

miscelánea

vol. 23

A Journal of English
and American Studies

Language
and Linguistics

2001

mm

revista de estudios
ingleses y norteamericanos

miscelánea

vol. 23

2001

Volumen de lengua
y lingüística

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies se publica con la ayuda económica del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras y del Vicerrectorado de Investigación de la Universidad de Zaragoza.

Publicación semestral (2 vols. al año) del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana de la Universidad de Zaragoza. Published twice a year by the Department of English and German Philology, University of Zaragoza (Spain)

Las suscripciones deberán dirigirse a /
Please address subscriptions to:

Revista *Miscelánea*
Servicio de Publicaciones
de la Universidad de Zaragoza
Edificio de Geológicas
Ciudad Universitaria
50009 Zaragoza

Precio de la suscripción (anual) /
Subscription price (2 volumes):
15 euros

Edición y © :
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana de la
Universidad de Zaragoza

Selección de textos:
Consejo de redacción de *Miscelánea*

Vol. 23 • 2001
(Volumen de lengua y lingüística)

Dirección, coordinación, tratamiento de textos y
edición electrónica (vol. 23):
María Dolores Herrero Granado, Directora
Rosa Lorés Sanz, Subdirectora
Hilaria Loyo Gómez, Subdirectora

Editor de estilo
Timothy Bozman

Auxiliares de redacción
María Pilar Berruete Rodríguez,
M.ª Mar Azcona Montoliu

Diseño gráfico
Isidro Ferrer

Maquetación
Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza
Edificio de Geológicas
Ciudad Universitaria
50009 Zaragoza

Imprime:
Litoción, S.L.

ISSN: 1137-6368
Depósito legal: Z-1447-2002

mm

a journal of english
and american studies

miscelánea

2001

Universidad de
Zaragoza
Departamento de
Filología Inglesa y
Alemana

Edición electrónica
Internet homepage:

<http://fyl.unizar.es/miscelanea/miscelanea.html>

miscelánea

Directora

M. Dolores Herrero Granado

Subdirectororas

Rosa Lorés Sanz
Hilaria Loyo Gómez

Editor de Estilo

Timothy Bozman

Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza • Spain
Tel. 976 761 529 - 976 762 237 - 976 761 518
Fax. 976 761 519
E-mail: dherrero@posta.unizar.es
rlores@posta.unizar.es
hloyo@posta.unizar.es

Edición en Red / Online Edition:
<http://fyl.unizar.es/miscelanea/miscelanea.html>

Consejo de Redacción/ Editorial Board

Enrique Alcaraz Varó,
Universidad de Alicante
José Luis Caramés Lage,
Universidad de Oviedo
Francisco Collado Rodríguez,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Ángeles de la Concha,
Universidad N. de Educación a Distancia
Chantal Cornut-Gentile D'Arcy,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Juan José Coy Ferrer,
Universidad de Salamanca
Juan José Cruz Hernández,
Universidad de La Laguna
Juan M. de la Cruz Fernández,
Universidad de Málaga
Carmelo Cunchillos Jaime,
Universidad de La Rioja
Celestino Deleyto Alcalá,
Universidad de Zaragoza

Rocio Dawis,
Universidad de Navarra
Angela Downing,
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Angus Easson,
University of Salford
Peter Evans,
Queen Mary and Westfield College, University
of London
Teresa Fanego Lema,
Universidad Santiago de Compostela
Kathleen Firth,
Universidad de Barcelona
Celia Florén Serrano,
Universidad de Zaragoza
José Ángel García Landa,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Francisco Garrudo Carabias,
Universidad de Sevilla
José Luis González Escribano,
Universidad de Oviedo
Constante González Groba,
Universidad de Santiago de Compostela
M. Isabel González Pueyo,
Universidad de Zaragoza
José Luis Guijarro Morales,
Universidad de Cádiz
Leo Hickey,
University of Salford
Pilar Hidalgo Andreu,
Universidad de Málaga
Andrew Higson,
University of East Anglia

Ana Hornero Corisco,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Carlos Inchaurrealde Besga,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Robert W. Lewis,
University of North Dakota
Pilar Marín,
Universidad de Sevilla
J. Hillis Miller,
University of California, Irvine
Marita Nadal Blasco,
Universidad de Zaragoza
M.^a Pilar Navarro Errasti,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Carmen Olivares Rivera,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Macario Olivera Villacampa,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Susana Onega Jaén,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Beatriz Penas Ibáñez,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Constanza del Río Álvaro,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Francisco J. Ruiz de Mendoza
Ibáñez,
Universidad de La Rioja
Andrew Sanders,
Birkbeck College, University of London
Ignacio Vázquez Orta,
Universidad de Zaragoza
Patrick Zabalbeascoa Terran,
Universidad Pompeu Fabra

table of contents

6

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Articles | 11 |
| <p>OLGA ISABEL DÍEZ VELASCO (Universidad de La Rioja)</p> <p>The Role of Semantic Relations in the Creation of Metonymic Mappings</p> | |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| 29 | 57 | 77 |
| <p>ANA E. MARTÍNEZ INSUA (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela)</p> <p>Present Day English Existential <i>There</i>-constructions and their Pragmatics. Towards an Integrated Categorisation</p> | <p>PABLO ORTEGA GIL (Universidad de Alicante)</p> <p>Extended Thematic Progression</p> | <p>LORENA PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ (Universidad de La Rioja)</p> <p>The Directive-Commissive Continuum</p> |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|------------------------|
| 99 | 111 | Reviews | 129 |
| <p>MARÍA JESÚS SÁNCHEZ (Universidad de Salamanca)</p> <p>Eficacia del <i>Word Association Test</i> y del <i>Pathfinder</i> para medir el aprendizaje léxico del inglés como lengua extranjera</p> | <p>JORDI SÁNCHEZ MARTÍ (Cornell University, USA)</p> <p>From Youth to Age Through Old English Poetry (With Old Norse Parallels)</p> | <p>ISABEL DE LA CRUZ CABANILLAS Y FRANCISCO JAVIER MARTÍN ARISTA (eds.)</p> <p><i>Lingüística histórica inglesa</i> (por Marta González Orta. Universidad de La Laguna)</p> | |
| 133 | Abstracts | 143 | Notes for Contributors |
| <p>JOHN R. RICKFORD</p> <p><i>African American Vernacular English</i> (por Ana M.^a Hornero Corisco. Universidad de Zaragoza)</p> | | | 149 |

7

THE ROLE OF SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN THE CREATION OF METONYMIC MAPPINGS

OLGA ISABEL DíEZ VELASCO
Universidad de La Rioja

1. Introduction

Over the last decade, cognitive linguists have become more interested in metonymy, which has helped to place this cognitive phenomenon on equal terms with metaphor. Both metaphor and metonymy were first described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as mappings (i.e. sets of correspondences) between conceptual domains, locating the difference between them on the nature of the domains involved; that is to say, in metaphor the mapping occurs between two separate conceptual domains, whereas in metonymy there is a domain internal relationship. One of the main concerns of numerous studies on metonymy has been to set up typologies of metonymic mappings from various perspectives. Underlying these classifications there is often an attempt to understand the nature of metonymic processes. For example, Dirven (1993) defines metonymy in contrast to metaphor by refining Jakobson's (1971) distinction between the syntagmatic (metonymic) and paradigmatic (metaphoric) poles and puts forward a classification which is based on the types of syntagmatic association that exist between conceptual domains; Kövecses and Radden (1998) focus on the kinds of cognitive model that are able to generate metonymies, but they make no explicit attempt to provide the criteria for a systematic classification. Moreover, the parameters chosen are not always sufficient to establish the motivation of every metonymic mapping. For instance, Kövecses and Radden (1998) mention some

metonymic mappings which cannot be fitted in any of the metonymic types which they offer. We suggest that it is possible to develop a more consistent typology based on the relational system put forward for the construction of propositional idealised cognitive models¹ or ICMS by Ruiz de Mendoza (1996), and that such a typology would meet the difficulties mentioned above.

On the other hand, several authors have argued that these two cognitive processes (namely, metaphor and metonymy) represent the most important factors involved in meaning extension (cf. Taylor 1989: 122, Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 117) and, consequently, in the creation of polysemous words. For instance, Kövecses and Radden (1998: 45) define polysemy as a concept metonymy where the shift from concept (A) to concept (B) is not followed by a shift in form. However, the types of process which account for its appearance are still a matter of study. We observe that the relationship we postulate between metonymies and semantic relations proves useful in dealing effectively with metonymy-based polysemy.

In what follows an attempt has been made to show that Ruiz de Mendoza's (1996) relational system is adequate to provide a systematic classification of metonymy; an object of discussion will also be the consequences that the usage of this typology may bring about for our conception of metonymy and for the understanding of the relationships that hold between polysemous words. The examples selected for our analysis have been borrowed from the British National Corpus (BNC). Furthermore, some of the metonymies which are most frequently quoted in the literature will be examined.

2. The domain-internal nature of metonymy

Ruiz de Mendoza (1997, 1999a, 2000) has discussed in some detail the nature of the relationship that exists between the source and target domains of a metonymic mapping. This author has argued against the cognitive relevance of traditional part-for-part metonymies by showing that this type of mapping is inconsequential in terms of processing. In this connection he has posited the existence of only two basic kinds of metonymic mapping: one, the *source-in-target* type, in which the source is a subdomain of the target, expands and develops a domain of which the source highlights a relevant aspect (e.g. *The piano has the flu today* where "the piano" is a subdomain of "the musician who plays it"); the other, the *target-in-source* type, in which the target is a subdomain of the source, has the function of highlighting a relevant aspect of the source domain (e.g. *Nixon bombed Hanoi* where by "Nixon" we refer to "the army that carried out the bombing", which is a subdomain of our knowledge about this president). This second kind of mapping is often used when the speaker feels unable to pin down accurately the actual nature of the target (e.g. in *The White House isn't doing anything*, it is either

the president or some government officials or committee that is actually doing nothing). This difference in the communicative import of each metonymic type lends support to the claim for a two-fold classification of metonymy.

Furthermore, this distinction proves relevant when it comes to explaining certain phenomena of anaphoric reference in relation to metonymy. Compare examples (1) and (2):

- (1) The piano has the flu today and *he* won't come to the rehearsal.
 (2) Nixon bombed Hanoi; *he* did not know what *he* was doing.

In (1) the anaphoric pronoun refers to the target domain of the metonymy (i.e. the piano player) whereas in (2) the pronoun is bound to the source domain (i.e. Nixon). In both cases anaphoric reference is made to what Ruiz de Mendoza calls the *matrix domain*, i.e. the most encompassing of the two domains involved in a metonymic mapping, no matter whether it is the source or the target of the metonymy. The preference for anaphoric reference to the matrix domain has also been observed in high-level metonymy (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2001). Thus, an analysis along these lines has shed light on certain metonymies such as EFFECT FOR CAUSE, where each of the domains involved could be claimed to be somehow presupposed by the other. Consider (3), borrowed from Panther and Thornburg (2000: 226), as a typical instance of this kind of mapping:

- (3) What's that noise?

This question, which is metonymically interpreted as *What is the cause of that noise?*, can only be answered by making reference to the target domain (cf. ?*The noise is a burglar*; *The cause of that noise is a burglar*). Since only the cause of the noise is available for reference, it is this domain that should be considered the matrix domain.

Finally, the distinction between source-in-target and target-in-source metonymies is also relevant for the derivation of non-implicated meaning in conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza 1999b). Briefly, the target-in-source type serves to highlight the metaphorical correspondence which is central to an understanding of the interaction, whereas source-in-target metonymies provide the conceptual material needed to develop the basic structure of the metaphor. By way of illustration, take the following two examples from Ruiz de Mendoza (2000: 120):

- (4) He kept his eyes pecked for pick pockets.
 (5) She could read my mind.

As figure (1) shows, example (4) contains an instantiation of a source-in-target metonymy. This mapping develops the target of the metaphor so as to provide

access to a full interpretation of it: the effort someone is making to keep alert. Conversely, in (5) the metonymy belongs to the target-in-source type and serves to stress the role of the correspondence where it takes place (see figure 2), in this case the ability to understand someone's thoughts (for further discussion on conceptual interaction see Ruiz de Mendoza 1999b; Diez 2000).

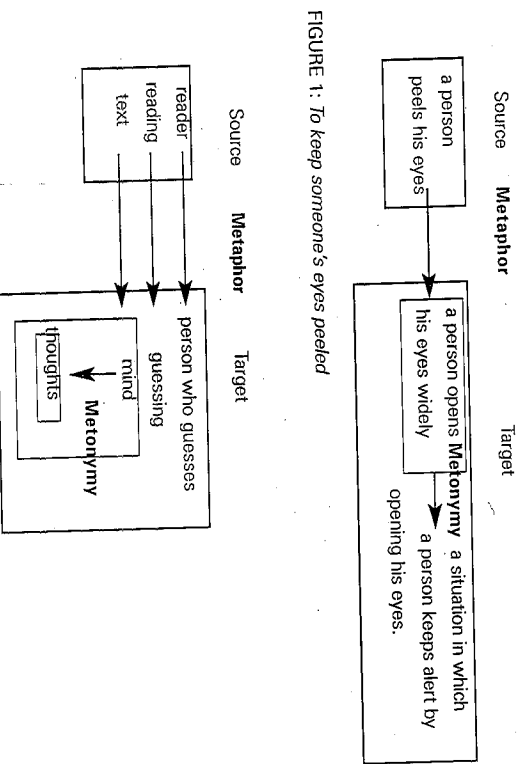
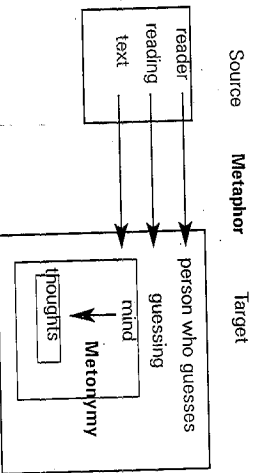


FIGURE 1: To keep someone's eyes peeled

FIGURE 2: To read someone's mind



3. Relational arches and metonymic mappings

In the introduction we have hinted at the possibility of developing a taxonomy of metonymic mappings which is not based on merely intuitive grounds and suggested that Ruiz de Mendoza's (1996) model provides a systematic basis for this classification where the metonymic extensions of a concept are obtained through the activation of relational arches. In this model, propositional knowledge is organised in terms of networks of conceptual schemas² which consist of a set of general defining conditions (which are termed *definers*) that are instantiated by means of relational activations. These relational arches form a delimited set which accounts for both the internal nature of concepts and their external relation to other concepts. Although the notion of relational arches may

seem to converge somehow with Fauconnier's (1985) proposal of *pragmatic functions*,³ there is a difference in that relational arches systematise the whole range of different ways in which various aspects of a concept may be accessed, while Fauconnier's pragmatic functions are not part of a system but rather are postulated on an *ad hoc* basis. In fact, one of the main advantages of Ruiz de Mendoza's model is that it allows us to systematise a description of not only the core but also the periphery of any concept.

As far as internal relations are concerned, Ruiz de Mendoza (1996) has distinguished the following thirteen relational arches: agentive (an entity carries out a controlled activity or action), factitive (an entity carries out a controlled activity from which another entity results), purposive (an entity is the means or instrument whereby the previous relations hold), causative (either an entity or an event is responsible for the coming about of another event), resultative (an entity is the compulsory result of an activity), processual, originatory (an entity has no control over the state of affairs in which it is involved), positioner (two entities are related and it is up to one of the two to decide if the relationship holds), material, container, locative, partitive (an entity is the material, or the container, or the location, or part of another entity) and attributive (a property or set of properties is ascribed to an entity).⁴

Regarding external arches, he distinguishes five relations: classifying (an entity is the hyperordinate of another entity), identifying, contrasting, opposing (two entities are related in terms of their similarities, differences or common features) and analogising (two entities are compared by means of another relation). However, only the classifying arch can activate metonymic mappings because the other four link entities which are not in a domain-subdomain relationship. Let us now consider (6) from Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 38) and (7) from the *Master Metonymy List*:⁵

(6) Napoleon lost at Waterloo.

(7) Jack Nicholson was really mean to Batman.

In (6) there is no doubt that Napoleon did not lose the battle himself, but that, as the commander of the French army, he was responsible for the defeat. Hence, *Napoleon*, which is the source domain of the metonymic mapping, stands for the French army that fought at Waterloo. In (7) there is an instantiation of the ACTOR FOR ROLE metonymic mapping since *Jack Nicholson* is used to refer to *the role he plays in a film*.

At first sight it may seem that these two metonymic mappings have nothing in common. However, a closer inspection reveals that they share the relational arch through which their source and target domains are connected. Let us explain this in more detail. We propose that the source and target domains of every

metonymic mapping are connected by a relational arch that allows this mapping to take place and determines the nature of their relationship. As has been mentioned above, one of the semantic relations Ruiz de Mendoza (1996) distinguishes is the agentive one. It applies to entities which carry out an activity or an action that is commonly associated with them. Note that actions are normally goal-oriented (e.g. *The police arrested the thief*) while activities are not (e.g. *John runs*). Thus, the concepts *cat* and *mouse* are linked by this arch since *cats chase mice*. Similarly, *Napoleon* and *Jack Nicholson* are connected to *army* and *role* respectively through this agentive arch. For instance, in (6) the relation between *Napoleon* and *army* can be linguistically instantiated as *Napoleon controls his army*, while in (7) the way the agentive arch links *Jack Nicholson* and *role* can be realised as *Jack Nicholson plays a role in the film*. In brief, the metonymic extensions of a concept are developed through the activation of relational arches. Let us add another example to see how this works:

(8) Peter drank two bottles.

Example (8) is an instantiation of the CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS metonymic mapping, where the source (*bottle*) and target (*his liquid*) domains are linked through the container arch. This arch includes those metonymies where the relation that exists between the source and target domains is one in which one of them is prototypically seen inside the other. Hence, the relationship between the concepts of *bottle* and *liquid* can be realised as *A bottle contains liquid*.

In the traditional view, metonymy has usually been defined it as a relation between two contiguously related conceptual entities (Ullmann 1962). The use of the term 'contiguity' in the definition was possibly motivated by the difficulty they found in gauging the exact nature of the relationship that holds between the source and target domains of a metonymy. Nevertheless, the taxonomy of metonymic mappings proposed here helps to flesh out the rather vague notion of *contiguity*, which, from our point of view, can be redefined more accurately in terms of relational arches. Hence, we say that there exists contiguity between two concepts whenever they can be related through any of the arches proposed in Ruiz de Mendoza's (1996) model. Consider again the ACTOR FOR ROLE metonymic mapping in (7). The reason why we intuitively understand that a contiguity relation holds between the source (*Jack Nicholson*) and target (*role*) domains is that they are linked by an agentive arch. Therefore, the source and target domains of a metonymy are frequently described as contiguous because in the semantic network they are connected by a relational arch that makes possible the activation of the target domain when the source domain is activated.

This is only an illustration of the way Ruiz de Mendoza's (1996) semantic relations may be used to make explicit the links between the source and target domains of a metonymic mapping. Nevertheless, since it seems possible to classify

metonymies according to the semantic arch that relates the source and target domains, we argue that these relational arches should also serve to label the different categories of our typology. As a result, all the metonymic mappings connected by a container arch such as (8) should belong to the *container type* or may be called *container metonymies*. In the same way, it is easier to perceive the similarities that exist between the metonymic mappings NAPOLEON FOR ARMY and JACK NICHOLSON FOR ROLE if we observe that both of them are instantiations of the agentive arch, and therefore, agentive metonymies.

4. A taxonomy of metonymic mappings

In the previous section it has been seen that semantic relational arches can serve to make explicit the links that exist between the source and target domains of a metonymic mapping and it has been argued that they provide a consistent basis for a classification of metonymic types. In this section we shall provide an outline of the different categories of our taxonomy. Although all the examples we have analysed so far can be described and classified according to Ruiz de Mendoza's (1996) system, because of space limitations we shall only include some illustrative instances of each metonymic type.

The first metonymic type which we distinguish is the agentive one. This relation has already been dealt with in the previous section, so it will be enough to discuss just one more example:

(9) The ham sandwich is waiting for his check.

In (9) the *ham sandwich* metonymically stands for the *customer* within the restaurant frame; and both domains are linked by means of the agentive arch as illustrated by the following prototypical linguistic realisation of the relationship that holds between the source (*ham sandwich*) and target (*customer*) domains: *A ham sandwich is ordered/eaten by a customer*. Other metonymies belonging to this type are VEHICLE FOR DRIVER (e.g. *The buses are on strike today*), MUSICAL INSTRUMENT FOR PLAYER (e.g. *The sax got sick*) or ROLE FOR ACTOR (e.g. *Hamlet was wonderful tonight*), among many others.

As regards the factive type, it includes all the metonymies whose source and target domains are related by means of the factive arch. This arch connects an entity that carries out an activity with the entity which comes into existence as a result of this activity. For example, *baker* and *bread* are linked by this arch since bread is the result of the activity of a baker (i.e. a baker makes bread). By way of illustration, consider the following examples:

(10) (a) He always enjoys reading Shakespeare

(b) He's got a Degas in his bedroom.

In (10a) we find a case of the AUTHOR FOR WORK metonymic mapping where by *Shakespeare* we refer to *his literary work*. *Shakespeare*, being a writer, performs the activity most typically associated with him (*writing*) and as a result another entity (*his literary work*) comes into being. Similarly, in (10b) *Degas* stands for *one of his paintings*. Note that the picture comes into being as a result of *Degas'* activity of painting. Therefore, the source and target domains of these metonymic mappings are linked by the factive arch, which makes it possible to say that (10a) and (10b) contain instantiations of factive metonymies.

Purposive metonymies are those which are activated by a purposive arch. Through it, any of the entities involved in an action are connected to the instrument or other means used for carrying it out. This relation is instantiated in the following example: *A painter draws a picture with pastels*, where the purposive arch allows us to relate "pastels" to "painter" and "picture". Now consider (11):

(11) You give me a hand to clear my room.

Example (11) contains a metonymic mapping where *hand* is used metonymically to stand for *help*. This occurs because *hand* is considered the body part which is more closely connected with the notion of *help*. Let us explain the reason why. You need your hands for tidying or cleaning or, in general, for carrying out most activities that require physical work. Since whenever you help someone, you let him benefit from your work, a hand plays a prominent role in the *help* domain (i.e. you stereotypically use your hands when helping someone). It is the purposive arch that relates both domains (*help* and *hand*) and allows the mapping to take place. For instance, in this sentence the relationship between the source and target domains of the metonymic mapping could be linguistically instantiated as *He uses his hands for helping someone to clear the room up*. Another instance of a purposive metonymy is found in *Wilde was the whitest pen of his time*, where "petr" metonymically stands for "writer" (cf. *A writer uses a pen for writing*).

With regard to the causative relational arch, an entity or an event is considered to be the cause of another event. This is the kind of relationship that holds between *attack* and *death* (i.e. a heart attack causes death). Let us consider again example (3) which we repeat for convenience as (12):

(12) What is that noise?

Imagine that (12) is uttered in a context in which a person is woken up in the middle of the night by a strong noise. Here, *that noise* refers to *the cause of that noise*. Thus, an answer which describes the noise (e.g. *It is a high pitched noise*) will be found irrelevant or not appropriate whereas one that provides some information about the possible cause will not (e.g. *It is a burglar*). This is an instance of a causative metonymy since the effect is used to refer to the cause of an event (EFFECT FOR CAUSE). A

possible linguistic realisation of the relationship that holds between the source and target domains is *A noise may be caused by a burglar when trying to break into a house*. In the processual relation an entity is conceived as taking part in an activity over which it has no control. This is the arch that links *river* and *to flow* (i.e. a river flows). An example in which the processual arch allows the activation of a metonymy can be observed in (13):

(13) This plant flowers between June and August.

In (13) there is a metonymic mapping where the entity involved in a process metonymically refers to the process as a whole (i.e. *flower* stands for *the process in which flowers appear and open*). This is a case of a grammatical metonymy⁷ since the metonymic mapping entails the transformation of a noun into a verb; in other words, there is a recategorisation process, which has syntactic consequences. All metonymic instantiations of the processual type are grammatical metonymies (cf. *rain, snow, bloom, blossom, thunder*). This is grounded in the fact that in this semantic relation there is only one entity involved and, consequently, the metonymic mapping has to include the activity as a whole in one of its domains. Positioner metonymies include those mappings where there is a relationship between two entities and one of the entities controls⁸ a situation and can thus choose whether or not the relation holds (e.g. *A rich man has riches*) as shown in (14):

(14) Mrs Kennedy married power.

It is obvious that since only people (animate entities) can get married, *power*, being inanimate, can never be the object of the verb *marry* in its literal sense. *Power* is the source domain of a metonymic mapping whose target is a *powerful person*. The source and target domains of this metonymy are connected by the positioner arch which allows the mapping to take place (i.e. a powerful person has power and it is up to this person whether to exercise this power or not). The use of this metonymy highlights the fact that what made Mrs Kennedy get married was the fact that her husband was powerful. This communicative effect would be lost in a literal version of (14) (e.g. *Mrs Kennedy married a powerful man*).

Material metonymies account for those mappings where the source and target domains can be described as being the material out of which the other is made, as evidenced in (15):

- (15) (a) At the cocktail party, there were women in furs and men in overcoats.
(b) Bring her a glass of water.
(c) Could you polish the silver?

In (15a), *fur* does not refer to a material (i.e. the hair that grows on the body of mammals) but to the piece of clothing that is made of it (stereotypically, a coat). Hence, in this example there is an instantiation of the MATERIAL FOR OBJECT

metonymic mapping where both domains are related by means of the material arch that activates the metonymic mapping (i.e. fur is the material of coats). The same relation holds between the source and target domains in (15b) and (15c). Thus, *glass* as a substance stands for a container made out of it and *silver* metonymically refers to objects fabricated from this metal.

In locative metonymies the source and target domains are conceived in such a way that one of the two is seen as the typical location of the other. This metonymy type is frequently found in metonymies related to institutions such as *the White House, the Kremlin, Wall Street* and *Buckingham Palace*.⁹ However, it is not restricted to these cases, as the following example from the *Master Metonymy List* show:

- (16) (a) He loves fine china.
(b) The stadium clapped his performance.

Example (16a) is an instantiation of the LOCATION FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE metonymic mapping where *china* stands for *porcelain*. This is grounded in the fact that porcelain (the source) was formerly made in China (the target). Besides, this country is considered to produce the best quality porcelain. It goes without saying that both domains are connected by means of the locative arch, which could be linguistically instantiated as *China is the place where porcelain is made*. In (16b) there is another locative metonymy where a place (i.e. *stadium*) is used to refer to the people present there.

The partitive arch links entities where one of them is conceived as composed of other entities (e.g. pistol/trigger). Thus, in the domain-subdomain relationship that is established in a metonymy, the matrix domain is considered to be composed of different parts and one of them is the subdomain chosen in the mapping, as evidenced in the following example:

- (17) Suspicions quickly find ready ears.

Sentence (17) is an instantiation of the EAR FOR PERSON metonymic mapping. As the ear is considered the body part most closely connected to hearing,¹⁰ its choice as the source domain has to do with the intention to highlight a state of affairs in which people are listening. Hence, (17) portrays a situation in which *ears* refer to people that are eager to listen to criticism of others. As has already been mentioned, there exists a partitive relational arch between the source and the target (i.e. the ear is a part of the person) which makes possible the activation of the metonymy. The partitive type also accounts for the following metonymies: WHEELS FOR CAR (e.g. *I've got a new set of wheels*), TELEPHONE FOR RECEIVER (e.g. *He picked up the telephone*) or WINDMILL FOR VANE (e.g. *The windmill is turning*). As is evident, the partitive arch lies at the basis of the generic PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, of which all the metonymies mentioned here are instances.

As was mentioned in the previous section, container metonymies include metonymies where one of the domains is regarded as holding the other in its interior. One of the main characteristics of this arch is that it entails that the entity which acts as a receptacle must be conceptualised as three-dimensional. In fact, the notion of three-dimensionality is what differentiates the container from the locative arch. Take the following example:

- (18) Ian smokes more than two packets a day.

(18) shows an instantiation of the CONTAINER FOR CONTENT metonymic mapping since people do not smoke packets but their content (the cigarettes). Note that a box or packet is prototypically conceived of as a container whose main function is to hold objects within itself. Thus, the source and target domains are linked by the container arch which could prototypically be realised as *A packet contains cigarettes*. Other metonymies belonging to this type are offered in (19):

- (19) (a) The kettle is boiling.
(b) Open the ketchup, please.

The attributive metonymic type includes those mappings in which an entity is so closely connected to a certain property that we refer to the entity through its property or the other way around. Consider the following example:

- (20) They all kissed the Stars and Stripes before leaving.

In this sentence *Stars and Stripes* stands for *the United States flag*. This is based on the fact that the most prominent feature of a flag (i.e. what distinguishes it from the flags of other countries) is its design. Accordingly, the design of the United States flag (stars and stripes) is the property more typically ascribed to it, the flag (target) and its pattern (source) being linked by the attributive arch. Another instance of this metonymic type is found in *Blonds have more fun*, where "blonds" metonymically stands for "blond girls".

Finally, in the classifying metonymic type the source and target domains of the metonymic mapping hold a hyponymy relationship; in other words, they are seen in a hierarchy where the meaning of the hyperordinate term includes the meaning of its hyponyms (e.g. the concept *dog* includes the concept *husky*). Consider now the following example:

- (21) She was sure Leo was taking drugs.

In (21) *drugs* stands for *illegal drugs* such as heroine or cocaine. Since drugs may refer to any chemical, this is a case in which a category as a whole is used to refer to a member of the category. Classifying metonymies are productively employed to refer to a product by means of the brand most commonly associated with it (e.g. Hoover for vacuum cleaner; Kleenex for tissue).

specify the set of potential metonymic extensions of any lexical item. In other words, the relationships we have observed between metonymic mappings and semantic relations can also be useful in accounting adequately for polysemy. Consider now the following examples:

- (24) They harvested the cotton before it was ready.
- (25) His family has a large cotton plantation in Missouri
- (26) He is the one with the red cotton shirt.
- (27) Apply a small quantity on a piece of cotton wool.
- (28) There is a needle and cotton there.

These five examples instantiate some meanings of the word *cotton*; namely, in (24) we refer to the soft substance that grows in the pods of certain plants (COTTON 1), in (25) to the cotton plant (COTTON 2), in (26) to a type of cloth (COTTON 3), in (27) to the soft material obtained from cotton that is used to clean the skin (COTTON 4), and, in (28) both to the thread made from cotton (COTTON 5) and, by extension, to any kind of thread (COTTON 6). It will be observed all the different senses can be related by calling upon metonymies that exploit several relational arches. What follows will attempt to explain the way it works.

Firstly, (24) shows the most central sense of *cotton* (COTTON 1). This is the only domain which is shared by all the metonymic activations (see figure 5). However, the original meaning of *cotton* is not found in COTTON 1 but in COTTON 2. Hence, COTTON 1 is a metonymic extension which develops from the activation of the partitive arch since COTTON 1 is part of the cotton plant (COTTON 2). This is a fairly productive arch in this domain since plants and their fruit are often labelled by using the same name. Thus, we speak of a *cherry orchard*, an *olive grove*, or a *strawberry field*, and when we eat artichokes we only eat the centre of this vegetable.

Another very productive metonymic type for meaning extensions is the material one. Thus, COTTON 3, COTTON 4 and COTTON 5 are the result of activating this arch. For example, COTTON 1 is the material cotton wool (COTTON 4). This metonymic mapping is so highly lexicalised that on many occasions, the substance and the object most stereotypically obtained from it have the same name, the object always being a metonymic extension based on the material arch (cf. glass, silk, iron...).

Finally, it was mentioned that in (28) *cotton* could have two different interpretations according to the context. In the former, *cotton* refers to cotton thread (COTTON 5), the metonymic extension being activated by the material arch just mentioned. In the latter, *cotton* (COTTON 6) refers not only to thread made of cotton, but to any kind of thread. *Cotton thread* and *thread* are connected by a classifying arch since cotton thread is a type of thread. In COTTON 6, what

we have is a metonymic extension from a previous metonymic extension. The whole set of relationships that is established among the different meanings of the word 'cotton' is shown in figure 5:

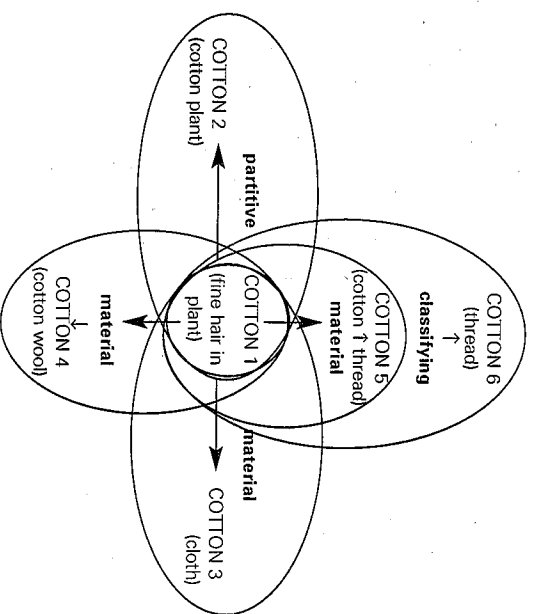


FIGURE 5: Conventionalised metonymic extensions of cotton

In sum, we suggest that whenever the polysemous meanings of a word are based on metonymic mappings, they can be accounted for by postulating a primary central sense plus a number of extensions, each of which is based on a relational arch.

7. Conclusion

The analysis has shown that relational arches provide a very valuable tool for describing metonymies and help to define the relationship that are established between the source and target domains of a metonymic mapping. Hence, semantic relations can be used to clarify the sometimes obscure notion of *congnity*, which has often been said to be the basis of metonymy, but never defined on solid grounds. Moreover, we have suggested a taxonomy of metonymic mappings, based on these relational arches, which seems to overcome the main flaw of previous classifications: the lack of systematicity in the categories chosen.

Moreover, our typology is compatible with Ruiz de Mendoza's (1999b) distinction between two basic types of metonymies. This is shown in the fact that the two directions of realisation which exist for every arch coincide with the two metonymic types mentioned above. And this distinction holds consistently across all the possible instantiations of a metonymic type, i.e. once a specific metonymic mapping (CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED) belonging to a metonymic type (target-in-source) is linguistically realised in a given direction, all the metonymies activated by the same arch (agentive) in the same direction will belong to the same metonymic type (target-in source).

Finally, we have exemplified the way our typology can be used to deal with the phenomenon of polysemy and can help us reach a deeper understanding of the processes that give rise to metonymy-based polysemy. It has also been suggested that the patterns which operate in polysemy are sometimes conventionalised and apply in numerous instances: the relationship between COTTON 1 and COTTON 3 equals the relationship between the polyssemous meanings of *glass* or *silk* (substance and object).

Notes

*. Correspondence to Olga Isabel Diez Velasco, c/ San Antón 12 - 2ª, 28002 Logroño, La Rioja, tel. (941) 249962. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their very useful comments.

1. According to Lakoff (1987), an idealised cognitive model is a domain of knowledge that results from the activity of a structuring principle.

2. Conceptual schemas, as defined by Ruiz de Mendoza (1996), are formalisations of encyclopedic knowledge.

3. Fauconnier's (1985) notion of *pragmatic function* makes reference to the links we establish between objects of a different nature for psychological, cultural or pragmatic reasons.

4. A more detailed description of each relational arch will be provided when analysing the way they work in metonymic mappings.

5. The *Master Metonymy List*, which has been compiled by Naomi Leite (1994), contains a selection and classification of more than a hundred metonymies.

6. It could be argued that the relation that holds between *Napoleon* and *his army* is causative so that *Napoleon* caused the defeat of his army; however, this is not the case because the defeat is only a consequence of the battle but it does not define the relationship between *Napoleon* and the French army.

7. Making a parallel with Halliday's (1994) description of grammatical metaphor as the result of the grammar of language allowing parts of the system to be expressed in a non-congruent form, Ruiz de Mendoza (1999a: 92) coins the term *grammatical metonymy* to refer to the process by means of which a word form is recategorised. For a more detailed account of grammatical metonymy, see Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez (2001).

The role of semantic relations in the creation of metonymic mappings

8. According to Ruiz de Mendoza (1996), an entity has control if it has the power to decide whether a state of affairs will obtain or not.

9. This metonymic type is also frequently employed to refer to the rulers of a country by means of the place they govern (e.g. *Canada supported the USA in the war*).

10. Whenever activities are related to senses (e.g. *listening*), there is a tendency to choose the external organ involved in the perception as the source domain of a metonymy where this sense plays a role. This may be grounded in the fact that external organs such as *ear* in (17) are experientially more prominent than other organs that have a role in listening (e.g. *the tympanum*).

