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Timothy Bozman

Auxiliar de redacción:
Silvia Pellicer Ortín

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(lengua y lingüística)

Editor de estilo
Timothy Bozman

Redacción, correspondencia e intercambios:
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza • Spain
Tel. 976 761 522 - 976 761 526
Fax. 976 761 519
E-mail: barizti@unizar.es
ahornero@unizar.es
editors@miscelaneajournal.net

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LA PRESENCIA DE LA LENGUA INGLESA EN CARTELES PUBLICITARIOS EN LAS CALLES DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA

CARMEN ISABEL LUJÁN GARCÍA
Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria
clujan@dfm.ulpgc.es

Introducción

La presencia de la lengua inglesa en el mundo es un hecho innegable. Si nos remitimos a las cifras recientes que muestran el impacto de la lengua inglesa en el mundo, Crystal (2008:5) sostiene que el número de anglohablantes ha aumentado notablemente en poco tiempo y tiende al alza en la actualidad, calculándose en torno a los dos mil millones. En palabras del autor "we have moved in 25 years from a fifth to a quarter to third of the world's population being speakers of English" (Crystal, 2008:5). Lógicamente, estamos refiriéndonos no sólo a los anglohablantes nativos, sino a aquellos que utilizan las numerosas variedades de inglés que se han ido desarrollando por todo el mundo, de las que Kirkpatrick (2007) hace un profundo análisis en un reciente trabajo.

Hoy en día términos como globalización o multilingüismo están muy de moda. En Occidente, parece que estamos viviendo una época en la que tendemos a unificar modas y estilos de vida. La lengua no es una excepción a esta 'regla', y esto se pone de manifiesto en múltiples detalles de nuestra vida cotidiana. La lengua inglesa constituye la lengua oficial de uno de los países más poderosos del planeta, Estados Unidos. De hecho, autores como Gimeno y Gimeno (1990:157) hablan de una 'norteamericanización' de las sociedades europeas. A este respecto, Anchimbe (2006:4) afirma:

> If the spread of English has been swift and decisive, it has been thanks to a number of historical events. The aftermath of World War II, with the extension of American strength in the form of technology, politics, and social culture, determined what English is today at the global level.

La lengua inglesa está presente en nuestra vida diaria y eso se manifiesta en la necesidad que tiene la mayoría de la población de aprenderla.

Tampoco es infrecuente observar anglicismos infiltrados en diferentes lenguas europeas, tales como el español, el italiano, el francés, el holandés o el alemán, que han recibido una oleada de términos provenientes del inglés. Gerritsen et al. (2007) analizan la huella de la lengua inglesa en los anuncios publicitarios de una famosa revista editada en los países arriba mencionados, y los datos revelan que ésta es una constante, en mayor o menor grado, dependiendo del país. Curiosamente, el castellano y el italiano registran los porcentajes más bajos en el uso de anglicismos (Gerritsen et al. 2007:295-296). Los autores señalan, además, tres argumentos que explican esa presencia tan notable. El primero es el carácter que el inglés ha adquirido como lengua mundial o internacional; el segundo se fundamenta en la frecuencia con la que el producto anunciado procede de Estados Unidos o del Reino Unido y en que, tal vez, no cuente con un equivalente adecuado en la lengua en la se publica el anuncio; el tercero sostiene que el inglés tiende a asociarse con un estilo de vida moderno y, por tanto, sirve para persuadir al consumidor de que se haga con determinados productos. Como bien indica Al-Dabbagh (2005:3): "English has become the Latin of the contemporary world"; y, ya en 2001 diferentes académicos (Modiano, 2001; Jenkins, 2001; Seidhlofer, 2001) planteaban la existencia de una variedad de inglés europeo o *Euro-English*. Sin embargo, las investigaciones de Mollin (2006) parecen descartar la existencia de tal variedad, al no ser ésta una variedad de inglés 'endonormativa', sino dependiente de las normas establecidas por las variedades nativas como el inglés británico o el norteamericano, principalmente.

En el contexto de España podemos señalar que, desde hace ya muchos años, autores como Emilio Lorenzo (1966) han mostrado su preocupación en torno a esta cuestión. Hoy, más de cuarenta años después, no sólo seguimos observando esta realidad, sino que, además, podríamos aventurarnos a afirmar que incluso se ha intensificado. Y esto se demuestra en el importante número de términos del inglés que han pasado a formar parte de nuestra habla cotidiana en tan variados ámbitos, como el del deporte (Fernández García, 1971) o el de la economía y las finanzas (Sevilla Muñoz y Sevilla Muñoz, 1996; Gómez Moreno, 1996). Palabras como *marketing, top less, miss, top model, pop, rap, stock, feedback* y un largo etcétera se han convertido en parte de nuestra habla cotidiana, especialmente en la de los adolescentes, que parecen más receptivos a dichos influjos, tal como han demostrado distintos estudios (Rodríguez-González y Lillo-Buades, 1999; Rodríguez-Gonzá-

lez, 2004; Luján-García, 2003; Luján-García, 2008). Los términos y las expresiones del inglés también se hacen notar en las calles de numerosas ciudades españolas, concretamente en los rótulos publicitarios de tiendas y establecimientos en general, tal y como veremos más adelante.

En diferentes partes de Europa se han llevado a cabo diversos estudios que analizan el empleo del inglés en los carteles de establecimientos. El trabajo de Ross (1997) en Italia pone de manifiesto la importante presencia del inglés en los carteles, aunque el autor observa que esta influencia parece estar decayendo y que se está dejando entrever una vuelta al uso más frecuente del italiano en éstos, invirtiéndose. Por su parte, McArthur (2000) muestra la notable presencia del inglés en los rótulos publicitarios en las ciudades de Zürich (Suiza) y Uppsala (Suecia). Schlick (2002) centra su investigación en tres ciudades europeas, Klagenfurt, Udine y Liubliana y descubre que, aunque aparecen carteles en otras lenguas como el francés o el italiano, el inglés es la lengua extranjera empleada con mayor frecuencia. Griffin (2004), por su parte, detecta una presencia importante de anglicismos en los rótulos de Roma. Ese mismo año, Stewart y Fawcett (2004) llevan a cabo estudios similares en varias ciudades del norte de Portugal y concluyen que un 10% de los rótulos analizados está en inglés. Incluso en el este de Europa se hacen eco de estas influencias. Así, Dimova (2007) estudia la presencia del inglés en los rótulos y en los escaparates de numerosos establecimientos en Macedonia, destacando el notable uso del inglés, especialmente en los carteles relacionados con tiendas de moda y *boutiques,* así como de bares y restaurantes.

Centrándonos en el contexto de Canarias, debemos señalar la importancia y la necesidad de llevar a cabo un estudio de este tipo, dada la naturaleza turística de estas islas y, por consiguiente, la influencia a la que están expuestas con el constante ir y venir de turistas, muchos de ellos provenientes del Reino Unido. En dicho contexto, cabe mencionar un trabajo realizado por Medina López en 1991 sobre la presencia del inglés en los carteles publicitarios en la isla de Tenerife. Este trabajo constituye un primer acercamiento a la presencia del inglés en los rótulos publicitarios en Canarias. Se centra únicamente en las ciudades de Santa Cruz y La Laguna, en la isla de Tenerife. Por otro lado, también existe un trabajo reciente (González Cruz et al., 2009) que estudia el uso que hacen de los anglicismos las generaciones jóvenes canarias y alude a la presencia de rótulos publicitarios en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Sin embargo, no lleva a cabo un análisis exhaustivo de dichos carteles en este contexto. Por tanto, dada la ausencia de trabajos anteriores que se ocupen en profundidad del contexto de la isla de Gran Canaria y teniendo en cuenta la condición turística de la isla, hemos considerado necesario elaborar un estudio de esta índole.

En el presente artículo nos centraremos en la notable presencia de anglicismos en los rótulos publicitarios de las dos principales zonas comerciales de la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

2. Objetivos

En esta investigación perseguimos dar respuesta a las siguientes preguntas:

- ¿Qué grado de presencia de lengua inglesa se advierte en los rótulos publicitarios de las dos principales zonas comerciales de la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria?
- ¿Qué tipo de mensajes en inglés aparecen en los carteles publicitarios? ¿ Se emplean sólo términos en inglés o se mezclan con otros en español dando lugar a híbridos de ambas lenguas?
- ¿Qué variedad de inglés se prefiere o se utiliza más en los carteles publicitarios, la británica o la americana?
- ¿Qué tipo de comercio está más asociado al uso de anglicismos?

3. Metodología

La metodología empleada se basó en la búsqueda de carteles publicitarios en las calles de las dos principales zonas comerciales de la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Concretamente, se cubrieron veinticinco calles y dos plazas de la zona comercial conocida como Triana y veinte calles de la zona comercial de Mesa y López. Una vez que se tomaba nota del nombre del rótulo publicitario, también se anotaba el de la calle y el número del establecimiento. Asimismo, también se procedió a fotografiar cada cartel. La búsqueda de dichos rótulos se llevó a cabo entre julio y octubre de 2009.

3.1. Muestra

Consideramos que la muestra es bastante representativa de la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, ya que abarca las dos principales zonas comerciales y sus alrededores. La primera es la zona comercial de Triana, probablemente la más popular entre los ciudadanos de la ciudad objeto de este estudio, al tratarse de un área peatonal muy agradable. La segunda área es la de la Avenida Mesa y López y su entorno.

A continuación, mostramos un desglose por calles de los carteles encontrados.

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
Bernardino Correa Viera	*Canary Morteros*	Construcción	20
	The Italian Touch	Decoración	
	JM Vending	Restauración	
	Viajes Arrivals	Agencia de viajes	
San Nicolás	*Work- Sound and Light Products*	Auto-repuestos	11
	Hot Pan	Supermercado	
	Eder – Audio Creative Power	Comunicaciones	
	Impression	Moda	
Primero de Mayo	*Duomo's Pizza*	Restauración	46
	Music Arte	Música	
	Metal Confort- Steelcase	Decoración del hogar	
	Liquidación stock planta baja	Decoración del hogar	
	Stressless	Decoración del hogar	
	Branemark Osseoin- tegration Center	Medicina	
	The Otaku Side	Medicina	
	Grow-smart- head shop	Esoterismo	
Bravo Murillo	*Fitness Canarias*	Deportes	25
	Délano Pilates center	Deportes	
Triana	*Program Vision*	Óptica	121
	Ziving	Moda	
	Rolfy Peluquero's	Peluquería	
	Nexo (man and woman)	Moda	

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
	Sun Planet	Óptica	
	Foot Locker	Moda	
	Zara Home	Decoración del hogar	
	Mc Carthy's food & wine	Restauración	
	Estadio Sport	Deportes	
	The Phone House	Comunicaciones	
	Miss Sixty	Moda	
	Energie	Moda	
	I Love Sale	Moda	
	One Pass	Deportes	
	New Collection	Moda	
Losero	*Sony Gallery*	Comunicaciones	4
Peregrina	*Welcome Fred Perry*	Moda	16
	Blossom- centro maternal	Guardería	
	Tetería- Bar chill-out Little Budha	Restauración	
	Moebius- libros, comics, CD, merchandising	Librería	
Malteses	*4 you*	Librería	10
Torres	*Sawali House*	Decoración del hogar	6
Cano	*Nice Day Nice Things*	Moda	28
	Carhart love my way	Moda	
	Corner	Moda	
	Pin'Up	Moda	
	Paco Rabanne Ultrared	Moda	
	Inter nos Outlet	Moda	

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
Plaza San Bernardo	*Bazar S.O.S.*	Supermercado	21
	Bang & Olufsen	Decoración del hogar	
Constantino	*Hello Kitty*	Moda	19
	Drap Stock	Moda	
	Queco's	Moda	
	Tea and Coffee pot	Restauración	
Viera y Clavijo	*Velvet*	Decoración del hogar	49
	Green Design	Decoración del hogar	
	Tropical Sol	Estética	
	Star sol V	Estética	
	Norvending- 24 horas self service	Supermercado	
	MBT- The anti-shoe	Moda	
	D'Benis regalos	Decoración y regales	
	Fun & basics	Moda	
Domingo J. Navarro	*Deportes Match*	Moda	19
	Different	Moda	
	Cafetería Midway	Restauración	
	Franchising 7 camicie	Financiera / banco	
Francisco Gourié	*Bazar Sport*	Moda	33
	Nails Center	Estética	
	Radio Express	Comunicaciones	
	Fashion you	Moda	
	Tapas & Rock taberna	Restauración	
	Handmade accesorios	Moda	

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
	Sabina Prestige	Perfumería	
Miguel de Cervantes	*Car wash*	Gasolinera	4
	El outlet de Triana	Moda	
Rafael Cabrera	*Nails Decor*	Estética	
	Beautyshop	Peluquería	
	Digital print	Comunicaciones	
	Parking Triana	Aparcamiento	
	World Credit Finance	Financiera / banco	
	Planning	Decoración del hogar	
	Clean and Clean	Tintorería	
	Charter Air Service	Agencia de viajes	
	Mega Park Family Centers	Diversión / ocio	
	Brokerman Seguros	Financiera / banco	
	Fundosa Social Consulting	Financiera / banco	
	Confort mueble	Decoración del hogar	
	Hello telefonía y comunicaciones	Comunicaciones	
Perdomo	*Brickcafé*	Restauración	21
	Budy's	Restauración	
	Session's	Moda	
	Day a day	Moda	
	Atrium clothing	Moda	
	Marty & Junior	Moda infantil	
Pérez Galdós	*Showroom Trastornados*	Moda	14

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
	Mummy	Moda	
	Abacaxy Showroom	Moda	
	Iguapop plays ping pong	Moda	
	London Calling English Academy	Academia	
	Art corner	Decoración del hogar	
Tomás Morales	*Consulting 3 ases*	Financiera / banco	42
	Inmobiliaria Boom Pisos	Financiera / banco	
	Abbey coffee and cakes	Restauración	
	Decorart	Decoración del hogar	
	Fina's artículos de regalos	Decoración del hogar	
	Daily Price	Comunicaciones	
	Ofi Masters	Comunicaciones	
	Check point	Comunicaciones	
	Tattoo Piercing	Estética	
	Celeste Copygraph	Comunicaciones	
	Fashion Time	Moda	
Murga	*Canary Dream*	Moda	20
	The Monito's	Restauración	
	Showroom Moda mujer	Moda	
	Fotocopiadoras Develop	Comunicaciones	
	Pro print	Comunicaciones	
	Irish Corner	Restauración	
Senador Castillo Olivares	*Canary Books*	Librería	21

	Carteles publicitarios en inglés	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
	Play School	Educación	
	ADL Computers	Comunicaciones	
	Tec Soft Consulting	Comunicaciones	
Canalejas	*Ernest*	Moda	23
	Archicenter Graphisoft	Comunicaciones	
	Animal Park	Veterinario	
General Bravo	*Lollipops*	Moda	22
	The Yeats Irish Academy	Educación	
	Herval Home	Decoración del hogar	
Travieso	*Concept Peluqueros*	Peluquería	20
	Alfarart	Decoración del hogar	
Curves Amaze Yourself	Estética		
Plaza Cairasco	*Underground Las Palmas*	Restauración	5
	Start People	Financiera / banco	
José Arencibia Gil	*Servipublic*	Comunicaciones	2

TABLA 1. Muestra tomada de la zona comercial de Triana y alrededores especificando el nº total de establecimientos en cada calle

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
Daoiz	*Boys urban style*	Moda	12
Puerto Rico	*The Best Nails*	Estética	5
Avenida Mesa y López	*Final Credit*	Financiera / banco	140
	Practicante Body-Piercing	Sanidad	
	Orange – Tiendas Conexión	Comunicaciones	
	Stafford Vídeo digital	Comunicaciones	
	Bed's	Decoración del hogar	
	La Caixa – Savings Bank	Financiera / banco	
	Peluquero's	Estética	
	Hincapie – Made in Spain	Moda	
	Natur House	Estética	
	Pepe Chiringo – Café Burguer	Restauración	
	Salón Recreativo Waikiki – Internet – Automatic Games	Ocio y diversión	
	H@ckers – Arena Cybercafé	Ocio y diversión	
	Fashion you	Moda	
	Mini market Green	Supermercado	
	Our Prime Coffee – Primer Express	Restauración	
	Natural Optics	Óptica	
	Mays Group	Financiera / banco	
	Visionlab	Óptica	
	Centro Recreativo Star Wars	Ocio y diversion	
	Footlocker	Moda	
	Zara Home	Decoración del hogar	

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
Avenida Mesa y López	*Massimo Dutti Women*	Moda	
	Program Vision	Óptica	
	Feeling	Moda	
	Bounty Hombre	Moda	
	Salón Recreativo Cyber's@Zero Slot Machines Pinball	Ocio y diversión	
	Natural Burguer	Restauración	
Viriato	*Eco Fresh Supermercado*	Supermercado	6
Plaza de España	*Select*	Moda	17
	Mario's Cruzcampo	Restauración	
León Tolstoy	*Ferretería Pieza's*	Ferretería	10
	Duomo's Pizza	Restauración	
Pasaje de Inglaterra	*Hello Kitty*	Moda y complementos	6
	Sunao Teens	Moda	
	Fashion Hairstyle	Peluquería	
Juan Manuel Durán	*Drugstore 3*	Supermercado	75
	Peluqueros Sisi's	Peluquería	
	Bar Piscolabis New Mimolett	Restauración	
	Quest	Moda	
	Maya Fashion	Moda	
	Rembrandt art centre	Decoración del hogar	
	Sessions	Moda	

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
	Krisna Pijama Shop	Moda	
	Lawyer	Abogado	
	Super Stars	Moda	
	Nimi's	Supermercado	
	Drap-stock	Moda	
	Number one	Moda	
	Beauty Hair	Peluquería	
	Morales Pastelería snack-buffet	Restauración	
	World Language Center	Academia	
Pasaje de Finlandia	*Tattoo*	Estética	6
	Nimi's	Supermercado	
	Tattoed art by Mark Heinkel	Estética	
Galicia	*Momu Woman*	Moda	28
	The Body Shop	Estética	
	Cesar Cubas-Juan Twin's	Peluquería	
	Mega Park- family center	Ocio-diversión	
General Vives	*Leo's Kilo*	Decoración del hogar	20
	Cerrojo Surf Shop	Deportes	
Veintinueve de Abril	*Orchestra*	Moda	15
Olof Palme	*Sun Frío Electrodomésticos*	Decoración del hogar	13
	New Computer	Comunicaciones	
	Parking Olof Palme	Aparcamiento	
Fernando Guanarteme	*Tinten – tower – tankstation*	Comunicaciones	43

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios en inglés*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Total comercio existente*
Fernando Guanarteme	*Pub Black Ball*	Restauración	
	Holland Bar	Restauración	
	Kickboxing	Deportes	
	Click	Agencia de viajes	
Tomás Alva Edison	*Mini sport*	Deportes	6
	The Corner- bar de copas	Restauración	
Galileo	*Fit Pilates*	Deportes	10
	Christian Life International Church	Iglesia	
Rafael Almeida	*Pilates Perfect Body*	Deportes	5
	Digital Service	Comunicaciones	
Pascal	*Orca Surf Shop*	Deportes	4
Churruca	*2M print*	Comunicaciones	12
	Confidente's 2005	Decoración de oficinas	

TABLA 2. Muestra tomada de la zona comercial Mesa y López y alrededores especificando el nº total de establecientos en cada calle

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Idioma*
Triana	Mondo Dolce	Golosinas	Italiano
Cano	Chapeau, Chapeau	Complementos	Francés
Fco. Gourié	Roche Bobois Paris	Mobiliario	Francés
Senador Castillo Olivares	Ars Vivendi	Herbolario	Latín
Plaza Cairasco	Restaurante O' Sole Mio	Restauración	Italiano

TABLA 3. Muestra de rótulos en otras lenguas en la zona comercial de Triana y alrededores

Calle	*Carteles publicitarios*	*Tipo de comercio*	*Idioma*
Juan Manuel Durán	Incontro	Restaurante	Italiano
Mesa y López	A Mangiare	Restaurante	Italiano
Mesa y López	O Sole Mio	Restaurante	Italiano

TABLA 4. Muestra de rótulos en otras lenguas en la zona comercial de Mesa y López y alrededores

4. Resultados obtenidos

A continuación, realizaremos un desglose de los rótulos publicitarios encontrados en las dos zonas objeto de este estudio. En primer lugar, y como se puede observar en la Tabla 1, en la zona comercial de Triana se rastrearon 25 calles y 2 plazas. El número total de establecimientos contados en dichas calles fue de 695, y en ellos había 132 rótulos que contenían algún anglicismo. Por tanto, podemos decir que un 18,9% del total de los carteles hallados en esta zona contenía algún término en inglés. Asimismo, si dividimos el número de carteles entre el número de calles objeto de este estudio, nos da un resultado de 4,8 rótulos por calle que emplean el inglés.

La segunda zona comercial analizada (ver Tabla 2) fue la de Mesa y López. En esta zona se rastreó un total de 19 calles en las cuales se encontraron un total de 433 establecimientos. De éstos, 80 presentaban rótulos con algún término o mensaje en inglés, lo que constituye un 18,4% del total. Si dividimos el número de carteles en inglés entre el número de calles examinadas, el resultado sería de 4,2 rótulos en inglés por calle.

Como podemos observar, los resultados obtenidos en ambas zonas analizadas no varían demasiado. Por consiguiente, podríamos afirmar que un 19% de los rótulos publicitarios en las principales zonas comerciales de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria presentan algún término o mensaje en inglés, lo que implica una media de unos 4,5 carteles en inglés por calle.

Este resultado no se aleja de otros obtenidos en estudios similares como el de Griffin (2004:6), que halló un total de 225 casos de inglés en 19 calles/plazas en Roma. El estudio se centra fundamentalmente en determinar en qué zona de Roma (distingue 7 zonas) aparece el mayor número de anglicismos, pero no aporta una muestra detallada de cuáles son los anglicismos empleados, ni del número total de

rótulos presentes en dichas zonas. McArthur (2000:35-36) encontró 117 casos sumando los resultados obtenidos en las ciudades de Uppsala y Zürich. Este autor ofrece un análisis detallado de los rótulos, desglosando las distintas lenguas empleadas (inglesa, alemana, francesa o combinaciones de éstas), dado el carácter multilingüe de esas ciudades. Por su parte, Schlick (2002:7) emplea una muestra de 102 rótulos en su análisis de tres ciudades (Klagenfurt, Udine y Liubliana). Esta autora también distingue las lenguas empleadas en los rótulos, y los tipos de comercios asociados al uso de anglicismos.

Teniendo en cuenta el carácter monolingüe (castellanohablante) del contexto de Canarias, y dado que no se da la convivencia natural de varias lenguas, como ocurre en algunas de las ciudades europeas anteriormente mencionadas, distinguiremos diferentes tipos de presencia de la lengua inglesa en los carteles.

- En algunos casos, observamos una mezcla de español e inglés, es decir, un término en inglés y otro en español.
- En otros rótulos, el nombre del establecimiento aparece sólo en inglés. Aquí debemos hacer una diferenciación entre: a) los carteles con mensaje en inglés únicamente y b) los que utilizan la construcción sintáctica del genitivo sajón en el rótulo, bien modificando un nombre en inglés, bien en español.
- Un tercer caso es el de los carteles que ofrecen lo que podríamos llamar híbridos o palabras cuya raíz está en español y su terminación, en inglés. Un ejemplo muy frecuente de híbrido es la palabra *puenting*.

Así pues, distinguiremos cuatro tipos de usos del inglés en los rótulos. Con tal fin, la siguiente tabla ofrece el porcentaje de carteles de cada tipo.

Antes de iniciar el análisis, debemos hacer constar que, como es de esperar, la lengua que con mayor frecuencia se utiliza en los carteles publicitarios de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria es lógicamente la lengua oficial, el español, con un 81% del total de rótulos presentes en la zona de Triana y un 81,5% del total de carteles publicitarios en la zona de Mesa y López.

	Número de carteles	*%*
Español e inglés	39	29,5
a. Sólo inglés	82	62,1
b. Genitivo sajón	7	5,3
Híbridos (inicio del término en español y final en inglés)	4	3

TABLA 5. Porcentajes de carteles publicitarios en inglés en la zona de Triana

	Número de carteles	*%*
Español e inglés	25	31,2
a. Sólo inglés	46	57,5
b. Genitivo sajón	9	11,2
Híbridos (inicio del término en español y final en inglés)	0	0

TABLA 6. Porcentajes de carteles publicitarios en inglés en la zona de Mesa y López

Sin embargo, y dado que este estudio se ocupa de analizar la presencia del inglés en los rótulos de comercios, debemos señalar que, como se puede observar en las Tablas 1 y 2, el porcentaje de carteles publicitarios que utilizan únicamente el inglés es claramente superior: en el caso de la zona de Triana, un 62,1% y en la zona de Mesa y López, un 57,5% del total. Es imposible no relacionar una presencia tan notable con la influencia y el impacto que la cultura angloamericana ejerce actualmente sobre nuestra sociedad. De ahí que estos carteles publicitarios estén escritos en inglés y no en francés, italiano o alemán, lenguas cuya presencia no es significativa (ver Tablas 3 y 4).

