are relevant not only for the creation but also for the correct interpretation of noun-noun sequences as they may trigger conceptual combinations or interpretations other than the expected ones.

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 223-241

DO YOU "(MIS)UNDERSTAND" WHAT I MEAN? PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES TO AVOID COGNITIVE MALADJUSTMENT

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ABSTRACT. *This article studies misunderstanding as a key factor in identifying the psychological basis of interactional cognitive maladjustment. The study focuses on the linguistic strategies to avoid pragmatic misunderstanding employed in conversations in Spanish and English and between native and non-native speakers of English. In particular, we analyze the use of pragmatic markers as adaptive management to avoid misunderstanding in conversation. Through the classification of pragmatic markers as rhetorical or overt, we study the distribution and use of each type of pragmatic marker and the implementation of pragmatic markers, with the lexical and intonational implications in cross-linguistic conversation for the adaptive Management of misunderstanding.*

Keywords: Pragmatic markers, adaptive management, intonation, understanding, intercultural communication, maladjustment.

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¿(NO) COMPRENDES LO QUE TE QUIERO DECIR? ESTRATEGIAS PRAGMÁTICAS PARA EVITAR LA MALA ADAPTACIÓN COGNITIVA

RESUMEN. *El presente artículo analiza la falta de comprensión como elemento clave en la identificación de la ausencia de adaptación cognitiva en la interacción. El estudio se centra en las estrategias lingüísticas que evitan la falta de comprensión pragmática en conversaciones en lengua inglesa y española, y en la conversación entre hablantes nativos y no nativos de inglés. En concreto, analizamos el uso de los marcadores pragmáticos como elementos de gestión adaptativa para evitar la falta de comprensión. Mediante la clasificación de los marcadores pragmáticos en retóricos o explícitos, estudiamos la distribución y uso de cada marcador pragmático y su implementación, teniendo en cuenta las implicaciones léxicas y entonativas de la conversación entre hablantes de diferentes lenguas maternas a la hora de adaptar la falta de comprensión.*

Palabras clave: Marcadores pragmáticos, gestión adaptativa, entonación, comprensión, comunicación intercultural.

Received 18 January 2011
Revised version accepted 13 June 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

Conversation can be described as a habitual social activity in which participants choose to share thoughts, ideas and feelings with others. The description of conversation with a prominent orientation towards the analysis of the formal features related to its structure has attracted many scholars for the past 35 years, as described for instance by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) and other conversation analysts. In more recent times, a second approach has tried to decipher the cognitive relationship between cognitive processes and meaning, as for example in the works by Panther and Thornburg (1998), Ponterotto (2000), and others. The present study proposes a third approach that focuses on the role of the cognitive component insofar as it justifies the verifiable correct transmission of knowledge through linguistic data. This third approach will try to describe the psychological status of interaction behind the speakers' turns through the study of misunderstanding as a key factor to identify interactional cognitive maladjustment.

The notion of misunderstanding has been traditionally linked to the lack of semantic adequacy in the emission or reception of the content of a message. This phenomenon, denominated 'semantic misunderstanding', has been the subject of study by conversation analysis who have delved into this phenomenon and into its corresponding solution often described as repair strategies (Schegloff *et al.* 1977). However, there is another type of conversational breakdown that we shall

call "pragmatic misunderstanding". "Pragmatic misunderstanding" can be defined as the distance between the pragmatic expectations of the recipient of a message and the actual pragmatic force of that message.

Pragmatic misunderstanding is conceived in our description as an anomalous result in the communication process that mars or disrupts the structural fluency of the interaction but is not definite in its impossibility to re-route the mutual understanding of the participants. As mentioned above, some solutions to the appearance of semantic misunderstanding have been described through the concept of "repair", although sometimes the pervasive use of this notion has led scholars to take for granted that repair is an unavoidable, all purposeful, and universal phenomenon in conversation, as Power & Dal Martello (1986) have criticized.

The aim of this study is to focus on the linguistic strategies to avoid pragmatic misunderstanding employed in casual conversations in Spanish, in English, and between native and non-native speakers of English. The study will describe the types of misunderstandings, the levels of language at which it exists, and how and when pragmatic markers participate in the repair cycle and become essential elements to avoid pragmatic misunderstanding.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Grice's description of the Cooperative Principle in which he states that linguistic exchanges are "cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction" (1975:49-50) is possibly the best starting point to illustrate the importance of the correct meaning transmission in a conversational exchange. However, even while following the cooperative maxims or rather submaxims, quantity, quality, relation and manner, a breakdown in communication may occur and the speaker must enact a strategy in order to repair, or preferably avoid, the misunderstanding through a pragmatic strategy. Theoretically, the strategies employed to manage pragmatic misunderstanding respond to the philosophical underpinnings of misunderstanding itself, specifically, how the misunderstanding arose and who can or will recognize the misunderstanding and initiate the repair. Misunderstandings arise due to multiple linguistic (phonological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic) and non-linguistic (contextual, cultural) reasons and many studies have delved into their classification, even with emphasis on the interaction across cultures (House 2000).

This study emphasizes a prior stage and analyses the circumstances that surround the speaker's awareness of how his/her contribution can avoid pragmatic misunderstanding. Therefore, pragmatic misunderstanding constitutes an earlier

moment in the process of miscommunication between speaker and hearer than the more traditional notions in the study of cross-cultural communication of "pragmatic error" (Riley 1989), or "pragmatic failure" (Thomas 1983). In fact, from our perspective pragmatic misunderstanding is less onerous for the interactional fluency of a conversation than 'pragmatic error', which leads to an incorrect assumption about the pragmatic status of the message, or 'pragmatic failure', which implies a complete breakdown in the social liaison between the speakers.

Pragmatic misunderstandings occur in all types of conversations, also between native speakers of the same language, and do not necessarily need to be explained in terms of cultural gaps, but in relation to the cognitive processing of information. Obviously, this processing requires different strategies depending on the interlocutor as regards age, cultural background, sex, ethnic origin, mother tongue, etc. but it is interesting to notice how often speakers of the same language and background fall in the trap of pragmatic misunderstanding even more easily than speakers of different languages and origins. In this sense, we could argue that pragmatic misunderstanding is sometimes the result of habit or lack of attention rather than a question of cultural impairment or linguistic deficiency.

In a classical study Dascal (1999: 754) states that misunderstanding is "a communicative phenomenon typically belonging to reception, occurring at the semantic-pragmatic layers of communication, having to do with incorrectness rather than with non-ethical behavior and being involuntary". This implies that misunderstanding is ubiquitous, and so are the mechanisms employed to repair misunderstanding. Theoretically, according to Dascal (op.cit.), misunderstanding is almost always immediately detected and then repaired. In a second stage, when a misunderstanding remains unresolved after several turns, it is then labeled miscommunication as described in Weigand's words: a "breakdown in communication caused by sustained misunderstanding" (cf. Dascal 1999: 754).

The point at stake once miscommunication occurs is how to manage the situation and we can find different accounts to this problem. For Trognon and Saint-Dizier, misunderstanding management is a "trouble-shooting process...recognized, and resolved...[within] the framework of their 'interlocutionary' approach" (Dascal 1999: 754-755), while Bazzanella and Damiano (1999: 818) prefer to focus on the management of misunderstanding by naming the levels of linguistic repair as phonetic, syntactic, lexical, semantic and pragmatic. Their research studies the repair of misunderstanding in terms of the formal aspects of the process: the author of the repair; the phases of negotiation; the collocation of the repair; linguistic and non-linguistic understanding.

From a theoretical perspective, we find two approaches on the relationship between misunderstanding and communication: the linguistic and the discourse-philosophical. The first is more concerned with the down-to-earth linguistic and

conversational approach to misunderstanding, as proposed by Dascal (1999) who distinguishes four potential elements in the analysis of misunderstanding:

1. Production versus reception misunderstanding.
2. The linguistic 'layer' or 'level' of misunderstanding, which includes lexical semantics, stylistic choices, and pragmatics.
3. The social norms on which the evaluation of misunderstanding is based.
4. Involuntary versus voluntary misunderstanding. (Dascal 1999: 753-754)

On the other extreme we can find the discourse-philosophical approaches to this phenomenon, as for example Garand (2009: 473) who concludes that misunderstanding is not an accident of local communication but rather an inherent feature of dialogue. Garand (2009: 474) departs from Habermas' ethical premise of communication based on the principle that any conversation presupposes a desire to establish consensus. Garand's study, which uses a socio-philosophical approach to the "I" and "We" in conversation, like Weizman (1999), focuses on that misunderstanding that degenerates into conflict. Garand studies elements of conversation that may be influenced by intent (enunciation, for example), thus disrupting the Cooperative Principle or the Habermasian idea of pursuit of consensus. Garand's study extends a step beyond our study, which focuses on ways to avoid misunderstandings when they unintentionally occur.

A middle way between both models can be found in Schegloff (1987: 202), who states that since languages are built for effortless understanding, communication between people who belong to different communities or different cultural backgrounds will encounter misunderstandings, and this type of conversation will lead to non-standard misunderstanding. Also, Weigand (1999: 764-66) discusses four possibilities of misunderstanding as non-standard cases in communication: the cross-cultural case, communication as miscommunication (as in the origin of arguments and disputes), and misunderstanding in a harmonious model that builds content on this phenomenon (as humorous interactions).

In the same vein, Moeschler (2004: 50) uses a cognitive approach to study non-standard cases of misunderstanding, specifically intercultural misunderstanding. Moeschler believes that within intercultural communication the greatest risk of misunderstanding comes when the non-native speaker has a strong mastery of the primary language in the interaction, as the native speaker will assume that the non-native speaker also has the cultural grounding of the language. Using the ostensive-inferential approach of Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Relevance Theory, Moeschler examines how misunderstanding occurs in various intercultural settings. The assumptions of native speakers and the pragmatic implications of their conversations with non-native speakers result in misunderstanding.

This is precisely one of the sections of our study in which we will examine how pragmatic markers are used in intercultural communicative cases to repair misunderstanding.

3. ADAPTIVE MANAGEMENT: A MODEL TO PREVENT PRAGMATIC MISUNDERSTANDING

Although the models presented above account for the main features of misunderstanding and repair, we believe that they mainly focus on the origin, behaviour and results of misunderstanding from a linguistic, cultural and even philosophical stance, but little is said about the role of misunderstanding prevention in the course of communication. In our model, this function is realized by "Adaptive Management" (Romero-Trillo 2007, Romero-Trillo and Maguire 2011) as it guarantees the functioning of conversation through self-organization to avoid systemic breakdown. Adaptive Management has been defined as "the capacity of a speaker to adapt the grammatical, lexical and pragmatic parameters of discourse through a series of remedial elements and through a principled process, in order to comply with the demands of a new cognitive stage in a conversation via a cognitive standardised process" (Romero-Trillo 2007: 83).

In other words, we believe that there is no such question as pragmatic failure in communication when the linguistic code is shared, but a process of adaptation that guides the cognitive –and therefore the linguistic– management of a concept until understanding is complete. In this model, the concepts flow through the structure of the message aided by some linguistic elements whose behaviour aims at threading the interactional network on which the cognitive process hangs and moves forward.

Although several linguistic elements can act in the process of Adaptive Management, this article will concentrate on Pragmatic Markers as basic elements that speakers use to avoid pragmatic misunderstanding.

In the classification of Pragmatic Markers in Adaptive Management we can find two types of discourse behaviour: Overt and Rhetorical.

- Overt Pragmatic Markers: "do you know what I mean?"; they explicitly seek to maintain interaction through cognitive metalinguistic verification.
- Rhetorical Pragmatic Markers: "you know, you see, I mean"; they do not require a response from the listener and take correct cognitive reception for granted, they seek rapport in what Romero-Trillo (2001) calls the Sympathetic Circularity Function.

(Romero-Trillo 2007:84-85)

Overt and rhetorical Markers will be used in everyday discourse for different purposes and with different statistical representation. However, the distribution of overt versus rhetorical in Spanish and English language users, and additionally in comparison with the usage in conversation between native and second-language learners, magnifies the difference in usage and purpose of these two types of markers. This is concomitant with Aijmer's conclusions on the effects of mis-use of pragmatic markers by non-native speakers which are "less significant but certainly far less easy to resolve than the incorrect use of a content word" (cf. Hansen 1998: 199).

Pragmatic Markers are, then, the primary focus of the strategies to avoid misunderstanding as they serve to mould the cognitive stance of the speaker-hearer relationship according to the pragmatic force of an utterance in a given context. In the Adaptive Management model, Pragmatic Markers function in a triangulation fashion in which the addressor, addressee and the message are in continuous feedback that is essential in the orientation of the cognitive processing of the addresser (the production processing) and addressee (the reception processing) as well as in the textual processing of the message itself as an individual entity (Romero-Trillo, in press).

The examples were selected from the *'Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA)', the London Lund Corpus, and the LINDSEI Corpus, as well as conversations recorded between native English speakers and second-language proficient speakers of English[1].

4. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

As mentioned above, the distinction between Overt and Rhetorical Pragmatic Markers is related to intonation (question vs. statement pitch movement) as an indicator of the possibility given to the addressee to respond to the marker. In other words, Overt Markers give the recipient the power to judge the processability of the message by responding to the confirmation posed by the marker. Usually, this possibility is only practised in the case of misunderstanding, while silence or feedback signals are symptomatic of the correct reception of the message (Romero-Trillo 2001).

4.1 NATIVE SPANISH EXAMPLES

The Overt Markers selected for Spanish are '*¿Me entiendes?*' (do you understand) and '*¿Me explico?*' (Do I explain myself?). Both look similar but trigger different impressions on the speaker. The former, '*¿Me entiendes?*', can be classified as a Face

[1] The corpora have been selected because of their representative value in the sociolinguistic data that the authors wanted to investigate.

Threatening Act (Brown and Levinson 1987) directed to the addressee to check if Adaptive Management is necessary. Often this is characteristic of unbalanced conversation in terms of power relations, but also we have noticed it appears in the speech of speakers unaware of politeness strategies who believe that lack of understanding is always a fault of the addressee's. The other expression, '*¿Me explico?*' is always considered more polite as it mainly puts the responsibility of the hypothetical misunderstanding on the speaker and a negative answer would not be so face threatening.