Works cited

- BARCELONA, Antonio, (ed.), 2000. *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- BAUSMAN, Claudia. 1981. "Story of OVER: Polysemy, Semantics and the Structure of the lexicon. New York / London: Garland.
- DIEZ VELASCO, Olga I., 2000. "A Cross-Linguistic Analysis of the Nature of Some Hand Metonymies in English and Spanish". *Atlantis* 22 (2): 51-67.
- DIEREN, René. 1993. "Metonymy and Metaphor: Different Mental Strategies of Conceptualisation". *Leuvense Bijdragen* 82: 1-25.
- FAUCCONNIER, Gilles. 1985. *Mental Spaces*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- HALLIDAY, M. A. K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- JAKOBSON, Roman. 1971. *Selected Writings*, Vol. 2. *Word and language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- KÖVECSÉS, Zoltan and Günter Radden. 1998. "Metonymy: Developing a Cognitive Linguistic View". *Cognitive Linguistics* 9 (1): 37-77.
- LAKOFF, George and Mark JOHNSON. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LAKOFF, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LEITE, Naomi. 1994. "Master Metonymy List". Berkeley: Unpublished Draft.
- PANHER, Klaus-Uwe and Linda THORNAURE. 2000. "The EFFECT FOR CAUSE Metonymy in English Grammar". In Barcelona, A. (ed.): 215-332.
- RUZ DE MENDOZA IBÁÑEZ, Francisco. J. 1996. "Semantic Networks in Conceptual Structure". *EPoS, Revista de Filología, UNED* 12: 339-356.
- . 1997. "Cognitive and Pragmatic Aspects of Metonymy". *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, 6 (2): 161-178.
- . 1999a. *Introducción a la Teoría Cognitiva de la Metonimia*. Granada: Método Ed.
- . 1999b. "From Semantic Underdetermination via Metaphor and Metonymy to Conceptual Interaction". Essen: *LAUD* Nº 492.
- . 2000. "The Role of Mappings and Domains in Understanding Metonymy". In Barcelona, A. (ed.): 109-132.
- RUZ DE MENDOZA IBÁÑEZ, Francisco J. and Lorena PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ. (2001). "Metonymy and the Grammar: Motivation, Constraints and Interaction". *Language and Communication* 21: 321-357.

- STERN, Gustaf. 1931. *Meaning and Change of Meaning*. Bloomington: Indiana U. P.
- ULLMANN, Stephen. 1962. *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- TAMOR, John R. 1989. *Linguistic Categorization, Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- UNGERER, Friedrich and Hans-Jörg SCHMID. 1996. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. New York: Longman.

PRESENT DAY ENGLISH EXISTENTIAL THERE-CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR PRAGMATICS. TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED CATEGORISATION.¹

ANA E. MARTINEZ INSUA

Universidad de Santiago de Compostela

1. Introduction

This study is intended to examine English existential *there*-constructions² (hereafter TCs) from the pragmatic point of view. It attempts to determine their functions in discourse, and provide a possible categorisation. Aiming to be a study in empirical pragmatics, the classification advanced here is offered as a tool for describing and understanding TCs. This paper can be regarded as an exploratory, initial approach towards a typology of TCs from the perspective of their communicative functions, even though space constraints have limited the inclusion of as many examples as it would be appropriate for a study of this kind. Also, the overall context from which the examples are taken will by necessity be short. Despite these constraints, the contexts included will hopefully determine the features associated with the TCs in question, and provide the reader with enough information to identify the functions attributed to them.

Section 1 of this paper (sub-sections 1.1. and 1.2.) will briefly refer to some of the traditional attempts to explain TCs as thematic structures, and as strategies for the introduction of *new* information or the assignment of focus (Huddleston 1988; Quirk *et al.* 1985). Sub-section 1.3. will outline some of the semantic characterisations of TCs that preceded the more strictly pragmatic ones (especially, Davids 1992a, 1992b, 1997 and Wierzbicka 1996), and will then refer to some relevant attempts at a pragmatic classification available in the

- STERN, Gustaf. 1931. *Meaning and Change of* ULMANN, Stephen. 1962. *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. Bloomington: Indiana U.P.
- TAYLOR, John R. 1989. *Linguistic Categorization. Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- UNGERER, Friedrich and Hans-Jörg SCHMID. 1996. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
1996. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. New York: Longman.

PRESENT DAY ENGLISH EXISTENTIAL
THERE-CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR PRAGMATICS.
TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED CATEGORISATION.¹

ANA E. MARTÍNEZ INSUA
Universidad de Santiago de Compostela

1. Introduction

This study is intended to examine English existential *there*-constructions² (hereafter TCs) from the pragmatic point of view. It attempts to determine their functions in discourse, and provide a possible categorisation. Aiming to be a study in empirical pragmatics, the classification advanced here is offered as a tool for describing and understanding TCs. This paper can be regarded as an exploratory, initial approach towards a typology of TCs from the perspective of their communicative functions, even though space constraints have limited the inclusion of as many examples as it would be appropriate for a study of this kind. Also, the overall context from which the examples are taken will by necessity be short. Despite these constraints, the contexts included will hopefully determine the features associated with the TCs in question, and provide the reader with enough information to identify the functions attributed to them.

Section 1 of this paper (sub-sections 1.1. and 1.2.) will briefly refer to some of the traditional attempts to explain TCs as thematic structures, and as strategies for the introduction of *new* information or the assignment of focus (Huddleston 1988; Quirk *et al.* 1985). Sub-section 1.3. will outline some of the semantic characterisations of TCs that preceded the more strictly pragmatic ones (especially, Davids 1992a, 1992b, 1997 and Wierzbicka 1996), and will then refer to some relevant attempts at a pragmatic classification available in the

literature (Abbott 1992, 1993, 1997; Birner and Ward 1998; Ward and Birner 1994, 1995, 1997).

Section 2 presents an alternative pragmatic typology of TCs, displaying new labels and hopefully being more thorough and integral than others previously available in the literature. Sub-section 2.2. focuses on the distinction between Lakoff's cognitive approach to TCs and the communicative one here advanced, inserted in the framework of corpus-driven studies.³

The label *existential construction* will be employed here with the meaning Jespersen (1924: 155) first assigned to it. That is, *existential construction* refers to those sentences in which *there* appears as an unstressed, non-deictic and non-locative element, functioning as their syntactic subject. The element generally accepted as the *notional subject* of the sentence appears therefore in post-verbal position.

(1) Interesting buildings are not confined to the ancient, ornate or foreign; we are shown that there are plenty of ideas on our own doorstep! (C10 1195; wt, arts).⁴

In a general sense, and from the perspective of meaning, the label TC will be understood as defined by Lakoff (1987) and other scholars: as the construction that brings entities into the mental space of participants, by means of designating a conceptual space in the speaker's presence.

These constructions, their formal features, and their behaviour within the system of language are frequently discussed in the literature. Many studies have been conducted on their structure and formal characteristics (Breivik 1977, 1981, 1983; Hannay 1985; Millsak 1977, 1979a, 1990, to mention just a few), some investigations confer priority to the semantic aspects of the construction (Davids 1992a, 1992b, 1997; Lakoff 1987), other analyses are more general and make reference to both the syntactic and the semantic aspects of TCs, as well as to their pragmatic characteristics (Hannay, 1985). However, rather than being itself an ultimate aim, the study of the pragmatic features of TCs has been generally treated as an implement for the explanation of some very specific cases and apparent counter-examples to what are generally considered to be constraints on the TCs. As has already been said, the present paper approaches the pragmatics of TCs as the main object of analysis. It seeks to provide the labels for a possible classification of the TCs according to their communicative roles in their contexts of occurrence. Given that some of these general studies do not successfully account for the whole range of possible functions that could be assigned to TCs, I propose a number of labels for the pragmatic roles that could be assigned to them as used in discourse. As will be seen, these possible functions may overlap in some cases, and a single TC may appear to be performing more than a single function within the linguistic context in which it is used.

This attempt to determine the discourse functions of TCs is neither definite nor perfect. Nevertheless, based on previous work on the topic, and a corpus-driven perspective, as it is, it is hoped that it will be an effective initial methodology.

2. Pragmatics and the pragmatics of TCs

In essence, a functional framework will be adopted for the structuring of this study. This means that the essentials of functionalism as first set out by Dik (1978, 1980) will be followed here. Thus, language is conceived as an instrument of social interaction between humans, primarily used with the aim of establishing communicative relations between individuals. By means of language human beings can communicate with each other and also influence each other's mental and practical activities. Being functional in this respect, the present linguistic description attempts to "reveal the instrumentality of language with respect to what people do with it in social situations" (1978: 1).

Dik's model is also followed here in the sense that TCs, like all other linguistic expressions, are not considered as isolated objects "but as instruments which are used by the Speaker in order to evoke some intended interpretation in the Addressee, within a context defined by preceding expressions, and within a setting defined by the essential parameters of the speech situation" (Dik 1997: 13; see also 1997: 214, and Hannay 1985: 171). It is here accepted that Speakers decide to use TCs with a specific pragmatic aim: basically, the introduction of an entity into the discourse, presenting it as a *New Topic*.

As a result, a further point in common with Dik's model is the importance given to the context and the communicative situation in which TCs are embedded, as the key to an understanding of the communicative role of the TC and the assignment of a classificatory label to it. As will be seen in section 2.2. below, these assumptions are also, broadly speaking, at the basis of the *Cebuuild Grammar* (Stubbs 1993), whose major contributor is John Sinclair, and essentially emerges from Firth's notion of meaning as function in context.

The general tendency to pay little attention to meaning in the study of language is frequently linked to the conviction that semantics and pragmatics are fields independent of grammar in general, and syntax in particular. The view of this paper, however, is quite different and language is regarded here as an integrated system, ultimately aiming to convey meaning. Meaning is understood as the human (and therefore, subjective) interpretation of the world, and "pragmatic meanings" as inextricably linked with meanings based on "denotational conditions" (see Wierzbicka 1988: 2).

If "semantics as subservient to pragmatics, and syntax as subservient to semantics" (Dik 1980: 2),⁵ the pragmatic aspects of TCs acquire a central role in the

explanation of certain cases that, otherwise, might seem to go against the syntactic-semantic constraints that are generally accepted as restraining the usage of TCs. Early attempts to adopt the point of view of the users appeared in the study of existential TCs as one of the so-called thematic structures of the message. They sought to gain a certain insight into the effects that their use had on the other participants of the communicative act.

2.1. *There* as a strategy in assigning focus. TCs as thematic structures

It is quite common in the literature to regard TCs as belonging to the thematic systems of the clause, and therefore as the result of (transformational) derivations or movements of elements from their canonical positions (Huddleston 1971: 322, 1988: 184; Quirk *et al.* 1985). Thus, TCs and their presumed non-existential counterparts (from which they derive) have been frequently treated as two thematic variants that have the same propositional contents, but that differ in the way that the proposition is packaged as a message. Speakers select one or another depending on which part(s) of the message they want to emphasise, or what they regard as known by the addressee, etc.

As a thematic system, TCs involve differences in the sequential arrangement of constituents (Huddleston 1988: 184) and become a strategy in which word order is used for pragmatic purposes (as in the case of left and right dislocations or raising). The function of *there* is to shift the notional subject towards a position where it carries *end-weight* and *end-focus*⁶ (Abbott 1993: 41). The idea is that grammatical distinctions are motivated (in the synchronic sense) by semantic distinctions. The fact that each grammatical construction reflects a certain semantic structure explains the range of use of such grammatical construction.⁷

2.2. Given and New Information. The TC as a presentative of new information

It has often been observed that many languages show a tendency to order *given* information before *new* information in an utterance, and that syntactic constructions seem to prevent NPs representing unfamiliar information from occurring in subject position.⁸ In a similar way, it has been argued that rightward movement phenomena such as the one performed in TCs serve to postpone unfamiliar or non-thematic information.

Both concepts, *given* and *new information*, have acquired a relevance in the pragmatic and semantic explanations of TCs. Traditionally, *there* has been seen as introducing *new* information into the discourse. From this point of view, TCs introduce pieces of new information or bring new elements into the scene of discourse.⁹

Since new information is regarded as somewhat marked, and since the *unmarked-before-marked*¹⁰ and the *given-before-new* principles are admitted as determinant for word order in English, a connection was generally posited between the introductory-presentative function of TCs and the necessity for their post-verbal NP (hereafter PYNP) to be indefinite (the so-called *Definiteness Restriction*, hereafter DR). To a certain extent, both the DR and the *given-before-new* principle support each other in most approaches to TCs, and notions such as *new*, *irrecoverable*, *not previously mentioned* or *indefinite* came to be crucial in any approach to TCs.

Although attractive, this explanation runs into a number of problems when applied to real data. *Given* and *new* may remain problematic if further clarification is not made. In fact, terminological confusion abounds in the literature concerning the relationship between linguistic items and their contexts, and how they can be treated by the speaker/writer as either *given* information or *new* information (*theme* or *rheme*, *background* or *focus*, are other labels sometimes used).

Difficulties may arise when deciding which elements are *given* and which are *new* in a certain sentence, and the context and the situation must be always considered. In some cases, what is given may at the same time function as new if the relation is changed in some way, so the terms *given* and *new* information should be treated as relative and dependant on the development of the discourse. As shown by Ribartkiewicz (1977: 79), as the discourse develops, the store of assertions that represent the shared knowledge of speaker/writer and hearer/listener is constantly increasing "with every new utterance whose validity is not challenged". This common store, or *Presupposition Pool*, as it is sometimes called, must comprise every item of knowledge or piece of information both overtly expressed or implied or hinted at.

The concept of *recoverability* of the information (Geluykens 1991) appeared as an attempt to solve the somehow loose, non-rigid use of the terms *given* - *new*. *Recoverable* information is derivable from the discourse record, while *Irrecoverable* information is not thus derivable. Further refining the notion, various degrees of recoverability are recognised, rather than a simple binary distinction. The recoverability scale would go from 100% recoverable items to 100% irrecoverable ones.

2.3. The function of TCs. Semantic and pragmatic approaches

In general terms, most of the literature available assigns to TCs the semantic value of the expression of existence (Bollinger 1977; Brevik 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983; Hamay 1985; Huddleston 1988; Milstark 1977, 1979a,b, 1990; Quirk *et al.* 1985). *THERE IS/ARE* has even been characterised as a *Semantic Primitive* or *Semantic Prime*,¹¹ in the sense that the concept of existence, as a non-verbal predicate, is so clear that no definitions could make it any clearer (Wierzbicka 1996: 12-13).

As a semantic primitive, *THERE IS/ARE* is grouped together with concepts such as *MOVE*, *LIFE*, *HEAR*, *INSIDE*, *HERE*, *CAN*, *DO*, *HAPPEN*, *THINK*, *KNOW*, *FEEL*, *SAY*, etc. (Wierzbicka 1996, chapter 2).¹² They are treated as the group of elements that can be used to define the meaning of words but cannot be defined themselves. Without this set of semantic primitives, it is claimed, descriptions of meaning are actually or potentially circular. They exist as protolinguistic representations of the world, and their full, final realisation depends on the cultural tool of language. They are a group of innate basic ideas with which children embark on the quest for meaning, and in fact, this concept of existence/non-existence is one of the first to emerge in children's speech (Wierzbicka 1996: 86).¹³

From this perspective, the English forms *there is* and *there are* are regarded as the primary lexical exponent of the primitive *THERE IS/ARE*, just like similar expressions that have the same function in other languages: *hay* in Spanish, *il y a* in French, *c'è / ci sono* in Italian, *jest / są* in Polish, *es ist / es sind / es giebt* in German, etc. (cf. Lyons 1967: 390). Most languages then have a lexical counterpart of English *there is/are*, and in some of these languages, this lexical item may be homophonous with the exponents of other meaning(s), usually the copula.¹⁴ Polish is one of those languages in which the lexical items employed in existential statements are homophonous with the exponents of the copula.¹⁵

In general, it was claimed that this characterisation of TCs as mainly expressing existence, or introducing entities into the scene of discourse, implied the necessity for the notional subject to be a piece of *new information* (from a pragmatic point of view), and an indefinite term (from the formal one). This claim about TCs disallowing definite PVNPs (the widely known DR) has been characterised in a number of different ways and from various perspectives: Milsark (1979: 215ff), for instance, talked of a *Quantification Restriction*, and indebted to his view, Davidec (1992a: 123) claimed that TCs construe a specific kind of instantiation relation which is the notion of *Quantifiable Occurrence*. Thus, rather than a question of definiteness, the constraint is that the PVNP should never denote the whole class but rather one item, or more, or none of the class. This is what she calls the *Positive Set-Totally Constraint*.

This small sample of the different characterisations of the DR evinces that the characterisations of existential constructions postulating a close interrelation between the DR and principles such as the *Given-before-New* one, do not seem to have completely accounted for real data. In real language, we may find cases that apparently go against the principles mentioned above, but are felicitous and admissible from the communicative point of view. The most frequent case is that of TCs with a definite PVNP, which according to the DR, should be considered as either infelicitous, anomalous or ungrammatical.

- (2) Now, incorporate in your play, there is the, there are the benefits of dressing up using clothes that may well be available or using er, specific outfits as well. (FM8 847 sp. educational/informative).
- (3) For humour there was Ian Ford's rat tool, and below it Lee Dickenson's Kirchen carver. (A0X 1081 wt. leisure).
- (4) There was the usual collection of war updates, then the weather report, which promised a grey Christmas, accompanied by a spring-like balm. (CRE 2733 wt. imaginative).

As observed by many scholars (Abbott 1992, 1993, 1997, Birner and Ward 1998; Hannay 1985; Holmback 1984; Lakoff 1987; Rando and Napoli 1978; Ward and Birner 1994, 1995, 1997), the DR is far from absolute. The wide range of definite PVNPs that occur in TCs and their sensitivity to contextual constraints argue for a pragmatic account of the phenomenon.

In her analysis of felicitous definite TCs, Abbott (1993) first brings pragmatic arguments to her explanation and contextualisation gains a crucial role: "The role of context is crucial in predicting what kinds of NPs can occur in *there*-constructions as well as the restrictions that exist" (1993: 52).

Subsequent attempts at a pragmatic study can be found in the literature (Birner and Ward 1998; Ward and Birner 1994, 1995, 1997). With them there also appear new labels and a renewed attention to the contextual environment of the TC. However, these analyses seem to be somehow restricted to accounting for the acceptability of some very specific and frequently problematic examples that would be otherwise difficult to account for (see examples (2)-(4) above).

From the basic tenet that TCs help the development of discourse by introducing entities into it as *New Topics* (Dik 1997: 214), this study seeks to get a comprehensive categorisation of TCs, without focusing only on those with definite PVNPs.

3. Towards an integrated pragmatic classification of English existential *there*-constructions

3.1. Method. The corpus employed for the study

A number of examples will be provided to support the classification I propose here. The data analysed come from a one-million-word sample of spoken and written present-day English (PDE), selected from the *British National Corpus* (BNC).¹⁶ Here, I will briefly refer to the main criteria followed in the design of the sub-corpus employed for this study.

Given that the BNC is generally characterised as a *sample corpus* (the samples it contains do not generally exceed 45,000 words), a *synchronic corpus* (containing

samples of English from the year 1960), a *general corpus* (not restricted to any particular subject field, register or genre), a *monolingual corpus* (in the sense of containing only British English) and a *mixed corpus* (with both spoken and written English), the sub-corpus used for the present study was designed with the aim of maintaining, as far as possible, these main features. The samples contained in the sub-corpus do not exceed 45,000 words and belong to the same period of time. The texts selected provide the sub-corpus with data from both the written and the spoken samples, as well as with data from all the different genres included in the BNC.

Apart from the obvious difference in size (one million words vs. almost 100 million words in the BNC), other variations in the structure of the sub-corpus were made in order to make it as reliable and up to date as possible. The texts selected belong only to the last decade (from 1989 onwards) and equal proportions of words were taken from speech and from writing (that is: half a million words for the spoken sample and half a million words for the written one). The different genres, which were present in different proportions in the BNC, were here made equal, and approximately equal numbers of words were taken from each of the genres specified in the BNC.¹⁷

This sub-corpus was designed to constitute a *disproportionally stratified sample* (Butler 1985: 6), since this kind of sample creates the optimum situation for the comparison of subgroups.¹⁸ The fact that the samples in the BNC are not equal in size, and some of them are proportionally small, also encouraged the choice of a *disproportionally stratified sample*. This prevents the types of unit with a small overall proportion in the population (the BNC, in this case), from not being represented in the sample at all. In *stratified random sampling*, once the proportions of the different subgroups within the population are known, random sampling is undertaken within each stratum and the resulting sub-samples are then combined to give an overall sample. The designing of the sub-corpus as a *disproportionally stratified sample* explains why the different subgroups of the sample employed for this study have an equal size, despite their unequal proportions in the population as a whole (that is, in the BNC).

Once these texts were selected, the TCs contained in them were identified, counted, and entered into a database. Notice that the scope of this study comprises only existential constructions containing the word *there*. No sentences without *there* were included in the database, in spite of the fact that some scholars would regard certain *there*-less sentences as existentials.¹⁹

3.2. The classification proposed: a pragmatic one

In contrast to certain recent views, the categorisation advanced here focuses only on the functions of TCs in discourse, and tries to provide self-explanatory labels with reference to the communicative roles they refer to. One such recent view is

the full analysis and categorisation of TCs that Lakoff (1987) has provided from a cognitive perspective.

Even if the present classification shares a number of basic assumptions with Lakoff's, there are also some clear differences between them. The common points are rooted in the general rejection of the transformational approaches to grammar, as well as in the assumptions that the primary function of language is to convey meaning, that there is a continuum between grammar and lexicon implying that many syntactic properties of grammatical constructions are consequences of their meanings. As said above, the basic function that Lakoff posited for TCs, that is, to focus the addressee's awareness on the referent of the PVNP, is also at the basis of the present analysis.

Regarding the differences, the present study tries primarily to provide a complete categorisation of TCs as they occur in natural language, from a data-driven perspective. The formal features of the TCs analysed will not be seen as criteria for their classification, while Lakoff (1987) considers such features to be criteria for classification at least in the cases of *Infinitival* or *Strange Existentials*. No reference will be made here to what Lakoff calls the *motivation* of constituents and the *mainland properties* of constructions. Moreover, the fact that no difference is established here between *central* existential constructions (with *be* as their main verb) and *non-central* ones (with verbs other than *be*) will exclude the need to refer to certain elements in the central existential construction as the "ancestors" of other elements in the non-central ones. Since many of the categories set up here could be included within Lakoff's *Central* and *Presentational* categories, the aims of the present analysis could be said to be somewhat more refined and less broad. Essentially, the nature and starting points of both studies are different. Lakoff adopts a cognitive perspective, searching for the processes and steps followed by speakers in the production of TCs, searching for the origins of such constructions in the deictic one. By contrast, the present study adopts a primarily pragmatic approach, an analytic approach that implies contextual considerations. Its main objective is to describe what people do when they use language, explaining linguistic constructions and features as the means used in such activity, rather than as something fixed by grammatical rules, to which the message should adapt itself. The TCs here analysed are treated as the register of a dynamic process in which speaker and addressee use language as an instrument for communication, in a given context, so as to express meanings and make their intentions effective. As mentioned in section 1 above, this analysis tries to follow the so-called *Cobuild* grammatical model (Tognini-Bonelli 1993; Stubbs 1993). It sets out to make generalisations (about the functions of TCs) from the cumulative effect of instances of actual use, adopting a data-driven, bottom-up methodology.

For this reason, only authentic examples were taken as evidence of the ways in which language is really used. Only real TCs were considered in this search for an answer to the question *What communicative functions do they typically encode?*

3.3. Initial divisions

Rather than replace classifications previously offered in the literature (Abbott 1992, 1993, 1997; Lakoff 1987; Ward and Birner 1994, 1995, 1997; Ziv 1982a, 1982b, among others), this study has attempted to conflate and implement them as much as possible and provide them with a full range of potential pragmatic functions. To a certain extent, the labels used here will be new although this does not imply the invalidation of notions such as *new topics*, *foregrounding* / *backgrounding* or *hearer-old* / *-new* and *context-old* / *-new* -which were already present in the studies previously conducted by scholars such as Dik (1997), Ziv (1982a, 1982b) or Ward and Birner (1995, 1997) and Birner and Ward (1998). Building on such notions, the new labels seek to be more accurate and to provide a thorough classification of the possible pragmatic functions of English TCs, that, it is hoped, will be all-embracing.

As a first step, two basic and main functions are distinguished when considering TCs in their context of occurrence. These are here called the *retrospective* function and the *prospective* function.

The term *retrospective* refers to the function of those TCs in which the PVNP points backwards in its context, commenting and completing or somehow summarising what has been stated before. It could be said then that the information brought into the text by means of the TC is not entirely new, but recoverable, to a certain extent, from the previous context. Some element or aspect of the TC in question refers back, or is connected, to what can already be found in the text (most frequently explicitly, but occasionally implicitly), while at the same time the TC as a whole brings some new information into the text. In some cases, the TC contains a nominalization of some category that has been introduced in the text at some earlier point. In such cases, the communicative content of the claim made in the TC is supported or justified by the information already available in the previous context.

Very characteristic examples of this retrospective function can be found in question tags. These are constructions that use their interrogative character to elicit confirmation of what has already been stated in the previous context. Thus, the question tag in (5) requires the presence of a previous TC for its comprehension, and does not itself introduce any new piece of information into the scene of discourse.

- (5) Yes, but there is a rule isn't there?
(E7N 118 sp. educational/informative).

Another possible example (also frequent) is the short TCs, in which the PVNP is sometimes omitted, that functions as a kind of comment on a previous TC. These may behave as short answers, corroborations or even corrections of what

has already been stated. It is this behaviour that confers on them a retrospective character.

In example (6), the second TC cannot be understood without looking back at the first one. In fact, the omission of the PVNP in the second serves to highlight and reinforce this connection between both.

- (6) Perhaps there ought to be a law like that, but there isn't at the moment
(FUT 480 sp. public/institutional).

This kind of TC, with a retrospective function (at least partial, since as stated above, they always add some new communicative nuance to the text), will include examples of the so-called anaphoric definites (referring back to something already known). Such anaphoric grounding "involves connecting incoming new information chunks to some existing mental representation - either of the text or of the mental entities" (Givón 1995: 347). The speaker or writer using them assumes that the addressee "will be able to make the connection with the referent immediately" (Bolinger 1977: 119). Functioning as grounding devices, anaphoric definites make "NPs relevant at the point in the conversation at which they are introduced" (Fox and Thompson 1990: 301). Like other grounding devices, these proposition-linking elements primarily aim to achieve effective communication.

In example (7) below, the possessive *their* is implying the existence of some possessors whose identity is recoverable from the previous context (*many trade unionists*), and therefore belong to the shared knowledge of the participants in the communicative act.

- (7) One, that many trade unionists work at and there's a threat to their jobs and a threat to their future careers
(H4A 27 sp. public/institutional).

The label *prospective*, on the other hand, is meant to imply the meaning that the TC is introducing and presenting some piece of (completely or partially) new information. The claim or statement made in the TC most frequently finds supportive arguments or further developments and complementations in what follows. In such cases, it cannot be initially assumed that the addressees will find a hint (explicit or implicit) in the previous context that may lead them to expect the information provided in the TC.

TCs introduced by words such as *however*, *but*, *yet*, etc, which signal a change of topic or perspective will also be subsumed under this *prospective* label, generally speaking. In example (8) below, the information provided in the TC is completely new and may even be characterised as unexpected, with respect to previous context. The use of *however* is drawing the addressee's attention towards the unanticipated, unexpected character of the information provided.

(8) 0034 He was, by contrast, a plain Man; well scrubbed, but plain.

0035 He'd made his fortune selling baths, bidets and toilets, which lent him little by way of mystique.

0036 So, when he'd first laid eyes on Judith — she'd been sitting behind a desk at his accountant's offices, her beauty all the more luminous for its drab setting — his first thought was: I want this woman; his second: she won't want me.

0037 There was, however, an instinct in him when it came to Judith that he'd never experienced with any other woman.

(CRE 37 wt. imaginative).

In TCs with this prospective function, cataphoric definites (those referring to something that is being presented and that need post-modifiers to pin them down) conveying *contextual deixis* (Bolinger 1977: 114) may be found. That is, the deixis is not to a physical setting, but rather to the linguistic context. The pattern technically known as cataphora is the reversal of the antecedent-anaphor pattern. In this case, the referent of the cataphoric element comes after it. Cataphoric grounding 'involves the opening of pending connections in yet-to-be completed structure, in anticipation of a text that is in the process of being constructed' (Givón 1995: 347). The use of cataphora is, however, much less common than that of anaphora.

(9) There were those amongst his small circle of intimates who said it would be his undoing, but they or their predecessors had been prophesying the same for three decades, and Klein had out-prospered every one of them.
(CRE 368 wt. imaginative).

Example (9), by means of the cataphoric item *those*, first introduces into the scene of discourse, the existence of a number of entities that will be further defined or described in the following context. *Those* does not refer back to some referent already mentioned in the preceding sentences; it rather refers forward to a group that is specified or defined by means of the relative clause in the following context (*who said it would be his undoing*). Using Givón's terms, it opens a pending connection in a yet-to-be-completed structure that requires the presence of post-modifiers to complete it. Using Bolinger's words, 'the determiner does no more than to point to a clause as something designating a thing that is known to exist but about which nothing is presupposed' (1977: 119).

In some cases, TCs with a prospective function may be particularly emphasised by means of linguistic sequences that have some kind of *signalling* force. The ultimate aim here is to draw the listener's attention to the given piece of information that the TC introduces. This is specially frequent in spoken language, where TCs may be introduced by expressions such as *what I want you to know...*, *what I am saying to you is that...*, *you know...*, *I mean...*

With the sequences *I mean*, *What I'm saying to you is...*, the speakers in (10) and (11) below emphasise the content of the TC and call the addressee's attention to them.

(10) 052 Now what I'm saying to you is that there's a big question mark as far as

Goodey er report is concerned and they can talk about er the surprises, they can talk about the trustees, but there's no majority as far as the employees are concerned and this was the question mark that we — we were saying that one of the reasons why they were saying <pause dur=3>20 you know that the employee should be in the minority because in the end paragraph of the summing up of the Goodey report that states quite clearly that all the responsibility and all the <nuclear>21 but the employer, now you yourself have said that er as far as the schemes and we're talking of something in the region of a hundred and twenty eight thousand.
(K77 52 sp. public/institutional).

(11) Because I mean th there's more teaching hospitals in London going an and right throughout the country.
(H4A 468 sp. public/institutional).

However, it does not seem to be enough to say that the TC under analysis has either a prospective or a retrospective character. It is possible to add some further information about the meaning conveyed by the clause and its communicative role in the specific context in which it appears. In what follows I will propose a group of feasible labels.

Parallel to this main division into retrospective and prospective, it is possible to distinguish TCs according to whether the claims they make are justified, supported, corroborated, corrected or simply completed and elaborated in the following sentences, or else in the preceding context. Consequently, it will be frequently understood that a TC has a retrospective character when it makes a claim that is justified by the content of the clauses and statements preceding the TC. By contrast, TCs with a prospective character will usually make a claim that is further developed in the following clauses or statements.

Notice then that, from this perspective, the introduction of a new entity into the discourse or the statement of its existence does not necessarily have to be prospective. It is seen as prospective if the claim is made first and the information supporting that claim comes afterwards. It is seen as retrospective if the claim is made at the end, after having presented a certain amount of information leading to such claim.

In some cases, the borderline between retrospective and prospective does not seem to be very clear, and a TC with the prospective function of introducing a new idea into the discourse may, as well, contain elements already known that connect it with the immediately preceding context. The fact that the categories

Prospective and retrospective are not mutually exclusive may lead us to problematic cases in which a TC performs both functions simultaneously. However, I will argue that it is necessary to distinguish between these two main functions. Examples will be provided in support of this view.

(12) 237 In the old days when there was a possibility of <pause dur=2> of emm ad hoc payments made er that sort of thing was taken care of, since the takeover of the company that hasn't happened to the same extent, so there's a very strong feeling with the older pay— er pensioners that they paid money into a pension scheme which now shows a surplus, but other people are benefiting from it. (K77 237 sp. public/institutional).

In example (12), the claim made by the first TC functions as an explanation or clarification of the previous prepositional phrase. It adds further information about the sequence *old days*, to which it is intricately linked, being in that sense retrospective. However, the fact that the information it introduces is new for the addressee provides it with a prospective character. In fact, what follows can be said to further develop the claim made in it. The second TC, introduced by *so*, states a deduction or claim about the consequence brought about by the circumstances just mentioned. In this sense, being so strongly connected with the previous context, it has a somewhat retrospective character. However, the prospective nature of the TC is here considered to be stronger than its possible retrospective one. The deduction itself, the information contained in the TC, is not a mere repetition of those preceding statements and it is, in addition, further developed in the context that follows (*that they paid money into a pension scheme which now shows a surplus, but other people are benefiting from it*).

3.4. Further divisions

It is possible to make further sub-divisions of that initial distinction between prospective and retrospective, if the communicative aim of the TC is considered. In this section a number of labels are proposed for as many possible functions of TCs within their context of occurrence. The explanation of the categories thus proposed will be followed by an example, which is intended to serve as an illustration. For reasons of space it is impossible to cite more examples with their corresponding contexts.

3.4.1. Prospective Functions

The analysis of TCs with a prospective character may be further refined and clarified using as criteria the facts TCs convey:

3.4.1.1. The introduction and presentation of new ideas and/or entities into the text

This is the most neutral and commonest function, and also the function that literature in general most frequently assigns to TCs. The speaker/writer chooses the specific syntactic structure of TCs in order to provide (frequently, for the first time) the addressee's knowledge-store with some new data. This enlargement of the knowledge-store is done in a neutral way without any other obvious intention on the part of the speaker/writer.

(13) 305 You see in British Steel we <pause dur=2> we have seventy thousand deferred pensioners and er it is a group of people that I feel extremely sorry for, because er in nineteen eighty-six British Steel introduced into their pension scheme while it was still in the public sector, retirement at sixty where with a pension credit spaced on length of service, so if you had thirty-five years service in, you could retire at sixty as if you were sixty-five <pause dur=3> and there was nothing done at all for deferred pensioners and in certainly our submission to British Steel for seeking improvements, we <pause dur=2> we asked that they er they look at deferred pensioner with a view to paying their pensions at sixty, recognising that it was a very high-class plane that might have to be er achieved in stages. (K77 305 sp. public/institutional).

The TC in K77 305 is a typical case of prospective presentation or introduction of some information into the discourse, in this case, the lack of action being taken for deferred pensioners. The notional subject of the TC, this lack of action, is further elaborated on in the next statement, which informs us about the requests made by the speaker and others.

3.4.1.2. The correction of something already stated and the presentation of contrasts and objections

In this case, the use of a TC helps the speaker/writer in the correction of a statement or idea present in the previous context. The new, and somehow different, information is brought into the text by means of a TC, and the following context usually contains a further development of such new information.

These TCs may be either directly introduced into the discourse, without any connective element, or preceded by connectives as for instance (*or*) *rather*. For those cases of TCs introduced by means of a conjunction or connective element, the corrective meaning, which might initially seem to belong only to the connective, is here considered as a content of the TC and all its elements, as a whole.

(14) Em <unclear> em <pauses> it's twelve.

0573 <pauses> Oh right that's not right is it, no.

0574 Em <pauses>

John 0575 Min.
 0576 <pause dur=10> Okay so we've got eleven and four is fifteen, and
 seventeen <pause> is thirty two.
 John577 <pause> It says there were thirty pupils.
 (FM4 573-577 sp. educational/informative).

In this case, at first sight, the TC apparently has the prototypical introductory, presentational function. However, taking into account the previous context, it can be said that it introduces a very subtle correction of what has been previously said: the previous speaker talked of fifteen students, and the speaker using the TC "corrects" him, and says that the number of pupils was thirty.

Very near those *corrective* TCs are some others that could be considered as establishing constraints on information already known. Usually introduced into the discourse with conjunctions such as *but*, *however*, *nevertheless*, these TCs bring about the existence of a new element or argument that is, to a certain extent, in contrast with what has been explicitly stated or can be inferred and expected from the previous context. For a detailed approach to the relevance of context and inferring in human communication, cf. Prince 1978, where the notion context is analysed as relative to individuals and their assumptions about other individuals. Again, it might be thought that the conjunction is the only ultimately contrastive element. However, it is posited here considered that such a character or function belongs to the whole TC and the information it contains.

(15) 052 Now what I'm saying to you is that there's a big question mark as far as Goodey or report is concerned and they can talk about or the surprises, they can talk about the trustees, but there's no majority as far as the employees are concerned and this was the question mark that we—we were saying that one of the reasons why they were saying <pause dur=3> you know that the employee should be in the minority because in the end paragraph of the summing up of the Goodey report that states quite clearly that all the responsibility and all the <unclear> but the employee, now you yourself have said that er as far as the schemes and we're talking of something in the region of a hundred and twenty eight thousand.
 (K77 52 sp. public/institutional).