Otros estudios realizados en campos afines como el de la traducción de títulos cinematográficos (Calvo, 2000; Santaemilia, 2000; Serrano, 2001; Hernández y Mendiluce, 2005) ponen de manifiesto, asimismo, la tendencia al alza de no traducir los títulos, que se mantienen en versión original inglesa. En el ámbito de la publicidad española, Durán (2002:175) resalta que el inglés es la principal lengua extranjera empleada, ya que su empleo se asocia con valores como el prestigio y la autenticidad, que además implican captar la atención de un posible cliente y persuadirlo. El mismo autor (2002:175) sabiamente destaca que, en el ámbito de la publicidad,

> los mensajes redactados en inglés no sólo no imposibilitan la comunicación sino que además favorecen este particular acto comunicativo: si no fuera así, el discurso publicitario no recurriría a ellos con la asiduidad que muestra hoy en día.

El lenguaje empleado en los rótulos publicitarios no dista del empleado en la publicidad en general. Por consiguiente, estas ideas previamente expuestas son perfectamente aplicables al tema que nos ocupa.

La segunda posición, la presencia de rótulos publicitarios en inglés, les corresponde a los carteles en los que se observa el uso conjunto del inglés y del español, con un 29,5% en Triana y un 31,2% en Mesa y López. En este trabajo, podemos afir-

mar que los resultados son opuestos a los del estudio de Dimova (2007:20) sobre la presencia del inglés en rótulos publicitarios de Macedonia. En su trabajo, los porcentajes más altos eran los de carteles bilingües, frente a los monolingües en inglés. En Las Palmas de Gran Canaria hay una clara superioridad de los carteles monolingües en inglés sobre los que lo mezclan con el español, como se refleja en las Tablas 5 y 6.

El tercer puesto lo ocupa el empleo de la construcción del genitivo sajón, propio de la lengua inglesa. En la zona de Triana el porcentaje es de un 5,3%, y en Mesa y López, un 11,2%. Si bien se trata de porcentajes no muy altos, son significativos, ya que resulta llamativo cómo una simple estructura sintáctica del inglés puede llenar carteles publicitarios en la ciudad objeto de este análisis.

Por último, el porcentaje más bajo, un 3% (zona de Triana), lo obtiene el uso de híbridos o términos construidos a partir de una raíz española y un sufijo inglés, en palabras como *vending, planing* o el muy popular, aunque no presente en este estudio, *puenting*. Se trata de vocablos curiosos que parecen encontrarse en proceso de naturalización en nuestra lengua, aunque, como cabe esperar, aún no han sido aceptados por la Real Academia Española.

En cuanto a qué variedad de inglés es la preferida o la más empleada en los carteles publicitarios en la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, sería difícil de concretar, ya que se emplean términos pertenecientes a las dos variedades. Por un lado, podemos observar el uso de la palabra norteamericana *center* en 4 rótulos (3 en el área de Triana y 1 en el de Mesa y López), frente a un solo caso en el que se emplea su alternativa británica *centre* (zona de Mesa y López). Por otro lado, advertimos la presencia de la palabra *store* (1 caso en la zona de Mesa y López), frente a la palabra *shop,* que aparece en 3 rótulos. El término *amaze,* cuya ortografía es norteamericana, se emplea igualmente. El vocablo *program,* más propio de Norteamérica, aparece en dos rótulos pertenecientes a dos establecimientos de la misma cadena *(Program Vision)*.

A la vista de los resultados obtenidos, podríamos decir que la mayoría de las muestras tomadas presentan palabras neutrales, en el sentido de que su ortografía no es propia de ninguna variedad en concreto. En el presente trabajo no se podría afirmar que una variedad se prefiera frente a la otra.

Con respecto a cuál es el tipo de establecimiento que más se asocia con el uso de anglicismos, se trata en buena medida de los que están relacionados con el mundo de la moda y la estética (*boutiques,* tiendas de ropa, peluquerías). En la zona de Triana, de los 132 carteles publicitarios analizados, un total de 49 (37,1%) están en comercios que se dedican a la moda y a la estética, junto a la zona de Mesa y López, donde 27 (33,7%) de los 80 comercios examinados también se dedican a

la misma actividad. La decoración del hogar, que está relacionada con la moda, también emplea el inglés en 18 (13,6%) carteles en la zona de Triana, y 6 (7,5%) rótulos en el área de Mesa y López. Asimismo, el campo de la restauración presenta 15 anglicismos en 15 (11,3%) carteles en la zona de Triana, y otros 15 (18,7%) en la de Mesa y López. El sector de las comunicaciones también tiende al uso de anglicismos, con 13 (9.8%) rótulos en la zona de Triana, frente a 6 (7,5%) en la de Mesa y López. No obstante, podemos encontrar términos en inglés prácticamente en cualquier tipo de establecimiento. A este último tipo lo hemos llamado "otros", y lo componen un total de 32 (24,2%) establecimientos en Triana y 15 (18,9%) en Mesa y López. A continuación, en la siguiente tabla aportamos datos concretos de algunos tipos de establecimientos donde se hallaron bastantes términos en inglés.

Tipo de comercio	*Zona Triana (132 establecimientos)*	*Zona Mesa y López (80 establecimientos)*
Moda, estética y peluquería	49 (37,1%)	27 (33,7%)
Comunicaciones	13 (9,8%)	6 (7,5%)
Restauración	15 (11,3%)	15 (18,7%)
Decoración del hogar	18 (13,6%)	6 (7,5%)
Deportes	4 (3%)	6 (7,5%)
Ocio y diversión	1 (0,7%)	5 (6,2%)
Otros	32 (24,2%)	15 (18,9%)

TABLA 7. Muestra de tipos de comercios en las dos zonas comerciales analizadas

Debemos señalar que, en el estudio realizado por Dimova (2007:21), los resultados en cuanto a tipos de comercios asociados al uso de anglicismos fueron bastante similares a los obtenidos en el presente trabajo.

Como indicamos anteriormente, en lo que respecta al uso de otras lenguas extranjeras en los carteles publicitarios objeto de este estudio, debemos señalar que la presencia no es significativa, como puede observarse en las Tablas 3 y 4.

5. Conclusiones

Podemos afirmar que la lengua inglesa está presente en los rótulos publicitarios de los establecimientos de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria de una manera destacable. Una vez realizado el estudio sobre las dos principales zonas comerciales de la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, los resultados desvelan que existe una presencia media de unos 4,5 rótulos por calle analizada.

Por consiguiente, y teniendo en cuenta los distintos tipos de presencia del inglés en los rótulos publicitarios, atendiendo a:

- si utilizan sólo la lengua inglesa o la construcción sintáctica anglosajona del genitivo sajón;
- si mezclan el inglés con el castellano;
- si se usan híbridos o términos en los que se mezclan el español y el inglés,

los resultados revelan que, con una gran diferencia, entre los carteles publicitarios que utilizan lenguas extranjeras en la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria predominan aquellos en los que se utiliza únicamente el inglés. A continuación, con un porcentaje bastante inferior, se hallan aquellos rótulos en los que se mezcla el inglés con el español. En la siguiente posición, se encuentra el uso de la construcción de genitivo sajón y, por último, la utilización de híbridos o mezclas en los carteles publicitarios estudiados. Estos resultados se asemejan a los de otras investigaciones centradas en otros campos, como el análisis de la presencia del inglés en la traducción de los títulos de las películas estrenadas en 2008 en la ciudad objeto de estudio, donde la tendencia a mantenerlos en su versión original inglesa es al alza (Luján-García, 2009). Otras autoras (González-Cruz et al., 2009) examinan el uso que hacen las generaciones más jóvenes en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria de los anglicismos y concluyen, asimismo, que la tendencia es al alza. Los titu-

lares de la prensa escrita también han sido investigados (Luján-García, 2003) y los resultados destacan igualmente la presencia notable y creciente que el inglés tiene en ellos.

En cuarto lugar, hemos pretendido dar respuesta a la pregunta de qué variedad es la preferida por los canarios de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria a la hora de diseñar un rótulo publicitario para sus establecimientos. Sin embargo, los resultados no aportan una clara preferencia por ninguna de las dos variedades.

En quinto lugar, observamos que muchas veces el empleo del inglés en los rótulos publicitarios está asociado con los campos de la moda y la belleza, seguidos de otros como el de la restauración, la decoración del hogar y las comunicaciones que presentan porcentajes inferiores. Los ámbitos del deporte y del ocio ofrecen porcentajes aún más bajos. Por último, el apartado "otros" recoge comercios variados. Se decidió realizar un apartado que compilara la muestra de estos comercios, que de forma individual ofrecían una muestra muy baja (ver Tabla 7). De ahí podemos deducir que la presencia de términos en inglés se extiende a cualquier sector.

Queremos insistir en que en los últimos años se han llevado a cabo estudios similares a éste en diferentes puntos de Europa tales como Austria, Macedonia, Italia, Suecia y Suiza. Sus resultados no varían demasiado de los obtenidos en este trabajo, como ya se ha señalado anteriormente y, asimismo, demuestran que la influencia que la cultura angloamericana está ejerciendo en todo el mundo y, por supuesto, en nuestro país, es una realidad innegable. Además, en cuanto al tipo de comercio asociado al uso de anglicismos, Canarias se asemeja a Macedonia (Dimova, 2007), ya que vemos que la moda y la estética son los entornos más dados al uso de términos en inglés. Sin embargo, este estudio difiere de los de McArthur (2000:35-36) y Schlick (2002:7) en el hecho de que éstos analizan la presencia del inglés en términos comparativos con varias lenguas como el alemán, francés, etc. No obstante, en esta investigación, nos hemos centrado en la presencia del inglés en comparación con el castellano. La razón primordial se debe a la naturaleza multilingüe de las ciudades investigadas por estos autores frente al monolingüismo de la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. En términos cuantitativos, los resultados de este trabajo ofrecen un total de 212 anglicismos hallados en un total de 46 calles y plazas (teniendo en cuenta las dos zonas analizadas).

A partir de los hallazgos de este trabajo, podemos concluir que el impacto del inglés en Europa es un hecho innegable. Canarias no es una excepción, pues la influencia de dicha lengua es una realidad que afecta a todos los ámbitos de la vida cotidiana. Estas islas constituyen un contexto sociocultural que no es inmune a los influjos "invasivos" de la lengua inglesa.

Se podría plantear la cuestión de hasta qué punto dicha influencia puede condicionar o "amenazar" nuestras tradiciones o costumbres. No cabe duda de que esas influencias tienen un impacto superior sobre las generaciones más jóvenes. Sin embargo, nos inclinamos a pensar que se trata de un fenómeno a corto plazo que responde más bien a una moda, y que no modifica sustancialmente los valores o tradiciones de nuestra cultura.

Por último, sería de gran interés repetir este estudio dentro de varios años en las mismas zonas examinadas para determinar si el empleo de inglés en rótulos publicitarios varía con respecto a los resultados actuales.

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THE FORMATION OF OLD ENGLISH ADVERBS: STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION AND FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION*

GEMA MAÍZ VILLALTA
Universidad de La Rioja
gema.maiz@unirioja.es

1. Introduction

Although derivational morphology is central to the lexicon of Old English (Kastovsky 1992), the analysis of adverb formation at this diachronic stage of the English language has not received much attention. Apart from the brief discussions found in descriptive grammars, such as Mitchell (1985), Campbell (1987) or Lass (1994), the only work focusing on the formation of adverbs is Nicolai (1907). Nicolai classifies the non-basic adverbs of Old English on the grounds of the category of the base on which they are formed and the morphological process from which the derivative results. Within the sub-class of deadjectival adverbs, which constitutes the most heterogeneous group in adverb formation, Nicolai distinguishes the following patterns:

(1) (based on Nicolai 1907)
a. adverbs derived from adjectives by means of *-e*: *bealde* 'boldly'
b. adverbs derived from adjectives by means of *-lice: cwiculi:ce* 'vigorously'
c. adverbs derived from previously derived adjectives: (adjective in *-sum*) *wilsumli:ce* 'desirably', (adjective in *-bæ:re*) *lustbæ:rli:ce* 'pleasantly', (adjective in *-fæst), staðolfæstli:ce* 'steadfastly', (adjective in *-wende*) *ha:lwendeli:ce* 'salutary', (adjective in *-we:ard*) *andweardli:ce* 'presently', (adjective in *-cund*) *innancundlice* 'inwardly' and (adjective in *-fe:ald*) *manigfealdli:ce* 'in various ways' (adjective in *-fe:ald*)

d. adverbs ending in *-a*: *tela* 'well'
e. adverbs that coincide in form with the adjective from which they derive: *heah* 'high'
f. adverbs from the genitive singular of the adjective: *ealles* 'all'
g. adverbs from the dative plural of the adjective: *middum* 'in the middle'
h. adverbs from the neuter accusative of the adjective: *mæ:st* 'most'
i. adverbs from adposition plus inflected noun: *togædere* 'together'
j. adverbs from the comparative of the adjective: *æ:ro* 'earlier'
k. adverbs from the superlative of the adjective: *oftost* 'most often'

In spite of Nicolai's valuable contribution to the tradition of philological studies, his work does not incorporate basic methodological distinctions on which there is consensus in contemporary linguistic theory, such as the ones between synchronic and diachronic processes and the differences between inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. An important consequence of this is that there are instances in which the adverb cannot be formed by productive means in Old English, which is tantamount to saying that no affixes can be distinguished from the perspective of contemporary morphological analysis. Another shortcoming of Nicolai's study is the lack of a clear-cut distinction between compounding and derivation. This author does not draw a dividing line between words and phrases, either. And, finally, his analysis is not exhaustive. As a general assessment, Nicolai's analysis on the formation of adverbs in Old English calls for a thorough revision based on up-to-date linguistic theory. Moreover, an exhaustive analysis of adverb formation is also needed, since Nicolai's inventories are not complete, as is clear from a comparison with any dictionary of Old English.

Given this state of the art, the aim of this article is to offer an exhaustive description of adverb formation in Old English as well as an explanation of the derivational processes that turn out adverbs in Old English, namely zero derivation, conversion, affixation and compounding. While affixation and compounding are used as in standard terminology, it must be borne in mind that zero derivation is used with the meaning of affixless derivation or derivation without inflectional affixes and that conversion represents a special case of zero derivation in which the target category is morphologically invariable. Throughout the discussion the position is held that conversion requires a Complex Word structure because inflection takes place at the immediate level of the word. Section 2 deals with descriptive questions, while section 3 engages in explanatory matters. Section 4 concludes by summarizing the main contributions of this research.

2. The description of adverb formation in Old English

The lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (www.nerthusproject.com) contains a total of ca. 30,000 entries, or headwords, taken primarily from Clark Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1996), and secondarily from Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1973) and Sweet's *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* (1976). I have followed the formalism adopted by *Nerthus* in two respects that deserve some comment. To begin with, I have opted for the colon to represent vowel length. And, secondly, I have kept the numbered headwords filed by *Nerthus* to maximize morphologically relevant constrast among predicates. As Martín Arista (2010a) explains, numbered entries have been used to account for different category, different morphological class or different alternative spellings, for predicates otherwise equal. For instance, *a:bu:tan* 1 'on, about, around, on the outside, round about' is an adposition and *a:bu:tan* 2 'about, nearly', an adverb. Similarly, *andfenge* 1 'acceptable, agreeable, approved, fit, suitable' is an adjective, whereas *andfenge* 2 'undertaker, helper, receptacle' is a noun. As for morphological class, *bese:on* 1 'to see, look, look round', for example, is a Class V strong verb, whereas *bese:on* 2 'to suffuse' qualifies as a Class I strong verb. In a similar vein, *byrðre* 1 'bearer, supporter' is a masculine noun whereas *byrðre* 2 'child-bearer, mother' is feminine. Regarding alternative spellings, two or more predicates receive a different number if they have different spelling variants, as is the case with *fo:dder* 1 'fodder, food; darnel, tares' with variants *fo:ddor* 1, *fo:ddur* 1, *fo:ter*, and *fo:dor*; *fo:dder* 2 'case, sheath' with variants *fo:ddor* 2 and *fo:ddur* 2; and *fo:dder* 3 'hatchet', with variants *fo:ddor* 3 and *fo:ddur* 3.

Nerthus yields a total of 1,654 adverbs (for the whole inventory, see the Appendix). The figure is comparatively low: adverbs represent around five percent of the lexicon, as opposed to nouns, which constitute, approximately, fifty percent of the lexicon, and adjectives and verbs, which count for twenty percent each. Focusing on the adverb, 138 adverbs have been found that cannot be derived by productive morphological means from any other word (or stem). The low figure of basic adverbs (138 out of 1,654) points out that the adverb constitutes a derived category. As an illustration of basic adverbs consider:

(2) *a: 1* 'always', *fægre* 'fairly', *hand 2* 'exactly', *na:nwiht 2* 'not at all', *si:de 1* 'amply'.

Turning to non-basic adverbs, 122 have undergone conversion processes. Conversion involves category extension (which brings about semantic modification) without formal change. On the other hand, zero-derivation takes place when there is a categorial extension that triggers a formal contrast between the source category and the target category. This formal contrast affects all forms

of the inflectional paradigm of the target category. The typology of zero-derivation phenomena in Old English includes (Martín Arista, fc-a): (i) zero derivation with explicit inflectional morphemes and without explicit derivational morphemes, as in *ri:dan* 'to ride' > *ri:da* 'rider'; (ii) zero derivation without explicit or implicit morphemes, whether inflectional or derivational, as in *bi:dan* 'to delay' > *bi:d* 'delay'; (iii) zero derivation without inflectional or derivational morphemes and with ablaut, as in *dri:fan* 'to drive' > *dra:f* 'action of driving'; and (iv) zero derivation with ablaut and unproductive formatives such as *-m* in *fle:on* 'to fly' > *fle:am* 'flight'.

Converted adverbs, according to the definitions just provided, are illustrated by (3). The target category is given between brackets:

(3) *æfter 2* 'after' (*æfter 3*, adjective), *e:aðe 2* 'easily' (*e:aðe 1*, adjective), *forð 1* 'forth' (*forð 3*, adjective), *onriht 2* 'aright' (*onriht 1*, adjective), *wiðer 3* 'against' (*wiðer 1*, adjective).

Conversion raises the problem of determining the direction of the process: either from the adverb or towards the adverb. The solution that I propose is based on the existence of inflection: whereas nouns and adjectives are highly inflected in Old English, adverbs are practically invariable with the exception of the expression of comparative or superlative grade, which is infrequent. I assume that conversion takes place from the more inflected to the less inflective class, that is, from nouns and adjectives to adverbs. This proposal is consistent with the well-attested diachronic evolution (Givón 2009:57) whereby inflectional morphology turns into derivational morphology. The adverb itself provides evidence for this view, given that some derivational suffixes are former inflectional morphemes, such as *–e* in *bealde* 'boldly' or *–es* in *ealles* 'all'. Another argument in favor of this view can be found in verbal *Ablaut*, which produces preterit and past participle stems that, ultimately, are available as bases of derivation.

98 adverbs can be analyzed as having been converted from adjectives (e.g. *a:nli:pe 2* 'alone', *wiðer 3* 'against'), whereas 4 adverbs only have been converted from nouns (e.g. *hinderling 2* 'backwards', *sci:re 1* 'brightly'). Along with these, 19 adverbs have been found for which there is a nominal and an adjectival candidate for base of conversion (e.g. *si:ð 2* 'late', *twigilde 2* 'with a double payment'). When more than one category can be the base of conversion (typically, the adjective and the noun) the adjective is chosen for two reasons: firstly, because categorial polysemy is far more frequent between the adverb and the adjective (98 instances out of 122) and, secondly, because the adverb and the adjective are modifiers, the former at clause level and the latter at phrase level.

Affixation involves the addition of an affix to a base of derivation, with or without change of the lexical category of the input. Affixation is the most productive derivational process engaged in adverb formation (865 out of 1,654), that is to say, more than fifty percent of adverbs are formed by means of affixation, suffixation qualifying as far more productive than prefixation. To take prefixation first, there were 199 prefixal adverbs. An illustration follows in (4) in which the relevant prefixes are given between brackets:

(4) *a:bu:fan* 'above' (*a:-*), *æfterso:na* 'soon, afterwards' (*æfter-*), *æ:ghwæ:r* 'everywhere' (*æ:g-*), *ætforan 2* 'beforehand' (*æ:t-*), *ande:ages* 'eye to eye' (*and-*), *beæftan 1* 'after' (*be-*), *binnan 2* 'inside' (*bi-*), *ealfela* 'very much' (*eal-*), *eallrihte* 'just' (*eall-*), *emtwa:* 'into two equal parts' (*em-*), *forberendli:ce* 'tolerably' (*for*), *foregle:awli:ce* 'providently' (*fore-*), *forðmid* 'at the same time' (*forð-*), *fre:afestli:ce* 'very quickly' (*fre:a-*), *fulgeare* 'quite well' (*ful-*), *fullgeorne* 'very eagerly' (*full-*), *gehwæ:r* 'everywhere' (*ge-*), *incu:ðli:ce* 'grievously' (*in-*), *ofdu:ne 1* 'down' (*of-*), *ofereall* 'anywhere' (*ofer-*), *onæ:r* 'formely' (*on-*), *sa:mha:l* 'unwell' *(sa:m), samli:ce* 'together' (*sam-*), *to:cyrcanwerd* 'towards church' (*to:-*), *ðurhlonge* 'continuously' (*ðurh-*), *una:blinnendli:ce* 'unceasingly' (*un-*), *underbæc* 'backwards' (*under-*), *u:pweard* 'upwards' (*u:p-*), *wiðæftan 1* 'from behind' (*wið-*), *wiðerræhtes* 'opposite' (*wiðer-*), *ymbu:tan 2* 'around' (*ymb-*).

The most frequent prefixal pattern involves the negative affix *un-* (46 instances), followed by the affix *for-* (25 instances), *on-* (20 instances) and *a:-* (14 instances). Turning to suffixation, 666 adverbs are derived by means of this process. The figure is high not only in comparison with prefixed adverbs, but also with respect to the total number of adverbs: around forty percent of adverbs are suffixal. Instances of adverb suffixation include:

(5) *elcora* 'else' (*-a*), *æftan* 'from behind' (*-an*), *æfterwearde* 'behind' (*-e*), *ierrenga* 'angrily' (*-enga*), *andlanges* 1 'along' (*-es*), *ðy:flig* 'brambly' (*-ig*), *forhtige* 'humbly' (*-ige*), *bra:dlinga* 'flatly' (*-linga*), *æ:fenli:ce* 'in the evening' (*-li:ce*), *bæcling* 'backwards' (*-ling*), *eallmæ:st* 'nearly all' (*mæ:st*), *æftum* 'after' (*-um*), *a:nunga* 'at once' (*-unga*).

The commonest pattern of adverb suffixation makes use of the suffix *–li:ce* (401 instances), followed by the suffix *–e* (124 instances). It is worth mentioning that whereas prefixation produces fewer derivatives by means of more prefixes, suffixation turns out more derivatives with fewer suffixes (there are 666 suffixed adverbs derived by 13 different suffixes and only 199 prefixed adverbs derived by means of 31 different prefixes), which stresses the productive character of the

suffixes that derive adverbs in Old English. The suffixes illustrated at (5) include those corresponding to the nominative of weak adjectives *-an* (18 instances), the genitive singular of nouns *-es* (46 instances), the genitive plural of nouns *-a* (8 instances) and the dative of adjectives and nouns *-um* (40 instances). Although Campbell (1987) and Lass (1994) consider the adverbs displaying these suffixes a product of inflection, these authors also remark that their nominal and adjectival bases have taken on a new adverbial meaning. I turn to suffixation by means of *-an*, *-es*, *-a* and *-um* in Section 3.

64 compound adverbs have been found throughout the analysis, illustrated by the following instances, for which the base is provided between brackets:

(6) *(ge)wellhwæ:r* 'nearly everywhere' (*hwæ:r 1*), *hu:hwega* 'somewhere about' (*hwega*), *e:astlang* 'to the east' (*lang*), *æcermæ:lum* 'by acres' (*mæ:lum*), *e:astrihte* 'due east' (*rihte*), *a:du:nweard* 'downwards' (*weard 3*), *hringwi:san* 'ringwise' (*wi:se 2*).

Approximately four percent of adverbs are formed through compounding. The patterns of adverb formation, by frequency, can be broken down as follows: noun+noun (31 instances), adverb+adverb (24 instances), noun+adverb (4 occurrences), adverb+adjective (3 instances) and noun+adjective (1 instance). There is one single case of three elements, *westnorðlang* 'extending north-westwards', formed by adverb+adverb+adjective. Unexpectedly, the commonest pattern is the one formed by noun+noun (adverbs with base *mæ:lum*), followed by the more predictable pattern adverb+adverb.