In fact, the typical basic form *¿Me explico?* is the only one that appears in the interrogative form as in the following example:

- *Alguna acción en la cual haya sido inconsecuente,* ***¿me explico?*** *Entonces tenemos que pensar tenemos…*
  (Any action in which I have been inconsistent, do you understand what I mean? So we have to think...)

However, the corresponding Face Threatening forms '*¿Entiendes?*' (do you understand?) offers more variation as an indicator of how different politeness strategies might be used depending on the situation. We can differentiate between those questions in which there is the personal pronoun 'me' as an object, which suggests a more emotional approach, for example in the ubiquitous *'¿Me entiendes?'* (do you understand me?):

- *para mi hija. Claro, eso sí supongo que* ***¿Me entiendes?*** *Testigo y fruto de esa Exacto. Unión…*
  (for my daughter. Yes, I suppose so, do you understand what I mean? Witness and as a result of this, exactly, Union...)

And the neutral form:

- *estado volando también el plan de las municipales,* ***¿entiendes?*** *O sea que Yo he ido también en esa dirección.*
  (flying in the municipal plan, understand? So I've gone in that direction.)

And the same with the Direct Object that refers to the content of the message:

- *bambú, borla borla, borla borla, bambú bambú.* ***¿Lo entiendes?*** *Bambú bambú, borla borla, borla borla…*
  (bambú, borla borla, borla borla, bambú bambú. Do you understand it? Bambú bambú, borla borla, borla borla...)

There are interesting combinations that tone down the force of the message by taking for granted the understanding but are followed after a slight pause by the equivalence to a question tag with rising intonation.

- *días y y y te la daré ya toda completa". **Me entiendes, ¿no?** Y, tengo, pues pues equipos había...*
  (days and I'll give it to you all together." You understand me, right? And I have, well, the teams had...)

Also, there are also combinations that include the personal approach and the emphatic metalinguistic comment to what is being said:

- *en esta casa no entra ni mi padre ni mi madre, **¿me entiendes lo que te digo?** ¿Por qué? Porque mi madre e...*
  (Neither my father nor my mother comes to this house, do you understand what I'm saying? Why? Because my mother is...)
- ***¿entiendes lo que te quiero decir?** O sea, yo no es que...*
  (Do you understand what I'm trying to say? Or, it's not that...)

What unites all these markers is that in the majority of cases the recipients of the message do not respond to the questions. In other words, the speakers choose these markers to prevent misunderstanding and emphasize their polite (or less polite) attitude towards the addressee before any communication breakdown takes place.

In the case of rhetorical markers we find combinations that are shared by both '*explico*' and '*entiendes*' forms. This is an interesting fact because these kinds of markers do not depend so much on politeness or on questions related to the emotional state of the participants. This is reflected linguistically in their affirmative intonation contour, as they do not trigger any response or feedback in the addressee and allows the speaker to continue with the development of the message. In fact, most of these rhetorical devices are often used to reformulate a concept or idea. In other words, we can say that they are more semantically oriented.

The typical combinations for '*explico*' are the following:

- *¡Bueno! Pues esta cubeta tiene una restricción, **me explico**, quiere decir de que tú cuando abres la el...*
  (Good! Well, this cell has a restriction, what I mean is, I want to say that when you open the...)
- *por qué siguen? Bueno, están curados... **a ver si me explico**, están curados físicamente.*

(why continue? Well, they are cured, what I mean is, they are physically cured.)

- *los caballos de batalla hoy mayor.* ***Voy a ver si me explico****. Sí, cortito. Me dice Iñaki que muy corto.*
  (The workhorses from today were older. Let me see if I explain. Yes, short. Iñaki said very short.)
- *arriba Quizás te impide continuar.* ***No sé si me explico****. Sí, absolutamente, se encasilla le encas ** ---*
  (above may prevent you from continuing. I don't know if I'm being clear. Yes, absolutely, it's classified---)
- *persona y no te has dado cuenta de ella****. No sé si me explico, quiero decirte****. Sí, sí, es decir, la...*
  (person and you have not been aware of her. I don't know if you understand, I want to say, yes, yes, to say, the...)

The Rhetorical combinations for '*entiendes*' are the following:

- *era, ¿me entiendes? porque a lo mejor* ***no sé si me entiendes*** *lo que te quiero decir, Tere. Es un niño ta...*
  (was, do you understand? Because, I don't know if you understand what I'm trying to say, Tere. It's a boy, ta...)
- *tapón, que igual está flojo. Eso es,* ***a ver si me entiendes****, yo no tengo la culpa de si la botella imp...*
  (stopper, which is equally weak. That is, let's see if you understand me, that it's not my fault if the bottle imp...)

To sum up, Spanish mainly uses two Pragmatic Markers to initiate repair prevention in the process of Adaptive Management: '*explico*' and '*entiendes*' and a plethora of variants such as *'ya me entiendes, a ver si me entiendes, si es que me entiendes'*, etc... Both kernel forms can appear in the overt and rhetorical function, although the overt is perceived as more direct and even aggressive in some cases.

4.2. NATIVE ENGLISH EXAMPLES

The first interesting fact is that English does not favour the use of lexically transparent elements to indicate understanding. After a search in the English London-Lund Corpus (consisting of 50,000 words) we did not find any instances of pragmatic markers that resemble the Spanish expressions presented above, even with semi-literal translations such as: 'am I making myself clear?/do I make myself clear?', or of anything near to 'Am I explaining myself?/do I explain myself?'.

English seems to prefer the discourse markers 'you know', 'you see' (addressee-oriented) and 'I mean' (speaker-oriented), to start Adaptive Management. What is important to notice is that the elements with 'you' can appear with a rising, level or falling intonation, while the 'I' marker mostly appears with falling or level contour (rhetorical function), and with interrogative contour only in marginal cases (2.22% of the markers in the London-Lund Corpus). This is interesting in comparison with the Spanish examples because it shows that the enactment of Adaptive Management does not question the validity of the speaker, but rather puts the weight of the responsibility of understanding on the addressee. In other words, the communication process in this respect is more a question of correct understanding than of accurate explanation.

Here follow some examples of 'I mean' from the London-Lund Corpus with three possible tones: falling (\), rising (/) and level (=):

- A ^how !easily 'taken /in# /
  B ^[\m]# /
  A **I ^m/ean**# . /
  A to ^have a 'student 'come to you and [s] - ((oh)) /
- B ^I`ve been cam!p\aigning for th/at# /
  B for ^several !y\ears n/ow# /
  B and in ^\any _case {**I ^m\ean**#}# . /
  B ^why !!sh\ould we {^test the two things /
- B well it`s ^sort of !t\oo . ^y\es# /
  B *it`s* /
  A ***I* ^m=ean**# /
  A it ^would _be a 'bit 'out of !pl\ace *s/omehow#* /

What is important in the behaviour of 'I mean' is that even in the cases when it appears with rising intonation it does never hint at the possibility of receiving an answer, in other words, rising tone does not realise the overt function for this pragmatic marker.

It is also interesting that sometimes 'I mean' appears without tone, what Romero-Trillo (1994) described as tone 0. This 'tone' appears at the end of a tone group and indicates lack of expectancy of response from the addressee.

- B *^((th\at`s 'not b/ad#))* /
  A *but ^where* . it`s ^so !b\ig {\isn`t 'it#}# /
  B it`s ^gi!g\antic {^\isn`t *it#*}# /
  B ((**I ^mean**)) /

Perhaps this lack of specificity in its function as an overt marker makes it prone to appear in combination with any of the other two markers, 'you know, you see', to acquire this function (a resource that does not appear in Spanish). We can say that there is a cumulative rhetorical effect that merges the addressee-oriented and speaker-oriented Adaptive Management strategy, as in the following example:

- B at [dhi] . the !l\iterature# - /
  B **I mean you know** the ^actual !st\atements# -
  B [@:m] I ^don`t think they`ve . they :ever in :fact /

The examples with 'you see' also show that this marker can appear with the four possible intonation contours (rising, falling, level, and 0), with the interesting fact that the use of the marker in the overt function can be followed by the answer of the interlocutor certifying that understanding is correct as in the following example. This obviously contrasts with the previous use of the rising tone by 'I mean' that does not function as a true overt Adaptive Management element:

- B or ^tw\o we`ve *got on th/ere#* /
  B **^you s/ee**# /
  A ***^yes !I s\ee#*** . /
  A ^y=es#

As mentioned above, 'you see' with the Rhetorical function can appear with tone 0, as in:

- A but ^only from :Kyd \onwards# /
  A so that **you see** I ^didn`t even do :\any {^Old /
  A \English#}# /

Or with falling and level tones, as in the following examples:

- A but ^n\o# /
  A **^you s\ee** '[@:m]# . /
  A [@] ^n/\o# /
- B ((you know [@m])) ^v/\ery 'few 'women# /
  B [@m] . **^you s=ee**# /
  B ^women :d\/entists# /

Although all tones are possible with the marker 'you see', it is important to mention that there is a prevalence of the use of this marker with the Overt function, 44.83% of the cases, which indicates a specialization in the distribution and the interrogative resonance that it might create in the speakers.

The case of 'you know' is similar to 'you see', in as far as it can appear with the Overt function, as in the example below:

- A he was ^sitting in a :c\/orner# /
  A ^y\es# /
  A and [@m] . **you ^kn/ow**# /
  A ^came up and 'intro!d\/uced him'self# - /

And with the Rhetorical function:

- A ^this 'is a v\ery 'bad th/ing# /
  A **you ^kn\ow** I . but ^n/\obody# /
  A could do ^/\anything {a^b/\out it#}# /
- B which ^have to b=e# - /
  B **you ^kn=ow**# /
  B ^put into :w\ood# /

As in the case of 'you see', this marker shows a preference for the Overt function, with 63.2% of the cases.

4.3. ENGLISH NATIVE SPEAKERS IN CONVERSATION WITH SPANISH SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

After the description of the mechanism of Adaptive Management in the prevention of misunderstanding by native speakers of Spanish and English, our article now focuses on the mixed interactions in English with native and non-native speakers. The first interesting observation is that in our data most of the pragmatic markers used to are overt (87.5%). This gives a first hint as to the characteristics of this type of interaction: speakers are afraid of misunderstanding and use clear signals to verify the correct reception of the message. The use of comprehension questions in Adaptive Management tend to disrupt the rhythm of the conversation as there are frequent changes of the speaker at points that would not be necessary if native speakers were participating in the conversation. This also creates a sense of insecurity in the non-native speakers if native speakers at some point may choose to keep the habitual pace in turn-taking with much fewer confirmation checks.

Also, most examples reproduce full-fledged lexical expressions with accurate questions such in the following example:

- A: People will live on tiny little houses on the beach, and young people will come to work on the beach more or in restaurants, or work on the ferry. **Do you know what a ferry is**?
  B: Yeah, like a ship.

Or in other cases, given the fact that one part of the message was not understood, and in fact was assumed as being clear by the speaker, what we have is a correction request by the addressee and then a lexical explanation that, in any case, contains another comprehension check:

- A: And we were able to talk about Christmas Carols and Caroling and vocabulary and—
  B: And who?
  A: Caroling—it's the verb, for Christmas Carol…you can make a verb, like singing, but singing carols. It's called Caroling.
  B: Uhm.
  A: Do you know what carols are?
  B: No.
  A: Christmas songs. The songs you sing at Christmas are called Carols.
  B: They call them carols?
  A: Yes. So, caroling is singing the song.
  B: Ah, I didn't know what. I didn't know that.

In this type of mixed interactions Adaptive Management is rarely realized by any of the typical pragmatic markers used in native speaker interactions ('I mean, you see, you know'), but it is managed through clear expressions that are semantically transparent and, as the interlocutor is linguistically disadvantaged, there are not usually concerns about face threatening situations:

- A: Why? Why? And the other 30 minutes?
  R: **The idea is that you should be guiding the class…do you understand?**
  Guiding the class?
  A: Yeah.
  R: Guiding the class, more than just talking to them.

In fact, we have examples of direct requests for clarification by the non-native speaker, as in

- A: Rapids, like a rapid? Ok...
  B: **Explain to me?**
  A: Are you kidding? **Do you know what a rapid is?**

Or in the following cases in which the first request, 'sorry', is not considered and the listener has to formally confess lack of understanding:

- A: do you think she'll give him a tip?
  B: **sorry**
  A: do you think she'll give him a tip
  B: **I don't understand you sorry**
  A: do you think that she will give the painter a tip for such a good painting

And:

- A: so you just went to visit pretty much
  B: **sorry**
  A: you just went to visit pretty much right
  B: **I... I don't understand**
  A: [you just went to visits . like ah . a vacation
  B: yes . yes

It is interesting to notice that in these last examples the word 'sorry' is uttered by the Spanish speakers as an Adaptive Management signal to indicate lack of understanding, however, the native speakers in both cases interpret that there has been a lack of perception of the message, not of the content, so the non-natives have to resort to the very clear 'I don't understand' to ask for clarification.

These examples show that Adaptive Management to avoid misunderstanding between native and non-native speakers of English takes place mainly at the lexical level and is activated not through pragmatic markers but through repetitions or clear requests for clarification. In some cases, the words that may cause confusion are vocabulary words that the learner may not have learned or has forgotten due to underuse, e.g., 'rapid', or 'carol', or with concepts such as 'tipping', which is much more prevalent in the United States than in Spain. In most cases, the giver of information recognizes immediately which word or term is causing confusion and uses various techniques, starts Adaptive Management and avoids misunderstanding.