The two TCs in (15) have a parallel structure and are linked by the conjunction *but*, thus emphasising the contrastive character that the second of them has with respect to the first one. Both of them bring into the scene of discourse a piece of new information (the existence of an entity and the absence of another, respectively). They contribute to the progress of the text with their prospective functions: first, a presentation of a given entity is made, and then, the lack of a *majority* is expressed by means of another TC so as to give a contrastive sense (existence/absence).

3.4.1.3. The posing of questions

TCs may also have the function of advancing a question about the existence or presence of something. These TCs, inserted in direct or indirect interrogative structures, pose questions that expect an answer, a confirmation or a denial, to come in the context that follows.

(16) Speaker A:692 Should children be allowed to receive Holy Communion, discuss. <pause>
 693 What's a scriptural point.
 694 What's the scriptural?
 695 <-|-> Are you asking me? <-|->
 696 <-|-> If there if <-|-> there is a point <unclear> scripture.
 697 I don't know whether there is or there isn't.
 Speaker B: 698 Can I just say something?
 699 Yes.
 (FVB 692-699 sp. public/institutional).

First TC in this example (*If there if <-|-> there is a point <unclear> scripture*), introduced by *if*, is within an indirect question that the speaker puts forward with the aim of confirming exactly what information is required by the other participant. In the sense that it is used for indirectly asking about the existence of a given entity, and that it therefore expects an answer or clarification to be given in the ensuing context, TC FVB 696 is regarded here as prospective in its character.

3.4.1.4. The deduction of an idea from what has already been stated

Frequently introduced into the discourse with connectives such as *so*, *therefore*, *thus*, deductive TCs insert new elements of information that are presented as what the speaker is deducting or inferring from what has been said above. The degree of subjectiveness of these deductions may go from highly subjective to plainly objective. In the case of more objective deductions, it is frequently possible to find informational elements in the preceding context that serve as a firm basis for the statement or claim made in the TC.

As in the case of objections and corrections, the conjunction is not considered in isolation, as the element conveying the deductive (in this case) function; it is rather seen as an integrated part of the whole TC, and the deductive function is assigned to the whole TC.

(17) 237 In the old days when there was a possibility of <pause dur=2> of em ad hoc payments made er that sort of thing was taken care of, since the takeover of the company that hasn't happened to the same extent, so there's a very strong feeling with the older pay—er pensioners that they paid money into a pension scheme which now shows a surplus, but other people are benefiting from it.
 (K77 237 sp. public/institutional).

As seen (example (12) above), the claim made by the first TC in K77 237 provides an explanation or clarification of the previous prepositional phrase. It is in that sense, somehow retrospective, although at the same time, it is presenting new information that is developed or explained in what follows, which provides it with a prospective character. On the other hand, the second TC, introduced by *so*, makes a claim about the result (the existence of a very strong feeling) brought about by the things and events already mentioned. It is prospective also in the sense that the claim made is further explained in the following lines (*that they paid money into a pension scheme which now shows a surplus, but other people are benefiting from it*).

3.4.1.5. The statement of a personal opinion

Finally, another of the sub-categories that may be set up among those TCs with a prospective character is the statement of a personal valuation or appreciation of what has just been mentioned. With this kind of TCs, speakers/writers state their point of view, adopt an attitude or take up a position, often in a parenthetical construction. Sequences such as *I think...*, *for me...*, *personally...*, may be found before TCs with this communicative aim.

- (18) 0878 Yes there's a technique for, for raising it, isn't it?
Cathy 0879 I think there must be because I've seen it several times now and
just in, in, you know.
(F7C 878/879 sp. business).

F7C 879 is a case in which the TC is within the statement that expresses the personal opinion of the speaker about what has just been said. This function is reinforced by the verb introducing the TC (*I think there must be...*), which clearly marks the personal, subjective character of the claim made. The prospective character of the TC is also seen in the fact that the meaning it conveys finds further completion in the immediately following clause, introduced by *because*.

2.4.2. Retrospective Functions

For the TCs with a retrospective character, another set of five possible categories are initially proposed:

2.4.2.1. The formulation of a summary or conclusion

Some TCs may provide a summary or conclusion to close what has been said or stated before. These TCs have a somewhat closing character with respect to their preceding context. In these cases, the TC provides a kind of recapitulation or abridgement of

the contents present in the previous context, or a conclusive, terminative statement resulting from the consideration of such contents by the speaker/writer.

- (19) Don 404 Instead of <-|-> <nuclear> <-|->
Rod 405 <-|-> general skills <-|->
Don 406 alright, problem solving, <-|-> at last! <-|->
Rod 407 <-|-> So at <-|-> the moment we've got one, two, three, four, five six
408 There's only an extra <-|-> <nuclear> <-|->
Rod 409 <-|-> so seven <-|-> eight
Andrew 410 Fine.
Don 411 There's only an extra one there!
Don 412 One, two, <-|-> three, four, five, six, seven <-|->
Angela 413 <-|-> We could leave literacy, numeracy <-|-> no?
Don 414 there's only an extra one there.
(F7G 404-414 sp. educational/informative).

These three TCs are uttered by the same speaker and have an identical structure. However, they have different functions. The first of these TCs is initially introducing into the scene of discourse the existence of a unique *extra one*. In this sense, it is prospective and presentative or introductory. The other two TCs are retrospective in the sense that they point backwards (repeat) towards a statement already made, to which the other participants do not seem to be paying much attention. The second TC is, according to the categorisation proposed here, a reiteration or corroboration of the statement already made, while the third TC is another repetition but goes a bit further in the sense that it has a closing and somehow conclusive character.

3.4.2.2. The elaboration or explanation of an idea

This is another one of the possible functions that TCs with an initially retrospective function may have. In this sense, the TC under analysis provides a further explanation or development of an entity, idea, concept or statement that is present in the previous context. To a certain extent, the fact that the information they introduce is new might be an argument for considering these TCs as prospective. However, it is their necessary and clear connection with the (immediately) previous context what leads me to classify them as retrospective.

- (20) 176 The revenue is so desperate now because of this change in banks and building societies have left people not knowing what the situation is, and er there are millions, I'm, I'm not exaggerating there are twelve million, over two million pounds is being spent by the revenue on a new tax-back advert, sorry I did exaggerate, the idea is to remind about ten million people on all, on low income, that they could claim back tax which has been deducted from taxed savings.
(G4F 176 sp. public/institutional).

The first TC is a prototypical case of introductory, presentative clause with a prospective character. It is the following context that completes the information that the TC first introduces, specifying what is the composition of those *millions* (*ten million people on all, on low income, that...*). According to the classification I present here, the second TC is considered as retrospective, since it not only corroborates the existence of those millions by repeating the term, but also further elaborates or specifies the content of the first TC. In the first one, millions are mentioned but it is not specified how many of them. The second one completes the statement by providing an exact quantity (*there are twelve million*). Nevertheless, the fact that it is only after both TCs that their real notional subject is given (*ten million people...*) admittedly confers a certain prospective character also on the second TC.

3.4.2.3. The search for a confirmation

Some TCs, especially those within question tags (and also some other kinds of questions), introduce the speaker/writer's search for a verification or ratification of something already stated by means of a question tag or some other kind of question. The function of question tags is to look for a confirmation of the immediately preceding statement and therefore, in order to understand them, it is necessary to look at the preceding context. The fact that the notional subject is not expressed in these questions highlights the strong linkage existing between the immediately previous statement (necessarily another TC) and the TC in the question tag. Notice that in some cases, especially in spoken language, the question tag be quite distant from the TC it tries to confirm. However, this does not eliminate its retrospective character.

- (21) F7RPS000 0700 Either in <-|> principle <-|>
 PS000 0701 <-|> Am I right in <-|> saying then <pause> i— i— is the first thing we need to agree on whether we're gonna have a staff comment, and a pupil comment <pause> on there <pause> <-|> is that—, is that the first decision? <-|>
 F7RPS000 0702 <-|> I think everybody's in agreement <-|> about staff aren't they?
 PS000 0703 There's no question about staff comment on <-|> there? <-|>
 F7RPS001 0704 <-|> No. <-|>
 PS000 0705 Right, fine!
 0706 <-|> Right. <-|>
 (F7F 700-706 sp. educational/informative).

The first of the TCs makes a strong negative claim regarding the absence of questions or doubts about certain comments. It has a prospective character, and no element in it establishes a connection with the previous context. By uttering a question tag (incomplete in this particular case due to questions of disfluency), the

speaker looks for the addressee's agreement. Therefore, the second TC (as has been said, incomplete most probably because the speaker was interrupted by the other participant or by some other kind of interference) forms part of a question tag that retrospectively looks backwards into its immediate preceding context, in search of confirmation.

2.4.2.4. The statement of short answers

There are some cases in which the TC provides a short answer, or is embedded within a short answer to a previous question (either direct or indirect). This refers to those TCs that either confirm or deny some piece of information, rather than to those cases that could be considered as presentative, in which the TC would be presenting the existence of some new entity as an answer to a previous question. In these TCs giving short answers, the PVNP is often omitted, thus highlighting the strong connection existing between the TC and the previous context.

- (22) Speaker A:692 Should children be allowed to receive Holy Communion,
 discuss. <pause>
 693 What's a scriptural point.
 694 What's the scriptural?
 695 <-|> Are you asking me? <-|>
 696 <-|> If there if <-|> there is a point <unclear> scripture.
 697 I don't know whether there is or there isn't.
 Speaker B: 698 Can I just say something?
 699 Yes.
 (F7B 692-699 sp. public/institutional).
- In example (22), line 697 provides a short answer to the indirect question previously formulated (example (16) above). The PVNPs are omitted due to the closeness between the question (with an explicit PVNP) and this answer (with omitted PVNPs). F7B 967 is possible only if F7B 696 is provided, and that confirms its retrospective character.

2.4.2.5. The repetition and corroboration of an idea or statement

The last of the sub-categories here proposed for TCs with a retrospective character includes TCs that contain a repetition, reiteration or even corroboration of something already stated. Such TCs repeat or corroborate information already present in the previous context, either explicitly or implicitly. Lexical repetitions and parallel structures may be found in TCs with this function, as can be seen on line 411 below:

- (23) Don 404 Instead of <-|> <unclear> <-|>
 Rod 405 <-|> general skills <-|>
 Don 406 alright, problem solving, <-|> at last! <-|>

- Rod 407 <-|-> So at <-|-> the moment we've got one, two, three, four, five six
 408 There's only an extra <-|-> <unclear> <-|->
 Rod 409 <-|-> so seven <-|-> eight
 Andrew 410 Fine.
 Don 411 There's only an extra one there!
 Don 412 One, two, <-|-> three, four, five, six, seven <-|->
 Angela 413 <-|-> We could leave literacy, numeracy <-|-> no?
 Don 414 there's only an extra one there.
 (F7G 404-414 sp. educational/informative).

In this example, already analysed as (19) above, the same TC is repeated and its repetition brings about a slight change in its communicative role. While it has a more or less neutral introductory presentative character in 408, it becomes reiterative and corroborative in 411 and 414. In the case of 414, the reiterative character also acquires conclusive tones, as seen above.

4. Concluding remarks

Without dismissing any of the previous approaches to the question of the semantic and pragmatic meanings of TCs available in the literature, this paper has sought to provide an all-embracing classification of TCs from the communicative point of view. Taking as a basis notions already used in such previous studies (foregrounding/backgrounding, hearer-old/new, context-old/new), and considering two of the most basic and primary communicative roles, a wider range of possible functions have been recognised and labelled.

The two main pragmatic functions initially outlined are the prospective and the retrospective. The criterion for such a distinction was the consideration of whether the information given in the TC is supported, justified or further elaborated on in the previous context (retrospective) or in the following context (prospective).

Each of these two functions was further subdivided into a number of more specific roles that the TCs may perform. In the case of prospective TCs, I have proposed five possible labels for as many possible functions: introduction or presentation of an entity; correction of a statement or idea or presentation of a contrast; introduction of direct or indirect questions; presentation of a deduction or inference; statement of a personal appreciation or comment by the speaker/writer. For TCs with a retrospective function, which maintain a close relation with the previous context or point backwards towards it, another five possible functions have been mentioned: introduction of a summary or conclusion; elaboration or explanation of a given idea or entity; confirmation of something already stated by means of a question tag; introduction of a short answer to a previous question; presentation of corroborative or repetitive arguments.

All in all, it can be concluded that the common function of TCs is, in general terms, one of helping in the informational progress and development of the discourse. By first introducing pieces of *new* information into the text, TCs help the discourse to develop towards new areas and topics. The claims made in TCs that will be subsequently supported or developed in the following context open and enhance the text and its meaning, giving it new aspects and directions. Those TCs that make claims that find that justification or source in the preceding context bring summaries or closures to the texts.

5. Questions for further research

This exploratory study of the pragmatics of English existential TCs is far from being exhaustive. It is a part of a larger project concerned with the study of TCs in Present Day English, from the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic points of view. This large-scale analysis of the corpus aims to examine whether the variables of medium of expression and genre have any significant influence either on the frequency and distribution of TCs in PDE, or on their formal features, as well as on their pragmatic functions. The study and the classification that I have proposed here remain open to further analysis and study. Most specifically, it would be interesting to investigate the possible effects that the variable of medium of expression may have on the frequency and distribution of the communicative functions of TCs.

It seems to be the case that functions such as the search for confirmation or the reiterative one would be somewhat less frequent in writing than in speech (given the lower frequency of question-tags and repetition in planned writing).

Despite its preliminary character, I believe that the present proposal for a classification of TCs according to their pragmatic functions within their context, might be the basis for an effective methodology.

Notes

¹ This research has been funded by the Galician Ministry of Education (Secretaría Xeral de Investigación PGIDT00PX120407PR). This help is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor L. E. Breivik and Dr. I. Palacios, who read a previous version of this paper and provided valuable feedback and discussion of some of its ideas. This is not to say, however, that I am not responsible for the form and content of the paper as it appears here.

² Following Birner and Ward (1998), the term *construction* is here used in the sense of one of the various grammatical configurations of constituents within a particular language.

³ *Corpus-driven* (rather than *corpus-based*) implies that the study displays a bottom-up approach to TCs. It does not start from intuitions and then look for confirmation in testing the corpus (Aarts 1991), but rather, data come first and the corpus constitutes the major informant for the generalisations made (Stubbs 1993; Tognini-Bonelli 1993).

⁴ The alphanumeric code which appears after most of the examples cited in the paper refers to the text and the lines of the British National Corpus (hereafter BNC) from which the example has been taken. *Wt* stands for written, and *sp* stands for spoken. The rest of the information provided refers to the genre to which the example belongs. Thus, example (1) was drawn from the written text identified with the code CL0. The TC under analysis (with existential *there* marked up in bold characters) is included in the linguistic sequence numbered as 1195. Finally, the last label provided in brackets (*arts*) means that text CL0 shares a number of its main features with a group of other texts that the compilers of the BNC decided to label as *arts*, given their subject matter and contents.

⁵ Notice, however, the fuzzy boundaries of the concepts *semantics* and *pragmatics*. See for instance Crystal, 1997: 301; Wierzbicka, 1991: 19.

⁶ According to the *End-Weight principle*, also called *Heavier Element Principle*, heavier elements, containing new information, tend to come towards the end of the sentence or clause, whereas the elements containing given information (the topic) tend to come at first. In Downing and Locke's (1992: 237) words, "unmarked focus falls on the last item of the information unit". "The neutral position for information focus is therefore towards the end of the information unit" (1992: 244).

⁷ For further details on the relationship between grammatical constructions and semantic structures, see Wierzbicka (1988: 3ff).

⁸ As an attempt to account for this intuition that *given* information precedes new information, many scholars have proposed dichotomies such as theme/rheme, topic/comment, or focus/background. However, these attempts do not seem to have been successful in accounting for "a wide range of naturally occurring linguistic data in a rigorous and predictable way" (Birner and Ward 1998: 9).

⁹ "The sole function of the presentative in [...] is to introduce an entity into the file of discourse referents. [...] The pragmatic function of an entity introduced in a presentative construction, on the other hand, is specifically an introductory one" (Stewerska 1991: 162-163).

¹⁰ For an in-depth study of the *unmarked-before-marked principle*, see Sokkowiak (1993).

¹¹ From the 17th century, the existence of semantic primitives was promoted by scholars such as Pascal, Descartes, Arnauld or Leibniz. However, since the 1970s, the general enthusiasm for primes decreased for a number of reasons (see Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994). To this day, Anna Wierzbicka has been their most persistent promoter. Following Wierzbicka, primitives are here written in capital letters.

¹² In Wierzbicka (1996), *THESE IS/ARE* is included among the so-called *New Primitives*. This means that they have not been extensively tested, and cross-linguistic evidence is vital for deciding their future fate. It is for this reason that the concept of *existence* was not mentioned in previous approaches to semantic primes, such as Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994), for instance.

¹³ According to Wierzbicka, in English, "the clearest early realisation of this concept comes in the form of one-word utterances combining 'existence', with negation, such as 'allgone', and, at a later stage, with two-word combinations such as 'milk allgone'" (1996: 85).

¹⁴ Notice, however, that the notion of *existence* is not lexically encoded as a verb or a verbal phrase in all languages. There are some other possibilities, such as for instance, the Austronesian language *Tolai*, which expresses the concept of "existence" by means of the definite articles (see Wierzbicka 1996: 84-85).

¹⁵ For an in-depth study of the similarities found between Polish and English existential constructions, see Lipińska, 1973. Such commonality can be summarised in the fact that "both languages use the same verb (to be /być) as an indicator of existence and in the function of copula" (1973: 90). The noun designating the existent occurs in the nominative case, just like the subject of *Być* in copulative clauses:

Jest^{3rd sg. pres.} *chleb*^{nom.} *hour*^{nom.} *sp.* *dlu*^{prep.}
Chleba^{nom. acc.sg.} *bread* *for*

(There is bread for you).

Studentka^{nom.} *magdara*^{adj. nom. sg.} *jest*^{3rd sg. pres.}
bardzo^{adv.} *magdara*^{adj. nom. sg.} *is* *very*
Student^{nom.} *wise/clever*

(The student is very wise).

Są^{3rd pl. pres.} *duchy*^{nom. gen. pl.}
Are *ghosts/spirits*
(There are ghosts).

Chłopci^{nom.} *nom.* *pl* *są*^{3rd pl. pres.} *W*^{prep.}
Boys^{nom. loc. sg.} *are* *in* *park*
(The boys are in the park).

¹⁶ The BNC, internationally recognised as a reliable source of linguistic data (Biber *et al.* 1999: 27), contains a total of about 100 million words of Standard English (over 10 million words of spoken English and around 90 million words of written English).

¹⁷ The labels found in the BNC for these genres change depending on the medium of expression. In the written sample, nine different categories are distinguished (Imaginative, Arts, Belief and Thought, Commerce, Leisure, Natural Science, Applied Science, Social Science and World Affairs). In the spoken sample, by contrast, four categories are recognised (Educational and Informative, Business, Public and Institutional and Leisure).

¹⁸ Although in this paper no reference is made to the frequency of use of the different communicative functions of TCs, it is one of the aims of this classification to observe the frequency of the different functions both in speech and in writing.

¹⁹ See Daviše (1992b), among others, for a detailed account of these existential constructions without *there*.

²⁰ The label <pause dur-3> was here used by the compilers of the BNC so as to indicate the existence of a pause in the speech of the speaker, as well as its duration.

²¹ Labels such as <unclear> or <end of tapes> are used by the compilers of the BNC to signal that they were unable to transcribe a certain word or sequence, because the speaker did not clearly pronounce it, because they could not hear it properly (maybe due to some interference) or even because the tape ended before some word or statement had been recorded. The label <?>, also present in some of the examples given here, indicates some kind of interruption in the utterance. It is particularly frequent in dialogues, where speakers interrupt each other and their discourses overlap. All these labels occur in the spoken sample, rather than in the written one, where disfluency phenomena of this kind are less frequent, given the more planned character of writing.

Works cited

- AARTS, Jan. 1991. "Intuition-based and on a Corpus of Written Texts, by P. Erdmann Observation-based Grammars". In Altmier, Karin and Bengt Altenberg (eds.), *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik*. London and New York: Longman: 44-63.
- ABBOTT, Barbara. 1992. "Definiteness, Existentials, and the 'List' Interpretation". *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 40 (SALT II Proceedings from the Second Conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory): 1-16.
- . 1993. "A Pragmatic Account of the Definiteness Effect in Existential Sentences". *Journal of Pragmatics* 19: 39-55.
- . 1997. "Definiteness in Existentials". *Language* 73: 103-108.
- BAKER, Mona, GILLIAN Francis and Elena TOGNINI-BONELLI. (eds.). 1993. *Text And Technology. In Honour Of John Sinclair*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- BIBER, Douglas, S. JOHANSSON, G. LEECH, S. CONRAD and E. FINNIGAN. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- BIELEC, Dana. *Polish: An Essential Grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.
- . 1998. *Information Status and Noncanonical Word Order in English*. Studies in Language Companion Series 40. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- BOLINGER, Dwight. 1977. *Meaning and Form*. English Language Series 11. London: Longman.
- BREVIK, Leiv Egil. 1977. "A Note on the Genesis of Existential There". *English Studies*, 58: 334-348.
- . 1979. "Review Article on *The English Existential*, by Lyle Jenkins (1975) and *THERE Sentences in English: A Relational Study Based*". *Language* 66 (2): 297-316.
- BRUNER, Jerome. 1986. *The Culture of Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- BUTLER, Christopher. 1985. *Statistics in Linguistics*. Oxford: B. Blackwell LTD.
- CRYSAL, David. 1997. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. (4th edition). London: Blackwell Publishers.
- DAVIDSE, Kristin. 1992a. "A Semiotic Approach to Relational Clauses". *Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics* 6: 99-131.
- . 1992b. "Existential Constructions: A Systemic Perspective". *Louvense Bijdragen*, 81: 71-99.
- . 1997. "Cardinal versus Enumerative Existential Constructions" preprint n. 160. Leuven Belgium: Departement Linguïstiek, Bijde-Inkomstraat.
- DIK, Simon C. 1978. *Functional Grammar*. North-Holland Linguistic Series 37. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- . 1980. *Studies in Functional Grammar*. London: Academic Press.
- . 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar*. Part I. Ed. Kees Hengeveld. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- DOWNING, Angela and Philip Locke. 1992. *A University Course in English Grammar*. London: Prentice Hall.
- FOX, Barbara A. and Sandra A. THOMPSON. 1990. "A Discourse Explanation of the Grammar of Relative Clauses in English Conversation". *Language* 66 (2): 297-316.
- GEUJIKENS, Ronald. 1991. "Information Flow in English Conversation: A New Approach to the Given-New Distinction". In Ventola, Eija (ed.), *Functional and Systemic Linguistics*. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 55. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter: 141-167.
- GWON, Talmi. 1995. *Functionalism and Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- GODDARD, Cliff and Anna Wierzbicka. 1994. *Semantic and Lexical Universals*. Studies in Language Companion Series 25. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- HALUDAY, M. A. K. 1994 (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- HANNAVY, Michael. 1985. *English Existentials in Functional Grammar*. Dordrecht-Holland: Foris Publications.
- HOLMACK, Heather. 1984. "An Interpretative Solution to the Definiteness Effect Problem". *Linguistic Analysis* 13 (3): 195-215.
- HUDDLESTON, Rodney. 1971. *The Sentence in Written English*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.
- . 1988. *English Grammar: An Outline*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.
- JEPSENSEN, Otto. 1924. *The Philosophy of Language*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- LAKOFF, George. 1987. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago: Chicago U.P.
- LIPIKSKA-GRZEGOREK, Maria. 1973. "Existential Sentences in English and Polish". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 5 (1-2): 87-103.
- LYONS, John. 1967. "A Note on Possessive, Existential and Locative Sentences". *Foundations of Language. International Journal of Language and Philosophy* 3: 390-396.
- MILSARK, Gary. 1977. "Toward an Explanation of Certain Peculiarities of the Existential Construction in English". *Linguistic Analysis* 3 (1): 1-29.
- . 1979a. *Existential Sentences in English*. (Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in September, 1974). Indiana University Linguistics Club
- . 1979b. "The English Existential". By Lyle Jenkins. 1975. *Studies in Language* 3 (1): 99-108.
- . 1990. "Existential Sentences: Their Structure and Meaning". By Michael Lumsden. *Language* 66 (4): 850-853.
- PRICE, Ellen F. "Function of Existential Presupposition in Discourse". *CLS* 14: 362-376.
- QUIRK, Randolph, Sidney GREENBAUM, Geoffrey LEACH and Jan SVARTVIK. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London/New York: Longman.
- RANCO, Emily and Donna Jo NAPOLI. 1978. "Definiteness in There-sentences". *Language* 54: 301-313.
- RYBARKIEWICZ, Włodzimierz. 1977. "On the Nature of the Concepts 'Given' and 'New' in Linguistic Analysis" in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 9: 77-85.
- SIEWIERSKA, Anna. 1991. *Functional Grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.
- SOKBOWIAK, Włodzimierz. 1993. "Unmarked-before-marked as a Freezing Principle". *Language and Speech* 36 (4): 393-414.
- STUBBS, Michael. 1993. "British Traditions in Text Analysis - From Firth to Sinclair". In Baker, Mona et al. (eds.): 1-36.
- TOGNINI-BONELLI, Elena. 1993. "Interpretative Nodes in Discourse- Actual and Actually". In Baker, Mona et al. (eds.): 193-212.
- WARD, Gregory and Betty J. BIRNER. 1994. "English There-sentences and Information Status". *Proceedings of the Israeli Association of Theoretical Linguistics Ninth Annual Conference and Workshop on Discourse*.

- , 1995. "Definiteness and the English Existential". *Language* 71: 722-741. Oxford/New York: Oxford U.P.
- , 1997. "Response to Abbot". *Language* 73: 109-112. Zy, Yael. 1982a. "Another Look at Definites in Existentials". *Journal of Linguistics* 18: 73-88.
- , 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Studies in Language Companion Series 18. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- , 1991. *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics. The Semantics of Human Interaction*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

EXTENDED THEMATIC PROGRESSION

PABLO ORTEGA GIL
Universidad de Alicante

1. Thematic progression

A now traditional analysis of sentence, if understood as message, is that it carries out the basic task of conveying information, and for that reason it is said to be made up of a segment with known or old information and another one with new information. In English, and to a certain extent also in Spanish, there is a strong tendency for the old information to be located in the initial constituent of the sentence (which receives the name of "theme^e"), whereas the new information usually comes in the final segment (which receives the name of "rheme^e"). Therefore, if messages are the sum of a theme and a rheme, and texts are the sum and concatenation of several messages, it follows that the sequence of thematic and rhematic segments constitutes one of the pillars of textual organization. This statement is, in fact, an imprecise paraphrase of thematic progression, a concept employed to designate (Daněš 1974:115):

The choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter, etc) to the whole text, and to the situation. Thematic progression might be viewed as the skeleton of the plot.

Other definitions of thematic progression insist on the same elements (Enkvist 1974: 116; Fries 1983: 121,¹ Gatt 1982: 88,² Petőfi 1988: 87; Scinto 1986: 111

- , 1995. "Definiteness and the English Existential". *Language* 71: 722-741. Oxford/New York: Oxford U. P.
- , 1997. "Response to Abbot". *Language* 73: 109-112. ZW, Yael. 1982a. "Another Look at Definites in Existentials". *Journal of Linguistics* 18: 73-88.
- , 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar: Studies in Language Companion Series* 18. Existentials in English. *Linguistics* 20: 747-762. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- , 1991. *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

EXTENDED THEMATIC PROGRESSION

PABLO ORTEGA GIL
Universidad de Alicante

1. Thematic progression

A now traditional analysis of sentence, if understood as message, is that it carries out the basic task of conveying information, and for that reason it is said to be made up of a segment with known or old information and another one with new information. In English, and to a certain extent also in Spanish, there is a strong tendency for the old information to be located in the initial constituent of the sentence (which receives the name of "theme"), whereas the new information usually comes in the final segment (which receives the name of "rheme"). Therefore, if messages are the sum of a theme and a rheme, and texts are the sum and concatenation of several messages, it follows that the sequence of thematic and thematic segments constitutes one of the pillars of textual organization. This statement is, in fact, an imprecise paraphrase of thematic progression, a concept employed to designate (Daneš 1974:115):

The choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter, etc) to the whole text, and to the situation. Thematic progression might be viewed as the skeleton of the plot.

Other definitions of thematic progression insist on the same elements (Enkvist 1974: 116; Fries 1983: 121;¹ Glat 1982: 88;² Petöfi 1988: 87; Scinto 1986: 111

and 1983: 82).³ Halliday subscribes to that opinion too (1985: 227), stating that the success of a text does not lie in the grammatical correctness of its individual sentences, but in the multiple relations established among them.

The authors just quoted seem to agree that thematic progression reveals the connections among the different themes and rhemes in a passage. Traditionally, those connections are indicated with an arrow tying the related segments; however, the arrow is an empty symbol because it neither identifies that relation nor specifies its nature. As a consequence, the textual map we obtain through the use of arrows tends to be ineffect.

To overcome this disadvantage, in the present article I am proposing the concept of "extended thematic progression", which enriches Daneš's original idea through the identification and notation of the relations connecting different textual segments. To that end, I will make use of a notation system similar to the one proposed by Scinto (1983, 1986), whose main purpose is the graphic representation of the passage analysed through a limited number of abbreviations and symbols.

It is also important to point out that the latest textual models have tried to build an explanation of the dynamic nature of texts starting from the lexicogrammatical opposition between theme and rheme, and finding their correspondence at the discourse level (Downing 1996, Hasan and Fries 1995). These models are based on the cumulative effect of thematic and rhematic selection throughout a given fragment, and as Matthiessen says (1992: 39) are "often articulated in terms of an ideational metaphor involving (motion through) abstract space". For instance, starting from Fries' concepts (1983) of Method of Development and Point, Martin (1992: 443) has suggested that texts contain different layers of theme, each with its own discursive function, but all subject to a reciprocal solidarity.

2. Scinto's notation system

L. Scinto (1983) developed a notation system to explain the different patterns of thematic progression, which are: theme repetition (where several consecutive sentences share the same or similar theme), thematization of theme (where the theme of one sentence is the theme of the following), theme-to-theme transition (where several consecutive sentences share the same or a similar theme), and other complex patterns. The outstanding contribution of Scinto lies in his effort to provide thematic progression with some more depth, by means of a classification which distinguishes the following cases, all of them followed by their symbolic representation:

- a) The themes of two sentences are lexically identical: $T_2 (-T_1)$.
- b) The second theme is a pronominal substitution of the first: T_2 (pro. T_1).

- c) There is a partial identity between the two themes: T_2 (dom. T_1).
- d) One theme is a superordinate of the other: T_2 ($\in T_1$).
- e) The first theme has a general or indefinite reference whereas the second is a particular instantiation: $T_2 (+T_1)$.
- f) The second theme is the contrary or the opposite of the first: $T_2 (-T_1)$.
- g) The second theme is omitted: $T_2 (\emptyset T_1)$.
- h) The second theme partially reproduces the first, adding or suppressing some informative feature: $T_2 (=T_1)$.

Apart from the previous relations, which work between consecutive themes, Scinto also mentions (1983: 88) others "that may obtain in rheme to theme transitions", the most important of which are the following: one theme is derived from a previous rheme by implication, represented as T_2 (impl T_1). And one theme illustrates the previous segment, represented as T_2 (eg T_1).

As I said before, Scinto's system can be considered an advance with respect to traditional thematic progression in that it gives the original concept a depth which it lacked. My impression is, however, that his system could be extended in two ways. On the one hand, I consider that any textual segment can be related simultaneously to several others, independently of its being a theme or a rheme, so that what Scinto said before about consecutive themes also holds for rhemes and even for non-consecutive segments. Our personal experience as readers tells us that, in any text, relations are multifarious, spreading through it like a metaphorical cobweb linking one textual point to many others in more than one way.

On the other hand, I believe that his system should attach more importance to certain relations of indubitable value in discourse analysis. As an illustration of my point of view, I would cite, among others, ellipsis (because in Scinto's system there is no indication of where the omitted participant can be retrieved) or conjunctive adjuncts (simply not included).

3. Extended Thematic Progression

The symbols that make up the notation system show an arbitrary correspondence with a set of relations which I call extended thematic progression and which is the result of several additions to Daneš' concept. First, the four cohesive resources (Halliday and Hasan 1976) are brought in to explain the achievement of textual cohesion; these non-structural resources working above sentence level are reference, ellipsis and substitution, conjunction (or logic-semantic relation established between a sentence and that preceding or following it) and lexical cohesion (or link that two or more words establish with each other through a number of semantic relations). Secondly, semantic relations (Alcaraz 1982) are also

imported to refine and give better expression to lexical cohesion. The semantic relations included are identity, synonymy, antonymy, hyperonymy and implication. As these two sets of variables are already well known, the following points simply explain how they are formally represented.

4. Reference

Reference is the resource we use to keep track of a participant throughout a text. Generally, participants are explicitly mentioned at the beginning of a fragment so that they can be taken for granted later on, substituting the explicit mention by pronominal reference or demonstratives. The different mentions of a given participant construct a sequence that is usually called a reference chain; an attentive consideration of all or most of the reference chains in a randomly chosen fragment will soon show that those chains play a major role in providing it with a sense of wholeness or unity. It can therefore be said that reference is a semantic relationship. This will be illustrated with examples taken from the passage analysed at the end of the present article (Chatwin 1990: 170). Both the explicit and the dependent mention of the participant are underlined, the latter leaning anaphorically on the former. The two examples are followed by their corresponding notation, following these conventions: the abbreviation *pro* stands for pronoun, and *D* stands for demonstrative. The exact place where the explicit mention of the participant occurs will also be indicated. Finally a short explanation is provided to justify and explain the symbols used.

Example 1:

Also on board was the Prussian Junker, Von F. [...] He had fought for the Fascists in Spain.

$$\begin{array}{l} T_1 \quad \rightarrow \quad R_1 \\ T_2 \text{ (pro: attrib } R_1) \quad \rightarrow \quad R_2 \end{array}$$

The first theme (T_1 : *also on board*) takes us (\rightarrow) to the first rheme (R_1 : *was the Prussian Junker*), whose attribute reappears in the second theme (T_2) through a pronominal substitution (*He*), which is formalised thus (pro: attrib R_1), where *pro* stands for pronoun, *attrib* stands for attribute, and R_1 indicates the textual segment which contains the explicit mention of the substituted participant.

Example 2:

A percipitatory voice would [...] announce the events of the day. These began with a programme of gymnastics on the sun-deck.

$$\begin{array}{l} T_1 \quad \rightarrow \quad R_1 \\ T_2 \text{ (D:obj } R_1) \quad \rightarrow \quad R_2 \end{array}$$

The second theme (T_2 : *These*) is a demonstrative pronoun that substitutes for the object of the first rheme (R_1 : *the events of the day*), formalised as follows (D: obj R_1).

5. Ellipsis

The importance of reference as a sort of textual history has just been noted, and there is no need to insist on it. It may be worth paying particular attention, however, to the way it proceeds. It takes no great effort to discover that reference offers not only a tracking of participants but also considerable discursive economy since once a new participant has been introduced, it may later on be substituted or elided. The saving of communicative energy is a major objective of the informative structure of texts, an important feature of which is the "swing of the pendulum" that transforms new into old, and is in part managed through two resources: ellipsis and substitution. While substitution replaces the explicit mention of a participant with a pronoun or a demonstrative, ellipsis is the omission of such a participant thanks to the proximity of an explicit mention. If we want to achieve accuracy for our extended notation system, then it is essential to point out which part of the sentence has been omitted or substituted.