The morphological analysis reported in this section has shown that the formation of Old English adverbs reflects the associative character of the lexicon of the language pointed out by Kastovsky (1992:294):

> The OE [Old English-GMV] vocabulary thus is 'associative', the present-day English vocabulary is 'dissociated', because very often besides a Germanic lexical item there are semantically related non-Germanic derivatives, as in *mouth:oral, father:parental, sun:solar*.

Indeed, lexical creation relies on native resources to produce new lexical items, which brings about families of morphologically related words. The most productive pattern found in the analysis is the formation of adverbs by means of suffixation, particularly of the type *-lic* adjective > *-lice* adverb, which constitutes nearly twenty-five percent of adverbs.

Another lesson that can be learned from the morphological analysis that I have carried out is that the formation of adverbs is often gradual, that is, word-formation processes take place in a steplike manner and can, therefore, be

described by means of steplike derivational chains stating clearly input and output predicates (Torre Alonso *et al.* 2008). This is true of around eighty-five percent of derivations, while the other fifteen percent require hypothetical predicates between two attested forms so as to satisfy the aim of gradualness. Hypothetical predicates perform the function of path predicate, which links a source predicate to a target predicate. All the hypothetical predicates that have been defined are path predicates in the derivational chain of *-lice* adverbs, such as *a:blinnendli:c* in *a:blinnan* > *a:blinnend* > *a:blinnendli:c* > *a:blinnendli:ce* 'indefatigably'. Other adverbs whose gradual analysis of derivation requires a hypothetical predicate include:

(7) *æ:freli:ce* 'in perpetuity', *borli:ce* 'very, extremely', *cyrtenli:ce* 'elegantly', *rihtgele:afli:ce* 'in an orthodox manner', *unrihtha:d* 'in an improper manner'.

When dealing with the degree of transparency displayed by adverb formation, it is worth commenting that 56 adverbs constitute bracketing paradoxes, given that it is not possible to determine the relative order of the morphological processes that the base has undergone throughout derivation. Examples in point are:

(8) *forcu:ðe* 'infamously', *fullfremedli:ce* 'fully', *swa:ðe:ahhwæðre* 'however', *ungefe:rli:ce* 'in civil war', *u:pweardes* 'up, upwards'.

In example (8), *forcu:ðe* 'infamously', can be analized in two different ways: as the suffixation [[forcu:ð][e]] or as the prefixation [[for][cu:ðe]]. The same option arises in the gradual analysis of *fullfremedli:ce* 'fully', which can be analysed as the suffixation [[fullfremed][li:ce]] or as the prefixation [[full][fremedli:ce]].

3. Old English adverb formation and the Layered Structure of the Word

After the morphological description provided by Section 2, Section 3 goes on to explain matters relating to adverb formation. The theoretical model of derivational morphology I have chosen is the Layered Structure of the Word, henceforth LSW. LSW (Martín Arista 2008, 2009, fc-a, b) is a contribution to the morphological theory of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) that shares with Word Syntax (Baker 2003; Lieber 1992, 2004) and other functional grammars (Dik 1997a, b) the generalization of syntactic rules and principles to morphology. Thus, morphology borrows from syntax a layered structure consisting of a Nucleus to which Arguments are added within a

Core, with which a Periphery can be associated. Each layer has its own operators and operator scope over the outer layers implies scope over the inner layers. Along with the identification of these semantic domains, in LSW the interaction between syntax and morphology is accounted for in terms of projections and constructions: morphological features are projected and, if necessary, percolate in morphological constructions that specify functions in the Simplex Word and the Complex Word. A simplex Word can be broken down into a Nucleus with its derivational and inflectional operators, whereas a Complex Word consists of a Nucleus with its lexical constituents and its derivational and inflectional operators. In other words, the Complex Word is syntactically and semantically motivated, whereas the Simplex Word is semantically motivated only. Categorial features are primitives of description and explanation in the sense that they are not derived and, moreover, some lexical features are derived from them. For example, the affix that performs the function of Periphery of the Complex Word *disbeliever* shows up in the Prefield while the one that functions as Argument takes up the Postfield:

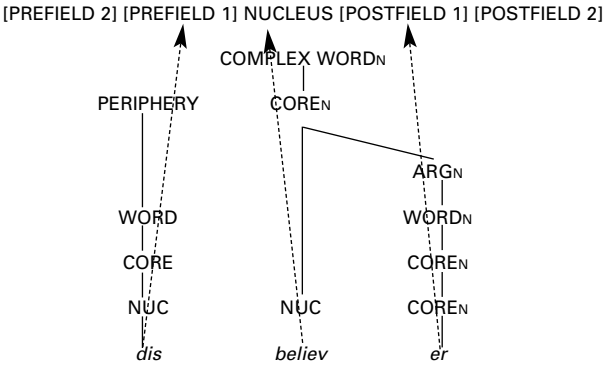

FIGURE 1: Linking meaning-form in the Complex Word

Notice that the arrows in Figure 1 represent the linking meaning-form, from the exocentric morphological construction in which the relevant features are projected from the Argument and percolate to the Core (thus the categorial feature N) to the language-specific morphological template consisting of pre-nuclear and post-nuclear slots that are available for lexical arguments. In a nutshell, the LSW represents elements which can be linked to syntax as lexical constituents in the constituent projection, and elements that cannot be linked to syntax as lexical operators in the operator projection. Grammatical operators at Word level are responsible for inflection.

Whereas tree diagrams constitute monostratal representations of the kind adopted by functional theories of language, derivational chains like the ones shown in (9) are governed by the principle of steplike morphological representation. The major Old English word-formation processes of zero-derivation, conversion, prefixation, suffixation and compounding are illustrated. Square brackets represent derivation (affixation and compounding), round brackets indicate zero-derivation or conversion, and curly brackets are used to account for inflection:

(9) (from Martín Arista 2010 a:8)

a. $[(\text{acan})_{V}\,(\text{ece})_{N}]_{N}$
zero-derivation, *ece* 'pain'

b. $[(\text{su:ðerne 1})_{Adj}\,(\text{su:ðerne 2})_{Adv}]_{Adv}$
conversion, *su:ðerne 2* 'southerly'

c. $[[\text{æfter}]_{Aff}\,[(\text{gengan})_{V}\,(\text{genga})_{N}]_{N}]_{N}$
prefixation, *æftergenga* 'follower'

d. $[[\{\{[[\text{a:}]_{Aff}\,[\text{belgan}]_{V}]_{V}\}_{V}\,\{\text{a:bolgen}\}_{Adj}\}_{Adj}]_{Adj}\,[\text{nes}]_{Aff}]_{N}$
suffixation, *a:bolgennes* 'irritation'

e. $[[[\text{sweord}]_{N}\,[(\text{wyrcean})_{V}\,(\text{wyrhta})_{N}]_{N}]_{N}$
compounding, *sweordwyrhta* 'sword-maker'

In the remainder of this section I apply the framework of LSW to the formation of Old English adverbs in order to explain the phenomenon under scrutiny as well as to contribute to the development of this theoretical model of derivational morphology. Beginning with conversion, inflection takes place in the Word layer and consequently, conversion affects the Nucleus and the Core of the Word, in such a way that the categorial feature of the Nucleus (source category) is replaced by that of the Core (target category). A case in point is rendered by Figure 2:

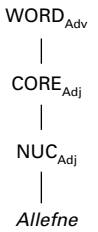

FIGURE 2: Conversion as Simplex Word

Conversion does produce complex words in LSW. As I have remarked above, complex words result from the insertion of lexical arguments (syntactic and semantic motivation), not from the insertion of lexical operators (semantic motivation of derivation) or grammatical operators (inflection). This view poses the problem of the motivation of the categorial label in Figure 2, which changes from Adj (adjective) to Adv (adverb) without any formal or functional justification, apart from the category of the derived word. I propose, instead, to explain conversion as the insertion of a word structure into another word structure, which may be counted as a structural and functional reason why the categorial label changes. This requires a modification of the definition of Complex Word in the LSW: a Complex Word is syntactically and semantically motivated, either by the insertion of lexical arguments into argumental slots or of a Simplex Word into the Nucleus. The representation of conversion as giving rise to a Complex Word is given in Figure 3:

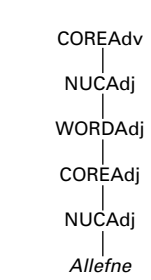

FIGURE 3: Conversion as Complex Word

This representation has two advantages. Firstly, it is parallel to those of affixation and compounding, where the node Complex Word dominates the node Word, which, in turn, directly dominates the element that triggers the morphological process. In Figure 3, similarly, Word causes category change and is dominated by a Complex Word displaying the label of the target category. In the terminology of LSW conversion is an endocentric morphological construction, given that the categorial feature is projected from the Nucleus and cannot percolate from lexical arguments showing up in Argument or Periphery position. And, secondly, the representation of conversion as a Complex Word has the additional advantage of allowing for a unified representation of adverbs formed by inflectional means, referred to in Section 2, where they have been discussed under the label of suffixation. In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon, however, the fact cannot be ignored that, whereas these affixes may constitute derivational means in synchronic analysis, they remain inflectional in a more diachronically oriented

approach. In line with this, Campbell (1987) and Lass (1994) consider a product of inflection the adverbs ending with the nominative of weak adjectives *-an*, the genitive singular of nouns *-es*, the genitive plural of nouns *–a*, and the dative of adjectives and nouns *-um*, but these authors also remark that their nominal and adjectival bases have taken on a new adverbial meaning. The analysis of conversion as a Complex Word guarantees that no relevant aspect is overlooked while merging synchronic (productive) and diachronic (recoverable) information. Indeed, the constituent projection of the LSW displays the synchronic process of class conversion, whereas the operator projection presents the diachronic process of inflection. This is represented by Figure 4.

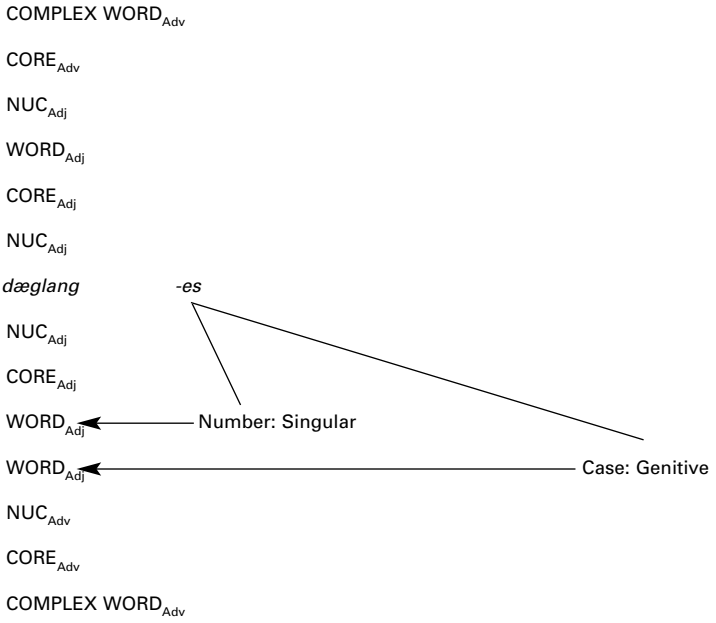

FIGURE 4: Inflection and conversion in Complex Word

We are now in a position to refine the new definition of the Complex Word in the LSW. As I have remarked above, inflection is dealt with at Word level in the LSW. Assuming that all Word nodes are inflected, a Complex Word can also be morphologically motivated by the insertion of an inflected Simplex Word into a structural position. This provides a more principled motivation of conversion than stating that conversion is the insertion of a word structure into another word structure.

Turning to affixation, this process is always endocentric because it does not involve lexical argument insertion. From the point of view of structural complexity, affixation in adverb formation requires Complex Word tree diagrams for morphological and semantic reasons. With regard to morphology, I have just proposed that conversion is suitably represented by means of a Complex Word, which applies to the conversion from words with both overt and covert inflection. It would be inconsistent, therefore, to analyze affixation, which adds an explicit derivational morpheme, in the Simplex Word as well as to deal with conversion, which lacks derivational marking, in the Complex Word. In semantics, it is often the case that adverbs are derived from adjectives in such a way that the change of meaning is predictable and regular, as in *a:metendlic* 'limited'> *a:metendlice* 'in a limited way'. In this way, an operator with scope over the Complex Way may be responsible for meaning change.

Whereas the conversion and affixation of adverbs project endocentric constructions, compound adverbs occur in endocentric and exocentric constructions. In endocentric constructions the morphological feature of category is projected from the adverbial Nucleus while the category of the Complex Word is assigned by Nucleus of the Word. This entails that there is projection of the features up the layered structure of constituents but there is no percolation. Endocentric constructions are mainly of the type adverb+adverb (24 instances) and, less frequently, of the type noun+adverb (4 instances). Figure 5 represents an endocentric compound:

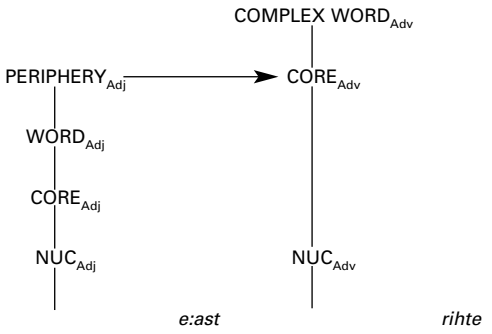

FIGURE 5: Endocentric adverbial compound

On the other hand, in the exocentric construction the category of the Complex Word node is assigned by the Adjunct of the compound, which is realized by a non-nuclear element. In this type of construction there is, consequently, percolation of the categorial feature from a non-nuclear element to the nuclear element.

Exocentric constructions are not very frequent and fall into the type adverb+adjective (4 instances). An instance of an exocentric construction in adverbial compounding is shown by Figure 6:

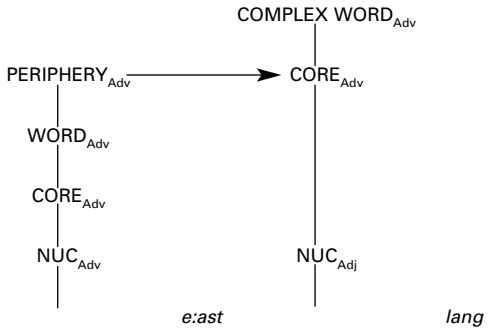

FIGURE 6: Exocentric construction in compounding

As has been pointed out at the beginning of the section, the distinction between endocentric and exocentric morphological constructions (Martín Arista 2009) is based on constituency, or, more specifically, on the notions of hierarchy (there are heads and non-heads in morphological constructions) and dependence (there are dependents and non-dependents in morphological constructions). The problem arises, however, of how to cope with compound adverbs whose category cannot be projected from any categorial label, or from the Base of the Adjunct. Throughout the analysis, I have come across one instance of adverbial compound with nominal Adjunct and adjectival Base (*ge:arlanges* 'from a year') and 31 instances of adverbial compound with nominal Adjunct and Base (e.g. *æcermæ:lum* 'by acres', *ge:armæ:lum* 'year by year', *ðræ:gmæ:lum* 'at times'). The LSW in its present state does not make provision for these instances because the categorial label of the top node of the tree diagram for the compound cannot be projected or percolated. The solution that I propose in this respect is to assign category at Complex Word label (see Figure 7), but a distinction has to be made between syntactic endocentricity and morphological endocentricity. The former turns up when there is feature percolation. The latter is the case when a morphological feature has to be inserted in the Complex Word layer, as in Figure 7. The operator projection only is given. Notice that, as I have remaked above, categorial features constitute primitives of description and explanation, in such a way that other morphological and lexical features derive from them:

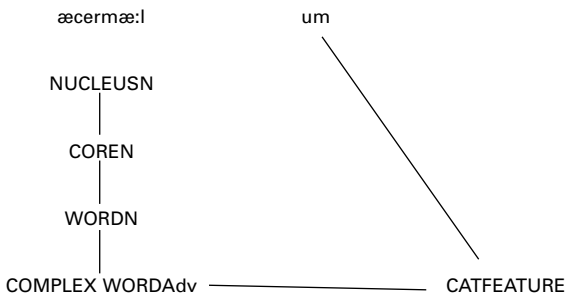

FIGURE 7: Morphological exocentricity in the operator projection

4. Concluding remarks

To sum up, an exhaustive morphological analysis of the Old English adverb has shown that this lexical class is mainly derived and that the direction of derivation is more often from adjective to adverb. An exhaustive analysis on the grounds of unit and process is offered in the Appendix. In the explanatory section of this journal article I have applied the LSW to the formation of adverbs in Old English and reached the conclusion that, whereas this morphological model provides a suitable framework for integrating synchronic and diachronic analysis as well as for allowing the interaction of morphology and syntax by means of generalizations based on lexical argument insertion, it does not deal accurately with conversion. Indeed, it has been shown that an analysis of conversion as giving rise to a Complex Word has advantages not only for conversion itself but also for a principled explanation of derivation by inflectional means. It has also been stressed that the notion of exocentricity held by the LSW is syntactic because it is concerned with the properties of hierarchy and dependence in the insertion of lexical arguments into Word structure. The existence of compounds whose morphological features cannot be projected from either their Base or their Adjunct requires a distinction between syntactic exocentricity (resulting from the percolation of morphological features) and morphological exocentricity (which takes place when a morphological feature has to be inserted at Complex Word level).

Notes

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Appendix: Basic And Derived Adverbs In Old English

Basic adverbs (137)

a: 1, *æ:dre 2*, *æ:fre*, *æ:ghwæðer 1*, *æ:ror 1*, *æt 2*, *a:hwæðer 2*, *a:rweorðe 1*, *betwe:onan 2*, *betwux 2*, *binne 2*, *bly:ðe 1*, *bufan 2*, *bu:tan 2*, *e:ac 1*, *ealneg*, *e:astweard*, *efne 1*, *eft 1*, *elcor*, *ellor*, *fægre*, *feorran 1*, *feorðe*, *for 2*, *forne 1*, *forweard 2*, *ge:a*, *geador*, *gearwe 1*, *(ge)fyrn*, *ge:o*, *geond 2*, *geostra*, *ge:se*, *gi:et*, *hædre*, *ha:dre*, *hand 2*, *heonon*, *he:r 1*, *hider*, *hindan*, *hlu:tre*, *hu:*, *hu:ru*, *hwæ:r 1*, *hwanon*, *hwarne*, *hwega*, *hwe:ne*, *hwergen*, *hwider*, *hwidre*, *hwonne*, *hwy: 1*, *ilce*, *inðer*, *inn 2*, *ionna*, *la: 1*, *læ:s 3*, *late*, *lofte*, *lofton*, *lungre*, *ly:thwo:n*, *mid 2*, *na:*, *næ:fre*, *næ:niġ*, *næs 1*, *na:nwiht 2*, *na:wa*, *na:we:rn*, *ne 1*, *nealles*, *nearwe*, *neoðan*, *nese*, *nic*, *nu: 1*, *nu:na*, *of 2*, *ofer 2*, *oft*, *on 2*, *rihte*, *same*, *samen*, *samod 1*, *scearpe 1*, *si:de 1*, *simbel 1*, *simble*, *sne:ome*, *sti:ðe 1*, *sundor*, *swa: 1*, *tela*, *tinge*, *to: 2*, *to:hwega*, *tulge*, *tuwa*, *twa:*, *twibo:te 1*, *ða: 1*, *ðæ:r 1*, *ðæs*, *ðæt 1*, *ðanon*, *ðe:ah 1*, *ðe:ana*, *ðenden 1*, *ðicce 2*, *ðider*, *ðon 1*, *ðriwa*, *ðurh 2*, *ðurhu:t 2*, *ðus*, *ðy:*, *ufor*, *under 2*, *unweorð 2*, *unwierðe 1*, *u:p 1*, *weard 3*, *we:as*, *wel 1*, *west*, *wi:deferhð 2*, *wiht 2*, *wi:se 2*, *wiðufan*, *ymbe 3*

Converted adverbs (123)

æfter 2, *æ:nig 3*, *æ:r 1*, *ætrihte 2*, *allefne 2*, *a:n 2*, *a:ngilde 3*, *a:nli:epiġ 2*, *a:nli:pe 2*, *a:nwille 2*, *a:wiht 2*, *bli:ð 2*, *bre:me 2*, *ce:ne 2*, *clæ:ne 2*, *de:ore 2*, *e:ast 2*, *e:aðe 2*, *eall 2*, *earfoðe 3*, *e:ce 2*, *edni:we 2*, *efen 2*, *efene:ce 2*, *endemest 1*, *enge 2*, *eornoste 2*, *fæ:cne 2*, *fæ:le 2*, *fe:a 3*, *fela 2*, *feorr 2*, *forane 2*, *fore 2*, *foreweard 4*, *forð 1*, *forðweard 3*, *fram 2*, *fre:cne 3*, *fre:olslic 2*, *Fresisc 2*, *full 2*, *fulne:ah 2*, *(ge)bli:ðe 2*, *gede:fe 2*, *gehende 2*, *(ge)lo:me 2*, *ge:n 1*, *geno:ġ 2*, *ġesi:ene 2*, *(ge)tynge 2*, *ġewealden 2*, *ha:m 2*, *he:ah 2*, *hiderweard 2*, *hinder 2*, *hinderling 2*, *hnesce 3*, *hraðe 2*, *hwæt 1*, *hwæthwugu 3*, *hwæðer 2*, *hwo:n 3*, *inne 1*, *inweard 2*, *læt 3*, *li:ðe 2*, *lustbæ:re 2*, *ly:t 1*, *ly:tel 2*, *ly:ðre 2*, *mæ:te 2*, *micel 2*, *middeweard 1*, *milde 2*, *mildelic 2*, *mirce 2*, *myrge 2*, *na:ht 3*, *ne:adwi:s 2*, *ne:ah 2*, *ni:we 2*, *nihterne 2*, *niðer 1*, *norð 2*, *norðe:ast 2*, *norðweard 2*, *onriht 2*, *ormæ:te 2*, *sci:re 1*, *se:l 2*, *si:ð 2*, *sli:ðe 2*, *smylte 2*, *so:fte 2*, *stille 2*, *sum 3*, *su:ð 2*, *su:ðerne 2*, *su:ðwest 2*, *swegle 2*, *swilce 1*, *to:heald 2*, *to:weard 3*, *twigilde 2*, *ðriġylde 2*, *ðri:st 2*, *ufan 1*, *unde:ore 2*, *undierne 2*, *une:aðe 2*, *ungefe:re 2*, *ungemæ:te 2*, *ungemete 2*, *ungesce:ad 3*, *unhi:ere 2*, *unne:ah 2*, *unsy:fre 2*, *u:t 1*, *weorce 2*, *westweard 1*, *wilde 2*, *wiðer 3*

Prefixed adverbs (199)

a:- (14) *a:bu:fan*, *a:bu:tan 2*, *a:du:n 1*, *a:du:ne*, *a:flote*, *a:hwænne*, *a:hwæ:r*, *a:hwergen*, *a:hwider*, *a:hwonan*, *a:ni:hst*, *a:riht*, *a:weg*, *a:wo:h*

æfter- (1) *æfterso:na*

æ:g- (6) *æ:ghwæ:r*, *æ:ghwæs*, *æ:ghwanan*, *æ:ghwanone*, *æ:ghwanum*, *æ:ghwider*

æt- (7) *ætforan 2*, *ætgædere*, *æthwa:re*, *æthwega*, *æthwo:n*, *ætrihtes*, *ætsamne*

and- (1) *ande:ages*

be- (12) *beæftan 1*, *bee:astan*, *bee:astannorðan*, *beforan 2*, *befullan 1*, *begeondan 2*, *beheonan 2*, *behindan 2*, *behwon*, *benorðan*, *besu:ðan*, *bewestan 2*

bi- (1) *binnan 2*

eal- (1) *ealfela*

eall- (4) *eallrihte*, *eallswa:*, *eallswilc*, *ealltela*

em- (1) *emtwa:*

for- (25) *forberendli:ce*, *fore:aðe*, *fore:aðeli:ce*, *forgeare*, *forgeorne*, *forhræðli:ce*, *forhraðe*, *forhwega*, *forhwon*, *forhwy:*, *forinli:ce*, *forinweardli:ce*, *forlong*, *forlonge*, *forlustli:ce*, *forne:ah*, *fornytli:ce*, *foroft*, *forso:ð*, *forsweotole* , *fordearle*, *fordearli:ce*, *fordon 1*, *foru:tan 1*, *forwel*

fore- (3) *foregle:awli:ce*, *foremanig*, *foremihtigli:ce*

forð- (2) *forðmid*, *forðrihte*

fre:a- (1) *fre:aofestli:ce*

ful- (2) *fulgeare*, *fulha:l*

full- (5) *fullgeorne*, *fullmedomli:ce*, *fulloft*, *fullraðe*, *fullricene*

ge- (7) *gehwæ:r*, *gehwanon*, *gehwider*, *geli:ce 2*, *gelo:me*, *genehe*, *geðræ:f*

in- (3) *incu:ðli:ce*, *instede*, *instepe 1*

of (2) *ofðu:ne 1*, *ofstede*

ofer- (9) *ofereall*, *oferhe:afod*, *oferhygdigli:ce*, *oferi:dylli:ce*, *oferli:ce*, *ofermo:digli:ce*, *oferræ:dli:ce*, *oferswi:ðe*, *oferufa*

on- (20) *onæ:r*, *onbæc*, *onbæcling*, *onbu:tan 1*, *ondu:ne*, *onemn 2*, *onforan 2*, *ongeador*, *onhindan*, *onhinder*, *onhinderling*, *oninnan 2*, *onli:ce*, *onrihtli:ce*, *onsundran*, *onsundrum*, *onufan 2*, *onuppan 2*, *onu:tan*, *onweg 1*

sa:m- (2) *sa:mha:l*, *sa:mwi:sli:ce*

sam- (1) *samli:ce*

to:- (8) *to:cyrcanwerd*, *to:dæg*, *to:e:acan 2*, *to:gædre*, *to:ge:are*, *to:gi:fe*, *to:hwon*, *to:morgen*