Sometimes the native speakers resort to metalinguistic tools to start Adaptive Management, as in the following examples:

- A: Discourse. Discourse is sort of like, uhm, not sure of the exact definition but it's sort of like what people talk about, but the meaning behind what people talk about. **Do you know what I mean?** It's kind of like the discourse of a society.
  B: OK.
- A: So, Spain, "We're all White, there's no Moorish blood, we're all Catholic," **you know what I mean.** So a lot of nations are built upon a certain discourse, the US, "We're all free…,"

In the case of the non-native speakers it is very important to mention that they do not generally use Adaptive Management in any form that may resemble the Spanish markers. In fact, they try to imitate the way native speakers speak to them when they use Adaptive Management resources, sometimes mirroring the way they are addressed for clarification, as in the following examples:

- definitely I mean it must be really hard to know that . to be that age and still . be ready to like . I don't know die some day so <laughs> . but em .. I don't know maybe if they did know they could prevent .. giving it to anybody else . **you know what I'm saying** <\A>

Or,

- And uhm, you think they are so rejected? Actually? Or is more the way they feel, because they maybe they are…, they feel, how do you say that? Away too long from home? **Do you understand what I mean?**

We have seen that most of the times non-natives try to imitate the way native speakers use Adaptive Management between themselves, as in:

- I learnt . that eh you can't pretend . to be what you're not . **I mean** you can't you can't pretend . being . twenty-two . when you are twenty-nine . **you know** you . well I'm already I'm . I've been twenty-nine . on the fourth of April so it's not so <begins laugh> so terrible yet <ends laugh>

And in the following interaction between a native speaker (A) and a non-native (B):

- B: but you feel better because you .. you see them . laugh and you see them . **you know** go out of their .. of their . environment .. because it's .. it's horrible some of them come from broken . families or

A: mhm
B: just .. **you know** horrible things like that so
B: and we decided to do something . **you know** for . just to . to make some other people happy **you know** they get really tired and . they they miss their homes but <\B>

It is also remarkable that non-native speakers sometimes use a combination of markers, as native speakers do, although the cumulative elements in most of the cases are redundant, as opposed to the 'I mean' with another marker that is used to make this marker functionally overt, as explained above. The reason may be that, contrary to Spanish, Adaptive Management in these cases is more 'pragmatic' in its realization while in Spanish is more 'lexical', i.e., more transparent:

- B: and s= because he thinks he is going to resurrect or something like that . but. the the even the end of the of the of the film you expect it . you . you know what's going to happen and . everything . there's a the . the the the the wife of the of the of Christopher Lambert . eh you know that's going something is going to happen to her <laughs> **you see** ... **you know** what I mean em em em.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The results of our study show that English and Spanish show different strategies for Adaptive Management to avoid misunderstanding. In fact, the study confirms that Spanish uses more lexically-based pragmatic markers while English makes more use of pragmatic strategies based on intonation parameters (Romero-Trillo and Newell: forthcoming).

The study has also shown that overt and rhetorical markers have different functions in conversation and that this difference is especially clear in English, in which most of the uses of the markers 'you know' and 'you see' are overt (interrogative), and that the 'I mean' examples are mainly rhetorical. This dissociation is not so clear in Spanish, which seems to prefer rhetorical markers to start Adaptive Management.

This balance is disrupted in mixed English conversations by native and non-native speakers as in this case the natives abandon pragmatic markers for Adaptive Management and resort to repetitions, clarifications, and transparent comprehension checks that disrupt the pace of the conversation and make interaction almost infantile, especially when the concepts that need explanation are lexical. We can say that it is not the Adaptive process itself but its realization that becomes dense. This contrasts with the behaviour of non-natives who try to emulate native

speakers in their Adaptive Management and use pragmatic markers almost native-like. The result of this unbalanced combination between native speakers who behave 'uvuncularly' and non-natives who do their best to sound native-like is an interaction with disruptive rhythm that loses freshness and pragmatic vigour. In general terms, according to our results we think that there is a challenge for native speakers to predict and manage misunderstanding prevention when they engage in conversation with non-native speakers to create a cognitive scenario that portrays authentic interaction and information management.

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REVIEWS

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 245-250

LINDE LÓPEZ, ÁNGELES AND CRESPO JIMÉNEZ, ROSALIA (EDS.). 2010. *PROFESSIONAL ENGLISH IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT: THE EHEA CHALLENGE.* BERN: PETER LANG. 374 PP.

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This book came to light in the year just when, following the Bologna Process agenda, the new European Higher Education Area (EHEA) was officially launched in the universities in Europe. It was the Bologna Declaration, back in 1999 that set in motion a number of reforms to make Higher Education in Europe more competitive, comparable and coherent. For more than a decade now, European universities have adopted significant changes in order to meet these requirements. The field of Professional English, or English for Specific Purposes (ESP), directly addresses these demands derived from the Bologna Process. Indeed, the increasing significance and interest in relation to ESP is a direct consequence of the new product-oriented higher education system, as well as of our modern globalized society where English has become the lingua franca in most professional and commercial activities. The present volume seeks in many ways to address this undeniably relevant and up-to-date issue.

Skillfully edited by Linde López and Crespo Jiménez, *Professional English in the European Context: the EHEA Challenge* is a collection of contributions that deal with practical and theoretical aspects of ESP teaching and research in higher education, with a special emphasis on how this academic field has to adjust in order to meet the requirements derived from the implementation of the European Higher Education Area. The book aims not only to present a variety of contexts

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and areas of ESP practice and theory, but also to become a "reference and guidance" (10) for those engaged in this challenging task, by providing practical suggestions and indications.

The book is divided into three sections preceded by an introduction by one of the editors. The introduction, written in an engaging manner, is an enlightening section that sets the stage for the chapters to follow. The editor, first of all, briefly brings out the major changes that the implementation of the EHEA demands in higher education. The modern view that "universities are no longer regarded merely as knowledge-oriented institutions, but as more pragmatically product-oriented as well" (9) has brought along enormous changes that range from appropriate curricula and effective instructional techniques to management and financial issues. Universities across Europe now face the challenge to meet these changes. Then, the author devotes a few pages to presenting an overview of the field of ESP including the current controversy surrounding the very name and scope of ESP itself. Whether it should be termed ESP (English for Specific/Special Purposes), EAP (English for Academic Purposes) or EPP (English for Professional Purposes), and whether such courses should include general English are some of the matters that certainly determine the line that this field is following at the moment and, even more precisely, what an ESP course might consist of. As Linde López states, this question "stimulates many focuses of debate with respect to the role of methodology, curriculum design or material design, to mention but a few" (11), which highlights the relevance, significance and promising state of the field in the present academic landscape. This introduction finishes with a section that summarizes and justifies the organization of the book.

The fourteen contributions that comprise *Professional English in the European Context: the EHEA Challenge* are organized in three sections, namely "Issues in ESP Approaches", "Specialized Language Analyses" and "ESP Students' Perceptions, Attitudes and Motivation". The chapters in each of the sections are relatively self-contained, thus allowing the potential reader to focus on the specific field of Professional English they are interested in. Complete lists of references are also provided at the end of each chapter, together with web directions of some relevant online resources at the end of some of them.

Section I includes four contributions. First, Bernardini, Ferraresi and Gaspari in "Institutional academic English in the European context: a web-as-corpus approach to comparing native and non-native language" focus on Italian university websites to analyze and compare the characteristics of institutional English in this academic context. They identify some drawbacks and some aspects that may be improved in order to make Italian university websites more competitive in the new EHEA. Next, "Learner perceptions of online collaboration across cultures: using Wikis in ESP courses in Portugal and in Sweden" by Kuteeva, moves to these other two

countries to offer a comparative study showing the use of wikis as a platform for collaborative writing tasks in Business English courses. In the third contribution, "Teaching and research in Business English: a descriptive approach to the Spanish context", Felices Lago provides the reader with a detailed account of the present situation of Business and Economic English teaching and research in Spain, focusing on an analysis of the programmes of some courses and masters' degrees in Spanish institutions. By doing so, the author shows the current trends in this field in the Spanish context. Finally, Pérez Cañado's "Adapting professional English to the EHEA: the case of English for Tourism" illustrates the changes undertaken in the specific area of English for Tourism in the new degree in the University of Jaén in order to meet Bologna standards. These changes include not only objectives and methodology but also types of grouping, learning modalities, teacher and student coordination or evaluation.

Section II groups six contributions that address the study of Professional English genres and registers. To begin with, Balterio intends to bring to the fore the language of the textile industry, to which, the author claims, little attention has been paid, by analyzing the word-formation mechanisms at stake in this field. Her contribution, titled "Foreign words in the English of textiles" offers a detailed account of the variety of languages from which English has borrowed textile terminology, from Romance and Germanic languages to Afro-Asiatic, Sino-Tibetan or Eskimo languages. The second chapter in this section moves the focus of attention to the shipping industry. Bocanegra-Valle's contribution, "Global markets, global challenges: the position of Maritime English in today's shipping industry", highlights the relevance of conforming Maritime English teaching to the new globalized world, emphasizing how closely it is related to safety, efficient trading and optimal work performance in the increasingly frequent multilingual and multicultural crews (152). Next, Campos's study, "Going beyond the obvious in English for Legal Purposes: a few remarks on International Legal English as a Lingua Franca in Europe", explores some of the problems in Legal English teaching in Europe when it comes to the use of different linguistic varieties of legal English (England and the United States vs. European Union). In his view, courses, materials and methodology fail to present Legal English as a true lingua franca in the legal world. The next contribution, by Crespo Jiménez, is titled "Describing Science Texts: identifying multi-worded terms on the basis of their collocational behavior". The author shows the process of compiling a specialized corpus based on university textbooks in the field of engineering, part of a wider project. This *ad hoc* corpus, the author claims (195), seeks to become useful teaching material helping students in their reading comprehension process by offering collocates and multi-worded terms in this specialized field. The contribution by Pérez-Paredes, "Ontologies and the study of Legal English", turns our attention

again to the field of law. His contribution appeals for the use of ontologies as useful tools in Legal English teaching as they offer a wider, more complex and contextualized information of legal terms, as opposed to dictionary entries (236). The author surveys some already existing ontologies in this field. The final chapter in this section, "A three-level multidimensional approach to Aeroenglish: distinctive features and professional uses" by Sancho Guinda, explores the complex semiotic system that characterizes Aeronautical English. Her findings point to the fact that disciplinary codes are more than lexical technolets in the sense that they help create discursive communities. Particularly in the aeronautical sector, Sancho Guinda claims for a notable intra-communal diversity.

Finally, section III gathers four contributions that address issues of students' perceptions, attitudes and motivation in relation to a variety of ESP fields. The first chapter in this section is "An analysis of engineering students' perceptions after developing a collaborative technical writing project". Aguilar and Barahona report on the results of questionnaires administered to a group of engineering students enrolled on a technical writing communication course. Results showed that collaborative writing was highly valued by students and resulted in better group writing performance. Thus, as a kind of collaborative work, this type of projects should be promoted as part of EHEA methodology. Next, Linde López's "A study of perceptions of English interlanguage pragmatics in the ESP context" also reports on the results of two questionnaires administered to students in the fields of Business, Political Sciences, Labour Relations and Health Sciences with the aim of analyzing students' pragmatic knowledge in relation to apologies and requests. Results led the author to highlight the need to include the teaching of pragmatic aspects in ESP courses in order for students to successfully interact internationally. The third contribution in this section, "Motivation in English language learning for future use in a specific professional field" by Martínez Vela, uses the results of some questionnaires to design communicative exercises that can be motivating to technical students. Results brought out the contrast between the perceived low level of performance in English and the students' high desire to be communicatively competent. The communicative exercise designed, an oral presentation, proved to be very profitable and satisfactory. The third section finishes with an empirical study by Stephenson and Hewitt titled "Foreign language anxiety in Spanish students of English for Professional Purposes: its relationships with self-assessed levels, with expectations of success, and with actual performance in the four skills". As the title suggests, the authors sought to identify the connection between learners' anxiety and a number of variables, administering questionnaires and four exams to ESP learners. Higher levels of anxiety were usually connected with lower proficiency in the four skills and perception of poorer performance in the end-of-semester exams. Therefore, teachers of English in the ESP fields should create

positive students' self-perceptions of their level of English, thus lessening their language anxiety and, thus, improving and promoting language learning.

In terms of the book's organization, it is well structured and the style is clear. Text is illustrated and enriched, whenever necessary, with tables, charts and graphs that help visualize and understand the data presented by the authors. Such is the case, for example, of the contributions by Bernardini, Ferraresi and Gaspari, Pérez Cañado or Stephenson and Hewitt. In addition, the chapters by Kuteeva and by Pérez-Paredes include screenshots that show, in the chapter by Kuteeva, digital material, more precisely a wiki, designed by the author for a Business English course. On the other hand, Pérez-Paredes presents screenshots of other digital resources exploitable in Legal English instruction. Finally, some other chapters incorporate appendixes showing relevant material employed by the researchers during the investigation, such as course programs in Felices Lago's contribution, students' materials in the chapter by Martinez Vela, and questionnaires and assessment sheets in the contribution by Aguilar and Barahona. All these features are not superficial ornaments, but rather welcome and helpful elements that certainly make the volume more accessible and reader-friendly.

Although this is the first volume edited by Linde López and Crespo Jiménez on the new European Higher Education Area, both scholars have extensively researched and published in the field of ESP. They also have a long teaching experience in diverse areas of Professional English, both at undergraduate and graduate courses at the University of Granada. Similarly, the contributions selected to comprise the present volume are authored by scholars with a broad experience in the field.

A further strength of the book lies in the broad spectrum of ESP areas covered, either from a theoretical or practical view, ranging from tourism to the textile industry, from law and business to shipping trade and aviation, just to point out a few. Readers from the different fields of Professional English will most probably find at least one chapter directly addressing their focus of interest.

Though the editors claim to present an "overview of professional English in the current academic landscape in Europe" (10), the number of Spanish-based contributions and contributors highly outnumbers those from other parts of Europe. Out of fourteen contributions, only two of them are by authors based in countries other than Spain. Likewise, the teaching experiences presented basically portray the Spanish University, discussing and evaluating teaching practices and materials in the Universities of Murcia, Barcelona, Granada and Jaen. There are but three papers that deal with other academic contexts, namely those of Italy (the research carried out by Bernardini, Ferraresi and Gaspari), Portugal and Sweden (by Kuteeva), and England, apart from Spain (in the comparative analysis by Campos-Pardillos). Readers would have benefited from a more comprehensive

overview of higher education institutions all over the EHEA. This is nonetheless a minor shortcoming that should not detract from the fact that Linde López and Crespo Jiménez's volume is a valuable contribution to the field.