To that end, we'll make use of the symbol \emptyset followed by the omitted part. Sometimes, we find longer themes that, according to Halliday (1985), contain elements that mimic the three Metafunctions of language. The only indispensable element is the one for the ideational Metafunction (the one that describes and constitutes reality), but we can also find an element for the textual Metafunction (usually a conjunctive adjunct or a conjunction) or another for the interpersonal Metafunction (maybe a Comment adjunct or a Vocative adjunct, as in these examples taken from Eggins (1994: 280): *Fortunately, the bomb didn't explode or Stephen, do you want more soup?*). In example three, the ideational element of the theme is omitted and only the textual element of the theme remains. Such a case would be shown thus: text, \emptyset id. It is also important to indicate, as in reference, where the omitted element can be retrieved from. After this short explanation, we can now proceed to formally express the following examples:

Example 3:

Then there might be a lecture on the turbulent and revolutionary history of the Volga region. Or a visit to a riverside town. Or to one of the hydroelectric schemes that [...]

$$\begin{array}{l} T_1 \quad \rightarrow \quad R_1 \\ T_2 \text{ (text: } \emptyset \text{ id: } T_1) \quad \rightarrow \quad R_2 \text{ (}\emptyset \text{ verb: } R_1) \\ T_3 \text{ (text: } \emptyset \text{ id: } T_1) \quad \rightarrow \quad R_3 \text{ (}\emptyset \text{ verb: } R_1 - \emptyset \text{ obj: } R_2) \end{array}$$

The bracket following the second and third theme (text, Ø;id: T₁) shows that both themes only contain a textual element (*or*) because their ideational element (empty theme *there*) has been omitted. The abbreviation T₁ explains that the obligatory ideational element can be retrieved from the first theme. The second theme (R₂) contains another omission, this time of the verb (*might be*) which can be retrieved from the first theme (R₁). Finally, the third theme (R₃) shows not only the verbal omission just mentioned (*might be*), but also the ellipsis of the object (*a visit*), which can be retrieved from the second theme (R₂).

Example 4:
Our task was to research, record, film, and photograph the lions. But how to do it at night?

T₁ → R₁ [(T₁ A R₁) (T₁ → R₁) (T₁ → R₁)]
T₂ → R₂ [(sust R₂) (sust R₂) (sust R₂)]

The very long formulation for the two rhemes in example four can be explained thus. The first rheme includes a series of final sentences linked together by the conjunction *and*, all of them sharing the same object (*the lions*). The above analysis has understood that each of the infinitives is a subordinate clause whose subject is always *our task*. To distinguish between main themes or rhemes, and secondary themes or rhemes (those of messages of a lower rank), we employ letters instead of numbers with the latter. Therefore, The abbreviations R_s stands for *to research*, R_r for *to record*, R_f for *to film*; and R_p for *to photograph*. In the second sentence, we find that the sequence of final clauses has been substituted by the pronoun *it* following the verb *do*, which is represented by using the abbreviation *sust* before each of the secondary rhemes.

Example 5:
A new wave of conservation must be let loose. One that recognizes we cannot protect lands merely by setting them aside.

T₁ → R₁
T₂ (sust id: T₁) A R₂

The only remarkable aspect in example five is the second theme where the ideational element of the first theme (*a new wave of conservation*) is substituted by *one*.

6. Conjunction

In well planned texts it is not only easy to understand and retrieve all the omitted or substituted participants, but it is also simple to follow the advance of the logical propositions contained in their sentences. To better appreciate this idea, we will

now try to imagine a tailor making a suit: first he takes some measurements, then he cuts the fabric in pieces according to the measurements, and finally he sews the different pieces together following a pattern; in this way, the individual pieces become an orderly set thanks to the seams and the pattern. Likewise, a text contains a given number of logical propositions, or content, which, in terms of the previous metaphor, are sewn into the whole according to a previous plan or pattern. The seams linking the different logical propositions receive the name of "conjunction". They may connect several sentences or paragraphs through a relationship of meaning. The connection can be carried out explicitly, making use of conjunctive adjuncts (that is, words such as *then*, *for this reason*, *on the other hand*, etc.), or implicitly, in which case the addressee must guess what sort of relation is linking the two textual segments.

Arguing along the same lines, Elisabeth Rudolph (Petőfi 1988: 97) attaches great importance to explicit connection, claiming that conjunctions (or conjunctive adjuncts) enormously simplify the decoding task of the addressee because they reveal the sentence relationship that the addresser had in mind. Equally, Jones (1977: 215) underlines the discursive value of conjunctions, comparing them to road signs which help us to anticipate where the relevant information is.

In order to clarify the way this cohesive resource works, Halliday (1985: 306-307) gives a long list of conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts. Sometimes, they overtly express the relationship between two consecutive sentences, and then we say that they are explicitly connected. However, it is not unusual to find two consecutive textual units without any formal connection; this, as just been said poses an additional difficulty for the addressee.

By way of summary, then, conjunctions or conjunctive adjuncts usually express one of the following discursive meanings: co-ordination (copulative, adversative or distributive) or adverbial subordination (condition, finality, concession, etc.); categories which find expression in our notation system through the following labels, loosely based on the classification proposed by Halliday (1985: 309).

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| ad: addition | caus: finality | cond: condition | dist: distribution |
| conc: concession | temp: time | op: opposition | |

Given that, in thematic analysis, the conjunction or the conjunctive adjunct usually carry out the textual Metafunction, then the relation between two sentences can be formalised thus:

Example 6:
Others had been pilots whose planes had failed to crash. Then there were the war widows [...].

T₁ → R₁ [(T₁ (obj: R₁) A R₁)]
T₂ (text: temp) → R₂

The first theme in example six (R_1 : *had been pilots whose planes had failed to crash*) includes a subordinate clause (*whose planes [...]*) whose theme (T_1) is a relative pronoun (*whose*) that finds its antecedent in the object of the first theme (*pilots*), information which is represented thus: [T_1 (obj): R_1] $\bar{A} R_1$]. The second theme includes a textual element (*then*) and an ideational one (empty theme *there*). The textual element is a discursive adjunct which shows a temporal relation, represented as T_2 (text: temp).

7. Lexical cohesion

In the preceding points, we have mentioned several cohesive resources: reference, ellipsis, substitution and conjunction. The last resource, lexical cohesion, has a semantic nature and comes into being cumulatively in virtue of the predominant words in a given text. If you read a fragment about nuclear energy, it is highly probable that it will be organised around a limited set of words whose mission is to establish the referential domain: maybe *power station*, *uranium*, *pollution*, *safety*, *civil opposition*, etc. These words can be grouped, according to the similarity of their meaning, into one or several chains sometimes called isotopical networks. A given word belongs to this chain if it shares with the rest of the words within the chain one or several aspects of its meaning (*senses*).

Any native speaker of a language has a perception of the similarity linking the words of a chain, for instance, that there is some sort of connection between *flower* and *rose*; or, going back to the previous example, between *power station* and *uranium*. But it is not enough to perceive the relation, it is also essential to identify it.

In this respect, Halliday (1985: 310) suggests the following repertory: repetition, synonymy, and collocation. In his classification, synonymy includes hyponymy, or the relationship between a specific concept and the general class which contains it. It also includes meronymy, or relationship between a part and the whole. Finally, collocation is a sort of implication.

The lexical backbone that structures the semantics of a given text can be explained in many other ways, as in Hasan (1984), for example. There she claims that any text contains a number of cohesive ties among its lexical units, ties which organise themselves in two different kinds of cohesive chains: identity chains (based on co-reference) and similarity chains (based on co-classification and co-extension). The lexical units that fit in those chains are called relevant, and those that do not fit are called peripheral. In these terms, it follows, then, that the fewer peripheral lexical units there are, the more coherent a text is, which is the same as saying that the semantic chains within any text must tend to establish unequivocally a specific referential domain. In the same line, Hazadiah (1993: 65) maintains "that groups

of words with shared environments can be built up, and the most pervasive groups can be selected as those most likely to express the aboutness of a text".

Both approaches are useful and can successfully clarify the semantics of any text. However, I would like to offer a classification which is based on that of Alcaraz (1982: 103-124), for whom there are five types of semantic relations: identity, synonymy, antonymy, hyperonymy and implication. A short description of each of them is given in the following paragraphs.

Identity, the complete or partial repetition of a lexical unit, is represented by the symbol (=). Synonymy, or relationship of partial identity, is represented by the abbreviation *sin* followed by the abbreviation for the segment where the other term of the relation can be found. Antonymy occurs when two lexical items are related in such a way that the negation of the first is the affirmation of the second, although in fact such clear cut oppositions are rarely found. It will be represented with the abbreviation *ant* followed by the abbreviation for the segment where the other term of the relation can be found. Hyperonymy is the relation holding between, for example, *flower* and *rose*, where the first lexical unit designates a general class and the second is a specific example of that class. Obviously, the relation works both ways: as above, from the word with the extensive meaning to the one with the intensive meaning; or the other way round, from the one with the intensive meaning to the one with the extensive meaning. In this second case, it receives the name of hyponymy. These relations will be noted down in our system as *hyper* (hyperonymy) and *hypo* (hyponymy).

Implication is, according to Alcaraz (1982: 121), the relation established when a lexical unit shares part of its meaning with another. Coherent texts contain many examples of implication because their lexical units do not always enter into such clear cut relations as synonymy, antonymy or hyperonymy. It will be represented with the abbreviation *impl*.

But the abundance of implication in discourse deserves, in my opinion, better consideration. After paying detailed attention to several examples of implication, I became convinced that some of them had a metaphorical or metonymic character. I decided to take advantage of these and other figures of speech, and in the following section I defend a subclassification of implication, where metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and simile are recognised as independent relations.

8. Concerning implication

When it came to testing the expanded notation system that I am here proposing, I realised that in many of the formalised examples implication was the most frequent relation. Sometimes, it had a vague nature, very difficult to pinpoint, but there were also many cases where it had an evidently metaphorical character. Therefore, I thought that the figures of speech might help to subdivide the

enormous semantic area given to implication, as it was clear to me that many lexical units entered into relation through metaphor, metonymy or synecdoche. I am perfectly conscious that, in doing so, I am not breaking new ground because the figures of speech have already been used to explain, among many other things, semantic change or the acquisition of language by children. However, I believe that we can still derive many useful insights from their study. In the following paragraphs, I follow the classification and definitions proposed by Le Guern (1980), who understands metonymy as: 1) cause substituting for effect; 2) effect substituting for cause; 3) content substituting for agent; 4) sign substituting for referent; 5) instrument substituting for agent; 6) abstract noun substituting for concrete noun; and finally, 7) some parts of the human body considered as the recipient of passions and feelings substituting for those passions or feelings. Example seven (*National Geographic*, October 1994) contains a metonymy where the effect (*a booming fanfare*) precedes the cause (*a giant music speaker*).

Example 7:

Suddenly a booming fanfare vibrated the clear blue sky. It seemed to come from the wooded shore. I squinted through binoculars at a black structure in the trees. It was a giant music speaker!

Within synecdoche, Le Guern recognises (1980: 34-40) the following substitutions: 1) a part for the whole; 2) the whole for a part; 3) the species for the genus; 4) the abstract for the concrete; and finally, 5) antonomasia, which is understood as a kind of synecdoche. Example eight (*National Geographic*, October 1994) contains a synecdoche where the part (*its graying planks*) stands for the whole (*the Wilcox*):

Example 8:

Below the lighthouse Luc showed me through one of the half dozen wrecks that curse Anticosti's shores, the Wilcox [...]. Pitched onto the white stone beach by a sudden storm in 1954, its graying planks still defy the elements.

Lodge (1977: 75) suggests, following Jakobson, that although metaphor is based on a certain similarity, to achieve its intended effect it depends on the perception of difference. Some examples follow (*National Geographic*, 1994):

Example 9:

Turnpike for freighters [...] the river continues to flow through calm and storm.

Example 10:

Sanctuaries of calm. Monuments to beauty. Touchstones of a once wild continent. America's parklands remain one of the nation's most farsighted ideas, but they are ailing.

Smilie is another figure that frequently appears in texts, as can be inferred from the following examples taken from *National Geographic*:

Example 11:

The snow-covered mountains of three nations surrounded us like backpacks for a good-size opera set.

Example 12:

When, like a merchant taking a list of his goods, we take stock of our wildness, we are glad to see how much of even the most destructible kind is still unspoiled.

Summarising the previous explanations, it can be said that Scinto's classification, initially taken as a starting point, was modified to make room for the four cohesive resources (Halliday and Hasan 1976) and the semantic relationships (Alcaraz 1982). Following Enkvist's advice (1974: 131),⁴ there is a conscious effort to simplify and reduce the symbols of the expanded system, avoiding some unnecessarily opaque symbols, such as the following: *dom* for partial identity, here replaced either by synonymy (syn) or identity (=); *e* for superordinate, here replaced by hyperonymy (hyper); \equiv for partial reproduction, here replaced by identity (=); or, finally, \sim for antonymy, which is replaced by the abbreviation ant. But the tendency to simplify must be balanced by the obligation to be exhaustive. In the end, the abbreviations and symbols that will be used in the extended notation system are as follows:

Catalogue of symbols and abbreviations

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| ad : additive | adv: adverbative | ant: antonymy | attrib: attribute |
| D: demonstrative | dist: distributive | eg: illustration | emb: embedded |
| hyper: hyperonymy | hypo: hyponymy | id: ideational | impl: implication |
| inter: interpersonal | metny: metonymy | metph: metaphor | obj: object |
| pro: pronoun | sin: synonymy | sin: synecdoche | temp: temporal |
| text: textual | verb: verb | = : identity | \emptyset : ellipsis |
| $T_x(+T_y)$: where T_x has a general meaning and T_y is an example from that class. | | | |

9. Application of the extended notation system

For the application of the system, I have chosen the initial paragraph of *The Volgas*, a story by Bruce Chatwin (1990: 170) included in his book *What am I doing here?* The paragraph has been divided into units or messages according to the

specifications given above. Each of these units is accompanied by its corresponding notation and a short explanation of it.

On the MV Maxim Gorky, a cruise boat belonging to Intourist, I spent ten September days sailing smoothly down the Volga; through the Volga-Don Canal, and on down the Don to Rostov.

$T_1 [T_a(+T_1) \mathcal{E} R_1] \rightarrow R_1 [(T_b \rightarrow R_b) (\text{Oid}:T_b - \text{Overb}:R_b - \text{Obj}:R_b - \text{Oem}:R_b \rightarrow R_b)]$ (text: ad, Oid: T_b , O verb: $R_b - \text{Obj}:R_b - \text{Oem}:R_b \mathcal{E} R_b$..)]

The theme of this first unit (T_1), which includes an apposition (T_a), extends as far as the comma preceding the pronoun *I*. The abbreviation T_1 designates the whole thematic segment (*On the MV [...] to Intourist*) and the abbreviation T_a designates the apposition (*a cruise boat [...] to Intourist*), an absolute sentence whose analysis appears between square brackets: $[T_a(+T_1) \rightarrow R_a]$. In this apposition, as in the rest of secondary themes or rhemes, the subindexes are not cardinal numbers but small letters. Its theme is a common noun with a generic character (*a cruise boat*), while a few words before, the first theme, (T_1) contains a proper name (*Maxim Gorky*) belonging to the class designated by T_a . This is a relation which Scinto notes down as $T_a(+T_1)$. The non finite verbal form in the apposition and its object constitute what has been referred as R_a .

We can observe from the notation that the first theme (R_1) is very complex, extending from *I spent* until *down the Don to Rostov*. Because of its length, I have understood that it consists of three sentences. The first (*I spent ten September days [...] the Volga*) is expressed thus ($T_b \rightarrow R_b$). The second (*through the Volga-Don Canal*) shows, in my opinion, several ellipses: one for the ideational element T_b (I , transcribed as Oid: T_b), another for the verb (*spent*, represented as Overb: R_b), another for the object (ten September days, represented as Obj: R_b) and a final one for the embedded sentence (*sailing smoothly*, represented as Oem: R_b). Consequently, the sequence *I spent ten September days sailing smoothly* has been omitted, and only a part of the rheme remains (*through the Volga-Don Canal*), here designated as R_b .

And, finally, the third segment of the first theme contains the same ellipses as the second and, in consequence, there only remains the final segment of its rheme (R_b): *on down the Don to Rostov*. It must also be added that, although the ideational part of its theme was omitted (Oid: T_b), we can still find its textual part (*and*), which shows a structural element of additive character represented as (text: ad).

The days were clear

$T_2 (= \text{obj } R_b) \rightarrow R_2$

Extended thematic progression

The second sentence has a simple structure whose theme (T_2) is a repetition of the object in R_b (*ten September days*), formalised as (=obj R_b). Halliday claims (1994: 331) that "for a lexical item to be recognised as repeated it need not be in the same morphological shape", and in the present case it is evident that the *clear days* are the same as the *September days*. On the other hand, I consider that this unit and the following one are linked by a paratactic relation and therefore enjoy the same rank. That is why they are given separate explanations.

and the nights were cold.

T_3 (text: ad, id, ant T_2) $\rightarrow R_3$

The third theme (T_3) consists of an additive textual element (*and*) and of an ideational element which is the antonym of the second theme (*the nights*), represented thus: T_3 (ant: T_2).

All the other passengers were German.

T_4 (impl: $T_1 - T_2$) $\rightarrow R_4$

The theme of the fourth unit (*all the other passengers*) clearly holds a relationship of implication with T_1 (*Maxim Gorky*) and T_2 (*cruise boat*), as the *passengers* travel in a *cruise boat* named *Maxim Gorky*.

Some had been Panzer officers who had wasted their youth in Siberian labour camps.

T_5 (pro: T_4) $\rightarrow R_5$ (impl: R_4) [T_c (pro: obj R_5) $\rightarrow R_c$ (since: R_b ..)]

The fifth unit (*some*) is a partial pronominal substitution of the previous theme (T_4 : *all the other passengers*). Concerning the rheme, there is implication between its object (*Panzer officers*) and the object in the fourth rheme (obj R_4 : *German*). Moreover, there is also a relative sentence (*who had wasted [...] labour camps*) whose notation appears between square brackets. Its theme (T_c) is a relative pronoun (*who*) that finds its antecedent in the object of the fifth rheme (obj R_5 : *Panzer officers*), formalised as T_c (pro: obj R_5). On the other hand, its rheme contains a place adjunct (*in Siberian labour camps*) that, in my opinion, is a synecdoche of R_b (*the Second World War*). I understand that here the part stands for the whole as, in fact, the youth of those soldiers was wasted by the whole Second World War, and not only by one of its unfortunate consequences (the Siberian labour camps).

and were revisiting the scene of last battles.

T_6 (text: ad, Oid: T_5) $\rightarrow R_6$ (impl: R_5 - since: R_b ..)

The theme in the sixth unit is reduced to the additive textual element (*and*) because the ideational element has been omitted and can be retrieved in the

previous theme (Øid: T₃). In the rheme there is an object (the scenes of last battles) which is related through implication to R₆ (had wasted their youth in Siberian labour camps); but it is also a synecdoche of R_p (the Second World War), because the lost battles are only a part of the whole war.

Others had been pilots whose planes had failed to crash.

T₇ (pro: T₄) → R₇ (impl: R₅) [T_d (pro: obj) R₇] → R₄]

Here the theme is a pronoun (others) which partially substitutes for T₄ (all the other passengers). Part of the rheme is related through implication with R₅ ([...] Panzer officers [...] Siberian labour camps). It also includes a relative sentence (whose planes [...] to crash), analysed between square brackets [T_d (pro: obj) R₇] → R₄], where its theme (T_d: whose) is a relative pronoun which finds its antecedent in the object of the seventh rheme (obj) R₇: pilots)

Then there were the war widows — moist-eyed women clinging to the remains of prettiness who forty-one years earlier had waved and waved as the trains drew out for the Russian front—

T₈ (text: temp) → R₈ (impl: R₆) [T_e (eg: arth) R₈] → R₆]

[T_r (pro: arth) R₈] → R₁ (T_r → R₁, impl: R₅-R₆ - since: R₅,))]]

In my opinion, the textual element in T₈ (them) expresses a temporal sequence in the logical order of the narrated events; that is why it is represented as (text: temp). The rheme of the eighth unit (R₈) is very complex: on the one hand, there is an implication between part of it (war widows) and part of R₆ (last battles); on the other, after what might be considered to be the rheme proper (were the war widows), following Firbas' terminology (1992: 71), there comes a long apposition with units of a lower rank. The first of them (moist-eyed women clinging to the remains of prettiness) is a sort of explanation or illustration of the attribute in R₈ (war widows). This relation has been expressed, as in Scintor's system, T_e (eg: arth) R₈). Immediately after comes a relative sentence (who forty one years [...] for the Russian front) whose theme (T_r) is a relative pronoun substituting for war widows. That relative clause contains, in turn, an adverbial clause (as the trains drew out for the Russian front) included in R₆ and represented between brackets as (T_r: AE R₆, (impl: R₅-R₆ - since: R_p)). Its rheme (R_r: [...]) for the Russian front) is related through implication to R₅ ([...] Panzer officers [...]) Siberian labour camps) and part of R₆ (last battles). Moreover, I believe that Russian front is a synecdoche of R_p (the Second World War).

and who now, when you asked why they had come to the Volga, would bow their heads and say, 'Mein Mann ist tot in Stalingrad'.

T₉ (text: ad, id: pro) R₉ → R₉ [T_e → R₈ (T_e: pro: R₈) → R₆ (=R₆)]]

[T_r (text: ad, Øid: R₈) → R_n (impl: R₈)]]

The last sentence in the first paragraph shows a theme with an additive textual element (and) followed by an ideational element (relative pronoun who) whose antecedent can be retrieved in the attribute of R₈ (war widows). Its rheme begins with an adverb (now) which is followed by an apposition containing two subordinate clauses, respectively expressing time and cause. The time clause (when you asked) is superior in rank to the cause clause (why they had come to the Volga), and that is the reason why the latter is shown, in smaller type, as part of the former's rheme. Moreover, the cause clause contains a pronoun (they) that substitutes for the attribute in R₈ (war widows), whereas its rheme (R_r) repeats a lexical unit of R₆ (the Volga), and the identity of the two is expressed as R_r (= R₆). After the apposition is what can be called the rheme proper (R_p: would bow their heads), which is in turn followed by a co-ordinate sentence (and say 'Mein Mann ist tot in Stalingrad') with a sentence in German related through implication to R₆ (last battles).

10. Conclusion

Following Halliday's advice (1985: xvii),⁵ the approach defended here has an undoubtedly semantic character because its final purpose does not lie in presenting a beautiful formal system, but in adequately expressing the resources that construe and guarantee the global meaning of a text. To that end, I designed and applied a notation system that reveals some of the links working in coherent texts and whose main advantage is to provide us with a general vision of a text's inner structure. In consequence, it allows us to make generalisations and risk hypotheses, some of which are advanced in the following paragraphs.

The symbols and abbreviations of the extended notation system mentioned above were used to formalise and explain, by way of example, the initial paragraph of a story by Bruce Chatwin (1990: 170). I felt I had to check my first impressions, so I continued the analysis throughout the first five paragraphs of this story, because precisely at that point there begins a long digression where the isotopical networks are temporarily substituted by others. The first outstanding fact I noticed is that almost a third of the main themes (twelve out of thirty nine) are pronouns (eight) or ellipses (four), a proportion that is multiplied in minor themes, seventy per cent of which (twenty four out of thirty four) are pronouns (ten) or ellipses (fourteen). These figures prove that on most occasions the theme carries given information and the rheme new information. That may be the explanation for such a strong anaphoric tendency in themes, because all the pronouns and ellipses functioning as theme or point of departure depend necessarily on a previous explicit mention of the participant.

In addition to carrying the new information, the theme is usually the longest segment of the sentence. Consequently, it is natural that some part of it may point ahead in discourse, anticipating what is to come. Likewise, because of its length, the isotopical networks go down mostly through the rhemes of the sentences composing a given text.

On the other hand, there is a substantial coincidence between what has just been said about the abundance of pronouns in thematic position and the research of Gernsbacher and Hargreaves (1992)⁶ on what they call "first mention advantage". They established through some experiments that the initial element in a sequence usually enjoys a great informative relevance because the rest of the communication is most commonly dependent on it. The addressee tends to understand this first element as the message's cognitive foundation, and that's why the comprehension of the first element in a sentence or the first sentence in a text demands longer processing time than any other. Therefore, if the first constituent requires a greater effort of comprehension, then it can be understood why speakers tend to take the greatest possible advantage of the participants first mentioned, which are structurally revealed through pronominal substitution and ellipsis.

Concerning iconicity (that is, the tendency to present events as they happened in reality), there is a marked psychological need to establish the time when and/or place where the narrated events happened. Such a segment of the sentence is usually referred to as setting, and according to Giora (1983: 160),⁷ its importance can be explained through the proposals made by Gestalt psychology on the perception process; that is, that the figure (or what we have in the foreground) cannot be perceived without the base (or background). Giora's experiments have proved that setting is a necessary condition for textual processing and is one of the better remembered categories among addressees. In this respect, Fries (1983: 125) remarks that in the description of complex objects or of scenes, the sentences usually begin with place adjuncts, and Hetzron (1975: 358) adds that this presentational construction is used to introduce the addressee to the scene that is going to be described.

Paragraphs opening with setting are very frequent in descriptive texts, as any reader of *National Geographic* can attest: articles in that magazine tend to begin with a marked theme realized by a place or time adjunct. A glance at the main themes in the fragment analysed will show that only seven of its thirty-nine themes are settings, which at first sight may seem of little importance. This first impression will soon be corrected when it is realized that four of the five paragraphs analysed begin with a setting, a fact that clearly establishes its enormous cognitive importance.

Finally, I want to evaluate the subclassification of implication defended here and described in a customary way, the object, it is hoped, of more extensive study in the future. The figures of speech seem to be a good starting point for the

proposed subclassification, but they occur very rarely in the chosen fragment (a couple of synecdoches and metaphors). Curiously enough, I have discovered a great abundance of them in journalistic texts, both written or spoken, a fact that I attribute to several factors: the urgency to get the reader's or listener's attention, the taste for novelty so widespread among journalists, and —when a given novelty appeals— its tendency to become fossilised into a commonplace.

I have just said that the figures of speech were rarely used by Chatwin, but I found some other relations that were frequent, such as that between a participant (for instance *the Prussian Junker Von F.*) and what is predicated about him (*His fate, his views, etc.*) This relation (also linking in later paragraphs *The Maxim Gorky, a cruise boat* and its parts) is here understood as an implication, but perhaps it should be classified differently in order to reserve the term implication for examples of a less neat nature.

Notes

1. "Thematic progression correlates with the structure of a text".
2. "Thematic progression is the principle that old information ought to precede new information in sentences".
3. "A measure of the degree of complexity as given by the thematic progression of a text as it unfolds in the very act of communication in order to accomplish a particular communicative goal, and is realised by the simultaneous instantiation of appropriate syntactic, semantic and pragmatic linguistic means of the discourse system through their integration at the highest level of discourse organization in the thematic progression of text".
4. "Clauses and sentences may be interwoven with most intricate patterns of warp and woof. Tracing different types of topical links through a text by joining them with lines, coloured differently for different types of linkage, will result in pretty but confusing pictures. Numerical coding for computerized treatment may be an avenue
5. "In order to provide insights into the meaning and effectiveness of a text, discourse grammar needs to be functional and semantic in its orientation, with the grammatical categories explained as the realization of semantic patterns. Otherwise, it will face inwards rather than outwards, characterizing the text in explicit formal terms but providing no basis on which to relate it to the non-linguistic universe of its situational and cultural environment".
6. Both authors have empirically proved the existence of two advantages related to precedence. On the one hand, the first mention advantage claims that in sentences with two participants, the one mentioned first is more easily remembered because it is the cognitive foundation of the structure that is going to be developed. On the other, the immediacy advantage states that in sentences made up of several clauses, the addressee constructs a substructure for

each of them. Thus, the information represented in the substructure that is being developed is more accessible than the rest because of its immediacy. However, at a given moment, the first clause recovers its relevance and becomes more accessible than the rest thanks to its condition of cognitive foundation for the whole sentence structure. There is a distinction, in consequence, between an imminent memory and a long term memory, responsible for the retrieving of the discursive topic.

Works cited

- ALCARAZ, Enrique. 1982. *Semántica de la novela inglesa*. Alicante: Publicaciones de Caja de Ahorros Provincial.
- CHATWIN, Bruce. 1990. *What Am I Doing Here?* London: Picador.
- DANEŠ, František. (ed.) 1974. *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*. The Hague: Mouton.
- DOWNING, Angela. 1996. "Thematic Progression as a Functional Resource in Analyzing Rexts". In Canela Cabrera, M.T. y Pérez Guerra (eds.), *Os estudios ingleses no contexto das novas tendencias*. Vigo: Universidad de Vigo: 23-41.
- EAGINS, Suzanne. 1994. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Pinter.
- ENKVIST, Nils Erik. 1974. "Theme Dynamics and Style: An Experiment". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 5: 127-135.
- FIRBAS, Jan. 1992. *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FRIES, Peter H. 1963. "On the Status of Theme in English: Arguments from Discourse". In Petöfi, J. S. and E. Sozer. (eds.): 116-152.
- GENESEBACHER, Morton Ann and David HARGREAVES. 1992. "The Privilege of Primacy". In Payne, D.L. (ed.), *Pragmatics of Word Order and Flexibility*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 83-116.
- GIORA, Rachel. 1983. "Functional Paragraph Perspective". In Petöfi, J. S. and E. Sozer. (eds.): 153-182.
- GLATT, Barbara S. 1982. "Defining Thematic Progressions and Their Relationship to Reader Comprehension". In Nystrand, M. (ed.), *What Writers Know: The Language, Process, and Structure of Written Discourse*. New York: Academic: 87-103.
- HALLIDAY, Michael A. K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- and Rugaia Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- HASAN, Rugaia. 1984. "Coherence and Cohesive Harmony". In Flood, J. (ed.), *Understanding Reading Comprehension: Cognition, Language and The Structure of Prose*. Newark: International Reading Association: 181-219.
- HASAN, Rugaia and Peter Fries. 1995. *On Subject and Theme*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- HAZADAH, M.D. 1993. "Topic as a Dynamic Element in Spoken Discourse". In Baker et al. (eds.) *Text and Technology*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 55-72.
- HERTZON, Robert. 1975. "The Presentative Movement or Why the Ideal Word Order is V.S.O.P.". In Li, Charles N. *Word Order and Word Order Change*. Austin: University of Texas Press: 347-389.
- JONES, Linda. 1977. *Theme in English Expository Discourse*. Lake Bluff, Illinois: Jupiter Press.
- LE GUERN, Michel. 1980. *La metáfora y la metonimia*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- LODGE, D. 1977. "Metaphor and Metonymy". In *The Modes of Writing*. London: Arnold: 73-124.
- MARTIN, James R. 1992. *English Text: System and Structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- MATTHIESSEN, Christian M.I. M. 1992. "Interpreting the Textual Metafunction". In Davies, M. and L. Ravelli (eds.) *Advances in Systemic Linguistics*. London: Pinter: 37-81.
- PETÖFI, Janos (ed.). 1988. *Text and Discourse Constitution*. Berlin: Gruyter.
- PETÖFI, Janos S and E. Sozer. (eds.). 1983. *Element in Spoken Discourse*. In Baker et al. (eds.) *Text and Technology*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 55-72.
- REINHART, Tanya. 1981. "Pragmatics and Linguistics: An Analysis of Sentence Topics". *Philosophica* 27/1: 53-94.
- SCINTO, Leonard F.M. 1983. "Functional Connectivity and the Communicative Structure of Text". In Petöfi, J.S. and E. Sozer. (eds.): 73-115.
- 1986. *Written Language and Psychological Development*. New York: Academic Press.

RESOURCE MATERIALS

- Examples 1, 2, 3, 6 taken from Chatwin (1990: 170-171)
- Example 4 taken from "Lions of Darkness", *National Geographic* (August 1994): 35-53.
- Examples 5, 10, 11 and 12 taken from "Our National Parks", *National Geographic* (October 1994): 2-55.
- Examples 7, 8 and 9 taken from "St. Lawrence River", *National Geographic* (October 1994): 104-125.

THE DIRECTIVE-COMMISSIVE CONTINUUM¹

LORENA PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ
University of La Rioja

1. Introduction

Speech acts like *threats*, *invitations* and *offers* were originally assigned either to the directive (threats, invitations) or the commissive (offers) categories of the illocutionary taxonomy (see Austin 1962; Searle 1979). Subsequent studies have displayed a great deal of variation in the categorization of these three types of speech act. *Invitations* and *offers* are still seen as belonging to the directive and commissive categories respectively by authors such as Leech (1983) and Wierzbicka (1987). In contrast, Tsui (1994) regards both *invitations* and *offers* as a type of requestive act and includes them in the same category as requests. In turn, *threats* are classified as commissive, rather than directive, by Leech (1983), because they are speaker-oriented (i.e. they make reference to a future event X for which the speaker is assumed to be responsible). Furthermore, Bach and Harnish (1979) and Hancher (1979) claim that these three illocutionary subtypes have a hybrid nature and suggest that they should be thought of as members of a new commissive-directive category. Moreover, they argue that these acts are "equally commissive and directive; neither force dominates" (Hancher 1979: 6). Bach and Harnish's (1979) and Hancher's (1979) positing of a new ad hoc category of commissive-directives is motivated by the need to account for the fact that these three illocutionary acts include features of both directive and commissive illocutions. On the one hand, as is the case with directives, these three illocutionary

types are intended to move the addressee into the performance of some kind of future action. Threats and invitations count as attempts to make the addressee carry out a physical action, and offers are aimed at motivating either a physical or a verbal action (i.e. either the physical acceptance of the object that is being offered or the verbal acceptance of the offer for help, etc.). On the other hand, as is the case with commissives, the three of them also involve a potential action by the speaker. Threats base their harsh nature on the fact that, if the addressee does not perform the requested action, the speaker will do something against the addressee (e.g. *If you don't stay quiet, I'll punish you*). Invitations bind the speaker to a future action which involves allowing or facilitating the state of affairs in which the addressee will perform the action expressed in the invitation (if one invites someone else to a party, one will then have to allow that person to take part in it). Finally, offers also involve a future action by the speaker (the giving of the object that has been offered, as in *Do have some more cake!*, or the performance of the action expressed in the offer, as in *Can I help you with your homework?*).

In the present paper, the hybrid nature of these three illocutionary types is analysed from a cognitive perspective. Taking into account the findings of Prototype Theory (Rosch 1978) on the nature of human categorization,² the existence of intermediate borderline instances of speech acts, such as those included in the so-called *commissive-directive* category, is only predictable. However, I would like to argue that this new, clearly delimited illocutionary category is not a homogeneous group of illocutions which occupies an exactly intermediate position between the two extremes of prototypically directive (e.g. orders, requests) and prototypically commissive (e.g. promises, guarantees) illocutions. I hope to demonstrate that prototypical directives and commissives fade into one another forming a continuum. Between these two extremes it is possible to find several illocutionary categories which may be closer to one or the other end of the continuum. I will argue that threats are closer to the directive end and offers to the commissive end, while invitations lie somewhere in the middle. The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 offers a description of the semantics of the three speech act types under scrutiny. On the basis of the findings reported in section 2, it will be argued that (1) it is neither necessary nor cognitively realistic to posit the existence of a new superordinate illocutionary category of *directive-commissive* acts, and that (2) there is evidence suggesting the existence of a cognitive continuum between directive and commissive illocutions, along which the three categories under consideration can be accommodated. In contrast to Hancher's claim that neither the directive nor the commissive force predominates in these acts, it will also be made apparent that threats, invitations and offers each consist of a combination of directive and commissive semantic features in different proportions. The relative weight of their meaning components will result in some of these acts being

closer to the directive or commissive end of the illocutionary continuum. Finally, section 4 contains the main conclusions which can be drawn from the discussion in the two previous parts of the paper.

2. The semantics of the acts of threatening, inviting, and offering

The ensuing semantic description of the semantics of threatening, inviting and offering is presented in the form of *propositional idealized cognitive models* (henceforth *propositional ICMs*) of the type proposed by Lakoff (1987).³ Each illocutionary ICM contains a characterization of the corresponding speech act in relation to the following nine variables:

- (1) *Agent type*: the person who performs the action expressed in the predication can be the speaker, the addressee, and/or a third party.
- (2) *Time of the action*: the action presented in the predication can take place in the past, present, or future time.
- (3) *Degree of speaker's will*: degree to which the speaker wishes the state of affairs expressed in the predication to take place.
- (4) *Degree of addressee's will*: degree to which the addressee wishes the state of affairs expressed in the predication to take place.
- (5) *Degree of cost-benefit*: degree to which the realization of the state of affairs expressed in the predication represents something positive (i.e. benefit) or something negative (i.e. cost) for the speaker, the addressee, and/or a third person.
- (6) *Degree of optionality*: degree to which the person who is to materialise the state of affairs expressed in the predication is free to decide upon his subsequent course of action.
- (7) *Degree of mitigation*: degree to which the force of the speech act is softened.
- (8) *Degree of power*: the relative position of the speaker and the addressee in a hierarchy of authority.
- (9) *Degree of social distance*: the relative position of the participants in a continuum of intimacy.

The choice of these variables deserves some explanation. First, some of them have been chosen because they have already been shown to be productive in the literature. Variables like *agent type* and *time of the action* have been used in the description of speech act categories ever since the first classification attempts were made by Austin (1962) and Searle (1979). The variable of *speaker's will* has been taken from Verschueren (1985), and those of *cost-benefit*, *optionality*, *social distance*, and *power* from Leech (1983), although they have been widely used by other authors as well (see Bach and Harnish 1979; Risselada 1993; Searle 1975; Verschueren 1985). Second, to these, I have added two more variables—those of

addressee's will and mitigation—which have been found to be relevant to the description of the illocutionary categories under consideration in the course of this study. Third, most of these variables are scalar in nature, which allows for different degrees of implementation and, therefore, makes it possible to account for the greater or lesser degree of prototypicality of members of a particular illocutionary category. Finally, it should be emphasised that these nine variables do not exhaust all the dimensions which could be considered in relation to directive and commissive speech acts. However, since all cognitive models are inherently incomplete (see Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 48), I have limited the number of variables to be analysed to these nine for working purposes.

The final illocutionary ICMs will be the result of analysing over a hundred instances of each illocutionary type under consideration in relation to the nine variables outlined above. The examples have been taken from the British National Corpus (henceforth BNC) by means of the concordance program XKWIC, as well as from a number of film scripts and magazines.⁴

2.1. The ICM of Threatening

The following example is a central member of the category of threatening:

- (1) Child: A banana (laughs, makes noise).
 Mother: I sh I shall put you to bed.
 Child: Oh no.
 Mother: I will if you don't calm down.
 (British National Corpus)

Example (1) illustrates the semantic features shared by the prototypical instances of threats in our corpus:

Agent Type and Time of the Action. Prototypical threats present two predications which designate two different states of affairs. Each predication has a different agent type and both refer to non-past actions.

- Example (1)
 State of affairs 1: to put the addressee to bed
 Agent of state of affairs 1: the speaker
 Time of the action: non-past
 State of affairs 2: to calm down
 Agent of state of affairs 2: the addressee
 Time of the action: non-past

Addressee's Will. Since in the production of a threat the speaker works under the assumption that he is asking the addressee to do something costly, he expects the degree of addressee's will to be low. In general this is the case. By way of illustration, consider example (1) above in which the mother's threat to put the

child to bed is met with the child's expressive rejection (i.e. *Oh, no*). However, it is not always possible to be totally sure whether the addressee will consider a certain action to be costly or not. Sometimes what we regard as negative or costly is seen as positive or not so negative by others. Consider the following example:

- (2) "We moved from Norwalk", she says, "because I had to have a bigger garden. I said to Paul: 'Either we move or I will plow up your driveway and turn it into a rock garden'. "Unshaken by this threat, Paul, a calm man, expressed his *willingness to cooperate*, on one condition: the new house must have a [...]".
 (British National Corpus)⁵

In this situation, the addressee does not see moving to a bigger house as such a negative choice and, therefore, he shows some willingness to cooperate. Taking this into account, it should be concluded that what is essential to the performance of a threat is that the speaker works under the assumption that the degree of addressee's will is going to be low. Whether the addressee actually wishes to carry out the action or not is, nevertheless, dependent on each particular interaction and on the nature of the action that he is being asked to carry out.

Cost-Benefit. Prototypically, the instances of threats in our corpus involve a benefit to the speaker and a cost to the addressee. The nature of this cost is different from that involved in other directive acts, such as requests or beggings, and deserves further explanation. In uttering a threat, the speaker seeks to influence the addressee's behaviour to his own benefit. Moreover, as stated above, the speaker works under the assumption that the proposed action involves a cost to the addressee. Because of this, the speaker anticipates a potential resistance by the addressee to grant his request, which he attempts to overcome by telling the addressee that his refusal to do as he is told will result in a greater cost to himself. Hence the *alternative unavoidable cost* which has been found to characterise threats and which differentiates them from other illocutionary types like requests or beggings.⁶

Speaker's Will. Because threats prototypically result in a benefit to the speaker, it is not surprising that they display a high degree of speaker's will. The speaker's wish that the addressee should carry out the proposed action is similar to that of beggings and lower than that which characterises other directives like ordering, requesting, suggesting, warning, or advising. Such a high degree of speaker's will explains the lack of mitigation which characterises threats, as well as the use of coercive and highly imposing devices whose function is to secure compliance on the part of the addressee so that the speaker can achieve his goal.

Optionality. The fact that the addressee is offered a choice between two possible states of affairs (i.e. to do as he is told or to face the consequences) does not, however, increase the optionality of this speech act type. As has been shown in

relation to the cost-benefit variable, the second choice is even more costly than the first and, as a consequence, the addressee is forced to carry out the suggested action. The choice between two costly states of affairs leads to a low degree of optionality and, in turn, to the coercive reading that is one of the most outstanding features of threats.⁷

Mitigation. The fact that the speaker prototypically has the capacity and power to carry out his threat, together with the fact that the degree of speaker's will is significantly high in the case of central instances of threats, results in the lack of mitigation of prototypical threats.

Social Distance. Threats can be performed whatever the social distance between the speakers. However, it has been observed that the existence of a small social distance between the speaker and the addressee makes it necessary to increase the degree of mitigation of the act. Consider example (6):

- (3) Conversation between friends: "Man, you best back off, I'm getting pissed".
(from the film script of *Pulp Fiction*).

In (3) there is an implicit formula (i.e. *I'm getting pissed*). The scene in which this utterance takes place in the film leaves no doubt that the speaker's intention is to get his friend to stop bothering him by means of a threat. A contextually appropriate paraphrase of the speaker's communicative goal may be the following: "you best back off, because if you don't, I promise I'll hurt you". The force of the threat, however, is mitigated through the use of the highly implicit expression *I'm getting pissed*. Via a metonymic operation, the speaker is referring to the cause and letting the addressee infer the effect: if someone "gets pissed" with someone else, he may want to hurt that person in some way. The use of mitigation is motivated by the high degree of intimacy that exists between the speakers (i.e. they are good friends) and it has the consequence of turning the speaker's illocutionary act into a weak threat, which could even be understood as just a warning or a piece of advice.

Power. Threats prototypically require a speaker who has some kind of power over the addressee. This power guarantees that he will be capable of carrying out the threat. Hence its relevance. Lack of power turns threats into mere bluffs, especially when such lack of power is manifest to both participants. Consider the following example:

- (4) MO2: So I say: "Look, you complete turd, give us a job now or I'll nut you".
MO1: *Mm. You must be joking. There's no way we can do that.*
MO2: *Shit. What do you mean?*
MO1: He'll never give us a job. (British National Corpus)

MO2's suggested strategy of threatening someone into giving them a job is considered inappropriate by MO1 (see his reply in italics). He realises that one cannot threaten someone who is in a superior position.

2.2. The ICM of Inviting

Consider the following central instance of the category of inviting:⁸

- (5) "Go on," he invited softly, "touch me. You know you want to".
(British National Corpus)

This example illustrates the illocutionary category of inviting, whose main semantic features are summarised below:

Agent Type and Time of the Action. All instances of inviting in our corpus present the addressee as the agent of the action expressed in the predication. Likewise, the specified action is to take place in a non-past time, either present or future. As illustrated by (5), the specific course of behaviour that the speaker commits himself to in the performance of an invitation is not generally made explicit. This may justify the position held by Searle, Leech, or Wierzbicka, who focus only on the directive side of invitations and overlook their commissive component. Nevertheless, a closer analysis of examples like (5) seems to support Hancher's reflection on the existence of a commissive ingredient in connection with the act of inviting. Thus, in (5) the speaker is committed to allowing the addressee to touch him. I shall now endeavour to offer a possible explanation for the existence of this alleged commissive side of invitations.

Invitations count as attempts to get the addressee to carry out an action which is assumed to be beneficial to him (see discussion of the cost-benefit variable below). This means that, in uttering an invitation, the speaker is creating in the addressee expectations that he will obtain a benefit upon completion of the specified action. If the speaker fails to carry out his share of the specified action, he will be shattering those expectations and, as a result, will bring about a negative state of affairs for the addressee. In this connection, Ruiz de Mendoza (1999) has proposed the existence of a convention of politeness, according to which people living in our society are expected to alter those states of affairs which are negative for others. A corollary of the politeness convention is that people living in society are expected not only to alter negative states of affairs, but also not to cause a negative state of affairs to hold for others. The convention of politeness would thus need to be extended to include this idea, as reflected in point (b) below:

CONVENTION OF POLITENESS (extended version)

- (a) *If it is manifest to the addressee that a particular state of affairs is not beneficial to the speaker, and if the addressee has the ability to change that state of affairs, then the addressee should do so.*
(b) *If it is manifest that a potential state of affairs is not beneficial to the speaker, then the addressee is expected not to bring it about.*

Invitations generally create some expectations in the addressee. The application of point (b) of the convention of politeness implies that if the speaker fails to do his part of whatever is necessary to bring about the future state of affairs, he will be disappointing the addressee's expectations. In this way, he will be creating a negative state of affairs for the addressee, and therefore, breaking the convention. Hence the commitment which makes up the commissive side of invitations to which Hancher and others have referred. In short, the fact that the act of inviting (1) presents the addressee as the agent of a future action, (2) involves a future benefit for the addressee, and (3) involves the speaker's cooperation in carrying out the future action, explains its mixed commissive-direcive nature.

Addressee's Will. According to the data in the corpus, the performance of acts of inviting requires the speaker's assumption that the degree of addressee's will is high (see example 5 above). Sometimes, however, the speaker's assumption may be ungrounded and in these cases, the performance of an invitation gives way to a socially conflict-producing situation like the one captured in the following example:

- (6) "Come in", he invited Lisa. "Come in and meet Nina". *The only thing Lisa wanted to do was flee, but she summoned the strength from somewhere to step back into the office, pinning a brave smile to her face.* (British National Corpus)

The speaker asks Lisa to meet Nina on the assumption that she would like to meet her. But Nina is the speaker's girlfriend and Lisa is in love with the speaker. Lisa does not want to meet Nina, but she feels forced to do so in order not to reject the speaker's invitation. As will be made clear in the discussion of the cost-benefit variable below, invitations usually involve a benefit for the speaker as well as for the addressee. In example (6) the speaker starts to introduce his friend Lisa to his girlfriend. Because the speaker also benefits from the action, a rejection on the part of the addressee would be considered a *faux pas*. The speaker's wrong assumption with respect to the addressee's wishes has given rise to an uncomfortable and conflictive scenario.

Cost-Benefit. Both Leech (1983: 217) and Wierzbicka (1987: 82) characterise the act of inviting as involving a benefit to the addressee and at the same time a cost to the speaker. The data in the present corpus, however, suggest a different picture: invitations do result in a benefit to the addressee, but they do not involve a cost to the speaker. In most cases, the bringing about of the specified action also involves some kind of benefit to the speaker, and in those cases where this is not the case, the carrying out of this action cannot properly be said to be costly to the speaker. Consider the following example:

- (7) "What's wrong with you?" she asked. "Oh, nothing", said Scarlet. "I'm just sick of everything". "Join the club", said Connie, but she was glad to see her weak and neurotic neighbour. Never, she swore, never would she let life mess her

around the way it had messed Scarlet. "Tell Connie all about it", she invited, relieved to have, for a time, someone other than Mennet upon whom to focus her attention, someone more miserable than herself.
(British National Corpus)

The speaker in example (7) also benefits from the bringing about of the specified state of affairs, as the narrator explains in the highlighted sentence: it is good for her to talk to someone who is even more miserable than she is.

Optionality. Wierzbicka (1987: 82), who has considered the parameter of optionality in relation to the act of inviting, claims that the addressee's freedom to decide upon the performance of the specified action is unlimited (i.e. invitations involve a high degree of optionality). The analysis of the examples in the corpus, however, suggests that the optionality of the addressee is always somehow restricted and that, in some situations, the degree of optionality may be even further reduced. This somehow constrained optionality is due to the fact that invitations involve a benefit not only to the addressee but also to the speaker. If I invite someone to a party, for example, I do so because I want him to come. Therefore, if he decides to accept my invitation, I also benefit in some way (i.e. from the presence of someone I like at my party). A rejection of an invitation, therefore, may bring about a negative state of affairs for the speaker (i.e. it goes against his desires). In this way, the addressee's freedom to accept or reject an invitation is found to be constrained by the workings of the convention of politeness put forward above.

The optionality of the speaker is likewise constrained by the convention of politeness. Thus, one cannot issue an invitation for a party and then refuse to allow the addressee to attend without breaking the convention.

Mitigation. Because invitations generally involve a benefit to both the speaker and the addressee, the required levels of mitigation are low. Mitigation is a prototypical feature of those speech act types which involve a cost to the addressee (e.g. orders, requests).

Speaker's Will. In contrast to Wierzbicka's (1987: 82) observations, the instances of invitations in this corpus suggest that there exists a certain degree of speaker's will in the performance of invitations. The degree of speaker's will varies greatly, but it is always present. On some occasions the degree of speaker's presence is high:

- (8) "Come in, please, come in!" and share our meal", they invited. *After so much genuine persuasion, Shelley thanked them and sat down at the table.*
(British National Corpus)

In other cases, it is so low that it verges on indifference:

- (9) "Come in and sit down", invited the doctor.
(British National Corpus)

The values attributed to the speaker's will parameter are usually determined by the degree to which the specified action is desirable for the speaker. As shown in the discussion of the cost-benefit variable, this usually ranges from *beneficial* to *non-costly*. In (9) the doctor does not have any special interest in the addressee's performing the specified action. It is just part of the doctor-patient scripted interaction to invite him to take a seat. The performance of the action is not perceived as beneficial to the speaker, but neither is it perceived as costly, which explains the speaker's indifference. In (8), on the other hand, the speaker wants the addressee to stay and eat with him. Thus, the carrying out of the specified action is beneficial to the speaker as well as to the addressee, which accounts for the former's stronger will.

Power. The analysis of the corpus suggests that no special power relationship between the speakers is needed in order to perform an invitation. We can invite people to do something whether they are above or below us in a hierarchy of power. As is the case with all those illocutionary types which involve some benefit to the speaker (e.g. orders, requests, etc.), the stronger the speaker, the more compelled the addressee will feel to carry out the specified action. Refusing to do something which benefits someone who is more powerful may result in some form of retaliation which is best avoided.

Social Distance. The effects of social distance on the performance of invitations are, according to the data, non-existent. Invitations can be performed whatever the social distance between the speakers. This clearly results from the fact that invitations are usually beneficial to both parties. It is also true, however, that some invitations (e.g. to a party) will not usually be extended beyond social boundaries).

2.3. The ICM of Offering

The propositional ICM of the act of offering includes the following pieces of information:

Agent type. Over three quarters of the offers included in the corpus present the speaker as the agent of the action expressed in the predication. The following example illustrate this:

- (10) 'I'll walk you back to your hotel', I offered.
(British National Corpus)

There is, however, a group of offers which present the addressee rather than the speaker as the agent:

- (11) Speaker offering a strawberry to the addressee: Do try one!
(from the film script of *Pretty Woman*)

These instances of offer which present the addressee as the agent often involve the transfer of objects (e.g. *strawberry*) from the speaker to the addressee. Transferring necessarily involves both the speaker's giving and the addressee's taking. Because of this, those instances of offer which have to do with the transfer of objects can present either the speaker or the addressee as the agent, as in the following examples:

- (12) Have another biscuit
(13) May I offer/give you another biscuit?

Nevertheless, even in those cases in which the addressee is presented as the agent (e.g. 11-13), it is implied that the speaker is also committed to the performance of an action. Thus in (11), Edward is committed to giving Vivian the strawberry and in (12) and (13), the speaker is committed to giving the addressee the biscuit. It can be concluded that offers generally involve an action by the speaker and that, in those instances of offering in which the transfer of an object is involved, both the speaker and the addressee are to perform certain actions (i.e. giving and taking).⁹ Nevertheless, the picture is even more complicated than this. In a broader sense, all instances of offering -not just those involving a transfer of objects- require the addressee to perform a certain action, namely, accepting or rejecting the speaker's offer. This is a more passive kind of action, since it merely involves a linguistic reply, but it is an action nonetheless and, because it needs to be carried out by the addressee, it gives the act of offering its directive flavour. Let us summarise our discussion so far. There seem to be at least two types of offering: (1) those which involve the transfer of an object from the speaker to the addressee, and (2) those which simply involve the performance by the speaker of an action which is beneficial to the addressee. On the one hand, type (1) offers involve a physical action by the speaker (i.e. the action of giving), and two actions by the addressee (i.e. the linguistic action of accepting or rejecting the offer and the physical action of accepting or taking the object that is being offered). On the other hand, type (2) offers involve a physical action by the speaker (i.e. the bringing about of a beneficial state of affairs for the addressee) and a non-physical one by the addressee (i.e. accepting or rejecting of the offer). As shown above, these meaning differences between type (1) and type (2) offers also motivate some formal differences (i.e. type (1), but not type (2), offers are compatible with the use of imperative sentences which present the addressee as the agent.

Time of the Action. All instances of offers in the corpus refer to non-past -either present or future- actions. Examples (10) to (13) above illustrate this.

Addressee's Will. The speaker who utters an offer does not know whether the addressee wants him to carry out the action expressed in the predication. Nevertheless, in general, he has reasons to believe that the degree of addressee's will is going to be high, since he is working under the assumption that what he is offering to give or to do is beneficial to the addressee (see discussion of the cost-benefit variable below).

Cost-Benefit. The person who makes an offer either knows for certain that what he intends to do is beneficial to the addressee –this is usually the case if the latter has overtly informed him to this effect–, or works under the assumption that the action he intends to carry out is beneficial to the addressee.

Optionality. The optionality of the speaker, who will be the agent of the proposed action, is constrained by point (b) of the convention of politeness (see section 2.2.): one cannot offer to do something for someone else and then decide against it, unless the hearer has rejected the offer. Otherwise, it would not be polite. On the contrary, the addressee's freedom to accept or reject the offer is not so constrained. Since he is the only beneficiary of the action, he is free to decide whether he wants the speaker to carry out the specified action or not. Nevertheless, he is invariably expected to reject or accept the offer. Ignoring the speaker's offer by not responding to it would also count as a violation of the convention of politeness. The speaker who makes an offer is showing concern for the addressee. When we show concern for someone, we expect this situation to be reciprocal. An offer which meets no response may be interpreted as lack of concern for the speaker on the part of the addressee, which would create a negative state of affairs for the speaker, and count as an instance of impolite behaviour on the addressee's part.

Mitigation. Because offers prototypically seek the addressee's benefit, they do not need to be highly mitigated. Nevertheless, the degree of mitigation of the act of offering tends to increase in those situations in which the addressee is more powerful than the speaker, or the social distance between the speakers is great:

(14) In the flight to L.A., the stewardess notices Joe and approaches.

Stewardess: Can I get you anything, sir?

Joe: No, thank you. No, I changed my mind. Some club soda, please.

(from the film script of *Joe Versus The Volcano*).

Example (14) depicts a situation in which the social distance between the speakers is considerable and, moreover, the addressee's social power is greater than the speaker's. The use of less mitigated expressions in those contexts (e.g. *I'll bring you a coffee*) would have constrained the addressee's optionality by not giving him a chance to reject the offer without openly confronting the principles of the convention of politeness.

Speaker's Will. There are offers which stem from the speaker's own volition. These usually correspond to scenarios in which the social distance between the participants is small. In this case the degree of speaker's will is also high. Nothing forces the speaker to perform the offer except his own desire to be useful to others. In contrast, there are offers which the speaker is forced to make, even against his will, because they are part of his social role. Consider, for instance, example (14) above. In this case it is part of the stewardess' job to make offers. Logically, in cases like this the degree of speaker's will may be lower.

Power and Social Distance. The production of offers is not restricted to any special configuration regarding power or social distance parameters. Whatever the value taken on by any of these variables, it is possible to perform an act of offering. As was the case with invitations, this may be explained by the fact that the act results in a benefit to the addressee.

3. The directive-commissive illocutionary continuum

The description of the propositional ICMs of the acts of threatening, inviting, and offering outlined in the previous section has evidenced the fact that each of these speech act types displays both directive and commissive features. This supports both Bach and Harnish's (1979) and Hancher's (1979) insights into the hybrid nature of these illocutionary categories. These authors' claim, however, is stronger and more far-reaching. They go on to postulate a new superordinate illocutionary category, which they label *directive-commissive*, and which is to include those speech acts which are not fully directive, nor commissive, but rather display features of both categories in equal proportions. Hancher's radical stance on this issue is captured in the following quotation:

Offering, tendering, bidding, inviting, volunteering, and formal challenging are all hybrid speech acts that combine directive with commissive illocutionary force. As such they need to be specially provided for in Searle's taxonomy. Let us call them *commissive-directives*. [...] commissive-directives are equally commissive and directive; neither force dominates. (Hancher 1979: 6, emphasis mine).

Following the principles of the classical model of categorization, Searle (1979: 17) establishes such rigid types of illocutionary categories that they are unable to accommodate hybrid illocutions (e.g. threatening, inviting, offering, warning, or advising) without problems. Hancher (1979: 6) is aware of this drawback in Searle's illocutionary taxonomy. He observes that certain speech act types, like threats, invitations or offers, have been forced into the mold of

certain illocutionary categories –either directive or commissive– to which they do not fully belong. In order to overcome this weakness of Searle’s classification, Hancher posits the existence of a new *sui generis* hybrid category of commissive-directives. I would like to argue that Hancher’s new independent *ad hoc* illocutionary category is the product of an unconscious influence of the classical theory of categorization. Moreover, I hypothesise that Hancher’s all-or-nothing category of commissive-directives, if it exists as such, is not a homogenous group of illocutions situated exactly midway between the two extremes of prototypically directive (e.g. orders, requests) and prototypically commissive (e.g. promises, guarantees) illocutions. Between these two extremes it is possible to find several illocutionary categories which may be closer to one or the other. In accordance with the findings of cognitive linguistics on the nature of categories, my claim is that there exists a cognitive continuum between the directive and commissive superordinate illocutionary categories and that some illocutionary acts, like threats, are closer to the directive end, while others, like offerings, are nearer the commissive side of the continuum. Invitations lie somewhere in the middle. The rest of this section provides evidence supporting this hypothesis.

Consider the following table, which summarises the directive and commissive elements of the three illocutionary acts under consideration:

| | Directive Features | Commissive Features |
|--------------------|--|--|
| ACT OF THREATENING | <p>Agent 1: addressee Time 1: future Addressee’s will: low Speaker’s will: high Cost-benefit: benefit to speaker/cost to addressee Optionality (addressee/s): low, constrained by speaker’s power Optionality (speaker/s): high Mitigation: low due to the speaker’s power over the addressee Power: speaker’s higher than addressee’s Social distance: irrelevant due to the speaker’s superiority over the addressee</p> | <p>Agent 2: speaker Time: future</p> |

| | Directive Features | Commissive Features |
|-----------------|---|---|
| ACT OF INVITING | <p>Agent 1: addressee Time 1: future Cost-benefit: benefit to speaker Optionality (addressee/s): constrained because the action is beneficial to the speaker (convention of politeness)</p> | <p>Agent 2: speaker (Passive) Time 2: future Addressee’s will: high Speaker’s will: variable (high/low) Cost-benefit: benefit to addressee Optionality (speaker/s): unconstrained because the action is beneficial to the addressee Mitigation: low because invitations involve a benefit to both the speaker and the addressee Power: no special power relationship needed due to the intrinsically beneficial nature of invitations¹⁰ Social power: irrelevant due to the fact that invitations are inherently beneficial</p> |
| ACT OF OFFERING | <p>Agent 1: addressee (Passive) Time 1: future</p> | <p>Agent 2: speaker Time 2: future Addressee’s will: high Speaker’s will: variable (high/low) Cost-benefit: benefit to addressee/cost to speaker Optionality (speaker/s): constrained by the convention of politeness Optionality (addressee/s): unconstrained because the benefit is to the addressee Mitigation: low because offerings are intrinsically beneficial Power: no special power relationship needed due to the intrinsically beneficial nature of offerings Social Power: irrelevant due to the fact that offerings are inherently beneficial</p> |

TABLE 1. The ICMS of threatening, inviting, and offering.

As advanced by Bach and Harnish (1979) and Hancher (1979), these three speech act categories are hybrid in nature and share semantic features of both directive and commissive illocutions. Nevertheless, Table 1 reveals other relevant pieces of information, which lead us to believe that, in contrast to Hancher's expectations, threats, invitations, and offerings are not "equally commissive and directive". On the contrary, the directive force seems to predominate in the case of threats, while the commissive force is stronger in the case of offerings and, to a lesser extent, in that of the act of inviting. Let us consider the arguments supporting this claim in more detail.

To begin with, a quantitative difference is observed: the number of directive and commissive elements contained in the propositional ICMs of each of these illocutionary categories differs. Thus, the ICM of threats clearly outnumber the other two categories in the amount of directive features that it includes. In turn, the ICM of inviting contains a considerably higher number of commissive elements. And finally, the act of offering consists mainly of commissive features. Furthermore, in those cases in which these speech act types display both the directive and the commissive variable, there is also a qualitative difference in the way each of the categories instantiates them. The three variables affected by this phenomenon are those of agent type, cost-benefit, and optionality. Let us consider each of them in turn.

The Agent Type Variable

Prototypical directive categories, such as orders or requests, present the addressee as the agent of a future action. In contrast, commissive speech acts have the speaker as the agent. As displayed in the table, the three speech act types under consideration involve a double agent. That is to say, both the speaker and the addressee are presented as the agents of two different future actions. Nevertheless, as will be made clear below, the relative weight that each of these three illocutionary categories assigns to the directive (i.e. addressee as agent) and commissive (i.e. speaker as agent) features differs largely. In highlighting either one or the other, each of these speech act types approaches more closely the directive or commissive end of the illocutionary continuum.

The analysis of our collection of threats shows that what is essential to this illocutionary category is the speaker's high desire that the addressee carries out a future action which is to the benefit of the speaker. Thus, the directive feature *addressee-as-agent* appears as being more relevant than the commissive variable *speaker-as-agent*. To begin with, some threats do not even make explicit the commissive element:

- (15) Soldier to prisoner:
I am getting pissed off. Stop making that sound, you hear me? Or you'll regret it. (British National Corpus)

The Directive-Commissive Continuum

Moreover, when the commissive element (i.e. *speaker-as-agent*) is overtly expressed, it is used merely as a coercive means intended to get the addressee to carry out the future action:

- (16) Get to the back of the class or I will kill you.
(British National Corpus)

In other words, the commissive feature *speaker-as-agent* included in the category of threats is only ancillary to the real purpose of this speech act type, which is to get the addressee to perform an action.

In the case of invitations and offers, the agent feature is best considered from a comparative perspective. Compare the following utterances:

- (17) Come and stay for the weekend. (Invitation)
(18) Shall I close the window for you? (Offer)

Both acts of inviting and offering require the involvement of both the speaker and the addressee in the bringing about of a future state of affairs. The invitation in (17) requires an active involvement on the part of the addressee (i.e. to carry out the specified action, namely, to physically go to the speaker's home) and a passive involvement on the part of the speaker (i.e. to honor his invitation by not backing out at the last minute). In contrast, the offer under (18) asks for an active involvement of the speaker (i.e. to carry out the specified action: to close the window), and just a passive involvement on the part of the addressee (i.e. to accept or reject the speaker's offer). In spite of their mixed nature, this brings acts of inviting closer to the category of directive speech acts (which involve actions by the addressee) and acts of offering closer to the other end of the scale, the category of commissive illocutions (which involve actions by the speaker). These observations are summarised in Figure 1 below:

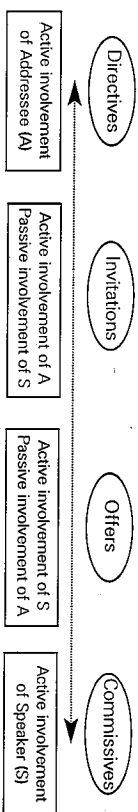


FIGURE 1. The agent variable and the directive-commissive continuum

The Cost-Benefit Variable

Regarding the variable of cost-benefit, central cases of directives involve a cost to the addressee and a benefit to the speaker (cf. orders, requests), while prototypical

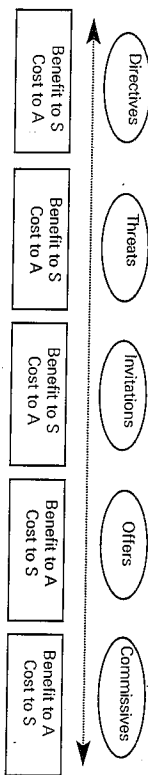


FIGURE 2. The cost-benefit variable and the directive-commissive continuum

The Optionality Variable

Finally, let us consider the variable of optionality. Prototypical directives allow little or no optionality to the agent (addressee) to decide whether or not to carry out the proposed action. In the case of orders, for instance, the addressee's freedom is constrained by the superiority of the speaker over the addressee. In the case of requests, it is constrained by the convention of politeness, according to which one is expected to attempt to alter any state of affairs which is not beneficial to other people. As regards commissives, the optionality of the agent (speaker) is also constrained by the convention of politeness, as has already been shown (see point (b) of this convention and subsequent discussion in Section 2.2).

Since the three illocutionary types under consideration involve two different agents, it is necessary to consider the degree of optionality of both. As far as threats are concerned, the optionality of the addressee is constrained by the speaker's power over him, and the optionality of the speaker is completely unconstrained (i.e. the speaker is free to materialise his threat or not). That is to say, threats behave like prototypical directives (cf. orders). If we consider the act of inviting, it is observed that the optionality of the speaker is constrained by the convention of politeness: one cannot raise the addressee's expectations about a future beneficial state of affairs and then refuse to do one's part in helping to bring about that state of affairs. In this, invitations resemble commissives. Nevertheless, curiously enough, the optionality of the addressee is also constrained by the

convention of politeness. As shown in Section 2.2, invitations are also beneficial to the speaker and, therefore, turning down an invitation counts as bringing about a negative state of affairs for him, which goes against point (b) of the aforementioned convention. In this, invitations are like some central members of the directive category (e.g. requests). In sum, the functioning of the optionality attribute in the case of invitations is half way between that of directives and commissives. Finally, offers behave exactly like commissives in the sense that the speaker's optionality is completely unconstrained (i.e. the addressee is free to accept or reject the offer because he is the only entity affected by the outcome of his decision). Figure number 3 shows the position of threats, invitations, and offers along the directive-commissive continuum in connection with the optionality attribute:

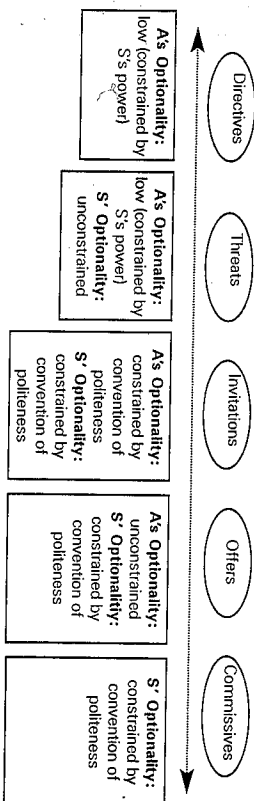


FIGURE 3. The optionality variable and the directive-commissive continuum

As Figure 3 shows, regarding the optionality variable, threats are once more maximally directive, offers are maximally commissive in nature, and invitations occupy an intermediate position.

4. Conclusion

From the above discussion it can be concluded that, in contrast to Hancher's views, the alleged members of the category of commissive-directives are not equally commissive and directive. In some cases (e.g. threats) the directive component predominates. In other cases (e.g. offers), it is the commissive component which carries a heavier weight in the definition of the speech act type. In short, there is not so much an intermediate category (i.e. commissive-directive), but rather an illocutionary continuum between the extremes of directive and commissive speech acts. The following figure illustrates this point:

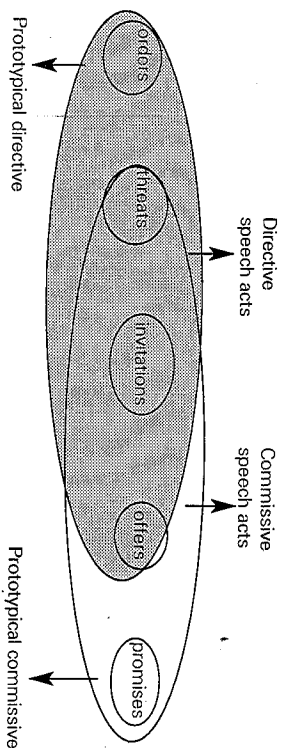


FIGURE 4. The directive-commissive continuum

Along this continuum, we find that the act of offering is closer to the commissive end of the cline, the act of threatening is closer to prototypical directives, and the act of inviting occupies an intermediate position between the two. It can also be concluded that it is not necessary to posit a new category of commissive-directives for acts of this kind. In the light of cognitive linguistics and prototype theory, they can be accommodated as borderline cases between the two extreme categories of directive and commissive illocutions.

Notes

1. Financial support for this research has been given by the DGES, grant no. PB96-0520, Ministry of Education and Culture, Spain. Correspondence to Lorena Pérez Hernández. University of La Rioja. Department of Modern Languages. C/ San José de Calasanz, s/n. 26004. Logroño. La Rioja. E-mail: lorena.perez@dm.unirioja.es. I would like to thank the two anonymous referees for their valuable comments on a preliminary version of this paper. All flaws are of course entirely my own responsibility.
2. The classical theory of categorization states that all entities that share a given property or set of necessary and sufficient properties are equally good members of the corresponding category. On the contrary, prototype theory, as postulated by Rosch (1978), maintains that members of a given category, far from having equal status, show different degrees of membership: some

category members have a special cognitive salience that makes them stand out as better examples of their category than others.

3. A propositional ICM is a type of knowledge organisation structure which, in Lakoff's (1987: 285) own words, does not make use of imaginative devices like metaphor, metonymy, or mental imagery. Propositional ICMs are preferred here to other types of knowledge organising devices, such as scripts, frames, scenarios, and the like, because of their broader scope. As pointed out by Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 211), propositional ICMs are of a more general nature than those mentioned above in the sense that the latter are just possible types of propositional cognitive models.

4. The magazines chosen are the following: *Company magazine* (a publication directed to young professional women which

includes articles about varied themes of current interest, as well as sections of advice on health, beauty, and relationships; published in London by National Magazine Company Ltd.), *Housekeeping magazine* (a text aimed at middle to middle-aged and older women which contains sections on decoration, cooking, health, and other articles on subjects of interest to them; published in London by National Magazine Company Ltd.), and *Photo Answers Magazine* (a publication of a more specialised nature which addresses topics of interest to both professional and amateur photographers. It includes many sections in which the reader is advised on how to take good photographs and on related issues; published in Peterborough by EMAP Apex). The scripts, selected on availability grounds, have been taken from the Internet or from video collections on sale.

5. The British National Corpus deals with modern English. However, non-British English and foreign language words do occasionally occur in the corpus (cf. <http://nfc.ox.ac.uk/bnc/what/basic.html>). Example (2) illustrates this; the word "plow" being American English.

6. In the case of orders, there is also a second alternative cost implicit: the speaker is more powerful than the addressee and the latter is aware that his non-compliance may lead the speaker to use his power against him. However, such a second cost is never overtly communicated, as is the case with threats. The reasons for this can be twofold: (1) The speaker believes that his superiority over the addressee is enough to secure the latter's compliance. (2) The speaker's will is not strong enough to perform a coercive and, therefore, socially conflict-laden speech act like a threat.

7. Nevertheless, since the low degree of optionality of this speech act type hinges on the speaker's power to actually carry out the threat, and since the latter is a scalar parameter, the degree of optionality of threats will be expected to vary depending on the values taken up by the power variable.

8. Acts of inviting are generally defined as attempts to get the addressee to attend or participate in a given event. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Verschueren

(1985: 172), invitations can also count as simple attempts to get someone to do something in a polite way. Wierzbicka (1987: 81) makes a similar observation. Around two thirds of the invitations in the corpus fall within the first subgroup distinguished by Verschueren (i.e. attempts to get the addressee to come to a place or join an activity). The rest are just instances of polite attempts to get someone to perform some other type of action – as will become apparent in our description of the ICM of inviting, this speech act type represents a benefit to the hearer and, sometimes, also to the speaker. In this sense, they somehow approach the category of requestive acts. Nevertheless, it should be noted that requests invariably represent a cost to the addressee. In spite of the fact that invitations to an event are a significant portion of the total number of acts of inviting that take place in everyday interaction, they are just a specific subtype of the other more general type of inviting act (i.e. polite requests for some action). Both kinds of invitation share the same meaning conditions and are, therefore, members of the same category, whose ICM is described in this section.

9. As aptly noted by one of the anonymous reviewers, the "giving" on the part of the speaker does not necessarily involve an actual physical action. It is possible to offer someone an strawberry by saying *Have strawberry*, without moving an inch. It is also a speaker bringing the offered object closer to the addressee. In example (11), this is precisely the case. The speaker performing the offer approaches the addressee with a receptacle full of strawberries and puts the receptacle close to the addressee so that she can take one.