ðurh- (1) *ðurhlonge*

un- (46) *una:blinnendli:ce*, *unæ:wfæstli:ce*, *unbeorhte*, *undearnunga*, *undeðogolli:ce*, *undo:mli:ce*, *unearfoðli:ce*, *unendebyrdli:ce*, *unfæderli:ce*, *unfægre*, *unfæstli:ce*, *unfeor*, *unforcu:ðli:ce*, *unforhtli:ce*, *unforsce:awodli:ce*, *unfracodli:ce*, *unfre:ondli:ce*, *unfro:forli:ce*, *unfyrn*, *unge:ara*, *ungebeorhli:ce*, *ungedæftli:ce*, *ungedwimorli:ce*, *ungefe:ali:ce*, *ungefyrn*, *ungeorne*, *ungesom*, *ungewealdes*, *ungewyrhtum*, *unhe:anli:ce*, *unni:edig*, *unsce:adeli:ce*, *unsceandli:ce*, *unseldan*, *unsideli:ce*, *unso:fte*, *unsynnum*, *untela*, *untra:gli:ce*, *unðe:awfæstli:ce*, *unwearnum*, *unwi:se*, *unwillan*, *unwilles 1*, *unwillum*

under- (2) *underbæc*, *underneoðan*

u:p- (1) *u:pweard*

wið- (9) *wiðæftan 1*, *wiðe:astan*, *wiðforan 2*, *wiðhindan*, *wiðinnan 1*, *wiðneoðan*, *wiðuppon*, *wiðu:tan 2*, *wiðwestan*

wiðer- (1) *wiðerræhtes*

ymb- (1) *ymbu:tan 2*

Suffixed adverbs (666)

-a (8) *elcora*, *fora*, *ge:ara*, *midlunga*, *samnunga*, *singala*, *siðða*, *so:na*

-an (18) *æftan*, *e:astan*, *edni:wan*, *foran 2*, *geostran*, *giestran*, *innan 2*, *ne:an*, *ni:wan*, *norðan 1*, *seldan*, *si:dan*, *siððan 1*, *su:ðan*, *ufenan 1*, *u:tan*, *westan*, *wi:dan*

-e (124) *æfterwearde*, *æ:ne*, *angsume*, *bæclinge*, *bealde*, *bearhtme*, *beorhte*, *bitre*, *bla:te*, *ble:ate*, *bra:de*, *ca:fe*, *cealde*, *ceorlisce*, *cu:ðe*, *de:ope*, *deorce*, *dro:fe*, *du:ne*, *dyrnelegere*, *e:astane*, *ealle*,

earge, *earme*, *eldə:odige*, *endlyfte*, *fæste*, *feorrane*, *fi:fte*, *forewearde*, *forhte*, *fracoðe*, *fremsume*, *frumli:ce*, *fu:le*, *ge:ocre*, *ge:omore*, *(ge)hle:owe*, *gehwæðere*, *(ge)li:ce*, *georne*, *(ge)ru:me*, *gesæ:lige*, *geswæ:se*, *geswipore*, *getange*, *gewe:ne*, *giestranæ:fene*, *gle:awe*, *grame*, *gri:mme*, *grorne*, *hæ:ste*, *ha:te*, *he:age*, *he:ane*, *hearde*, *hefige*, *heonone*, *hidere*, *hi:wcu:ðli:ce*, *hlu:de*, *holde*, *hwæðere 1*, *hwi:le*, *hwo:nli:ce*, *lange*, *la:ðe*, *le:ase*, *le:ohte*, *li:xende*, *manigfealde*, *ne:ode 1*, *neoðane*, *ni:ede*, *nigoðe*, *niðere*, *nytende*, *ofere*, *re:ade*, *recene*, *sa:re*, *sceaftrihte*, *seofoðe*, *siexte*, *smale*, *sme:aðancole*, *smicere*, *snu:de*, *so:ðe*, *strange*, *swæ:re 1*, *swearte*, *sweotole*, *swi:ðe*, *swo:te*, *syndrige*, *te:oðe*, *torhte*, *torne*, *tra:ge*, *twelfte*, *ðearfle:ase*, *ðearle*, *ðonne 1*, *ðrymme*, *unefne*, *unforhte*, *ungefo:ge*, *ungylde 1*, *unswæ:se*, *unswi:ðe*, *u:tane*, *u:te*, *wa:ce*, *wearme*, *westane*, *wi:de*, *wihte*, *wlitige*, *wræ:ste*, *wra:ðe*, *wuldorfæste*, *yfle*

-enga (3) *ierrenga*, *ni:edenga*, *styrnenga*

-es (46) *andlanges* 1, *æ:nes*, *a:nstreces*, *dæges*, *dæglanges*, *e:agsy:nes*, *ealles*, *e:astrihtes*, *e:astweardes*, *efnes*, *elles*, *endebyrdes*, *forðrihtes*, *forðweardes*, *framweardes*, *gerihtes*, *(ge)wealdes*, *ha:mweardes*, *instæpes*, *ni:edes*, *nihtes*, *nihtlanges*, *niderweardes*, *norðweardes*, *ofdu:neweardes*, *onge:anweardes*, *orðances*, *selfwilles*, *simbles*, *singales*, *sinnihtes*, *so:ðes*, *stre:amrynes*, *su:ðweardes*, *synderli:pes*, *to:gi:fes*, *ðances*, *ðwe:ores*, *ungewilles*, *ungewisses*, *unðances*, *unðearfes*, *unwæres*, *u:tweardes*, *willes*, *wordes*

-ig (1) *ðy:flig*

-ige (1) *forhtige*

-inga (8) *bra:dlinga*, *eclinga*, *edni:winga*, *fæ:ringa*, *grundlinga*, *handlinga*, *ho:linga*, *ni:wlinga*

-lice (401) *æ:fenli:ce*, *æ:li:ce*, *æ:nli:ce*, *æ:rli:ce*, *æ:wfæstli:ce*, *æ:wli:ce*, *ælmesli:ce*, *æðelli:ce*, *a:fandodli:ce*, *a:metendli:ce*, *andgietfulli:ce*, *andgietli:ce*, *andweardli:ce*, *a:nfealdli:ce*, *angrisenli:ce*, *angsumli:ce*, *a:nræ:dli:ce*, *a:rfæstli:ce*, *a:rli:ce 1*, *arodli:ce*, *a:rweorðli:ce*, *atolli:ce*, *a:worpenli:ce*, *bærli:ce*, *benli:ce*, *beorhtli:ce*, *bismerli:ce*, *biterli:ce*, *bli:ðeli:ce*, *clæ:nli:ce*, *ca:fli:ce*, *ceorlli:ce*, *cneordli:ce*, *cræftli:ce*, *cu:ðli:ce*, *cwicli:ce*, *cy:mli:ce*, *cyneli:ce*, *cynli:ce*, *dæghwa:mli:ce*, *de:adli:ce*, *de:ofolli:ce*, *de:opli:ce*, *de:orli:ce*, *de:orwyrðli:ce*, *dolli:ce*, *do:mli:ce*, *dryhtenli:ce*, *dryhtli:ce*, *duguðli:ce*, *dwæ:sli:ce*, *dyrnli:ce*, *dysigli:ce*, *dysli:ce*, *e:adigli:ce*, *ealdorli:ce*, *earfoðli:ce*, *eargli:ce*, *earmli:ce*, *e:aðeli:ce*, *e:aðmo:dli:ce*, *e:awiscli:ce*, *Ebre:iscli:ce*, *e:celi:ce*, *edlesendli:ce*, *egesfulli:ce*, *egesli:ce*, *e:steli:ce*, *ellenli:ce*, *elðe:odigli:ce*, *endele:asli:ce*, *eorðli:ce*, *fa:cenfulli:ce*, *fa:cenli:ce*, *fæderli:ce*, *fæ:rli:ce* , *fæstli:ce*, *fæstræ:dli:ce*, *fe:ondli:ce*, *firenli:ce*, *flæ:scli:ce*, *foreðancli:ce*, *forhogodli:ce*, *forhtli:ce*, *forligerli:ce*, *forsewenli:ce*, *forðli:ce*, *fracoðli:ce*, *framli:ce*, *fre:cendli:ce*, *fremfulli:ce*, *fremsumli:ce*, *fre:ondli:ce*, *fro:forli:ce*, *frymðli:ce*, *fu:lli:ce*, *fu:sli:ce*, *ga:lli:ce*, *gamenli:ce*, *ga:stli:ce*, *ge:apli:ce*, *ge:arli:ce 1*, *gearoli:ce*, *(ge)be:otli:ce*, *gebyredli:ce*, *geco:pli:ce*, *gecorenli:ce*, *(ge)cwe:mli:ce* , *(ge)cyndeli:ce*, *gedafenli:ce*, *gede:feli:ce*, *gedeorsterli:ce*, *gedwimorli:ce*, *(ge)dwolli:ce*, *(ge)efenli:ce*, *(ge)endebyrdli:ce*, *gefæðli:ce*, *gefæstli:ce*, *gefe:ali:ce*, gefe:rli:ce, *(ge)fre:oli:ce*, *(ge)herigendli:ce*, *(ge)hyhtli:ce*, *(ge)hy:ðeli:ce*, *gele:afli:ce*, *geli:cli:ce*, *geli:efedli:ce*, *(ge)limpli:ce*, *gelo:mli:ce*, *(ge)lustfulli:ce*, *(ge)mæ:neli:ce*, *gema:hli:ce*, *gemengedli:ce*, *gemetli:ce*, *(ge)metfæstli:ce*, *gemyndigli:ce*, *ge:omorli:ce*, *geornfulli:ce*, *geornli:ce*, *gera:dli:ce*, *gerecli:ce*, *geri:senli:ce*, *(ge)ru:mli:ce*, *(ge)ry:neli:ce*, *gesæ:ligli:ce*, *(ge)sce:adwi:sli:ce*, *gesce:apli:ce*, *gesewenli:ce*, *gesi:eneli:ce*, *(ge)singalli:ce*, *gesundfulli:ce*, *gesundigli:ce*, *geswæ:sli:ce*, *geta:cnigendli:ce*, *getæ:sli:ce*, *(ge)tyngeli:ce*, *geðwæ:rli:ce*, *(ge)ðyldeli:ce*, *gewemmedli:ce*, *gewemmodli:ce*, *gewinfulli:ce*, *gewitodli:ce*, *gewuneli:ce*, *(ge)wynsumli:ce*, *gewy:scendli:ce*, *gewyrdeli:ce*, *gi:emele:asli:ce*,

gielpli:ce, *glædli:ce*, *gle:awli:ce*, *godcundli:ce*, *graml i:ce*, *grimli:ce*, *grisli:ce*, *gyltli:ce*, *ha:lwendli:ce*, *he:ali:ce*, *healsigendli:ce*, *he:anli:ce*, *heardli:ce*, *hefigli:ce*, *he:ofendli:ce*, *heofonli:ce*, *heteli:ce*, *hierwendli:ce*, *hnescli:ce*, *holdli:ce*, *horscli:ce*, *hrædli:ce*, *hre:owli:ce*, *hundte:ontigfealdli:ce*, *hu:scli:ce*, *hwearfli:ce*, *hwi:lwendli:ce*, *hygele:asli:ce*, *hyhtli:ce*, *i:delli:ce*, *i:eðeli:ce*, *inweardli:ce*, *lahli:ce*, *langsumli:ce*, *la:ðli:ce*, *leahtorli:ce*, *le:asli:ce*, *le:ofli:ce*, *le:ohtli:ce*, *li:chamli:ce*, *li:ciendli:ce*, *li:fli:ce*, *li:ðeli:ce*, *lofli:ce*, *lufli:ce*, *lufsumli:ce*, *lufwendli:ce*, *lustbæ:rli:ce*, *lustsumli:ce*, *lytigli:ce*, *ly:ðerli:ce*, *mæ:rli:ce*, *mæ:ðli:ce*, *ma:nfulli:ce*, *manigfealdli:ce*, *ma:nli:ce*, *mearuli:ce*, *medemli:ce*, *mennisc li:ce*, *micelli:ce*, *mihteli:ce*, *mildheortli:ce*, *misli:ce*, *missenli:ce*, *mo:digli:ce*, *mo:dorli:ce*, *munucli:ce*, *mynsterli:ce*, *na:htli:ce*, *ne:ali:ce*, *nearoli:ce*, *ni:eðearfli:ce*, *ni:etenli:ce*, *ni:wli:ce*, *nytli:ce*, *nytwierðli:ce*, *oferflo:wendli:ce*, *ofermo:dli:ce*, *ondrysenli:ce*, *onge:anweardli:ce*, *openli:ce*, *orgelli:ce*, *ormæ:tli:ce*, *orsogli:ce*, *pi:sli:ce*, *pru:tli:ce*, *ræ:dli:ce*, *regolli:ce*, *re:ðli:ce*, *ri:cli:ce*, *rihtli:ce*, *rihtwi:sli:ce*, *ru:mmo:dli:ce*, *sa:rli:ce*, *scamle:asli:ce*, *scamli:ce*, *scandli:ce*, *scearpli:ce*, *scortli:ce*, *searoli:ce*, *seldli:ce*, *semnendli:ce*, *sibli:ce*, *sideli:ce*, *si:ðli:ce*, *sleacli:ce*, *sme:agendli:ce*, *sme:ali:ce*, *sme:aðancli:ce*, *sme:aðancolli:ce 1*, *snelli:ce*, *snotorli:ce*, *sorgli:ce*, *so:ðfæstli:ce*, *so:ðli:ce*, *spærli:ce*, *staðolfæstli:ce*, *sti:ðli:ce*, *sto:wli:ce*, *stræcli:ce*, *strangli:ce*, *strengli:ce*, *stuntli:ce*, *styrnli:ce*, *sundorli:ce*, *swæ:rli:ce*, *sweotolli:ce*, *swicolli:ce*, *swi:ðli:ce*, *swo:tli:ce*, *sy:ferli:ce*, *symbelli:ce*, *synderli:ce*, *syndrigli:ce*, *synli:ce*, *tæ:lli:ce*, *tæ:lwierðli:ce*, *teartli:ce*, *te:onli:ce*, *ti:dli:ce*, *tilli:ce*, *to:dæ:lendli:ce*, *to:hli:ce*, *torhtli:ce*, *to:ðundenli:ce*, *to:weardli:ce*, *tre:owli:ce*, *trumli:ce*, *twe:ogendli:ce*, *twe:oli:ce*, *twe:onigendli:ce*, *twifealdli:ce*, *ðæsli:ce*, *ðancweorðli:ce*, *ðearfendli:ce*, *ðearfli:ce*, *ðearli:ce*, *ðearlwi:sli:ce*, *ðe:awli:ce*, *ðegnli:ce*, *ðri:stigli:ce*, *ðri:stli:ce*, *ðrifealdli:ce*, *ðrymli:ce*, *ðry:ðli:ce*, *ðurhwunigendli:ce*, *ðwe:orli:ce*, *una:berendli:ce*, *unæðeli:ce*, *una:fylledli:ce*, *una:fyllendli:ce*, *una:ly:fedli:ce*, *una:ræfnedli:ce 1*, *una:ræfnendli:ce*, *una:ri:medli:ce*, *una:ri:mendli:ce*, *una:secgendli:ce*, *una:te:origendli:ce*, *una:wendendli:ce*, *unbrosnodli:ce*, *unforbu:gendli:ce*, *unforwandodli:ce*, *ungecopli:ce*, *ungecyndelli:ce*, *ungefo:gli:ce*, *ungefræ:geli:ce*, *ungelæ:redli:ce*, *ungele:affuli:ce*, *ungeli:fedli:ce*, *ungeræ:dli:ce*, *ungerecli:ce*, *ungerisenli:ce*, *ungery:deli:ce*, *ungesce:adwi:sli:ce*, *ungete:origendli:ce*, *ungewi:tendli:ce*, *unhi:erli:ce*, *unlæ:dli:ce*, *unonwendendli:ce*, *unple:oli:ce*, *unscyldigli:ce*, *unwiðmetenli:ce*, *wa:cli:ce*, *wælhre:owli:ce*, *wærli:ce*, *wæ:wærðli:ce*, *weargli:ce*, *we:nli:ce*, *we:pendli:ce*, *weorðfulli:ce*, *weorðli:ce*, *werli:ce*, *wi:fli:ce*, *wi:gli:ce*, *wi:sli:ce*, *wildde:orli:ce*, *wilsumli:ce*, *wiðerweardli:ce*, *wlancli:ce*, *wo:dli:ce*, *wo:hli:ce*, *wo:pli:ce*, *woruldli:ce*, *wræcli:ce*, *wræ:tli:ce*, *wra:ðli:ce*, *wrixlendli:ce*, *wuldorli:ce*, *wundorli:ce*, *wuniendli:ce*, *wynli:ce*, *yfeli:ce*, *ymbhy:digli:ce 1*, *ymbhy:digli:ce 2*

-ling (3)

bæcling, *earsling*, *underbæcling*

-mæ:st (1)

eallmæ:st

-um (40)

æftum, *a:ncummum*, *a:nli:pum*, *a:num*, *bitrum*, *e:aðme:dum*, *e:stum*, *firenum*, *furðum*, *gedyhtedum*, *gegnum*, *geðyldum*, *græ:dum*, *gumcystum*, *he:apum*, *hwi:lum*, *le:ofwendum*, *listum*, *lustum*, *ly:tlum*, *miclum*, *misli:cum*, *ordancum*, *searwum*, *seldum*, *smalum*, *snyttrum*, *stundum*, *sundrum*, *ti:dum*, *ðingum*, *ðrymmum*, *ufanweardum*, *ungemetum*, *unsnyttrum*, *u:teweardum*, *weorcum*, *wissum*, *wundrum*, *wynnum*

-unga (12) *a:nunga*, *dearnunga*, *eallunga*, *e:awunga*, *fullunga*, *gegnunga*, *ne:adunga*, *healfunga*, *ni:wunga*, *simblunga*, *unce:apunga*, *we:nunga*

Compound adverbs (64)

hwæ:r 1 (4) *(ge)wellhwæ:r*, *na:hwæ:r*, *na:thwæ:r*, *welgehwæ:r*

hwega (5) *hu:hwega*, *hwæ:rhwega*, *hwanonhwegu*, *hwiderhwega*, *hwi:lhwega*

lang (5) *e:astlang*, *ge:arlanges*, *norðlang*, *westlang*, *westnorðlang*

mæ:lum (31) *æcermæ:lum*, *bitmæ:lum*, *brytmæ:lum*, *byrðenmæ:lum*, *ci:stme:lum*, *cnotmæ:lum*, *dæ:lmæ:lum*, *dropmæ:lum*, *floccmæ:lum*, *fo:tmæ:lum*, *ge:armæ:lum*, *(ge)flitmæ:lum*, *gefre:dmæ:lum*, *he:apmæ:lum*, *hi:dmæ:lum*, *limmæ:lum*, *nammæ:lum*, *pricmæ:lum*, *sce:afmæ:lum*, *scy:rmæ:lum*, *snæ:dmæ:lum*, *stæpmæ:lum*, *stefnmæ:lum*, *stundmæ:lum*, *styccemæ:lum*, *sundermæ:lum*, *ðræ:gmæ:lum*, *ðre:atmæ:lum*, *ðu:sendmæ:lum*, *wearnmæ:lum*, *wræ:dmæ:lum*

rihte (5) *e:astrihte*, *he:rrihte*, *su:ðrihte*, *ðæ:rrihte*, *westrihtes*

weard 3 (11) *a:dunweard*, *ha:mweard*, *hindanweard*, *norðanweard*, *ofdu:neweard*, *su:ðweard*, *to:gæðereweard*, *ðanonweard*, *ðiderweard*, *ðiderweardes*, *westanweard*

wi:se 2 (3) *hringwi:san*, *hysewi:se*, *scipwi:san*

Hypothetical predicates (233)

a:blinnendli:ce, *æ:freli:ce*, *æfterfylgendli:ce*, *ældæ:weli:ce*, *a:gendli:ce*, *a:htli:ce*, *a:li:efedli:ce*, *a:nmo:dli:ce*, *a:nwilli:ce*, *a:rfulli:ce*, *a:rle:asli:ce*, *bealdli:ce*, *behogodli:ce*, *behy:deli:ce*, *behy:digli:ce*, *behy:ðeli:ce*, *berendli:ce*, *bilewitli:ce*, *blindli:ce*, *borli:ce*, *bru:cendli:ce*, *carfulli:ce*, *carli:ce*, *ce:nli:ce*, *coðli:ce*, *cræftigli:ce*, *cwildbæ:rli:ce*, *cyrtenli:ce*, *cystigli:ce*, *de:opðancenli:ce*, *de:opðancolli:ce*, *deorcli:ce*, *dre:origli:ce*, *e:aðme:dli:ce*, *e:cso:ðli:ce*, *edwi:tfulli:ce*, *efestli:ce*, *egefulli:ce*, *egele:asli:ce*, *eornostli:ce*, *esnli:ce*, *fægerli:ce*, *fe:owerfealdli:ce*, *foresce:awodli:ce*, *forhæfendli:ce*, *forwiernedli:ce*, *fræfelli:ce*, *frecli:ce*, *fremedli:ce*, *fyrwitgeornli:ce*, *ga:lfulli:ce*, *ge:aroli:ce 1*, *(ge)brægdenli:ce*, *gebyrdeli:ce*, *gedæ:ledli:ce*, *gedæfteli:ce*, *(ge)di:egolli:ce*, *gedre:ogli:ce*, *(ge)dyrstigli:ce*, *geflitli:ce*, *geglengendli:ce*, *(ge)ha:theortli:ce*, *geheortli:ce*, *gehi:wodli:ce*, *(ge)le:affuli:ce*, *gelystfulli:ce*, *gemetodli:ce*, *gemimorli:ce*, *geneahheli:ce*, *genyhtli:ce*, *(ge)nyhtsumli:ce*, *geræ:deli:ce*, *gesce:adenli:ce*, *gesce:adli:ce*, *gescierpiendli:ce*, *(ge)scre:peli:ce*, *(ge)sibsumli:ce*, *gesinli:ce*, *gespe:digli:ce*, *geswe:gsumli:ce*, *geswiporli:ce*, *(ge)swi:ðfromli:ce*, *getangli:ce*, *(ge)tre:owfulli:ce*, *getyngeli:ce*, *geðungenli:ce*, *(ge)ðwæ:reli:ce*, *(ge)ðyldigli:ce*, *gewealdendli:ce*, *gewi:sfulli:ce*, *(ge)wisli:ce*, *gewissli:ce*, *(ge)wittigli:ce*, *gi:ferli:ce*, *gnæðeli:ce*, *græ:digli:ce*, *hæ:stli:ce*, *ha:deli:ce*, *ha:ligli:ce*, *ha:tli:ce*, *hi:gendli:ce*, *hi:wiscli:ce*, *hli:sfuli:ce*, *hlu:torli:ce*, *hne:awli:ce*, *hohfulli:ce*, *hohli:ce*, *hwætli:ce*, *hygdigli:ce*, *incundli:ce*, *lætli:ce*, *langli:ce*, *langmo:dli:ce*, *li:cwyrðli:ce*, *listeli:ce*, *lustli:ce*, *mægenle:asli:ce*, *mæ:gwlitli:ce*, *manli:ce*, *meagolli:ce*, *mihtigli:ce*, *mi:nli:ce*, *myrigli:ce*, *namcu:ðli:ce*, *ne:odli:ce*, *ni:ðfulli:ce*, *ni:ðli:ce*, *ny:dwræ:cli:ce*, *oferflo:wedli:ce*, *oferhigendli:ce*, *ofostli:ce*, *oftræ:dli:ce*, *onwealgli:ce*, *orenli:ce*, *orpedli:ce*, *rancli:ce*, *re:cele:asli:ce*, *recenli:ce*, *rihtgele:afli:ce*, *ro:tli:ce*, *ru:mga:li:ce*, *ru:mheortli:ce*, *ryneli:ce*, *samodli:ce*, *scearpðancli:ce*, *scyndendli:ce*, *selfwillendli:ce*, *seofonfealdli:ce*, *sicorli:ce*, *sidefulli:ce*, *sla:wli:ce*, *smiðli:ce*, *smoltli:ce*, *so:ðsecgendli:ce*, *spe:dli:ce*, *spo:wendli:ce*, *sprindli:ce*, *stæ:rli:ce*, *stæðhly:pli:ce*, *stearcli:ce*, *stilli:ce*, *stru:dgendli:ce*, *stulorli:ce*, *sundorcræftigli:ce*, *swe:tli:ce*, *swiftli:ce*, *swi:giendli:ce*, *swi:gli:ce*, *tæ:lle:asli:ce*, *ti:mli:ce*, *to:dæ:ledli:ce*, *treafli:ce*, *twæ:mendli:ce*, *twi:endli:ce*, *ðancfulli:ce*, *ðe:awfæstli:ce*, *ðicli:ce*, *ðurhu:tli:ce*, *una:ðrotenli:ce*, *unbesce:awodli:ce*, *ungehealdsumli:ce*, *ungeli:fendli:ce 1*, *ungesæ:ligli:ce*, *ungestæððigli:ce*, *ungesundli:ce*, *ungeswi:cendli:ce*, *ungetæ:sli:ce*, *ungeðyldeli:ce*, *ungewi:ttigli:ce*, *ungle:awli:ce*, *ungny:ðeli:ce*, *unhi:ersumli:ce*, *unle:asli:ce*, *unmedomli:ce*, *unmurnli:ce*, *unnytwurðli:ce*, *unræ:dfæstli:ce*, *unrihtha:d*, *unrihtwi:sli:ce*, *unscæðfulli:ce*, *unsceððigli:ce*, *unsla:wli:ce*, *unsleacli:ce*, *unsnotorli:ce*, *unso:ftli:ce*,

untæ:lwierðli:ce, *untre:owli:ce*, *unðancwyrðli:ce*, *unwederli:ce*, *unwilsumli:ce*, *unwræ:stli:ce*, *u:pa:hafenli:ce*, *wacolli:ce*, *wacorli:ce*, *wæccendli:ce*, *wælgrimli:ce*, *wæ:rli:ce*, *welwillendli:ce*, *werodli:ce*, *wesendli:ce*, *wilfulli:ce*, *willendli:ce*, *willi:ce*, *willodli:ce*, *wistfulli:ce*, *wi:tele:asli:ce*, *wliteli:ce*, *wlitigli:ce*, *woruldcundli:ce*, *wuldorfæstli:ce*, *wuldorfulli:ce*, *wundorfulli:ce*, *ymbsce:awiendli:ce*

Bracketing paradoxes (56)

e:astsu:ðlang, *forcu:ðe*, *forcu:ðli:ce*, *forswi:ðe*, *forwundorli:ce*, *fullfremedli:ce*, *fulli:ce*, *inli:ce*, *oferhlu:de*, *onforeweardan*, *onforeweardum*, *ongeli:ce*, *orwearde*, *swa:ðe:ahhwæðre*, *to:dæge*, *to:so:ðan*, *twisceatte*, *ðæ:ru:te*, *una:rli:ce*, *unclæ:nli:ce*, *uncu:ðli:ce*, *unde:adli:ce*, *une:aðeli:ce*, *ungeapli:ce*, *ungedafenli:ce*, *ungefe:rli:ce*, *ungeli:ce*, *ungeli:cli:ce*, *ungelimpli:ce*, *ungemetli:ce*, *ungesce:adli:ce*, *ungesewenli:ce*, *ungeðwæ:rli:ce*, *ungewemmedli:ce*, *ungewuneli:ce*, *unmæ:ðli:ce*, *unnytli:ce*, *unræ:dli:ce*, *unrihte*, *unrihtli:ce*, *unro:tli:ce*, *unscamli:ce*, *untæ:lli:ce*, *unti:dli:ce*, *unto:dæ:ledli:ce*, *untwe:ogendli:ce*, *untwe:oli:ce*, *unðæsli:ce*, *unwærli:ce*, *unwa:cli:ce*, *unwe:nli:ce*, *unwe:nunga*, *unweorðli:ce*, *unwi:sli:ce*, *u:prihte*, *u:pweardes*

Ambiguous (64)

ætne:hstan, *anforngean*, *a:teshwo:n*, *beiundane*, *betwe:onan 2*, *betwe:onum 1*, *cwiferli:ce*, *dæghwa:m*, *earwunga*, *efenmo:dli:ce*, *e:stfulli:ce*, *forðæ:m 1*, *forðy: 1*, *furðorlucor*, *ge:arhwamli:ce*, *gegadere*, *heardwendli:ce*, *hedendli:ce*, *hwæthwugununges*, *hwi:lon*, *i:dæges*, *i:siðes*, *ly:telne*, *ly:tesna:*, *ly:testne*, *onge:an 2*, *ongemang 2*, *orce:ape*, *orce:apes*, *orce:apunga*, *orce:apungum*, *orsceattinga*, *samtinges*, *selfwealdli:ce*, *sunderli:pes*, *sunganges*, *toge:anes 2*, *tolcendli:ce*, *tomiddes 2*, *ðanchycgende*, *una:gæ:ledli:ce*, *una:pi:nedli:ce*, *una:solcenli:ce*, *una:swundenli:ce*, *unbeðo:hte*, *unbehelendli:ce*, *unblinnendli:ce*, *unbry:de*, *unflitme 1*, *unforwandigendli:ce*, *ungede:fli:ce*, *ungedrehtli:ce*, *ungefre:deli:ce*, *ungeðeahtendli:ce*, *ungewi:tnigendli:ce*, *ungræ:digli:ce*, *unhli:tme*, *unhlitme*, *unmyndlinga*, *unoflinnedli:ce*, *unscelli:ce*, *u:pa:hefedli:ce*, *unto:læ:tendli:ce*, *unwi:tnigendli:ce*, *wiðersy:nes*

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COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND THE POETICS OF TIME: IS 9/11 A CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR, A CONCEPTUAL METONYMY OR BOTH?*

ADAN MARTÍN Y JUANI GUERRA
Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria
amartin@cognitivecanary.eu, jguerra@cognitivecanary.eu

1. What is 9/11, linguistically speaking?

Intuitively, we might interpret 9/11 as a simple date. Like most languages, English has a tendency to abbreviate dates in this way, and 9/11 univocally refers to the eleventh day of September. However, the typical referent of this temporal expression is the 11th of September 2001. Furthermore, neither in speech nor in writing do we usually allude to dates by means of this kind of abbreviation. Dates written in their abbreviated notational form do not usually appear within full sentences. When dates are included in the body of the text, it is usual to have a more analytic paraphrase, as exemplified in:

(1) My birthday is on 18th December (spoken 'the eighteenth of December')

The time expression *9/11*, unlike the above expression, is highly entrenched in language. Indeed, orally, *9/11* is spoken with a 'literal' recitation of the figures: *nine eleven* and not with a 'transformed' reading. This leads to the feeling that something is being highlighted when that particular temporal reference is employed.

There are different ways of writing and saying dates in English, as style guides and most TEFL manuals propose. In general, and despite tendencies towards mixed usage in date format, two main variants are identifiable. Conventionally, in British

English, the date in example (1) could be written as: *18 December*, *18th December* (or even *18th December*, where typographically *th* is not a superscript) or *18th of December*. In contrast, American English users would prefer to write *December 18*, *December 18th* or *December the 18th*. In oral language, British English speakers will say *the eighteenth of December* while American English will opt for *December the eighteenth* or *December eighteenth*.

To return to our time lexicalisation *9/11,* it is evident that the format in question does not adhere to any of the alternatives above. We should not forget that language is chiefly iconic, so different meanings are grammatically verbalised in different ways. From the cognitive-linguistic perspective, and against the Chomskyan view, grammar and semantics are closely interlaced. If there is such a linguistic (in fact numerical) expression as 9/11, a different meaning from just 'the eleventh day of September' is constructed. As we will see, 9/11 combines several levels of metaphorical/metonymic analysis. From this, we presume that *9/11* is a special case of expression with a particularly complex conceptual motivation, given that it combines several levels of metaphoric/metonymic analysis, as we will see later in this piece of research.

In this case, the expression *9/11* refers to the 'coordinated terrorist suicide attacks performed by Muslim fundamentalists in New York (USA) on September 11, 2001.' Accordingly, a temporal (perhaps historiographic) locution is pointing to some external event. From the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, this is an instance of cognitive or conceptual metonymy. Every time a speaker (or writer) utters the time expression *9/11*, s/he is meaning the serious episode that occurred on that date. Figuratively, where we would normally expect a conceptual metaphor, this cognitive operation anchored in an unusual pairing of form and meaning results in a particular conceptualisation of temporality by means of which we activate a TIME FOR EVENT metonymy[1], or more specifically, DATE FOR SINGULAR EVENT[2].

As is the case with metaphor, two domains participate in the internal dynamics of metonymic processes. Using the terminology introduced by Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002), we can classify the domains under two distinct categories. In terms of the direction of the conceptual mapping, one domain acts as the source while the second domain will do the job of the target. The source domain is the point of access to the meaning construction process.

From another angle, metonymy involves a matrix domain and a subdomain, not to be confused with the notions of source and target. Let us clarify the difference. Metonymy has always been conceived as being a kind of connection between a "whole" and a "part", albeit in Cognitive Linguistics, the array of metonymies is more richly detailed. The matrix domain corresponds to what we have traditionally

studied as the "whole" whereas the subdomain is a "part" of the matrix domain. The matrix is always, so to speak, whole and the subdomain is always part. The labels "source" and "target" belong to a different categorization, and relate exclusively to the direction of the mapping, i.e., a matrix domain can play the role of source or that of target, depending on the context.

In line with Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002), and taking into account the classification above, there are two types of metonymy depending on the structural properties of the domains themselves: source-in-target metonymy (i.e. the source is a subdomain of the target) and target-in-source metonymy (where the target is now a subdomain of the source). Our TIME FOR EVENT metonymy *9/11*, in particular, is an instantiation of a target-in-source metonymy, whereby the matrix domain (*9/11*) is reduced to referring to a salient subdomain (the terrorist attack). Figure 1 illustrates the mapping, technically speaking, of a domain reduction:

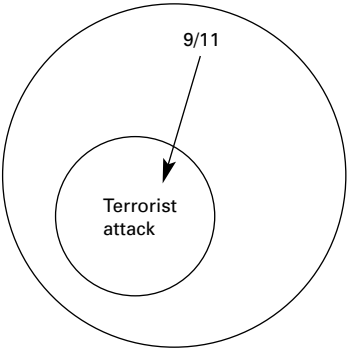

FIGURE 1: Domain reduction in the 9/11 metonymy

Evans (2004) inspects the notion of time in his book *The Structure of Time,* and posits a radial network[3] for temporality. Time is at the core of a radial network of semantically-connected senses. This position goes against the traditional view on lexical structure, which saw word meaning as inert and not capable of generating potential semantic expansion. Consequently, the concept of TIME is organized by means of a chain-like network of lexical concepts which point to different conceptions (more or less 'meanings') of the term when it is used in actual language.

Evans's central objective is to explore the different ways of construing the word *time*, which he calls senses and which together conform the encyclopaedic meaning of the concept TIME. Time does not have a unified meaning. On the contrary, an

utterance will highlight a specific sense of the term. As said earlier, *9/11* is a temporal term and so can trigger a specific meaning within the radial network of time. Among the different modes of construing time, as proposed by Evans (2004), we find, for example, a Duration Sense (with durative aspect), an Agentive Sense (in which time is personified), a Measure-System Sense (where time is a unit of calculation), etc. The concrete sense that *9/11* evokes is the Event Sense. An Event denotes an action and refers to an experiential point in time. This is in particular what motivates the metonymy TIME FOR EVENT.

From the previous paragraphs, we progressively understand that *9/11* is not just a series of digits signalling a precise day in the calendar. It conveys more 'meaning'. Note that historically notable dates are often referred to in this way (e.g. *23-F* is a significant date in Spain because of a coup d'état carried out on that day). Likewise, further Al-Qaeda mass murders are linguistically mentioned via their dates of execution. For example, in journalese writing, *7/7* stands for the London underground explosions on 7 July 2005 and *3/11* would stand for the Madrid train bombings on 11 March 2004. Whereas the latter may have less referential success in the English language, its Spanish counterpart *11-M* is sometimes seen.

Now we are aware that the linguistic sign or category *9/11* metonymically stands for 'the Islamic terrorist attack'. Of course, many events occurred on that day (newspapers and the annals of American history can evidence this), but only one is relevantly profiled. Mainzer (2002: ix), in his monographic book about the concept of time, accounts for the implication of that date for the history of mankind:

> The end of the second millennium was merely a numerical occasion that left no significant traces on humanity. Even the date conversion of computer times was taken in stride by our worldwide information and communication networks. Instead, the widely anticipated catastrophes and dislocations took place at other times; September 11, 2001, was a far more consequential event than was January 1, 2000.

Moreover, it should be remembered that, on 11 September, there were in fact four impacts. Two aeroplanes crashed into two skyscrapers in New York City, another aircraft crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, and the fourth airliner crashed in Pennsylvania. The tendency, at least in English, however, is to reserve the tag *9/11* for the Twin Towers crash, given that it was the most disastrous and so the most prominent in cognitive terms. The World Trade Center destruction, because of the emblematical nature of the complex and because of the massive killing of citizens, has become more prominent in people's minds than the rest of the attacks, and so *9/11* is more logically attached to this event.

This implies that not all encyclopaedic knowledge encapsulated in *9/11* is accessed: only the fatal incident in the World Trade Center buildings. Thus, the metonymic

operation serves the purpose of clarifying a referent which, otherwise, might be hard to recognize appropriately. As said before, the numeric acronym *9/11* would be the reference-point for one of the four airplane collisions that took place on that date.

This way of understanding that date somehow constrains its grammatical (or orthographical) rendering. *9/11* is the natural way to refer to the terrorist attack. The conceptual operation that we call metonymy is so powerful a tool that it has significant effects upon all aspects of language. In the terminology of Peña & Ruiz de Mendoza (2009), this conceptual metonymy, when triggered, would act as a licensing factor in the grammatical process that we describe. The particular meaning activated by the metonymy is reflected in the way that the temporal term is written (through numbers and not words). The influence of conceptual metonymy upon language has also been studied by Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002), whose insights might be applied to some examples that follow.

For instance, some words may undergo a process of conversion (word class change) by means of metonymy. Such is the case of *to summer in Paris*, where there is an underlying TIME PERIOD FOR ACTION metonymy. The result in grammar is that the word *summer*, originally a noun, is transformed into a verb. Moreover, as noted by Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002) again, metonymy may give rise to changes in the transitive or intransitive character of verbs. For example, *to walk* is commonly an intransitive verb; yet, it might be transitivised through the metonymy ACTIVITY FOR (CAUSED) EVENT in sentences like *He walked me home*. Also, some nouns can experience a change from countable to uncountable status due to metonymy. For example, in the utterance *There's too much immigrant in this country*, the noun *immigrant*, technically speaking a singular form, constructs the meaning of plurality as a result of the metonymic operation. The metonymy in question affects the morphological choice. And adjectives are perspectivised in different ways depending on the metonymy performed (e.g. *fast lane* vs. *fast driver*). In conclusion, metonymy usually constrains grammatical constructions.

We therefore observe that conceptual metonymy exerts an influence on the internal organization of language. Coming back to our case study, and in order to understand why the metonymy is possible only through the abbreviated form *9/11*, it would be helpful to compare the abbreviation under discussion with alternative versions that equally refer to the 11th of September. Let us imagine a situation in which someone was hired for a job vacancy on 11 September:

(2) I started working for a new company on 9/11.

(3) I started working for a new company on 11 September.

Whereas (3) could be a proper expression of that state of affairs, (2) is probably an infelicitous depiction of that situation unless there is some kind of intended relation with or reference to the terrorist attack. This type of abbreviation (with the format MM/DD[4]), is not usual in written language, and the most prototypical way of abbreviating dates is that in example (3), i.e. the day is represented numerically but the month is usually a full word (not a number). Let us say that there are different degrees or stages involved in abbreviation. The full version of a date would include the article *the*, the ordinal, and maybe the preposition (*of*), e.g. *the eleventh of September* (or *September [the] eleventh* in American English). Then, there are different choices, that is to say, alternative abbreviations that co-exist; some are longer than others and are used depending on the type of text. For example, *11 September* or *September 11* is a satisfactory abbreviation for written discourse. In contrast, the shorter equivalent (*9/11*) is not common except in speech. In (2), we see an abbreviation which is not easily integrated in written language. It is a structure that sounds strange in this type of discourse, or a "formless form of meaning" in Guerra's terminology (personal communication). These "formless forms" are the result of ongoing discourse and serve the purpose of constructing the desired semantic effect. In the light of the findings of Cognitive Poetics, we can infer that in (2) the numeric abbreviation (not natural in this type of utterance) would involve a complex operation (metonymy) and convey the meaning intended by the speaker. If this were not the case, (2) would be an unacceptable sentence in English.

Consequently, (3) reproduces a literal use of language while (2) is a sample case of metonymy, a metonymy which is activated through the use of an atypical form in relation to the type of text. These two ways of construing temporality reinforce the assumption that grammar (in its broad sense) and semantics are very much interconnected. The unique morphological formats of September 11th generate two different semantic readings, i.e. different spellings involve different connotations.

It seems sensible to conclude that, by some means, after the massive attacks, the temporal expression *9/11* was conventionalised used as a useful 'wording' to refer to them, and the understanding of *9/11* as a reference to the terrorist strike seems to be a strong default interpretation. Possibly, the use of that conceptual metonymy was, in turn, highly economical, linguistically speaking. A longer, more analytical rephrasing like *the awful terrorist attack(s) that took place on September 11* was felt to be rather heavily loaded with self-evident information, so an aseptic version was preferred socially. The label *9/11* seems to be a way of separating ourselves from reality. Apparently, we are using extraneous vocabulary (digits) in an efficient way to refer to a criminal offence. However, numbers are also part of everyday speech,

so this should not surprise us. Broadly conceived, human language may be said to contain not only words but also numbers. This means that meaning (and thought) is possible through the linguistic use of figures.

Figures are meaningful per se, because they indicate number at some level of abstraction (e.g. *five* or *5* indicate a specific amount of units different to, say, two or zero, which entails absence). However, we can observe that *9/11* has an added meaning triggered pragmatically, due to the particular linguistic context of the expression.

Interestingly, the lexicalisation of *9/11* derives from American English. We know that, when a date needs to be abbreviated in written language, especially in American English, the month precedes the day. The fact itself that the terrorist strike took place in the United States and that the news was covered most immediately by the local or national press agencies might be the reason why the expression was conventionalised as *9/11* and not *11/9*, which would be its British English equivalent. In addition, as will be explained later on, this way of transcribing (and speaking of) dates has become the default format in order to refer to other Al-Qaeda terrorist attacks in American English. Similarly, look at typical Spanish expressions like *el día D* or *por hache o por be,* which are parallel constructions. It seems reasonable to assume that neither graphemes nor figures possess much meaning in themselves; in truth, letters and numbers are merely access routes to meaning, and are likely to have full meaning only in use, i.e. in context.

Here one might consider the different degrees of distance between domains (Dirven 1993). Roughly, the conceptual domains of TIME and VIOLENCE are poles apart, which precisely motivates the euphemistic intention. A lengthy wording of the semantic content encapsulated in the time phrase *9/11* like that introduced initially ('co-ordinated terrorist suicide attacks carried out by Muslim fundamentalists in New York (USA) on September 11, 2001') would be openly direct, evocative and painful for some listeners.

Our hypothesis is based on the fact that this comprehensive paraphrase has become a kind of sociolinguistic taboo, so English speakers have conventionalised *9/11* as a politically-correct wording. When the terrorist attack happened, there was an instant need to talk about it in the language of mass media[5], in such a way that a novel expression had to be linguistically produced. Unlike an explicatory version, *9/11* seemingly includes little semantic content because it consists of a sole numeric abbreviation. Consider similar processes in which metonymies have been widely used to avoid presumably indecent words. Let us examine why the word *váter* once replaced *retrete* in Spanish. The term *váter* is a loanword from the English *water*, as

a reduced version for water closet (*WC*). *WC* is the abbreviation of *water closet* (a closet where there is water), so there exists a metonymic part-for-whole relationship. In fact, not only the metonymic operation but also the use of a foreign word in Spanish hides the seemingly indecorous meaning of the word. The social taboo is of a different nature in the *WC* example. *9/11* is used to minimize the impact of a longer expression which might recreate the heartbreaking mood of that day (like *the terrorist attack*). The lexicalizations *váter* or *WC* in Spanish are used for the sake of politeness.

Lastly, we should like to raise a point about the way the terrorist strikes are construed in Spanish and English. As we have seen before, the English language uses a strictly numerical term (*9/11* or *7/7*). By contrast, Spanish is prone to operating with alphanumerical tags, e.g. *11-S* or *7-J*. The fact that these two attacks were executed in the Anglo-American context makes English speakers cope with them through a figure, given that the use of a digit allows speakers to somehow distance themselves from the tragic experience. Meaning emerges from the conceptualizations that we speakers generate on the basis of our experience, and we articulate language somehow from our experiences in the world. Then, using the special notation *9/11* helps to reduce the personal and collective awareness of this violent act of terrorism. However, we must note that the Madrid bombings are usually referred to alphanumerically as *11-M* in both the Spanish and the Anglo-American background[6], given its lexicalization in Spanish.

Nonetheless, metonymies generally have strong referential potential and the devices that speakers tend to use are simply psychological operations aimed at hiding the negative connotations. As illustrated in example (2), the time expression *9/11* has proven to carry a high deictic potential, and the same is true of *7/7* and *11-M*.

2. *9/11* as the output of a metaphor and metonymy combination

In this section, we will discuss how the phrase *9/11* has undergone a further cognitive elaboration. In the corpus we have analysed, *9/11* no longer refers to the calamity which took place on September 11. The expression has gone through a process of generalisation. Consider the following examples:

(4) We would have to draft a formal declaration of war -as we should have against the Taliban, bin Laden, and Saddam Hussein- against those countries that harbored or even aided the next *9/11-like* cell. (Our italics)
(5) Vice President Dick Cheney is reported to have instructed USSTRATCOM to draw up a contingency plan "to be employed in response to another *9/11-type* terrorist attack on the United States". (Our italics)

These quotations show the productivity of the numerical expression *9/11* in referring not directly to the New York attack but to hypothetical terrorist offensives. In both cases, the phrase is used adjectivally and in combination with a suffix (*9/11-like, 9/11-type*). We might be witnessing the emergence of a resemblance metaphor (Grady 1999), in which there is a likeness relationship or a perceived similarity between *9/11* and future terrorist assaults. The metaphor is possible as a result of comparison, by means of which new acts of terrorism are conceptualized on the basis of a singular terrorist strike, the one that took place in the World Trade Center Complex. *9/11* has developed into an Idealised Cognitive Model or ICM (Lakoff 1987). Our experience of the attack is now 'packed' into a cognitive or conceptual structure which is linguistically encoded in the phrase *9/11*. The use of that expression facilitates mental access to all the encyclopaedic information available in our brain about that event. As Holbrook (2007) indicates, experience is a prerequisite for meaning construction. Many temporal expressions (e.g. the time adverbs *now, tomorrow…*) materialise in speech because their meaning has to be adjusted to the place and time of actual speech. Words like *now* have variable meaning and depend greatly on the temporal frame where the speech act is produced, and only in that frame do they acquire their correct meaning. Unless they point to the real context or situation of the linguistic act, time expressions would not have any deictic strength.

In line with the discussion above, the temporal term *9/11* seems not to refer to the 11th of September, 2001 as such, and its meaning has been analogically extended to denote "a new terrorist attack" which might take place on a different occasion and even in a different location. If we wanted to construct the radial network of the concept *9/11,* we would need to account for a number of metaphorical and metonymical projections that take place when a speaker produces this particular linguistic expression.

In basic terms, if we had to write a dictionary entry for the notational expression *9/11*, a primary sense would be exclusively calendrical, to be exact, 'the eleventh day of September'. The second sense would already include some extra information, so *9/11* would be equated with 'the eleventh day of September, 2001'. A third sense would answer for the metonymic operation DATE FOR SINGULAR EVENT, and the definition for *9/11* would be approximately 'the Islamist terrorist attack orchestrated by Al-Qaeda in 2001'. A fourth entry would be (semantically) more schematic due to an analogical metaphor. *9/11* would turn out to mean just 'a terrorist attack'.

Therefore, as the examples that follow will illustrate, there may be a more elaborate metaphorical operation, given that a new conceptual projection comes into sight, that which connects the numeric term *9/11* and the domain of TERRORIST ATTACKS. The

next utterances demonstrate how this world knowledge is starting to be metaphorically transformed in such a way that we are now able to reason analogically about prospective terrorist outbreaks by means of a single term like *9/11*. The expression under discussion works on the basis of an analogy-based metaphor that maps crucial aspects of the *9/11* attacks onto other potential attacks of similar magnitude and disruptive social and psychological effects, as can be seen in the examples:

(6) God forbid *another 9/11*. (Our italics)
(7) British and Israeli military planners are waiting in limbo for a *second 9/11*. (Our italics)
(8) Washington anticipates *a new 9/11* within six months. (Our italics)

In these cases, we understand new terrorist attacks in terms of a previous one. This particular piece of language (*9/11*) reflects a mental configuration that we have about reality. Our construal[7] of a (second) *9/11* is based on our experience of the first and authentic *9/11*. Because we have empirical access to *9/11*, we are able to categorise new similar scenarios as *9/11*'s.

This is not a special characteristic of the *9/11* time expression. In fact, we may have parallel expressions such as *a second Hiroshima*, where the new event is reminiscent of a well-known episode and by means of which the location stands for a singular event that took place there. We may also hear in English *a second Hitler*, where a certain action of a leader seemingly evokes Hitler's policies. These are all cases of paragons (Lakoff 1987), including the use of *9/11* in expressions like a second *9/11*. *9/11* is another version of this metonymic pattern, where the date stands for a singular episode of history. Even so, the novelty in our examples is that the metonymy is not based upon a location or a personage, but it is constructed upon the concept of time.

Technically, this could be an example of what Goossens (1995) calls "metaphtonymy". Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002), in particular, would treat this as a "metonymic reduction of the metaphoric source". A *9/11-type terrorist attack, a second 9/11, a new 9/11* or *another 9/11 attack* all suggest a repetition of the pattern that makes the event notorious. Thus, we have the metonymy DATE FOR SINGULAR EVENT (because *9/11* stands for an event that took place in the 9/11 time-frame) and then an analogy-based metaphor. The metonymy is activated in the source domain of the metaphor and so is prior to the metaphorical correspondences.

The name *9/11* separates from its referent (the real 9/11 and, in turn, the terrorist attack) in order to designate a similar imaginary event (a second 9/11). Following examples (4), (5) and (6), let us illustrate the mapping operation visually:

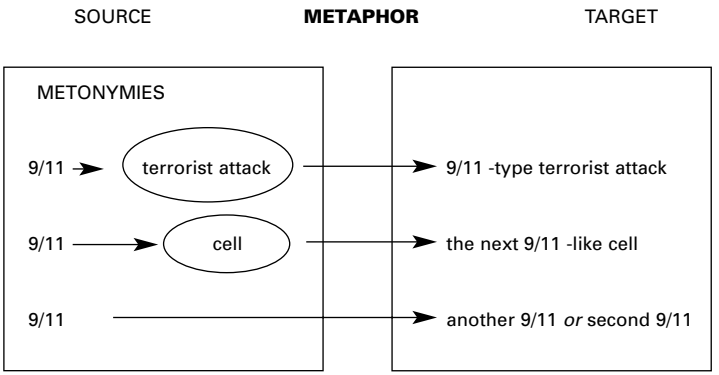

FIGURE 2: Metonymic reduction of the metaphoric source

In the preceding diagram, we observe a combinatorial procedure integrating metonymy and metaphor[8]. The source domain of the metaphor is the *9/11* ICM and the target domain (more abstract because it is as yet unreal) is a potential terrorist attack carried out by suicide criminals. But the source domain of the metaphor is previously complicated by means of references to the temporal expression *9/11*, so the products of the metonymies turn out to be the sources for the metaphoric mapping. As the examples (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8) corroborate, the expression *9/11* appears to be a well-entrenched lexical concept which, in some situations, might not refer to the terrorist attack of 2001, but to a comparable strike at any other time[9]. *9/11* has undergone a process of generalisation (Dirven & Verspoor 1998).

The notion of *synergic* or *sociohistoric* cognition introduced by Bernardez (2007) is of great applicability in sustaining this proposal. In line with his theory, *9/11* is already a fully accessible category which has been linguistically and socioculturally exploited to refer to either the *9/11* attack or to a similar one. As we said earlier, this conceptualization of the terrorist offence makes *9/11* a special case of paragon (Lakoff 1987). Here, *9/11* stands for the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11 plus their social, political and psychological effects, and then all of this structure maps onto possible future attacks with comparable impact.

Turner (1996) might help us to clarify why *9/11* has turned into a new cognitive model. Turner introduces the technical term *narrative imagining* to define a principle of categorisation fundamental in human reasoning. A narrative is a 'mini-story', a mental skeletal structure that allows us to establish an analogical projection between a known experience and a new event through the filling in

with the new details. A narrative condenses basic information about an event, which enables the speaker to construct a new cognitive model on the basis of a previous one.

In this respect, this notion seems tremendously significant for our analysis. We agree that the expression *9/11* is a mental construct. The September 11th events shape a whole story, a parable materialised via the special morphological composition '*9/11*'. This expression allows us to operate in language and thought with its meaning. But in addition, it tolerates further projections. All examples from (4) to (8) show that this special narrative could serve as a form of calculation and preparation for another possible terrorist strike. Stories have a pattern involving performers, objects, episodes, intentions, etc., all of which are essential for fabricating a certain mental model. In the case of the *9/11* narrative, knowledge of these elements will help to avoid future attacks.

3. Other cognitive operations underlying 9/11

3.1 Time as a circle

In addition to the cases of conceptual interaction described earlier, there are other cognitive operations that may arise from the use of the expression *9/11*.

Temporality is often construed in terms of unidirectional and cyclical motion towards a starting point. As already said, the terrorist attack is conceptualised via a numerical expression consisting of a month plus a day, but in the forthcoming examples, the use of such a tag as *9/11* makes us think about a possible return to a same date, an idea is reinforced by the lexical items which collocate with *9/11*. This linguistic modus operandi reminds us of a TIME AS A CIRCLE or TIME AS A CYCLE metaphor[10], a conceptual mapping which has been investigated by Klein (1987) in Toba language, by Dahl (1995) in Malagasy, and by Radden (2004) in relation to English utterances like *History always repeats itself* or *Our shop is open round the clock*. The following instances correspond to this view of time as circular:

(9) If there should be *a repeat of 9/11*, the United States will hold any countries responsible who are proved to have aided or sheltered any of the guilty. (Our italics)
(10) Cheney's proposed "contingency plan" did not focus on preventing a *second 9/11*. (Our italics)
(11) *Another 9/11* would be a watershed event. (Our italics)

When examining the previous utterances, one may have the impression of a return to a subsequent *9/11* even in the aftermath of the actual *9/11*. Temporality in these cases is understood by virtue of a recurrent or cyclic timeline. This construal is seemingly motivated by the circular features of a clock and by the cyclical nature of a calendar. Days and months repeat each year. The examples show evidence of that conception of time, and that is why a future terrorist strike is being referred to as *a repeat of 9/11* (9), a *second 9/11* (10) or *another 9/11* (11).

This reading of time in terms of circularity works quite well in English with years and is specially boosted by the fact that years are metaphorised as cyclic time units, so events repeat annually. Other instances which exemplify this cyclical feature of time in English are the following:

(12)Applications are welcome *year-round*.
(13)We celebrate our wedding *anniversary* on the 14th of October.

This TIME IS A CYCLE metaphor appears to be socioculturally entrenched in our thought, mainly due to our recognition of cyclic patterns in nature and our reaction to them (Dahl 1995). In more general terms, we could say that all civilisations have tried to understand what time is, and the primitive man already had a certain consciousness of time. Time was not perceived as linear in the origins of humankind. Quite the opposite, time was dissected into events that take place cyclically.

According to Lamb (2008), the hominid was obsessed with the migratory cycles of animals and weather conditions since the awareness of these recurrent seasons guaranteed survival. It did not matter whether time had a beginning or an end – more important was the acknowledgment of the temporal cycles that ruled human life.

For example, the Mayan peoples were fascinated with time (and with *times*, in the plural). They were fine astronomers and observers of the cyclical rotations of heavenly bodies. They even reflected their fascination materialistically, in the form of temples, which marked the passing of time[11].

This compulsive attitude towards the notion of temporality is also applicable to the modern industrialised citizen (Dahl 1995), except for the fact that time is lineal. The individual is subject to the ticking of the clock and endeavours to plan time as efficiently as possible both at work and in personal life (indeed, many institutions offer courses about successful time management, which confirms that time continues to be a crucial parameter also for modern man and that the attention we pay to different times is critical for an effective organisation of our life.

Undoubtedly, these behaviours are part of our experience as beings in the world and have contributed, more particularly, to the construction of the metaphors of circular time and of linear time.

3.2 Time as a container

In the initial section of this paper, we also mentioned another conceptual operation involved in the construal of *9/11*. We established that *9/11* is the result of a TIME FOR EVENT metonymy. In the light of the latest research by Evans (2004), time points towards an internal experience of something nearly unknowable of the external world. In line with Ruiz de Mendoza (1999), time is so abstract a domain that it becomes really hard for us to talk about it. As a result of its abstract nature, time is by itself unlikely to act as a source domain for a conceptual metonymy. We need to stick to subdomains of time, which correspond to its divisions in terms of years, days, hours, etc. That is the reason why we refined the concept of metonymy and stated that the metonymy which is activated is DATE FOR EVENT TAKING PLACE ON THAT DATE. However, and in accordance with the previous explanation, prior to the understanding of this metonymy, we must trigger the TIME IS A CONTAINER metaphor, where a containment image schema is found.

Time becomes more accessible through distinctive units like days, and days can be referred to by means of dates. Dates, in turn, are associated with events. Briefly, the process is as follows: (i) at a preconceptual level, we activate the container-content schema, where time incorporates days, (ii) a day is understood via a date, and (iii) a date is additionally construed as a container of events. As a result, *9/11* becomes a straightforward point of access to the events that happened on that day.

Conclusion

In this research, we have provided a hypothesis about the linguistic behaviour of a special numerical expression: *9/11*. Under normal circumstances, *9/11* triggers a conceptual metonymy which connects a date with the heart-rending terrorist attack perpetrated by Al-Qaeda on the World Trade Center, New York, on September 11, 2001.

As the examples analysed throughout the paper corroborate, the phrase *9/11* appears to be a well-entrenched lexical concept which, in some situations, might not refer to the terrorist attack of 2001, but to a comparable strike at any other time. That is to say, we can use the term *9/11* to explicate prospective terrorist attacks in an analogical fashion.

After the Twin Towers destruction, American speakers of English created the calendric term *9/11*, a new lexical unit with a highly metonymic potential. Nevertheless, the current degree of conventionalisation is such that the term has become a generic label to subsume other states of affairs. By means of two cognitive operations (metonymy first and then, metaphor), the tag *9/11* has been semantically extended and now includes a further meaning component which is far more general, thus forming a radial network (Lakoff 1987) of related concepts, as noted in a previous section.

The sociohistoric knowledge summarised in the term *9/11* has been diachronically transmitted to us, i.e. we have inherited the tag and the form *9/11* is now a lexicalisation and allows us to deal with it effortlessly. Many people (reporters, politicians, American citizens…) have contributed to the enrichment of that lexical concept, so our knowledge about *9/11* has come to us in a historically distributed fashion and is now reasonably fixed.

In conclusion, it can be seen how the domain of TIME (because, in the last analysis, *9/11* is a temporal expression) has a creative character (Guerra 1992) and is capable of producing emergent meanings alien to the notion of temporality. TIME therefore seems to be the basis of further conceptual projections, which might suggest the availability of TIME in English as a source domain, as has been explored by the authors in other pieces of research in the same line (Martín & Guerra 2010).

Notes

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[1] Given that time is an abstract domain, it does not usually activate metonymies, as indicated by Ruiz de Mendoza (1999). This idea will be explained further in the last section of this paper.

[2] Apart from the metonymy, we observe an underlying metaphor which is more general and which depends on the pre-conceptual CONTAINMENT image schema. TIME is seen as a container of days and DAYS, in turn, contain EVENTS.

[3] The term "radial network" was first introduced by Brugman & Lakoff (1988). A

radial network is a way to handle polysemy in cognitive-linguistic terms. These networks are constituted by the interrelated senses of a certain lexical item. The nucleus of the radial network is the primary sense, from which we derive the rest of the senses through metaphorical and/or metonymic processes.

[4] American English speakers normally write the month before the day.

[5] This was, in fact, a need to perform an act of categorisation. This means that the term *9/11* was initially an ad hoc category (Wilson 2004), a provisional label which then became entrenched in English.

[6] The analogical equivalent *3/11* is rather infrequent in English.

[7] The term *construal* is a central notion in cognitive theories (Langacker 1996, Croft & Cruse 2004, Palmer 1996) and points at a double direction: (i) 'construal' has to do with 'construct'; and (ii) 'construal' is related to 'construe', an English verb meaning 'interpret'.

[8] This interactional pattern has been studied by Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002) and also in more detail by Ruiz de Mendoza & Diez (2002).

[9] This brings *9/11* into line with the treatment that Ruiz de Mendoza (2010) gives to paragons as metonymic reductions of the metaphoric source.

[10] These two metaphors are technically called *image-schema based metaphors*. Image schemas (Johnson 1987: 126; Lakoff 1987: 267) are primitive tools which allow us to understand abstract concepts in terms of simple configurations or depictions of the external world.

[11] The Mayans also designed a sophisticated calendar as a result of their interest in this concept. Incidentally, given that we are discussing the issue of dates, one date that has been in the news recently in relation to the Mayans is 21 December 2012, which many have apocalyptically mistaken as the end of our era. A Mayan prophecy envisages that 21 December 2012 will see a great event, but this is not the end of the world, because time for the Mayans, as said before, is not rectilinear but circular. What the Mayan prediction means is that 21 December 2012 will indicate a change in time, i.e. the end of a time cycle.

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FIGURES, GROUNDS AND CONTAINERS. PATIENT PRESENTATION IN MEDICAL CASE REPORTS

MAGDALENA MURAWSKA
Adam Mickiewicz University
mmurawska@ifa.amu.edu.pl

Introduction

The language of medical professionals documenting their academic activities has received substantial attention within the framework of specialised discourse analysis. The bulk of the studies on written medical discourse are made up of the quantitative investigations into specific lexical and grammatical features and their respective functions (Salager-Meyer 1994; Vihla 1998; Luzón Marco 2000; Salager-Meyer et al. 2006) as well as the organisation and presentation of ideas in specific text parts (Myers 1990; Koskela 1997). Another substantial body of research has examined linguistic features of texts and the effect they produce. These are studies devoted to impersonality (Hyland 2001), authorial identity (the KIAP project), metaphors (Sontag 1991; Van Rijn-Van Tongeren 1997), and the presentation of patients and diseases (Anspach 1988; Grice and Kramer-Dahl 1992; Donnelly and Hines 1997; Kenny and Beagan 2004). Furthermore, there is literature which explores the acquisition of professional communication styles (both oral and written) in the socialising process of medical culture (Van Naerssen 1985; Pettinari 1988; Atkinson 1997). On the other hand, the studies on spoken discourse have been devoted to communication broadly understood in medical settings (Sarangi and Roberts 1999; Barton 2006; Candlin 2006; Heritage and Maynard 2007). In this paper, a corpus of fifty-six medical case reports has been investigated in order to reveal how particular linguistic choices the authors make

when writing about patient diagnosis and treatment contribute to various spatial configurations in patient imaging. For this purpose, a number of concepts from cognitive linguistics have been used. Furthermore, some selected notions and distinctions from the sociology of medicine have made it possible to contextualise the language use patterns under investigation in the biomedical model. Combining a linguistic analysis of the texts with the perspective given by a bordering discipline offers a new vantage point from which the matter under study can be approached.

First, a theoretical background for the study will be presented. Next, the data and the methods applied will be described. Finally, the results of the analysis will be discussed.

Theoretical background

According to Bazerman (1988), scientific discourses are shaped by given disciplines (1988: 47). It follows that the ways in which academics inform about their scientific activities are influenced by modes of reasoning, methodologies, objectives, etc. of a given area of study (cf. Taavitsainen and Pahta 2000; Atkinson 2001). In other words, how researchers argue in scientific papers and the theories and methods they choose depend on a particular model which is in use at a particular moment in a particular discipline. Following this line of reasoning, features of medical texts might be conditioned by the nature of medicine as studied and as practised.

As regards medical practice, the framework that has outlined the premises of how medicine has been practiced in western societies since the mid-nineteenth century is the biomedical model, which views illness as a direct consequence of the diseased body and patients as mere recipients of treatment (cf. Wade and Halligan 2004: 1398). Therefore, the model is reductionist because it limits the understanding of disease to its biological manifestations only, excluding social and psychological aspects. Relevant to the present study is also the perspective on the biomedical model offered by the sociology of medicine. This discipline approaches medicine critically, which means that it does not treat medical knowledge as given but as the product of social and cultural practices (cf. Atkinson 1995: 25). Consequently, the sociology of medicine provides a number of notions and distinctions which prove to be instrumental in examining how medical discourse reflects the current status of medicine, namely the biomedical model. Firstly, the sociology of medicine distinguishes between *disease* and *illness*. *Disease* is a concept of a state conditioned by the presence or absence of the manifestations indicating a given pathological change. *Illness*, on the other hand, is defined in terms of its subjective perception by the patient (cf. Bond and Bond 1986: 200). It is a conceptual differentiation

between what the doctor sees and what the patient feels and it goes in line with the biomedical model in which only the abnormal states within the body are treated. This way, the model centres around the patient's body and its biological processes abstracting from the patient as a whole and the social and psychological aspects of his/her illness.

Secondly, according to the sociologists of medicine, the biomedical model conceptualises diseases as "it", i.e. as an "isolatable entity" (Blois 1984), which manifests itself unchangingly in all patients. Associated with Plato whose aim was to classify diseases, this mode of disease presentation is referred to as the *nominalist* mode. It allows a disease to be described as a purely abstract concept and separate from its context, i.e. the patient (cf. Blois 1984: 92). For instance, doctors and patients may refer differently to the same medical condition. While the patient may talk about a stomachache, the doctor may refer to it as gallstone colic, thus reducing the experience of a pathological state to an entity carrying a particular meaning in medical discourse (cf. Nijhof 1998: 739). This entity can be enumerated and referred to in abstraction from the patient, as opposed to particular sensations, i.e. "attributes that constitute his illness" (Blois 1984: 94). The following sentences exemplify this mode:

(1) "Fifteen months after the patient's injury, staff members reported possible **leg flexion and eye closure** on two separate occasions in response to command, but the responses were rare and inconsistent during the next two months" (Childs and Mercer 1996).

(2) "A nine-year-old girl presented to the National Institutes of Health Clinical Center with **weight gain, growth arrest, hypertension, abdominal striae, acne, hirsutism, proximal muscle weakness, mood swings, and increasing skin pigmentation**" (Arioglu et al. 1998).

(3) "During her hospital course, the infant received diagnoses of **microcephaly, patent ductus arteriosus, bilateral hearing impairment, hepatosplenomegaly, and failure to thrive**" (Kellenberg et al. 2005).

(4) "On examination he was alert and orientated, with **bilateral complete ptosis, complete ophthalmoplegia, and dilated pupils showing no consensual nor direct response to light**" (Sheridan et al. 2004).

(5) "However, our patient's unresponsiveness was caused by **deep cerebral venous thrombosis, leading to haemorrhagic infarction of the anterior thalami and basal ganglia, with resultant abulia**" (Bernstein and Futterer 2004).

Although examples (1-5) include direct references to the whole patient, the symptoms and reactions (in bold) of each one are enumerated as if they were entities which were not part of the patient's experience of illness.

Thirdly, the sociology of medicine also studies how the development of technology has affected medical practice. As it specialized, medicine forked into numerous branches and sub-branches and the mind was taken over by psychology and psychiatry, while the body was taken over by science (cf. Helman 1994: 104). Moreover, as technological advancement in medicine progressed, certain phenomena became visible, audible and measurable, which allowed physicians to concentrate on smaller and smaller constituents of the human body abstracting from the whole person. Consequently, the application of advanced diagnostic procedures and the specialisation of medicine called a "disembodied body" (Atkinson 1995: 89) into existence: It is a body whose fragments are inspected and described separately from the different perspectives of individual observers and without reference to its owner (cf. Atkinson 1995: 89). The previously discussed biomedical model is the consequence, on the one hand, of the specialisation of medicine and its symbolic separation of the body from the mind, and on the other hand, of technological progress which redirected the doctor's gaze from the whole patient to his/her body and its parts.

Analytical tools

In order to demonstrate various spatial configurations used in the modes of patient imaging in the corpus, two notions from cognitive linguistics have been chosen.

One of the basic cognitive abilities is the figure/ground distinction (or "segregation", as in Evans and Green 2006: 69), i.e. the ability to differentiate between a focal point and its background (cf. Langacker 1987). It is based upon the premise that if a person is shown a black board with a white dot on it, he/she will probably focus on the white dot (cf. Langacker 1987: 120). Following this line of reasoning, "[w]hile one entity is typically privileged and represents the figure, the second entity is given less prominence and is referred to as the ground or reference object" (Evans and Green 2006: 69). This distinction can be observed also at sentence level where selected sentential elements can be given different amounts of attention. Consequently, the figure/ground distinction can be applied to the sentential positions of the subject and the object, each carrying a particular meaning. The subject precedes the verb and is the starting point of the sentence, i.e. something that "is talked about" (Palmer 1994: 2); the object, on the other hand, follows the verb and is given less prominence. With reference to semantic roles, the subject position is often occupied by the argument having the role of Agent, the instigator of the action denoted by the verb, while the object position may be occupied by the argument with the role of Patient or an entity affected by the action denoted by the verb. Functionally, the subject is "prominent

positionally" in that it is a "perspectival center" and "the starting of the communication of a sentence" (Smith 2003: 192-193). Chafe (1976) compares the structure of a sentence to a package of information which is "unwrapped" step by step by a reader. Although it consists of many elements, "knowledge directly attached to the subject may be most immediately accessible" (Chafe 1976: 44). This way, the subject and object slots, associated with the most prominent arguments in terms of semantics and particular functions, additionally find their rationale in a more general cognitive process (cf. Van Dijk 1980: 95-96).

Another analytical tool which makes it possible to examine spatial configurations of patient imaging is the metaphor of a container. Metaphor can be defined as "the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it 'literally' means, in order to suggest some resemblance or to make a connection between the two things" (Knowles and Moon 2006: 1). In other words, metaphor describes a thing in terms of another thing by establishing a common ground between the two. Introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the container metaphor presents objects or notions as having an inside and outside and as being capable of holding something. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 28) explain,

> [w]e are physical beings, bounded and set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins, and we experience the rest of the world as outside us. Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation.

In medical discourse, the concept of disease in the patient is utilised to describe medical procedures or to give an account of medical facts. From this perspective, the patient's body tends to be viewed as a container in which diseases are localised and particular treatment is performed. Language-wise, this effect is achieved by placing patient referents in the positions of complements of prepositional phrases with the meaning of location.

As regards examples (1-5) demonstrating the nominalist account of a disease, such a conceptualisation is referred to as an ontological metaphor, which through the "understanding of our experiences in terms of objects (...)" helps to describe them in a variety of ways (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 25). In medical discourse, this conceptualisation facilitates the presentation of decontextualised information about diseases.

Yet another metaphorical tool found in medical texts is metonymy by which wholes are referred to in terms of their parts, or vice versa, or "naming by association" (Knowles and Moon 2006: 37). An example of the former would be, for instance, referring to *workers* as *hands*, and of the latter the *stage* to refer to the *theatre* (cf. Knowles and Moon 2006: 37). From the perspective of the present paper, the use of metonymy is of particular interest in the presentation of the patients. Here references to body-parts to denote the patients themselves are pervasive in medical

discourse. In this way, the body-part is figuratively separated from its owner and "the sufferer is excluded from the ensuing treatment, which is directed toward the synecdochic sign (…) [and] from the health professional's perspective the patient becomes the affected body part" (Fleischman 1999: 22).

Data and Methods

The corpus for this study comprises fifty-six case reports taken from four international medical journals designed for health professionals: *The Lancet* (15), *The Journal of American Medical Association* (13), *The New England Journal of Medicine* (16), and *The British Medical Journal* (12). In their study of case reports from a diachronic perspective, Taavitsainen and Pahta (2000:60) define this genre in the following way:

> In its typical form, the case report records the course of a patient's disease from the onset of symptoms to the outcome, usually either recovery or death. The background and a commentary on the disease are also given, but their scope may vary. Often a limited review of the literature is added and the number of known cases stated.

Generally, case reports present new diseases or diseases that are already known but which have unusual manifestations.

In the analysis, each article carefully searched for any words that referred to the patients described there. Next, the examples containing references to the patients were isolated by means of *WordSmith 5* and further examined. The examples which did not refer to the patients directly, yet concerned various aspects of their treatment, were also taken into consideration. In the following discussion of the results, it will be demonstrated how various grammatical, rhetorical and lexical configurations of the texts in the corpus examined contribute to different spatial representations of the patients.

Results and Discussion

Figures and grounds

In the analysis, first, instances of the use of the figure and ground distinction and then of the metaphor of the container found in the case reports will be presented.

In the following fourteen examples, figures and grounds can be distinguished. In each example, the figure is the pathological change, either on or in the patient's body. Where these examples differ is the ground, and it is the type of the ground, in turn, that determines the mode of patient imagining.

(6) "Although the patient discussed here could not recall a clear break in his skin or an accident in the laboratory, most reported occupational infections occur without recognized instances of exposure" (Srinivasan et al. 2001).

(7) "An 84-year-old woman presented with a bruise on her face from a fall the previous day" (James 2005).

(8) "She developed pain and massive inflammation at the injection site, was told she was allergic to the toxoid and should not have further tetanus immunizations" (Lindley-Jones et al. 2004).

(9) "Two days before admission, he observed a "brown spot" in the left visual field and noted mild pain in the left eye" (Rubin et al. 2003).

(10) "On examination she was feverish (38°C), with exudate on her tonsils and tender cervical lymph nodes" (Graham and Fahey 1999).

(11) "On September 18, he presented to the medical clinic with severe dyspnea, weakness, and a petechial rash on the legs" (Mak et al. 2001).

Although the patients are Agents of the sentences only in (7) and (11) in all six examples they stand in the subject position, which makes them the primary topics and content of the clauses (cf. Givon 1984: 137-138; Halliday 1994: 76). As regards the figures –*break*, *bruise*, *inflammation*, *brown spot*, *exudate*, and *rash*, they are imaged against the body-parts– *his skin*, *her face*, *injection site*, *eye*, *tonsils*, and *legs* respectively. Yet, because of the fact that the patients are referred to as whole persons and it is they who are being talked about, they can be treated as the grounds as well. To put it differently, in these examples the authors seem to have chosen the patient's perspective for the description of the situation.

(12) "On May 30, a similar lesion developed on her left cheek" (Garde et al. 2004).

(13) "Three months later, a return visit to her dentist revealed a persistent nonhealing ulcer at the right mandibular extraction site and mobility of the mandibular right second bicuspid" (Dodson et al. 2008).

(14) "CT of his neck showed oropharangeal oedema, and parapharangeal oedema on the right" (Chapman and Tully 2004).

In (12), the *lesion* –the figure– is imaged as Agent appearing in a particular location –on the *cheek*– the ground. In comparison to (6-11) above, here the lesion occupies the subject position whereas the *cheek* metonymically represents the patient, who is marked by the possessive pronoun (as opposed to 15-19 below). Consequently, the most topical element of this sentence is the lesion which is placed against the patient's body-part. In (13) and (14), the pathological lesions –*ulcer* and *oedema*– are not the most prominent elements in the sentences. However, the sentences

display the same figure/ground alignment, with *extraction site* and *neck* functioning as the grounds. What is more, the patients are also textually marked by possessive pronouns. Furthermore, such a type of the part-whole relation as in the case of the *cheek, site* and *neck* is classified by Iris et al. (1988: 272) as *functional parts*, where "[t]he part (…) contributes to the whole, not just as a structural unit but as essential to the purposeful activity of the whole". With this explanation in mind, the focus of the sentences below falls on the body-parts and their conditions which affect the functioning of the larger structure, i.e. the whole body (cf. Górska 1999: 78-79).

(15) "On examination, we found large venous ulcers on both legs, and bilateral ankle oedema" (Woodman et al. 2004).

(16) "On physical examination, the rash was most prominent on visible parts of the body, including the face and anterior neck" (Cordell and Gordon 2004).

(17) "There were 1 to 2 vitreous cells in the right eye, a few small dot hemorrhages in the macula, and slight engorgement of the optic-nerve head" (Rickman et al. 1995).

(18) "A purple mass developed at the same site months later, followed by similar nodules on the trunk" (White et al. 2004).

(19) "No lesions or rashes were noted on the skin" (Bush et al. 2001).

In (15-19), the patients are represented metonymically only by their body-parts (*legs, parts of the body, eye, trunk*, and *skin*), which constitute the grounds for the pathological lesions (*ulcers*, *oedema*, *rash, vitreous cells, hemorrhages*, *engorgement*, *mass, nodules,* and *lesions*). Yet, in contrast to (12-14), here the body-parts appear in abstraction from their owners and only the definite articles in (16-19) denote whose parts of the body are dealt with. Additionally, while in (15) and (17) the pathological lesions occupy the object position being less prominent, in (16), (18), and (19) the skin conditions are the focal elements of the sentences.

All in all, sentences 12 to 19 exemplify three modes of patient imaging. In (6-11) the type of the patient referents (the whole person) and their sentential position (the subject) make the patients the grounds for the diseases presented. In other words, although these examples inform about patients' conditions, the authors seem to have chosen to present this information from the patient's perspective. The most prominent element of (12) is the lesion, which is presented as appearing against the patient's body-part. Although this mode directly refers to the patient, it is the body-part that stands for her. In (16), (18) and (19) similarly to (12), the figures are the pathological lesions. Yet, due to the absence of the direct patient referents, the body becomes abstracted from the patient. Such a mode of patient imaging tallies with the assumptions of the biomedical model and with the reign

of technology in medical practice. In this mode, the emphasis is on the pathological changes treated and the body-parts affected. What is more, the textual abstraction of the body from the patient resembles the way bodies are examined and assessed using modern diagnostic technologies. With respect to the disease/illness distinction, all the pathological changes described (cf. examples 7-19 above) are viewed from the perspective of the researcher who informs about what has been observed.

Patients as containers

The other spatial configuration of patient imaging as examined in the corpus is patient as container. The following six sentences exemplify this metaphorical tool:

> (20) "**In this 10-year-old child** with a history of chest pain, dyspnea on exertion, and noisy breathing, the results of spirometry testing are important in the differential diagnosis" (Haver et al. 2008).
>
> (21) "It is very unlikely that other causes contributed to the hypoglycaemia **in our patient**" (Seckl et al. 1999).
>
> (22) "**In our patient**, two-site immunoassays for luteinizing hormone demonstrated elevated levels" (Hirshberg et al. 2003).
>
> (23) "**In four of our patients** who had diabetes, the lesion was initially misdiagnosed as a diabetic foot ulcer" (Kong et al. 2005).
>
> (24) "In 1994, splenomegaly was documented **in a 72-year-old woman** from the Greek island of Karpathos during a routine examination (her first in many years)" (Vinetz et al. 1998).
>
> (25) "We report a relapse of tuberculosis characterized by resistance to rifampin and rifabutin after exposure to both drugs **in a patient** whose infection was initially drug-susceptible" (Bishai et al. 1996).

Examples (21), (23) and (24) present the patients (in bold) as the location of illness, while examples (20), (22) and (25) present them as the location of medical procedures. Consequently, the readers' attention is drawn to the diseases examined (cf. Dubertret 2006: 75) and the treatment performed (cf. Ashcroft 2000: 288) rather than to the patients themselves. Although the patients are textually present, they do not hold sententially prominent positions. They are located in the prepositional phrases functioning as adverbial complements or adjuncts, i.e. denoting the place of the described facts or procedures. What is more, these examples can also be viewed as the extension of the figure and ground distinction where the patients as locations are the grounds for the matters that are

the primary topics of the examples, i.e. disease and treatment. As Grice and Kramer-Dahl (1992) observe, "the patient (…) is presented less as a person than as an experimental resource" (1992: 64), whereas diseases are "isolatable entities" as located in patients-containers.

Conclusion

The present study demonstrates that the figure/ground alignment and the container metaphor focus attention on the selected elements of a sentence by means of the grammatical, rhetorical, and lexical configurations of texts, in this case the sentential position of the patient referents and their type. The mode of imaging patients as containers, which has already been reported in the literature (Grice and Kramer-Dahl 1992; Fowler 1996: 128-129), has been supplemented by the examples of imaging patients as figures and grounds. The analysis of the texts in question reveals that the patients tend to be textually backgrounded, while disease and medical procedures come to the fore. This is achieved when pathological lesions are the primary topics and they are presented as figures against the background of the body-parts or when the patients-containers serve as the background for the conditions or treatment described. As a result, in some of the texts examined, the patients are separated from their bodies in that the textual focus falls on body-parts, medical procedures and diseases. In other words, the patients are portrayed in abstraction from their bodies and their mental/somatic reactions. However, the examples where the patients take centre stage have also been presented. Here the patient references occupied the subject position, whereas pathological lesions were described against the ground of the body. These various ways in which authors may choose to write about patients and their diseases point to the fact that it is up to them what mode they will select and where they decide to lay stress. Additionally, the contribution of the sociology of medicine to the critical analysis of the biomedical model needs to be emphasised, as it has substantially informed the analysis of the linguistic choices studied. What is more, some of these choices appear to confirm the commonly held assumptions that what medicine focuses on is the patient as a case of a given disease and not the whole person experiencing illness.

The present paper has sought to draw attention to patient imaging in medical texts for professionals, as written communication among medical professionals is not conceived of as being of direct relevance to the patient. However, it does matter how patients are written about as the production and reception of such texts is a standard medical practice and it reflects how patients are positioned therein.

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THE EFFECT OF PROMINENCE HIERARCHIES ON MODERN ENGLISH LONG PASSIVES. PRAGMATIC VS. SYNTACTIC FACTORS[1]

ELENA SEOANE
Universidad de Santiago de Compostela
elena.seoane@uvigo.es

Introduction

Propositions involving a transitive verb, an agent and a patient (or an experiencer) can be rendered in the active (1a) or in the passive voice (1b).

(1) a. *The local police arrested him*
b. *He was arrested by the local police*

Long passives (or passives with an overt *by*-phrase) such as (1b) serve, among other purposes, that of rearranging the order of constituents. Their choice over the active is crosslinguistically determined by several factors relative to the prominence of the patient noun phrase (*him* in (1a)) as compared to that of the agent (*the local police*), factors which are captured in a number of prominence hierarchies. The aim of this paper is to study the effect of these prominence hierarchies on long passives in order to identify the factors which condition their use in Modern English (1500-1900) as represented in the *Helsinki Corpus* (*HC*; cf. Kytö 1993) and *ARCHER* (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*; cf. Biber et al. 1994). Most importantly, this study intends to find out whether such factors are epiphenomenal of one another, as predicted by some authors, or whether, on the contrary, they are independent.

For this purpose, I will first comment on some general data concerning the frequency of passives in the period (cf. Section 2 below), and then I will

concentrate on the interaction of pragmatic, semantic and structural factors in determining the use of long passives as word-order rearranging devices (Section 3). Finally, Section 4 will summarise the conclusions derived from this study.

2. Passives in Modern English: frequency and textual distribution

The frequency of use of the passive voice, as well as its function are largely determined by the register in which it is used (cf. Svartvik 1966; Seoane 2006). For this reason, I examined stylistically different texts, as follows. I selected on the one hand Sermons, Science and Law for their highly formal quality, and on the other Drama, Fiction and Private Letters for being tendentially less formal and closer to the spoken varieties of English. The corpus comprises 300,000 words. The Early Modern English sample (EModE, 1500-1700) is from the *Helsinki Corpus;* the Late Modern English data (LModE, 1700-1900) are mainly drawn from *ARCHER*, except for the legal texts which are not represented in *ARCHER* and have been specially compiled for this paper. These are made up of extracts of laws and statutes written in British English from the period, and have been downloaded from the Internet (e.g. at www.british-history.ac.uk).

Table 1 shows the ratio of passives as compared to actives in all text types. The count of active constructions was restricted to those for which a passive counterpart would be available, so that examples such as (2), an intransitive clause, and (3), a copular clause, were excluded. In other words, only active transitive clauses with an overt object eligible to become a passive subject were included in the count. This decision was informed by the fact that, in a study of syntactic variation like this, only the frequency of variants in contexts where they can actually take place is relevant. Sheer frequency of a given variant per number of words is not interesting, since low frequency of such a variant could reflect, for example, that its occurrence is constrained by linguistic factors, rather than that it is infrequently selected by the speaker. By counting the contexts where the variant can occur but does not, we can ascertain the frequency and factors determining the speaker's choice.

(2) (Lady Fan.) "Every Circumstance of nice Breeding **must needs appear** ridiculous to one who has so natural an Antipathy to Good-Manners". (1730. Drama. Vanbrugh, John (Sir). *The Provok'd Wife*. In *Plays Written by Sir John Vanbrugh. ARCHER*).

(3) "But the general results **were** as satisfactory as if the whole series of the arrangements had been compleat". (1825. Science. Barlow, Peter. "On the temporary magnetic effect induced in iron bodies by rotation". *Philosophical Transactions* 115: 317-327. *ARCHER*)

		Passives % (No.)	*Actives* % (No.)
LAW	EModE	52.9 (892)	47.0 (792)
	LModE	51.1 (543)	48.9 (520)
SCIENCE	EModE	31.5 (395)	68.4 (858)
	LModE	52.4 (496)	47.5 (449)
SERMONS	EModE	22.6 (182)	77.3 (623)
	LModE	38.7 (452)	61.2 (713)
DRAMA	EModE	10.2 (128)	89.7 (1,117)
	LModE	16.5 (171)	83.4 (862)
FICTION	EModE	6.7 (115)	93.2 (1,601)
	LModE	25.0 (293)	74.9 (878)
P.LETTERS	EModE	12.7 (350)	87.2 (2,402)
	LModE	21.9 (216)	78.0 (767)

TABLE 1. Number of passives and actives found, with indication of relative frequency

In all text types other than legal texts, where the ratio of passives is similar in both Early and Late Modern English, we observe an increase in the frequency of passives through the period, following the general trend observed from Old English, of a steady increase in the use of passives. As for text-types, Table 1 shows that, as expected, it is mainly the degree of formality or the style used that conditions the frequency of passives, since these are predominantly associated with formal texts (cf. Seoane and Williams 2006).

In addition to this stylistic function, other factors interact in the choice between active and passive. Some of these factors are more prone to occur in short (or agentless) passives while others are more apparent in long passives. Put briefly, short passives are mainly used to background the agent by eliding it, while long passives are object-foregrounding devices whereby patients come to occupy initial topical position with the resulting rearrangement of clause elements. In this paper I

concentrate on long passives and the reasons which determine their use as word order rearranging devices. The key questions this study intends to answer are, firstly, whether this rearrangement of elements is determined by pragmatic, semantic or structural factors, and, secondly, whether these factors are independent of or dependent on one another. Table 2 sets out the proportion of short to long passives per text-type and shows that, as expected, the proportion of long passives tends to be higher in formal texts, with the exception of Science (for a discussion of the textual distribution of long passives, cf. Seoane 2006: 372-373).[2]

		Short Passives % (No.)	Long Passives % (No.)
LAW	EModE	80.1 (715)	19.8 (177)
	LModE	84.8 (461)	15.1 (82)
SCIENCE	EModE	90.6 (358)	9.3 (37)
	LModE	93.3 (463)	6.6 (33)
SERMONS	EModE	83.5 (152)	16.4 (30)
	LModE	87.8 (397)	12.1 (55)
DRAMA	EModE	96.8 (124)	3.1 (4)
	LModE	93.5 (160)	6.4 (11)
FICTION	EModE	94.7 (109)	5.2 (6)
	LModE	90.1 (264)	9.8 (29)
P.LETTERS	EModE	95.1 (333)	4.8 (17)
	LModE	90.2 (195)	9.7 (21)

TABLE 2. Number and percentage of long and short passives per text-type and subperiod

3. The long passive as a word-order rearranging device

As already mentioned, the factors which condition word order arrangements concern the degree of semantic, pragmatic and syntactic prominence of the constituents involved. A number of prominence hierarchies capture the ordering preferences that characterise most SVO languages (Sornicola 2006), as shown in Figure 1. Noun phrases with features figuring at the left of these hierarchies are the candidates most likely to become topics and occupy initial position.[3]

THE FAMILIARITY HIERARCHIES		
given > new	(Table 3) (Prince 1992; Birner and Ward 1998)	
definite > indefinite	(Table 4) (Kiss 1998)	
THE DOMINANCE HIERARCHIES		
The personal hierarchy:	*human > non-human*	(Table 5) (Silverstein 1976; Kiss 1998)
The empathy hierarchy:	*1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person* (Kuno and Kaburaki 1977)	
The semantic role hierarchy:	*agent > recipient / benefactive > patient > instrumental > spatial > temporal* (Siewierska 1994)	
THE FORMAL HIERARCHY		
Short > long	(Table 6) (Hawkins 1994; Wasow 2002)	

FIGURE 1. PROMINENCE HIERARCHIES

Examination of the long passives in the corpus as regards these hierarchies provided the following results. Firstly, the empathy and semantic role hierarchies, whose effects are exemplified in (4) and (5) respectively, had to be left out because they yielded figures that are too low to draw any kind of conclusion. In the case of the empathy hierarchy only 14 passives involved speech-act-participants (first and second person pronouns); as for the semantic role hierarchy, it involved too small a subgroup of passives, namely those derived from active ditransitive clauses, where there is a choice between fronting a patient or a benefactive noun phrase.

(4) "In cutting down the peat to the bed of marl, the remains of the gigantic elk have frequently been met with; and invariably, as **I** am assured by **the concurrent testimony of the tenantry**, placed between the peat and the marl, or merely impressed in the latter". (1825. Science. Weaver, Thomas. "On the fossil elk of Ireland". *Philosophical Transactions* 115: 429-435. *ARCHER*).

(5) "After supper they took a walk and when bedtime came, Liberius and Angelica retired to their chamber, where Sylvia having helped her lady to undress and wished them a good night, she also retired to her own and slept soundly, having little regard or so much as thought of **what** had been told **her** by **Liberius and Angelica"**. (1723. Fiction. Blackmore, Arthur. *Luck at Last; or the Happy Unfortunate*. In McBurney, William H. (ed.) *Four Before Richardson. ARCHER).*

The rest of the variables yield the results displayed in Tables 3 to 6. The first row in each table, in bold type, corresponds to the optimal ordering predicted by these hierarchies, that is, given precedes new (Table 3 and example (6)), subject is more definite than agent (Table 4, example (7)), human precedes non-human (Table 5, example (8)) and short precedes long (Table 6, example (9)).

(6) "Hitherto **it** has not been disapproved of by **some people of judgment, who have seen parts of it"**. (1752. Private Letters. Carroll, John (ed.) *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson* : 218.219. *ARCHER*).

(7) "In one **the child** is being attacked by **a serpent**, and the dog standing over to defend it". (1851. Private Letters. Cohen, Morton N. (ed.) *The letters of Lewis Carroll. Vol. I: 1837-1885. ARCHER*).

(8) "I do not ask them whether **they** are made unhappy by **the fear of God's anger"** (1824. Sermons. Hall, Robert. Marks of Love to God. In G. Kleiser (comp.) *The World's Great Sermons. Vol. III. ARCHER*).

(9) "**It** is fettered by **none of those conditions which confine the swiftest bodies that traverse the surface of the earth"** (1829-1890. Liddon, Henry. Influences of the Holy Spirit. In G. Kleiser (comp.) *The World's Greatest Sermons. Vol. VII. ARCHER*).

	% (No.)
Given / New	53.3 (247)
New / Given	7.3 (34)
Given/Given	15.1 (70)
New / New	24.1 (112)

TABLE 3. Information conveyed by the subject /agent

	% (No.)
Subject more definite than agent	46.0 (213)
Subject less definite than agent	18.7 (87)
Subject equally definite as agent	35.2 (163)

TABLE 4. Relative degree of definiteness of subject and agent

	% (No.)
+H+A / -H-A	18.5 (86)
-H-A / +H+A	32.3 (150)
+H+A / +H+A	16.4 (76)
-H-A / -H-A	32.6 (151)

TABLE 5. Human and animacy features of the subject/agent

	% (No.)
Subject shorter than agent	69.9 (324)
Subject longer than agent	16.6 (77)
Subject and agent of same length	13.3 (62)

TABLE 6. Relative length of subject and agent

These tables show that all factors play a role in determining the use of long passives except one, namely the animacy of the subject and agent. According to the results in Table 5, promoting human patients at the expense of non-human agents is not a conditioning factor in long passives. This result goes against a widely acknowledged crosslinguistic tendency to show animacy-based word order preferences; in fact, the effects of the animacy hierarchy are categorical in some languages, such as Lummi, which have person-driven passives (Bresnan et al. 2001; cf. also Comrie 1989 on Navaho and Hawkins 1994 on Sesotho). In the case of Early Modern English we could attribute such a finding to the fact that this tendency to have human subjects was only in its inception at the time (cf. Söderlind 1951-58; Strang 1970). However, since the weak influence of animacy on passives is present in the corpus as late as the eighteenth century, it cannot be justified in historical terms.[4]

All the other factors examined give positive results. Therefore, the long passives in the corpus prove to be sensitive to two types of factors; firstly, pragmatic factors, the familiarity and definiteness of the information conveyed, and secondly, structural factors, that is, the relative weight of the constituents. We are obviously moving in the terrain of interrelated factors, because given, definite information tends to be structurally short while new information needs modification and specification and therefore tends to be longer. As for the reason why given should precede new and short should precede long, several studies have proved that such ordering facilitates utterance planning, production and parsing: heavy and new

constituents are difficult to produce and comprehend, and therefore are best left till the end of the utterance (Arnold et al. 2000 for an extensive literature review; Wasow and Arnold 2003:147ff). An explicit version of this idea is Hawkins's Principle of Early Immediate Constituents (1994) later subsumed under his principle of Minimised Domains (2004).

Before I move on to study the effect of these two interacting factors and evaluate their relative importance, a few words may be in order concerning their nature and the way they have been operationalised in the corpus. As for pragmatic factors, given-before-new is a simplified representation of a more general category normally referred to as discourse status (Arnold et al. 2000) or pragmatic information status (Hawkins 2004). I am aware that it is problematic to encapsulate discourse status in a binomial category like given/new, just as it is to classify it into the three categories proposed by Prince (1992) —discourse given, inferable, discourse new— or those by Chafe (1994:72) —already active, previously semi-active, previously inactive— or even into the five categories in Lambrecht's Topic Acceptability Scale (1994:165), because *given, inferable* or *active* are also scalar concepts and depend on the recency of mention. Therefore, while finer-grained distinctions in discourse status might affect ordering preferences (Wasow and Arnold 2003:129-130), given/new is a straightforward coding-scheme commonly used in empirical studies which I have considered valid for the present study. *Given* in this paper is the referent that has been mentioned in the linguistic context or is present in the extralinguistic context, as is the case with deictic elements. *New* is a referent mentioned for the first time, new in context.

As for structural factors, the traditional Principle of End Weight, in Quirk et al.'s (1972) terminology, predicts that long, heavy constituents tend to occupy the final position of the clause. Weight, or structural complexity, has been variously characterised: some scholars equate weight with length (Altenberg 1982; Rosenbach 2002, 2005), that is, the number of words in a constituent, and others take into account complexity, the number of nodes and phrasal nodes dominated (especially notable are the contributions of Hawkins 1994, 2004 on this matter). These characterisations correlate with each other since complex constituents also tend to be longer, and in fact it is still a matter of controversy whether these characterisations are distinct or not (Wasow and Arnold 2003). Wasow (1997, 2002) evaluates eight different characterisations of weight as found in the literature and proves that they yield similar results with regard to the three weight-sensitive phenomena he studies (heavy noun phrase shift, particle movement, and the dative alternation). For this reason I find it reasonable to use weight in the sense of length in this study, taking into consideration the number of words (not syllables) making up the subject and agent of the long passives.

Coming back to the corpus results, what we are basically left with is that most examples have the given-before-new and short-before-long order, as in example (10):

(10)"**He** had been sold by **a man of honour** for twenty shekels of silver" (1750. Sermon. Sterne, Laurence. The Prodigal Son. In R. Nye (ed.), *The English Sermon, An Anthology. Vol.III: 1750-1850. ARCHER*)

He is given information and short, and *a man of honour* is new information and longer. The question that emerges here is whether the passive is chosen by virtue of the subject *He* being given or short. In other words, is it discourse status or structural complexity that induces the long passive here? And are these factors independent or is one factor entirely responsible for ordering and the other just epiphenomal, as some scholars suggest? For Niv (1992), quoted in Wasow (1997), structural complexity is just a side-effect of discourse status, while for Hawkins (1994) structural complexity is crucial in determining word order whereas the effects of discourse status are not even clear.

Following the methodology in Rosenbach (2002, 2005), I have tried to tease apart the effects of discourse status and weight in the long passives in the corpus. First, in order to determine whether discourse status and structural complexity are independent or not, I examined discourse status in contexts neutralised for an effect of weight (cf. Table 7 and examples (11)-(13)), and weight in contexts neutralised for an effect of discourse status (cf. Table 8 and examples (14)-(16)). Ideally these contexts would also have to be neutralised for an effect of animacy, but as Rosenbach points out (2002:72), isolating factors calls for an extremely large corpus; though it contains 4,233 passives, my corpus is not large enough to isolate all factors, because the necessary neutralised contexts are underrepresented. This forced me to include examples where the animacy of both constituents is not the same, which, nevertheless, should not bias the results since, as shown earlier, the effects of animacy do not seem to interfere in the active/long passive choice (cf. Table 5).

The first line in Table 7 shows that there are discourse status effects that cannot be attributed to weight because weight is neutral and even so in these examples given-before-new is preferred.

Given / New	72	[example (11)]
New / Given	36	[example (12)]
Same type of information	32	[example (13)]
Total	140	

TABLE 7. Discourse status in contexts neutralised for an effect of weight

(11)"**it** is cemented by **shellac** at the upper end to a piece of glass rod a little smaller in diameter than the bore of the tube, and drawn out to a point, as shown". (1875. Science. Crookes, William. "On repulsion resulting from radiation". *Philosophical Transactions*. Vol. 165 +*ARCHER*).

(12)"I will set downe **two conclusions** to bee wrought by **those tables**". (1597. Science. Blundevile. "A Briefe description of the tables of the three speciall right lines belonging to a circle, called signes, lines tangent, and lines secant". *HC*).

(13)"It must be owned, the wise men of old, who followed the light of nature, saw even by that light, that **the soul of man** was debased, and borne downwards, contrary to its natural bent, by **carnal and terrene objects**" (1650-1750. Sermons. Attenbury, Francis. On the Martyrdom of King Charles I. In C. H. Sisson (ed.) *The English Sermon, an Anthology*. Vol II. *ARCHER*).

Similarly, the first line in Table 8 shows that there are weight effects that cannot be attributed to discourse status because the discourse status is the same in subject and agent.

Given / New	72	[example (11)]
Subject shorter than agent	39	[example (14)]
Subject longer than agent	5	[example (15)]
Same length	32	[example (16)]
Total	76	

TABLE 8. Weight in contexts neutralised for an effect of discourse status

(14)"and we therefore think that a **description and discussion of our own researches** may be usefully preceded by **a short account of the labours of the previous investigators of this subject and of the grounds upon which their conclusions were based"**. (1874. Science. Noble, Captain. *Research on explosives – Fired gunpowder. Philosophical Transactions*. Vol. 165. *ARCHER*).

(15)"yet shall **the endeavours of christian men for propagating the gospel of Christ** be forestalled by **any suppositions or conjectures** whatsoever?" (1700. Sermons. *Gospel in Foreign Parts*. In C.H. Sisson (ed.), *The English Sermon*, vol. II: 1650-1750. *ARCHER*).

(16)"**Moyses** was made by **god"**. (1500-1570. Sermons. In J.E.B. Mayor (ed.). *Sermons by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*. Part I. *Early English Text Society*, E.S. 27. *HC*).

These results clearly indicate that, despite the interrelation between weight and discourse status, whereby short elements tend to convey given information and long elements tend to convey new information, weight and discourse status are independent factors, neither of them being an epiphenomenon of the other. In order to evaluate their relative importance we need to examine contexts where discourse status and length do not go together, that is, contexts with short/new-before-long/given order and long/given-before-short/new order, as shown in Table 9 and illustrated in examples (17) and (18).

Subject shorter than agent, new / given information	9	[example (17)]	Weight: 3.8
Subject longer than agent, given / new information	15	[example (18)]	Weight: 3.2

TABLE 9. Contexts where givenness and heaviness do not go together

(17)"To the end that **an Accompt** may bee taken by **the said Master and Wardens or theire Deputy or Deputies thereof**" (1695. Law. QE3_STA_LAW_STAT7. *HC*).

(18)"**The Small Comet which was see in these Parts of Europe, in the Months of October, November, and December, 1723** was first observed in England by **Dr. Halley**, on Octob. 9. between 7 and 8 of the Clock in the Evening" (1724. Science. Bradley, Rev. Observations upon the comet, … *Philosophical Transactions* 33:41-49. *ARCHER*)

Unfortunately, only 22 passives were found where discourse status and length do not go together. If we are to judge by these findings, long passives with given/new info despite the long/short structure are predominant, which would indicate that discourse status is more important than weight in determining the use of long passives.

At this point we must remember that both factors, discourse status and structural weight, are scalar concepts, even if I have been using the dichotomies given/new and short/long. As predicted by Arnold et al. (2000), the impact of each factor depends on the strength of competing factors in such a way that the effect of weight will depend on how strong givenness is, understood as the degree of the recency of mention, and the effect of discourse status will depend on the strength of weight. One of the advantages of measuring weight as length, as is the case in this study, is that we can treat weight as a graded concept. In the first case presented in Table 9, where weight is more powerful, the average measure is 3.8, that is, the agent is 3.8 words longer than the subject on average. In the second case, where discourse status is more powerful, the difference is lower, only 3.2 words. This would indicate that probably givenness is overruled by weight when the weight difference between the subject and agent reaches a certain level.

4. Conclusions

This paper has identified the crosslinguistic factors which determine the choice of long passives over actives as word-order rearranging devices in Modern English, namely discourse status, definiteness and weight. Contrary to what the animacy hierarchy predicts, passives in the corpus contravene the crosslinguistic tendency to promote human referents to initial topic position at the expense of non-human agents, an intriguing result which is analysed in depth elsewhere (cf. Seoane, 2009). Most essential is the role of weight and discourse status, two factors which are highly correlated but have proved to be independent of one another when it comes to determining word order via long passives. A preliminary test for their relevance has shown that discourse status seems to be more prominent than weight in the choice of long passives, and that the effects of discourse status depend on the strength of structural weight.

Notes

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[2] In Seoane (2006: 372-373) two factors are identified for the association between formal texts and long passives. Firstly, the fact that formal texts tend to be informative, and long passives help reflect a stronger rheme-focus structure in informative writing (Kennedy 2001: 41). Secondly, formal texts tend to have a prototypically written style, where given information is not elided but repeated and must, therefore, be integrated in clause structure: in contexts where the patient is given information the passive will be resorted to.

[3] These hierarchies can only be applied to nominal constituents, and for this reason I had to exclude two long passives from Science and 30 from Law. I have also excluded examples where the agent precedes the subject.

[4] Seoane (2009) shows that the allegedly universal connection between subject and animacy is mediated by the semantic role of agent, so that if the subject is not the agent, the connection ceases to apply. The theoretical import of this is twofold. Firstly, the assignment of the effects of animacy is neither the assignment of syntactic functions nor the linearization of constituents, as is widely believed, but rather the assignment of semantic roles exclusively. Secondly, the animacy hierarchy should be excluded from those prominence hierarchies which successfully predict what noun phrases occupy initial topic position, since its predictions —at least for passives— do not hold.

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Reviews

CONSTRUCTING PERSONALITY. MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES ON WRITTEN

Rosa Lorés Sanz, Pilar Mur Dueñas and Enrique Lafuente Millán (eds.)
Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.

(by Javier Fernández Polo, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)
xabier.fernandez@usc.es

The classic view of scientific communication as black and white and depersonalised is now outdated. Scientific texts are complex rhetorical artefacts where the management of interpersonal relationships, between authors and readers in particular, is crucial to their success. As a relevant specialist put it recently: "Academics do not simply produce texts that plausibly represent an external reality (…) academic writing is therefore an engagement in a social process, where the production of texts reflects the methodology, arguments and rhetorical strategies constructed to engage colleagues and persuade them of the claims that are made." (Hyland 2005: 66-7). Writers use a myriad of rhetorical strategies to persuade their readerships, by projecting a positive image of their work and fostering a favourable attitude towards themselves and their research. Although this has always been a major concern of every scientific writer, it has long passed largely unnoticed to both specialists and teachers of academic language. Since the late 90's, however, scholars in this field have awakened to the great importance of this dimension of scientific discourse and the publication of books and papers on the subject has been on the increase ever since (Fløttum, Dahl & Kinn 2006; Hyland 2000; Ivan c 1998).

The recent publication *Constructing Interpersonality: Multiple Perspectives on Written Academic Genres*, edited by Rosa Lorés-Sanz, Pilar Mur-Dueñas and Enrique Lafuente- Millán, reflects the current popularity of the subject in EAP

circles. Many individual specialists and leaders of research groups with an interest in interpersonality in academic discourse met recently at an international conference on the topic organized by the University of Zaragoza's InterLAE research group. This volume contains a careful selection of the papers presented at that conference, which brought together the most prominent figures in the field in Europe. The event served as a showroom of recent findings on the topic and as a perfect forum for the confrontation of ideas and the discussion of future avenues of research. The nineteen papers chosen for inclusion in the present monograph provide an unparalleled, updated and comprehensive view of the state-of-the-art and major concerns in the field.

The book covers a wide range of disciplines and genres. All major areas of science are represented, including disciplines such as medicine, linguistics, literature, economics, business organisation, psychology, law and physics. The catalogue of academic genres submitted to analysis is equally large, although most chapters focus on research-related genres, to the detriment of other "educational" genres.

The concept of genre plays a major structural role in the volume, with the different contributions being grouped according to the generic nature of the materials analysed. Part II focuses on summarising and evaluating genres, with articles on abstracts (Bellés- Fortuño and Querol-Julián; Burgess and Martín-Martín) and book reviews (Gea Valor; Moreno and Suárez), while Part III deals with interpersonality in "the academic genre par excellence" (p. 6), the research article (Breeze; Hiltunen; Resinger; Tutin). Part IV, which is the largest part of the monograph, focuses on comparatively "lesser known" academic genres and reflects the current interest of the EAP community in new or previously neglected academic genres. This part is therefore something of a miscellany, with chapters on the student essay (Petri), the conference handout (Yakhontova & Markelova) and the academic weblog (Luzón), one of the new web-based communication tools that are gaining importance in academia and research, as well as a paper on the referee report (Fortanet-Gómez and Ruiz-Garrido), which might have fitted best in Part II on evaluative genres. This section also contains two papers on various forms of science popularisation (Herrando-Rodrigo; Lischinsky), which underscore the major differences between professional and popular writings resulting from the very different purposes and writer-reader configurations of the two genres (Myers 1989). Finally, Part I of the volume is the only one that is not genre-based and its chapters (Lafuente-Millán, Mur-Dueñas, Lorés-Sanz and Vázquez-Orta; Gotti; Dahl) provide a summary of the research carried out by three European research groups on interpersonality in written discourse. These chapters introduce the topic and serve as a perfect background for the rest of the contributions.

The growing interest of specialists in the interpersonal component of scientific discourse undoubtedly reflects the surge of interest in linguistics in general in phenomena of an interpersonal nature. A concept that has attracted much attention, especially in applied linguistics, is that of metadiscourse. Indeed, specialists in metadiscourse have traditionally found in academic language a rich source of data (Crismore 1989; Hyland 2005). Many of the interpersonality traits that are the object of study in this volume: evaluative comments, personal pronouns, self-mentions, attitudinal and opinion markers, positioning expressions, engagement markers, boosters and hedges figure prominently in most classifications of interpersonal metadiscourse.

Methodologically, most of the studies are corpus-based, but some (Herrando-Rodrigo; Petri) use ethnographic tools such as interviews and questionnaires to attempt to explain the phenomena observed. Studies in the EAP tradition have always been inspired by a practical application (Swales 1990), and some of the articles in the volume either allude to or are openly inspired by such a hands-on approach.

Many of the chapters adopt a contrastive perspective. Several dimensions of contrast are contemplated: different languages, different genres or different disciplines, and even multidimensional contrasts involving different genres and disciplines.

The cross-linguistic perspective is embedded in the rich Contrastive Rhetoric tradition (Connor 1996), which thrived in the late 1990's and has yielded and continues to yield such vast amounts of data on the differences in academic discourse across languages and cultures. The focus is either on contrasts between native materials in different languages (Bellés & Querol; Moreno & Suárez; Resinger) or on the peculiarities of the English texts written by non-native scholars, who find it difficult to assimilate English native models (Burgess & Martín-Martín). An interesting question raised by some of the authors is whether to aspire to this assimilation uncritically on pragmatic grounds (Burgess & Martín-Martín) or resist and appeal to the acceptance of "otherness and strangeness" by the English native speakers (Resinger). This is a hotly debated issue in the field nowadays —see for instance the recent debate by Flowerdew and Casanave in the JEAP— and one which is full of ideological implications and is naturally polarizing the expert community.

As regards the linguistic provenance of the materials analysed, with the sole exception of one chapter on French (Tutin), the volume is clearly skewed towards English and, to a lesser extent Spanish, scientific discourse, with other languages only being given minor attention. This slant towards English, which is not alluded to in the title of the volume, undoubtedly reflects both the academic and

professional profiles of the contributors, many of whom are researchers and/or teachers of English for Academic Purposes, and is also a natural consequence of the hegemonic position of English in present-day academia and research.

Cross-disciplinary studies show interesting differences in the management of interpersonal resources and offer compelling arguments for a re-evaluation of disciplinary variation in the field, which somehow had been swept under the carpet by an excessive zeal for overgeneralization among students of academic language. Several of the studies comment on the existence of interesting cross-disciplinary differences regarding the degree of use of expressions of self-advocacy or self-promotion in the written texts, such as the use of personal attribution or the overt positive assessment of one's own work, differences which are attributed to varying degrees of competitiveness across disciplines (Dahl; Burgess & Martín-Martín; Tutin). This presence of marketing-language features in present-day scientific writings seems to be a natural response to the increasing pressure on scientists to "sell" their research. These findings would confirm the widely recognized existence of a certain tendency towards a "commodification" of research, at least in some "big" areas of science (Swales 2004), and the resulting increase in manifestations of "boosterism" and "promotionalism" in the communicative practices of the specialists in these disciplines. An interesting finding (Burgess & Martín-Martín; Resinger), and one of particular concern for teachers of EAP in non-native contexts, is that this tendency does not seem to be universal and that non-native scholars writing in English tend to transfer their native self-promotion practices into their English texts, underrating their own research and compromising the success of their texts.

Focusing on a very specific theme, interpersonality in written academic discourse, was a major strength of the conference and consequently of the present volume too. The conference managed to create the perfect atmosphere for a fruitful dialogue among people in a perfect communion of ideas, metalanguage and goals. The present result is a monograph that provides an authoritative, updated and forward-looking perspective on a major issue in the LSP and EAP fields. The different papers in the volume are not only of an outstanding academic robustness but also of much practical relevance for both EAP teachers and students. In our view, this brilliantly edited volume will be a landmark in the field, and an invaluable source of inspiration for researchers and scholars.

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Abstracts

LA PRESENCIA DE LA LENGUA INGLESA EN CARTELES PUBLICITARIOS EN LAS CALLES DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA

Carmen Isabel Luján García

This paper intends to offer an analysis of the outstanding presence of the English language in our everyday life. English has become a very fashionable language in our culture, and we will provide evidence of this fact. With that purpose in mind, we have focused this research on the analysis of the noticeable number of shop signs with English words that can be seen in the two most important shopping areas of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. The sample is composed of 132 shop signs in the area of Triana, and 80 signs in the area of Mesa y López. We have distinguished different kinds of uses of the English language in shop signs (English words and Genitive Construction, English/Spanish words and hybrids-mixture of English and Spanish in the same word). The study also sheds light on the different kinds of shops associated with the use of English words. Fashion and communication shops, along with restaurants, are the ones that use English words and expressions most frequently. As regards the preference for British or American English, no variety seems to be preferred over the other.

Key words: English, shop signs, streets, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, advertising.

RESUMEN

El presente artículo pretende ofrecer un análisis de la destacable presencia de la lengua inglesa en nuestra vida cotidiana. El inglés se ha convertido en la lengua de moda en nuestra cultura, y aportaremos pruebas que lo corroboran. Con ese objetivo hemos centrado esta investigación en el análisis del importante número

de rótulos publicitarios con términos en inglés que se puede observar en las dos principales áreas comerciales de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. La muestra se compone de 132 carteles publicitarios de la zona de Triana y 80 rótulos de la zona de Mesa y López. Hemos distinguido diferentes tipos de usos del inglés en los rótulos publicitarios (términos en inglés y construcción de genitivo sajón; combinación de un término en inglés y otro en español, e híbridos o mezcla del español e inglés en la misma palabra). Este estudio también arroja luz sobre los diferentes tipos de comercios asociados al uso de palabras inglesas. Los establecimientos relacionados con la moda y las comunicaciones junto con los de restauración son los que usan con mayor frecuencia términos y expresiones en inglés. En cuanto a si se prefiere la variedad británica o la norteamericana, no parece que se prefiera a una más que a otra.

Palabras clave: inglés, rótulos publicitarios, calles, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, publicidad.

THE FORMATION OF OLD ENGLISH ADVERBS: STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION AND FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION

Gema Maíz Villalta

The aim of this article is to analyze the formation of Old English adverbs (A-Y) as retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* within the theoretical framework of the Layered Structure of the Word. Firstly, a critical review of the literature on Old English adverb formation is offered in order to emphasize the necessity of an exhaustive and theoretically up-to-date study that distinguishes clearly synchronic from diachronic aspects on the one hand, and inflectional from derivational aspects on the other. Secondly, an exhaustive analysis of the derivation of adverbs in Old English by means of different word-formation processes (zero derivation, conversion, affixation and compounding) is given. In the theoretical part, the conclusion reached is that conversion requires a Complex Word structure and that a distinction has to be drawn between syntactic exocentricity and morphological exocentricity.

Key words: Old English, word formation, adverb, Layered Structure of the Word, exocentricity.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la formación de adverbios en inglés antiguo a partir de los datos extraídos de la base de datos léxica *Nerthus* y dentro del marco

teórico de la estructura jerárquica de la palabra (LSW). En primer lugar, se ofrece una revisión crítica de la literatura sobre la formación de adverbios en inglés antiguo para enfatizar la necesidad de un estudio exhaustivo y actualizado que distinga claramente los aspectos sincrónicos y diacrónicos por una parte y los aspectos flexivos y derivativos por otra. En segundo lugar, se propone un análisis exhaustivo de la derivación de los adverbios del inglés antiguo por medio de los diferentes procesos morfológicos (derivación cero, conversión, afijación y composición). En la parte teórica, se llega a la conclusión de que la conversión requiere la estructura de la palabra compleja (CWS) y que se debe distinguir entre la exocentricidad sintáctica y la exocentricidad morfológica.

Palabras clave: inglés antiguo, formación de palabras, adverbio, estructura jerárquica de la palabra, exocentricidad.

COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND THE POETICS OF TIME: IS 9/11 A CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR, A CONCEPTUAL METONYMY OR BOTH?

Adán Martín y Juani Guerra

Time has always hard-pressed the human symbolic capacity for language to an extent that few other concepts have. Equally, it has helped to linguistically shape human narrative imagination in a creative interaction with space that no other concept has known. In this paper, the argumentation concerns a very concrete piece of language which shows how human conceptual projections work to make new social structures of meaning emerge. We will explore the meaning-construction properties of a highly specific time lexicalisation which refers to a well-known terrorist attack: *9/11*. We will consider why we employ this expression and which cognitive operations are involved in that peculiar conception of time and events.

Key Words: 9/11, Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor, metonymy, time.

RESUMEN

El tiempo ha forzado la capacidad simbólica humana del lenguaje como ningún otro concepto lo ha hecho. Igualmente, a través de su interacción creativa con el espacio, ha ayudado a conformar lingüísticamente la imaginación narrativa humana, lo que tampoco han podido hacer otros conceptos. En este artículo, nuestra exposición girará en torno a una expresión lingüística muy concreta que muestra cómo las proyecciones conceptuales realizadas por los hablantes contribuyen a la emergencia de nuevas estructuras sociales de significado. Investigaremos los

procesos de construcción de significado a partir de una lexicalización numérico-temporal referida a un conocido ataque terrorista: *9/11* (*11-S* en español). Explicaremos por qué se utiliza esta expresión y qué operaciones cognitivas participan en esta conceptualización especial del tiempo y los eventos.

Palabras clave: 9/11 (11-S), Lingüística Cognitiva, metáfora, metonimia, tiempo.

FIGURES, GROUNDS AND CONTAINERS. PATIENT PRESENTATION IN MEDICAL CASE REPORTS

Magdalena Murawska

This paper studies patient presentation in medical case reports with regard to the concept of space. It examines how the choice of specific linguistic means in the description of diagnosis and treatment can contribute to different modes of patient imaging varying in their spatial configurations. To this end, a corpus of fifty-six medical case reports has been compiled and then analysed at three stages. Firstly, accounts of the diagnosis and treatment of various patients have been investigated to determine whether the vocabulary as well as the grammatical and rhetorical structures employed exemplify general cognitive patterns. Secondly, the results have been interpreted with respect to chosen concepts from the sociology of medicine to explain certain ways of referring to the patients. Thirdly, the results have been considered in relation to the context of the production of medical case reports, as scientific discourses are shaped by the disciplines in which they are used. The analysis of the texts in question reveals that the patients tend to be textually backgrounded, while disease and medical procedures are foregrounded. As a result, there is a tendency to portray the patients in abstraction from their bodies and their mental/bodily reactions.

Key Words: patient presentation, biomedical model, figure, ground, container.

RESUMEN

Este artículo estudia la presentación del paciente en informes médicos atendiendo al concepto de espacio. Analiza la manera en que la elección de formas lingüísticas específicas en la descripción del diagnóstico y del tratamiento puede contribuir a proporcionar diferentes imágenes del paciente variando su configuración espacial. Con este fin se ha compilado un corpus de cincuenta y seis informes médicos y se ha procedido a su análisis en tres etapas. En primer lugar, nos centramos en la descripción de los diagnósticos y tratamientos para determinar si el vocabulario, así como las estructuras gramaticales y retóricas empleadas ejemplifican modelos cognitivos generales. En segundo lugar, los resultados se han interpretado con

respecto a conceptos traídos de la sociología de la medicina para explicar diversas formas de referirse a los pacientes. En tercer lugar, se han analizado los resultados en relación al contexto de la producción de casos médicos, ya que el discurso científico se ve modelado de acuerdo con la disciplina en la que se usa. El análisis de los textos revela que los pacientes tienden a ocupar un lugar de fondo textual, mientras que la enfermedad y los procedimientos médicos aparecen en un primer plano. Como resultado de ello hay una tendencia a retratar a los pacientes como una abstracción, desligados de sus cuerpos y de sus reacciones mentales y fisiológicas.

Palabras clave: presentación del paciente, modelo biomédico, figura, plano, contenedor

THE EFFECT OF PROMINENCE HIERARCHIES ON MODERN ENGLISH LONG PASSIVES: PRAGMATIC VS. SYNTACTIC FACTORS

Elena Seoane

This paper examines the effect of the most relevant crosslinguistic prominence hierarchies on long passives (or passives with an overt *by*-phrase), in order to identify the factors which condition their choice over actives as order-rearranging strategies in Modern English (1500-1900). With empirical data drawn from the *Helsinki Corpus* and *ARCHER*, I will study the effect of (i) familiarity hierarchies, such as given-before-new or definite-before-indefinite, (ii) dominance hierarchies, like the animacy, empathy and semantic role hierarchies, and (iii) formal hierarchies such as short-before-long. The analysis reveals a clear predominance of pragmatic and syntactic factors, namely discourse status (given-before-new) and structural complexity (short-before-long), both of which facilitate utterance planning, production and parsing. Despite the apparent correlation between these two factors, this paper also shows that they are independent and that, when in competition, discourse status is a more powerful factor than syntactic complexity.

Key words: passive voice, Modern English, word order, discourse status, syntactic complexity.

RESUMEN

Este artículo examina el efecto que las jerarquías intralingüísticas de prominencia más relevantes producen sobre las pasivas con agente, con el fin de identificar los factores que condicionan su uso como estrategias de reorganización del orden de palabras en Inglés Moderno (1500-1900). Haciendo uso de datos empíricos

extraídos del *Helsinki Corpus* y de *ARCHER*, estudiaré el efecto de (i) las jerarquías de familiaridad, tales como la que predice que la información conocida precede a información nueva o que un elemento definido precede a uno indefinido; (ii) las jerarquías de dominación, como las de animación, empatía y rol semántico, y (iii) la jerarquía formal, que recoge la tendencia de los elementos cortos a preceder a los largos. El análisis revela un predominio claro de factores pragmáticos y sintácticos, en particular del estatus discursivo y de la complejidad sintáctica, los cuales facilitan la planificación del habla, su producción y su comprensión. A pesar de la aparente correlación entre estos dos factores, este trabajo también muestra que son independientes y que cuando entran en competencia el estatus discursivo es más determinante que la complejidad sintáctica.

Palabras clave: voz pasiva, Inglés Moderno, orden de palabras, estatus discursivo, complejidad sintáctica.

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