In addition, I should mention other minor problems that seem to be due to typographical and editing mistakes. For example, an extra "from" in "the word comes from ultimately from Russian" on p. 146, and more regrettably, the repetition of p. 373 in place of the corresponding contents for p. 371 which leaves the reader without valuable information about some of the contributors to the volume, specifically about Felices Lago, Ferraresi, Gaspari and Hewitt. In this sense, a more carefully revised second edition would be welcome.

On the whole, *Professional English in the European Context: the EHEA Challenge* is highly recommendable not only to understand the challenge that European University as a whole is facing at the moment, but also as a useful collection of empirical experiences for those engaged in ESP teaching. Hence, the book fully attains its goal of both presenting theoretical basis and practical experience on ESP in the new European Higher Education scenario as derived from the implementation of the Bologna process. It is a welcome and useful addition to the growing set of published materials on the new EHEA. Thus, it is unquestionably timely and pertinent.

Received version 15 September 2010
Revised version accepted 04 February 2011

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 251-255

ARMENGOL, JOSEP M. (ED.) (2011). *MEN IN COLOR: RACIALIZED MASCULINITIES IN U.S. LITERATURE AND CINEMA*. NEW CASTLE UPON TYNE: CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING. 171 PP.

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In *Men in Color,* editor Josep M. Armengol provides a worthwhile examination of the ways in which gender, race and ethnicity interact within the world of masculinities depicted in U.S. literature and film. Armengol believes that the analysis of literary and filmic representations of racialised masculinities is expanding rapidly, despite the fact that it is still considered a relatively new area of study when compared to other areas within the field of masculinity studies such as sociology or the psychology of gender and race: both of which have been explored at greater length. Armengol aims to be comprehensive and for this reason studies of various ethnicities are included, with white masculinity explored as just one more type amongst the many different masculinities that are analysed. However it should perhaps be noted that by organising the studies with those of white masculinity at the very end of the book, this particular topic has been given an emphasis – a focus that could have been avoided. The editor is rapidly becoming an authority within the field of masculinity studies, particularly within the United States, and his related work includes *Re/Presenting Men: Cultural and Literary Constructions of Masculinity in the U.S.* (2008), *Richard Ford and the Fiction of Masculinities* (2010) and *Debating Masculinity* (edited by Armengol in collaboration with Angels Carabí, 2009).

Men in Color consists of an introduction composed by Armengol and seven chapters by both male and female scholars. In his introduction, Armengol discusses

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This review has been sponsored by project API 11/04 (University of La Rioja, Banco Santander).

the academic gap that this book attempts to fill: previous works by other authors have focused on very specific types of ethnic masculinities, whereas this volume has a substantially wider scope. The remainder of the introduction is devoted to a brief summary of the various chapters and Armengol concludes his introduction by explaining that his book explores not only the differences between several ethnic masculinities, but also their similarities.

The first chapter is written by Aishih Wehbe-Herrera who, continuing on from the work of her doctoral thesis, analyses Chicana masculinity in Denise Chávez's *Loving Pedro Infante* (2001) and Ana Castillo's *Sapogonia* (1990). Wehbe-Herrera suggests that *Loving Pedro Infante* deals with the ideal of *el macho* by means of a dialogue which it employs to communicate between the world of cinema depicted in the novel and the real world. Both books are analysed with proficiency and the analyses, like the further analyses provided in this volume, serve not only as studies of the considered texts, but also as introductions to the relevant body of literature. Wehbe-Herrera does not comment on the psychological implications of the various quotations that she extracts from *Loving Pedro Infante*, however she does deal with the social implications of these quotations, and the ways in which they may be encountered in a society dominated by hegemonic masculinity. Her analysis of *Sapogonia* greatly benefits from interviewing Ana Castillo in March 2006 and May 2008 – Wehbe-Herrera considers that Castillo problematises Octavio Paz's (2007) views on the *macho* ideal. It is only as the chapter draws to an end that both novels are discussed in common: to conclude Wehbe-Herrera states that *machismo* as it is portrayed in both novels restricts men's choices of developing a more complete masculinity. Wehbe-Herrera textually analyses each novel very well, but further comparison between the two could have been made.

Chapter 2, written by Marta Bosch, is devoted to an analysis of post 9/11 representations of Arab masculinities by Arab American women. Bosch provides an interesting introduction to Arab masculinity and accounts for some of the most common stereotypes, for example the traditional depiction of Arab men as either effeminate or hyper-masculine. However, in some cases she offers widely held opinions without supporting those opinions with evidence. She analyses four novels: Laila Halaby's *West of Jordan* (2003) and *Once in a Promised Land* (2007), Alicia Erian's *Towelhead* (2005), and Frances Khirallah Noble's *The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy* (2007). To conclude, she states that pre 9/11 novels portray Arab men in a more negative way than post 9/11 novels.

Pedro Álvarez-Mosquera discusses the representation of male rappers as a source of masculinity in Chapter 3. Drawing on the fields of sociolinguistics and African American vernacular English, he highlights the importance of the social context in the formation of male identities. In order to demonstrate how the different groups of rappers speak and behave, he makes use of ethnographic

studies of teenagers. Interestingly, according to Álvarez-Mosquera, some white males who have no contact with African American people appropriate their language and behaviour in order to look 'cool'. He also compares two rap films; *8 Mile* (Hanson, 2002) and *Notorious* (Tillman Jr, 2009), the former centred on the white rapper Eminem and the latter on Notorious B.I.G., a black rapper. Álvarez-Mosquera approaches masculinity in these two films using four indicators: toughness, success with women, violence and language. The general conclusion he arrives at is that white rap, although rejected by some African Americans, is backed both by the music industry and by an important part of the American rap audience.

Chapter 4 is written by María Isabel Seguro and explores themes of citizenship, what it means to be American and Asian American masculinity through Chang-rae Lee's 1999 novel *A Gesture Life*. Seguro's work examines the problematic past of the Asian/Pacific War of 1932-1945 in which many Korean women became sexual slaves to the Japanese military (also known as "military comfort women" or *Jungun Ianfun* in Japanese). As Seguro underlines, the protagonist of the novel, Hata, who migrated from Japan to the USA in the 1960s and now owns a medical supply store, has to confront his actions during the war, and also recognise his Korean ethnicity as a part of his life in the United States. He fosters an orphan girl from Korea, an action which could be interpreted as a bid for redemption. Seguro understands the novel as a reflection on the importance of the family in the construction of society and the nation, as well as a reflection on the way immigrants were received by US institutions during this period.

Chapter 5, written by Deidre L. Wheaton, is devoted to an examination of minority-minority race relations in Paul Beatty's fiction, *The White Boy Shuffle* (1996) and *Tuff* (2000). Wheaton analyses "Black man-Black woman" relations and "Black-Japanese" relations (102-103) and believes it is possible to find stereotype reversals and cross-cultural substitutions in Beatty's deconstructions of black masculinity. In *The White Boy Shuffle* Wheaton explores how the male protagonist moves from a white Santa Monica suburb to a multiethnic West Los Angeles neighbourhood —he adapts to the new situation by becoming a basketball star with the help of his coach, who is a Japanese World War II internee, and of a Japanese mail-order bride. Wheaton describes the use of satire as a crucial element of the narrative, playing with the relations between African American and Asian American artistic and cultural elements. Both novels also use the reversal of stereotypes and literary tropes in order to critic racial authenticity. The chapter includes a very useful list of questions addressed to academics that may use Beatty's literature in their courses and Wheaton believes that Beatty's fiction will help students ponder current themes of African American literature, including racism and minority-minority relations.

Mercè Cuenca centres her sixth chapter on the deconstruction of white masculinity in Cold War American Literature between 1945 and 1965. Cuenca's starting point is the crisis of masculinity during the two decades under scrutiny as exemplified by quotations from John Steinbeck's *East of Eden* (1952) and Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963). Here she detects a gap between the real man and the idealised man who is male (biological sex), white and heterosexual, and who is expected to successfully fulfil the roles of heterosexual husband, breadwinner and father. According to Cuenca, the all-American myth of the self-made man was no longer in place during this early Cold War period. Society demanded a passive man who behaved himself at work and who followed consumerist trends. Cuenca argues that it was in literature —which is enjoyed privately unlike film, art, or music— that it became possible to find places for dissension. She locates those places more specifically in science-fiction and confessional poetry, both separated from the common life of Everyman. Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* (1953) is described as the first example of this trend; it depicts a protagonist who is both breadwinner and husband whose wish to reshape masculinity is described by Cuenca as similar women of the same period's wish to reshape femininity. Cuenca provides Anne Sexton and Sylvia Plath's poetic oeuvre as an example of how stable conceptions of womanhood and manhood were linguistically deconstructed in confessional poetry. Cuenca interprets their poems from a Focauldian perspective: the alternative linguistic space they construct is no longer fixed and immutable. She ends by proposing a re-visitation of this American literary history through the Focauldian belief that "ideological structures of power do not only inhibit discourse, but also produce it" (139).

The last chapter is designated to Sara Martín's discussion of the construction of white patriarchal villainy in the *Star Wars* saga. Martín is a master of the two fields she examines here, masculinity and film, and her analysis is evidence of this fact. She is very critical with the idea of a black Darth Vader, an idea that has arisen in part because his voice corresponds to James Earl Jones. She prefers to consider David Prowse, the white actor inside the black suit, and Sebastian Shaw, the white owner of Vader's sickly face as her Darth Vader. Interestingly she also points out that in Spain Vader has been dubbed by Constantino Romero – yet another white actor. Her main concern in the saga is patriarchy: "As a *white* woman, I need to acknowledge how my race privileges me but also how it makes me complicit with white racism (it does). As a *feminist*, *anti-patriarchal* woman, I need to expose the complicity of women of all races with patriarchal men of all races (sad but true); also, and foremost, I must stress that patriarchy is a more encompassing ideology than whiteness" (150). She aptly argues that Lucas wrote episodes I-III to make Vader look more pitiful.

When considering the book as one unit, it should be noted that although each contributor includes references to all the written works they mention, the edition lacks a general bibliography comprising all the works referred to in the various

chapters. More importantly, it also lacks an index at the end of the volume, a lack that is sadly common among works originating in Spain. Despite this criticism in my opinion this edition constitutes one of the best available introductions to the topic and its chapters could serve as a university syllabus; the books and films analysed would create a rich and varied reading and viewing list and the volume itself could become a textbook for any course exploring these subjects.

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Received version 16 April 2011
Revised version accepted 29 May 2011

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 257-262

HICKEY, RAYMOND (ED.) (2010). *EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH IDEOLOGY AND CHANGE.* CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS. 426 PP.

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Among the manuscripts by the Spanish "ilustrado" Leandro Fernández de Moratín at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Spain), readers fond of the eighteenth century can find a scrap of paper where the enlightened intellectual made timid, auto-didactic attempts to learn the English pronunciation with lists of words. Likewise, Gulliver found a way to design his own textbooks to learn the languages of the imaginary lands he visited. Most likely, Moratín and Gulliver were not aware of the fact that, as Raymond Hickey proves in his volume, the English language was undergoing a time of "linguistic insecurity" (20). Many processes involving grammarians, lexicographers, journalists, pamphleteers, publishers, and speakers resulted in major changes in the language that lasted to the beginning of the twentieth century. The edition by Hickey is a helpful source that covers a wide range of aspects to understand how ideas and attitudes hide in linguistic codes, in shifts that occur in syntax, in vocabulary, and in pronunciation.

One of the achievements of the book is to show that the label "prescriptive" –traditionally assigned to the eighteenth century– meant a complex process that involved people, marketing, and prejudices. It exposed social codes, moral values, gendered attitudes, and class awareness. Although the title of the book creates expectations around *Eighteenth century English*, Hickey and the rest of the authors have stretched the boundaries, considering –as the Preface clearly states that the period under analysis will be the so-called Late Modern English (roughly 1700-

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1900). This span of time adjusts to the margins that correspond to a significant area of Historical Linguistics studies and surpasses the boundaries of another expression, –"the long Eighteenth century"–, much used nowadays in areas related to Enlightenment literary criticism.

Stretching boundaries allows the different thematic sections of the book to cover processes occurring on the onset of the modern period. Many examples of the late seventeenth century are included. Joan Beal, for example, in chapter 2 ("Prescriptivism and the suppression of variation"), takes into account the lack of earlier explicit prescription of English pronunciation towards the change of a "good pronunciation", and proves that later, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the codification stage is established with variants being prescribed. Likewise, changes and continuities characteristic of the last period of these late modern English times are analysed. The careful and rigorous analysis in chapter 11 by Teresa Fanego ("Variation in sentential complements in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English: a processing-based explanation") proves changes affecting complement clauses and variations gradually taking place all along the nineteenth century and reaching present-day English. Yet, another chapter, Richard W. Bailey's ("Variation and change in eighteenth-century English"), focuses just on the eighteenth century, following the transformations of the language "diverse at the beginning, far more uniform at the end-at least in documents" (198).

The volume is part of the well know series *Studies in English Language* that so far has systematically covered aspects of national and international varieties of English, analysing linguistic features of the language in present and past times. Although Hickey himself had already edited two books in the series (*Legacies of Colonial English: Studies of Transported Dialects* (2004) and *Irish English: History and Present-Day Forms* (2007), no attempt had been done to devote one single volume entirely to the eighteenth century. Hickey's initiative is quite welcome, mainly because the subtitle of the book (*Ideology and Change*), expands the scope of the research. It implicates areas related directly or indirectly to language variation as discourse analysis, pragmatics, rhetoric, education, even including new aspects about women's contribution to grammar books.

Hickey has planned the book carefully. He is the author of the photograph on the cover that shows the Customs House in Dublin, which the reader can relate easily to the neo-classical *mélange* and social interaction of the century. A chronological timeline is added, including selected events from late seventeenth century to 1837, and is followed by a list of English monarchs (from 1689 to 1901). Although the timeline is a very useful source, the variety of events does not respond to a specific, coherent selection, so we are left to understand it as a hint of the sophisticated cultural, political, social and religious atmosphere of the times. On the other hand, the careful arrangement of relevant and updated

references indicates the high level of the serious research provided. Primary and secondary sources are listed together with a section of corpora and online resources. A complementary section entitled *Late Modern English Language Studies*, presents of the highlights of the period and provides a long list of references in three parts: *Pre-eighteenth century works on English*, *Eighteenth century works on English* (*General*, *Dictionaries*, *Grammars-general*, *Grammars-rhetorical*, *Works on pronunciation*, *Works on elocution*, *Works on education*) and *Nineteenth-century works on English*).