10. This means that the act of inviting can be successfully performed whatever the power relationship that holds between the speakers. The speaker does not need to be more powerful than the addressee, as is the case with threats, in order to perform a successful invitation. The relative power of the participants, however, may have, and it usually has, a bearing on the type of invitation that is performed. A powerful addressee may require a more polite and highly mitigated invitation.

Works cited

- AUSTIN, John L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- BACH, Kent AND Robert M. HARNISH. 1979. *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- HANCHER, Michael. 1979. "The Classification of Cooperative Illocutionary Acts". *Language in Society* 8: 1-14.
- LAKOFF, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Other Dangerous Things*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- LEECH, Geoffrey. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. New York: Longman.
- RISSELADA, Rodie. 1993. *Imperatives and Other Directive Expressions in Latin. A Study in the Pragmatics of a Dead Language*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology, 2. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben Publisher.
- ROSCH, Eleanor. 1978. "Principles of Categorization". In Rosch, E. and B. Lloyd (eds.), *Cognition and Categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum: 27-48.
- RUÍZ DE MENDOZA, Francisco. J. 1999. "La Illocución y la gramática". In Butler, C., Matral, R., Martín Arista, J. and F.J. Ruiz de Mendoza. *Nuevas Perspectivas en Gramática Funcional*. Barcelona: Ariel Lingüística: 99-171.
- SEARLE, JOHN R. (1969) 1979. "A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts". In Searle, J.R. (ed.), *Expression and Meaning. Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.: 1-29.
- Tsui, Amy B.M. 1994. *English Conversation*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- UNGERER, Friedrich AND Hans J. SCHMID. 1996. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. New York, London: Longman.
- VERSCHUREN, Jeff. 1985. *What People Say They Do with Words. Prolegomena to an Empirical-Conceptual Approach to Linguistic Action*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- WIERZBICKA, Anna. 1987. *English Speech Act Verbs. A Semantic Dictionary*. New York: Academic Press.

SOURCES

CORPORA
The British National Corpus. 1991. Oxford U. P., Longman, Chambers-Larousse, Lancaster University and British Library. [Available online from <http://info.ox.ac.uk/bnc/>]

FILM SCRIPTS

Joe Versus the Volcano. Dir. John Hughes. [Internet document available from http://www.indy.net/~gbrush/jvtv_script.txt]

Pulp Fiction. Dir. Quentin Tarantino. [Internet document available from <http://www.mind.net/nikko1/scripts/pulp-script.txt>]

Pretty Woman. Dir. Garry Marshal. Touchstone Home Video.

MAGAZINES

Company Magazine. London: National Magazine Company Ltd. Issues from January 1998 to December 1998.

Housekeeping Magazine. London: National Magazine Company Ltd. Issues from January 1998 to December 1998.

Photo Answers Magazine. Peterborough: EMAP Apex. Issues from January 1998 to December 1998.

EFICACIA DEL WORD ASSOCIATION TEST Y DEL PATHFINDER PARA MEDIR EL APRENDIZAJE LÉXICO DEL INGLÉS COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA

MARÍA JESÚS SANCHEZ
 Universidad de Salamanca

1. Introducción

En esta investigación se proponen dos métodos diferentes con los que se espera obtener los mismos resultados, el *Word Association Test* o *WAT* (Verplanck 1992) y el *Pathfinder* (Schvaneveldt *et al.* 1985; Schvaneveldt 1990). Se mantiene como hipótesis de esta investigación la capacidad de ambos métodos para medir el conocimiento léxico por las siguientes razones:

1. Los dos métodos trabajaban con términos relacionados, aunque éstos se obtienen de forma diferente. Así, en el caso del *WAT* son los sujetos los que proporcionan las palabras relacionadas mientras que en el del *Pathfinder* éstas se les da a los sujetos.
2. Los dos métodos se han empleado en tareas de aprendizaje léxico. El *WAT*, el cual tiene su origen en la poca satisfacción que se sentía hace más de 30 años frente a las pruebas de opción múltiple, se ha usado para medir el dominio de cierto grupo o grupos léxicos de forma rápida con un amplio número de estudiantes (Verplanck 1992). Asimismo, el algoritmo *Pathfinder*, procedimiento que tiene validez psicológica y es fidedigno por la transformación que hace de los datos (Cooke *et al.* 1986; Cooke 1992; Goldsmith *et al.* 1991; Gonzalvo *et al.* 1994; Pitarque y Ruiz 1997), permite medir en poco tiempo las relaciones estructurales de los estudiantes.

Estas características hacen pensar en una posible confirmación de la hipótesis que aquí se mantiene, lo que llevaría a afirmar sin temor a equivocarse que ambos

Works cited

- AUSTIN, John L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- BACH, Kent AND Robert M. HARNISH. 1979. *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- HANCER, Michael. 1979. "The Classification of Cooperative Illocutionary Acts". *Language in Society* 8: 1-14.
- LAKOFF, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Other Dangerous Things*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- LEECH, Geoffrey. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. New York: Longman.
- RISSELADA, Rodie. 1993. *Imperatives and Other Directive Expressions in Latin. A Study in the Pragmatics of a Dead Language*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology, 2. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben Publisher.
- ROSCH, Eleanor. 1978. "Principles of Categorization". In Rosch, E. and B. Lloyd (eds.), *Cognition and Categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum: 27-48.
- RUIZ DE MENDOZA, Francisco. J. 1999. "La locución y la gramática". In Butler, C., Mairal, R., Martín Arista, J. and F.J. Ruiz de Mendoza. *Nuevas Perspectivas en Gramática Funcional*. Barcelona: Ariel Lingüística: 99-171.
- SEARLE, JOHN R. (1969) 1979. "A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts". In Searle, J.R. (ed.), *Expression and Meaning. Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.: 1-29.
- Tsui, Amy B.M. 1994. *English Conversation*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- UNGERER, Friedrich AND Hans J. SCHMID. 1996. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*. New York, London: Longman.
- VENSCHUREN, Jeff. 1985. *What People Say They Do with Words. Prolegomena to an Empirical-Conceptual Approach to Linguistic Action*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- WIERSBICKA, Anna. 1987. *English Speech Act Verbs. A Semantic Dictionary*. New York: Academic Press.

SOURCES

CORPORA

The British National Corpus. 1991. Oxford U. P., Longman, Chambers-Larousse, Lancaster University and British Library. [Available online from <http://info.ox.ac.uk/bnc/>]

FILM SCRIPTS

Joe Versus the Volcano. Dir. John Hughes. [Internet document available from http://www.indy.net/~ghush/jvrv_script.txt]

Pulp Fiction. Dir. Quentin Tarantino. [Internet document available from <http://www.mind.net/nikko1/scripts/pulp-script.txt>]

Pretty Woman. Dir. Garry Marshall. Touchstone Home Video.

MAGAZINES

Company Magazine. London: National Magazine Company Ltd. Issues from January 1998 to December 1998.

Housekeeping Magazine. London: National Magazine Company Ltd. Issues from January 1998 to December 1998.

Photo Answers Magazine. Peterborough: EMAP Apex. Issues from January 1998 to December 1998.

EFICACIA DEL WORD ASSOCIATION TEST Y DEL PATHFINDER PARA MEDIR EL APRENDIZAJE LÉXICO DEL INGLÉS COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA

MARÍA JESÚS SANCHEZ
Universidad de Salamanca.

1. Introducción

En esta investigación se proponen dos métodos diferentes con los que se espera obtener los mismos resultados, el *Word Association Test* o WAT (Verplanck 1992) y el *Pathfinder* (Schvaneveldt *et al.* 1985; Schvaneveldt 1990). Se mantiene como hipótesis de esta investigación la capacidad de ambos métodos para medir el conocimiento léxico por las siguientes razones:

1. Los dos métodos trabajan con términos relacionados, aunque éstos se obtienen de forma diferente. Así, en el caso del WAT son los sujetos los que proporcionan las palabras relacionadas mientras que en el del *Pathfinder* éstas se les da a los sujetos.
2. Los dos métodos se han empleado en tareas de aprendizaje léxico. El WAT, el cual tiene su origen en la poca satisfacción que se sentía hace más de 30 años frente a las pruebas de opción múltiple, se ha usado para medir el dominio de cierto grupo o grupos léxicos de forma rápida con un amplio número de estudiantes (Verplanck 1992). Asimismo, el algoritmo *Pathfinder*, procedimiento que tiene validez psicológica y es fidedigno por la transformación que hace de los datos (Cooke *et al.* 1986; Cooke 1992; Goldsmith *et al.* 1991; Gonzalvo *et al.* 1994; Pitarque y Ruiz 1997), permite medir en poco tiempo las relaciones estructurales de los estudiantes.

Estas características hacen pensar en una posible confirmación de la hipótesis que aquí se mantiene, lo que llevaría a afirmar sin temor a equivocarse que ambos

métodos, aún con tareas distintas, captan el mismo tipo de conocimiento. Aunque las tareas que desarrollan los sujetos son diferentes, se cree que la variable dependiente que se maneja: términos relacionados (*WAT*) o medida de similitud (*Pathfinder*) mide el mismo conocimiento. Por lo tanto, se ha de poder concluir la existencia de aprendizaje, tanto con un método como con el otro, una vez que se ha aplicado la variable independiente: trabajo de clase y estudio.

2. Método

2.1. Sujetos

Los sujetos con los que se contó para este experimento eran en su totalidad estudiantes matriculados en la licenciatura de Psicología de la Universidad de Salamanca. Todos ellos estaban inscritos en la asignatura que se imparte en primer curso denominada "Inglés aplicado a la Psicología". A los sujetos que colaboraron, de forma voluntaria, se les ofreció crédito adicional en dicha asignatura por su participación. Todos los sujetos tenían un conocimiento similar de la lengua inglesa. Esto se desprende de la media de años que los sujetos habían estudiado dicha lengua, la cual coincide en ambos grupos (8,43). A los sujetos se les asignó de forma aleatoria tanto al grupo control como al experimental. La primera fase de la prueba, es decir, la Preprueba, la realizaron 29 sujetos en el grupo control y 28 en el grupo experimental. Todos los sujetos del grupo control, que habían realizado la Preprueba, hicieron la Posprueba. Sin embargo, en el grupo experimental fallaron 5 sujetos. Como en el grupo experimental íbamos a contar con N=23 se decidió eliminar, mediante un procedimiento aleatorio, los datos que excedían de este número en el grupo control, tanto en la Preprueba como en la Posprueba y, también, los que pasaban de este número en la Preprueba del grupo experimental. Además, se contó con la colaboración de 2 profesores de Filología Inglesa de la Universidad de Salamanca. El juicio experto de éstos sirvió de referente con el que comparar las estructuras cognitivas de los estudiantes.

2.2. Materiales

Los 20 términos con los que se contó para la Preprueba se obtuvieron, siguiendo el criterio del grado de dificultad, del material léxico que ofrece Bonneau (1990). Se tomaron dos términos de cada uno de los 10 campos principales de psicología que señala Bonneau (la lista se puede consultar en el Apéndice 1). Se eligieron los conceptos que veían clasificados en la lista con una mayor puntuación, es decir, el primero y el segundo. Esto no se hizo así en aquellos campos que se utilizaron en la prueba *Pathfinder*, en cuyo caso se usó el primero y el noveno. En la

Posprueba se seleccionó el mismo número de términos, y como se pretendía que estudiaran muy próximos a los anteriores para que dicha prueba fuera equivalente en dificultad, se eligió el tercer término y el cuarto, excepto en los campos que se utilizaron en la prueba *Pathfinder*, en cuyo caso se usó el segundo y el octavo (la lista se puede consultar en el Apéndice 1).

La prueba *Pathfinder* se componía de 20 términos procedentes, también, del material léxico de Bonneau (1990). Éstos eran los mismos tanto para la Preprueba como para la Posprueba, ya que la repetición de las pruebas con el algoritmo *Pathfinder* no supone aprendizaje (Sánchez 1999). Se seleccionaron 4 campos de psicología al azar de los 10 que señala Bonneau (1990) y se eligieron cinco términos de cada uno: el tercero, el cuarto, el quinto, el sexto y el séptimo (la lista se puede consultar en el Apéndice 1). Esto se hizo, así, con el fin de que se pudieran establecer grupos de términos más compactos, ya que si tuviéramos 10 campos distintos (dos términos por cada campo) las redes conceptuales resultantes serían más dispersas y no se percibiría fácilmente el aprendizaje producido.

La selección de los términos utilizados se controló, según el orden dado por Bonneau (1990), que se correspondía con la mayor frecuencia de los términos, para mantener un nivel de dificultad equivalente y porque se deseaba tratar con los que se consideraban fundamentales y más importantes dentro de cada campo. Sin embargo, hay que decir que, como se tenía un fuerte interés en que este léxico estuviera contextualizado y que no fueran meras listas de palabras, se trabajó con textos en clase en los que se encontraban estos términos (Alkman 1997; Caplan y Waters 1998; Edelman e Intrator 1997; Kirsch y Sapirstein 1998; Mázur y Michalek 1998; Miller 1956). Dado que se trabajó con una buena diversidad de textos, no supuso gran dificultad el que los términos de la investigación aparecieran contextualizados. Como tarea de las clases prácticas cada alumno eligió un total de entre 7 y 10 términos de cada texto. Con ellos trabajaron en la formación de un corpus léxico, añadiendo un término relacionado a cada uno de los que habían señalado y un sinónimo. Esta actividad les permitió familiarizarse y asimilar mejor los términos elegidos, ya que aparte de tener que conocer el contexto en el que podían aparecer tenían que aprender con qué palabras se podían relacionar e incluso otra manera de poder expresar el mismo concepto. Finalmente, tenían que entregar su trabajo para que el profesor recopilara los términos que habían elegido y los organizara, pudiendo de este modo obtener el material léxico para el examen que tenían que hacer.

2.3. Procedimiento

Se utilizó un diseño Preprueba-Posprueba para medir el aprendizaje léxico. Para ello, se tomó una medida previa al estudio, es decir se hizo la Preprueba, tanto en el grupo control como en el experimental, la cual se hizo el mismo día. El

tiempo entre la Preprueba y la Posprueba del grupo control fue de un mes, aproximadamente dos semanas antes que en el grupo experimental. La razón para esta diferencia de tiempo era evitar que los sujetos del grupo control estudiaran el material léxico para el examen parcial que tenían en la asignatura de "Inglés aplicado a la Psicología". Parte del material léxico de la Posprueba era el que se había recopilado para el examen parcial, y aunque los estudiantes no esperaban que se les volviera a hacer una prueba se prefirió realizar ésta antes de que tuvieran la oportunidad de estudiar. Por ello, se les entregó la lista léxica de estudio para dicho examen, elaborada por el profesor con las aportaciones de todos los estudiantes, después de realizar la Posprueba. Así, se evitaba que los datos que se pudieran obtener estuvieran contaminados por la presencia de estudio en el grupo control.

Tareas

Todos los sujetos tuvieron que realizar dos tareas. En una de ellas, en la prueba de relacionar (WAT), se les pedía que escribieran en el espacio que para ello se daba una palabra, frase o concepto muy relacionado con el término que aparecía en el recuadro. En total se daban 40 espacios y 20 palabras diferentes, con lo cual tenían que dar dos respuestas por cada término (ver Preprueba y Posprueba en el Apéndice 1). La otra tarea se realizó a través del ordenador, y tenían que dar un juicio numérico, del 1 al 9, sobre la relación que a su juicio presentaba cada una de las parejas que aparecía en la pantalla del ordenador (ver Apéndice 1). Debían juzgar todas las posibles parejas que se podían hacer con 20 elementos, es decir, 190 parejas. Se les dio la instrucción de que debían utilizar todos los números del teclado numérico y que si creían que las parejas estaban poco relacionadas presionaran el número 1 ó el 2, pero que si creían que mantenían entre sí una estrecha relación presionaran el 8 ó el 9. Todas las parejas estaban controladas por el programa y aparecerían una tras otra, de forma aleatoria, hasta que se completaba la tarea.

Como eran dos tareas, para que no influyera en los resultados el que se realizara una antes que otra, se controló el orden en el que se hicieron. Aproximadamente la mitad de cada grupo realizó, en la Preprueba, el WAT antes que la de dar el juicio de relación de las parejas presentadas, y la otra mitad comenzó con esta última prueba y terminó con el WAT. En la Posprueba se invirtió el orden de las tareas. La duración media de estas dos pruebas fue de unos 50 minutos, unos 30 minutos para el WAT y unos 20 minutos para la de dar el juicio de relación.

Evaluación

Al WAT se le asignó un punto por cada respuesta correcta. En caso de que el término dado presentara cierta relación, pero no fuera la más correcta, se

penalizaba con medio punto. Todas las hojas de respuesta fueron corregidas por la misma persona para evitar que causas ajenas a la prueba pudieran influir en los resultados. La otra prueba se evaluó con el algoritmo *Pathfinder* y con los parámetros $q=n-1$ y $r=\text{infinito}$. Aunque con este algoritmo se pueden generar diversas medidas, la utilizada aquí fue la de similitud, es decir, la similitud en cuanto al número de enlaces comunes entre los nodos en diferentes redes (Cooke *et al.* 1986; Goldsmith *et al.* 1991; Gonzalez *et al.* 1994; Johnson *et al.* 1995).

3. Resultados

Como se pretendía encontrar diferencias significativas entre las tareas llevadas a cabo antes y después de la manipulación de la variable independiente, se realizaron pruebas *t* de *Student* dependientes e independientes entre las dos fases del experimento. Los análisis del WAT y del *Pathfinder* realizados entre el grupo control y experimental en la Preprueba, y los que se llevaron a cabo entre las dos fases del grupo control, muestran que no hay diferencias significativas (ver Apéndice 2 para resultados y estadística descriptiva). Con ello podemos estar seguros de que los dos grupos comenzaron con el mismo nivel de conocimiento y que la maduración, o cambio de los sujetos producido por las actividades que se pudieran haber desarrollado en clase mientras tuvo lugar el experimento, no tiene aquí cabida. En cambio, la diferencia significativa hallada en los análisis llevados a cabo con el grupo experimental en las dos fases de la experimentación para el WAT $t(22)=16,232, p<0,01$ y con el *Pathfinder* $t(22)=3,475, p<0,01$ y el realizado entre el grupo experimental y control en la Posprueba para el WAT $t(44)=11,06, p<0,01$ y con el *Pathfinder* $t(44)=2,748, p<0,01$, indica que se ha producido un aprendizaje de una fase a otra.

4. Conclusiones

Tanto el WAT como el *Pathfinder* captan el aprendizaje, siendo procedimientos válidos para la evaluación. Además de medir los logros del aprendizaje permiten, si se desea, seleccionar y clasificar a un estudiante en un nivel determinado por su conocimiento estructural y distinguir entre conceptos mal comprendidos y estudiantes que los comprenden mal. Lo que revierte de forma muy positiva en la docencia y en el trabajo que se lleva a cabo en el aula.

Una vez que se ha concluido sobre la utilidad que ambos métodos pueden tener, es conveniente decidir en qué momentos se va a usar el uno o el otro. En realidad, esto depende, en un principio, de las distintas condiciones materiales que se

pueden dar en el aula, es decir, si se cuenta con ordenadores o no. Si no se tienen se puede utilizar el WAT ya que no requiere más medios físicos que papel y lápiz. No obstante, aún en el caso de contar con ordenadores hay que sopesar las ventajas o desventajas que ambos métodos presentan, las cuales tienen que ver con el tiempo que lleva la realización del uno o del otro y con la cantidad de información que proporcionan. En cuanto al tiempo hay que decir que con una tarea de 20 conceptos, como la que aquí se ha empleado, el WAT consume una media de 10 minutos más que el *Pathfinder*. Si a esto le añadimos que una vez que se han analizado los datos el *Pathfinder*, a diferencia del WAT, proporciona una representación de la organización conceptual de los estudiantes (ver ejemplo de redes semánticas que se muestran a continuación), la decisión claramente ha de ser favorable al *Pathfinder* al menos para una evaluación formativa y, por lo tanto, periódica.

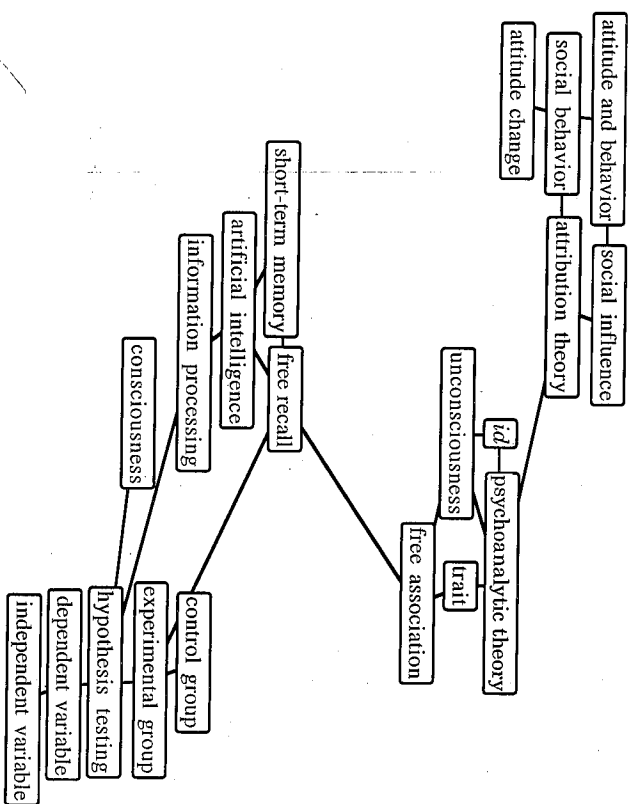


FIGURA 1. Red experta realizada con los datos de los sujetos expertos y con los parámetros $q=n-1$ y $r=\infty$.

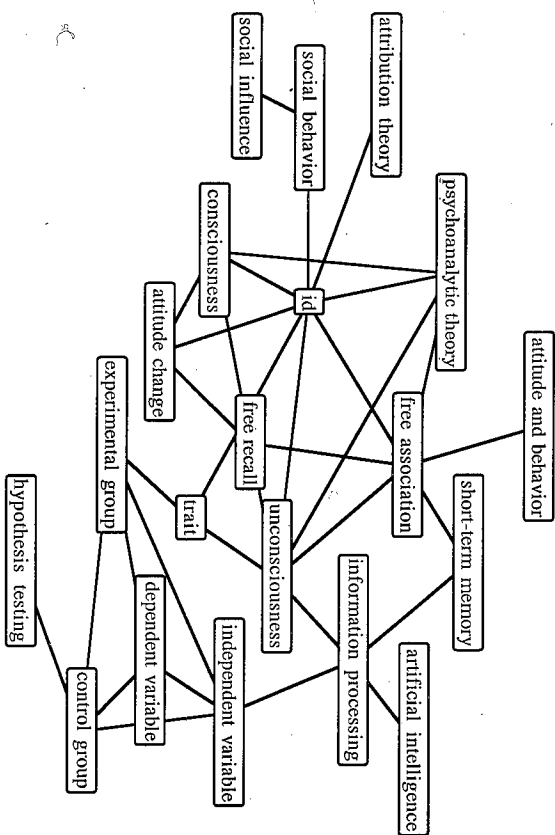


FIGURA 2. Red del grupo experimental en la Posprueba realizada con los datos de un sujeto y con los parámetros $q=n-1$ y $r=\infty$.

La representación de la organización conceptual de cada uno de los estudiantes en las diferentes fases se puede comparar fácilmente gracias a la representación visual, dándoles un excelente *feedback* sobre sus propios cambios en el proceso de aprendizaje, lo que contribuye al perfeccionamiento del proceso instruccivo de manera inmediata. Además, es susceptible de ser comparada con la del modelo experto al que se pretende llegar, lo que les puede proporcionar una clara indicación sobre el material que han de estudiar. Este aspecto es de gran importancia porque probablemente el estudio con los patrones de la organización experta conduzca a un mejor aprendizaje que con las dicotomías y clasificaciones que normalmente empleamos los lingüistas y los profesores para facilitar el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje.

Apéndice 1. Material para la prueba de relacionar (WAT)

PREPRUEBA

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| conditioned reflex | long-term memory | central nervous system | significance level |
| conditioned reflex | long-term memory | central nervous system | significance level |
| anxiety | classical conditioning | neurotransmitter | threshold |
| anxiety | classical conditioning | neurotransmitter | threshold |
| correlational method | <i>ego</i> | dissonance theory | etiology |
| correlational method | <i>ego</i> | dissonance theory | etiology |
| socialization | <i>gestalt</i> principles | hypothesis | associationism |
| socialization | <i>gestalt</i> principles | hypothesis | associationism |
| operant conditioning | meaning | attachment | introversion-extraversion |
| operant conditioning | meaning | attachment | introversion-extraversion |
| | meaning | attachment | introversion-extraversion |

POSPRUEBA

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| conformity | unconscious motivation | normal distribution | determinism |
| conformity | unconscious motivation | normal distribution | determinism |
| serial position | psychotherapy | reinforcement | binocular depth cue |
| serial position | psychotherapy | reinforcement | binocular depth cue |
| cerebral hemisphere | anxiety disorder | forgetting curve | cognitive development |
| cerebral hemisphere | anxiety disorder | forgetting curve | cognitive development |
| cerebral cortex | positive reinforcement | developmental stage | empiricism |
| cerebral cortex | positive reinforcement | developmental stage | empiricism |
| sample | depth perception | prejudice | personality |
| sample | depth perception | prejudice | personality |

LÉXICO SOMETIDO AL PATHFINDER

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| free recall | experimental group | short-term memory |
| dependent variable | psychoanalytic theory | attitude change |
| attribution theory | independent variable | social influence |
| <i>id</i> | free association | attitude and behavior |
| information processing | artificial intelligence | hypothesis testing |
| consciousness | trait | control group |
| unconsciousness | social behavior | |

Apéndice 2. Resultados y estadística descriptiva

1. Prueba de relación (WAT)

Prueba *t* independiente entre la Preprueba del grupo experimental y del grupo control:

| | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Grados de Libertad | | Valor <i>t</i> | Prob. (2-Colas) | |
| 44 | | 1,319 | 0,1939 | |
| Grupo | Nº Sujetos | Media | Desv. Típica | Error Típico |
| 1 | 23 | 16,739 | 4,641 | 0,968 |
| 2 | 23 | 15,217 | 3,011 | 0,628 |

Prueba *t* dependiente entre la Preprueba y Posprueba del grupo control:

| | | | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| Grados de Libertad | | Media X-Y | Valor <i>t</i> | Prob. (2-Colas) |
| 22 | | 0,978 | 1,002 | 0,3272 |

Prueba *t* dependiente entre la Preprueba y Posprueba del grupo experimental:

| | | | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| Grados de Libertad | | Media X-Y | Valor <i>t</i> | Prob. (2-Colas) |
| 22 | | -16,239 | 16,232 | 0,0001 |

Prueba *t* independiente entre la Posprueba del grupo experimental y del grupo control:

| | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Grados de Libertad | | Valor <i>t</i> | Prob. (2-Colas) | |
| 44 | | 11,06 | 0,0001 | |
| Grupo | Nº Sujetos | Media | Desv. Típica | Error Típico |
| 1 | 23 | 32,978 | 6,438 | 1,342 |
| 2 | 23 | 14,239 | 4,959 | 1,034 |

2. Juicios de relación (Pathfinder)

Prueba t independiente entre la Preprueba del grupo experimental y del grupo control:

| | | |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------|
| Grados de Libertad | Valor t | Prob. (2-Colas) |
| 44 | 1,136 | 0,262 |

| Grupo | Nº Sujetos | Media | Desv. Típica | Error Típico |
|-------|------------|-------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 | 23 | 0,188 | 0,064 | 0,013 |
| 2 | 23 | 0,211 | 0,077 | 0,016 |

Prueba t dependiente entre la Preprueba y Posprueba del grupo control:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------|
| Grados de Libertad | Media X-Y | Valor t | Prob. (2-Colas) |
| 22 | 0,019 | 1,268 | 0,2181 |

Prueba t dependiente entre la Preprueba y Posprueba del grupo experimental:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------|
| Grados de Libertad | Media X-Y | Valor t | Prob. (2-Colas) |
| 22 | -0,066 | 3,475 | 0,0021 |

Prueba t independiente entre la Posprueba del grupo experimental y del grupo control:

| | | |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------|
| Grados de Libertad | Valor t | Prob. (2-Colas) |
| 44 | 2,748 | 0,0087 |

| Grupo | Nº Sujetos | Media | Desv. Típica | Error Típico |
|-------|------------|-------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 | 23 | 0,254 | 0,082 | 0,017 |
| 2 | 23 | 0,192 | 0,069 | 0,014 |

Obras citadas

AKMAN, Varol. 1997. "Context as a Social Construct". En Buvač, Sasa y Lucija Iwanška. (eds.). *AAAI-97 Fall Symposium on Context in Knowledge Representation and Natural Language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The AAAI Press: 1-6.

BONEAU, C. Allan. 1990. "Psychological Literacy: A First Approximation". *American Psychologist* 45: 891-900.

CAPLAN, David y Gloria WATERS. 1998 (en prensa). "Verbal Working Memory and Sentence Comprehension". *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*.

COOKE, Nancy J. 1992. "Predicting Judgment Time from Measures of Psychological Proximity". *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 18 (3): 640-653.

COOKE, Nancy M., Francis T. DURSO y Roger W. SCHWANEVOLDT. 1986. "Recall and Measures of Memory Organization". *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 12 (4): 538-549.

EDELMAN, Shimon y Nathan INTRATOR. 1997 (Preprint). "Learning as a Extraction of Low-Dimensional Representations". *Mechanisms of Perceptual Learning*.

GOLDSMITH, Timothy E., Peder J. JOHNSON y William H. ACTON. 1991. "Assessing Structural Knowledge". *Journal of Educational Psychology* 83 (1): 88-96.

GONZÁLEZ, P., Juan José CAÑAS y Mª Teresa BALO. 1994. "Structural Representations in Knowledge Acquisition". *Journal of Educational Psychology* 86 (4): 601-616.

JOHNSON, Peder J., Timothy E. GOLDSMITH y Kathleen W. TEAGUE. 1995. "Similarity, Structure, and Knowledge: A Representational Approach to Assessment". En Nichols, Paul D., Susan F. Chipman y Robert L. Brennan. (eds.). *Cognitively Diagnostic Assessment*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum: 221-249.

KIRSCH, Irvin y Guy SAPIRSTEIN. "Listening to Prozac but Hearing Placebo: A Meta-Analysis of Antidepressant Medication". *Prevention & Treatment* (1), Article 0002a. 1998. <http://our-nals.apa.org/prevention/volume1/pre0010002a.html>.

MAZUR, Allan y Joel MICHAEL. 1998 (en prensa). "Marriage, Divorce and Male Testosterone". *Social Forces*.

MILLER, George A. 1956. "The Magical Number Seven Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information". *The Psychological Review* 63: 81-97.

PIRAQUE, Alfonso y Juan Carlos Ruiz. 1997. "Representación del conocimiento estructural tras el entrenamiento en esquemas procedimentales". *Psicológica* 18: 11-21.

SÁNCHEZ, Mª Jesús. 1999. "El conocimiento léxico y su aprendizaje en el inglés como lengua extranjera: aplicación del Pathfinder como método de análisis". Universidad de Salamanca, Tesis doctoral sin publicar.

SCHWANEVOLDT, Roger W. (ed.). 1990. *Pathfinder Associative Networks: Studies in Knowledge Organization*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

SCHWANEVOLDT, Roger W., Francis T. DURSO, Timothy E. GOLDSMITH, Timothy J. BREEN, Nancy M. COOKE, Richard G. TUCKER y Joseph C. DE MAIO. 1985. "Measuring the Structure of Expertise". *International Journal of Man-Machine Studies* 23: 699-728.

VERPLANCK, Werplanck S. 1992. "A Brief Introduction to the Word Associate Test". *The Analysis of Verbal Behavior* 10: 97-123.

FROM YOUTH TO AGE THROUGH
OLD ENGLISH POETRY
(WITH OLD NORSE PARALLELS)¹

JORDI SÀNCHEZ MARTÍ
Cornell University, USA

In 1986 three monographs on the medieval conception of the ages of man appeared, authored by John Burrow, Mary Dove, and Elizabeth Sears. Far from exhausting this topic, these works have encouraged the critics to delve further into this question by providing them with an adequate theoretical framework. Prof. Burrow is the only one of these scholars who attempts to elucidate the perception that the Anglo-Saxons had in relation to the ages of man, however. After having surveyed numerous texts—including literary works, the Anglo-Saxons' saints' lives, homilies, treatises on astrology, etc.—Burrow (1986: 109) arrives at this conclusion:

their [the Anglo-Saxons'] stress on the moral and spiritual superiority of the old is such that, if we were to follow Philippe Ariès in supposing that every period of history favours or privileges one among the ages of man, the only possible choice for the Anglo-Saxon period would be *senectus*.

I believe that this position requires a more precise formulation when referring to the literary representation of the ages of man. My intentions in this paper are, first, to explore the progress from youth to age as portrayed in Old English poetry; second, to determine which would be the preferred age for the Anglo-Saxons, as far as can be assessed from the extant evidence. In both cases, references are made to the cognate Old Norse literature in order to reinforce the limited evidence in Old English.² This discussion is based only on a literary

exploration and does not attempt to present all the facts that would be considered from a historical approach. I hope to expose the ideological stance that informs the Anglo-Saxons' attitude toward youth and the age. The basic contrast between youth and age is encapsulated in a biblical quotation: "exultatio iuvenum fortitudo eorum et dignitas senum canities" (Prov. 20.29).³ Bede explains this proverb clarifying the reference to "canities": "Canitiam sapientiam dicit [...] et seniores majore prudentia praediti, de his quae agenda sunt, salubriter consulunt".⁴ It may therefore be assumed that the association of youth with *fortitudo* and age with *sapientia* is primordial. The relationship between these qualities is inversely proportional: the older someone is, the less his strength and the greater his wisdom, and vice versa, as can be inferred from Jerome's words: "omnes praene virtutes corporis mutantur in senibus et incrementa sola sapientia decrescunt ceterae".⁵ Therefore, the aim of any youngster as they age should be to attain sufficient wisdom, since it is the privilege of Nature to dictate the level of *fortitudo* of any given individual. This idea is clearly expressed in *Maxims II*: "Treoƿ seol on eorle, wisdom on were" (lines 32^b-33).⁶ The absence of wisdom in youth is confirmed by *Maxims I* in a straightforward way:

Let non leaƿes behofað, Læran secal mon geongne monnan,
 tryman ond ƿhtan þæt he teala cunne,
 oppæt hine non ateneadne habbe,
 sƿile him wist ond weado, oppæt hine mon on gewitce alæde. (lines 45-48)⁷

I agree with Carolynne Larrington's (1993: 124) statement that here "there is an implied comparison between the young man and a young animal who must be tamed". In fact, these lines from *Maxims I* express an overriding need for formation, without which young men would be overcome by their animal instincts and would turn to a life of vice. Thus, we see that there was concern about the nurturing and formation of youths; but what means were available to this end? By examining the literary corpus, I have identified two sources for the instruction of youngsters: one, direct association with wise men; the other, what I would designate the experience of the world. Both aim to furnish young men with the knowledge and experience necessary for a satisfactory transition to adulthood. The youth's association with a wise man represents a first stage in his development, one that supplies him with a kind of theoretical knowledge of practical matters that will properly equip him for a successful adjustment to the new reality that he will encounter in the following stage, during his "experience of the world". The watchword of this first phase is contained in *Maxims I*, "Ræd byp mytrost" (line 118^b)⁸ and is well illustrated in *Precepts*, where a father instructs his son.⁹ The father is clearly endued with the characteristics of his age:

Dus frod fæder freobearn lærde,
 modsmottor mon, maga cystum cald,
 wordum wistfæstum, þæt he wel þunge. (lines 1-3)¹⁰

The father's guidance is organized systematically and adopts the framing device of the numbering of each occasion upon which advice is sought.¹¹ In its contents the son is exhorted to behave appropriately and to avoid actions that might cause undesirable consequences. I subscribe to Elaine Hansen's (1981: 7) view, according to which

the fact that the father's wisdom is divided up into installments suggests that the transmission of wisdom from the old wise one to the beloved young one takes time and is thought of as an ongoing experience rather than a single initiatory event.

The father lays claim to his authoritative position with a self-appointing remark:

 ac þu be anne genim
 to gesprecan sƿmle spella ond lara
 ƿædhycgende. Sy ymb rice swa hit mæge. (lines 24^b-26)¹²

With these words the author insists not only that his advice is valid, but also that it is advantageous for youngsters to obtain knowledge from judicious people, thus justifying the direct usefulness of his literary endeavour. The suggested association with a sage person for a time is also endorsed by Saturn, himself an old and wise figure:

Ac forhtwan nele monn him on giogode georne gewyrcan
 deores dryhtscipes and deaðfuman,
 wadan on wisdom, winnan æfter snytro? (*Solomon and Saturn*, lines 388-90)¹³

In *Beowulf* we read how Wealthecow commends her sons to Beowulf for him to instruct them: "ond byssum cnyhtum wes / lara lide!" (lines 1219^b-20^a).¹⁴ The second stage, which I have named experience of the world, functions as a rite of passage in which the youths have to put into practice the teachings they have previously acquired. This formative period is defined by a more autonomous learning process: "wene þec in wisdom" (*Precepts*, line 62^a).¹⁵ This statement in *Maxims II* attests the validity of this method: "and gomol smotrost, / fyrngearum frod, se þe ar feala gebideð" (lines 11^b-12).¹⁶ *The Wanderer* insists on this alternative and makes the experience of the world a requisite for any wise person: "Forþon ne mæg wearpan wis wer, ar he age / wintra dal in woruldlice" (lines 64-65^a).¹⁷ This kind of education usually takes the form of traveling. *The Seafarer* reveals his instinctive wanderlust and his desire to encounter other cultures in foreign lands:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| heortan gepohras | For þon cryssað nu |
| þæt ic hean streamas, | þæt ic hean streamas, |
| sealyþa gelæc | syfl cunnige – |
| monað modes lust | mæla gehwylc |
| feoð to fetan, | þæt ic feor heonan |
| clþeodigra | eard gesece. |

(*The Seafarer* lines 33b-38)¹⁸

The benefits resulting from traveling are proverbial and they are also acclaimed in Old Norse poetry, as described in *Háttatali*:

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sá einn veit | That one alone knows |
| er víða ratar | who roams widely |
| ok hefir fiðlð um farit, | and has travelled greatly, |
| hverio geði | what kind of mind |
| stýrir gunna hverr. (181-5) | each man has. |

Moreover, traveling was sometimes presented as guarantee of knowledge. Widstith adduces the vast experience acquired in his many journeys as entitling him to recite his poem with a sense of authority:

| |
|---|
| Swa ic geondferde feða fremdra londa |
| geond gine grund, godes & ylles |
| þær ic cunnaðe, cnoðle biðaðeð, |
| feomegum feor, folgade wide. |
| Forþon ic mæg singan & secean spell. (<i>Widstith</i> lines 50-53) ¹⁹ |

Nevertheless, the authority that this evocation really confers on him is relative, as the evidence of the *Dunham Proverbs* suggests: “Hwon geþeð se þe wide sipað” (p. 295).²⁰

Although, theoretically, traveling could provide a good training for the adequate nurturing of youths, its positive impact cannot be taken for granted, as Beowulf informs us: “feorcþe beoð / seþran gesohte þæm þe him selfa deað” (lines 1838b-39).²¹ The same feeling is shared in *Háttatali*: “Vitæ er þorð / þeim er víða ratar” (51-2).²² Consequently, it is necessary that the young men venturing afar be endowed with certain skills that assist them in coping with adversity, otherwise they will be heading for disaster and probably for death.

The rigors of treading the paths of exile are clearly explained in *The Seafarer*:

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| þe him on foldan | Þæt se mon ne wat |
| hu ic earnnearing | fragroft limpeð, |
| winter winnade | iscaldne sæ |
| wintmægum biðforen, | wraccan lastum, |
| hihongen hringicelum; | hægle scurum fleag. (lines 12b-17) ²³ |

The harshness of a wandering lifestyle is accentuated by contrasting it with the ease of life at home, where everyday existence is not as stressful and demanding. This topic comes up several times in *The Seafarer* (cf. lines 27-30 and 55b-57), and is also alluded to in *Háttatali* when the challenge of traveling is compared to the easy life at home.²⁴

At this point, I would like to recapitulate the two stages by which young men attain wisdom, in order to make a comparison between them. The first stage is characterized by the transmission of social principles that the youngster will have to put into practice from then on. These teachings provide them with rules for good or sensible behavior. For instance, the father in *Precepts* advises his son not to be hasty of speech: “Wærwyrðe secal wistfastr hæle / breostum hweggan, nales breatþme hluð” (lines 57-58).²⁵ The Wanderer states his familiarity with this proverb:

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Ic to soþe wat | indryhcn þeaw |
| þæt biþ in eorle | þæt he his feollöcan faeste binde, |
| healde his hordcofan. (lines 11 ^a -14 ^a) ²⁶ | |

He, subsequently, declares his acceptance and application of this principle: “swa ic modseðan minne secolde / (...) fetcrum sælan” (lines 19 and 21b).²⁷ Second, there is also a very distinctive feature that characterizes the two phases: the degree of social interaction involved. The young boy who associates himself with a savant establishes with him a very close and comforting relation that gives him a feeling of security. Conversely, when the time comes later for him to train himself in wisdom, the youngster faces a solitary learning experience; thus, at the end of *The Wanderer*, whose protagonist also walked the “wraccan lastum”, we read: “Swa ewarz snottor on mode, gesæt him sundor æt rune” (line 111).²⁸ This solitude is their constant companion all the way through their personal voyage, and impregnates all their experience, as is clear from the Wanderer’s words:

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| sohte seledreorig | sinces brytan, |
| hwær ic feor oþþe neah | findan meahre |
| þone þe in meoduhælle | minne myne wisse, |
| oþþe mec freondleasne | fefran wolde, |
| wentian mid wyrrnum. (lines 25-29a) ²⁹ | |

The third point of comparison refers to the degree of involvement of the youths in their learning experience. When they join an instructor they are merely receiving his teachings passively. By contrast, the wanderer has no choice but to attempt to solve the problems posed during his journey himself. If we add to these considerations the fact that the traveler has no assurance of success in his mission,

it seems natural that the association with a sage should be thought to be more desirable. The Wanderer himself remembers with nostalgia his period of union with a wise man: "Forþon wat se þe sceal his wineðryhnes / leofes larcwudum longe forþolian" (lines 37-38).³⁰

The Old Icelandic literature offers a testimony of great value for a fuller appreciation of the development of the youths as described above:

Nú er annan vegg þeira lífi er upp vaxa með fǫður sínum ok þykkja yðr einiskis háttar hía yðr; en þá er þeir eru frunnaxtra, fara land af landi ok þykkja þar mesthátar sem þá koma þeir, koma við þat út ok þykkisk þá höfðingjum meiri.³¹

The servant woman who pronounces these words here explains the social dimension of the two stages mentioned above: while the youths are under the tutelage of an elder—in this case their father—they play a low-key role. The return of the youngsters from distant lands marks the completion of a rite of passage; they are then regarded as adults and acquire greater social prominence. There is no similar statement in the Old English literature that would provide us with this kind of insight. Nonetheless, from the texts examined, it seems to me that there is absolute consonance with the ideas held in *Hrafnhelli's saga*.

Thus far, it may seem that *juventus* was an age for training and education to which all youths would devote themselves exclusively. In contrast, on the path to wisdom young men would have to overcome the temptations of their age,³² and also the dangers menacing their existence.³³ This is a turbulent and unstable age in which it is very easy to turn away from the right path, a fact that causes the concern of mothers, as Solomon points out:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Heo ðæs aſan sceall | oft and gelome |
| gimme gretian, | bonne he geong fareð, |
| hafað wilde mod, | wertige heortan, |
| seān sorgfulne, | slided geneahce, |
| wetig, wilna leas, | waldres bedæled. (lines 37-38) ³⁴ |

The father in *Precepts* cautions his son against the vices that may imperil his youth:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Druncen beorg þe | ond dollic word, |
| man on mode | ond in mupe lye, |
| yre ond æfeste | ond idese lutan. (lines 34-36) ³⁵ |

The pernicious effect that vices have on the road to wisdom is clearly averred in *Hávamál*, in relation to lust for women it says that

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| heimska or horskom | foolish from wise |
| gørir hofna sono | makes the sons of men |
| sá inn mæddi munr | that powerful desire |

(94⁴⁻⁶)

Indulging in drunkenness has similar consequences:

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| þviat fara veit, | since he knows less, |
| er fleira drektr, | when he drinks more, |
| sins til geðs gunni. (12 ⁴⁻⁵) | the man about his own wits. |

Iniquitous behavior therefore prevents the acquisition of wisdom; this situation can only be reversed in very special cases. A manifest example is furnished by *Guthlac A*. The protagonist of this poem led a sinful life during his youth:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Hvæt we hyrdon of | þæt se halga wer |
| in þa arestan | aldri gelufade |
| freccessa fea. (lines 108-110) ³⁶ | |

Nevertheless, Guthlac enjoyed the continuous supervision of an older angel who chose to stand by him during those moments when the influence of evil was most intense, "geornast grette 7 him giefe scalde" (line 357).³⁷ Guthlac's later religious and pious attitude was rewarded by God when Guthlac was of advanced years:

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| ða was agongen | þæt him God wolde |
| after þrowinga | þonc gegyldan |
| þæt he marrythad | mode gelufade; |
| scalde him snyttu | on sefan gehygdum, |
| mægenfaſte genynd. (lines 470-474) ³⁸ | |

The stage in which a young man completes his training extended over a prolonged period. There are exceptional cases, however, in which the learning process is brought to a halt before the end of his young age. Then, we find youths endowed with the traditional attributes of older people. This topos of the *puer senex*, or aged youth, is recurrent in hagiographic texts, in which the alteration of the normal *causans aetatis* has its origin in divine intervention.³⁹ This theme is also found in literary texts and there are also some witnesses in Anglo-Saxon literature which have been widely studied (see Burrow 1986: 103). The description of a *puer senex* is found in *Anhrens*, where God appears to St Andrews in the form of an expert sailor:

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Du eart scola geong, | |
| wigendra hleo, | nalas wintrum frod; |
| hafast þeh on fyrhðe, | farodlaecnde, |
| corles ondsware. | Aeghwylces canst |
| worda for woruðde | wislic andgilt. (lines 505 ^h -509) ⁴⁰ |

Here the youth's strength of mind, typical of an *eorl* or old man, is emphasized. Nevertheless, God's direct participation makes any further comment unnecessary. Likewise, in *Beowulf*, our hero is described in the same terms, and Hirothgar alludes to the inevitable intervention of the supernatural to comprehend Beowulf's unsurpassed eloquence:

Pe þa wordewydas wígtlig Drihten
 on scfan sende; ne hyrde ic smortlicor
 on swa geongum feore gumnan þingian.
 þu eart mægens strang ond on mode frod,
 wis wordewidal (lines 1841-1845)⁴¹

Another instance of transcendence is provided by *Widsith*, where the premature *fortitudo* of Offa is highlighted, not his *sapientia*:

ac Offa geslog ærest monna,
 criht wesende, cynetrica mæst.
 Nanig efeneald him eorlscepe maran
 onorette. (lines 38-41)⁴²

Those who have successfully passed through their juvenile period with no extraordinary divine help will next enter a new stage in their lives. Its characteristics are explicitly described in *The Fortunes of Men*:

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Sum secal on geogube | mid godes meahnum |
| his eorðsíp | ealne forspildan, |
| ond on ylðo eft | cadiġ weoþan, |
| wunian wyrdagum | ond welan þicgan, |
| mapnas ond meodufal | mægburge on, |
| þes þe anig fira mæge | forð gecwaldan. (lines 58-63) ⁴³ |

This is an age of well-being that represents the consummation of the previous stage. Here they find the “cades hleotan” that the father in *Precepts* promises his son as the end result of following his teachings. This brings us to the second purpose in this discussion: the identification of the preferred age among the Anglo-Saxons. As indicated above, Burrow has identified the perfect age of the Anglo-Saxons with *senectus*, though he does so cautiously, due to the scarce textual evidence preserved. He (1986: 108) rules out *juventus*, basing his rejection a negative interpolation in the *Dicks of Cato*, however, and reaffirms the supremacy of old age because of its “moral and spiritual superiority” derived mainly from *sapientia*. Nonetheless, Burrow omits similar allusions that depict old age as evil. In Hrothgar’s opinion, old age is a danger to people’s welfare: “Wunað he on wiste; no hine wíht dweled / adl ne ylðo” (*Beowulf*, lines 1735-1736).⁴⁴ Hrothgar even labels it “atol” (“terrible”, line 1765⁴⁵). It is therefore legitimate to conclude that, according to the extant evidence, neither youth nor old age represent the Anglo-Saxon acme or perfect age. What then was their preferred age?

We would agree that the excerpt quoted above from *The Fortunes of Men* (lines 58-63) provides a literary representation of the age most privileged and favored among the Anglo-Saxons. Although the author of *The Fortunes of Men* refers to

this age as *ylðo* (line 60), the possible interpretation of this word not only as “old age”, but also as “age, time of life” (Bosworth-Toller 1898: 587-588) must not be overlooked.⁴⁵ The latter seems to be the intended meaning, since the text suggests direct continuity from youth, and it is therefore a transitional period between youth and old age, “vergens actas a iuventute in senium”.⁴⁶ This corresponds with the Latin *gravisitas*, which Isidore defines as “declinatio a iuventute in senectutem, nondum senectus, sed iam non iuventus”.⁴⁷

The author’s selection of the generic term “age” confirms Mary Dove’s (1986: 5) appreciation of the unusualness of “any explicit reference in medieval English literature to an age intervening between youth and old age”. Given this, it is appropriate to quote a comment on the ages of man that Ælfric includes in his homily on the Parable of the Vineyard:

Witodlice ures andgites merigen. is ure cildhad. ure cnihthad swylce undermíd on þam astiðð ure geoggoð. swa swa seo sunne deð ymbe þære driððan tide. Ure fulfremeda wasm. swa swa middage. for ðan ðe on midne dag bið seo sunne on ðam utemestum rync stige. swa swa se fulfremeda wasm bið on filre strenche béonde; Seo noniðð bið ure ylð. for ðan ðe on noniðð astiðð seo sunne. and ðæs caldigendan mannes mægen bið wantigende (Godden 1979: 44).⁴⁸

Ælfric calls this intermediate stage “fulfremeda wasm” (completed growth), which is the culmination of the man’s potential at all levels. Ælfric’s terminology coincides with the word chosen by King Alfred in his translation of Gregory’s *Cura Pastoralis* (Sweet 1872: 385); he renders Gregory’s “perfecta actate” with the expression “fulfremedre ielde” (“completed age”), which presents the same connotations of privileged age, although here this occurs in a completely theological context.⁴⁹

The Old Norse literature furnishes us with material coincident with the views identified in the Old English texts. Firstly, both traditions recognize a period that marks the completion of the youth’s development and the beginning of his adulthood apart from his parents. Both literatures avoid labelling the stage following youth with a denotative noun. Instead, the two languages make use of past participles to refer to this middle age: “frunvaxinn” (ON), “fulfremede” (OE), “full-orðinn” (ON), “full-proskaðr” (ON), and “roskinn” (ON). The same reference can be found in the sagas: “þeir [Þórólf and Thorstein] óxu upp með föður sínum, þar til er þeir vǫru frunvaxta”,⁵⁰ “Ózsofr Hafgrímsson uex upp [...] þar til sem hann er full proskadr maðr”,⁵¹ [...] þar til er Ásmundr var roskinn at aldri; þá beiddi Ásmundr fararefna af föður sínum [...]; fór Ásmundr þá útan”.⁵²

The problem now is to determine whether or not this stage of maturity was accompanied in the Old Norse literature by the positive connotations pointed out

above. I have isolated two references in *Egils saga* that suggest some sort of predilection for this *grannias*. The book begins by narrating the experiences of Ulf Bjalfason from the Viking expeditions of his youth up to his adulthood, which is depicted in the following way:

Úlfur var maðr auðgýr, bæði at fjndum ok lausum aurum; hann tók lenda manns rétt, svá sem haft höfðu langfécgar hans, ok gerðisk maðr ríkr [...], en stundum var hann á tali við menn, þá er ráða hans þurftu; kunnir hann til alls góðs ráðs at leggja, því at hann var forvitrí (Nordal 1933: 4).⁵³

This description is infused with the same air of well-being that was generated by *The Fortunes of Men*. Ulf starts his adulthood by getting married and having two children. Later we learn that his advanced age prevents him from benefiting from the excellent conditions for plunder. His sons, however, have no such impediment because they are of that privileged age — “synir hans váru rosknir” (Nordal 1933: 6).⁵⁴

The second instance from *Egils saga* reveals the same perception of old age as a hindrance to the full use of human capacities: “er Haraldr konungr var gamall orðinn, þá réð fyrir Yermalandi jarl sá, er Arnviðr hét; var þar þá, sem mjök víða annars staðar, at skattar greiddusk verr en þá er Haraldr konungr var á létrasta skeiði aldri” (Nordal 1933: 220).⁵⁵ King Harald has now passed his stage of full development or his plenitude; he is in his declining years, and is therefore unable to fulfill his obligations as he had in his maturity.

As I stated at the beginning of this paper (see note 2), the views I express in relation to Old Norse literature are not meant to have an absolute and definitive value; nevertheless, one can conclude from the parallels presented so far that both literatures share fundamental ideas on the issue of age.

To summarize, in relation to the development of a young man, we can say that *juventus* was a stage in life in which three contrary components coincided, namely, the need for training in order to become a full member of society, the vices and dissipation that hinder the previous objective, and the dangers that impel the youth's existence. The young man had to be invested with integrity in order to successfully complete this phase. There is a gnomic statement in *The Wigð-Lament* that precisely emphasizes the pre-eminence of a sense of righteousness in the youngster's behavior:

| | |
|--|---|
| A scyle geong mon heard heortan geþoht, blipe geþero, sinsorga gedreag, eal his worulde wyn, feores folclondes. | wesan geomormod, swlce habban secal eac þon broostceare, sy at him sylfum gelong sy ful wide fah (ll. 42-47) ⁵⁶ |
|--|---|

Here the attitude a young man — while “geong caldian” (*Maxims I*, line 8⁹) — should adopt in this age of personal development is described. The adoption of such behavior will prove fundamental in his next age, the well-being of which is totally dependent on his youth. This belief in the determining effect of youth is implicit in this Icelandic gnome: “fár er hvatr; / er hvarðaz tekr, / ef í barnrosko er blaundr.”⁵⁷

With regard to the preferred age, the transition period between youth and old age was regarded by the Anglo-Saxons as the perfect age, a stage in which the symptoms of decrepitude have not yet manifested themselves and the training period has been completed. Their preference for *grannias* over *senectus* can be explained mainly by the physical deterioration associated with old age. As *Aelfric* describes: “wiroldlice on caldicum gearum bið ðas mannes wasum geþged. his swura áslacod. his neb bið gerifod. his leomu calle gewrahte; His broost bið mid siccetungum geþread, and betwux wordum his orþung ateorad.”⁵⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that this middle age, representing a balance between *sapientia* and *fortitudo*, was the one preferred by the Anglo-Saxons.

Notes

¹ This article is an extended version of a paper presented in the Medieval Studies Colloquium, Cornell University (February, 2000).

² I want to emphasize that the purpose of introducing Old Norse parallels is to supplement the Old English texts with further illustration. Consequently, the exemplification and analysis of Old Norse quotations are not intended to be comprehensive.

³ Ed. Weber et al. (1994: 975). “The joy of young men is their strength; and the dignity of old men their grey hairs.” Translation from *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate: Douay's version* (1914: 673). In order to make this paper more accessible, I append literal translations of the texts in Latin, Old English, and Old Norse. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

⁴ *Super Parabolas Salomonis Allegorica Expositio*, 2.20, PL 91, col. 999. “It says that grey hair means wisdom [...] and elderly men endowed with greater prudence reflect wholesomely about the things that should be done.”

⁵ *Epistulae*, ep. 52.3.2, p. 416. “Almost all the powers of the body are changed in aged men, and while wisdom alone increases, all the rest fade away.”

⁶ “A warrior must show loyalty; a man must have wisdom” (trans. Shippey 1976: 77). All quotations of Old English poetry are from *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (eds. Krapp and Dobbie 1931-53) when no other specific edition is mentioned. Reference to the editor will only appear in the first occurrence of the work.

7. "A sick man needs a doctor. A young man is to be taught, to be encouraged and prompted to know things well, until you have made him manageable" (trans. Shippey 1976: 67).

8. "Good advice is the most useful thing" (trans. Shippey 1976: 71). Cf. *Hávamál*, 63^a: "þviat ðbrigðra vin / fær mædr aldregi / en manvít mikit" (ed. Helgason, 1955a, vol. 1, p. 16) ["For a man cannot obtain a more reliable friend than great judgment"].

9. Another instance of the transmission of wisdom from an old and sage person to a young man can be found in the so-called Hrothgar's sermon in *Beowulf* (ed. Klaeber 1950) (lines 1700-84 (cf. Hansen 1982).

10. "This is how the father — a man of experience with an intelligent mind, a man who had grown old in good qualities—this is how he taught his noble son, giving him sensible advice, so that he would get on well" (trans. Shippey 1976: 49).

11. Howe (1985: 142) suggests the Book of Proverbs as a possible model for *Precepts*. Howe also affirms that "the order of the ten entries in the catalogue corresponds roughly to the order of human life; both follow the common, three-fold division of youth, maturity and old age" (1985: 145). This interpretation seems far-fetched to me, and Howe (1985: 150-151) himself is aware of its weakness. The progression in the teachings that Howe verifies corresponds to the evolution of the youths during his first formative period under the tutelage of a wise man, but there is no explicit or implicit correlation with the ages of man.

12. "But always choose as an adviser for yourself someone who is resourceful in precepts and examples, whatever his status happens to be" (trans. Shippey 1976: 49).

13. "But why will a man not be eager in his youth to gain himself a valuable lord and a champion, to pursue wisdom, to struggle for sagacity?" (trans. Shippey 1976: 97).

14. "And be generous in counsel to these boys".

15. "Train yourself in wisdom" (trans. Shippey 1976: 51).

16. "And an old man knows most things, a man made wise by distant years, who has experienced a great deal before" (trans. Shippey 1976: 77).

17. "Assuredly no man can become wise before he has had a great many years in the world". This view is corroborated by Hrothgar: "Ic his gîd be þe / a wraec winturum frod" (*Beowulf*, 1723^b-24^a) [I, wise with winters, have told this tale for your sake].

18. Ed. Gordon (1966). "And so, the thoughts beat upon my heart, now that I myself am to explore the deep seas, the tumult of the seaways. The desire of my mind urges the heart on every occasion to set out, so that I may seek far from here the foreign land".

19. Ed. Malone (1962). "Thus I travelled through many foreign lands over the wide land. I experienced there good and evil: parted from my kindred, far from my kinsmen, I served widely. Thus I can sing and tell my story" (see Howe 1985: 179-180).

20. Ed. Amgart (1981). "A little boasts he who travels widely".

21. "Distant lands are better sought by one who is himself of worth".

22. "Wits are needed for those who travel widely". Desks offers a discussion of this parallel (1996: 126-128).

23. "That man does not know, whom it befalls most fairly on land, how I, wretched and sorrowful, remained years on the ice-cold sea, in the paths of exile, bereaved of dear kinsmen, hung around by icicles; hail flew in showers".

24. "Dæit er heima hvar" (5³) ["Anything will do at home"].

25. "A sensible man must be careful with his words, and think things over in his heart, not be loud and noisy" (trans. Shippey 1976: 51).

26. *The Wanderer*, eds. Dunning and Bliss (1969). "I know as a fact that it is in a grown man a noble custom to bind firmly his breast, to preserve the treasury of his thoughts".

27. "So I have had to bind with fetters my thoughts".

28. "Thus spoke the wise in spirit, he sat apart in secret meditation".

29. "Sad at the loss of the hall, I sought for some giver of treasure, where—far or near—I could find someone in the meadhall who would know my thought, or wished to console me, friendless, to entertain me with joys". Cf. Dunning and Bliss (1969: 61-65).

30. "Indeed he knows, who must do without the counsels of his beloved friendly lord for a long time". For a discussion of line 37, see Leslie (1966: 72-73).

31. *Hrafnkæls Saga Freysgoda* (ed. Jón Helgason 1955b: 31). "Now, for those who grow up with their father, their life is another way, and they seem to you, by your side, of no importance; but when they are grown up, they travel from land to land, and there they seem of the greatest importance; just as when they return, they come home and they consider themselves greater than chiefs".

32. The perpetration of peccadilloes is directly related to young age, mainly to those who are not supervised by an elder, as is suggested in *Guthlac A* (Roberts 1979): "swa bið geogude beaw / þær þas ealdres egsa ne si lyrd" (lines 419^a-20) ["Such is the custom of youth where the fear of an elder does not trouble them"].

33. *The Fortunes of Men* relates the death of many men who are still in their young age: "Sunnum flet gegonged on geogudfære / þæt se endestæf earfedmæccum / weallic weorþeð" (lines 10-12^a) ["It happens to some unlucky men that the end of their lives comes unhappily in youth", trans. Shippey 1976: 59]. There follows a long enumeration of the varied circumstances that may cause the death of youngsters (lines 12^b-57).

34. "Time and again she [a mother] will have to weep bitterly for her son, when he is going round as a young man, with a wild spirit, a wicked heart, and a sad mind" (trans. Shippey 1976: 97).

35. "Avoid drunkenness and foolish words, sin in the heart and lies in the mouth, anger and spite and the love of women" (trans. Shippey 1976: 49).

36. "Ah! We have often heard that this holy man loved in his youth many vicious courses". Thomas D. Hill (1981) discusses the relation of youth and age in this poem.

37. "Greeted him most diligently and gave him favor".

38. "Then it befell that God wished to pay him thanks for his sufferings, because he loved martyrdom with his mind; he gave him wisdom in the thoughts of his mind, a steadfast mind".

39. For a formulation of this topos in relation to classical literature, see Ernest Robert Curtius (1953: 98-101).

40. Ed. Brooks (1961). "You are yourself young, protector of men, and not at all old in years; nevertheless, you have the ability, seafarer, to answer like an old man. You know the true significance of every man's words in the world".

41. "The wise Lord sent these words to your mind; I have never heard a man talk more wisely at so young an age. You are strong in your might, wise in your mind and in your

speech". Burrow discusses in depth the question of age in *Beowulf* and alludes to its possible relation to Andreas (1986: 123-34). Premature eloquence is also exalted in the case of Egil, although there is no mention of divine mediation: "hann var brátt máltgr ok orviss", *Egils Saga Skalla-Grimssonar* (ed. Nordal 1933: 80) ["He was soon talkative and expressive"].

⁴² "But Offa was the first of men to win by battle, while still a boy, the greatest of kingdoms. Nobody of the same age achieved by fighting greater heroism". Here it must be noticed that, according to the Danish and English story, Offa had reached the age of thirty before his combat. See R. W. Chambers (1965: 203, n. 39). Cf. Thorolf: "sninna var hann svá fullkorninn at afli, at hann þótti vel líkðorr með óðrum monnum", *Egils Saga* (1933: 80) ["at an early age he was so full with strength that he seemed well-accomplished among other men"].

⁴³ "Through the power of God, one must do away with his troubles in his youth, and in the age afterwards be fortunate, live through joyful days, and receive riches, treasures and the mead-cup in the home of his family, as much as any man may continue to have these".

⁴⁴ "He dwells in prosperity; nothing hinders him at all, sickness or age". Cf. *The Seafarer* (lines 70-71), where old age is cited among the possible causes of death along with sickness and violence.

⁴⁵ As Mary Dove (1986: 5) states, "it is too evident how easily age-nomenclature and differences between (and variations within) traditional and modern divisions of ages can stand in the way of meaningful discussion".

⁴⁶ Isidore, *Differentiarum*, 2.20, PL, 83, col. 81. "The age declining from youth into old age".

⁴⁷ *Etymologiae*, 11.2.6. "The decline from youth into old age, not yet old, but already not young". Cf. Augustine: "in adulescentia speratur iuventus; et in iuventute speratur gravitas; et in gravitate speratur senectus" (*Epistolarum*, 213, PL, 33, col. 966). See also Joseph de Ghellinck (1948).

⁴⁸ "Certainly, the morning of our understanding is our childhood, our adolescence is like the third hour, on which hour youth rises, just as the sun does about that third hour; our completed growth is just as midday, for at midday the sun is ascending to its uppermost orbit, just as the completed growth is increasing to its full strength. The ninth hour is our old age, for on the ninth hour the sun declines, and the might of the ageing man is waning".

⁴⁹ Gregory the Great, *Regulae Pastoralis*, 3.25, PL 77, col. 98 c.

⁵⁰ *Svarfæla Saga* (ed. Ásmundarson 1898: 1). "They grew up with their father until they were in their prime".

⁵¹ *Færeyinga Saga* (ed. Halldórsson 1987: 47). "Ózúr Hagrímsson grew up [...] until he was a fully developed man".

⁵² *Grettis Saga Ásmundarsonar* (ed. Jónsson 1936: 34). " [...] until Ásmund was of mature age; then Ásmund asked his father for equipment [...] then Ásmund went abroad". See other instances of *roskinn* in *Brennu-Njáls Saga* (ed. Sveinsson 1954: 214, 226, 441).

⁵³ "Ulf was a wealthy man, both in lands and in movable property; he took the right of a land-holder, as his ancestors had done, and became a powerful man [...]; but at times he had conversations with men who needed his counsel; he knew how to give good advice because he was very wise".

⁵⁴ "His sons were in their prime". Cf. *Gudmundar drápa*, 12^a in *Biskupa Sögur II*, (1862: 190).

⁵⁵ "When King Harald grew old, then an earl called Arnvid governed Verraland; it happened then there, as in many other places, that the paying of tribute was worse than when King Harald was in the prime of his life".

⁵⁶ "A young man should always be serious of mood, the thought of his heart

firm, he should also have a cheerful attitude, as well as anxiety at heart, a multitude of sorrows, whether he is dependent on himself for all his happiness in the world, or whether he is outcast, in a far-off country".

⁵⁷ *Fáfnismál*, 64^a (ed. Helgason 1955a, vol. 3, p. 63) ["One is little courageous when he becomes old, if he is cowardly in his childhood"]. See Blanche Colton Williams (1914: 25).

⁵⁸ "Dominica II in Adventum Domini", in *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series, Text* (ed. Clemoes 1977: 528). "But in senile years the man's stature is bowed, his neck slackened, his face wrinkled, and his limbs all afflicted; his breast is tormented with sigh, and between his words his breath fails" (trans. Thorpe 1846: 615).

Works cited

- ARNGART, Olf. (ed.), 1981. "Durham Proverbs", *Text Society, Supplementary Series 17, Speculum* 56 (2): 288-300.
- ÁSMUNDARSON, Vald. (ed.), 1898. *Svarfæla Saga*. Reykjavík.
- AUGUSTINE. *Epistolarum* 213. PL 33, col. 966-968.
- BEDE. *Super Parabolas Salomonis Allegorica Expositio*. Patrologia Latina 91, col. 937-1040.
- BISKUPA SÖGUR. 2 vols. Kaupmannahöfn, 1862.
- BOSWORTH, Joseph and Thomas Northcote TOLLER. 1898-1921. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- BROOKS, Kenneth R. (ed.), 1961. *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- BURROW, John A. 1986. *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CHAMBERS, Raymond W. 1965. *Widstir: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend*. New York: Russell & Russell.
- CLEMOES, Peter. (ed.), 1977. *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series, Text*. Early English
- DOMINI, in *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series, Text* (ed. Clemoes 1977: 528). "But in senile years the man's stature is bowed, his neck slackened, his face wrinkled, and his limbs all afflicted; his breast is tormented with sigh, and between his words his breath fails" (trans. Thorpe 1846: 615).
- DUNNING, Thomas P. and Aland J. Buss. (eds.), 1969. *The Wanderer*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- ENGELHARDT, G. 1953. "On the Sequence of Beowulf's Geogo". *Modern Language Notes* 68 (2): 91-95.
- GHELINCK, Joseph de. 1948. "Iuventus, Gravitas, Senectus". *Studia Mediaevalia in Honorem admodum Reverendi Patris Raymond Josephi Martin, Brugae: De Tempel: 39-59*.
- GODDEN, Malcolm. (ed.), 1979. *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text*. Early English text Society, Supplementary Series 5. London/Oxford: Oxford U. P.

- GORDON, Ida L. (ed.). 1966. *The Seafarer*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- GREGORY, THE GREAT. *Regulae Pastoralis*. Patrologia Latina 77, col. 13-128.
- HALDARSSON, Ólafur. (ed.). 1987. *Færreytinga Saga*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- HANSEN, Elaine T. 1981. "Precepts: An Old English Instruction". *Speculum* 56 (1): 1-16.
- . 1982. "Hroðgar's "sermon" in *Beowulf* as Parental Wisdom". *Anglo-Saxon England* 10: 53-67.
- HELGASON, Jón. (ed.). 1955a. *Eddadagite*. 3 vols. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- . (ed.). 1955b. *Hrafkels Saga Freysgoða*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- HILL, Thomas D. 1981. "The Age of Man and the World in the Old English Guthlac A". *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 80 (1): 13-21.
- The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate: Douay's version*. 1914. Baltimore: John Murphy.
- HOWE, Nicholas. 1985. *The Old English Catalogue Poems*. Anglistica 23. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
- ISIDORE. *Differentiarum*, 2.20. Patrologia Latina 83, col. 9-98.
- . 1911. *Eymologiarum sive originum libri XX*. 2 vols. Ed. W. M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- JEROME. 1910. *Epistulae* LXX. Ed. Isidorus Hilberg. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 54. Vienna: Tempsky, 1910.
- JONSSON, Guðni. (ed.). 1936. *Grettis Saga Asmundarsonar*. Reykjavík: Íslensk Fornrit 7.
- KLAEBER, Friedrich (ed.). 1950. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. 3rd ed. Boston: D.C. Heath.
- KRAEP, George Philip and Elliott Van Kirk DOBBIE (eds.). 1931-53. *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*. 6 vols. New York: Columbia U. P.
- LARRINGTON, Carolynne. 1993. *A Store of Common Sense: Gnomie Theme and Style in Old Icelandic and Old English Wisdom Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- LESLIE, Roy F. (ed.). 1966. *The Wanderer*. Manchester: Manchester U. P.
- MALONE, Kemp. (ed.). 1962. *Widsith*. Anglistica 13. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
- NOROÐ, Sigurður. (ed.). 1933. *Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar*. Reykjavík: Íslensk Fornrit 2.
- ROBERTS, Jane. (ed.). 1979. *Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- SEARS, Elizabeth. 1986. *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. Princeton: Princeton U. P.
- SHIPLEY, T. A. 1976. *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- SVEINSSON, Einar Ól. (ed.). 1954. *Brennu-Njáls Saga*. Reykjavík: Íslensk Fornrit 12.
- SWEET, Henry. (ed.). 1871-72. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*. Early English Text Society, Original Series 45, 50. London.
- THORPE, Benjamin. (ed.). 1846. *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxons*. Vol. 2. London.
- WEBER, Robert et al. (eds.). 1994. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. (4th edition). Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- WILLIAMS, Blanche Cotton. 1914. *Gnomie Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*. New York: Columbia U. P.

LINGÜÍSTICA HISTÓRICA INGLESA

Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas y Francisco Javier Martín Arista (eds.)

Barcelona: Ariel, 2001

(por Marta, M.ª González Orta. Universidad de La Laguna)

Lingüística histórica inglesa ofrece a través de las distintas disciplinas lingüísticas una descripción detallada de la evolución de la lengua inglesa desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días. Tal como se recoge en el prólogo de la obra, ésta surge con el propósito de integrar los últimos avances en lingüística histórica inglesa, convirtiéndose así en una obra de consulta y referencia para estudiantes, docentes e investigadores. En la elaboración de la misma han colaborado docentes e investigadores procedentes de distintas universidades españolas, expertos en cada época y disciplina lingüística.

Desde el punto de vista metodológico, dos son las aportaciones que este trabajo presenta: un enfoque explicativo y una periodización novedosa. En primer lugar, el enfoque explicativo de este estudio se refleja en el empleo de una metodología sólida, basada en la aplicación de conceptos lingüísticos procedentes de las teorías funcionalista y cognitivista con un resultado coherente y actualizado, y en la investigación rigurosa. En cuanto a la coherencia teórica de la obra, los editores señalan que, aunque la orientación teórica funcionalista-cognitivista es más evidente en unos capítulos que otros (hay una clara orientación funcionalista en los capítulos de sintaxis y cognitivista en los de léxico), no se encontrarán términos procedentes de tradiciones teóricas incompatibles.

En segundo lugar, la periodización de la lengua inglesa que se lleva a cabo resulta novedosa, puesto que implica una reducción en el grado de periodización, distinguiendo entre época medieval y moderna. Como resultado, se aprecia una

mayor coherencia de las disciplinas lingüísticas y de los cambios que se producen en las mismas, por lo que no habrá una visión fragmentada de la evolución lingüística. En cambio, existe una menor identificación de los periodos.

Los editores, conscientes de las ventajas y desventajas que esta periodización conlleva, señalan que no sólo se pretende que esta obra complemente, sino que también sea complementada por otros estudios, de ahí que cada capítulo incluya un apartado dedicado a la bibliografía recomendada.

Las dos partes en que se divide este libro, inglés medieval e inglés moderno, se estudiarán desde el ámbito de disciplinas lingüísticas como la fonética, fonología y ortografía, morfología, sintaxis, lexicología y semántica, y dialectología. De éstas cabe destacar el estudio sintáctico-semántico que se propone para ambos periodos y que se suele echar en falta en los volúmenes tradicionales que versan sobre la historia de la lengua inglesa, dando prioridad a los estudios fonológico y morfológico. De ahí el título de la obra, *Lingüística histórica inglesa*, ya que intenta incluir todas las disciplinas que confluyen en el estudio de la lengua, destacando además los capítulos sobre el cambio lingüístico y las nuevas tecnologías aplicadas al estudio de la lingüística histórica inglesa.

Si analizamos con detalle el contenido de este libro, se aprecian cuatro partes. A modo de introducción se encuentran dos capítulos que tratan del cambio lingüístico y las lenguas germánicas; seguidamente aparecen las partes dedicadas al inglés medieval e inglés moderno; y, por último, y a modo de conclusión, se incluye un capítulo dedicado a la aplicación de los recursos informáticos para la investigación en lingüística histórica.

Como hemos señalado, la introducción se compone de dos capítulos dedicados al cambio lingüístico y a las lenguas germánicas, respectivamente. El primero de ellos recoge los factores que inciden en el cambio lingüístico, los límites del cambio, los tipos más frecuentes y, por último, el estudio del cambio lingüístico en el ámbito de la lingüística histórica mediante herramientas conceptuales y metodológicas. En cuanto al capítulo dedicado a las lenguas germánicas, éste comienza con una descripción de las lenguas germánicas actuales y antiguas, destacando los rasgos lingüísticos que caracterizan al grupo germánico, del cual procede la lengua inglesa.

La primera parte correspondiente al inglés medieval aborda la época medieval y el periodo anterior a ésta, esto es, la evolución del indoeuropeo al germánico. Por tanto, esta parte contiene el periodo que se extiende desde el siglo V hasta finales del XV o comienzos del XVI, y se compone de ocho capítulos que se corresponden con las distintas disciplinas lingüísticas.

El capítulo dedicado a la fonología medieval describe la formación del primer sistema fonológico del inglés, partiendo de las variantes dialectales del germánico occidental del siglo V traído a las islas por los primeros pobladores germanos, y su evolución hasta el siglo XV. Igualmente, el capítulo dedicado a la morfología flexiva describe la evolución del inglés medieval, que se caracterizaba por ser una

lengua sintética de flexión compleja, hasta convertirse a finales del siglo XIV en una lengua analítica similar al inglés actual.

En los dos capítulos que versan sobre la sintaxis en el inglés medieval se abren vías de investigación novedosas como la aplicación de las gramáticas funcionales de Van Valin y LaPolla (1997) y Dik (1997a, 1997b) a la complementación y caso y al orden de constituyentes, respectivamente. En el primer capítulo sobre sintaxis medieval se aborda la complementación, el caso y la sintaxis atendiendo a la clasificación verbal según el modo de acción del verbo que proponen Van Valin y LaPolla (1997), y en el segundo capítulo, además del orden de los constituyentes en el inglés medieval, también tienen cabida cuestiones como funciones sintácticas y construcciones causales (concordancia, pasivización, reflexivización y relativización).

En cuanto al estudio del léxico, serán analizados, entre otros aspectos, la naturaleza germánica del vocabulario en este periodo de la lengua inglesa o los factores y procesos del cambio semántico. Relacionado con este capítulo está el siguiente, que trata el contacto de lenguas durante la época medieval, haciendo referencia al elemento celta, germánico, escandinavo o la influencia de la cristianización en el léxico. También se incluirán los procesos de criolización que afectan al inglés durante el periodo que se extiende desde finales del siglo IX hasta el siglo XI, y que se refleja en la simplificación del sistema flexional, progresiva tendencia analítica, pérdida de género gramatical e influencia léxica distinta. Los dos capítulos que cierran esta parte estudiarán la dialectología del inglés medieval en los planos fonético-grafémico, morfológico y léxico.

La segunda parte, inglés moderno, comienza por tanto a finales del siglo XV o principios del XVI y se extiende hasta nuestros días. Esta parte se compone de seis capítulos que recogen la formación y desarrollo del inglés moderno, ortografía y fonología, morfología flexiva, sintaxis, lexicología y semántica, y las variedades de la lengua inglesa.

El primero de estos capítulos, de carácter introductorio, analiza el proceso de estandarización que sufre la lengua inglesa hasta llegar al periodo denominado inglés moderno. En los capítulos siguientes se recoge la necesidad de una ortografía y una fonología estables como parte de ese proceso de estandarización, y con relación a la morfología se analiza la pérdida de las últimas flexiones que presentaba el inglés medieval al final del periodo.

En cuanto a la sintaxis del inglés moderno, se aporta una descripción del sintagma nominal y verbal y de las relaciones sintácticas dentro de las oraciones simples y complejas. Es en el capítulo sobre lexicología y semántica del inglés moderno donde se aborda la innovación léxica y semántica. La innovación léxica obedece a los préstamos de otras lenguas o los recursos propios de una misma lengua como composición, afijación, conversión gramatical, etc.; mientras que la innovación semántica se debe a fenómenos como la restricción o especialización del signifi-

do, extensión o generalización, entre otros. Finalmente, el último capítulo de esta parte recoge las variedades de la lengua inglesa actual, como el inglés británico y otras variedades insulares, o el inglés americano y sus variedades.

A modo de conclusión del volumen se presenta un capítulo que versa sobre la importancia de los cópura en el estudio de la lingüística histórica, debido a la carencia de hablantes nativos de una lengua histórica. Este capítulo ofrece una descripción de los cópura disponibles del inglés medieval y moderno, señalando además las limitaciones de los mismos.

En definitiva, *Lingüística histórica inglesa* constituye una obra de consulta imprescindible en el estudio de la evolución de la lengua inglesa, y viene a paliar la escasez de trabajos escritos en nuestra lengua en este ámbito de estudio.

Obras citadas

- Dik, Simon C. 1997a. *The Theory of Functional Constructions*. Ed. K. Hengeveld. Berlin/Nueva Gramma - Part 1: *The Structure of the Clause*. York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ed. K. Hengeveld. Berlin/Nueva York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 1997b. *The Theory of Functional Grammar - Part 2: Complex and Derived* York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- VAN VALIN, Robert D. y RANDY LAPOLA. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.

AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH

John R. Rickford

Massachusetts/Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, 399 pp.

(prof. Ana M.ª Hornero Corisco. Universidad de Zaragoza)

Until William Labov's 1966 survey on the English of lower- and working-class African Americans in Harlem, the speech of African Americans had played little role in the development of American sociolinguistics. His can be therefore regarded as the pioneer research of AAVE (African American Vernacular English) linguistic studies. It has been claimed that 80% of African Americans speak AAVE (Dillard 1972: 229), what may account for the fact that AAVE has "more than five times as many publications devoted to it than any other group (including other ethnic and regional groups)" (Wolfgram *et al.* 1998:169).

John Rickford, Professor of Linguistics and African and Afro-American studies at Stanford University, has been engaged in the study of AAVE's features and use, its evolution and educational implications for more than 30 years. A leading expert and prolific writer on AAVE studies, he presents here a collection of sixteen essays which was conceived when a new awareness of the degree of misinformation and ignorance concerning this linguistic variety was achieved as a result of the Oakland *Ebonics* Controversy in December, 1996. The book is structured in three main parts: Part I (Chapters 1 to 6) focuses on the features and use of AAVE; Part II (chapters 7 to 12) on its evolution and Part III (chapters 13 to 16) deals with the educational implications, that is, the attitudes generally held towards AAVE and the ways in which the AAVE-speaking community can be helped.

Chapter 1, "Phonological and Grammatical Features of African American Vernacular English" opens with some recommendations on previous work

do, extención o generalización, entre otros. Finalmente, el último capítulo de esta parte recoge las variedades de la lengua inglesa actual, como el inglés británico y otras variedades insulares, o el inglés americano y sus variedades.

A modo de conclusión del volumen se presenta un capítulo que versa sobre la importancia de los cópura en el estudio de la lingüística histórica, debido a la carencia de hablantes nativos de una lengua histórica. Este capítulo ofrece una descripción de los cópura disponibles del inglés medieval y moderno, señalando además las limitaciones de los mismos.

En definitiva, *Lingüística histórica inglesa* constituye una obra de consulta imprescindible en el estudio de la evolución de la lengua inglesa, y viene a paliar la escasez de trabajos escritos en nuestra lengua en este ámbito de estudio.

Obras citadas

- DIK, Simon C. 1971a. *The Theory of Functional Grammar - Part I: The Structure of the Clause*. Ed. K. Hengeveld. Berlin/Nueva York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 1971b. *The Theory of Functional Grammar - Part 2: Complex and Derived* Constructions. Ed. K. Hengeveld. Berlin/Nueva York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- VAN VALIN, Robert D. y RANDY LAPOLA. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.

AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH

John R. Rickford

Massachusetts/Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, 399 pp.

(págs. Ana M.ª Hornero Corisco. Universidad de Zaragoza)

Until William Labov's 1966 survey on the English of lower- and working-class African Americans in Harlem, the speech of African Americans had played little role in the development of American sociolinguistics. His can be therefore regarded as the pioneer research of AAVE (African American Vernacular English) linguistic studies. It has been claimed that 80% of African Americans speak AAVE (Dillard 1972: 229), what may account for the fact that AAVE has "more than five times as many publications devoted to it than any other group (including other ethnic and regional groups)" (Wolfram *et al.* 1998:169).

John Rickford, Professor of Linguistics and African and Afro-American studies at Stanford University, has been engaged in the study of AAVE's features and use, its evolution and educational implications for more than 30 years. A leading expert and prolific writer on AAVE studies, he presents here a collection of sixteen essays which was conceived when a new awareness of the degree of misinformation and ignorance concerning this linguistic variety was achieved as a result of the Oakland Ebonics Controversy in December, 1996. The book is structured in three main parts: Part I (Chapters 1 to 6) focuses on the features and use of AAVE; Part II (chapters 7 to 12) on its evolution and Part III (chapters 13 to 16) deals with the educational implications, that is, the attitudes generally held towards AAVE and the ways in which the AAVE-speaking community can be helped.

Chapter 1, "Phonological and Grammatical Features of African American Vernacular English" opens with some recommendations on previous work

published on AAVE, representative of most of the research on phonology and grammar produced over the past three decades. The AAVE features described are always brought into contrast with Standard English forms and respond to requests from the media for lists of this kind. The reader, however, must be conscious of the fact that nobody uses all the features described: a degree of variability must be allowed for, according to gender, age and social class, living environment and style.

Chapter 2, "Carrying the New Wave into Syntax: The Case of Black English B1N" (a work on stressed *been*) is Rickford's first important contribution to the study of AAVE, where he draws attention to some of the innovations achieved in the methodology of sociolinguistic interviews (including a warning about some of the weaknesses of the intuitive data) and applies it to a syntactic case: B1N in Black English. He considers three central aspects about B1N on which there has been disagreement in the former published research: 1) The significance of stress; 2) its meaning and use; 3) the productivity-co-occurrence relations. His primary intention is to estimate how significant stress is to the remote function with which that form has been associated. Rickford goes on to illustrate the similarities and differences between B1N as used with non-statives on the one hand and with statives and progressives on the other. The difference, not to be found so far in previous research (the majority of the examples provided by previous researchers appear with non-stative verbs), proves to be fruitful enough, showing to us the more comprehensive nature of B1N. The data sources also suggest that black and white speakers are clearly divided in their use and interpretation of the form B1N. The participant-observation data reveal a higher productivity of B1N than had been estimated so far.

Chapter 3, "Pretcritic Had + Verb -ed in the Narratives of African American Preadolescents", a paper presented in 1989 and written in co-operation with C. Theberge-Rafal, focuses on the use of preverbal *had* to mark the pretcritic rather than the pluperfect, a feature that had not been considered so far as characteristic of AAVE.

After establishing comparisons with the usage of Afro-American adolescents and adults in East Palo Alto (California) the researchers reach the conclusion that the use of pretcritic *had* in that area is restricted to preadolescents. Another difference found between both groups—and therefore considered an age-graded phenomenon—is the fact that preadolescents do not use present perfect *have*, while older speakers do, its use increasing together with the speaker's age. The findings agree with the conclusions derived in Labov *et al.* (1968) on the use of auxiliary *have* and *had* among African American preadolescents and adolescents in East Harlem, New York. All the data derived from both studies lead the authors of this essay to conclude that pretcritic *had* may represent change in

progress in AAVE in general terms—allowing for the need for further additional data from both communities to confirm this hypothesis. Alternative studies report the use of pretcritic *had* even by Puerto Rican youth in contact with African Americans, so the possibility that the feature may have spread to other ethnic communities is open.

Chapter 4, "Theoretical and Methodological Issues in the Analysis of Copula Variation in AAVE", in Trudgill's words "the most substantial contribution to current knowledge of the AAVE copula and auxiliary", is the work of five authors. It is generally admitted that copula absence sets AAVE apart from all other American dialects—especially with regard to *is* absence, which affects up to an 80% in some areas (like New York, Palo Alto, Mississippi). The authors show how the choice of different methods for computing contraction or deletion of *is* and *are* will undoubtedly affect the results. Then they proceed to their own tabulations of contraction of *is* and *are*, the results showing a strong resemblance to those of other studies, reinforcing thereby the idea of the uniformity of AAVE in the USA. The age-grading factor also plays an important role in copula deletion.

Chapter 5, "Ethnicity as a Sociolinguistic Boundary", deals with the language of one black and one white speaker of similar socioeconomic background who had spent all their lives in the same community, one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina. Given that both had above-average frequency of contact with members of the other ethnic group, their speech would be expected to show the effects of mutual linguistic influence. The results of the analysis show similarities in the realization of phonological features, but differences in morphosyntax (formation of the plural, passive constructions and the mark of possessives).

Further data for black-white speech differences are given from earlier surveys which point to the relevance of diachronic provenance. We also find interesting reports on parallel Labovian works in the North. A collection of studies indicate that major black-white differences persist even when socioeconomic status, education and geography are well-controlled, the inherited linguistic tradition proving inadequate to explain the persistence of those differences. What seems beyond doubt is the fact that nonstandard phonological features spread more easily across ethnic lines than nonstandard grammatical features. Contact is shown as the most important factor for explaining inter-ethnic differences or convergence. Furthermore, the "ethological or emotional" barrier will be fundamental in determining linguistic convergence: the adoption of the other group's linguistic norms may be viewed negatively as crossing-over and generate hostility.

Chapter 6, "Addressee- and Topic-Influenced Style Shift: A Quantitative Sociolinguistic Study", written in collaboration with Faye McNair-Knox, reflects the results of a study of addressee- and topic-influenced style shift in language

drawing data from their study of sociolinguistic variation in East Palo Alto (California). The authors' starting point is that style is too central to the methodological and theoretical concerns of quantitative sociolinguistic variation to be neglected, as has been the case with a great number of earlier investigations. Earlier literature on AAVE is either ambiguous or negative in the consideration that several variables, like invariant *be*, zero copula, third singular present *-s*, plural *-s* and possessive *-s* may be sensitive to style-shifting. Labov *et al.* (1968) and Fasold (1972), some of the earliest empirical sociolinguistic studies of stylistic variation to use addressee as the primary variable, were followed in the late 1970s by a good number of other studies. But in the authors' view, Bell's (1984) is one of the most interesting works in the study of style-shifting and was the basis upon which this empirical study built. Some of Bell's hypotheses about addressee design, as well as the idea of the primacy of addressee over topic shift are confirmed by the data of this survey, where differences are established between the interviewee's vernacular usage in four interviews, carried out between 1986 — when the informant was 13 — and 1991.

One of the outstanding conclusions is that invariant *be* use has increased considerably since the 1960s, evidence of a trend that reaches its peak in the authors' data. The interviewee's stylistic variation is also due to her accommodation to the different addressees whom she faces in each interview, although it is difficult to determine how much to attribute to race and how much to familiarity with the interviewer. The authors agree with Bell that nonpersonal factors such as topic and setting of the interview have some influence, too, in the choice of style.

Chapter 7, "*Cut-Eye* and *Sack-Teeth*: African Words and Gestures in New World Guise", written together with Angela E. Rickford, opens the second section of the book, which deals with Evolution. It reports on the results of an investigation of originally African gestures like *cut-eye* and *sack-teeth*, and the words used to describe them. There are to be found in three areas: the Caribbean, the United States and Africa. The *cut-eye* is a visual gesture that communicates hostility, a negative sanction against somebody who has misbehaved, and appears mostly in fierce arguments between women. According to this survey, white Americans are absolutely ignorant of *cut-eye* as a cultural form of behaviour. *Sack-teeth*, the gesture of drawing air through the teeth and into the mouth to produce a loud sucking sound is, in turn, an expression of anger, impatience or annoyance and is considered ill-mannered.

Chapter 8, "Social Contact and Linguistic Diffusion: Hiberno English and New World Black English", is a contribution on the possible diffusion of (*doe*) *be* as a marker of habitual aspect, from Irish English to New World Black English, including the West Atlantic English-based creoles and American Vernacular Black English. The author studies the successive migratory movements from Ireland to

the Caribbean and North America as well as the conditions under which Irish and African populations might have come into contact in the New World, and the likelihood of diffusion between them. The author observes striking similarities between the southern North American Colonies and the Caribbean: "both in Barbados and South Carolina, Blacks constituted over 60% of the total population within 50 years of initial settlement by the British. In New York, they were only 16% of the population as late as the 1750s, 100 years after British settlement".

A detailed account follows of the type of Irish immigrants that predominated from the 17th to the 19th centuries, establishing clear, and revealing qualitative, linguistic differences between the Ulster Scots and the southern, Catholic Irish. Their contact with Black population varied across time and differed in the areas studied. As a conclusion, the authors state that although northern and southern varieties of Irish English may be at the root of features of New World Black English, other influences (like English dialects, West African or creole substrata) may have been as important, or even more important, than the former. The idea that *be*, frequently regarded as the most distinctive feature of New World Black English, represents decreolization from an earlier creole *does be* turns out to be the most convincing hypothesis. The decreolization proposal assumes that Hiberno English and British dialects served as models for mesolectal creole *does (be)* in the Caribbean and in North America. Moreover, it accounts for the loss of *does* and the emergence of habitual *be* in Vernacular Black English.

Chapter 9, "Copula Variability in Jamaican Creole and AAVE", reanalyzes copula variability in Jamaican Creole and AAVE taking as their departure point DeCamp's 1960 texts, showing that the quantitative patterns of copula absence in Jamaican Creole turn out to be being more similar to those in AAVE, giving more weight to the hypothesis that the latter is a decreolized form of an earlier plantation creole which was typologically similar to Jamaican Creole.

Chapter 10, "Prior Creolization of AAVE?" contributes to the debate about the prior creolization in AAVE. Rickford provides 17th and 18th century sociohistorical and textual evidence to assess the likelihood of prior creolization. As sociohistorical evidence, Rickford analyses the proportions of black/white contact in colonial America showing how different it was in the three main regions: the New England, the Middle and the Southern colonies. He states that, as was the case in New England, the likelihood that pidgin or creole speech entered the Middle colonies from the Caribbean is very high. The possibility of indigenous pidginization seems strongest in the South, especially in Georgia and South Carolina, where the black population constituted over 70% of all the North-American Blacks in the mid-eighteenth century. And finally, Rickford offers the striking evidence that the slaves brought from Caribbean colonies where Creole English was spoken were the essential components of the early black population

in many American colonies and they must have had an important creolizing influence on the colonies to which they came, thus being at the root of the similarities that Caribbean Creole presents with respect to AAVE today.

Chapter 11 deals with the controversy of whether AAVE is now diverging from white vernaculars, a hypothesis introduced in the 1980s by Labov but which is regarded with caution by Rickford. The hypothesis is taken up again in Chapter 12, where Rickford applies it to different age groups of African American speakers.

Chapter 13, "Attitudes towards AAVE, and Classroom Implications and Strategies", opens the final section on Educational Implications. It deals with the (mostly negative) attitudes held by teachers towards students who speak AAVE, sometimes even shared by the students themselves and their parents, a fact that contrasts with their positive attitudes toward Standard English, seen at present as the only way of getting ahead in society. Rickford presents a series of teaching strategies to ensure the students' progress, but an understanding of the expressive and cultural differences between white Americans and African Americans remains, in the author's opinion, essential for efficient teaching.

Chapter 14, "Unequal Partnership: Sociolinguistics and the African American Speech Community", provides an account of the different ways in which the African American speech community has helped in the development of sociolinguistic theory and methodology over the past 30 years. Rickford suggests in turn some areas where services to the community should be strengthened and denounces, among other issues, the scarcity of US-born African faculty members in Departments of Linguistics in the USA, the too often negative representation of the African American speech community in the writing of sociolinguists or ethnographers, the dialect discrimination which is a constant in US courts and even the unfair disadvantages that IQ tests pose for AAVE speakers. Rickford finally supports the practice of "dialect readers" as a preliminary aid in teaching reading to speakers of AAVE.

Chapter 15, "Suite for Ebony and Phonics", opens with definitions of the term "Ebonics" — "one of the most distinctive varieties of American English" — and reflects the general social feeling against it, which is not shared by linguists. The author delimits the group of speakers who use it and explains three major hypotheses for the origin of this variety, showing his inclination toward the creolist view.

Chapter 16, "Using the Vernacular to teach the Standard", further supports innovative methods of taking the vernacular in order to teach reading and writing to African American students more successfully, a task that will no doubt require a change in many teachers' attitudes towards this variety.

In sum, this book proves to be the most comprehensive work written on African American Vernacular English to date, a long-awaited work that reveals the author's mastery of the techniques of variation study, of ethnographic field work, his immersion in the African American community of the USA and his concern for its future education, a concern that ultimately lies at the root of the production of this excellent work. Written in a very accessible style, this volume will be highly enjoyable to historical linguists, dialectologists and sociolinguists alike.

Works cited

- BELL, Allan. 1984. "Language style as audience design". *Language in Society* 13: 145-204.
- DUKAKO, J. L. 1972. *Black English. Its History and Usage in the United States*. New York: Vintage Books.
- FASOLD, Ralph W. 1972. *Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- LABOV, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- LABOV, William, Paul COHEN, Clarence ROBBINS and John LEWIS. 1968. *A Study of the Non-Standard English of Negro and Puerto-Rican Speakers in New York City. Final Report, Cooperative Research Project 3228, vols I and II*. Philadelphia: US Regional Survey.
- WOLFRAM, Walt and Natalie SCHILLING-ESTES. 1998. *American English*. Massachusetts/Oxford: Blackwell.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies is published twice a year by the Department of English and German Philology, University of Zaragoza, Spain. In addition to the printed version of the journal, recent issues of *Miscelánea* are available online, at the following web site:

<http://FYL.UNIZAR.ES/MISCELANEA/MISCELANEA.HTML>

Miscelánea publishes articles on English language and linguistics, on literatures written in English, on thought, cinema and cultural studies from the English-speaking world.

Unsolicited contributions, in English or Spanish, should be unpublished (and not being considered for publication elsewhere). Please send three copies (no diskette) to the Editor, *Miscelánea*, Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 50009 Zaragoza, Spain. Only one copy will be returned if requested. Papers may be published if they receive favourable reports from readers who are specialists in the area. Readers will not be apprised of the authorship of these articles. The authorship of the reports will also be confidential, though their purport may be communicated to the contributors concerned if so desired. Invited (non-refereed) contributions from leading scholars will be acknowledged as such. There will be no restrictions placed on authors' use of their material for reprints or other publications as long as their first publication is acknowledged.

The criteria for selecting unsolicited contributions will be basically: their global interest and originality, their theoretical and methodological rigour, the

development of a well defined thesis, the quality of their style and the general observance of the norms required of work of an academic nature. The papers submitted should evince serious academic work contributing new knowledge or innovative critical perspectives on the subject in question. Articles that are of a merely popularizing nature will not be accepted. Readers will be required to weigh up the articles that are sent to them and make out as soon as possible a written report describing the article in terms of the points itemized in an evaluation form. In the case of articles that have not been accepted or need revision, an additional report will be made out indicating the reasons for non-acceptance, or the changes to be made as the case may be. Although every effort will be made to publish contributions that have received favourable reports, the Editor reserves the right to make a further and final selection when the number of contributions with favourable reports is in excess of the number of articles that can be conveniently published in one issue of the Journal. In the case of partially negative reports as well as positive ones on the same article, the final decision will lie with the discretion of the Editor, who will weigh up the reports and the general interest of the subject matter of the article. Additional reports may also be sought.

150

The recommended length for articles is of 4000 to 8000 words. Reviews are also accepted of books that are of general interest in the field of English studies and that have been published within the last four years (recommended length: 1500 words). Translations of short texts that are of special interest are also accepted. Book reviews and translations will be accepted for publication at the discretion of the Editor, who may require additional reports. The articles submitted should stick to the Publication Guidelines included in this volume. The editors may correct clerical or factual errors and introduce stylistic corrections without further notice. A copy of the papers on disk will be required to prepare proofs once a paper has been accepted for publication. No offprints are supplied. The authors will receive some copies of the journal.

For additional information, contact the editor, María Dolores Herrero, at the above address or via e-mail: dherrero@posta.unizar.es

INDICACIONES A LOS COLABORADORES

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies es una publicación semestral del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana de la Universidad de Zaragoza. Además de la versión impresa, se difunde por vía electrónica en el siguiente servidor de Internet:

<http://FYL.UNIZAR.ES/MISCELANEA/MISCELANEA.HTML>

La revista difunde artículos sobre lingüística inglesa, literaturas escritas en inglés, pensamiento, cine y estudios culturales del ámbito anglosajón. Se agradecen las contribuciones en inglés o en español, inéditas y no propuestas para su publicación en otro lugar. Se ruega enviar los trabajos por triplicado (sin disco informático) a la Directora de *Miscelánea*, Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 50009 Zaragoza. Sólo se devolverá, si así se solicita, un ejemplar. Para poder ser publicados, los artículos deberán recibir informes positivos emitidos por, al menos, dos lectores especialistas en la materia. Estos lectores no conocerán la autoría del artículo, y el informe que emitan es asimismo confidencial, si bien se puede dar a conocer su contenido a los contribuidores que así lo soliciten. Las contribuciones encargadas por el Director a profesionales de reconocido prestigio (contribuciones no seleccionadas anónimamente) se señalan como tales en el índice de la revista. No se pondrá ninguna restricción a los autores que deseen recitar sus trabajos o utilizarlos en otras publicaciones, aunque deberá indicarse su primera aparición en esta revista.

La selección entre las contribuciones no solicitadas por el editor se hará principalmente sobre la base de su interés global y originalidad, su rigor teórico y metodológico, el desarrollo de una tesis bien definida, la calidad de su estilo y su adecuación a las normas del trabajo académico. Los artículos habrán de ser el resultado de un trabajo de investigación serio que aporte nuevos datos o perspectivas críticas innovadoras sobre un tema. No se publicarán artículos meramente divulgativos. Los lectores habrán de sopesar los artículos que se les remitan y emitir, por escrito y a la mayor brevedad posible, un informe razonado en función principalmente de los puntos detallados en un impreso de evaluación. En el caso de artículos rechazados o que deban ser revisados se indicarán detalladamente en un informe adicional las razones de la evaluación y las modificaciones a introducir en su caso. Los trabajos se intentarán publicar en la revista siempre que reciban informes positivos, si bien la Dirección se reserva el derecho de establecer una última selección sobre la base de los informes recibidos en el caso de que el número de artículos recomendados para un volumen dado haga desaconsejable la publicación de todos. En caso de recibirse informes parcialmente negativos y otros positivos, la publicación o no del artículo se hará a juicio de la Dirección, una vez sopesados los informes emitidos y el interés que pueda ofrecer el artículo. Se podrán asimismo solicitar otros informes.

La extensión recomendada para los artículos es de 4.000 a 8.000 palabras. También se aceptan reseñas de libros de interés general para los estudios de Filología inglesa que hayan sido publicados en los cuatro últimos años (unas 1.500 palabras), así como traducciones de piezas breves que ofrezcan interés especial. Las reseñas y las traducciones se publicarán a juicio de la Dirección, que podrá también asesorarse con informes adicionales. Los trabajos deberán seguir las Normas de

151

Publicación que se detallan a continuación:

1. Cada artículo debe incluir un resumen (máximo 150 palabras) en el idioma en que esté escrito, seguido de cinco palabras clave (Key words: *relevance, context,...*/ Palabras clave: *relevancia, contexto,...*).
2. No se deben enviar diskettes hasta la aceptación definitiva del artículo.
3. No se insertará el número de página en la versión electrónica. En la copia impresa (que se enviará por triplicado) se procederá a una numeración a mano.
4. Las notas irán al final del texto, como texto, antes de la bibliografía y no creadas automáticamente por el programa de ordenador. En el texto las llamadas de las notas se indicarán con números volados y sin paréntesis. Al final del texto irán con número volado seguido de un espacio. A continuación irá el texto de la nota.
5. En ningún momento se procederá a la división de palabras.
6. En ningún caso se incluirán cabeceras ni pies de página.
7. Las siglas y abreviaturas se especificarán con toda claridad la primera vez que aparezcan.
8. Las citas de más de 40 palabras irán separadas del cuerpo, sin comillas y sin numerar (Times, 10p.). Si la referencia figura al final del texto será como sigue:
... narrative to their function. (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12)

Las citas que vayan en el cuerpo irán entre comillas. Si la referencia va completa al final de la cita:

“... narrative to their function” (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12).

Si se omite parte del texto original de la cita, deberá indicarse mediante [...] y no mediante (...).

Otras referencias para nombrar autores deben ser:

- ...following Blakemore (1987: 35),...
- ...perform a distinctive function in discourse (Blakemore 1987).
- ...this issue has received a lot of attention by relevance theorists (Blakemore 1987, 1992; Wilson and Sperber 1993).

9. Las referencias bibliográficas figurarán al final del artículo bajo el epígrafe WORKS CITED/ OBRAS CITADAS, e irán por orden alfabético, sin separación de líneas entre una y otra entrada. Títulos de obras y nombres de revista irán en cursiva. Títulos de artículos y capítulos de libro irán entre comillas. Deberán aparecer las referencias de todos los autores que se citan en

el texto y no deberá aparecer la de ningún autor que no se haya citado. Si un mismo autor aparece en más de una entrada, deberá indicarse mediante una línea —. (tres guiones cortos seguidos de punto), y no deberá repetirse el apellido y la inicial. Los números de páginas irán así: ...: 655-664, y no así: ...: 655-64.

Monografías:

APELLIDO AUTOR (en versales), nombre completo del autor. Año. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. (Año 1ª edición) Año edición utilizada. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO EDITOR, nombre completo del editor. (ed.). Año. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO AUTOR 1, nombre completo del autor 1, nombre completo del autor 2 APELLIDO AUTOR 2 y/ and nombre completo del autor 3 APELLIDO AUTOR 3. Año. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. *Título en cursiva*. Trans./Trad. Inicial nombre traductor. Apellido traductor. Ciudad: Editorial.

Capítulo o artículo de monografía:

Si sólo se ha utilizado un cap./ art. de esa monografía:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. “Título entre comillas”. En/ In Apellido editor, nombre completo del editor. (ed.). *Título monografía en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial: 00-00.

Si se han utilizado dos o más cap./ art. de esa monografía:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. “Título entre comillas”. En/ In Apellido editor, Inicial editor. (ed.): 00-00.

Si la edición es una recopilación de las obras de otro escritor:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. (Año 1ª edición) Año edición utilizada. *Título del volumen en cursiva*. Ed. Inicial nombre del editor. Apellido del editor. Trad. Inicial nombre del traductor. Apellido nombre del traductor. Ciudad: Editorial.

Artículo en publicación periódica:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. “Título entre comillas”. *Nombre revista en cursiva* número de la revista (volumen): 00-00.

Ejemplos

GERLACH, JOHN. 1989. "The Margins of Narrative: The Very Short Story. The Prose Poem and the Lyric". En Susan Lohafer and Jo Ellyn Clarey. (eds.). *Short Story Theory at a Crossroads*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana U.P.: 74-84.

NEALE, STEVE. 1992. "The Big Romance or Something Wild?: Romantic Comedy Today". *Screen* 33 (3) (Autumn 1992): 284-299.

WILLIAMS, TENNESSEE. 1983. *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*. Trans. A. Diosdado. Madrid: Ediciones MK.

10. Los listados irán sin formateado automático, es decir, así:

1. Cada artículo debe incluir un resumen (máximo 150 palabras) en el idioma correspondiente, español o inglés, seguido de cinco palabras clave.
2. No se insertarán números de página en el diskette. En la copia impresa se procederá a una numeración a mano.

y no así:

1. Cada artículo debe incluir un resumen (máximo 150 palabras) en el idioma correspondiente, español o inglés, seguido de cinco palabras clave.
2. No se insertarán números de página en el diskette. En la copia impresa se procederá a una numeración a mano.

11. En cuanto a la puntuación, deberán seguirse las siguientes pautas:

- 10.1. Los números de las notas a pie de página irán detrás de los signos de puntuación.
- 10.2. Los comentarios intercalados, deberían estarlo entre guiones largos (—), no breves (-): —esto es un ejemplo—, sin espacios entre los guiones y el texto a que éstos corresponden.
- 10.3. Detrás de los signos de interrogación y exclamación no debería haber nunca un punto.
- 10.4. Después de dos puntos la primera letra irá en minúscula, a no ser que sea nombre propio.
- 10.5. Las comillas no deberían aparecer nunca después de los signos de puntuación (Ej. "esto es correcto", pero "esto no.>").
- 10.6. Puede ser que las comillas no sean las que "deben ser" y aparezcan otras que estarían "mal colocadas, como éstas" o que no fueran las que corresponden a la letra como éstas. Lo mismo puede pasar con Martha's y Martha's.
- 10.7. No se usará el signo "&".

12. El tipo de letra utilizado será Times [12p.]

13. No se utilizarán plantillas para el formateo del texto.

14. No se crearán saltos de secciones ni secciones automáticas dentro del texto.
15. Palabras procedentes de otras lenguas (latín, francés, etc.) y que no sean de uso común se escribirán en cursiva. Por ejemplo: *per se*, *ab initio*, *par excellence*, *trobador*, etc.
16. En ningún momento se utilizarán comillas simples, ni aún cuando se trate de una cita dentro de otra.
17. Como norma general se tratará de ser coherente con la puntuación y ortografía (británica o americana) a lo largo del artículo. Por ejemplo: "emphasise/ recognise" y no "emphasize/ recognise"; "colour/ colour" y no "color/ color".

Los editores se reservan el derecho de introducir mejoras de estilo y de corregir errores factuales o materiales. Se requerirá un ejemplar del trabajo en disco informático para preparar las pruebas una vez haya sido aceptado para su publicación. No se editan separatas. Los autores recibirán algunos ejemplares de la revista.

Para más información, pueden dirigirse a la Directora, María Dolores Herrero, a la dirección arriba indicada, o por correo electrónico:
dherrero@posta.unizar.es

EXCHANGE POLICY

Miscelánea welcomes exchanges with other scholarly publications. Please write to:

Miscelánea (intercambios)
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza (Spain)

The basic exchange rate for periodical publications is established on the basis of annual volumes. Quarterly, bi-monthly or monthly journals, or book series editors, may agree to establish other rates or complementary exchanges.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Miscelánea is listed in several bibliographical compilations, including the *Bibliography of European Journals for English Studies* (BEJES) published by the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE), the *MLA Directory of Periodicals*, the *Directory of Electronic Journals, Newsletters, and Academic Discussion Lists* published by the Association of Research Libraries, *Ulrich's*

Notes for contributors

International Periodicals Directory and the *Bibliografía Española de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-CINDOC). It is also listed in *The Voice of the Shuttle*, in *Bibliografía de Revistas Electrónicas Españolas*, in *El Kiosco Electrónico*, in *WWW Applied Linguistics Virtual Library*, and in several other Internet directories.

Abstracts of *Miscelánea* are published in *Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA)*.

The journal is regularly submitted to the following bibliographical publications for indexing:

The *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* published by the Modern Humanities Research Association

The *MLA International Bibliography* published by the Modern Language Association of America

Complete listings are included in *Literary Theory and Criticism: A Bibliography*.

(Comp. José Ángel García Landa)

available online at the following website:

http://FYL.UNIZAR.ES/FILOLOGIA_INGLESA/BIBLIOGRAPHY.HTML