As carefully as the closure of the book is planned, the rest of the book is likewise structured. Hickey cleverly opens the book with a general and informative approach to the changes affecting language in times of prescriptivism and internal stability. Many topics battle to be included in this section. Different blocks accumulate a big variety of works from which the analysis attempts to emerge. Touching briefly upon important facts of the political context, the author makes explicit purpose of considering the social life as focus of the book and consciously avoids discussions on historical events, focusing on the "change whose roots lie in English social life" (2). He takes into account different sources to study the language of the period ("hard words" with echoes of Latin or Greek, religious, educational books, grammatical books, relevance of rhetoric, plagiarism, public oratory, etc.). His general overview turns into a careful account of "variation in language" (13), where he deals with aspects such as dialect, linguistic insecurity, and changes in grammatical constructions to explain the complex process of codification of English in this century.

This introductory chapter sets forth an array of chapters that construct a complete composite work. The reader will be pleasantly surprised to understand from different points of view how changes and variations regarding language took place and can be studied as mirror of the social context. If Hickey starts off with points related to eighteenth-century attitudes and concerns, the rest of chapters are in order to provide the acknowledgement of two simultaneous processes that were taking place: the progressive and continuous flow of alterations in language and the attempts to make the standardization official. Contributors' tasks prove so. Also aspects involving public life are useful sources to trace the changes, the codification process and a number of particular cases and examples that prove a thorough study of primary and secondary sources. However, the contents at times overlap, and the authors themselves realize that, and make references to each others' chapters in the volume. All in all, successful comments tie up contributions guiding the reader towards a single yet multiple vision of a general context.

The thematic chapters complement each other as they follow general lines of study. There is an interesting group dealing with the grammatical tradition in England. The process of change of language cannot be understood without

women's participation and thus Carol Percy's chapter 3 ("Women's grammars") analyses female contribution to the writing of new grammars in the eighteenth century. Her revision aims at pointing out "the advance of both women and English" (39). In the context of the rising of vernacular grammars vs classical ones, the first grammar of modern English by A. Fisher is presented and compared to other official ones (John Newbery's, Buchanan's, Betterworth's, etc.). A successful point is made when describing grammars as products of marketing, and as such they were advertised to females, consumers and important part of the reading public.

Grammars played an important part in education, and as authoritative goods. They became tools through which women received rules of behaviour, as Ingrid Tieken-Boon Van Ostade clearly exposes in chapter 4 ("Eighteenth century women and norms of correctness"). Readers understand how relevant women writers (Sarah Fielding, Betsy Sheridan, Elizabeth Clift, Fanny Burney, Mrs Thrale) followed linguistic norms of correctness, by having a mentor around them (brother, tutor, friend). They learned much, as shows the comparison between Alice Synge's learning through letters and Thomas Henry Lowth, whose father's grammar proves one of the many parental attempts to teach children in the eighteenth century. Similarly, Karlijn Navest in chapter 6 ("Queeney Thrale and the teaching of English grammar") elaborates on parental teaching, tracing Hester Lynch Thrale's strategies as a teacher of grammar to guide her daughter Hester Maria ("Queeney"). It brings a useful review of the authoritative grammars of Lowth, Ash, Newbery or Johnson's prefix to his Dictionary.

Tieken-Boon furtner amplifies the area of grammar books in chapter 5 ("Lowth as an icon of prescriptivism"), dismantling the figure of the prescriptivist and showing that his aims were used by others in the eighteenth century (for example, he was not the first one to state the double negation). It is a useful compendium to understand Lowth's contribution in a new light, and includes a serious reflection at the end of the chapter, re-evaluating Lowth's contribution as a normative grammarian within his context, and considering normative linguistics an independent field within linguistics.

The chapters devoted to the study of grammars do not leave out the analysis of other genres that were also changing. In chapter 16 ("Registering the language – dictionaries, diction and the art of elocution") Lynda Mugglestone breaks the myth of Johnson's dictionary and explores the diversity of other works "diversified by size and price, by audience and addressees, by contents and languages attitudes" (309). In a dense chapter, she analyzes dictionaries as reference models, which reveal many ideological constructions. Journals and essays are examined in Chapter 7 ("Coalitions, networks, and discourse communities in Augustan England: *The Spectator* and the early eighteenth-century essay"). Susan Fitzmaurice brings

quite a new approach to consider the journal as social network, exhaustively applying the positive/negative keyword analysis to understand the original nature of the periodical and the relevance of the so-called "Spectator coalition", group of authors involved in the original issues.

Other less traditional genres are considered in chapter 15 ("'Be pleased to report expressly': the development of a public style in late modern English business and official correspondence"). Marina Dossena analyses the "public" style in examples of nineteenth century letters, tracing through keywords the coexistence of ethical values such as deference, respect and authority.

The pragmatic nature of the changes in language is analyzed in the degree of politeness (chapter 8) and through speech acts (chapter 9). In "Contextualizing eighteenth-century politeness: social distinction and metaphorical levelling", Terttu Nevalainen and Heli Tissari focus on the cultural keywords *courtesy*, *civility* and *politeness,* exposing an interesting case of transition in the use of those terms and their implications. They reach for a sociolinguistic angle to analyse the appropriation of the words, exploring their use as conceptual metaphors. They offer a good review of the historical background of politeness and care for cases of relevant eighteenth-century writers (including Mary Wollstonecraft, Hester Piozzi, Jane Austen, or Eliza Draper among others). This opens up a very interesting line of research, taking into account similar terms in different languages (Goldsmith's use of *good-natured man*, Prévost's *honnête-homme*, etc.)

A similar, yet different approach to politeness is taken by Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker in chapter 9 ("Expressive speech acts and politeness in eighteenth-century English"). Based on Searle's categorization of speech acts, the authors focus on expressive acts in the eighteenth century as features of status in society. The article falls into many generalizations. Chesterton is "the leading eigheenth century author of the relevant politeness literature" (159) and the material used is described as "new genres of writing in the eighteenth century, that is newspapers and novels" (160). Interestingly enough, the chapter focuses on handbooks of etiquette and politeness, rules of behaviour, maxims and requests. Considering the background of courtesy literature in Medieval times, it elaborates in the specific use of expressive speech acts, such as compliments and expressions of gratitude. It would have been interesting to discover the reason that the authors had to select the Gothic novel *The Monk* as text of analysis. The authors just mention the fact of its being a representative book of the very end of the period, but why not one of the many novels of manners so popular at the time? It could be argued that Gothic convention does not gather as much representation of relevant social politeness codes as novels of manners do.

A last group covers all dealings with variation and change in eighteenth-century English. Much relevance is given in the volume to dialects and regional variation.

Bernd Kortmann and Susanne Wagner in chapter 14 ("Changes and continuities in dialect grammar") reivindicate the use of dialects in linguistic research and provide an insightful commentary of the existing catalogues of Late Modern English dialect features. Chapters 12 and 13 are devoted entirely to the cases of Scotland and Ireland. Charles Jones in "Nationality and standardisation in eighteenth-century Scotland", revises standardisation in relation to nationalistic ideology. Long and careful revision of English attitudes towards Scots in specific texts is provided. Thomas Sheridan and his desire for a national language is brought up as are many other attempts to promote national Scottish standards. There are other examples such as James Adams (1799) and Alexander Scot of the "Caledonian Scotch" (232). Raymond Hickey in chapter 13 ("English in eighteenth-century Ireland") analyses the complexity of the situation of language change, as English language replaces Irish after the seventeenth century. He firmly proves that literature brings about a lot of information on language, and he studies caricatures, the Stage Irishman, the boundaries between Congreve, Farquhar, Goldsmith and Sheridan. He brings to light texts where Irish characters speak, and presents Swift as resisting change in the language (forgetting Swift's devotion to language in *Gulliver's Travels*). His very interesting contribution adds the influence of Ulster Scots and their literature (*Rhyming Weavers*).

In general, the volume is amazing because of its rigorous use of sources and written evidence. Chapters are very well supported theoretically with relevant references to updated works and overwhelming knowledge of traditional sources (many chapters are strongly supported by a detailed state of the question or history of the topics examined). A reader fond of eighteenth-century literary works will enjoy the reading, finding important data and anecdotic details of well known authors and their concerns with language. In sum, the volume by leading scholars from historical linguistic area successfully provides a scholarly piece of research to many other areas of English studies.

Received version 17 April 2011
Revised version accepted 01 June 2011

INTERVIEW

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES - VOLUME 9 (2011), 265-274

COMING TO TERMS WITH 21ST CENTURY BRITISH POLITICS: AN INTERVIEW WITH TOBY LITT

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ABSTRACT. *English novelist and short story writer, Toby Litt is the author of the novels Beatniks: An English Road Movie (1997), Corpsing (2000), Deadkidsongs (2001), Finding Myself (2003), Ghost Story (2004), Hospital (2007), I Play the Drums in a Band Called Okay (2008), Journey into Space (2009), and* King Death *(2010). He is also known for his collections of short stories Adventures in Capitalism (1996) and Exhibitionism (2002). Toby Litt was nominated by Granta magazine as one of the 20 "Best of Young British Novelists" in 2003. He is an authorised voice among young writers deconstructing contemporary consumer society. In this interview, held at the University of Almería during the 34th AEDEAN Conference (11-13 November 2010), he provides an assessment of modern politics, shares his ideas concerning the recent political affairs in the UK, such as the ideological modernisation during the previous New Labour years or the latest social changes in Britain, and he finally examines the position of writers and intellectuals as regards to power and their political commitment.*

Keywords: Toby Litt, contemporary society, intellectuals, Blairism, British politics.

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APROXIMACIÓN A LA POLÍTICA BRITÁNICA DEL SIGLO XXI: ENTREVISTA CON TOBY LITT

RESUMEN. *El novelista y escritor de relatos, Toby Litt, es autor de las novelas Beatniks: An English Road Movie (1997), Corpsing (2000), Deadkidsongs (2001), Finding Myself (2003), Ghost Story (2004), Hospital (2007), I Play de Drums in a Band Called Okay (2008), Journey into Space (2009) y King Dead (2010). También se le conoce por sus colecciones de relatos Adventures in Capitalism (1996) y Exhibitionism (2002). Toby Litt fue nombrado por la Revista Granta como uno de los 20 "Mejores Jóvenes Novelistas Británicos" en 2003. Se ha convertido en una referencia entre los escritores jóvenes al intentar deconstruir la sociedad contemporánea consumista. En la siguiente entrevista, que tuvo lugar en la Universidad de Almería durante el Congreso de AEDEAN (11-13 Noviembre 2010), el autor contribuye al debate con una evaluación sobre la política contemporánea en Reino Unido, como es la reciente modernización ideológica durante el gobierno New Labour, o los cambios sociales en Gran Bretaña, para acabar examinando la posición de los intelectuales y escritores con respecto al poder y su compromiso político.*

Palabras clave: Toby Litt, sociedad contemporánea, intelectuales, Blairismo, política Británica.

Received 9 February 2011
Revised version accepted 12 May 2011

I sit with novelist and short story writer Toby Litt during the course of the 34th AEDEAN Conference in Almería in November 2010. I take the opportunity to converse with him about social and political mores in the UK, about the social changes that have contributed to an evolved national structure after the New Labour era, together with the political position of the intelligentsia in the UK and the rationale for their writing.

After the recent elections (May 2010) and with the Tories back in power, it is unavoidable an assessment of the "New Labour" years. How do you think this period will be remembered? How has the country changed?

The main thing for me is that Blairism was not an ideological riposte to Thatcherism. In its essence, it was a continuation. For example, we can talk about cities and countryside, but let's talk about cities first. The way they have continued to change, to become homogenized, to become Americanised in their structures, and their centres; they are first decimated by being emptied out, then revived by museums, galleries, and chain restaurants, Starbucks… things like that. The remaking of the countryside, a sort of bland corporate place which began in 1979,

or at least in my memory, has brought pluses and minuses. You can probably go to civic spaces that are not the sort of concrete bunkers of the 1970s. In the country, I think the rural areas were seen by Labour as being not-where-the-voters-were; there was certainly a neglect of the people living there; for example, there was a continuing erosion of communities and what held them together, closing post-offices and village pubs. So in a way, it was far less significant than what there was set in train by Margaret Thatcher, where the ideological argument about how the British economy should function was basically won. There was an attempt by New Labour to mitigate the worst effects of Thatcherism, but there wasn't really any attempt to provide an alternative, and what we have now is a return to a sort of accelerated version of those things. The way I see it now is that Blair managed to sell back to the British people what they already bought once, and do it under a different heading. But New Labour did certainly have a stronger social justice agenda which did make a difference to lots of people, as a genuine attempt to bring people on the lowest levels to a better level of living. There was also a turning away from some of the vindictive kind of legislation that you got under the Thatcher government which seemed to be motivated by hate of different parts of society, for homosexuals or the unemployed, and a desire to socially punish those people. It used to be very difficult for people who were out of work and had no address to get back into society. I think nowadays it's not quite the same catch-22 where you can't get a job, if you have no job, you can't get an address… It seems nonsensical to put people in a position where they can't help themselves.

Margaret Thatcher's government was characterised by a strong ideological content whereas with Blairism, it has been said that it was not really an ideological project, but a compound of different and contradictory policies. However, taking a broad balance of these ten/thirteen years and comparing them with the past conservative era, has it been positive as far as living standards, especially for the poorest, are concerned? Would you agree with that?

Yes, I think that's true if you compare what another ten years of Conservative government would have done, and what the family housing service would have been, what the state of schools, in terms of infrastructure would have been. A huge amount of money did go into education, but to me the root of it is very simple. The question was whether there was any possibility of market capitalism being resisted by the state, and in this sense there wasn't an ideological switch. There have been numerous iconic failures of partnership between public and private funding such as the Millennium Dome, or such as the Channel tunnel, where essentially it gets messed up and the state has to bring the project through. It turns out to be a completely botched kind of job that continues to be issued to everyone as the model by which "things can only get better", which is also the way Blair thought

that they can get better. The New Labour rebranding project, early on, had to do with wooing the right-wing press, and getting things like *Financial Times* on their side. They had done that at least one election prior to winning, and in the end they won. It was a way of not scaring the City. I can remember my father talking about how, basically, if a Labour government got in, the next day there would be almost a stock market collapse, there would run on the pound, investor confidence would be depleted around the world, and no one would want to invest in the UK anymore, because they'd seen him as a Communist. It was ludicrous, although New Labour was palliative in terms of social justice, it wasn't a Socialist party in any way. Could a socialist party have got into power? Probably not. I don't know. Perhaps I am deluded about the kind of party the British people are likely to vote for. They are probably more likely to vote for a Social Democratic party than a Socialist party. And a lot of them have benefited by being brought into capitalism or brought into the market economy by the sale of council homes or share issues, and quick injections of money into the economy, in some of Nigel Lawson's budgets, lowering the rates of tax. I think there would not have been a missed opportunity if there had been a greater sense of what could have been done, with more strategic kind of thinking, what kind of country we wanted to be. I don't think we do, except if it's to be a provider of financial services with lower standards of regulation, for the world to use as a kind of economic junction box, where we skim up a little bit of money because it passes through, and a tourist site and some kind of begrudged art venue, some kind of out of town barn where you put up some Damien Hirst and some Tracey Emin. You allow some of these scruffy people, who seem to have interested people all over the world, to earn you lots of money by putting them in huge refurbished buildings, or brand new buildings, without actually looking at where those people came from. By being able to go to Art schools, you know, state Education, they allowed them to turn out the way they did and the way things are now. They negate the possibility of people doing that again. I think giving creative people the license to doss around, to do very little for three years, but then the good ones come out with something, that's much more questioning in some ways. Then if you go through an education system like they have in Japan or they have in America, we don't seem to be able to acknowledge that everything is bureaucratized, and I work in the university, the language of the administration of the university is completely divorced from any hypocritical thought.

So you think that artists like Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin had an important role in the New Labour modernization project, in order to transform the UK into a kind of marketable nation and be exported.

I think that Damien Hirst is entirely a subset of Andy Warhol. His little circle doesn't really poke outside. Having an auction of a diamond-incrusted skull and

cutting out the dealer – those things are what Warhol didn't do, but they are entirely within his logic. If Damien Hirst has extended Warhol it's in a straight line, and I think he fits entirely within the New Labour agenda.

Would you classify these artists within the central term of 'intellectuals'?

No, artists and musicians are not intellectuals, most of the time. They don't articulate their thought in that way. They think *through* their work, and their words about their work are usually appalling – in terms of what they cobble together as artist statements. They come out with things that make you not want to look at the art. I mean, Damien Hirst doesn't particularly do that. But if you go to an art school and read the artists' statements… they are usually two very damp paragraphs that don't really make sense. And the wise artists will probably just quote someone and leave it at that. There isn't, to my mind, a coherent artistic community that talks within itself. Some of my writing was very much influenced by some of the artists called YBAs, Jack & Dinos Chapman, for example, their 'Hell'. I think I have been affected by the kind of extremity that those artists were prepared to use. And I felt fairly isolated in being influenced by them. I couldn't really look around and see many other writers who were letting that in. A lot of contemporary British writing is quite hermetically sealed within a scene that doesn't engage with other art forms, except as subject matter. I think it would be rare to find many novelists or poets who would be happy to say 'Yes, I am an intellectual'. Certainly there are places where they might be encouraged to say it, on a British Council funded trip to Spain, but in a pub in their home town, no. Intellectuals don't have very much value…

The concept of intellectuals in Britain is a very controversial one. For instance, in Spain or France the concept of intellectual is understood as a conglomeration of writers, journalists or academics… how is this interpreted in the UK? Who are the British intellectuals today?

A lot of very intelligent people work for tabloid newspapers, for example, and their job is to think of what the million people or whatever who buy that paper want to hear and then give it to them, in a language these people want to hear, too. I would say the people who do that, who have a lot of power, are intellectuals but they would hate it if that word came anything near them – they would disown it and they would speak in a different kind of voice and a different kind of language. The idea of speaking something to people they don't want to hear in a complicated way means that anyone branded an intellectual will end up being ridiculed and destroyed by the tabloid press, assisted by politicians. Take Harold Pinter as an example. He was, by any European standard, an engaged

intellectual. He was politically active. He was involved in English and International PEN. But he was also famously involved in the Palestinian cause, and used his Nobel acceptance speech to make an immensely coherent attack on what he saw as the state of the world because of American foreign policy. But prior to this, he had been so caricatured in the press as a man of intemperate anger, as a bizarrely knee-jerk anti American, as his comments were not thought through in any way. And so what he said on this occasion passed almost without a comma, without debate, despite the fact that he was an English writer winning the Nobel prize – which doesn't happen very often – and taking that opportunity to say, 'No, I am not just an East End playwright who happens to have written some staff about boarding houses in the south of England, or gangsters in strange hotels or whatever. I am a political writer, an engaged political writer'. If a writer as considerable as Pinter says something like that, and you see it disappear, you realize that that position – of intellectual – is, for lots of reasons, not wanted within British society. Not wanted by the tabloids, not wanted by the politicians and therefore not really getting through to people. I don't know exactly how *The Sun*, *The Mirror* would have reported him winning the Nobel prize, but I doubt it would have merited more than 80 or 100 words. I don't know if they would have reported anything he said. Pinter was trying to present a linked up view of things, of the state of the Middle East, and saying you can see there are specific geopolitical reason for this. On the plus side, at least, is that English intellectuals can't make a great living out of occupying that position – while you sometimes get the feeling that French intellectuals can. They seem to be a protected species, and the government will allow them their little space to say paradoxical things. Each English intellectual has to invent a position for themselves, one that they occupy in a fairly isolated way and take the ridicule that follows. In a sense, they are a minority, like any other. Whatever background the person who is an intellectual comes from, it could be compared to being disabled or from a racial minority in that if you are overt about it and proud about it, you would draw aggressive negative comments, I think.

Don't you think being an intellectual requires having a sort of status?

There is a status, within the academy. If you take philosophers, for example, there are a lot of sub-groupings within philosophy, and a moral philosopher would want to have status within the moral philosophy sub-group. If you seem to be speaking directly to the general public and publishing for them, however, that's not good for your academic profile. If you publish your PhD thesis and a serious book once every couple of years on your subject, books which are only aimed at the people that study and teach that subject, that's fine. If you do a popular book and you appear on TV, then you become a media don and, again, an object of contempt.

What would you say of the specific case of Will Self, he is a 'pop intellectual', he is an intellectual but at the same time forms part of popular culture.

But he doesn't hold an academic position. You have to look at someone like Lisa Jardine or Marina Warner or John Carey or someone like that; Germaine Greer is probably the best known intellectual – although she is Australian, she is not British – with an academic position, but she also appeared on Big Brother. So therefore, within academia, within her part of the academy, that would be very much seen as not the done thing. How do you relate all those things – appearing on Big Brother and being a kind of media figure – to being an intellectual? It is interesting; it seems to be stretching some of the boundaries. I don't think that the situation, until now, has brought intellectuals together. But the threat to the funding of university Humanities Departments is such that this may now happen. There has to be an attempt towards a coherent response, and a defense of why these places keeping going. But that has to make the ideological case. A utilitarian view of the economy is actually nonsensical. The truth is that you have parts of the economy that function through what would blandly be called 'creativity'. In other words, making things up for the fun of them. But these may, in the end, turn out to have a social value. Most people would have looked at what Bill Gates was getting up to in the mid-seventies, fiddling around on computers, and they would have said that he was wasting his time. The people who kick around on the periphery, seemingly doing something that isn't going to pay off, can become very quickly the central pillars of the economy. And likewise big companies, like Enron, disappear in a matter of months.

What do you think is the role of the intellectual today? Do you think they should have any political commitment?

I can't generalize about them, because I don't think there is a 'them' in that simple way. I spend a lot of time analyzing what my position is or should be, and it doesn't necessarily make it easy to turn it into political action. I have always had a problem connecting the two things, thinking and political action – thinking whether or not what I was doing was the best thing, politically. If people started to think about why they think things, or the ways in which they make arguments to themselves, and gained a sense of how to think about thinking – that could only be useful because a great deal of cultural investment has gone into the idea of authenticity through victimhood. Being the victim of your life-experience. Certainly within American society if you haven't lived it you can't really speak about it. There's a real worship of the idea of the street, where any knowledge comes from having suffered in some way. That is the great message of Winfrey Oprah – knowledge as life-experience is suffering – and the second message is that You Can Change Your Life, meaning, of course, You Can Change Your Life

During The Course Of This TV Programme – if you love who you are, because what you are is enough. And I do think that that is a lesser way of engaging with being a person than the old Socratic 'Know Thyself', which involves analyzing what the person you are is, analyzing how you can hold the opinions you do, and thinking outside your own experience. Because if you think beyond that, you can only be a product of it. In other words, you will be a victim of your victimhood, as well. You won't own it. You won't be able to do anything with it. You will just continue in the position that other people have put you in. And one of the strongest gestures a person could make now, publicly, would be to be the victim of something but to say, 'I don't want to engage with being a victim. I am going to let it go. I am going to step away from this.' This is how it works in the media now – if someone has had, say, a relative that is dying in hospital, and the treatment has been inadequate, what will happen is that that person will be put up against the government Minister or the person who nominally is an intellectual on a TV news programme, to debate whatever the issue is, say, hospital funding, and you will have the bureaucrat saying very coldly 'We don't have the money to afford this kind of treatment. We can't give this kind of cancer treatment,' and then you have the relative, the victim, someone who the producer hopes is going to cry, or get very emotional, and their role is to make the point 'Yes, but my father died' or 'Yes, but my child died because of this'. And that's really the level that debate takes place on – each figure just carrying out their assigned role, with the victim having to get upset in a particular way. If you could try to get through to people in an intellectual way, so they could read this moment in a more critical way – and see how an agenda of emotion and victimhood, individual victimhood as opposed to a kind of structural engagement with the whole thing, negates any real thinking about it, and not just having a little micro debate about something that actually is not the real issue in any way – that would be socially useful. The counter-argument is, 'Surely you are going to lose people as soon as you start using these words. You are not really going to be able to make a TV programme that takes apart the structures of these things, and if you do it won't be seen by many people.' But it would be a useful thing to do. If people are always told that their personal experience is the best way for them to judge things then they're incredibly easy to con. If you tell them to go beyond their own experience, beyond their own current opinions, and they start to investigate this idea, they immediately become less easy to con.

Why do you think there is a shortage of political writers nowadays?

What I feel defines my generation is that we have learned the lessons of other generations without having made the mistakes of those generations. For example, the 1930s generation of writers and intellectuals who made 'the mistake' – and

I am using that word in inverted commas – of Marxist commitment, and a deep belief of the Soviet Union as the future. W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender spent the rest of their lives dealing with having politically been like that, and moving to a sound Anglican position in Auden's case, and to a more socialist position in Spender's case. The lesson my generation takes from this isn't good: if you commit yourself to the moment, to polemic, then you write disposable trash. Look at the writers and artists who committed themselves so wholeheartedly, and then it all turned out to be a let down. I think there are two things to take into account here. One: there is the embarrassment of commitment, particularly commitment to a particular political moment, and two: there is a kind of aestheticised version of that. If you do become an engaged writer you will write disposable writing. You look at someone like Arundhati Roy who seems to all extent of purposes have made the decision to write disposable writing on the service of political causes of the moment rather than to write the great Indian novel – there is a general aversion to that kind of thing. But there are strong arguments against this. For example, George Orwell. He did write specific responses to specific political situations and moments which have lasted as writing. But critics often sneer about him. He is someone who is clearly a classic but can be, at the same time, sneered at as a novelist – in terms of a writer who isn't great at writing scenes in novels, dialogue in novels, etc.

George Orwell lived at a time when politics was characterised by ideological definition. Today, we can, in all likelihood, say that things have changed. Some writers have defined the New Labour government as the first post-modern government, could that be because of this lack of ideological definition within a historical perspective?

I think that is taking them among their own terms too much and allowing them to say what ideology is. This is not very subtle. When I went to live in Prague in 1990 they had taken down most of the posters and banners, there were a very few red stars around, 'Workers of the World Unite' had disappeared from the shop windows. But in the same places there slowly appeared brand advertisements for Kronenberg beer and for Coca Cola. Nike's ads slogan 'Just Do It' is as ideological as 'Workers of the World Unite'. There is no difference in the level of ideological radioactivity between those things. This is despite the fact that Nike, as a company, would deny they are engaged in the business of ideology in the same way that the Marxist-Leninist government of Czechoslovakia was. What are the messages that people are getting from these non-ideological companies and corporate structures, or from them in alliance with governments? Particularly throughout Thatcherism and Blairism, 'choice' was a very key word: choose the hospital you go to for your treatment because you will be able to read a rating for that hospital which

will reduce that hospital down to how many stars it gets. Choose your electricity supply, your water supply – even if you only have one set of pipes, one set of wires coming into your house. There is no longer a monopoly on this. Therefore, you sell off state industry, you privatise them, you create shareholders within those industries, you take those structures away from public ownership and they become market-driven institutions, entities, which shifts them entirely. If that is not ideological, if that is not deeply political, I fail to see what it is. I think those things, which have been taken out of public ownership and control, and will never be able to be retrieved, are some of the more tragic instances of how ideology has played outs – and Blairism continued this trend rather than reversed it.

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)
Editorial Policy, Guidelines for Contributions and Stylesheet

1. Editorial Policy

1.1. Journal description. JES is the journal of the English Studies Division at the University of La Rioja. It accepts for publication, after favourable reports from two anonymous referees, original scholarly contributions in all research areas within the domain of English studies (linguistics, literature, literary theory, cultural studies, film studies, etc.). Proposals for publication may fall under one of the following three categories:

A. Research papers involving empirical investigations and methodological or theoretical studies within the field of English Studies (min. 15 and max. 30 double-spaced pages).
B. State of the art reports of recent books covering issues relating to the area of interest of the journal (max. 8 double-spaced pages).
C. Notes and squibs (max. 6 double-spaced pages).

Exceptionally, and with a positive report by the Editorial Board, contributions which exceed these maximum lengths may be considered for publication on the grounds of their scientific relevance.

1.2. Language. *JES* only accepts for publication contributions written in English.

1.3. Evaluation. Contributions for publication will be sent to two anonymous referees proposed by the members of the Editorial Board and/or Advisory Board. In order to be accepted for publication in *JES*, contributions should be informed positively in relation to the following criteria:

— Originality and interest concerning the subject-matter, methodology, and conclusions of the study.
— Relevance concerning current research in the field.
— Knowledge of previous research in the same field.
— Scientific rigour and depth of analysis.

— Accuracy in the use of concepts, methods, and terms.
— Relevance of the theoretical implications of the study.
— Use of updated bibliography.
— Correct use of language and correction in the organization of contents and other formal aspects of the text.
— Clarity, elegance, and conciseness in the exposition.
— Suitability to the range of topics of interest for the journal.

Evaluation reports will be carried out anonymously within three months from their reception. Once the evaluation process is completed, authors will receive a statement of the editorial decision together with an anonymous copy of the reports on which the decision is based. The editorial decision will be considered final.

1.4. Revision and proof-reading. Should any formal or content aspect of the contributions be improved and/or modified, it will be the authors' responsibility to return the new version within the deadline established by the Editor. Failing to do so will result in the non-publication of the contribution.

Likewise, authors are responsible for proof-reading their contributions and returning the revised versions by the deadline established by the Editor.

1.5. Copyright. Authors warrant that their contributions to *JES* are original and have neither been submitted for publication, nor have been published elsewhere.

Once published, *JES* holds the copyright of any contribution. In order to re-publish any part of a contribution in any other venue and/or format, authors must ask for written permission to the Editor.

1.6. Exchange policy. *JES* welcomes exchanges with similar publications in the field of English Studies and other related areas.

2. Submission of proposals

Proposals should be sent to:

Dr. Mª Pilar Agustín Llach
Secretary of *JES*
E-mail: maria-del-pilar.agustin@unirioja.es

For further information, contact the Editor of *JES*

Dr. Melania Terrazas Gallego
E-mail: melania.terrazas@unirioja.es

In order to be sent off for evaluation, proposals must follow the guidelines below.

3. Instructions for contributors

3.1. What to send. Authors should send their proposals via e-mail, indicating the title of the proposal that is being submitted in order to be evaluated for publication in *JES*.

Attached to the message, authors should send two Word or RTF documents. In the first document, authors should include the title of the proposal (in **bold**

face), the name/s of the author/s (in Small Capitals), their institutional affiliation (in *italics*) and any other relevant information, such as e-mail and postal address and telephone and fax number.

In the case of multiple authorship, please state clearly which of the contributors will be in charge of the ensuing correspondence with *JES*.

Authors should also include here a brief biographical note of about 100 words.

The second document should include the full proposal to be sent off for evaluation. Authors should be extremely careful to avoid any kind of information which might reveal their identity.

3.2. Artwork, tables, figures and images. These should be included in the text file. Tone art, or photographic images, should be saved as JPG or TIFF files with a resolution of 300 dpi at final size.

3.3. Copyright information. If a preliminary version of the proposal has been presented at a conference, information about the name of the conference, the name of the sponsoring organization, the exact date(s) of the conference or paper presentation and the city in which the conference was held should be provided in a footnote in the first page of the document. Seeking permission for the use of copyright material is the responsibility of the author.

4. Manuscript preparation

4.1. Formatting. Minimum formatting should be used. Indentation, underlining and tabulation should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

4.2. Document. All margins in the document should be of 2.54 cms. Paragraphs should be fully justified. The main text of the proposal should be written in 12-point Garamond. Quotations will be in 11-point Garamond when they appear in an independent paragraph. Abstracts, keywords, footnotes, superscript numbers, tables and figures will appear in 10-point Garamond.

4.3. Title. The title of the proposal should be centred and written in 12-point Garamond bold. Capitals should be used for both title and subtitle.

A Spanish translation of the title of the proposal should also be included. For those contributors who do not handle Spanish, a translation will be provided by the Editor.

4.4. Abstract and keywords. Each title should be followed by a brief abstract (100-150 words each): the first one should be written in English, while the second one should be written in Spanish. For those contributors who do not handle Spanish, a translation of the abstract will be provided by the Editor. Abstracts should be single-spaced, typed in 10-point Garamond *italics* (titles of books and keywords will appear in normal characters), justified on both sides, and indented 1 cm. from the left-hand margin. Abstracts should have no footnotes. The word ABSTRACT/

RESUMEN (in normal characters and capital letters), followed by a full-stop and a single space, will precede the text of the abstract.

Abstracts will be followed by a list of six keywords, written in normal characters in the corresponding language, English or Spanish, so that contributions can be accurately classified by international reference indexes. The word *Keywords/ Palabras clave* (in italics), followed by a semi-colon and a single space, will precede the keywords.

4.5. Paragraphs. Paragraphs in the main text should not be separated by a blank line. The first line of each paragraph will be indented 1 cm. from the left-hand margin. Words will not be divided at the end of a line either. There should be only one space between words and only one space after any punctuation.

4.6. Italics. Words in a language other than English should be italicized; italics should also be used in order to emphasize some *key words*. If the word that has to be emphasized is located in a paragraph which is already in italics, the key word will appear in normal characters.

4.7. Figures, illustrations, and tables. They should be numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals and referred to by their numbers within the text (e.g. as we see in example/figure/table 1). They should be accompanied by an explanatory foot (in 10-point Garamond italics, single-spaced).

4.8. Headings. Headings of sections should be typed in Small Capitals, and separated with two blank spaces from the previous text and with one blank space from the following text. They must be preceded by Arabic numerals separated by a full stop and a blank space (e.g. 1. Introduction).

Headings of subsections should be typed in *italics*, and separated with one space from both the previous and the following text. They must be numbered as in the example (e.g. 1.1., 1.2., etc.).

Headings of inferior levels of subsections should be avoided as much as possible. If they are included, they should also be numbered with Arabic numerals (e.g. 1.1.1., 1.1.2., etc.) and they will be typed in normal characters.

4.9. Asides. For asides other than parenthetical asides, dashes (and not hyphens) should be used, preceded and followed by a blank space. For compounds use hyphens. Notice the following example:

> "Teaching in English **– as many subjects as possible –** seems to offer a **second-best** solution insofar as it entails much more exposure of the foreign language".

4.10. Punctuation. Authors are requested to make their usage of punctuation as consistent as possible. Commas, full stops, colons and semi-colons will be placed after inverted commas (";).

Capital letters will keep their natural punctuation such as accents, etc. (e.g. PUNTUACIÓN, LINGÜÍSTICA, etc.).

Apostrophes (’), not accents (´), should be used for abbreviations and the saxon genitive.

4.11. Footnotes. Footnotes should only be explanatory (references should be provided only in the main text). Footnotes will appear at the end of the page. Superscript numbers will be separated from the main text of the footnote by a blank space.

References to footnotes should be marked in the text with consecutive superscript Arabic numerals, which should be placed after all punctuation (including parenthesis and quotation marks).

4.12. Quotations. Quotations should normally appear in the body of the text, enclosed in double quotation marks. Single quotation marks will be used to locate a quotation within another quotation (e.g. “toward a unified policy that ‘natural’ English was altogether preferable”).

Quotations of four lines or longer should be set in a separate paragraph, without quotation marks, typed in 11-point Garamond and indented 1,5 cms. from the left-hand margin. They should be separated from both the previous and the following text with one blank line.

Omissions within quoted text should be indicated by means of suspension points in square brackets (e.g. […]).

4.13. In-text citations. References must be made in the text and placed within parentheses. Parentheses should contain the author’s surname followed by a space before the date of publication which, should, in turn, be followed by a colon and a space before the page number(s). Example:

> “Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy” (Brush 1994: 238).

If the sentence includes the author’s name (example 1) or if it includes the date of publication (example 2), that information should not be repeated in the parentheses:

Example 1:

> Johnson has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers (1987: 21).

Example 2:

> In appearance and aspirations he is culturally androgynous like Frankie. He is sexually ambivalent and “Light Skinned” (McCullers 1962: 155) and “could talk like a white school-teacher” (48).

If the quotation includes several pages, numbers will be provided in full, as in the example:

> In the world she would create "there would be no separate coloured people [...] but all human beings would be light brown colour with blue eyes and black hair. There would be no coloured people and no white people to make coloured people feel cheap and sorry all through their lives" (McCullers 1962: 114-115).

If several authors are parenthetically cited at the same time, they should be arranged chronologically and separated with a semi-colon:

> (Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

If there are two or more works by the same author published in the same year, a lower-case letter should be added to the year, as in the example:

> (Montrose 1986a: 332) (Montrose 1986b: 9)

Parenthetical citations should be placed immediately after each quotation, both when the quoted passage is incorporated into the text and when the passage is longer than four lines and needs to be set in a separate paragraph. Put this parenthetical citation after the quotation marks but before the comma or period when the quotation is part of your text:

> The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975" (1981: 387).

When the quotation is set off from the text in indented form, the parenthetical citation follows all punctuation:

> Even Cranny-Francis 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. (1990: 190)

4.14. Bibliographical references. All (and only those) books and articles quoted or referred to in the text (those quoted in the footnotes included) should appear in a final bibliographical list of references, which completes the information provided by the in-text citations provided in the text.

The heading for this list should be REFERENCES.

Hanging or reverse indentation (i.e. indentation of all lines of a paragraph except the first one, which is a full line) of 1 cm. from the left-hand margin should be used.

This list should be arranged in alphabetical order and chronologically, when two or more works by the same author are cited. The author's full name should be repeated in all cases. Example:

Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar 2: Descriptive application*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Books. References to books will include: author's surname and name; year of publication (first edition in parentheses, if different); title (in italics); place of publication; publisher's name. If the book is a translation, the name of the translator should be indicated at the end. Contributors are requested to pay special attention to punctuation in the following examples:

Taylor, J. R. 1995 (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Kristeva, J. 2000. *The Sense and Non-Sense of Revolt*. New York: Columbia University Press. Trans. Jeanine Herman.

Articles. Titles of articles should be given in inverted commas. Titles of journals should appear in italics. Volume, number (between parentheses) should follow. Then page numbers, separated by a colon:

Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are topics". *Language* 54 (2): 564-589.

Frye, N. 1940. "The Resurgent". *Canadian Forum* 19: 357-61.

Books edited. Volumes edited by one or more authors should be referred to as follows (notice the use of abbreviations ed. and eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Articles in books. References to articles published in works edited by other authors or in conference proceedings should be cited as in the example:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in *Hard Times*". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.

Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Several authors. A journal article with three authors:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Magazine article in a weekly or biweekly publication:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

A **review** in a journal:

Judie Newman. 2007. "*Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire*", by P. Martín Salván. *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

An **unpublished dissertation**:

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

An **on-line** publication:

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES (JES)
Política Editorial, Presentación de Originales y Hoja de Estilo

1. Política Editorial

1.1. Descripción de la revista. *JES* es una publicación del Área de Filología Inglesa del Departamento de Filologías Modernas de la Universidad de la Rioja dedicada a la difusión de estudios en todas las áreas de investigación que se engloban en el ámbito de los Estudios Ingleses. Se aceptarán para su publicación, previo informe favorable de dos evaluadores anónimos, trabajos originales que se integren en alguna de las áreas temáticas relacionadas con los Estudios Ingleses (lingüística, literatura, teoría literaria, estudios culturales, estudios fílmicos, etc.), debiendo acogerse además a alguna de las siguientes modalidades:

A. Artículos sobre cualquiera de las áreas temáticas que se engloban dentro de los Estudios Ingleses (mínimo 15 y máximo 30 páginas a doble espacio, incluyendo referencias bibliográficas, notas, apéndices, figuras y tablas).
B. Reseñas y recensiones de libros recientes publicados en el campo de los Estudios Ingleses (máximo 8 páginas a doble espacio).
C. Notas o reflexiones críticas breves (*squibs*) (máximo 6 páginas a doble espacio).

Excepcionalmente, y siempre acompañados de un informe positivo del *Consejo Científico*, se admitirán trabajos que superen la extensión indicada, cuando la relevancia de los mismos lo justifique.

1.2. Idioma. JES sólo admite propuestas de publicación escritas en inglés.

1.3. Evaluación. Los trabajos serán remitidos a dos evaluadores anónimos propuestos por los miembros del *Consejo de Redacción* y/o *Consejo Científico* de *JES*. Es requisito imprescindible para la publicación de los trabajos la obtención de dos evaluaciones positivas. La evaluación se efectuará en relación a los siguientes criterios:

— Originalidad e interés en cuanto a tema, método, datos, resultados, etc.
— Pertinencia en relación con las investigaciones actuales en el área.
— Revisión de trabajos de otros autores sobre el mismo asunto.
— Rigor en la argumentación y en el análisis.
— Precisión en el uso de conceptos y métodos.
— Discusión de implicaciones y aspectos teóricos del tema estudiado.
— Utilización de bibliografía actualizada.
— Corrección lingüística, organización y presentación formal del texto.
— Claridad, elegancia y concisión expositivas.
— Adecuación a la temática propia de *JES*.

La evaluación se realizará respetando el anonimato, tanto de los autores como de los evaluadores; posteriormente, en el plazo de tres meses desde la recepción del artículo, los autores recibirán los correspondientes informes sobre sus trabajos, junto con la decisión editorial sobre la pertinencia de su publicación, sin que exista la posibilidad de correspondencia posterior sobre los resultados de la evaluación.

1.4. Revisión y pruebas de imprenta. Si fuera necesaria la revisión de alguno de los aspectos formales o de contenido de la propuesta de publicación, ésta será responsabilidad exclusiva del autor, quien deberá entregar el documento informático de la nueva versión corregida en el plazo establecido por la dirección de la revista. De no hacerlo así, el trabajo no será publicado aunque hubiera sido evaluado positivamente.

Asimismo, los autores son responsables de la corrección de las pruebas de imprenta, debiendo remitir los textos corregidos en el plazo indicado por la dirección de la revista.

1.5. Copyright. Los autores se comprometen a que sus propuestas de publicación sean originales, no habiendo sido publicadas previamente, ni enviadas a evaluar a otras revistas. La publicación de artículos en *JES* no da derecho a remuneración alguna; los derechos de edición pertenecen a *JES* y es necesario su permiso para cualquier reproducción parcial o total cuya procedencia, en todo caso, será de citación obligatoria.

1.6. Política de intercambio. *JES* está interesado en realizar intercambios con otras publicaciones similares dentro del campo de los estudios ingleses o de otras áreas de conocimiento relacionadas.

2. Envío de propuestas

Los trabajos se remitirán en formato Word o RTF como documentos adjuntos de correo electrónico a la secretaria de la revista:

Dr. Mª Pilar Agustín Llach
Secretaria de *JES*
E-mail: maria-del-pilar.agustin@unirioja.es

For further information, contact the Editor of *JES*

Dr. Melania Terrazas Gallego

E-mail: melania.terrazas@unirioja.es

Antes de ser enviados a evaluar, la presentación de los originales ha de ajustarse a las siguientes normas.

3. Instrucciones para los autores

3.1. Qué enviar. Los autores enviarán sus propuestas por correo electrónico, indicando el título del trabajo que se envía para evaluar de cara a su publicación en *JES*.

Junto con el mensaje, los autores enviarán dos documentos en formato Word o RTF. En el primer documento, los autores incluirán el título del artículo (en **negrita**), el nombre (en Versalita), la afiliación del autor o autores (en *cursiva*) y cualquier otra información relevante como su dirección postal y la de correo-electrónico o el número de teléfono y de fax.

En el caso de autoría compartida, se indicará el nombre y la dirección de correo electrónico de la persona a quien deben dirigirse la correspondencia y las pruebas de imprenta.

Los autores deberán incluir también una breve nota biográfica (de unas 100 palabras).

El segundo documento contendrá el artículo que ha de enviarse para su evaluación. Por tanto los autores deberán ser extremadamente cautos para evitar que aparezca cualquier tipo de información personal que permita identificar a los autores del trabajo.

3.2. Tablas, figuras e imágenes. Deberán incluirse en el texto en el lugar adecuado. Las imágenes se guardarán en formato JPG o TIFF con una resolución de 300 dpi, tamaño final.

3.3. Información sobre copyright. En el caso de que una parte del artículo se haya presentado con anterioridad en un congreso, se debe incluir una nota en la que se indique el nombre del congreso, el de la institución que lo organizó, las fechas exactas del congreso o el día en el que se presentó la ponencia y la ciudad donde se celebró el congreso. La obtención de los permisos necesarios para utilizar material sujeto a copyright es responsabilidad de los autores.

4. Preparación del manuscrito

4.1. Formato. Se ruega reducir al mínimo el número de formatos. No se utilizarán sangrías, subrayados o tabulaciones a menos que sea absolutamente necesario.

4.2. Documento. La medida de todos los márgenes (izquierdo, derecho, superior e inferior) en el documento será de 2,54 cms. Todos los párrafos estarán justificados y se utilizará la letra Garamond de 12 puntos para el texto y la bibliografía, de 11

puntos para las citas que aparezcan en un párrafo separado de la estructura del texto y de 10 puntos para los resúmenes o abstracts, las palabras clave, las notas, los números sobrescritos, las tablas y las figuras.

4.3. Título. El título del artículo se presentará centrado con letra Garamond 12 negrita. Se utilizarán las mayúsculas tanto para el título, como para el subtítulo, si lo hubiera.

El título deberá estar traducido al español. El editor se encargará de la traducción cuando el autor no sepa español.

4.4. Resumen y palabras clave. El título inglés y el español irán seguidos de sendos resúmenes (de entre 100 y 150 palabras cada uno): el primero, en inglés, y el segundo en español. El editor se encargará de la traducción cuando el autor no sepa español. Los resúmenes se presentarán en letra Garamond de 10 puntos y en *cursiva* (los títulos de libros y las palabras clave irán en caracteres normales), con justificación completa, a un solo espacio y sangrados un centímetro del margen izquierdo. Los resúmenes no podrán incluir notas al pie. La palabra RESUMEN/ ABSTRACT (en caracteres normales y mayúsculas) estarán separados del resumen por un punto y un espacio.

Cada resumen irá seguido de una lista de seis *palabras clave* en el idioma correspondiente: inglés o español, para facilitar así la clasificación correcta de los artículos en índices de referencia internacional. La palabra *Palabras clave/ Keywords* (en cursiva), seguidas de dos puntos y un espacio, precederán a los términos elegidos.

4.5. Párrafos. La distancia entre los párrafos será la misma que la utilizada en el espacio interlineal, y por lo que se refiere a la primera línea de cada párrafo, ésta irá sangrada un centímetro hacia la derecha. No se dividirán palabras al final de una línea. Se incluirá solo un espacio entre palabras y un solo espacio después de cada signo de puntuación.

4.6. Cursiva. Las palabras en una lengua diferente a la de la redacción del texto aparecerán en cursiva; asimismo se empleará este tipo de letra para resaltar alguna palabra clave, y cuando esto suceda en un fragmento textual en cursiva, se procederá de modo contrario, i.e., se destacará la palabra clave en caracteres normales.

4.7. Figuras, ilustraciones y tablas. Las figuras, ilustraciones y tablas deberán ir numeradas con cifras arábigas y se hará referencia a sus números dentro del texto (v.gr., como vemos en la imagen/ilustración/tabla/ejemplo 1). Irán acompañadas de un pie en el que se indique su contenido (en letra Garamond de 10 puntos y en *cursiva* y a un solo espacio).

4.8. Títulos de los apartados. Los títulos de los apartados se presentarán en letra versalita común, numerados con cifras arábigas que estarán separadas del título por un punto y un espacio (v.gr., 1. Introduction); los títulos estarán separados del texto anterior por dos líneas y del texto siguiente por una.

Los títulos de los subapartados se anotarán en *cursiva* común y serán nuevamente numerados (v. gr., 1.1., 1.2., 1.3.), debiendo separarse tanto del texto que antecede como del texto siguiente por una línea.

Los niveles inferiores a los subapartados deberán evitarse en lo posible. Si se utilizan serán numerados igualmente con cifras arábigas y se escribirán en texto común (v. gr., 1.1.1., 1.1.2.; 1.1.1.1., 1.1.1.2.).

4.9. Aclaraciones. En los casos en los que se hagan aclaraciones en las que no se utilice un paréntesis sino guiones, el guión estará separado tanto de la primera como de la última palabra de la aclaración por un espacio, como el en ejemplo:

> "Teaching in English **– as many subjects as possible –** seems to offer a **second-best** solution insofar as it entails much more exposure of the foreign language".

4.10. Puntuación. La puntuación ortográfica (coma, punto, punto y coma, dos puntos, etc) deberá colocarse detrás de las comillas (";).

La escritura en mayúsculas conservará, en su caso, la acentuación gráfica correspondiente (v. gr., INTRODUCCIÓN, LINGÜÍSTICA, BIBLIOGRAFÍA).

Se utilizará un apóstrofe (') y no una tilde (´) en abreviaturas y genitivos sajón.

4.11. Notas al pie. Las notas al pie serán breves y aclaratorias. Como regla general, se evitará el uso de notas al pie para registrar únicamente referencias bibliográficas. Se incorporarán al final de página. Los números de nota sobreescritos estarán separados del texto de la nota por un espacio.

Las notas irán numeradas con cifras arábigas consecutivas que se colocarán detrás de todos los signos de puntuación (incluidos paréntesis y comillas).

4.12. Citas. Las citas textuales de hasta cuatro líneas de longitud se integrarán en el texto e irán señaladas mediante comillas dobles. Las comillas simples se utilizarán para ubicar citas dentro de las citas (v.gr., "toward a unified policy that 'natural' English was altogether preferable").

Las citas de extensión igual o superior a cuatro líneas se presentarán en un párrafo separado del texto por una línea, tanto al principio como al final, y sin comillas, en letra Garamond 11 y sangradas a 1,5 cms. del margen izquierdo.

Las omisiones dentro de las citas se indicarán por medio de puntos suspensivos entre corchetes (v. gr., […]).

4.13. Referencias en el texto. Las referencias a las citas deben hacerse en el propio texto entre paréntesis. Dentro del paréntesis deberá incluirse el apellido del autor, seguido de un espacio, seguido de la fecha de publicación, seguida de dos puntos y un espacio, seguidos del número o número de páginas. Ejemplo:

> "Certainly, the conventional romance plot is a construction of the ideology of patriarchy" (Brush 1994: 238).

Cuando en la frase se cita el nombre del autor (ejemplo 1) o la fecha de publicación (ejemplo 2), esa información no debe repetirse en el paréntesis:

Ejemplo 1:

> Johnson has drawn our attention to the fact that we are aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers (1987: 21).

Ejemplo 2:

> In appearance and aspirations he is culturally androgynous like Frankie. He is sexually ambivalent and "Light Skinned" (McCullers 1962: 155) and "could talk like a white school-teacher" (48).

Cuando la cita incluye varias páginas, los números de página aparecerán completos, como en el ejemplo:

> In the world she would create "there would be no separate coloured people [...] but all human beings would be light brown colour with blue eyes and black hair. There would be no coloured people and no white people to make coloured people feel cheap and sorry all through their lives" (McCullers 1962: 114-115).

Cuando se citan varias obras a la vez en el mismo paréntesis, éstas deben ser ordenadas cronológicamente y separadas entre sí por un punto y coma:

> (Richards 1971: 210; Arabski 1979: 43; Selinker 1991: 16)

Cuando se citan dos o más obras del mismo autor publicadas en el mismo año, se debe añadir una letra minúscula al año, como en el ejemplo:

> (Montrose 1986a: 332) (Montrose 1986b: 9)

Las referencias entre paréntesis deben colocarse inmediatamente después de cada cita, independientemente de si la cita se incluye en el propio texto como si aparece en un párrafo aparte. La referencia debe colocarse después de las comillas pero antes de la coma o del signo de puntuación si la cita aparece en el propio texto:

> The readers being addressed are mainly white and anglophone, for, as Atwood said "survival was part of the English-Canadian cultural nationalism that peaked in about 1975" (1981: 387).

En cambio, si la cita está en un párrafo aparte, la referencia se sitúa después del signo de puntuación:

Even Cranny-Francis 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. (1990: 190)

4.14. Referencias bibliográficas. Todos (y solamente aquellos) libros y artículos citados o parafraseados en el texto (incluyendo los que aparecen en la notas al pie) deben aparecer en una lista de referencias bibliográficas al final del documento, de modo que complete la información dada en las citas entre paréntesis a lo largo del texto.

Esta lista se agrupará bajo el título REFERENCES, escrito en mayúsculas, en letra Garamond 12 común, sin numerar y en un párrafo a doble espacio separado del texto por dos espacios en blanco.

Cada una de las referencias bibliográficas aparecerá en un párrafo a doble espacio, con una sangría francesa (en la que se sangran todas las líneas del párrafo excepto la primera) de 1 cm., en letra Garamond 12 común.

La lista estará ordenada alfabéticamente y cronológicamente, en el caso de que se citen dos o más obras del mismo autor. El nombre completo del autor se repetirá en todos los casos. Ejemplo:

Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar 2: Descriptive application*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Libros. Las referencias a libros completos deberán incluir: apellidos y nombre del autor; año de publicación (entre paréntesis el de la primera edición, si es distinta); el título (en cursiva); el lugar de publicación; y la editorial. Si el libro es una traducción, se indicará al final el nombre del traductor. Se ruega a los autores que presten atención a la puntuación en los siguientes ejemplos:

Taylor, J. R. 1995 (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Kristeva, J. 2000. *The Sense and Non-Sense of Revolt*. New York: Columbia University Press. Trans. Jeanine Herman.

Artículos. En las referencias a artículos, los títulos de los artículos aparecerán entre comillas; el de la revista en la que aparecen en cursiva; seguidos del volumen y el número (entre parentesis) de la revista. Luego irán los números de páginas, separados por dos puntos:

Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are topics". *Language* 54 (2): 564-589.
Frye, N. 1940. "The Resurgent". *Canadian Forum* 19: 357-61.

Libros editados. Las obras editadas por uno o varios autores deberán citarse como sigue (se utilizarán las abreviaturas ed. o eds.):

Miller, N. C., ed. 1986. *The Poetics of Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Richards, J. C. and D. Nunan, eds. 1990. *Second Language Teacher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Artículos publicados en libros. Las referencias a artículos publicados en obras editadas por otros autores o en actas de congresos se escribirán como se indica en el ejemplo:

Fowler, R. 1983. "Polyphony and Problematic in *Hard Times*". *The Changing World of Charles Dickens*. Ed. R. Giddings. London: Vision Press. 91-108.
Traugott, E. C. 1988. "Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization". *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Eds. S. Axmaker, A. Jaisser, and H. Singmaster. Berkeley, Ca.: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 406-416.

Varios autores. Artículo de revista con tres autores:

Golberg, H., Paradis, J. and M. Crago. 2008. "Lexical acquisition over time in minority first language children learning English as a second language". *Applied Psycholinguistics* 29: 41-65.

Artículo en una publicación semanal o quincenal:

Allen, B. 1995. "Leaving Behind Daydreams for Nightmares". *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October, A12.

Reseña en una revista:

Judie Newman. 2007. "*Fictions of America. Narratives of Global Empire*", by P. Martín Salván. *Atlantis* 31 (1): 165-170.

Tesis sin publicar:

Arús, J. 2003. *Towards a Computational Specification of Transitivity in Spanish: A Contrastive Study with English*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Spain.

Publicaciones **on-line**:

Pierce, David. "Irish Studies round the world-2007: Introduction." <http://www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue3/Issue3InternationalReviews/PdfIStudiesRoundtheWorldbyDPierce.pdf>. (Accessed 7 May 2008)

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JOURNAL OF ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME 9 (2011)
ISSN 1576-6357

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UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA