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ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DE LA ISOCRONÍA ACENTUAL EN INGLÉS



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1. INTRODUCCIÓN

El debate de la isocronía comenzó con la publicación de la obra de Joshua Steele, *An Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech to Be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols* (1775), como respuesta al tratado del lord escocés James Burnet titulado *Of the origin and progress of language* (1774),¹ quien había manifestado que la lengua inglesa carecía de melodía. Steele comprendió que no podía discutir acerca de la melodía del lenguaje sin tener en cuenta su medida. Steele (1775: 67) entendía que la prosodia del hombre común y la del poeta obedecían fundamentalmente a las mismas reglas, y afirmaba:

[...] we must pre-suppose an exact periodical pulsation, as regular as the swings of a pendulum, the length of which periodical pulsation we may vary according to our pleasure, as often as we would chuse to quicken or slacken the movement; and then all continuation of sounds or pauses are to be subserviently measured and regulated by this uniform and steady pulsation, as long as that proportion of pulsation (or pendulum) shall be continued.

Por el contrario, Patmore (1857) a mediados del siglo XIX, y Lipsky (1907) y Wallin (1911) a principios del siglo XX, opinan que la igualdad de intervalos métricos entre acento y acento es sólo aproximada pues, según ellos, la percepción del ritmo no requiere una isocronía perfecta.

Jones (1972: 242), a quien Couper-Kuhlen (1993: 7) llama el primer aliado de Steele en el siglo XX, habla ya de una tendencia general:

All we can say here is (1) that there is a general tendency to make the "stress-points" of stressed syllables follow each other at equal intervals of time, but that this general tendency is constantly interfered with by the variations in the number and nature of the sounds between successive stress-points, and (2) that the rhythms heard within the "stress-bars" are dependent upon the grammatical relations between the words as well as upon the number and nature of the sounds.

Pronto las observaciones auditivas de estos investigadores serían completadas con análisis instrumentales. A pesar de no lograr encontrar una isocronía perfecta en sus investigaciones, Classe (1939: 51) sostuvo que ésta podría lograrse bajo unas condiciones favorables muy definidas, y explicó la isocronía como un fenómeno subjetivo, es decir, en la percepción los intervalos serían interpretados como más regulares de lo que en realidad son acústicamente:

[...] in ordinary speech, or even in careful prose we seldom feel that the accents return at rigorously isochronous intervals. It is highly probable, of course, that we tend to equalize the groups we perceive and to minimize the differences. On the other hand, it is not less likely that we tend to place the stresses so as to facilitate the perception of groups as equal groups.

Pike (1945: 35), disintiendo de las condiciones señaladas por Classe, cree que la isocronía se encuentra siempre presente, independientemente de la forma fonética o gramatical, y define de la siguiente manera el ritmo acentualmente acompasado del inglés:

Since the rhythm units have different numbers of syllables, but a similar time value, the syllables of the longer ones are crushed together, and pronounced very rapidly, in order to get them pronounced at all within that time limitation. This rhythmic crushing of syllables into short time limits is partly responsible for many abbreviations—in which syllables may be omitted entirely—and the obscuring of vowels; it implies, also, that English syllables are of different lengths, with their length of utterance controlled not only by the lexical phonetic characteristics of their sounds but also by the accident of the

number of syllables in the particular rhythmic unit to which they happen to belong at that moment.

Trabajos experimentales posteriores han obtenido resultados dispares. En sus conclusiones, o bien se rechaza la isocronía de forma absoluta (Shen and Peterson 1962; Duckworth 1967, Lea 1974; Klatt 1975, Uldall 1978), se justifica su no realización física apelando a distintos fenómenos lingüísticos (Bolinger 1965; Halliday 1967, Ladefoged 1975), o se habla de una isocronía parcial o perceptiva (O'Connor 1965; Uldall 1971; Lehiste 1973, 1977; Coleman 1974; Alvarez de Ruf 1978; Hill *et al.* 1979; Daborn 1990, Couper-Kuhlen 1991, 1993). Es decir, a pesar de las diferencias relativas a las duraciones inherentes de los segmentos en inglés, la existencia de evidencia empírica de una isocronía parcial en condiciones favorables, y un patrón rítmico consistente en la alternancia de sílabas acentuadas e inacentuadas, han determinado el concepto de un ritmo isócrono, físico o subjetivo, a lo largo de la historia de la fonología y la fonética.

Sin embargo, como Dauer (1983, 1987), Bertinetti (1989) o Laver (1994) creemos en la necesidad de adoptar en la tipología rítmica de las lenguas una orientación gradual en lugar de dos categorías mutuamente excluyentes (ritmo de compás acentual y ritmo de compás silábico), puesto que se ha demostrado que una lengua puede participar de ambos tipos de ritmo. Asimismo, en lugar de la isocronía de las unidades respectivas de análisis (pie acentual y sílaba fonética), defendemos la incorporación de otros criterios fonéticos y fonológicos en la clasificación rítmica de las lenguas (compresión intrasilábica, compresión intersilábica, variedad de tipos silábicos, etc.), lo cual pretendemos justificar por medio del análisis de los pies acentuales y sílabas fonéticas que forman una muestra de prosa leída y otra de habla espontánea en inglés y la comparación de nuestros datos con los obtenidos por otros autores.

El corpus de prosa leída consistió en la lectura del texto fonético de la International Phonetic Association "The North Wind and the Sun" por parte de un informante nativo culto, representante de la variedad de inglés R.P. El corpus de habla espontánea² consistió en una conversación acerca de los planes del mismo informante para las vacaciones de verano.

Las muestras orales fueron grabadas sobre una cinta DAT en una cámara anecoica en la Facultad de Ciencias de la Información de la Universidad de Sevilla, y su análisis acústico fue llevado a cabo en el Laboratorio de Fonética de la misma universidad con un Kay DSP-Sonagraph (modelo 5500), que permitió la comprobación auditiva y en la onda oscilográfica de la segmentación y medición de las duraciones realizadas sobre sonogramas de banda ancha.

En la segmentación de la cadena hablada en pies acentuales medimos desde el inicio del grupo fónico hasta el arranque de la sílaba acentuada, y así de arranque silábico a arranque silábico hasta el fin de la unidad.³ Asimismo, han sido excluidos de nuestro análisis los grupos de sílabas en anacrusis hasta el primer acento y el fragmento comprendido desde el último acento hasta el fin del último grupo fónico.

Se han seleccionado como factores que pueden influir en la duración del pie acentual aquellos que aparecen de forma más recurrente en la bibliografía y cuya pertinencia se ha establecido de forma clara en ésta y otras lenguas: el número de segmentos y el número de sílabas que conforman el pie acentual. No obstante, nuestro análisis también ha incluido la posición prepausal/no prepausal del pie acentual.

2. LA DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL EN PROSA LEÍDA.

2.1. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA MUESTRA ORAL DE PROSA LEÍDA.

El tiempo total de emisión de la lectura del texto fonético "The North Wind and the Sun", formado por 15 grupos fónicos, 63 pies acentuales y 141 sílabas fonéticas, ha sido de 38722 ms., y el tiempo articulatorio de 27069 ms. Esto significa una velocidad elocutiva de 3.6 sílabas por segundo y una velocidad articulatoria de 5.1 sílabas por segundo, respondiendo a lo que Van Balen (1980) considera una velocidad más bien lenta.⁴

La velocidad elocutiva de los grupos fónicos ha abarcado un rango no muy amplio (entre 2.6 y 6.2 sílabas por segundo), y ha resultado obvia la mayor duración de las pausas entre oraciones (6471 ms.) en comparación con las pausas intraoracionales (5182 ms.).

2.2. INCIDENCIA DE LOS FACTORES ANALIZADOS EN LA DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL E ISOCRONÍA ACENTUAL EN PROSA LEÍDA.

El número total de pies acentuales en esta muestra es de 63, los cuales han sido medidos desde la primera sílaba tónica de cualquier enunciado hasta la sílaba anterior a la siguiente tónica.⁵ Del análisis de casos se obtuvo para el pie acentual un valor medio de duración de 423 ms. y una desviación típica de 173 ms. El rango o recorrido ha sido de 713 ms., con un valor máximo de 753 ms. y un valor mínimo de 40 ms. La curva presentó su centro en la clase modal 400-500 ms., donde se sitúa la media, agrupando el 28.57% de los datos, y las tres centrales hasta el 65.07%. Esto nos da una idea de la normalidad de la distribución, hecho que confirmamos al aplicar el test de Kolmogorov-Smirnov: $d = 0.0447 < d_{max} = 0.1116$.

Con el fin de averiguar qué factores pueden incidir en la duración del pie acentual, se aplicaron correlaciones entre la duración del pie y otras variables, resultando ser poco o nada significativa la correlación entre la duración del pie acentual y la posición prepausal/no prepausal (0.0553). Por el contrario, la correlación entre la duración del pie acentual y el número de segmentos que lo conforman (0.7711) fue la más fuerte, seguida de la correlación entre la duración del pie acentual y el número de sílabas que lo conforman (0.5843). Es decir, la duración del pie acentual tiende a aumentar con el incremento del número de segmentos o sílabas, tal y como puede apreciarse en los gráficos 1 y 2, respectivamente.

Gráfico 1

DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL SEGÚN EL NÚMERO DE ALÓFONOS QUE LO CONFORMAN

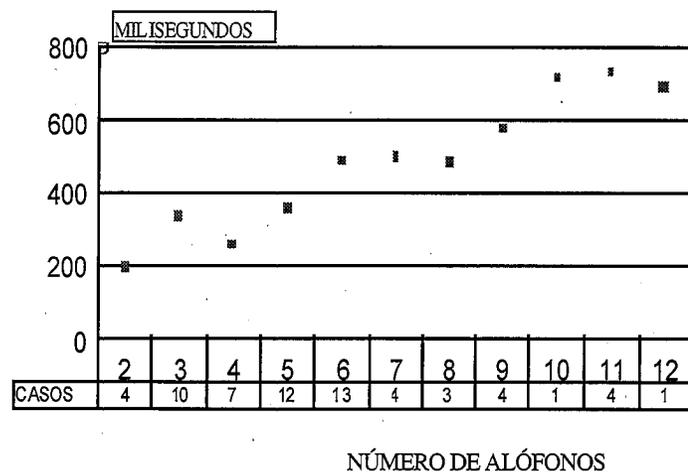
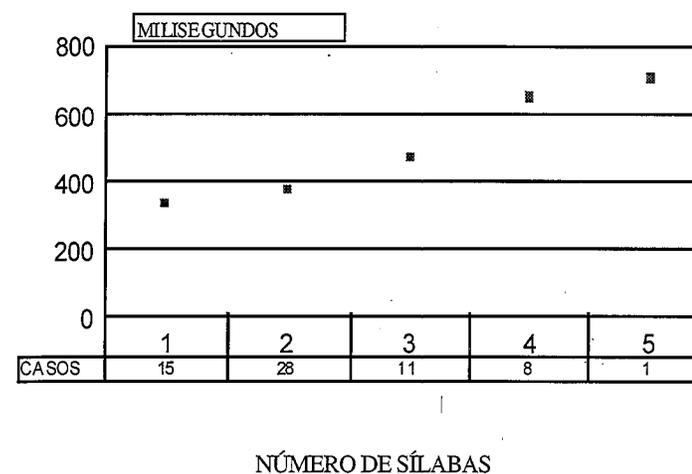


Gráfico 2

DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL SEGÚN EL NÚMERO DE SÍLABAS QUE LO CONFORMAN



En la tabla I, los promedios de duración de los pies acentuales, clasificados según el número de sílabas que los conforman, se comparan, para el inglés, con el texto de la International Phonetic Association en Uldall (1971), Faure et al. (1980) y, en este trabajo:

TABLA I. Duración del pie acentual según el número de sílabas que lo conforman en el corpus de prosa leída, Uldall (1971), y Faure et al. (1980). Razones						
Número sílabas en el pie	Uldall	Razón	Faure et al.	Razón	Este trabaj	Razón
1	440		220		337	
2	510	1.15	357	1.62	376	1.11
3	540	1.05	500	1.40	467	1.24
4	760	1.40	685	1.37	655	1.40
5			807	1.17	709	1.08

Se observa que en Faure et al. (1980) las razones entre los pies acentuales muestran un crecimiento lineal, es decir, de cierta anisocronía acentual. En cambio, en Uldall y en este trabajo las razones entre los pies acentuales (siguiente y precedente) son mínimas, lo cual apunta a un cierto efecto rítmico de isocronía acentual.⁶

Este comportamiento está reflejado en la recta de regresión en el gráfico 3, que hemos trazado tomando como variable dependiente los valores normalizados por la media de la duración de los pies acentuales de 1 a 4 sílabas y, como variable independiente los valores, también normalizados por la media, del número de sílabas correspondientes. Una línea de regresión con una ordenada al origen en el valor cero indicaría que el crecimiento entre la duración de los pies acentuales y el tamaño —clasificado en sílabas— es directamente proporcional, sugiriendo que el inglés no es de ritmo isoacentual. Por el contrario, una línea de regresión, cuya ordenada al origen

es de valor 1.00, indicaría una perfecta equalización entre los pies acentuales, es decir, una tendencia isoacentual. En la correlación “número de sílabas/duración media del intervalo”, los valores obtenidos son semejantes a los valores obtenidos en Hill *et al.* (1979):⁷ la recta de regresión tiene una ordenada al origen de 0.39 ($y = 0.39 + 0.61x$), sugiriendo una tendencia a una isocronía acentual.

Gráfico 3

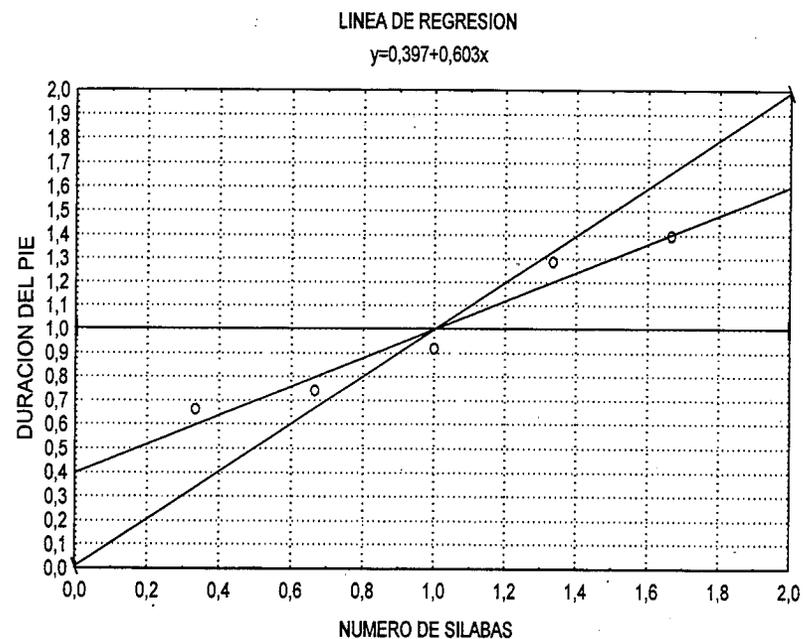
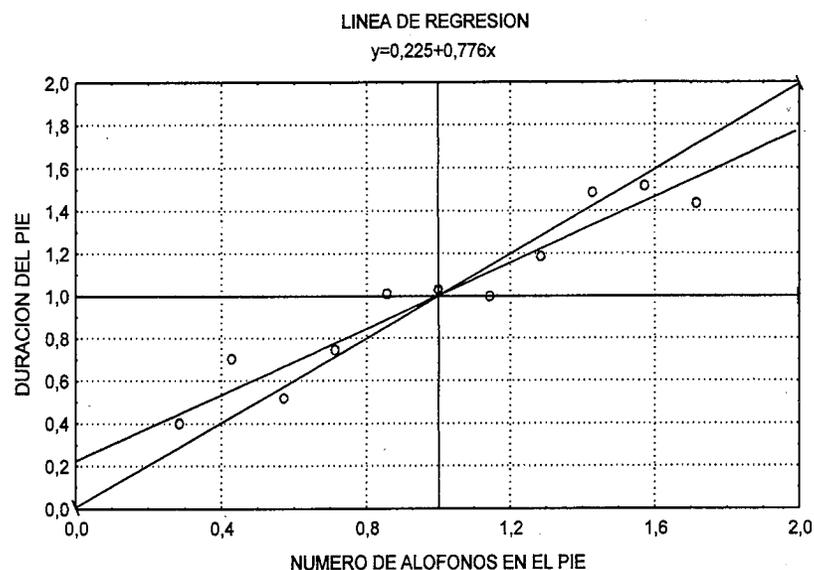


Gráfico 4



En la correlación "número de segmentos/duración media del intervalo", el valor obtenido en nuestro experimento 0.22 ($y = 0.22 + 0.78x$), en cambio, más bien aleja al inglés R.P. de una categoría rítmica inclinada hacia la isocronía acentual, como se puede comprobar en el gráfico 4.

3. LA DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL EN HABLA ESPONTÁNEA.

3.1. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA MUESTRA ORAL DE HABLA ESPONTÁNEA

Este segundo corpus está formado por una muestra de habla espontánea de una entrevista acerca de las vacaciones de verano del informante. El tiempo total de emisión del documento sonoro, formado por 22 grupos fónicos, 89 pies acentuales y 180 sílabas fonéticas, ha sido de 45038 ms., y el tiempo articulatorio de 31199 ms. Esto significa una velocidad elocutiva de 3.9 sílabas por segundo y una velocidad articulatoria de 5.7 sílabas por segundo, respondiendo igualmente a lo que Van Balen (1980) considera una velocidad normal. Asimismo, el documento sonoro se caracteriza por una notable irregularidad en la longitud de los fragmentos de habla fluida situados entre pausas y la longitud de las mismas, cambios constantes de la velocidad elocutiva y, sobre todo, frecuentes interrupciones por titubeos y rectificaciones del discurso.

3.2. INCIDENCIA DE LOS FACTORES ANALIZADOS EN LA DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL E ISOCRONÍA ACENTUAL EN HABLA ESPONTÁNEA.

El número total de pies acentuales en esta muestra es de 89, los cuales han sido igualmente medidos desde el arranque silábico. Del análisis de casos se obtuvo para el pie acentual un valor medio de duración de 347.29 ms. y una desviación típica de 220.84 ms. El rango o recorrido ha sido de 822 ms., con un valor máximo de 1259 ms. y un valor mínimo de 437 ms. La curva presentó su centro en la clase modal 200-300 ms., agrupando el 29.21% de los datos, y las tres centrales el 68.53%. Esto nos da una idea de la normalidad de la distribución, a pesar del desajuste de la aplicación del test de Kolmogorov-Smirnov: $d = 0.1360 < d_{max} = 0.0939$.

Con el fin de averiguar qué factores pueden incidir en la duración del pie acentual en habla espontánea, se han aplicado de nuevo correlaciones entre la duración del pie y otras variables. Nada significativa fue la correlación entre la duración del pie acentual y la posición prepausal/no prepausal (0.0726). Como en el corpus de prosa leída, la correlación más fuerte resultó ser entre la duración del pie acentual y el número de segmentos que lo conforman (0.7880), seguida de la correlación entre la duración del pie acentual y el número de sílabas que lo conforman (0.6621). Esto significa que la duración

del pie acentual tiende a aumentar proporcionalmente con el incremento del número de segmentos o sílabas que lo conforman, tal y como se aprecia en los gráficos 5 y 6, respectivamente.

Gráfico 5

DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL SEGÚN EL NÚMERO DE ALÓFONOS QUE LO CONFORMAN

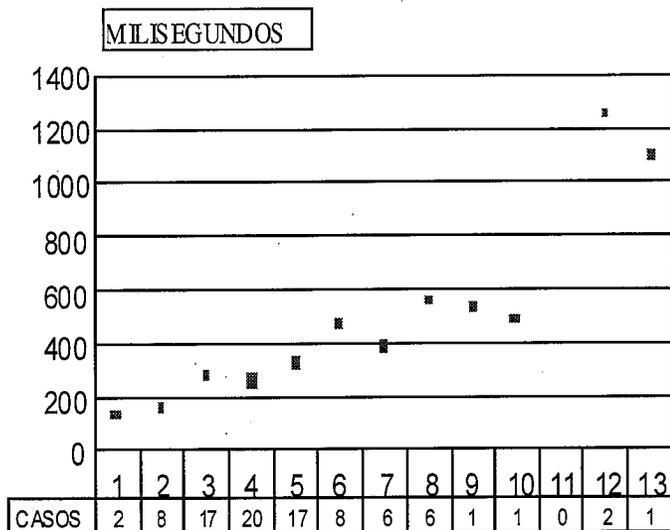


Gráfico 6

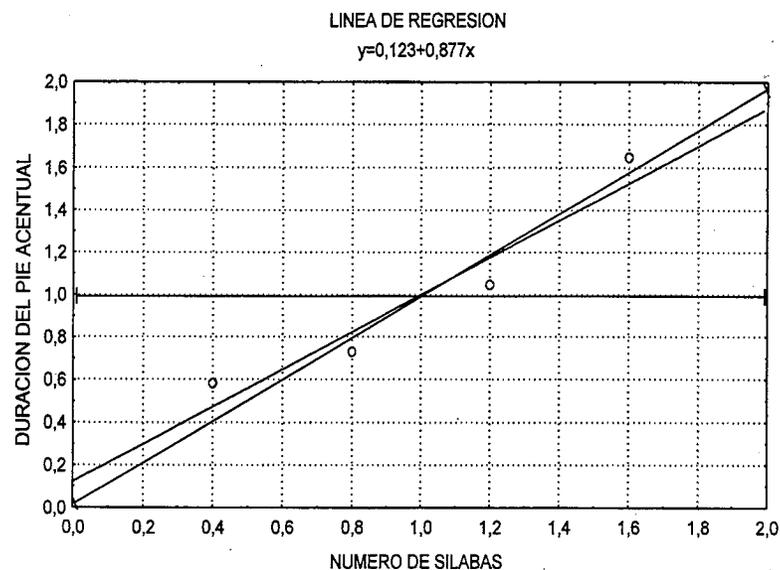
DURACIÓN DEL PIE ACENTUAL SEGÚN EL NÚMERO DE SÍLABAS QUE LO CONFORMAN



Seguidamente se han trazado rectas de regresión, normalizadas por la media, sobre los promedios obtenidos en el análisis acústico de los pies acentuales estudiados. En la primera recta de regresión la variable dependiente han sido los valores normalizados por la media de la duración de los pies acentuales de 1 a 4 sílabas y, la variable independiente los valores, también normalizados por la media, del número de sílabas correspondientes.

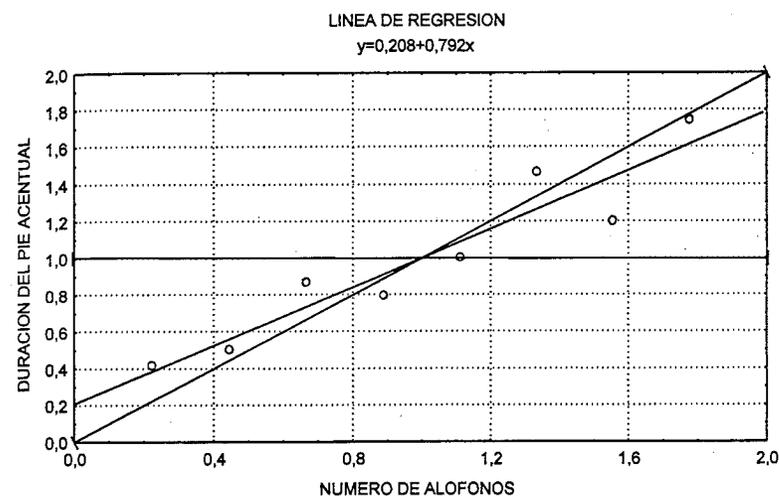
En la correlación “número de sílabas/duración media del pie acentual”, la recta de regresión en el gráfico 7 tiene una ordenada al origen de 0.12 ($y=0.12 + 0.87x$), lo cual significa que el crecimiento entre la duración de los pies acentuales y el tamaño —clasificado en sílabas— es directamente proporcional, y opuesto a la isocronía acentual.

Gráfico 7



Se observa que las razones entre los pies acentuales para el inglés son lineales: el crecimiento de la duración es más bien proporcional al incremento de las sílabas en los pies acentuales, mostrando un cierto efecto rítmico de anisocronía acentual.

Gráfico 8



En la correlación “número de segmentos/duración media del pie acentual”, la recta de regresión en el gráfico 8 tiene una ordenada al origen de 0.20 ($y=0.20 + 0.79x$), lo cual significa que el crecimiento entre la duración de los pies acentuales y el tamaño —clasificado en fonemas— tiende también a ser directamente proporcional y opuesto a la isocronía acentual.

4. DISCUSIÓN DE LOS DATOS.

En ambas muestras orales han sido significativos para la duración del pie acentual los siguientes factores, en orden de importancia: el número de segmentos en el pie y el número de sílabas en el pie. Sin embargo, los valores de la duración media del pie acentual y la recta de regresión no muestra un aumento lineal de la longitud de los intervalos entre acentos, en relación al número de sílabas que los conforman en el corpus de prosa leída, aproximando al inglés a un efecto rítmico de isocronía acentual; por el contrario, el aumento es más lineal en el corpus de habla espontánea, aproximando esta lengua a un efecto rítmico de anisocronía acentual.

TABLA II. Duración del pie acentual según el número de sílabas que lo conforman en español e inglés en prosa leída. Razones				
Nº sílabas en el pie	Promedio español	Razón	Promedio inglés	Razón
1	161.07		337	
		1.77		1.11
2	286.68		376	
		1.42		1.24
3	409.04		467	
		1.15		1.40
4	472.62		655	
				1.08
5	---		709	
6	723.45		---	

En la tabla II, se comparan los promedios de duración de los pies acentuales, clasificados según el número de sílabas que los conforman, para el inglés y el español,⁸ ésta última tradicionalmente clasificada como isosilábica, en prosa leída. Se observa que las razones entre los pies acentuales para el español tienden a ser lineales: el crecimiento de la duración es proporcional al incremento de las sílabas en los pies acentuales, mostrando un cierto efecto rítmico de anisocronía acentual. En inglés, sin embargo, las razones entre los pies acentuales —siguiente y precedente— tienden a ser mínimas, lo cual muestra un cierto efecto rítmico de isocronía acentual, comportamiento que quedó ya reflejado en la recta de regresión.

A continuación, en la tabla III, se comparan los promedios de duración de los pies acentuales, clasificados según el número de segmentos que los conforman, para el inglés y el español. La tendencia a la isocronía acentual, que se manifiesta en diferentes grados de reducción temporal (eualización)

entre los pies de diversos tamaños, se indica con un asterisco; de modo contrario, la tendencia a la anisocronía acentual, esto es, al crecimiento proporcional entre la duración y el tamaño del pie acentual, se señala por medio de dos asteriscos.⁹ Estos resultados indican más bien un patrón alternante en ambas lenguas.

TABLA III. Duración del pie acentual según el número de segmentos que lo conforman en español e inglés en corpus de prosa leída. Razones				
Nº segmentos en pie acentual	Promedio español	Razón	Promedio inglés	Razón
2	114.05		193	
		1.64**		1.76**
3	187.94		340	
		1.37**		0.74*
4	258.59		252	
		1.15*		1.42**
5	299.25		360	
		1.16*		1.35**
6	347.65		487	
		1.13*		1.01*
7	393.74		496	
		1.10*		0.97*
8	434.36		482	
		1.14**		1.18**
9	499.20		573	
		0.94*		1.25**
10	471.85		719	
		1.21**		1.02*
11	575		734	

TABLA IV. Duración del pie acentual según el número de sílabas que lo conforman en español e inglés en corpus de habla espontánea. Razones

Número de sílabas	Promedio español	Razón	Promedio inglés	Razón
1	235		246	
		1.36		1.25
2	320		308	
		1.37		1.43
3	438		442	
		1.23		1.57
4	543		696	
		1.24		1.69
5	678		1179	
		1.13		
6	769		---	

En la tabla IV se han comparado los promedios de duración de los pies acentuales, clasificados según el número de sílabas que los conforman, en inglés y español, en habla espontánea. Como puede apreciarse, los valores de la duración media de cada grupo muestran un aumento lineal de la longitud de los intervalos entre acentos en relación al número de sílabas que los conforman en cada una de las lenguas. Se observa que las razones entre los pies acentuales son lineales: el crecimiento de la duración es proporcional al incremento de las sílabas en los pies acentuales, sugiriendo más bien un esquema rítmico de anisocronía acentual, comportamiento que quedó igualmente reflejado en la recta de regresión.

TABLA V. Duración del pie acentual según el número de segmentos que lo conforman en español e inglés en corpus de habla espontánea. Razones

Número de alófonos	Promedio español	Razón	Promedio Inglés	Razón
1	56.24		134	
		1.91**		1.20*
2	107.81		161	
		2.10**		1.72**
3	226.44		278	
		1.69**		0.91*
4	384.52		255	
		0.75*		1.26**
5	291.78		322	
		1.10*		1.45**
6	323.81		470	
		1.27**		0.81*
7	413.54		385	
		1.18**		1.45**
8	490.10		559	
		0.96*		0.94*
9	472.46		531	
		0.89*		0.90*
10	424.96		481	
		2.77**		
11	1181		---	
		0.65*		
12	773.93		1255	
		0.71*		0.87*
13	550		1094	

En la tabla V se han comparado los promedios de duración de los pies acentuales, clasificados en este caso según el número de segmentos que los conforman, en inglés y español, en habla espontánea (razones). Estos promedios de duración reflejan, tanto en inglés como en español, un aumento

de la duración del pie acentual indirectamente proporcional al incremento del número de segmentos en el mismo.

Por consiguiente, los valores en las tablas IV y V indican que el inglés y el español, lenguas tradicionalmente clasificadas como isoacentual e isosilábica, respectivamente, se aproximan, en términos de isocronía, en habla espontánea, sugiriendo un modelo de anisocronía acentual. Con el ánimo de aclarar en algo la ambigüedad de los resultados obtenidos, en la tabla VI se han comparado las razones entre los pies acentuales, clasificados por sílabas, con otros resultados en lenguas de anisocronía acentual y en lenguas de isocronía acentual.

TABLA VI. Razones entre los pies acentuales (clasificados por sílabas).						
Comparación con otros resultados en lenguas de anisocronía acentual (Balasubramanian 1980; Bertinnetto 1983; Dauer 1983) y en lenguas de isocronía acentual (Luangthongkum 1977).						
Lengua y estudio	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tamil Balasubramanian	1:	1.74:	2.16:	2.76:	3.40:	3.86
Italiano Bertinnetto	1:	2.03:	2.64:	4.11:	4.06	---
Griego Dauer	1:	1.47:	1.97:	2.68:	3.18:	3.70
Thai Luangthongkum	1:	1.40:	1.83:	1.93:	2.26	---
Inglés Prosa leída	1:	1.11:	1.38:	1.94:	2.10	---
Inglés Habla espontánea	1:	1.25:	1.79:	2.82:	4.79	---

Como puede apreciarse, los resultados para el inglés en el corpus de prosa leída indican un acercamiento a los valores del thai, lengua clasificada rítmicamente como de isocronía acentual. Por el contrario, los resultados para el inglés en el corpus de habla espontánea se aproximan claramente a los valores del italiano y el griego, lenguas clasificadas rítmicamente como de anisocronía acentual, poniendo, por consiguiente, en duda, la validez de este criterio para la clasificación rítmica de las lenguas.

5. CONCLUSIONES.

El ritmo lingüístico ha sido tradicionalmente definido en términos de isocronía en la producción del habla; es decir, la unidad que marque el compás —sea ésta la sílaba o el pie acentual— se sucederá a intervalos de tiempo más o menos regulares, clasificando las lenguas en lenguas de compás silábico y lenguas de compás acentual, respectivamente.

Sin embargo, el ritmo debe ser más bien considerado como el resultado de las características fonológicas de las lenguas (cuadro vocálico, complejidad y variedad de estructura silábica, posición del acento) y de los procesos fonéticos (compensación intra- e inter-silábica, reducción vocálica en las sílabas inacentuadas, grado de tolerancia para un acortamiento extremo de las sílabas inacentuadas, fuerza contrastiva en la explotación de rasgos prosódicos en las sílabas acentuadas, y sensibilidad a todos los hechos lingüísticos y no lingüísticos en las sílabas inacentuadas) que en ellas intervienen, siendo más acertada una orientación gradual en la tipología rítmica, según la cual las diferencias rítmicas de las lenguas residirían en las diferencias de sus sistemas particulares.¹⁰ Prueba de ello es que, en nuestro estudio, la tendencia no ha sido clara, pues el inglés ha presentado valores muy semejantes a los de lenguas tradicionalmente clasificadas como isosilábicas en el registro de habla espontánea. No creemos, por consiguiente, acertado concebir la organización temporal de una lengua en términos de isocronía exclusivamente, al menos en el plano de la producción.

Asimismo, se han detectado diferencias notables respecto a la tendencia a la igualación entre intervalos de acentos según el registro de habla.¹¹ Quizás un estudio complementario del ritmo desde la perspectiva de la percepción del habla podría contribuir a esclarecer esas situaciones intermedias, si bien para algunos estudiosos todas las lenguas serían igualmente isócronas a ese nivel.

Por último, debemos señalar la relatividad de nuestros resultados, pues es necesario contrastarlos con un mayor volumen de datos, y analizar otros condicionamientos como la interacción entre organización temporal y entonación. 

NOTAS

¹ Citado en Adams (1979).

² Este término ha sido empleado en un sentido relativo, pues dicha conversación fue grabada en un estudio de grabación.

³ Vid. Pointon (1978).

⁴ Lenta < 5.6; 5.6 < Normal > 7.5; Rápida > 7.5.

⁵ Dauer (1983) y Toledo (1988) miden el pie acentual partiendo del arranque de la vocal nuclear.

⁶ Se ha corroborado la opinión de Bolinger (1965), para quien el porcentaje de palabras o pies acentuales de una o más sílabas en inglés es muy significativo y son más isócronos. De hecho los pies acentuales de una y dos sílabas han representado hasta el 68.25% del total, con una razón de 1.11:1.

⁷ Hill *et al.* (1979) obtuvieron una recta de regresión con una ordenada al origen de 0.5.

⁸ Vid. Cuenca (1997).

⁹ Vid. Toledo (1988).

¹⁰ Vid. Dauer (1983, 1987), Bertinetto (1989) y Laver (1994).

¹¹ Cf. Séguinot (1979) y Halliday (1985).

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SOME REFLEXIONS ON THE STUDY OF IDIOMS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR L2 TEACHING



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I. INTRODUCTION

Given the importance of figurative language not only in L1 but also in L2, this paper will centre on a particular manifestation of such figurative language: the idiomatic phrase. The purpose is to examine the study of fixed expressions, the difficulties they pose and the theorists' main concerns. I will then offer a comparison of the situation in L1 with the circumstances which surround L2 learning, and an exploration of how the differences affect L2 idiom teaching.

The method chosen has an interdisciplinary orientation. Since a fundamental aspect of these phrases is that they lend themselves to both a literal and an idiomatic interpretation, the disciplines involved in their study should necessarily be linguistics (idioms are made up of words, thus they are linguistic expressions, and part of the lexicon) and also psycholinguistics (a point of view on how to parse the various readings).

As a sample of how the teaching of idioms is done in practice, three textbooks of Proficiency level (Bywater 1985, Jones 1993, Gude and Duckworth 1997) have been submitted to examination.

The paper is organized as follows: it begins in section II with what is a thorny question in any study of idioms, i.e. their definition. Here I try to show how the theoretical confusion is transferred to textbooks where "idiom" is used as a coverterm for a variety of disparate expressions. The third section covers the theoretical perspectives on the study of idioms from a linguistic and a psycholinguistic viewpoint. Towards the end I try to relate the two approaches reflecting on those aspects which are common to both.



Finally, the fourth section deals with idioms in L2. The initial part contrasts the situation in L1 and L2, placing emphasis on those characteristics which apply to L2 learners. Then there follows an analysis of the three textbooks, designed to throw light on the strategies used in idiom teaching.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFINITION

At the outset, a study of idioms is likely to run into two main difficulties: the terminology involved and the delimitation of the concept.

In identifying the items, a large diversity of names have been used. These range from the more familiar "formulas", "chunks" or "fixed expressions", to the more sophisticated "prefabricated" or "ready-made language", "unanalyzed language", etc. A quick look at these various labels soon reveals a widely held belief among researchers: that idioms are multiword combinations whose meaning cannot be derived from the constituent parts. This statement (which will be examined later on) leads directly to the second aspect mentioned above, that is, the difficulty encountered by scholars when it comes to delimiting the nature of the concept.

Nunberg et al. (1994) remark on the laxity with which the term "idiom" is used. Thus, whereas some authors use it only for truly noncompositional expressions, learners' dictionaries employ "idiom" as a coverterm even for those collocations with fully literal senses.

In fact there exist definitions available to suit all tastes. Some of them are too permissive, such as McCarthy's (1992: 55):

By idioms I mean strings of more than one word whose syntactic form is to a greater or lesser degree fixed and whose semantics is opaque, also to a greater or lesser degree. This definition (...) enables us to incorporate within the term "idiom" a wide range of fixed expressions, including the *tournure* idioms (...), phrasal verbs, a variety of other formal types, cultural allusions, restricted collocations and extended metaphors.

The author establishes criteria of membership around the following operations: addition, deletion, transposition and substitution. Fixed expressions do not freely allow for such manipulation and therefore can be regarded as idioms.

Equally permissive is Kövecses and Szabó's (1996) classification of idioms. These authors admit that the category of idioms is a "mixed bag"

where one can find metaphors, metonymies, pairs of words, idioms with *it*, similes, sayings, phrasal verbs and grammatical idioms.

At the other extreme, authors such as Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994), while acknowledging that idiom is "a fuzzy category", maintain that these items can be identified by properties such as conventionality, inflexibility, figuration, proverbiality, informality and affect. These scholars maintain that none of these properties apply obligatorily to all idioms. Nonetheless, some of them (figuration, proverbial character, association with popular speech and - above all - conventionality) are regarded as essential, to such an extent that if several of them are missing, we become increasingly reluctant to call the expression an idiom.

Hickey (1993) makes an advance in the identification of formulas (distinguishing between conditions that are necessary, graded and typical). However, he does not solve the problem of the definition.

As might be expected, the theoretical confusion which surrounds the characterisation of idioms has its bearing on the practical side. Thus, our examination of coursebooks for English learners has revealed that authors tend to include under the term "idiom" a mixture of phrasal verbs, compounds, collocations, sayings and fixed phrases of various types.

Of the three textbooks examined, it is Bywater (1985) who maintains the strictest division. Thus, for instance phrasal verbs or similes generally appear in exercises specially devoted to these items. Nevertheless, this policy is due more to the overall organization of the book (each section tackles different points of English grammar) than to any underlying sound theoretical arguments concerning the definition of "idioms". This impression is strengthened by finding exercises where students are asked to supply the right verbs in order to produce expressions like (1) or (2):

(1) put/set the room to rights, take someone to task, throw in one's lot, keep open house, to feather one's own nest, fall short of one's expectations, to give someone the slip, to lead someone a dance, to turn to good account

(2) to pay compliments, to go bankrupt, to owe someone an apology, to make someone's acquaintance, to have/exert an influence over people, to come to a decision, to boost one's ego, to appeal to someone's feelings

The same is true of exercises where the student has to fill a gap (which I have made correspond with the underlined word) to yield phrases such as (3) or (4):

(3) to have a chip on one's shoulder, safe and sound, to be tarred with the same brush, to go against the grain

(4) a slight acquaintance, to stand a round of drinks, slapstick comedies, to live in the lap of luxury, to have a raw deal in life, a raw recruit, a live wire, creature comforts, a nice distinction, to take an overdose of pills, a towering rage

Other exercises include under the term "expression" phrases of such a varied nature as those in (5a) and (5b):

(5) a. to say off-hand, to take the wind out of someone's sails, to live from hand to mouth, to make head or tail of something

b. cupboard love, eyesore

It can then be observed that Bywater is not interested in drawing a distinction between collocations or compounds, to be found in (2), (4) or (5b), and fixed phrases which are to be found in (1), (3) or (5a). Moreover, from the formulation of exercise headings, it might be concluded that the author's system is arbitrary. Hence one wonders about the motivation in deciding that in *fall short of one's expectations* the item to be tested is *fall* and not *short*, or *expectations* for that matter, just as in *to go against the grain*, students are asked to find the correct noun instead of the verb.

I am afraid that there is no logical answer to this question, since most probably the only principle at work was that of offering a certain variety in a type of exercise whose aim was to make students aware of the existence of frozen combinations.

Jones's (1993) coursebook shows a much less rigid division between phrasal verbs and idiomatic expressions. The underlying strategy is to group two verbs in each exercise and to exploit possible combinations with particles or prepositions as well as with other parts of speech. Thus the student will find together examples such as those in (6):

(6) a. to keep up with someone, to hold up, to keep something to oneself, to keep one's fingers crossed, to hold the line, to hold back, to keep down

b. to come to terms with something, to go to one's head, to come along, to go ahead, to come of age

c. to bring something home, to get round a problem, to bring out the worst in someone, to get behind with something, to bring about something

d. to put one's foot in it, to put paid, to set up something, to put all one's eggs in one basket, to set something back

e. to take someone out, to take the rough with the smooth, to give oneself away, to give over to, to take offence, to give someone a lift

In view of the title of certain exercises (e.g. "collocations"), it might be thought that the author was trying to make learners aware of a terminological distinction between collocations and other types of fixed expressions. But after reading the introduction to the exercise, the supposed distinction turns out to be a mere label:

In some fixed, idiomatic phrases words go together like "salt and pepper", "fish and chips", "sweet and sour", or "Marks and Spencer" (Jones 1993: 169)

This quotation shows that Jones does not make any technical distinction between collocations and idioms. What is more, he fails to tackle the question of a unified meaning. In the examples he mentions, the common feature is not the meaning since "salt" continues to mean the same when it occurs alone or in the coordinated form with "pepper". The point of interest is the place that each item occupies within the coordinated phrase. It is odd that Jones should fail to make such a simple observation while thinking it worthwhile to include such items under the heading of an idiomaticity of dubious nature.

Gude and Duckworth's (1997) textbook does not clarify matters much further. It is true that these authors adopt a more cautious attitude in that they usually head their exercises with the neutral term "expressions". In this way, they avoid classifying phrases as fixed expressions, collocations, phrasal

verbs, etc. One consequence of this is that the student will come across the following items, all within the same exercise:

(7) come in for something, come round, come to the point, come down with something, come to terms with something

(8) do wonders for, do the donkey work, do time, do something up, do someone a good turn/favour

(9) child's play, foul play, play havoc with, play down, play with fire, play it by ear, play along with

But it may also happen that fixed phrases that are regarded as idiomatic be simply identified as "expressions". This is illustrated by:

(10) to throw the book at someone, to turn over a new leaf, to do something by the book, to speak volumes about someone

Yet, elsewhere, the general heading "expressions" is followed by the word "idiom". In these cases the student can find examples such as:

(11) a storm in a teacup, make heavy weather of, bright and breezy, under a cloud

(12) take pot luck, take something amiss, take one's pick, take someone down a peg or two, take its toll

(13) read between the lines, not to mince words, lost for words, in a word

It is not hard to see that Gude and Duckworth were not concerned with drawing neat distinctions between different types of fixed phrases. Yet, the fact that they sometimes fluctuate between the simple term "expression" and the more technical form "idiom" may cause students to be at a loss and to wonder what differentiates some of the expressions in (7), (8), (9) and (10) from the assumed idioms in (11), (12) and (13).

Given the position adopted by theoreticians and coursebook writers with respect to the definition and use of the notion "idiom", teachers should guide and warn students about the difficulties of delimiting the concept. In view of the situation depicted, I consider it most advisable to maintain a broad approach to the term "idiom", for purposes of the present paper.

The next step is to examine the treatment of idioms from a twofold perspective: the theoretical perspective and the psycholinguistic one.

III. THE UNDERSTANDING AND PROCESSING OF IDIOMS IN L1

The study of idioms shows a curious range of interests among scholars. Miura (1996: 659) has noted that lexical/semantic ambiguity has for long attracted psycholinguists; since some idioms admit a literal reading as well as its supposed inherent figurative one, it does not come as a surprise that psycholinguistic researchers find in idiomatic expressions a suitable domain to contrast their theories.

Similarly, linguists have focused their interest on phrases which do not admit free movement, which present varied degrees of frozenness or which challenge the organization of a lexicon as simply conceived of single lexical units, to mention but a few of their concerns.

Hence it is my belief that the study of idioms is indissolubly linked to these two perspectives: the linguistic perspective and the psycholinguistic one. A major drawback in this interdisciplinary view, however, is that linguists seem to show little, if any, inclination for the work being done on parsing methodology, and psycholinguists do not appear to be willing to rely heavily on linguistic theory, thus becoming more psychologists than linguists.

This section of the paper will try to relate the two perspectives and enhance those aspects that are common to them. Doubtlessly, a question that has preoccupied linguists and psychologists alike is that of the meaning of the idiom. In what follows, this issue will be focused on from the two above mentioned perspectives.

III.1 THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF IDIOMS

When it comes to explaining the conceptualization of idioms from the point of view of theoretical linguistics, two approaches can be distinguished. On the one hand, we find the traditional approach (as labelled by Keysar and Bly 1995; Kövecses and Szabó 1996), according to which idioms are arbitrary

expressions whose meaning is unmotivated. This claim is maintained, among others (Chomsky 1981, 1995; Cruse 1986; Jackendoff 1997), by Dik's Functional Grammar (1988) (henceforth FG).

This traditional view has been attacked by those scholars who defend a non-arbitrary treatment of idioms. Nunberg et al. (1994: 496), for example, devote part of their paper to criticizing the association of each idiom with a single semantic representation:

To justify this claim (...) it has to be shown not just that the meaning of the idiom could not be predicted on the basis of a knowledge of the meanings of its parts, but that once the meaning of the idiom is known (...) it cannot be devolved on the constituents of the expression.

Those who agree with the opinions expressed in this quotation can be grouped mainly under the Cognitive Semantics school. It may be pointed out that recent studies (Titone and Connine 1999) hold a hybrid attitude towards the nature of fixed expressions, thus advocating a model which supports non-compositional and compositional approaches to idiom representation.

In order to see the differences, we will firstly deal with the treatment of idiomatic meanings in the traditional approach and then move on to the cognitivist approach.

Dik's (1988) Functional Grammar claims that idiomatic phrases are stored in the lexicon through a predicate frame which is associated with a meaning definition. This predicate frame has the property of containing some lexically filled slots (those which belong to the frozen part of the expression). The grammar must be provided with a device whose function is to signal that an idiom is involved; in this respect Dik (1988: 5) points out that a general convention may suffice: when a combination of lexical items is defined in terms of a single predicate, then we have an idiom.

As Moutaouakil (1997: 87) observes, and Dik himself (1988: 17) admits, the previous account explains frozen idioms very well, but takes no account of those where both the literal and the idiomatic meanings are relevant. Moutaouakil calls de-idiomatization the process through which an idiom loses all (complete de-idiomatization) or some (semi-de-idiomatization) of its idiomatic features. The context may suffice to trigger such a process: the literal meaning of an idiomatic expression can be revived when the speaker inserts a lexical item (a modifier, for example) which is appropriate to this meaning.

As illustrated by Dik (1988:17-18) and Moutaouakil (1997: 88), this is what happens in (14), where *bloody* in (14a) and *stone-blind* in (14b) relate to the literal meaning of these sentences rather than to their idiomatic meaning.

- (14) a. They finally buried the bloody hatchet.
b. That certainly was a stone-blind date.

To Moutaouakil, the hybrid status shown by these expressions is worth commenting on since the process is highly productive, it is probably attested in all natural languages and the coexistence of both meanings is an instance of ambiguity. As mentioned before this ambiguity is not accidental, rather it is the result of the speaker's discursive strategies.

Of great interest to the present paper are Moutaouakil's (1997: 89) reflexions upon the simultaneous relevance of both meanings:

- i) The idiomatic meaning: it is not to be inferred through some logical reasoning, but it is an inherent semantic feature of the expression.
- ii) The literal meaning: once revived, it regains its original properties as a basic part of the semantic content.

The two meanings are basic parts of the inherent semantic content of the de-idiomatized idiom but neither of them can be conceived of as derived from the other by an inferential mechanism.

This author suggests a procedure to account for the de-idiomatized constructions within FG: provided that the clause structure for the literal meaning is similar to the clause structure for the idiomatic meaning (except in the predicate frame they contain), the two clause structures would be collapsed into a single one with two predicate frames inserted in the same predication. On the criterion of economy, this solution is to be preferred to one which codes the two meanings in two distinct, although related, underlying clause structures.

Recently, however, theorists have shifted from viewing idioms as strictly linguistic entities to viewing them in terms of conceptual processes. The traditional approach to the nature of idioms has been challenged by such figures as Lakoff, Langacker and Johnson (see especially Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Lakoff and his colleagues have proposed not only a model of figurative language, but rather a conception of human thought and reasoning that is intended as a fundamental reformulation of current linguistic and cognitive theory. This new approach has come to be known as "cognitive linguistics". The breadth of Lakoff's proposal is beyond the scope of this paper. Here we are only concerned with aspects of the proposal that have to do with the conceptual bases for idiomatic expressions.

Central to the reaction against the idiomatic account is the belief in people's intuition that many idioms make sense. Speakers presumably make sense of idioms by learning arbitrary links between these phrases and their figurative meanings. The conceptual system (Lakoff 1993; Kövecses and Szabó 1996) bridges two domains of knowledge. One is a familiar, physical domain called a source domain; the second is a less familiar, abstract domain called a target domain. The source domain is applied to provide understanding of the target.

These researchers consider idioms to be highly motivated. The individual words in many fixed phrases systematically contribute to the overall figurative interpretations. The cognitive approach does not focus on idioms that are opaque, but considers the large class of idioms that are relatively transparent, like *to skate on thin ice*. Gibbs (1994: 425) suggests that people normally attempt to do some compositional analysis when understanding idiomatic expressions. This does not necessarily mean, however, that people automatically compute the literal interpretations of idioms, but rather that some compositional process attempts to assign some figurative meanings to the individual components in idioms in the process of understanding.

The motivation of idiomatic phrases works well with transparent idioms, but what about those that are opaque? Cacciari and Glucksberg (1994), among others, admit that not everything is metaphorical. As a solution to this problem Nunberg et al. (1994) draw a terminological distinction between idioms: "idiomatically combining expressions", "idiomatic combinations" for short, comprise those phrases which are decomposable, whereas the term "idiomatic phrases" refers to those idioms that have to be understood as a whole chunk. From this perspective, the difference between an idiom and its literal paraphrase stems from the absence of motivation of the same set of conceptual metaphors that give rise to the fixed phrase.

Needless to say, the claims of Lakoff and his colleagues have not gone unchallenged. Quinn's (1991) and Cacciari and Glucksberg's (1994) critique concerns the development and nature of conceptual knowledge. One important issue refers to the availability of the conceptual structures hypothesized. A conceptual structure may be available in semantic theory yet may not be accessed for either production or comprehension. The second problem revolves around the universality of the conceptual mappings that the theory proposes, that is, whether everybody has a systematic set of mappings from the source domain to the target domain. If the theory works, this conceptual structure should be shared by every speech community.

Moreover, Keysar and Bly (1999) are quite critical of cognitive linguistics. In their paper, they claim that idioms cannot, in principle, be

used to argue for the existence of conceptual structures. To these authors, the reasons for the perceived transparency may have less to do with conceptual motivation than with the nature of interpretive strategies.

III.2 THE PSYCHOLINGUISTIC DIMENSION

Just as theoretical linguists substantiate different claims on the understanding of fixed phrases, so the study of idiom processing makes it possible to differentiate three opposing approaches.

Schweigert and Moates (1988) lend support to what they themselves called the Idiomatic Processing Model. According to this view, when an idiom is encountered it is first processed figuratively due to the strong conventional (figurative) meaning of the expression. Schraw et al. (1988) confirm these findings, adding that familiarity contributes to the strength of preferences for figurative interpretations.

Bobrow and Bell (1973) and Burbules et al. (1989) represent what is known as the Literal Processing Model, according to which, when an idiom is encountered it is first processed literally, but if that meaning is inappropriate for the context, an idiomatic processing mode is activated.

More recently, Schraw (1995) has replicated these findings in what he has called the Focus-Shifting Hypothesis (readers attempt to understand idioms literally, shifting to a figurative mode only when such attempts prove unproductive).

Gibbs (1994) and Cacciari and Glucksberg (1994) do not hesitate to attack a model that gives unconditional prominence to literal meanings, derived automatically and with little effort. Gibbs (1994: 421), who is mainly concerned with the economy criterion, emphasises that psycholinguistic experiments show that figurative expressions do not always require additional processing effort. Therefore, the "less effort" argument would lose strength in defence of a first literal interpretation.

In turn, Cacciari and Glucksberg (1994: 457) have serious difficulty in admitting a model that, firstly, implies a reasoned distinction between literal and non-literal meanings (an objection that also affects the Idiomatic Processing Model). The second drawback has to do with the absolute priority given to literal interpretations. On the one hand, they echo the idea that it is not at all clear that people always and unconditionally process sentences sufficiently to derive a literal interpretation. On the other hand, they are not willing to accept that figurative language be assigned the optionality status (i.e. to be considered only when the literal interpretation does not fit). This claim seems to have been disproved by research conducted in the early 80's (Glucksberg, Gildea and Bookin 1982; Gildea and Glucksberg 1983).

It is true that Cacciari and Glucksberg assess the importance of literal meaning; they (1994: 457) observe that it may play an important role in the final interpretation of utterances and, consequently, that it may be used to guide and constrain the inferential comprehension process. But this does not amount to granting priority to the literal meaning. These authors put forward the idea that the optimal strategy would be to derive both meanings in all utterances that allow them. As we will see shortly, this suggestion is close to our third approach to idiom processing.

Theoretical preferences aside, it is a fact that the literal view on idiom parsing does not have many supporters. The reason may be a simple one though: it offers a costly account (this model entails a three-stage strategy: literal interpretation; assessment and possible rejection; figurative interpretation) of what is otherwise a swift process.

The last psychological model of comprehension we are going to refer to is Swinney and Cutler's (1979) Simultaneous Processing Model. In their account both meanings of the idiom, the figurative and the literal, are processed at the same time. More recent research on this model (Forrester 1995) seems to favour the idea that idiomatic expressions are frozen by their history of use and recognizable conventionality, rather than being lexicalized representations "in the head".

The next section analyses features that are to a greater or lesser extent shared by the different perspectives.

III.3 BRIDGING LINGUISTIC AND PSYCHOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

Having examined the conceptualization of idioms from theoretical perspectives as well as the various models in idiom comprehension, I would like to focus on the question of how a specific line of thought may have led to a parsing strategy.

In my opinion, the traditional model, according to which the interpretation of the idiom is non-compositional, would be equivalent to the Idiomatic Processing Model. Such a link is established on the bases of a strong association between the presence of a fixed phrase and a non-motivated idiomatic reading. Yet such an association is not referred to by the authors quoted above.

It is nevertheless true that Dik (1988: 18-21), when hinting at the possibility of a natural language parser after the Functional model, comments on the need to take into account contextual clues (and the difficulty involved in doing so)- clues that could help the human parser decide between a literal

and an idiomatic reading, in much the same way as the information contained in a predicate frame eases the way to take this decision.

It seems productive to draw a parallel between the Simultaneous Processing Model and the cognitivist approach, invoking the motivation that cognitivist theorists find for fixed expressions; a motivation whose spirit is captured in Nunberg et al. (1994: 530):

There is a good deal of recent work on metaphor that shows how the basic metaphorical schemas that underlie most transfer processes in natural language take familiar, concrete things and situations (e.g. the body, spatial relations) as the models for more abstract domains (social interactions, temporal and causal relations, and so on). So we would be surprised to find a language which had an idiom of the form *divulge the information* with the meaning *spill the soup*, as in *The waiter divulged the information all over my new suit*.

It makes sense to think that cognitive theorists associate the idiomatic expression with both the literal and the figurative meaning. As we have already seen, in Cacciari and Glucksberg's view, the literal reading guides and constrains the correct interpretation of the idiomatic expression, an insight that I have used to establish the relationship between this theoretical trend and the Simultaneous Processing Model of comprehension.

The opening part of this paper tried to alert the reader to the general lack of agreement which surrounds both the definition and the limits of an idiom. And as the theoretical characterization of such phrases was introduced, we became more and more aware that there are many different criteria on this issue. Part of the problem springs from the fact that each theoretical trend uses those expressions that best suit each particular goal. Thus, the traditional approach and the idiomatic model of comprehension are mainly concerned with opaque expressions, that is, those whose whole meaning is not simply the sum of its constituents. It is not then hard to understand why their main concerns are the arbitrariness and the priority of figurative interpretations.

On the other hand, the cognitive approaches and the Simultaneous Processing Model of parsing (even the Literal Processing Model could be included here) would rather do research on a corpus made up of transparent idioms, in such a way that the constituent elements are relatively salient.

This disappointing situation, which may easily lead to partial conclusions, acquires new and more solid bases when we examine the study of idioms in L2. This is the purpose of the following section.

IV. IDIOMS AND L2 LEARNERS

Formulaic language may play an important role in L2 development and this can surely be exploited in language teaching. Working on the belief that fixed expressions are a source of inspiration for vocabulary, the following aspects should be borne in mind: lexicalization in L2 and the learning strategy.

As to the former, comparisons are levelled with idiom processing in L1, where Broderick (1991) and Pearson (1990) suggested that children as young as three can comprehend figurative language, and that the accuracy of comprehension increases with the child's age. Schraw et al. (1988) carried out comparative studies on the level of lexicalization in L1 and L2. Their results indicate that native speakers are considerably more sensitive to lexicalization than nonnatives. The latter are more likely to use a word-by-word parsing strategy regardless of whether the expression is idiomatic or literal.

In view of these results, it could be said that the Literal Processing Model would be clearly favoured by L2 students. Recall that the importance of this model in L1 was considerably low.

With respect to the second point, the learning strategy, despite the fact that we find a lack of consensus over issues such as the conceptualization of the process by which vocabulary acquisition occurs, the importance of context use for acquiring vocabulary, and the extent to which students develop specific strategies for vocabulary learning during their language studies (see Weinert 1994; Lawson and Hogben 1996; Prince 1996, for various commentaries on these issues), in the case of idioms theorists appear to place emphasis on the importance of contextual clues (McCarthy 1992) and the type of phrases used. Thus according to Gairns and Redman (1986: 36), the learning and teaching of idioms should focus on those which are "useful" and can be incorporated naturally into the learner's productive vocabulary.

Incorporation into productive vocabulary is straightforward from a conceptual semantics point of view, as defended by Kövecses and Szabó (1996). As already explained, in this approach idiomatic expressions are not independent of any conceptual system and they are not isolated from each other at the conceptual level. The assumption that the meaning of idioms is conceptually motivated enables these scholars to explain that particular words (such as *hand* or *fire*, for instance) occur in a large number of idioms. These links among idioms are supposed to facilitate the teachability/learnability of these phrases (Irujo 1993).

Motivation (for the meaning of idioms) is a central point in this approach. The hypothesis these researchers (Irujo 1993; Kövecses and Szabó 1996) work on is that learners of English as a foreign language who have

developed metaphorical competence will obtain better results in the understanding of fixed phrases than those who have not. The link between the idiomatic meaning and the literal words arises from knowledge of the cognitive mechanisms. One of them is conventional knowledge.

After having set out the most relevant issues on idioms in L2, as well as what seems to be the preferred theoretical paradigm, I would like to focus on the practical side of the matter. Hence, the next section will analyse the types of exercises learners are faced with; these have been extracted from the three coursebooks under examination.

IV.1 TACTICAL APPROACH TO IDIOMS IN TEXTBOOKS

Before moving on to an analysis of the various types of suggested exercises, it is important to remember the conclusion arrived at in the second section, namely, that the theoretical confusion which surrounds the definition of the term "idiom" has been transferred to textbooks, in such a way that textbook writers tend to group under the item "idiom" expressions ranging from idiomatic phrases to compounds, including phrasal verbs, similes, sayings, collocations.

Given the idiosyncratic meaning of such linguistic manifestations, authors (e.g. Bywater 1985; Jones 1993; Gude and Duckworth 1997) tend to consider them a good way of expanding students' vocabulary. This attitude will determine the layout and choice of exercises.

In the analysis of the treatment of idioms in coursebooks I am going to adopt a tripartite structure: firstly, how to group idioms; secondly, how to guide learners through meaning; thirdly, how to elicit answers in the learner. In what follows I will set out the type of strategy and activity associated with each question.

IV.1.1 HOW TO GROUP IDIOMS

In order to facilitate the learnability and subsequent memorization of idiomatic expressions, the most widely used strategy is to emphasise those features that idioms may have in common. These main features are as follows: lexical features, syntactic features and topic features.

According to lexical features, those phrases which contain the same lexical item will appear together. Thus, Gude and Duckworth (1997) place together expressions which share the element *come* (p. 3), *do* (p. 30), *tie* (p. 45), *run*, *look* and *catch* (p. 61), *take* (p. 91), *pick* (p. 147), or *make* (p. 175).

Jones (1993) goes a little further in that he usually chooses two words between which there is a certain relationship (similar meaning, opposite meaning, etc.). Hence, the resulting pairs take the form of: *keep/hold* (p. 35), *come/go* (p. 93), *bring/get* (p. 128), *put/set* (p. 161), *give/take* (p. 190), *good/bad* (p. 218), or the triple *mind/brain/word* (p. 257).

In the case of syntactic features, idioms are grouped according to the form they take. That is, they may exhibit coordination with the conjunction *and*, which will lead to expressions such as "bits and pieces", "fast and furious", "house and home", "spick and span", etc. (Bywater 1985: 13) or "far and away", "dead and alive", "long and short", "once and for all", etc. (Bywater 1985: 72).

Another syntactic characteristic is the presence of infinitive forms, *there* constructions or, exceptionally, a full phrase (e.g. "That argument doesn't hold water"), as happens in Bywater (1985: 182, 229, 236).

Finally, topic features. Idioms may relate to a given topic, a strategy which has been mainly used by Gude and Duckworth (1997). Thus they group idiomatic phrases connected to books (p. 23); weather (p. 38); reading and words (p. 107); fish, ducks and water (p.119); trade, buying and selling (p. 155); light and dark (p. 187).

By exploiting this method, textbook writers hope to make learners aware of the constituent elements of the idiomatic expression, a practice which seems in full agreement with conceptual semantics.

IV.1.2 HOW TO GUIDE LEARNERS THROUGH MEANING

Perhaps as a consequence of the attitude taken towards idiom grouping, authors tend to be very explicit about the possible motivation underlying the fixed phrase. By the same token, this implies that most of the expressions employed are transparent ones (a generalization, it is fair to say, which does not affect Bywater (1985), an author whose work is mainly characterised by a broad scope in matters of vocabulary; perhaps, judging by current standards, too broad a scope to ensure students' learnability and ultimate production).

Be it as it may, I would like to focus on three types of exercises which insistently appear in association with idioms. They are: matching expressions, paraphrasing exercises and contextualising exercises.

The traditional approach to matching expressions consists in providing students with two columns: one contains the idiomatic expressions, the other definitions. As the number of items in the latter coincides with those in the former, the learner does not find it too hard to link the items.

In the most common version of paraphrasing exercises, the italicised parts of a sentence have to be replaced by the appropriate idiom. Given that

idioms are grouped according to the common features just pointed out, the replacement items are purposefully restricted.

I have given the name of "contextualising exercises" to a type of activity which seeks to test ability in the understanding of idioms by placing the idiomatic expression in a sentence, in such a way that the elements of the sentence will contribute to clarifying the figurative interpretation of the fixed phrase. It is a tactic consistently exploited by Jones (1993). As an illustration, observe the following examples:

- (15) a. I'm sorry for what I did, I hope you won't *hold it against* me. (p. 35)
- b. They explained what happened, but I feel they were *holding something back*. (p. 35)
- (16) a. I've read the report through twice, but I can't *make out* what he's getting at. (p. 64)
- done* b. Adrift alone in the ocean, they knew they were *for*. (p. 64)
- c. Shh, don't *make a scene* -we can talk about it when we get home. (p. 64)
- (17) a. Having the car fixed *set me back* \$250! That's *put paid* to my holiday plans. (p. 161)
- b. You've let her get away with being late too often: its time you *put your foot down*. (p. 161)

As can be noticed, the idiomatic (supposedly unknown) expression is usually preceded by information which makes it possible for the learner to guess the answer. This kind of biased context is extremely helpful and at the same time plays an important part in justifying the figurative reading of the expression.

IV.1.3 HOW TO ELICIT ANSWERS IN THE LEARNER

The student's own production is the highest step in the learning process. As a result, the type of activities oriented to developing this skill tend to come last in the series of activities involved in teaching idioms.

The ideas behind the exercises considered in this section so far outlined, are designed to enhance L2 learners' creative use of language as well as their fluency, two features which undoubtedly characterise the mastery of a language. The tests designed to encourage student autonomy are: gap-filling, writing and story-telling.

Gap-filling exercises require students to fill in a gap, which in the present circumstances represents part of an idiomatic form. Since the learner has just met a number of expressions, its immediate goal is to test his memory. Alternatively, when the contextual clues are poor, the number of options is high and students are asked to provide the full idiom. This latter variety represents a more demanding exercise, which is compensated with the exact number of gaps needed (Bywater 1985: 173-174).

As far the writing exercises are concerned, two varieties have been found. The first offers a tighter control on student production, since it consists in completing an unfinished sentence with an idiomatic phrase (Gude and Duckworth 1997: 91, 107, 119, 147, 187, 200).

The second (free writing) gives more freedom in that it is the student himself who decides on a sentence which will include the idiomatic expression. This alternative is found mainly in Bywater (1985: 73, 182, 229) and Jones (1993: 35, 93, 128, 190).

Finally, the story-telling exercise. Occasionally, students are asked to prepare a short story that will use and illustrate one of the idioms studied in the lesson. This is a spoken version of the free writing activity explained above.

Once the treatment of idioms in coursebooks has been examined, two aspects become clear: the importance of the constituent parts and the motivation for the figurative reading.

As far as the first aspect is concerned, textbook writers have been specially careful about the way in which fixed phrases are introduced to learners. We have seen how idioms appear grouped according to features (syntactic, lexical or thematic). Similarly, exercises such as gap-filling focus attention on one word.

With respect to the second issue, meaning motivation, writers (above all Jones and Gude and Duckworth) take good care to choose transparent examples. This added to the fact that the items to be taught are related to a topic, enable the students to establish a virtually direct link between the way

things are and the way we conceptualize them. In other words, it is not by chance that a language possesses certain expressions and not others. Hence, the metaphoric interpretation is not presented as something arbitrary, but well-grounded. Furthermore, the exercises are designed to help students work out the figurative meaning by relying heavily on the other components of the sentence.

The conclusion reached is that the teaching of idioms in L2 appears to favour the cognitivist theory over other approaches. To measure the long term effectiveness of this choice more steps would need to be taken. Firstly, to extend this conception to all idiomatic expressions (transparent and opaque). A further stage would be the systematic testing of students production in order to see whether they actually use in a natural way those idioms they have been exposed to. But this would belong to another research project. ❧

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NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR: UNA INTERPRETACIÓN SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA¹



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1. INTRODUCCIÓN

La notoria sensibilidad de George Orwell hacia las conexiones existentes entre el lenguaje, las ideas y la estratificación social se plasma en toda su producción. Sus principales contribuciones como pensador del lenguaje son dos ensayos incluidos en su novela *1984* (1949);² uno es el libro herético supuestamente escrito por Goldstein, el *Enemigo del Estado*, en donde se exponen los principios políticos, ideológicos y lingüísticos que fundamentan la sociedad del futuro: el *Ingsoc* (socialismo inglés) el *doublethink* y el *Newspeak*; el otro es el apéndice de la propia novela —“The Principles of Newspeak”—, una sátira contra los planificadores y expertos en lenguaje, según coinciden en señalar la mayoría de los críticos (Fowler et al. 1983: 32). En *1984* se exploran las estructuras lingüísticas y sus métodos para transformar y oscurecer la realidad, para regular las ideas y el comportamiento, para clasificar y jerarquizar a las personas y para afirmar el poder institucional.

Para llevar a cabo el presente análisis del lenguaje como instrumento de control social y psicológico se describirán tanto la situación sociopolítica que se vive en la obra como la situación lingüística, tratando por separado cada una de las lenguas objeto de estudio: el *Oldspeak* y el *Newspeak*. La conclusión a la que se pretende llegar es que, si bien el *Newspeak* es un instrumento creado conscientemente para manipular y controlar a los hablantes, y a través de ellos a la propia realidad, también el *Oldspeak* realiza esa función de control, aunque de manera más sutil e inconsciente. El *Newspeak* es simplemente un paso más en el proceso, dado de forma abierta y

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manifiesta a los ojos del lector, pero debe tenerse en cuenta que el *Oldspeak* ya había estado ejerciendo su poder, un poder que todavía permanece y del que se sirven los creadores del *Newspeak*.

2. SITUACIÓN SOCIOPOLÍTICA DE OCEANÍA

En la acción futurista de 1984, el mundo se halla dividido en tres grandes bloques —*Oceania*, *Eastasia* y *Eurasia*— en un estado de guerra permanente. El régimen de gobierno oceánico es un socialismo que ha degenerado en totalitarismo, y al que Goldstein denomina *Oligarchical Collectivism*, esto es, el gobierno de una minoría perteneciente a la misma clase social. De ese modo, y a pesar de que las clases sociales han sido abolidas oficialmente, la diferenciación persiste a través de la jerarquización del aparato del estado, de manera que la función política del grupo determina su localización en la escala social: *Big Brother* ocupa el vértice de la pirámide del estado totalitario; le siguen, en escala sociopolítica descendente, los miembros del Partido Interior, el Partido Exterior y los *proles*,

At the apex of the pyramid comes Big Brother [...] below Big Brother comes the Inner Party, its numbers limited to six millions, or something less than 2 per cent of the population of Oceania. Below the Inner Party comes the Outer Party [...]. Below that come the dumb masses whom we habitually refer to as 'the proles', numbering perhaps 85 per cent of the population [...] not a permanent or necessary part of the structure [...]. (217)

La estructura sociopolítica de la sociedad oceánica se corresponde con una estructura lingüística en la que entran en juego el *Oldspeak*, el *Newspeak* y sus respectivas variantes, y que se estudiará con más detenimiento en los apartados siguientes.

3. SITUACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA DE OCEANÍA

En Oceanía coexisten dos lenguas: el *Oldspeak* en calidad de *lingua franca*, y el *Newspeak* como lengua oficial. En realidad, ambas podrían considerarse variedades de la misma lengua si se tiene en cuenta que la segunda es una lengua artificial creada a partir de la primera. En cualquier caso, y siguiendo los criterios aportados por Holmes (1992: 32), Oceanía vive una situación de diglosia: "Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community, with one regarded as a high (or H) variety and the other a low (or

L) variety [...] each variety is used for quite distinct functions [...] no one uses the H variety in everyday conversation".

Aplicando los criterios anteriores, el *Oldspeak* se corresponde con la variedad baja (L), y el *Newspeak* con la alta (H). El *Newspeak* se utiliza en contextos formales —discursos, artículos de prensa especializada—, y especialmente dentro de los ministerios bajo la forma de jerga burocrática. A pesar de que no se emplea como medio de comunicación exclusivo, es reconocida como lengua de prestigio, ya que se identifica con la minoría que ostenta el poder, y se pretende que sustituya definitivamente al *Oldspeak*. Por el momento, este proceso de desplazamiento o *language shift* (Holmes 1992: 55-70) está en sus comienzos, de modo que el *Oldspeak* es todavía la lengua básica de los medios de comunicación, educación y propaganda. En los actos comunicativos se produce una mezcla de códigos —*code mixing* en términos de Holmes (1992: 41)— debido a la incorporación de vocablos del *Newspeak* al *Oldspeak*. Siguiendo a Fowler et al. (1983: 19), sería posible aplicar al *Newspeak* algunas características del código restringido tal y como lo define Bernstein: simplicidad, limitación en las abstracciones y carencia casi absoluta de valoración y crítica. El *Newspeak* se convierte así en una clase particular de código restringido, diseñado por y (en principio) para la clase gobernante.

4. NEWSPEAK

4.1. ESTATUS

El *Newspeak* es la lengua oficial de Oceanía, aunque resulta ininteligible para todo aquel que no sea miembro del grupo que ostenta el poder. Se trata de una lengua artificial, objeto de constantes reformas a manos de los filólogos del Partido: "The Eleventh Edition is the definitive edition" he said. "We're getting the language into its final shape [...]. When we have finished with it, people like you will have to learn it all over again" (53).

4.2. HABLANTES

En el apéndice de la obra, escrito bajo la perspectiva de un trabajador ortodoxo de los niveles medios del Ministerio de la Verdad se explica que, por el momento, ningún hablante utiliza el *Newspeak* como primera lengua. No obstante, "it was expected that Newspeak would have finally superseded Oldspeak [...] by about the year 2050" (312); además, "by 2050 [...] all real knowledge of Oldspeak will have disappeared" (56). Es decir, se espera que a

mediados del siglo XXI Oceanía se haya convertido en una comunidad monolingüe. Las previsiones dejan fuera a los *proles*, ya que, a pesar de constituir el grueso de la población, "they are not human beings" (56), y por tanto carecen de importancia a efectos políticos, ideológicos y lingüísticos.

4.3. VARIEDADES

Existen dos variedades de *Newspeak*: la variedad estándar, compilada en los diccionarios, y la jerga ministerial, esto es, "the abbreviated jargon [...] consisting largely of Newspeak words, which was used in the Ministry for internal purposes" (40). Esta última es utilizada únicamente por los empleados de los ministerios a efectos administrativos y de comunicación interna, y surge a partir de una serie de transformaciones realizadas sobre el inglés estándar: supresiones (que aportan concisión), sustituciones de términos y reordenación de estructuras. Sus funciones explícitas se corresponden con algunas de las razones apuntadas por Partridge (1972) para el uso de las jergas: brevedad, concisión, privacidad y cualidad de pertenencia a un determinado grupo. Sin embargo, la auténtica función del argot ministerial es la *censura*, ya que por medio de los mensajes así codificados se transmiten las instrucciones de falsificación del pasado para satisfacer las necesidades del presente. Esta función también es considerada por Partridge (1972: 6-7): "to 'prettify', to mask the ugliness [...] to lessen the sting [of the message]",

Even the written instructions [...] never stated or implied that an act of forgery was to be committed: always the reference was to slips, errors, misprints or misquotations. (43)

The work was overwhelming, all the more so because the processes that it involved could not be called by their true names. (190)

De este modo, y paradójicamente, la función de la jerga es ocultar su propia función, de manera que la opacidad de su léxico se convierte en mecanismo de manipulación de la información. Éste es uno de los casos en los que el lenguaje se superpone a la realidad y la controla:

times 3.12.83 reporting bb dayorder doubleplusungood refs
unpersons rewrite fullwise upsup antefiling.

In Oldspeak (or Standard English), this might be rendered:

The reporting of Big Brother's Order for the Day in the Times of December 3rd 1983 is extremely unsatisfactory and makes references to non-existing persons. Re-write it in full and submit your draft to higher authority before filing. (46-47)

4.4. CONTEXTOS DE USO

En el apartado 3 se han citado los principales contextos en donde se emplea el *Newspeak* estándar. Fuera del ámbito oficial, su uso se reduce de momento a la introducción de determinadas palabras en el habla corriente en especial neologismos de tipo ideológico, como *doublethink*, *thoughtcrime* o *crimestop*: "He noticed that she never used Newspeak words except the ones that had passed into everyday use" (138).

4.5. CARACTERÍSTICAS Y FUNCIONES

En cuanto a su origen, "Newspeak was founded on the English language as we now know it" (313). De acuerdo con el apéndice de la novela, la versión del *Newspeak* que se utiliza en 1984 es la compilada en las ediciones novena y décima del diccionario, una versión provisional que contiene aún términos superfluos y arcaicos que serán suprimidos en la undécima edición. Su estructura y funciones se basan en una concepción rudimentaria del determinismo lingüístico, una hipótesis desarrollada en los años treinta por los célebres lingüistas Sapir y Whorf, y que Hudson (1980: 103) define en su versión extremista como la creencia de que el lenguaje da forma al pensamiento, hasta tal punto que las ideas no existen sin el lenguaje. Así se expresa en el siguiente fragmento de la novela: "The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression [...] but to make other modes of thought impossible. When Newspeak has been adopted [...] a heretical thought should be literally unthinkable, at least so far as thought is dependent on words" (312).

El *Newspeak* es objeto de continuas transformaciones, eliminando palabras innecesarias o no deseables, o modificando sus significados. El lenguaje contribuye así a la falsificación de la realidad: el vocabulario se reduce con objeto de mermar las posibilidades del pensamiento y eliminar la vaguedad y los matices. Desaparecida la forma, desaparecen también el concepto y el referente. En palabras de Syme, miembro del equipo de expertos que elaboran los diccionarios: "Don't you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally

impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it" (55). Los rasgos más destacables del *Newspeak* son:

1. Regularidad y simplificación en la flexión y la derivación.
2. Funcionalidad intercambiable de las categorías léxicas: la economía del lenguaje es llevada a su máxima expresión.
3. Empleo de formas abreviadas (sub: subscripción; proles: proletarios; polits: presos políticos). Estas formas son especialmente importantes en la jerga ministerial (bb: Big Brother; ref: reference; doc: document) y contribuyen a su caracterización como lenguaje críptico y secreto.
4. Creación de neologismos por composición o aglutinación, con la finalidad de alterar sutilmente el significado resultante impidiendo ciertas asociaciones no deseadas. Se trata, por tanto, de una forma de eufemismo que, junto con las abreviaturas, otorga al lenguaje el aire de oscuridad, distinción y autoridad que responde a la condición de sus actuales usuarios. Entre los términos eufemísticos se encuentran, por ejemplo, joycamp ("campo de recreo": campo de trabajos forzados), o los nombres de los cuatro ministerios, Minitrue, Miniplenty, Miniluv y Minipax:

Even the names of the four Ministries by which we are governed exhibit a sort of impudence in their deliberate reversal of the facts. The Ministry of Peace concerns itself with war, the Ministry of Truth with lies, the Ministry of Love with torture and the Ministry of Plenty with starvation. (225)

Los procesos de composición y aglutinación tienen además otros efectos: por una parte, demuestran la arbitrariedad del signo lingüístico al contribuir a la desvinculación entre significantes y significados; por otra, los vocablos así formados adquieren connotaciones nuevas y beneficiosas para el Partido: la aglutinación de elementos en formas como *Ingsoc* o *Minipax* aporta nociones de solidez, coherencia y estabilidad que son extendidas desde las propias palabras al Partido y al sistema.

El resultado de todo este proceso es una lengua concisa y que expresa exactamente sólo aquellas ideas convenientes para el mantenimiento del Partido en el poder: "Newspeak is Ingsoc, and Ingsoc is Newspeak" (55).

5. OLDSPEAK

5.1. ESTATUS

Oldspeak es el nombre que recibe en *Newspeak* el inglés estándar: "in Oldspeak (or Standard English) this might be rendered [...]" (46). Se trata de una lengua natural que posee hablantes nativos. Aplicando la definición de Holmes (1992: 80) para las lenguas vernáculas, "a language [...] which does not have official status [...] the first language of a group socially or politically dominated by a group with a different language", se podría calificar al *Oldspeak* como lengua vernácula, puesto que se trata de la primera lengua de un grupo (el Partido) que se encuentra dominado por un subgrupo (el Partido Interior), el cual trata de imponer una lengua distinta, el *Newspeak*, con la que se identifica y que disfruta de la condición de lengua oficial: "English is its chief lingua franca and Newspeak its official language" (217).

Por otra parte, y como se menciona en la cita anterior, el *Oldspeak* funciona también como *lingua franca*, esto es, "a language serving as regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community" (Holmes 1992: 86). Al hablar de la situación política de la novela, se mencionó la división del mundo en tres superestados, uno de los cuales es Oceanía: "Oceania comprises the Americas, the Atlantic islands including the British Isles, Australasia and the southern portion of Africa" (193). Se trata, por tanto, de un estado multilingüe que necesita una lengua común para la comunicación entre sus miembros. La elección del *Oldspeak* se debe, entre otros factores, al hecho de que ésta era la lengua nacional y oficial en la mayor parte de los antiguos estados de Oceanía, y también al poder político y económico de dichos estados.

Dado que la acción de 1984 se desarrolla en Londres, la descripción de usos y características del *Oldspeak* se limitará a una situación espacial concreta. No se estudiará, por tanto, como *lingua franca* sino como primera lengua de la población.

5.2. HABLANTES

Todos los personajes que aparecen en 1984 utilizan el *Oldspeak* en sus actos comunicativos, aunque se trate de distintas variedades. No existe ninguna restricción de sexo o edad, pero la posición socioeconómica determina la variedad de *Oldspeak* utilizada.³ Se observa, sin embargo, que el grado de filtrado del *Newspeak* en el *Oldspeak* es mayor cuanto menores son los

hablantes, dado que la política lingüística del *Newspeak* contempla su introducción sistemática en todos los campos, incluyendo la educación y la propaganda, ante la que los jóvenes resultan especialmente vulnerables. El resultado es no sólo un aumento de los términos del *Newspeak* introducidos en los enunciados en *Oldspeak*, sino la internalización de dichos términos y del aparato ideológico que se oculta tras ellos. De este modo, los niños y los jóvenes (especialmente mujeres, atraídas por las promesas de igualdad e independencia del Partido) se suman a los miembros del Partido Interior) en su fanática defensa del régimen:

It was always the women, and above all the young ones, who were the most bigoted adherents of the Party, the swallowers of slogans, the amateur spies and nosers-out of unorthodoxy. (12)

Nearly all children nowadays were horrible [...] they adored the Party and everything connected with it. The songs, the processions, the banners, the hiking, the drilling with dummy rifles, the yelling of slogans, the worship of Big Brother —it was all a sort of glorious game to them. (26)

A la espera de la imposición definitiva del *Newspeak*, el *Oldspeak* asume de manera transitoria la función de control del individuo, y su poder se ejerce sobre los miembros más maleables de la sociedad: los jóvenes, que al carecer del *no deseable* bagaje del pasado que poseen los adultos se encuentran desprotegidos ante la avalancha de propaganda, canciones, desfiles y promesas de gloria y de victoria en un mundo ideal. Se convierten así en esclavos inconscientes al servicio del Partido. Por otra parte, el ascenso en la escala sociopolítica determina también el empleo de más términos del *Newspeak* en el habla cotidiana. A medida que los hablantes aumentan su edad y descienden en la pirámide social y en la escala de poder político y adquisitivo, el uso del *Oldspeak* se vuelve sistemático, hasta tal punto que los *proles* adultos, que se comunican en *substandard Oldspeak*, no utilizan ningún término del *Newspeak*.

5.3. VARIEDADES

5.3.1. OLDSPEAK ESTÁNDAR (STANDARD ENGLISH)

En estos momentos es la variedad utilizada por toda la sociedad a juicio del Partido, ya que los *proles* no se consideran parte de la misma. Abarca, por

tanto, al líder (*Big Brother*) al Enemigo del Pueblo, Emmanuel Goldstein, al Partido Interior (representado, por ejemplo, por O'Brien), y al Partido Exterior, al que pertenecen los personajes principales (Winston y Julia) y todos los que les rodean: amigos, vecinos y compañeros de trabajo (los Parson, Syme, Ampleforth, etc.). El registro se mueve entre formal e informal, dependiendo del grado de confianza de los hablantes y de la situación. El registro informal —ejemplos⁴ (1) y (2)— incluye términos afectivos (*old boy*), contracciones, extraposiciones enfáticas (*two dollars*) y vocabulario o expresiones específicas (*stuff, I tell you, bloody, a bit*):

(1) 'Look at him working away in the lunch hour,' said Parsons [...] 'What's that you've got here, *old boy*? Something *a bit* too brainy for me [...] *I tell you*, it *won't* be my fault [...] *Two dollars* you promised me'. (59)

(2) 'games, community hikes —all that *stuff* [...]. *It's* this *bloody* thing that does it,' she said. (127)

El registro formal es empleado normalmente por los miembros del Partido Interior, aún en los contextos de mayor intimidad, y recurre a los circunloquios, la voz pasiva, tiempos verbales compuestos y continuos, palabras largas de origen latino y ausencia de contracciones:

(3) O'Brien [...] began speaking with the peculiar grave courtesy that differentiated him from the majority of Inner Party members. 'I *had been hoping* for an opportunity of talking to you [...]. The tenth edition is not *due to* appear for some months, I believe. But a few advance copies *have been circulated*'. (164-165)

(4) 'I think *it is fitting* that we should begin by drinking a health'. (178)

Se asume que la pronunciación de estos personajes es la llamada *RP* (*Received Pronunciation*), es decir, la pronunciación estándar, en contraste con los *proles*, que exhiben el denominado *cockney accent* característico de la clase trabajadora londinense, y que el autor reproduce en los diálogos. Un caso particular es el del señor Charrington, que actúa de puente entre Winston y el mundo de los *proles*. En realidad se trata de un espía de la Policía del Pensamiento, que incorpora como parte de su disfraz de *prole* el empleo de un inglés marcadamente coloquial —repetición enfática de sujetos en posición

final, escisión de infinitivos— y el acento *cockney*, que en su caso no aparece reflejado tipográficamente,

(5) 'That's coral, *that is* [...]. They used *to* kind of *embed* it in the glass'. (99)

(6) Something had also changed in Mr Charrington's appearance... The *cockney* accent had disappeared. (233)

5.3.2. OLDSPEAK NO ESTÁNDAR (SUBSTANDARD ENGLISH)

Es la variedad utilizada por los *proles*, que constituyen un mundo aparte dentro de la sociedad oceánica. En la novela aparecen representados, entre otros, por el dueño de la taberna y sus clientes (7), el anciano que habla con Winston (8), la *prole* que canta mientras tiende la ropa (9) y la mujer que Winston conoce en la cárcel (10):

(7) 'Can't you bleeding well listen to what I say? I tell you *no* number ending in seven *ain't* won for over fourteen months!' 'Yes it *'as*, then!' 'No, it *'as* not! Back *'ome* I got the *'ole* lot of *'em* for over two years'. (88)

(8) 'Ark at *'im!* Calls *'isself* a barman and *don't* know what a pint is!' [...] 'I *likes* a pint', persisted the old man [...]. 'A *'alf*-litre *ain't* enough. It *don't* satisfy'. (91-92)

(9) She was singing in a powerful contralto:
It was only an *'opeless* fancy,
It passed like an Ipril *dye*,
But a look an' a word an' the dreams they stirred
They *'ave* stolen my *'eart* *awye!* (144)

(10) 'Beg pardon, dearie', she said. 'I wouldn't *'a* sat on you [...]. They dono *'ow* to treat a lady [...]. Wass your name, dearie?' (239)

Las siguientes observaciones acerca del acento *cockney* y del inglés no estándar se basan en las aportaciones de Hughes y Trudgill (1979), Gimson (1989) y Wells (1990). Como se desprende de los ejemplos, el autor reproduce tipográficamente ciertos rasgos del *cockney*, ya sea mediante apóstrofes —por ejemplo, la ausencia del fonema /h/ (*'as*: *has*, *'ole*: *hole*,

'eart: *heart*), o el empleo frecuente del alófono plosivo glotal [ʔ] (*'em*: *them*, *reg'lar*: *regular*)—, o recurriendo a la ortografía, como en la realización del fonema vocálico /ʌ/ como /æ/ —“I was jest [just] thinking” (93)—, o en la del diptongo /ei/ como [ai]: *dye*, *awye*, en lugar de *day*, *away* —véase ejemplo (9). Enumero a continuación otras características de las variedades no estándar que también aparecen en los enunciados de los personajes:

1. La utilización de la forma *ain't* en lugar de *aren't*, *hasn't* —ejemplos (7) y (8).

2. La extensión de la desinencia de 3ª persona singular *-s* a otras personas (“I takes”), o su supresión en la 3ª persona: “Calls [...] and *don't* [doesn't] know”, ejemplo (8).

3. La formación de ciertos pronombres reflexivos a partir de los pronombres posesivos en lugar de los pronombres objeto (*hisself* en lugar de *himself*), ejemplo (8).

4. La utilización de la forma *done* en lugar de *did* para el pasado simple: “I *done* it often enough” (95).

5. El pronombre objeto *them* sustituye al demostrativo *those*: “I was young in *them* days” (95).

6. La negación múltiple: “You *ain't* *never* well” (96).

7. La ausencia de marcas de plural después de los numerales: “I *ain't* 'ad a woman for near on thirty *year*” (96).

No es ésta la única obra en la que el autor recurre al *cockney* como rasgo caracterizador de un grupo social; Rodríguez González (1991: 17) considera que esto se debe a su interés por las diferencias de clase, su filosofía izquierdista e igualitaria y su simpatía hacia los grupos oprimidos. Dicho interés explica asimismo la inclusión de términos de *slang* (jerga), que refuerzan la marginalidad que caracteriza al mencionado grupo social.

En la obra que nos ocupa, los *proles* representan a la clase obrera londinense, unificada bajo el empleo del acento *cockney* con sus consiguientes connotaciones discriminatorias. Hay que considerar, sin embargo, que de acuerdo con la novela la única esperanza de cambio reside precisamente en ellos, psicológicamente *libres* y por tanto todavía humanos: “If there was hope, it must lie in the *proles*, because only there, in those swarming disregarded masses [...] could the force to destroy the Party ever be generated” (72). Es por ello que todos los rasgos que dan unidad al grupo, incluidos los lingüísticos, pierden sus connotaciones desprestigiadoras, convirtiéndose únicamente en rasgos diferenciales y hasta cierto punto positivos, en tanto que representan a un colectivo que constituye el último reducto de humanidad en la novela.

5.4. CONTEXTOS DE USO

En estos momentos el *Oldspeak* es todavía la lengua de comunicación por excelencia: se utiliza en la política (discursos, lemas, boletines), la educación (libros de texto) y los medios de comunicación (prensa, panfletos, cartas prefabricadas, música, novelas, cine, radio, televisión, etc.), así como en el habla corriente, en contextos familiares e íntimos. De entre estas situaciones he seleccionado aquellas en donde el lenguaje se manifiesta de manera más clara como instrumento de manipulación psicológica, así como de perpetuación de una situación de ignorancia que beneficia a los intereses de la minoría gobernante.

5.4.1. MEDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN Y ENTRETENIMIENTO

Ya con anterioridad a la Revolución, los medios de comunicación se encontraban sometidos a la censura con objeto de eliminar toda idea peligrosa para el grupo de poder: "The invention of print [...] made it easier to manipulate public opinion, and the film and the radio carried the process further" (214). Bajo el régimen totalitario del Partido, el Ministerio de la Verdad monopoliza el intercambio de información y asume las tareas de censura y falsificación de la realidad en todos los campos que supongan un contacto con el público. A esta manipulación se suma un proceso de automatización que conduce a la uniformidad de opinión y a una beneficiosa rutina de ideas y expresiones:

Sentimental songs which were composed entirely by mechanical means on a special kind of kaleidoscope known as 'versificator'. (46)

By a routine that was not even secret, all letters were opened [...]. For the messages that it was occasionally necessary to send, there were printed postcards with long lists of phrases, and you struck out the ones that were inapplicable. (116)

The novel-writing machines in the Fiction Department [...]. 'What are these books like?' [...] 'Oh, ghastly rubbish [...] they only have six plots'. (136-137)

With all other channels of communication closed [...] complete uniformity of opinion on all subjects now existed. (214)

El lenguaje de la música se emplea como catalizador de sentimientos en la llamada *Hate Song*, la canción de la Semana del Odio, cuya finalidad es la de sumir a la población en un estado de fanático patriotismo y rechazo a los enemigos del régimen. Incluso el libro herético de Goldstein, escrito en *Oldspeak*, no es sino una trampa del Partido Interior para manipular la conciencia de Winston y posteriormente detenerlo y convertirlo.

5.4.2. PUBLICIDAD

El Partido ejerce un control absoluto sobre la oferta de los bienes de consumo: las marcas de los productos se han reducido a una, cuyo nombre responde también a la necesidad de imponer en la población un estado psicológico favorable hacia las actividades del Partido: *Victory* ("Victoria"), denominación que se extiende desde los productos (*Victory Gin*, *Victory Cigarettes*, *Victory Coffee*) a las calles y los edificios (*Victory Mansions*, *Victory Square*).

5.4.3. EDUCACIÓN

Canciones, desfiles, lemas y libros de texto editados por el Partido contribuyen a la manipulación de la conciencia de niños y jóvenes. Organizaciones como la Liga Juvenil o los Espías colaboran en el mantenimiento de la ortodoxia mental:

By the rubbish that was dinned into them at school and in the Spies and the Youth League, by lectures, parades, songs, slogans and martial music, the natural feeling had been driven out of them. (71)

He took out of the drawer a copy of a children's history textbook [...]. 'In the old days before the glorious Revolution, London was not the beautiful city that we know today' [...] (75)

Se enseña también a odiar todo lo foráneo, y el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras está prohibido, ya que la incomunicación es necesaria para preservar la ignorancia y la inconsciencia,

The average citizen of Oceania never sets eyes on a citizen of either Eurasia or Eastasia, and he is forbidden the knowledge of foreign languages. If he were allowed contact with foreigners he would discover that they are creatures similar to himself and that most of what he has been told about them is lies. (204)

5.4.4. POLÍTICA

A este subapartado pertenecen dos de las manifestaciones más evidentes del *Oldspeak* como elemento de manipulación discursos y comunicados oficiales. He aquí un ejemplo del grado de control psicológico que ejerce un orador del Partido Interior.

His voice boomed forth [...] an endless catalogue of atrocities [...]. It was almost impossible to listen to him without being first convinced and then maddened [...] a scrap of paper was slipped into the speaker's hand [...]. Nothing altered in his voice or manner, or in the content of what he was saying, but suddenly the names were different [...]. Oceania was at war with Eastasia [...]. The Hate continued exactly as before, except that the target had been changed. (188-189)

En los comunicados de los ministerios se destaca como recurso para enmascarar la realidad el empleo de eufemismos y expresiones retóricas que, según señala Rodríguez González (1991: 43-58), caracterizan al lenguaje político: "The phrase 'our new, happy life' recurred several times. It had been a favourite of late with the Ministry of Plenty" (61).

También pueden incluirse en este subapartado los nombres "oficiales" de los personajes: Winston Smith es para el Partido *6079 Smith W*, y el preso Bumpstead, *2713 Bumpstead J*. Los números eliminan las diferencias sociales, económicas y personales, y aportan connotaciones deshumanizadoras, todo ello una vez más de acuerdo con los intereses del Partido.

5.4.5. EL HABLA CORRIENTE

El empleo más significativo del *Oldspeak* como instrumento de control y nivelación social tiene lugar en las fórmulas de tratamiento. Como señala Rodríguez González (1991: 20-36), en consonancia con la filosofía supuestamente igualitaria del régimen, el término *comrade* ("camarada") es utilizado como símbolo de solidaridad, sustituyendo a cualquier otro que recuerde el viejo orden basado en postulados de desigualdad (*Sir*, *Mrs*, etc.). De este modo se neutralizan las diferencias de edad y posición social:

'Mrs' was a word somewhat discontenanced by the Party —you were supposed to call everyone comrade. (22)

In the old days [...] when any ordinary person spoke to a capitalist, he had to [...] take off his cap and address him as 'Sir'. (76)

La uniformidad expresiva se vuelve deshumanizadora cuando incluso palabras como *friend* o *woman* son reemplazadas por *comrade*.

It was his friend Syme [...]. Perhaps friend was not exactly the right word. You did not have friends nowadays, you had comrades. (51)

In this room I am going to be a woman, not a Party comrade. (149)

Especial mención merece también el término *Brother*, con las mismas connotaciones solidarias pero que en realidad enmascara de manera eufemística el concepto de "dictador".

5.5. CARACTERÍSTICAS Y FUNCIONES

Además de desempeñar las funciones ya citadas de manipulación psicológica, nivelación social y catalización de sentimientos, el *Oldspeak* estándar se utiliza en ocasiones como símbolo de rebeldía y disconformidad con el Partido: "Julia, however, seemed unable to mention the Party, and specially the Inner Party, without using the kind of words that you saw chalked up in dripping alleyways [...]. It was merely one symptom of her revolt against the Party" (128-129).

Por otra parte, tanto el *Oldspeak* estándar como el no estándar cumplen de manera involuntaria otra función: la de ser *símbolos de una forma de vida anterior*. Frente al *Newspeak*, que representa una nueva vida y una nueva sociedad, el *Oldspeak* se mantiene como puente entre pasado y presente, pero ante todo como reliquia del pasado:

The old man brightened again.
'Lackeys!' he said. 'Now there's a word I ain't 'eard since ever so long. Lackeys! That reg'lar takes me back, that does [...]. *Lackies of the bourgeoisie! Flunkies of the ruling class! Parasites* —that was another of them. And 'yenas —'e def'nitely called 'em 'yenas' [...].

'In the old days, the people at the top—'
'The 'Ouse of Lords', put in the old man reminiscently. (93-94)

Su futuro es convertirse en patrimonio de los *proles*, quizá para entonces los únicos guardianes de la memoria colectiva,

'Has it ever occurred to you, Winston, that by the year 2050 [...] not a single human being will be alive who could understand such a conversation as we are having now?'
'Except—' began Winston doubtfully [...]. It had been on the tip of his tongue to say 'Except the proles'. (55-56)

Un ejemplo interesante del *Oldspeak* como símbolo del pasado la canción popular que Winston va completando poco a poco con la ayuda de los recuerdos de otros personajes: el supuesto *prole* Charrington, Julia y el propio O'Brien: "'Oranges and Lemons', say the bells of St Clement's [...]" (102, 153, 186). Los últimos versos se repiten en el momento de la detención de Winston ("Here comes a chopper to chop off your head" (231)), y simbolizan el destino que le aguarda: su delito mental ha sido recordar.

Con respecto a las características del *Oldspeak*, merece especial mención el empleo de los siguientes mecanismos de control: eufemismos, disfemismos, circunloquios, polisemia, neologismos semánticos y antífrasis.

5.5.1. EUFEMISMOS

Rodríguez González (1991: 43) define el eufemismo como "una expresión ornamentada que contribuye a ocultar u oscurecer deliberadamente la realidad que se esconde tras ella". En este caso, su objetivo son aquellas áreas o conceptos más o menos dependientes del poder y cuyo conocimiento resulta inconveniente o desagradable. Este recurso se utiliza de manera sistemática a lo largo de la novela: por ejemplo, *vaporized* ("evaporado") es el término que se aplica a los desaparecidos como consecuencia de algún delito mental, y la tarea de falsificación que se lleva a cabo en el Ministerio de la Verdad se denomina *rectification* o *readjustment*.

5.5.2. DISFEMISMOS

El disfemismo supone la elección de términos con significado negativo que implican una peyorización del referente. Su finalidad en el ámbito político es denostar y desprestigiar al adversario. Los apelativos dirigidos al ejército eurasiático, a Goldstein y a la Hermandad resultan efectivamente denigrantes (Enemigo del Pueblo, herejes, traidores, violadores, mentirosos), y responden a la estrategia de la denuncia del mal ajeno para revelar el bien propio.

5.5.3. CIRCUNLOQUIOS

La retórica empleada en los comunicados y boletines de los ministerios tiene como finalidad mostrar a la opinión pública un perfil favorable de la labor realizada desde el gobierno que justifique y perpetúe el ejercicio del poder. La sintaxis deliberadamente compleja y la elección de un vocabulario altisonante, hiperbólico y vacío contribuyen a la ocultación o a la desfiguración de la realidad de acuerdo con los intereses del Partido. De esta manera anuncia el Ministerio de la Abundancia un aumento del nivel de vida cuando en realidad las raciones han disminuido:

'Attention, comrades! We have glorious news for you. We have won the battle for production! [...]. The standard of living has risen by no less than 20 per cent over the past year. All over Oceania this morning there were irrepressible spontaneous demonstrations [...] with banners voicing their gratitude to Big Brother for the new, happy life which his wise leadership has bestowed upon us'. (61)

También el Ministerio de la Guerra comunica victorias completas y definitivas en una guerra que siempre parece a punto de terminar pero que nunca lo hará, ya que con ello peligraría la permanencia del Partido en el poder:

Fragments of triumphant phrases [...] 'Vast strategic manoeuvre – perfect co-ordination – utter rout – half a million prisoners – complete demoralisation – control of the whole of Africa – bring the war within measurable distance of its end – victory – greatest victory in human history – victory, victory, victory!'. (310)

5.5.4. POLISEMIAS, NEOLOGISMOS SEMÁNTICOS Y ANTÍFRASIS

Ciertas palabras son objeto de una distorsión de su significado, de tal forma que, o bien es sustituido por otro (neologismo semántico), o bien se degenera y oscurece al dar cabida a acepciones diversas (polisemia) e incluso contrapuestas (antífrasis). Términos como *free* o *equal* se desvinculan de los conceptos "intellectually free" y "politically equal", los cuales desaparecen. Algunas palabras de *Newspeak* se utilizan con significados opuestos según los contextos: *duckspeak* (esto es, hablar sin ser consciente de lo que se dice) puede ser una alabanza o un insulto dependiendo de la opinión que se exprese.

Slavery y *War* invierten su significado al hacerse equivalentes a sus opuestos ("Freedom is Slavery, War is Peace"). La inversión del significado de las palabras es un caso extremo de eufemismo, y se lleva a cabo tanto en *Newspeak* como en *Oldspeak*, por ejemplo, en los nombres de los ministerios. Como señala Goldstein en su libro herético, las contradicciones son necesarias para el mantenimiento del sistema: "The official ideology abounds with contradictions [...] they are deliberate exercises of doublethink. For it is only by reconciling contradictions that power can be retained indefinitely" (225).

6. PLANIFICACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA EN OCEANÍA

Este apartado se centra en las previsiones formuladas por el equipo de lingüistas del Partido con respecto a las dos lenguas estudiadas. Como ya se ha mencionado, los expertos calculan que el *Newspeak* habrá reemplazado por completo al *Oldspeak* hacia el año 2050. Mientras tanto, y como paso previo a esta sustitución, los testimonios escritos del *Oldspeak* están siendo sometidos a un proceso de traducción que se espera finalice entre el año 2010 y el 2020. Se trata de una tarea larga y complicada, que implica una traducción ideológica a la vez que lingüística, puesto que el *Newspeak* no es sólo una lengua, sino también una forma especial de percibir la realidad,

History had already been rewritten, but fragments of the literature of the past survived here and there [...] a full translation could only be an ideological translation [...] a good deal of the literature of the past was, indeed, already being transformed in this way [...]. Various writers, such as Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Byron, Dickens and some others were therefore in process of translation. (324-325)

Anteriormente se ha calificado al *Newspeak* como lengua oficial de Oceanía; en palabras de Holmes (1992: 105), "a language that may be used for government business". Aunque la distinción entre lengua oficial y lengua nacional no se realiza de forma consistente, ya que depende de la situación lingüística de los países y de sus gobiernos, puede decirse que en 1984 las previsiones apuntan a que el *Newspeak* se convierta en lengua nacional, una vez establecida como lengua única de Oceanía. En este caso entiendo por lengua nacional la lengua que se erige como símbolo de una comunidad política, social y culturalmente consolidada (es decir, lo que se espera que sea Oceanía en un futuro). Una nación unida bajo una lengua es el ideal del

Partido, puesto que supondría su afincamiento definitivo en el poder y, por tanto, el mantenimiento indefinido de una estructura social, política y económica basada en el sistema de pensamiento al que da forma esa misma lengua.

Los planes lingüísticos del Partido pretenden elevar al *Newspeak* a la categoría de lengua nacional y oficial a la vez, y para ello se están siguiendo los pasos descritos por Holmes (1992: 112):

1. Selección de la variedad (generalmente, es una decisión de tipo político: en 1984 el *Newspeak* es la lengua que representa ideológicamente a la minoría gobernante).

2. Codificación y estandarización (en este caso, por medio de los diccionarios).

3. Extensión de sus funciones para utilizarla en nuevos campos.

4. Asegurar la aceptación de los hablantes y su actitud positiva ante la variedad elegida. En la novela, los creadores del *Newspeak* (los expertos del Partido Interior son los que la extienden como lengua de prestigio y exhortan a los hablantes a utilizarla).

Con respecto a la codificación del *Newspeak* en los diccionarios, todas las iniciativas de reforma son atribuidas al Gran Hermano y desarrolladas por un equipo de filólogos. De este modo tiene lugar un hecho interesante: en lugar de que los diccionarios reflejen los cambios que los hablantes introducen en la lengua, es la propia lengua la que surge de los diccionarios para ser aprendida por los hablantes.

En estos momentos, el *Oldspeak* se encuentra en un proceso de desplazamiento que se espera culmine con su definitiva desaparición —*language loss* en términos de Holmes (1992). No obstante, el *Oldspeak* está destinado a convertirse en patrimonio exclusivo de los *proles*, que quedan fuera de la planificación lingüística del Partido, y esto sugiere que la lengua no llegará a morir mientras ellos la sigan utilizando. Si las previsiones llegaran a cumplirse, en el año 2050 el *Oldspeak* habría añadido a su calidad de lengua la de *símbolo* sería el símbolo de un pasado (anterior a la Revolución), de una clase social (los *proles*), e incluso de una ideología, si todavía existiese alguna resistencia al Partido. Además, curiosamente, continuaría siendo la lengua mayoritaria de la población, aunque se trate de una población que, según el Partido, carece de papel político, de poder económico y de estatus social.

7. CONCLUSIÓN

En la sociedad futurista propuesta por Orwell se funden una serie de realidades, posibilidades y utopías. Es indudable que el lenguaje resulta un poderoso instrumento de control psicológico, especialmente visible en la práctica política y en los medios de comunicación. La distorsión de la realidad y la evasión del conocimiento no deseado son estrategias de manipulación utilizadas por todas las lenguas en mayor o menor medida, y aceptadas de forma más o menos consciente por sus hablantes. También es un hecho verificable fuera de la novela el papel que desempeña el lenguaje en la consolidación y perpetuación de las estructuras sociales, así como su utilidad para evitar lo desagradable o para conseguir la tranquilidad psicológica o el control político a costa de la distorsión de la realidad. No obstante, y a pesar del pesimismo del autor, la subsistencia de los *proles* y su sugerida perpetuación representan en la novela la semilla del fracaso del régimen. Finalmente, por lo que respecta al futuro monolingüe de Oceanía, resulta difícilmente viable: si bien es cierto que las lenguas se mezclan, superponen o incluso desaparecen, nunca podría llegarse a los extremos de anulación previstos en la novela, especialmente porque las lenguas son creaciones del hombre, que aportan identidad a las comunidades que las utilizan. Eliminar la variedad lingüística sería lo mismo que eliminar a los seres humanos, ya que también se estaría eliminando la diversidad que los caracteriza.

En 1984, el lenguaje es una criatura que se vuelve contra su creador y se escapa a su control: los miembros del Partido Interior son sus primeras víctimas, y una vez que el *Newspeak* consiga controlar por completo sus mentes, el sentimiento y la espontaneidad habrán dejado de existir, y con ellos el último reducto de humanidad. Ante un panorama tan desolador, no podemos olvidar que 1984 es, ante todo, ficción, aunque se trate de una ficción tremendamente aleccionadora. A pesar de que, por fortuna, la realidad no va a llegar a esos extremos, sabemos que la interacción de lengua y pensamiento es inevitable, y que el lenguaje no podrá nunca dejar de ejercer una cierta influencia sobre quienes lo utilizan. Lo importante es recordar que una lengua es un arma de doble filo, susceptible de ser controlada pero también capaz de controlar. Si la sociedad oceánica hubiera llegado a percatarse de esto, el futuro de 1984 habría sido, sin duda, mucho más halagüeño. 

NOTAS

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² De aquí en adelante, 1984 se utilizará como abreviatura de *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Por otra parte, en las citas y ejemplos figurará entre paréntesis el número de página correspondiente a la edición manejada (1989).

³ El inglés hablado por los *proles* entraría en la categoría de *substandard*, mientras que el utilizado por los miembros del Partido es el que realmente recibe el nombre de *Oldspeak* o *standard English*. No obstante, a efectos descriptivos y dado que se trata de la misma lengua, dichas variedades se denominarán en el presente análisis *substandard Oldspeak* (*Oldspeak* no estándar) y *standard Oldspeak* (*Oldspeak* estándar).

⁴ En todos los ejemplos, el énfasis (en cursiva) es mío.

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PROLEGOMENA TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INVENTORY OF *SYNSEM* FEATURES FOR THE OLD ENGLISH VERB¹



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1. INTRODUCTION

In the Functional-Lexematic Model (F-LM), words are organized into classes which predict, to a great extent, their syntactic and semantic properties. Moreover, these regularities of the lexicon can be mapped out by means of syntactic-semantic (*synsem*) parameters, which operate throughout the lexicon in the various areas of meaning and constitute a determining factor in the actual process of constructing an underlying clause structure (Faber and Mairal 1998).

Synsem features can be divided into three main types, according to their scope of application:

1 *Lexically-realized grammatical parameters*, which determine what complementation patterns a certain verb can accept.

2 *Lexically-realized optional parameters*, which explain why certain arguments, though semantically present, are not syntactically activated in the actual linguistic expression.

3 *Lexically-realized contextual parameters*, which are not syntactically projected, but serve as clues for contextual settings (Faber and Mairal 1998: 38).

In this paper I will try to apply these principles to the analysis of the Old English² verb. My first aim will be to determine some of the different ways the lexically-realized grammatical parameter of *causation* (Díaz Vera forthcoming) finds a systematic correspondence in the syntax of the OE verb, acting as a filter that accepts certain syntactic complementation patterns while blocking others.³ Moreover, references to both optional and contextual



parameters will be made throughout the paper, but only as far as these interact with the causative parameter.

Obviously, the usual caveats about the nature of the data apply: can the absence of a hypothetically possible meaning or constructions for a given predicate in the whole corpus of OE written texts be taken as a genuine reflection of the semantics/syntax of the verb, or should it be considered accidental? In spite of the obvious limitations of historical inquiry, I nevertheless think that the progressive application of the most recent developments in lexical studies to the analysis and description of the syntactic and semantic relations of the OE verb should greatly contribute to our understanding of this historical variant of the English language.

2. LEXICALLY-REALIZED GRAMMATICAL PARAMETERS: CAUSATION IN OE

Lexically-realized grammatical parameters have a direct effect on a predicate's complementation structure. As Faber and Mairal (1998: 39) put it, when we experience an event "we perceive when it begins and/ or ends, how long it lasts, if it is recurrent, what effect it has on us, and if it truly corresponds to the world or a state of the world", and all these parameters find a direct reflection in the meaning and in the syntax of the verb. What I shall argue here is that, when applied to OE, these grammatical parameters of causation are still transparent on both the morphological and the phonological levels.

Verbs express events or states of being. There is no doubt that a causative situation is semantically relevant to the verb, as it affects the event or state of being directly. The causation parameter can be signalled in NE by bound morphemes (e.g. *darken* "to make dark") or, more frequently, expressed by lexically independent forms (e.g. *die* and its causative *kill* "to cause to die"). Moreover, many NE verbs can be used both as non-causatives and causatives (e.g. *sink*, *shine*, *shame*; Faber and Mairal 1998: 53-57). On the syntagmatic axis, these causative predicates have a transitive use (SVO: *They sank the ship*), whereas the verbs in the non-causative subdomain are one-place predicates which do not (SV: *The ship sank*).

Unlike NE, the causative pattern was clearly established in the phonological and morphological structure of the different Gmc dialects, where different prefixes and suffixes were systematically used to distinguish between causative and non-causative meanings of the same verb. A first example of the origin and development of causative predicates by derivation from non-causative verbs can be found in the group of OE verbs expressing MOVEMENT IN LIQUID, where the different Gmc dialects systematically

added the formative */jα/⁴ to one of the roots of the corresponding non-causative predicates (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1978), which explains why none of these verbs has a back root vowel in OE in the present system (see Table 2).

Gmc VERBAL INFINITIVE	OE non-causative (c=ablaut series)	suffixation (verbal root + */-jα-/)	OE causative	NE (non causative/ causative)
*du:β-α-n	<i>dúfan</i> (c7)	INF*du:β- + jαn	<i>dýfan</i>	<i>dive 1/dive2</i>
*siŋkw-α-n	<i>sincan</i> (c3)	PRET1*sαŋkw- + jαn	<i>sencan</i>	<i>sink1/sink2</i>
*deup-jα-n	<i>díopan</i> (c3)	PRET1*dαup- + jαn	<i>dýppan</i>	<i>-/dip</i>

Table 1: OE verbs of MOVEMENT IN LIQUID: the development of the causative subdimension.

The complete effects of this process can be seen from the following distribution of the causative and non-causative subdimensions of OE verbs of MOVEMENT IN LIQUID (Table 3):

MOVEMENT IN LIQUID (NON-CAUSATIVE)		MOVEMENT IN LIQUID (CAUSATIVE)	
<i>dúfan</i>	to GO into the water	<i>dýfan</i>	to cause somebody/something to GO into the water
<i>sincan</i>	to GO slowly downwards below the surface of the water	<i>sencan</i>	to cause somebody/something to GO slowly downwards below the surface of the water
<i>díopan</i>	to GO deep into a liquid for a short time	<i>dýppan1</i>	to cause somebody/something to GO deep into liquid for a short time
		<i>dýppan2</i>	to cause someone/something to GO deeply into liquid for a short time (in baptism)

Table 2: OE verbs of MOVEMENT IN LIQUID: distribution of the causative and non-causative subdimensions.

From a morphological point of view, these causative predicates show all the features that characterize OE heavy root Class I weak verbs (Lass 1994: 166-167), such as the use of the inflexional endings /-d-/ (preterite) and /-ed/ (past participle). Some examples of the four predicates included in the causative subdimension of MOVEMENT IN LIQUID are:⁵

[1] DÝFAN: Mec feonda sum feore besnyþþede, woruldstrenga binom, wætte sþþan, **dyfde** on wætre, dyde eft þonan, sette on sunnan, þær ic swiþe beleas herum þam þe ic hæfde (OX/3_XX_XX_RIDDL, 193)

[2] SENCAN: Ac ondrædað one þe þa sawle mæg and eac þone lichaman on helle **besencan** (O3_IR_RELT_LWSTAN1,80)

[3] DÝPPAN1: Dryge hine ðonne on sunnan and **dyppe** hine ofþre syþan (O3_IR_RELT_LWSTAN2,172)

[4] DÝPPAN2: Ic eowic depu vel **dyppe** in wætre in hreunisse seþe þonne æfter me cymeð (O3_XX_NEWT_RUSHW, 37)

In the causative subdomain, an agent causes someone or something to go downwards into a liquid; it follows that all these verbs have a transitive use (corresponding in Gmc to SOV, as can still be seen in examples [1], [2] and [4]; Lehmann 1972: 242-244), whereas the verbs in the non-causative subdomain are one-place predicates which do not (SV). See for example.⁶

[5] DÚFAN: *Ic...deaf under yðe* ([§]OX/3_XX_XX_RIDDL, 73)

[6] SINCAN: *Geseah þa þone wind swiðne frohtade & þa ingon **sincan** cegde cwefende "Hæl mec drihten"* (O3_XX_NEWT_RUSHW, 125)

[7] DÍOPAN: *fer waxeð wunde & deopeð into fe soule* ([§]M1_IR_RELT_ANCR, 288)

A very different type of derivation is found in the domain of LIGHT, which shows the following semantic distribution in OE:

LIGHT (NON-CAUSATIVE)	LIGHT (CAUSATIVE)
<i>scīnan</i> to give off LIGHT/ to be BRIGHT	<i>gescīnan</i> to cause something to give off LIGHT/to be BRIGHT
<i>bierhtan</i> to SHINE bright	<i>gebierhtan</i> to cause something to SHINE bright
<i>beorhtian</i> to become BRIGHT	<i>Gebeorhtnian</i> to cause something to become BRIGHT

LIGHT (NON-CAUSATIVE)	LIGHT (CAUSATIVE)
<i>glōwan</i> to SHINE with a sudden, bright light	
<i>twinclian</i> to SHINE with rapidly intermittent light	
<i>scymrian</i> to SHINE with a tremulous or flickering light	
<i>Lihtanto</i> begin to SHINE	
<i>glisian</i> to SHINE with a brilliant but broken and tremulous light	
<i>glittenian</i> To SHINE brihtly (metal)	

Table 3: OE verbs of LIGHT: distribution of the causative and non-causative subdimensions.

As in modern languages such as English or Spanish (Faber and Pérez 1993: 120-122), the OE domain of LIGHT is characterized by the existence of a large number of non-causative predicates, in clear contrast to the causative subdomain,⁷ with only three verbs: *gescīnan*, *gebierhtan* and *gebeorhtnian*. Some examples of these causative predicates are:

[8] GESCĪNAN: *Swa eac se mona, swa miclum he lyht swa sio sunne hine **gescinð*** (O2_XX_PHILO_BOETHAL, 86)

[9] GEBIERHTAN: *Swa swa ealle steorran weorðað onlihte & **gebirhte** of þære sunnan, sume þeah beorhtor, sume unbeorhtor* (O2_XX_PHILO_BOETHAL, 86)

[10] GEBEORHTNIAN: *God **geberhtnade** hine on hine seolfne* ([§]O3_XX_NEWT_LIND, 32)

As can be seen here, the mechanism of derivation used for the formation of these causative predicates consists in the use of the Gmc nominal and verbal prefix */gα-/ (OE *ge-*), the etymological equivalent to Latin *con-*, with the primary sense of "association" (e.g. OE *gebróþor* "brethren"). The OE verbal prefix *ge-* is frequently used as a simple marker of the past participle;

moreover, non-participial verbs may appear in either form, sometimes with no apparent semantic difference (e.g. OE *(ge)campian* "fight"; Lass 1994: 204). When there is a clear sense, it is usually perfective or resultative: this is the case of verbs of LIGHT, which can be interpreted as "a light vehicle (e.g. a jewel, a piece of metal) gives off LIGHT as a result of contact with the beam emitted from a light source (e.g. the sun, a fire, a lamp)", or more simply "a light source causes a light vehicle to SHINE".

Obviously, the semantic roles of agent and goal are highly restricted by the limited number of possible light sources and vehicles found in the physical world. However, this basic schema is frequently extended "so as to allow its shape to be filled by entities that are not strictly physical or spatial in the prototypical senses" (Faber and Pérez 1993: 131) producing a large number of metaphorical extensions of the basic meaning, where the syntactic differences between the causative (SVO) and the non-causative (SV) subdomains are obviously maintained.

I will finally analyse some of the verbs that formed the causative subdimensions of the OE domains of EXISTENCE, COGNITION and FEELING. The three lexical domains analysed here are:

DOMAIN	OE CAUSATIVE SUBDOMAIN
EXISTENCE	<i>gelimpan</i> to CAUSE something to come to EXISTENCE in someone's perception
COGNITION	<i>þyncan</i> to CAUSE someone to THINK about someone or something in a particular way
FEELING	<i>hréowan</i> to CAUSE someone to FEEL sorry (as a result of something that has happened)

Table 4: Prototypical OE causative predicates from three different subdimensions of the lexical domains of EXISTENCE, COGNITION and FEELING.

From a lexical point of view, these predicates are the result of three different types of derivation. As in the case of verbs of LIGHT, where a natural force acts as cause, OE *gelimpan* has been formed by adding the prefix *ge-* to the non-causative verbal root *limpan* "belong to, pertain" (prototypically used with non-human participants), with the resulting primary meaning of "to cause someone to start to HAVE something in his perception".⁸ Moreover, from a semantic point of view, the cause of the perception is seen here as natural, which allows a further connection between the causative subdimensions of EXISTENCE and LIGHT.

[11] Sum sare angeald æfenræste, swa him ful oft **gelamp**, siþðan goldsele Grendel warode, unriht æfnde, oþfæt ende becwom, swylt æfter synnum (OX/3_XX_XX_BEOW, 39)

[12] Ful earhlice laga & scandlice nydgyld þurh Godes yrre us syn gemæne, understande se þe cunne, & fela ungelimpa **gelimpð** þysse eþode oft & gelome (O3_IR_HOM_WULF20, 271)

OE *þyncan* is one of the results of an intricate process of derivation, similar to the one described for verbs of MOVEMENT, through which the zero-grade of the IE nominal root **/tong-/* "feel" (Gmc **/þunþk-/*; Pokorny 1959-1969: 1.1088)⁹ develops into the causative predicate Gmc **/þunþkjɑn/* (PRET1 **/þunþxta/*), with the original meaning "to cause someone to KNOW a quality of something".¹⁰

[13] Philippuse **geþuhte** æfter þæm þæt he an land ne mehte þæm folce mid gifan gecweman þe him an simbel wæron mid winnende (O2_NN_HIST_OROS, 116)

[14] Do swa þe **þynce**, fyrngidda frod, gif ðu frugnen sie on wera corðre (OX/3_XX_XX_ELENE, 81)

Finally, the OE strong verb *hréowan* can be treated as a lexical causative (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1978: 10), the general idea of causation being implicit in the original meaning "to cause someone to FEEL sorry". Causation is morphologically marked in its derivate *hréowsian*, a weak verb that, unlike *hréowan*, admits exclusively personal constructions (see example [16]):

[15] Ðæs ðe him **hreowan** ðyrfe, swa swa hie swiður wenað ðæt him genog sie on hira lifes clænnesse (O2_IR_RELT_CP, 411)

[16] Hi ðeah ne betað ne ne **hreowsiað**, ðæt hi ne wenen, ðeah hi hira synna forlæten (O2_IR_RELT_CP, 423)

The three OE predicates under scrutiny are characterized by the co-occurrence of the following prototypical syntactic pattern of complementation, where a non-nominative human participant in the role of affected is strictly necessary in topic position:

1. OVAj/ObCI

- (a) O=prototyp. a person (affected; Dat/Acc)
 (b) Adj=prototyp. +concrete: an unpleasant situation or feeling
 (Phen; Gen)
 ObCl=prototyp. -concrete: objective action or event (Cause;
 Object Clause)

This complementation structure, which encodes the concrete way speakers experience the event, presents a number of secondary derivations in OE, most of which have the presence of a topicalized human affected in the dative or in the accusative case in common (but see OE *hréowsian* above). Moreover, personal constructions with nominative experiencers are not accepted by these causative predicates, the change from impersonal to personal implying (where possible) a radical change in the predicate's meaning. Causation acts thus as a filter that blocks not only the appearance of nominative human participant as subjects of these predicates, but also their embedding in a matrix clause with verbs expressing a wish, a command, etc., an imperative, and modification by certain adverbials expressing such things as desire, intention or volition.

3. LEXICALLY-REALIZED OPTIONAL PARAMETERS: CASE MARKING AND OPTIONALITY

Lexically-realized optional parameters explain why certain arguments, though semantically present, are not syntactically activated in the actual linguistic expression (Faber and Mairal 1998: 58). For example, OE causatives of EXISTENCE, FEELING and POSSESSION assigned case to their arguments only *optionally*, so that case marking is activated by the predicate only under certain circumstances (Fischer and van der Leek 1983: 357, Penhallurick 1975, Seeffranz-Montag 1984).

One of the syntactic patterns used with these OE predicates was characterized by the presence of a cause in nominative and an experiencer in dative (VSO: Elmer's "type I", (1981: 70); Fischer and van der Leek's "cause subject" (1983: 357)) which, in spite of its grammatical role, is topicalized.¹¹

[17] Ealle þas ungesælða us **gelumpon** þurh unrædes
 (O3/4_NN_HIST_CHRONE, 141)

[18] Sua eac Dauit, ðe folneah on eallum ðingum Gode **licode**
 (O2_IR_RELT_CP, 35)

This pattern occurs whenever a verb assigns dative case to the experiencer and the cause remains unmarked. Cole (1986) says that the dative case can function as a mark of "secondary agent", i.e. someone who is responsible for furnishing the energy to initiate the process it undergoes. This explains, among other things, why a predicate like OE *lician*, which requires a prototypically inanimate participant in the role of cause, universally conforms this pattern¹² (Allen 1986: 404), or why OE *scamian* or *lystan*, where the notion of causation is strongly associated with the second participant, are not recorded in this form (Elmer 1981: 69).

This being so, the OVS pattern implies that the *feeling*, the *possession*, or the act of *coming to existence* resulted from some personality trait of the experiencer, rather than from a quality or action of the cause; moreover, this can be re-formulated in terms of *moving* and *touching*: physical contact between the two participants is not strictly necessary for the actual events expressed through the OVS pattern, and this fact is encoded in the neutral relation that the verb establishes with the second participant, which is not marked by any of the local cases that existed in OE.

4. LEXICALLY-REALIZED CONTEXTUAL PARAMETERS: MANNER, POWER RELATIONS AND LOCATION

Lexically-realized contextual parameters are not syntactically projected, but serve as clues for contextual setting (Faber and Mairal 1998: 58). The OE verbs *cweman*, which prototypically implies the existence of a human argument as cause,¹³ tells more about the agent than about the cause:

[19] Manige tiliað Gode to **cwemanne** to þon georne ðæt hi
 wilniað hiora agnum willum manigfeald earfoðu to þrowianne
 (O2_XX_PHILO_BOETHAL, 133)

[20] Ic ðe lustum lace **cweme**, and naman þinne niode swylce geara
 andette, forðon ic hine goodne wat (O2/3_XX_XX_MPS, 4)

As can be seen in these two examples, the OE verb *cweman* implies that the agent exerts himself to make a good impression on someone else. The occurrence of non-human causes is generally blocked by the semantic parameter of manner codified in this verb, which implies that the pleasure resulted directly from a quality or from an action consciously carried out by the agent. For this reason, a non-human argument in this position could be

accepted only marginally, depending on the extent to which it could be attributed to human consciousness.

Things being so, the construction **seo boc cwemef me* (corresponding to NE "the book pleases me") might be regarded as unacceptable in OE. The same type of explanation applies to other OE predicates expressing repentance and shame, such as *hreowan* and *sceamian*. These two verbs imply further a negative axiological evaluation built in to their second argument, as can be seen in:

[21] Forðæmðe hie ne magon ealneg ealla on ane tid emnsare
hreowan, ac hwilum an, hwilum oðru cymð sarlice to gemynde
(O2_IR_RELT_CP, 413)

[22] Sceamian heora forði, and syn gedrefede ealle mine fynd; and
gan hy on earsling, and **sceamien** heora swiðe hrædlice
(O2/3_XX_OLDT_PPS, 10)

As can be seen in [22], *sceamian* was often used as a reflexive verb (Elmer 1981: 69). This implies that the two arguments (experiencer and cause) correspond to the same human entity, so that a sentence like *?ic sceamige þæs mannes* should be seen as, at least, an odd instance of this predicate. This restriction does not apply to *hreowan* and its derivatives, as in [23]:

[23] Hwæt þa se mæssepreost þæs mannes **ofhreow**, and scof on
halig wæter of þam halgan treowe (O3_NN_BIL_AELIVES 26, III,
142)

In this example we can clearly see how the power relation between the two arguments, priest and parishioner, and the context where this action can take place are encoded within the meaning of the predicate: thus, whereas the subject corresponds to the entity with a higher degree of moral authority, the place where the action takes place is a church. By inverting power relations we may get such unprototypical examples as *?se mann ofhreow þæs mæssepreostes*, a type of construction that clearly violates the parameter of moral authority that is inherent to the OE verb *ofhreowan*.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this article, I have tried to apply some of the principles of the semantic-syntactic model developed by Faber and Mairal (1998) to the analysis of the OE verb. By introducing the three types of synsem parameters described here into the definition of a verbal meaning, we can see how the semantics of this verb acts as a filter of its syntactic projections. In this way, the definition of the whole set of synsem parameters that are inherent in an OE predicate or a whole lexical subdomain would contribute to a complete characterization of its meaning, exclusively based on the semantics it encodes.

In order to exemplify this, I will propose here the following definition of the OE predicates *hreowan1* and *hreowan2*:

hreowan1: OVA_{adj} [to CAUSE someone to FEEL sorrow]

e.g. *Mec hreoweþ þas mengu ðe hie vel forðon freo dagas is*
(O3_XX_NEWT_RUSHW, 131)

- 1) +CAUS (transitive)
- 2) Argument A: +case-marking (acc/dat)
Argument B: ±Hum
- 3) manner: unvolitional (focus on the cause)

hreowan2: SVA_{adj} [to FEEL sorrow for someone]

e.g. *forðæm ðe hie ne magon ealneg ealla on ane tid emnsare*
hreowan, ac hwilum an, hwilum oðru cymð sarlice to gemynde
(O2_IR_RELT_CP, 413)

- 1) -CAUS (intransitive)
- 2) Argument A: optional case-marking
Argument B: +Hum
- 3) manner: volitional (focus on the subject)
power relation: moral authority (argument)
- A)
1) location: prototypically religious context
[church]

NOTES

¹ This research was carried out within the framework of the project *Desarrollo de una lógica léxica para la traducción asistida por ordenador a partir de una base de datos léxica inglés-francés-alemán-español multifuncional y reutilizable*, funded by the DGICYT (PB 94/0437).

² The following abbreviations will be henceforward used: IE = Indo-European; L = Latin; Gmc = Germanic; OE = Old English; ME = Middle English; NE = New English.

³ Others examples of lexically-realized grammatical parameters analyzed by Faber and Mairal (1998) include *achievement, cessation, conation, negativity and factivity*. Obviously, this inventory of features is by no means exhaustive.

⁴ The same suffix is found in most Gmc languages to form agents from nouns, e.g. OE *herde* 'shepherd' <Gmc*/herdjǫz/, from */herdǫ/ 'herd'), *déma* 'judge' (<Gmc */do:m-jǫ-z/, from */do:moz/ 'law'); cf. Lowe 1972: 214-215. There existed thus a very clear semantic parallelism between both effects of the Gmc formative (noun > agent noun; verb > causative verb).

⁵ Most of the examples presented in this part of the research have been extracted from the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (Kytö 1996: 43-60). Examples extracted from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) are marked with [§]. A full list of abbreviated titles is included at the end of this paper.

⁶ The OED gives the following example of OE *díopan* used transitively: *We cwædon be ðam blaserum, ðæt man dypte ðone aþ be fryfealdum* ([§] O3_IR_RELT_LWSTAN6). Obviously, the form *dypte* corresponds to the weak preterite of *dýppe*, not of *díopan*, which functions as a strong verb in OE (preterite *déop*).

⁷ This uneven balance between both subdomains can be related to the fact that light is prototypically emitted from a natural source (such as the sun, a fire or the stars) in a completely natural way (Faber and Mairal 1998: 54). Only when the beam of light emitted by these primary light agents encounters a medium (i.e. a vehicle to reflect light, such as a metal or a jewel), the general idea of causation can be made possible.

⁸ The same can said about its hyponyms *gebyrian, geweorþan, gebyrian, gerisan* and *gedafenian*, all of them corresponding to the meaning "happen" or "be fitting".

⁹ Note the phonological correspondence of this root with IE */tang-/, nasalized form of */tag-/ "touch" (Latin *tangere* "touch"; Pokorny 1959-1969: 1054). Following Sweetser's Mind-as-Body Metaphor (1990: 27-37), we could tentatively claim that these OE verbs of cognition constitute a metaphorical extension of the original predicate of sense-perception, so that: [1] TO TOUCH (IE */tang-/: non-causative; physical) > [2] TO BE TOUCHED (OE *me fyncþ*: causative; mental) > [3] TO TOUCH (NE *I think*: non-causative; mental).

¹⁰ The originally causative OE *þencan* "think" and the intensive OE *þancian* "thank" are other denominal verbs derived from this IE root.

¹¹ Another subtype of OVS, where S corresponds to a subordinate sentence (objective certain fact; see Elmer 1983: 21-30), can be found in OE. This pattern is especially productive with verbs of COGNITION (such as *þyncan*) and of COMING INTO EXISTENCE (*geweorþan, gelimpan*).

¹² The few examples of the OE verb *lician* appearing either with a nominative experiencer or with a non-nominative cause are found in slavish translations from Latin.

¹³ According to Allen (1986: 404), only 8% of the clauses with the verb *cweman* found in Ælfric's homilies have human objects as cause.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATED TITLES AND EDITIONS

- AELIVES *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (Skeat, W. W. (ed.). 1966. *Ælfric's Lives of Saints, Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church*. London: EETS).
- ANCR *Ancrene Wisse* (Tolkien, J. R. R. (ed.). 1062. *Ancrene Wisse*. London: EETS).
- BEOW *Beowulf* (Dobbie, E. V. K. (ed.). 1953. *Beowulf and Judith*. New York: Columbia U.P.).
- BOETHAL *Alfred's Boethius* (Sedgefield, W. J. (ed.). 1899. *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius "De Consolatione Philosophiae"*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press).
- CP *Alfred's Cura Pastoralis* (Sweet, H. (ed.). 1958. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*. London: EETS).
- ELENE *Elene* (Krapp, G. P. (ed.). 1932. *The Vercelli Book*. New York: Columbia U.P.).
- LIND *Lindisfarne Gospels* (Skeat, W. W. (ed.). *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.).
- LWSTAN *Ælfric letters to Wulfstan* (Fehr, B. (ed.). 1914. *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in Alterenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung*. Hamburg: Verlag von Henri

- Grand).
- MPS *The Metrical Psalms of the Paris Psalter* (Krapp, G. P. (ed.). 1932. *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*. London: Routledge).
- OROS *Alfred's Orosius* (Sweet, H. (ed.). 1959. *King Alfred's Orosius, Part I*. London: EETS).
- PPS *The Paris Psalter* (Wright, J. W. and R. L. Ramsay. (eds.). 1907. *Liber Psalmorum. The West-Saxon Psalms Being the Prose Portion, or the "First Fifty" of the So-Called Paris Psalter*. Boston and London: D. C. Heath).
- RIDDLE *Riddles* (Krapp, G. P. and V. K. Dobbie. (eds.). 1936. *The Exeter Book*. New York: Columbia U. P.).
- RUSHW *Rushworth Gospels* (Skeat, W. W. (ed.). *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.).
- WULF *Wulfstan's Homilies* (Bethurum, D. (ed.). 1957. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press).



THE POSITION OF SUBJECT CLAUSES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH



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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is twofold: it sets out to contribute to the analysis of the position of subject clauses in the history of the English language by studying their distribution in the 18th century, a period to which scholars have not devoted much work. It also intends to present the possible factors which contribute to the placing of subject clauses in pre-verbal position. Subject clauses may occur either post-verbally or pre-verbally in the sentence. The latter position is less frequent and occurs later in time than the former.

The present study is corpus-based, the corpus being John Paine's *The Age of Reason* (1794-1796) where I have analyzed [-wh] finite complement clauses in subject function headed by the complementizer *that*. This structure has been chosen for two different reasons: firstly, on account of the text-type. *The Age of Reason* is a highly formal text. This being so, the use of *that* to introduce complement clauses overrides the use of the *zero*-complementizer and the former is even used with complement clauses in object function of high-frequency verbs such as *say* or *tell*. These verbs are usually acknowledged in the literature on the topic as a clear *zero*-favouring environment. Secondly, my main concern is to study subject clauses in pre-verbal position and these cannot occur with a *zero*-complementizer because the clause would not be recognized as a sub-clause. Besides, it is important to note the following points in connection with the corpus results:

- coordinate subject clauses have been counted as one occurrence;
- equative¹ clauses have been left out unless the *that*-clause appears in pre-verbal position.



The Age of Reason has been chosen because it belongs to a period to which little or no attention has been paid in the literature and because it is a very formal text. Pre-verbal subject clauses are usually said to be more common in formal texts. *The Age of Reason* was written during the years that go from 1794 to 1796. The book is a philosophical dissertation on Paine's views of the Bible and Christian religion. He also expresses his ideas about God in this work.

A computerized source has been used. The text is included in the CD-ROM collection *Library of the Future* which contains more than a thousand literary works from all the periods of the history of English. The size of my corpus is around 65,000 words.

As already stated, the second aim of this essay is to present the factors which block or favour the pre-verbal position for subject clauses. In order to do this, the present study has been ordered in the following way: first, there is a synchronic and a diachronic survey. Then, the factors which block or favour pre-verbal position are dealt with and finally these factors have been applied to the data available in my corpus and to other data provided by various scholars for Middle and early Modern English.

1. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN SUBJECT FUNCTION IN THE CORPUS

There are 133 examples of subject *that*-clauses in the whole corpus. They occur with 51 different predicates. With the exception of one example, these subject clauses conform to one of the following patterns:

1. SBCL-V (pre-verbal position): 12 examples, 8 predicates
2. IT-V-SBCL (post-verbal position): 120 examples, 47 predicates

There is one example of a post-verbal subject clause occurring after the predicate STRANGE with the omission of the copula BE and of the anticipatory *it*.

Table 1 shows the number of predicates that take clauses in patterns 1 and 2 according to the matrix type:

Table 1: Predicates	Active Matrix	Passive Matrix	Total
Pre-verbal position	7	1	8
Post-verbal position	35	13	48

Table 2 shows the number of occurrences found in both positions, together with the percentages obtained in each case:

Table 2	Occurrences	Percentage
Pre-verbal position	12	9.02%
Post-verbal position	121	90.98%
Total	133	100%

1.1. THAT-CLAUSES IN PRE-VERBAL POSITION (12 EXAMPLES)

a) With an active matrix² (7 predicates, 11 examples): **BE** (4 examples, equative constructions), **BE BETTER** (1), **BE CERTAIN** (2), **BE COMMON** (1), **BE DISCERNABLE** (1), **BE EVIDENT** (1), **BE INCONSISTENT** (1).

b) With a passive matrix (1 predicate, 1 example): **BE DEMONSTRATED** (1).

1.2. THAT-CLAUSES IN POST-VERBAL POSITION (121)

a) With an active matrix (35 predicates, 94 examples): **APPEAR** (12 clauses), **BE** (4): Two of the examples show subject-auxiliary inversion: *is it more that a man should have swallowed a whale or told a lie?* page 94, **BE ABSURD** (1), **BE AN INCONSISTENCY** (1), **BE BETTER** (2), **BE CERTAIN** (5): there is a marked word order in one of the examples: *and certain it is that, in general, a youth will learn more of a living language in one year, than of a dead language in seven* 58, **BE CONSISTENT** (1), **BE CONVENIENT** (1), **BE CURIOUS** (1), **BE EVIDENCE** (4), **BE EVIDENT** (2), **BE EXTRAORDINARY** (2), **BE IMPOSSIBLE** (6), **BE IMPROBABLE** (2): there is subject-auxiliary inversion in one of the clauses, **BE INCUMBENT** (2), **BE MILLIONS TO ONE** (1), **BE MORE THAN A TOKEN** (1), **BE NATURAL** (1), **BE NECESSARY** (8), **BE OF USE** (1): the following occurrence shows subject-auxiliary inversion: *of what use is it, unless it be to teach man something, that his eye is endowed with the power of beholding to an incomprehensible distance, an immensity of worlds revolving in the ocean of space?* 56, **BE POSSIBLE** (4): there is subject-auxiliary inversion in one example, **BE PROBABLE** (3) one occurrence shows subject-auxiliary inversion: *is it more probable that nature should go*

out of her course, or that a man should tell a lie? 93, **BE PROPER** (3): there is subject-auxiliary inversion in one example, **BE PROVABLE** (1), **BE SAFE** (1): one clause presents subject-auxiliary inversion: *is it not safe that we stop ourselves at the plain, pure, and unmixed belief of one God, which is Deism, than that we commit ourselves on an ocean of improbable, irrational, indecent and contradictory tales?* 222, **BE SATISFACTORY** (1), **(BE) STRANGE** (1): *Strange, indeed, that an army of saints should return to life, and nobody know who they were, nor who it was that saw them, and that not a word more should be said upon the subject, nor these saints have anything to tell us!* 228, **BE STRANGE AND INCONSISTENT** (1): This occurrence has a marked word order: *how strange and inconsistent it is, that the same circumstance that would weaken the belief even of a probable story should be given as a motive for believing this one, that has upon the face of it every token of absolute impossibility and imposture!* 223, **BE TRUE** (2), **BECOME NECESSARY** (1), **COME TO PASS** (6), **CONSIDER** (1), **FOLLOW** (1), **HAPPEN** (9): one of them shows subject auxiliary inversion, **OCCUR** (1).

b) With a passive matrix (13 predicates, 27 examples): **BE ACCOUNTED FOR** (1): there is subject-auxiliary inversion in one of the examples: *how can it be accounted for that not one of these histories should say anything about them?* 156, **BE ADMITTED** (1), **BE BELIEVED** (1): one of the examples presents subject-auxiliary inversion, **BE FOUND** (1), **BE INTENDED** (1), **BE OBSERVED** (1), **BE REPORTED** (1), **BE SAID** (13), **BE SEEN** (1), **BE SHOWN** (1), **BE STATED** (1), **BE SUPPOSED** (3): one of the examples shows subject-auxiliary inversion: *why is it to be supposed that the immensity of space is a naked void, lying in eternal waste?* 75, **BE UNDERSTOOD** (1).

2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN SUBJECT FUNCTION: SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC SURVEYS

2.1. SUBJECT CLAUSES: A SYNCHRONIC OVERVIEW

In Present-day English, complement clauses in subject function may occur in two different positions within the clause, namely pre-verbally or post-verbally, as for example in (1) and (2) respectively:

(1) *That he was angry was obvious.*

(2) *It was obvious that he was angry.*³

In order to account for this variation, two major theories may be found in the literature: *extraposition*, which is the most widely accepted one, and *subject replacement*, later called *intraposition*.

The theory of extraposition presents (1) as the basic structure and (2) as the derived structure. It is claimed that the *that*-clause is shifted to the end of the sequence as in (2) in a process working from left to right and *it* is inserted to occupy the initial position of the clause. Jespersen talks about extraposition in these terms:

When for some reason or another it is not convenient to put a content-clause in the ordinary place of the subject, object, etc., the clause is placed at the end in extraposition and is represented in the body of the sentence itself by *it*. Thus frequently when the clause is the subject as in "It seems certain *that he is dead*". (Jespersen 1909-1949: III: § 2.1₃)

Within the generativist framework, Rosenbaum (1967: 11-13) talks about an optional extraposition rule to explain how (2) is generated from (1). In this analysis, *it* appears as the sister of the *that*-clause in the deep structure. It is deleted when extraposition does not apply. With some minor changes, Emonds (1976: 116 ff.) supports Rosenbaum's theory of extraposition. Lightfoot (1976: 205) states that, in Present-day English, (1) is the basic structure by means of a process of reanalysis taking place in early Modern English. He accepts the extraposition theory for the early and late Modern English periods.

Non-generativist grammars such as Huddleston's and Quirk *et al.*'s also talk about extraposition for constructions such as (2). Huddleston posits that (1) is "basic since it conforms to the kernel clause structure S[subject]-P[redicate]-P[redicative]C[omplement]" (1984: 451), and presents (2) as a transformation of (1). Quirk *et al.* define extraposition as the "postponement which involves the replacement of the postponed element by a substitute form" (1985: § 18.33a), and talk about two subjects in (2): the anticipatory subject (*it*) and the postponed subject (the *that*-clause).

In Government and Binding Theory, a specific extraposition rule is not posited any more. Instead, extraposition is part of a more general theory of movement, namely move- α . In (2), the *that*-clause is moved to the end of the sequence and *it* must be included because of the Extended Projection

Principle, which establishes that every clause must have a subject (Haegeman 1994: 59).

Radford presents a minimalist approach, the latest trend in generativist studies. For sequences such as (2) he posits that *it* occupies the spec-TP⁴ position, not unlike any other subject. The only difference "would be that the subject of the light [superordinate] verb would be impersonal rather than an AGENT argument like *he* in: *He had remarked to her that Senator Scumme-Bagge was a fraud*" (1997: 380). In Radford's approach, the *that*-clause is part of the VP.

Emonds (1972) first presented the theory of subject replacement or intraposition. According to him, (2) is the basic structure while (1) is derived from (2) through the subject replacement rule: "A straightforward rule to accomplish this derivation [(1) from (2)] would be one which replaces a subject NP dominating *it* (or, perhaps, dominating nothing at the point when the rule applies) with the complement S [...]. I will call this rule "subject replacement"" (Emonds 1972: 34-35). In the deep structure, *it* and the *that*-clause are coreferential and when the subject replacement rule applies, the *it*-deletion rule also takes place. Emonds's subject replacement theory was later termed *intraposition* because it posited a movement in an opposite direction to *extraposition*.

Emonds's theory of intraposition was harshly criticized in the seventies and this is probably one of the reasons why he presents an alternative account in Emonds (1976) in the line of Rosenbaum's (1967) explanation of the topic. However, in the eighties and nineties, the intraposition theory has been supported by some scholars both within the generativist framework (Jackendoff 1981: 201 ff.) and outside generativist studies as well (López Couso 1994a: 231, who bases her arguments on historical evidence).

Apart from the intraposition and the extraposition theories, other explanations have appeared in the literature. Thus, for example, Koster (1978) supports the satellite hypothesis for subject clauses in pre-verbal position. According to this theory, subject clauses are satellites (i.e. topicalized elements) which are bound to a phonologically zero NP subject of the main clause.

2.2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN SUBJECT FUNCTION: A DIACHRONIC SURVEY

A survey will now be made of the position of subject clauses down through the history of English. The following abbreviations will be used for convenience: OE (Old English, from the 7th century to 1100), ME (Middle

English, from 1100 to 1500), eModE (early Modern English, from 1500 to 1700) and lModE (late Modern English, from 1700 up to the present day).

In OE, complement clauses in subject function occur in post-verbal position in all contexts. No examples have been found where clauses of this type occur pre-verbally. It may be said, therefore, that extraposition is the rule in OE. Mitchell states the following: "It is important that the OE noun clause does not occupy first place in OE sentences as it does in ME examples like "that he is rich is true" [...] I have found no examples with a *þæt* clause in this position" (1985: § 1950).

In ME, subject clauses are placed post-verbally as a rule as well. Dekeyser claims that "extraposition of the subject complement clause was an obligatory rule in OE and ME" (1984: 193). However, Warner (1982: 23, 108) gives two examples of pre-verbal clauses although he does not find them in his corpus of *The Wyclifite Sermons*. He reports as follows: "there are no instances of this construction [*that*-clauses in surface subject position] in the corpus but *þat* clauses are found outside it as subject of BE (with various predicates), BITOKENE, TECHE, TELLE" (1982: 108). In the same line, Méndez Naya (1997: 225) includes one further example of an intraposed clause taken from *Ancrene Wisse*.

In eModE, the commonest position is still post-verbal but there are some instances of subject clauses in pre-verbal position. Dekeyser (1984: 193) presents as perhaps "the earliest occurrence" an example taken from Visser (1963-73: § I, 3) from Thomas More's *Works* (1557) and states that he can find no further examples until the end of the 19th century. A similar state of affairs is given in Traugott's account of ME and eModE. She claims that "the subjectivalization of a *that*-complement as in *That she writes so badly is a pity* seems still not to have been available at this period" (1972: 152).

In Present-day English, although the number of intraposed clauses has increased considerably, there is still a tendency to place clausal subjects after the verb. Huddleston states that so-called extraposed clauses are "much more frequent" (1984: 451). Matthews also claims that "the more usual pattern is with the clause removed outside the subject-predicate relation" (1981: 276).

Corpus-based studies have shown that the post-verbal position has been the more frequent of the two possible orders in all periods. In her Shakespearean corpus, Fanego states that "extraposition is the norm when the clause is a subject" (1990: 9), and only records one example of an intraposed subject clause. Similar results are given by García Lorenzo, who, in his corpus of John Lyly's *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wyt*, does not find

any examples of pre-verbal clauses (García Lorenzo 1993: 137). On the other hand, in her Dryden corpus, López Couso (1994b) finds three examples (2.5%) of intraposed clauses versus 117 subject clauses in post-verbal position (97.5%).

In her study of infinitive complements in Shakespeare's works, Fanego (1992) obtains the following results concerning subject clauses. She records a total of 109 subject clauses in her corpus out of which 28 are preposed and 81 are postposed (Fanego 1992: 73). This gives the following percentages:

preposed subject clauses: 74.3%

postposed subject clauses: 25.7%

As the figures in Table 2 above show, in IModE the occurrence of subject clauses in pre-verbal position has increased considerably and this tendency continues in the twentieth century according to Huddleston (1971), Ellegård (1978), Elsness (1981) and Mair (1990). However, it is important to remark that the text types used in the studies under consideration vary considerably from one corpus to another. This should be taken into account when considering these results.

Huddleston (1971) uses a corpus of written scientific English. He finds 204 examples of finite complement clauses in subject function in the whole corpus. Only 8 clauses are placed pre-verbally (Huddleston 1971: 176). This gives the following percentages:

subject clauses in post-verbal position: 196 (96.07%)

subject clauses in pre-verbal position: 8 (3.93%)

Ellegård works with a sample of the Brown Corpus. The results he presents are classified into four different text-types: fiction, press, literary essays, and science. Both finite and non-finite clauses are included. He obtains the following results (1978: 32):

clauses in subject function: 12.3 %

clauses in subject (lifted)⁵ function: 87.7%

Elsness works with the Syntax Data Corpus, consisting of texts included in the Brown University Corpus of American English. He looks for *that*-clauses⁶ in the corpus. The following results may be extracted from his tables (Elsness 1981: 283):

non-extraposed subjects: 32.2 %

extraposed subjects: 67.8%

He also classifies his results according to text-type. He distinguishes four kinds of texts: journalism, popular fiction, literary essays and science.

Finally, there are Mair's results derived from his corpus of infinitival clauses in Present-day English. He distinguishes four types of infinitival

clauses in subject function (Mair 1990: 20): extraposed and subjectless, extraposed with subject, non-extraposed and subjectless, non-extraposed with subject. He gives the following results for the four types he distinguishes (22): extraposed and subjectless: 650 occurrences; extraposed with subject: around 100 occurrences; non-extraposed and subjectless: 52 occurrences; non-extraposed with subject: 5 occurrences. They are classified into two different types for convenience:

extraposed subject clauses: 750 examples (92.93%)

non-extraposed subject clauses: 57 examples (7.07 %).

Table 3 presents the results of the different corpora consulted:

SOURCE	CORPUS	SCOPE	INTRAPOSED	EXTRAPOSED
García Lorenzo (1993)	John Lyly (1578)	Finite [-wh]-complement clauses	0%	100%
Fanego (1990)	Shakespeare	Finite [-wh]-complement clauses	1.38%	98.62%
Fanego (1992)	Shakespeare	infinitive complement clauses	25.7%	74.3%
López Couso (1994b)	Dryden (1631-1700)	finite [-wh]-complement clauses	2.5%	97.5%
	Payne (1794-1796)	that-clauses	9.02%	90.98%
Huddleston (1971)	written scientific English	finite complement clauses	3.93%	96.07%
Ellegård (1978)	Brown Corpus	subject clauses	12.3%	87.7%
Elsness (1981)	Syntax Data Corpus	that and zero- clauses	32.2%	67.8%
Mair (1990)	Survey	infinitive complement clauses	7.07%	92.93%

From the data looked at so far, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Post-verbal position has been the more frequent position for complement clauses in subject function throughout the history of the

English language. On this basis, it is convenient for purposes of this paper to consider that final position is the unmarked⁷ position for subject clauses in English.

2. Similarly, of the two major theories which have been posited for the position of subject clauses, namely extraposition and intraposition, historical evidence seems to support the intraposition theory.

3. The use of subject clauses in pre-verbal position is neglected till late ME and very uncommon until IModE according to the corpus-based approaches mentioned above.

The possibility of placing subject clauses in post-verbal or pre-verbal positions leads to a consideration of whether the choice of one or other position is arbitrary or determined. Since the post-verbal position is the unmarked position for subject clauses in English, an attempt should be made to explain under what circumstances intraposition takes place. This will be the concern of the following sections.

3. ORIGINS OF INTRAPOSED CLAUSES AND OBLIGATORY INTRAPOSITION

Fanego (1992) posits that intraposed subject clauses derive from left-dislocated clausal structures with a recapitulatory *it*. Structures of this kind "seem to be recorded already in OE, that is, earlier than the pre-verbal type without resumptive pronoun, and continue in use until well into the Early Modern period" (1992: 60). The satellite hypothesis supported by Koster (1978) clearly conforms to this claimed origin for pre-verbal clauses. Nevertheless, once the recapitulatory pronoun no longer occurs, Koster's explanation can only be accepted by positing that there is a phonologically zero NP bound to the subject clause.

Méndez Naya (1997: 225) states that the first occurrences of subject clauses in pre-verbal position appeared in constructions such as (3), where there is a double embedding:

(3) *That John has blood on his hands proves that Mary is innocent.*
(Emonds 1972: 49)

In constructions where double embedding takes place, intraposition seems to be obligatory (Huddleston 1984: 453). The following verbs are said to require obligatory intraposition: PROVE, IMPLY, SHOW, and equative BE. Early

generativist approaches termed this kind of construction *doubly filled nodes* (Emonds 1972: 50).

4. FACTORS BLOCKING INTRAPOSITION

Another factor to be taken into account is that in some contexts, intraposition is not possible. This has led scholars to coin terms such as *obligatory extraposition* (Huddleston 1984: 452) or *empty subject hypothesis* (Emonds 1972: 55 ff.). Four main contexts where intraposition does not seem to be possible in English are usually recognized in the literature:

1. With verbs such as APPEAR, SEEM, HAPPEN, or REMAIN (Huddleston 1984: 452, Noonan 1985: 83 or Quirk *et al.* 1985: § 16.34):

(4) *It appears from the 38th chapter, that when Jeremiah was in prison, Zedekiah sent for him, and at this interview, which was private, Jeremiah pressed it strongly on Zedekiah to surrender himself to the enemy.* 194⁸

(5) *But it happens, awkwardly enough, that Christ, according to their own account, was but one day and two nights in the grave.* 254

Many of these verbs come from OE verbs occurring in so-called impersonal constructions. Constructions of this kind usually required two participants, one of which occurred in the accusative or dative cases and the other in the genitive. This fact and also the fact that clauses with verbs of this type cannot be intraposed have led some scholars not to consider them subjects but some kind of oblique complement (Emonds 1972: 55 ff. among others).

2. Constructions where subject auxiliary inversion takes place (Huddleston 1984: 452):

(6) *Neither is it improbable that Jesus Christ had in contemplation the delivery of the Jewish nation from the bondage of the Romans.* 13

(7) *Of what use is it, unless it be to teach man something, that his eye is endowed with the power of beholding to an incomprehensible distance, an immensity of worlds revolving in the ocean of space?* 56

In connection to this, Noonan (1985: 83) claims that complement clauses show restrictions to be placed in medial position cross-linguistically, because otherwise they would be more difficult for the human brain to process.

3. Complement clauses in subject function do not occur pre-verbally when the matrix predicate is passive:

(8) *It may be said that a man may speak of himself in the third person, and therefore it may be supposed that Moses did.* 117

(9) *It may also be observed, that the book shows itself to be the production of a mind cultivated in science, which the Jews, so far from being famous for, were very ignorant of.* 170

Yet, there is one example in my corpus which has a pre-verbal subject clause and a passive matrix:

(10) *That the consciousness of existence is not dependent on the same form or the same matter is demonstrated to our senses in the works of the creation, as far as our senses are capable of receiving that demonstration.* 258

Considering all this, it may be concluded that subject clauses in pre-verbal position mainly occur in unmarked constructions as far as clause type and voice are concerned (declarative, active respectively).

5. FACTORS WHICH FAVOUR INTRAPOSITION IN ACTIVE DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

Factors of different types favouring intraposition have been considered in the literature:

1. Stylistic factors: they include aspects such as the following: text type (scientific, popular fiction, drama, press, etc.), degree of formality of the text and medium (written or spoken language). All three factors are interrelated.

2. Structural factors: questions such as the word order of the sequence or the principle of end-weight are of concern in this section.

3. Thematic factors: they refer to the arrangement of information in the clause. From the point of view of the informational load the elements of a clause contain, two different types of pragmatic functions may be distinguished: *topic* and *comment*. Alternative labels are *given* vs. *new information* or *theme* vs. *rheme*.

5.1. STYLISTIC FACTORS

As stated above, the stylistic factors that are most relevant to this study are: text type, degree of formality and medium. Apparently, the use of intraposed subject clauses is usually associated with formal written text types such as scientific prose, literary essays or press. This factor has been applied to the corpus-based studies of IModE which include figures according to text-type or medium with the following results:

-Text-type: Both Ellegård (1978) and Elsness (1981) use (part of) the Brown Corpus for their quantitative studies. The kinds of text they use are therefore very similar. Table 4 shows their results:

Table 4: Intraposed clauses	Ellegård (1978: 32)	Elsness (1981: 283)
Popular Fiction	18.18%	35.21%
Journalism	12.5%	51.35%
Literary Essays	19.79%	35.25%
Science	2.29%	21.6%

-Medium: Table 5 contains Mair's (1990) results according to whether the discourse is written or spoken:

Table 5: Intraposed clauses	Mair (1990: 40)
Written language	78.84%
Spoken language	21.16%

Mair's results can be compared with Huddleston's (1971) as far as scientific written English is concerned. Huddleston obtains a percentage of 3.93 for intraposed clauses in subject function. His results are thus similar to Ellegård's for scientific texts (2.29%) but quite different from Elsness's results for the same kind of text.

According to the evidence presented, it may be concluded that intraposed subject clauses are more common in written than in spoken language. As far as text type is concerned, scientific texts are the ones which are most reluctant to accept intraposed clauses while these clauses occur with more or less the same frequency in popular fiction and literary essays. Further research is needed to account for the reasons for this fact. Regarding press texts,

results are contradictory, and therefore, it is difficult to arrive at a definitive conclusion.

5.2. STRUCTURAL FACTORS

It has usually been claimed that subject clauses occur at the end of the sequence because they are heavy elements and are therefore conditioned by the so-called principle of end weight, according to which heavy groups tend to be placed at the end of the sequence. Clausal complements are heavy groups and consequently tend to occur in final position (see Dekeyser 1984: 193-194, Traugott 1972: 97, 105 or Fanego 1990: 62-63 for early stages of English). Huddleston also supports this claim for Present-day English:

The main thematic effect of extraposition is that a "heavy" unit appears at the end of the clause, which makes for easier processing, whether by speaker or hearer— and the longer the embedded clause or non-finite construction, the more likely it is that the extraposed construction will be selected. (Huddleston 1984: 453)

In my corpus, the principle of end-weight does not seem to apply in some cases:

- (11) *That many good men have believed this strange fable, and lived very good lives under that belief (for credulity is not a crime), is what I have no doubt of.* 18
 (12) *That the Jews did translate the literary productions of the Gentile nations into the Hebrew language, and mix them with their own, is not a matter of doubt.* 170

However, in most of the examples of intraposed clauses, *that*-clauses are not as heavy as the groups in (11) and (12):

- (13) *and that he is the author, is an altogether unfounded opinion, got abroad nobody knows how.* 117
 (14) *That it does not prevent our dying is evident, because we all die.* 33
 (15) *That she could fabricate writings is certain, because she could write.* 37

The same can be applied to the examples provided by Méndez Naya (1997: 225) for ME:

(16) *fet þis scheld naveð siden, is for bitacnunge fet his
 that this never have parts symbol
 deciples, þe schulden stonden bi him and habben ibeon his siden,
 discipules who should stand by have been side
 fluhēn alle from him ant leafden him as fremede. (Ancrene
 Wisse, 513)*

ran away all and left stranger.
 "That this shield did not have any parts, is to signify that his disciples, who should have stood by him and have been on his side, all ran away from him and left him as a stranger".

(17) *And þat Crist touchide þis leprouse techiþ us now þat
 that Christ touch this leprous teach
 þe manhede of Crist was instrument to his godhede. (Wycl. Ser.i.*

90.3; Warner 1982: 108)⁹
 manhood godhead.

"And that Christ touched this leprous teaches us now that the manhood of Christ was an instrument to his godhead".

or to Fanego (1990)'s and López Couso (1994b)'s examples for eModE:

- (18) *That I am wretched/ Makes thee the happier. (Lear, 15.63; Fanego 1990: 9)*
 (19) *And that some such have been, is proved too plain. (Religio Laici, 274)*
 (20) *That ancient Fathers thus expound the page/ Gives truth the reverend majesty of age. (Religio Laici, 336-337, López Couso 1994b)*

On the other hand, Visser (1963-1973: § I, 2) provides an example from eModE where the intraposed clause is modified by an embedded relative clause:

- (21) *That God gave him here in this world all thyng double that he lost, little toucheth my mater. (1534 St. Th. More Wks 1557 1159 D5)*

It may be said then that there is a tendency for heavy elements to go at the end of the clause although this tendency may be overridden by other factors.

5.3. THEMATIC FACTORS

The position of subject clauses may also be influenced by the distribution of information within the clause. It has been posited that subject clauses occur pre-verbally when the pragmatic structure of the clause follows the pattern: GIVEN + NEW information. This view is supported by Fanego for eModE:

Generally speaking, the choice between the pre- and post-verbal type of subject infinitive is intimately connected with the thematic organization of the sentence, as is also largely the case in PE. Thus, pre-verbal clauses tend to contain given information, and to be linked to the preceding context by anaphoric references of various kinds. (1992: 61)

Huddleston states that the same holds for Present-day English: "The difference between the extraposed and non-extraposed patterns has to do with the thematic organization of the sentence or discourse, and it is not difficult to suggest thematic reasons for the order of elements in non-extraposed examples" (1971: 176).

Bolinger states that "with a *that*-clause, the extraposed element can just as readily be the comment [as be the topic of the sequence]" (1977: 73 ff.). He claims that verbs of information in the passive voice highly favour extraposition:

(22) *It will be announced that the president has been indicted.*

Bolinger does not consider an intraposed version of (23) grammatical. However, if the informational load of the verb is increased, intraposition is possible:

(23) *That the president has been indicted will not be announced.*¹⁰

Bolinger concludes that rather than the knownness of the clause, what forces extraposition is the "semantic weight" of the predicate. The more semantic weight a predicate has, the less likely it is for extraposition to take place. His conclusion seems to support the idea that intraposed clauses usually convey given information within the clause.

The problem is that not all the scholars agree on what *new information* is and on what *given information* is. The term *given information* may refer to at least three different things according to Prince (1981: 225 ff.):

1. predictability, recoverability. The hearer can predict that a particular linguistic item will occupy a particular position within the clause.
2. saliency. The hearer has some particular item, entity, thing... in his mind when s/he hears the utterance.
3. shared knowledge. The hearer knows or can infer a particular item of information.

In order to avoid problems with terminology, Prince talks about *assumed familiarity* and establishes three different types: *new*, *inferrable* and *evoked*. These three different types form a hierarchy:

EVOKED > UNUSED¹¹ > INFERRABLE > NEW

Although she does not deal specifically with intraposed clauses, they are treated as inferrable entities in the examples she presents. A discourse entity is inferrable "if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer it, via logical-or, more commonly, plausible reasoning, from discourse entities already evoked or from other Inferrables" (1981: 236).

Containing inferrables are distinguished from *non-containing inferrables*. The former are characterized by the fact that what is inferred is contained within the entity in itself. Intraposed subject clauses are containing inferrables, that is, they are treated as abstract entities which contain within themselves what the hearer needs to infer.

Another linguist who avoids the pair *new* vs. *given information* is Givón (1983). He talks about comment and topic respectively. Givón states that languages very often place their topics in dislocated positions (both left and right) as in the following examples:

(24) *John, he came yesterday.*

(25) *He came yesterday, John.*

These two sequences contain two topicalized units (*John* and *he*). However, these two units are not syntactically and pragmatically similar. These two facts lead Givón to talk about "a non-discrete entity of topicality" (Givón 1983: 7). He considers that entities are not characterized by being topics or comments but by the fact that they can be topics to a certain degree. He states that the basic information-processing unit is the clause. Clauses are

joined into what he calls thematic paragraphs. In every thematic paragraph, there is one topic which is the "continuity marker, the *leitmotif*" (8). This topic is usually grammaticalized as the subject. As a result, prototypical topics are usually highly definite and referential participants, known information for both the speaker and the hearer. But within the same thematic paragraph there may be other topics. The beginning of the thematic paragraph is usually considered a secondary topic which either presents new entities or links up with the previous paragraph.

In order to explain how topics are structured in a language, Givón establishes the following hierarchy:

COMMENT > COMMENT-TOPIC > TOPIC-COMMENT > TOPIC

The most obvious topics are codified by means of zero markers, the least obvious ones by means of the repetition of the topic. There are two intermediate points between the two extremes. They are all governed by the following psychological principle: "Attend first to the most urgent task" (1983: 20).

Mair also considers the dichotomy *given vs. new information* an oversimplification of the problem. He states that subject clauses in initial position may contain "anaphoric references and important information not mentioned previously in the discourse" (1990: 35). Therefore, they can be treated as both given entities or new entities as far as their informational load is concerned.

It would seem, then, from the above that to classify an element of a particular sequence as new or given information may imply an oversimplification of the pragmatic functions of the clause. Entities can convey different degrees of topicality. This is clearly the case with long elements such as clausal complements. This being so, a tendency would seem to emerge for intraposed clauses to convey low informational load (i.e. they tend to be topics, given information). Another feature of intraposed clauses is that they contain anaphoric references to the previous sequence/s.

An attempt will now be made to focus on the data available from the corpora. For the ME period, three examples will be considered. Two of them are provided by Warner (1982: 23, 108):

(26) *fat fe fre kingis camen so fer... bitokeneþ Cristis*
lordship. (i. 341.28)
that three kings come far grant Christ
 "That the three kings came so far... grants Christ's lordship".

(27=17) *And fat Crist touchide fis leprouse techiþ us now fat fe manhede of Crist was instrument to his godhede. (Wycl. Ser. i. 90.3)*

and another one is our earlier example (16) provided by Méndez Naya (1997: 225), which is repeated here as (28) with a broader context:

(28) *His scheld fe wreah his goddhead wes his leoue licome*
 shield which conceal divinity dear body
fet wes ispread o rode -brad as scheld buuen in his istrahte
 who spread rood broad above outstretched
earmes, narrow bineoð asfe an fot (after monies wene, set upo fe
 arms narrow underneath one foot after many opinions upon
oðer). Ðetfis scheld naveð siden, is for bitacnunge fet his
 other that this never have parts symbol
deciples, fe schulden stonden bi him and habben ibeon his
 disciples who should stand by have been
siden, fluhen alle from him ant leafden him as fremede. (Ancrene
 Wisse, 513)
 side run away all and left stranger.

"His shield, which concealed his divinity was his dear body who was spread on the Rood -broad as a shield above, in his outstretched arms, narrow as one only foot underneath (according to many opinions, set upon the other). That this shield did not have any parts, is to signify that his disciples, who should have stood by him and have been on his side, all ran away from him and left him as a stranger".

The first example provided by Warner is difficult to analyze because the transcription does not include any further context. However, in examples (27) and (28) the intraposed clauses are low informational entities which refer back to the preceding context. In Warner's example, there is an anaphoric pronoun *fis* and in Méndez Naya's there is a repetition of the whole NP containing an anaphoric pronoun (*fis scheld*) which is the topic of the thematic paragraph in Givón's terms.

Fanego (1990: 9) provides only one example of intraposed subject clause which has already been given as (18) but which is repeated here as (29) with more context:

(29) *Here, take this purse, thou whom the heaven's plagues/ Have humbled to all strokes. That I am wretched/ Makes thee the happier.* (Lear, 15.63)

Fanego explains the occurrence of this example in terms of metrical requirements. However, she also mentions the fact that "it is tempting to correlate it with the fact that the content of the complement clause is given, and well known to the audience; by positioning it initially the normal pattern given + new is attained" (1990: 9).

López Couso (1994b) finds three examples of intraposed clauses in her Dryden corpus. They are all three given here with a broad context:

(30) *This day was that designed by Dauphine for the settling of his uncle's state upon him, which to compass, he contrives to marry him. That the marriage had been plotted by him long beforehand is made evident by what he tells True-Wit in the second act. (Essay of Dramatic Poesy 115/ 20-23)*

Again, the intraposed clause refers to something which has been previously mentioned (*the marriage*) although the clause also gives some new information (the fact that the marriage had previously been plotted). We can say that the clause is a low informational entity which contains a referent already mentioned in the previous clause.

(31) *If written words from time are not secured,
How can we think have oral sounds endured?
Which thus transmitted, if one mouth has failed,
Immortal lies on ages are entailed;
And that some such have been, is proved too plain;
If we consider interest, church, and gain.
(Religio Laici, 270-275)*

The intraposed clause has a low informational load. There are two anaphoric items (*some such*) referring back to *immortal lies*

(32=20) *That ancient Fathers thus expound the page
Gives truth the reverend majesty of age.
(Religio Laici, 336-337)*

This clause contains an anaphoric item, *thus*, which shows that the intraposed clause refers back to the previous clause. It is important to

remember that examples (31) and (32) belong to Dryden's poetic modes. Therefore, the selection of the intraposed variant may have been determined by metrical considerations.

In my corpus, out of the twelve examples of intraposed clauses found, six of them occur at the beginning of a paragraph. Their function is to link what has been said in the previous paragraph to the following one. They have therefore low informational load. Very often, some information is repeated and the sequences usually contain anaphoric items:

(33) *Had the inventors of this story told it the contrary way, that is had they represented the Almighty as compelling Satan to exhibit himself on a cross, in the shape of a snake, as a punishment for his new transgression, the story would have been less absurd— less contradictory. But instead of this, they make the transgressor triumph, and the Almighty fall. That many good men have believed this strange fable, and lived very good lives under that belief (for credulity is not a crime), is what I have no doubt of. 18*

(34) *The sentence of death, which they tell us was thus passed upon Adam must either have meant dying naturally, that is, ceasing to live, or have meant what these Mythologists call damnation; and, consequently, the act of dying on the part of Jesus Christ, must, according to their system, apply as a prevention to one or other of these two things happening to Adam and to us. That it does not prevent our dying is evident, because we all die. 33*

(35) *If, then, the thing produced has in itself a capacity of being immortal, it is more than a token that the power that produced it, which is the self-same thing as consciousness of existence, can be immortal also; and that as independently of the matter it was first connected with, as the thought is of the printing or writing it first appeared in. The one idea is not more difficult to believe than the other, and we can see that one is true.*

That the consciousness of existence is not dependent on the same form or the same matter is demonstrated to our senses in the works of the creation, as far as our senses are capable of receiving that demonstration. 258

In the other examples, the same tendencies are observed. The examples are characterized by containing given information, sometimes, exclusively:

(36) *In the first place, there is no affirmative evidence that Moses is the author of those books; and that he is the author, is an altogether unfounded opinion, got abroad nobody knowshow. 117 (37 and 38) Why are we to give this Church credit when she tells us that those books are genuine in every part, any more than we give her credit for everything else she has told us, or for the miracles she says she had performed? That she could fabricate writings is certain, because she could write; and the composition of the writings in question is of that kind that anybody might do it; and that she did fabricate them is not more inconsistent with probability than that she could tell us, as she has done, that she could and did work miracles. 37*

or in clauses in which new information is included, we have anaphoric pronouns referring back to some entity which occurs in the previous sequence:

(39) *The story of his being struck to the ground as he was journeying to Damascus has nothing in it miraculous or extraordinary; he escaped with life, and that is more than many others have done, who have been struck with lightning; and that he should lose his sight for three days, and be unable to eat or drink during that time, is nothing more than is common in such conditions. 255*

It may be concluded then that subject clauses in pre-verbal position tend to convey low informational load. This implies that they tend to be topics or given information. As a result, anaphoric items or the repetition of elements are common in clauses of this type. There also seems to be a tendency for intraposed subject clauses to function as cohesive links between paragraphs.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Complement clauses in subject function may occur either pre-verbally or post-verbally in English. The post-verbal position is the most frequent one in 18th century according to the corpus used for the present study. The results show that there are more than ten clauses in post-verbal position for each intraposed subject clause. However, there is a notable increase of intraposed clauses in this period when these results are compared with the figures provided

by other scholars for the eModE period. Further research is needed to find out if this increase may be applied to other text-types from the same period.

Different theories may be found in the literature to explain the variation between the two positions of subject clauses. Three major theories have been considered: extraposition, intraposition and the satellite hypothesis. A diachronic survey of the topic shows that post-verbal clauses have always been the most frequent pattern, and have even been the only one in the earliest stages of the language. The results of the corpus-based studies presented in this paper show that the pre-verbal position starts to be a relatively common alternative only in the late Modern English period. On the basis of this historical evidence, intraposition seems to be the most suitable theory since it posits that the basic structure is the one where the subject clause occurs post-verbally.

The satellite hypothesis would seem to be supported by the account of the origin of intraposed clauses. It is claimed that they derive from left-dislocated structures recapitulated by a dummy *it*. Once the dummy *it* no longer occurs, this theory can only be supported if it is accepted that there is a phonologically zero NP bound to the subject clause.

Intraposed subject clauses tend to appear only in unmarked contexts as far as clause type and voice are concerned. Three major factors have also been considered in the literature to explain why subject clauses may be preferred pre-verbally: stylistic, structural and thematic factors. Drawing on the data presented in this paper, the following conclusions may be set out:

- Intraposed clauses tend to occur in written English. Under the text-type heading, scientific texts seem to be the most reluctant type to use pre-verbal clauses. Intraposed subject clauses appear with similar frequency in both literary essays and popular fiction. As far as press is concerned, a definite conclusion can not be reached since the results are contradictory.

- The principle of end-weight according to which heavy elements go at the end of the sequence does not seem to apply in all cases as regards subject clauses. There is a tendency for long clauses to occur at the end of the sequence but this tendency may be overridden by other factors.

- Subject clauses in pre-verbal position tend to be informationally low. They behave as topics or given information. As a result, they usually contain anaphoric items or elements which have already occurred in the context previously. Intraposed clauses very often occur at the beginning of a paragraph, referring anaphorically to the previous paragraph. Further research on the topic is needed to find out if other factors might favour the pre-verbal position for subject clauses. ❧

NOTES

¹ By *equative constructions*, I refer to structures such as "The main concern of this meeting is that everybody is sure of their task". Huddleston (1984: 457-459) talks about *identifying Be* when he deals with this type of construction.

² In the relation of predicates and examples offered here, the following points should be noted: (i) no examples of clauses in pre-verbal position have been included since they will be presented later on in the paper; (ii) unless otherwise indicated, the predicates occur in declarative sequences; (iii) some examples are included when the word-order of the sequence is marked; (iv) the numbers after the examples refer to the page where the example may be found.

³ Examples taken from Huddleston (1984: 451).

⁴ TP stands for "tense phrase" in Radford's approach. *Spec* stands for "specifier". The spec-TP position is occupied by what traditional grammars call the *subject* of the sequence.

⁵ Ellegård defines *lifting* as the fact that "two constituents share a function within one and the same clause" (1978: 16-17), as is the case with *it is difficult to understand* where both *it* and *to understand* function as the subject of *is difficult*.

⁶ He includes clauses introduced by both *that* and *zero* complementizers.

⁷ Croft (1990: 92) states that one of the criteria to be taken into account in markedness is frequency. According to him, the unmarked element must occur at least as many times as the marked element.

⁸ Unless otherwise indicated, the examples are taken from my corpus.

⁹ Examples (16) and (17) involve cases of double embedding and therefore, the subject clause cannot occur in post-verbal position.

¹⁰ Examples (22) and (23) are Bolinger's.

¹¹ Prince distinguishes groups within the general ones which she denominates *evoked*, *inferred* and *new*. *Unused* is a kind of new entity included in the speech as "assumed to be in the hearer's model" (1981: 236).

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THE ROLE OF TEXT STRUCTURE IN ENCODING IDEOLOGY AND INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE



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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades the relation between discourse and ideology has been the focus of much discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1989a, 1989b, 1992; Fowler 1991; Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Simpson 1993) has developed as a sub-area of discourse analysis concerned with the exploration of the linguistic encoding of ideology. Within this current of linguistics discourse is a mode of talking associated with a certain institution and thus determined by the nature of such institution (Kress 1985: 28). Or, as Fairclough puts it, discourse is "language as social practice determined by social structures" (1989a: 16). Critical linguists adopt Halliday's (1978) concept of language as consisting of systems of options among which the speaker or writer makes meaningful selections. Given that language is used within society, linguistic features at any level reflect social processes and therefore specific linguistic choices are used to convey cultural and social values and particular ideologies.

Since discourse is language as social practice it reflects the system of knowledge and beliefs of the institution where it has been produced and the social positions and identities of its users. That is, discourse is the clearest expression of ideology (Fairclough 1989a, 1989b; Kress 1985). Discourse contributes to perpetuating class conflict and to legitimising existing power relations. It is a means of realising and supporting power relations and at the same time of challenging or changing them.

Given that discourse reflects ideology it will select the most appropriate linguistic elements to convey that ideology. For instance, racist discourse will select linguistic forms that contribute to expressing concepts such as

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Given that discourse reflects ideology it will select the most appropriate linguistic elements to convey that ideology. For instance, racist discourse will select linguistic forms that contribute to expressing concepts such as

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agency, power or causality in a specific way, and thus, to perpetuating specific attitudes and representations of a particular race. At this point it is important to clarify the relation between discourse and text. For the purpose of this paper I will adopt the neat distinction between text and discourse proposed by Kress (1985: 27): while discourse belongs to the social domain, text belongs to the linguistic domain. Discourse is realised and expressed in a text. Similarly, Fairclough (1992: 71) regards text as a dimension of discourse, the linguistic form in which discursive practice is manifested.

The connection between language and ideology has been explored mainly at the lexical level and at the grammatical-syntactic level (e.g. Fowler 1985, 1991; Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Seidel 1985; Sykes 1985). Attention has been paid to how transitivity and thematic choices express notions such as agency and causativity, to the syntactic transformations of the clause, to the complex relation between meaning and word and the concept of lexicalisation, to the ideological investment of lexical meanings, to modality. Although ideology is reflected at any level of discourse, there is an aspect of the relation between discourse and ideology that has seldom been analysed: the way ideology is reflected in the structure of the text. The fact that a type of discourse is written according to a schema, with a sequencing of elements which is predictable, may embody an ideology. Similarly, the conventionalised way in which a dialogical interaction is structured (e.g. the turn-taking system in a job interview) also reflects and perpetuates the social relations between the participants.

The analysis of the way textual structure contributes to encoding ideology must be undertaken within the framework of "genre". Genres have been defined by Berkentotter and Huckin (1995: 4) as "dynamic rhetorical forms that are developed from actors' responses to recurrent situations". A genre is a conventionalised communicative event which is associated with a specific social activity and which has a particular structure. Berkentotter and Huckin (*ibid.*) add that genre conventions (including generic form) "signal a discourse community's norms, epistemology, ideology and social ontology". Therefore, conforming to these conventions results in the reproduction or reinforcing of social structures.

My argument here is that since writers are social agents and texts have a social origin, all aspects of a text, including the textual structure which organises it or its generic form, are shaped by the social context where the text is produced. Underlying the common rhetorical structures of texts are factors of social and cultural identity. Although the recognisable conventionalised structure of some texts seems to be natural to the members

of the social group who use them, this structure is in fact the result of social and cultural dimensions. Conventionalised patterns are socially regulated ways of interacting. This does not mean, however, that text producers cannot reflect their own subjective perspective. Since the textual patterns and generic forms used by a group are part of the discourse knowledge of this group, the users can conform to or deviate from them and manipulate them to achieve specific purposes.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: to examine how generic structure contributes to reflecting and, therefore, reinforcing social structures; and, to explore how textual structures can be manipulated by users to represent the world in a specific way and to encode a particular ideology.

2. THE RECEIVER'S INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT

To understand how ideology is embodied in text structure we first have to know how and why the receiver reaches a specific interpretation of a text. A particular discourse is both a piece of social practice and a piece of discursive practice, associated to specific processes of text production, distribution and consumption (Fairclough 1989a, 1989b). The production and consumption of the text involves socio-cognitive elements, since text production and text interpretation are based on mental representations¹ (of the world, of text conventions, of social structure). Interpretation requires an interaction between what is in the readers' mind, their background knowledge, and the text, the way in which the text has been structured (Carrell 1988). Attention should therefore be paid to two concepts: schemata and text structure.

2.1. SCHEMATA

Schemata are configurations of background knowledge which serve as interpretative procedures (Fairclough 1989a: 158). Widdowson (1983: 34-35) defines them as "cognitive constructs which allow for the organisation of the information in long-term memory and which provide a basis for prediction", Fairclough (1989a: 158) as "representation(s) of a particular type of activity [...] in terms of predictable elements in a predictable sequence" and Cook (1994: 11) as "mental representation of typical instances, and the suggestion is that they are used in discourse processing to predict and make sense of the particular instance that the discourse describes". As can be seen from these definitions, part of the importance of the concept *schema* for cognitive processes derives from its predictive power: the readers' mental representation

(or schema) of the conventions and the sequencing of a type of text helps them predict what they will find when facing an instance of that type of text.

Carrell (1983) makes a distinction between two types of schemata which facilitate the interpretation of a text: *content* and *formal schemata*. Content schema is background knowledge about the parcel of the world dealt with in the text, that is, about the content area of the text. Formal schema is "background knowledge about the formal, rhetorical, organisational structure" of the text (Carrell 1983: 84). Cook (1994) adds another type of schema which may help to account for the organisation of certain text types. He distinguishes, thus, three types of schemata: *world schema*, *text schema* and *discourse schema*. World schema is concerned with the organisation of knowledge of the world and corresponds to Carrell's content schema. Text schema is "a typical ordering of facts in a real or fictional world" (Cook 1994: 15).² Finally, discourse schema is "a typical ordering of functional units" (Cook 1994: 15) and corresponds to Carrell's notion of formal schema. Since I am concerned with text structure I will focus on text and discourse schemata.

2.2. TEXT STRUCTURE

Text and discourse schemata are mental representations of text structure. Van Dijk (1980) makes a distinction between two types of text structure: *macrostructure*, or thematic structure, and *superstructure*, or schematic structure. Macrostructure is the global semantic structure of a text, which makes explicit the hierarchical order of the topics or themes of a text. Superstructure is the global schematic structure of a text, a formal structure consisting of "a set of characteristic categories and a set of rules or strategies that specify the ordering of these categories" (Van Dijk, 1988: 14). These categories organise the meaning or macrostructure of a text. Superstructures provide an order for the text and, in this way, they organise the reading and understanding process and create expectations regarding the semantic content.

Thus, superstructures are textual correlates of abstract schemata. They are rhetorical structures which organise the content of the text and the interactive development of the discourse. This concept includes that of discourse patterns, or top-level organisational principles of text, described by Winter (1977) and Hoey (1983) (i.e. *Problem-Solution*, *Hypothetical-Real*). They are ways of organising the topic by establishing links between the elements of this topic. The schematic structure of a genre is also included within the concept of superstructure. For instance, in the genre of formal meeting Van

Dijk (1980: 197-198) observes the following canonical structure: Opening, Assessment, Topic, Discussion, Decision, Questions.

Thus, the superstructure of some texts can be seen from two different perspectives: they may exhibit a conventionalised generic structure based on their genre category membership, and they may follow a clearly recognised discourse pattern (e.g. Problem-Solution; Hypothetical-Real). The difference between generic structure and discourse pattern is that generic structure is socially constrained. As was previously said, since genres appear to answer rhetorical needs, generic structure results from the social context where the instances of the genre have been generated. Therefore, although it seems to be natural, it is not, but reflects the features of the social occasion where the genre is used. The social occasion determines the generic form of the text. By contrast, discourse pattern is not associated with a specific social occasion: the discourse pattern which organises the text is the producer's choice.

2.3. INTERPRETATION OF TEXT STRUCTURE: INTERACTION OF SCHEMA AND TEXT STRUCTURE

When decoding a text the reader maps some kind of schemata onto the text. Thus, as has been said, processing and interpreting a text involves an interaction between the readers' background knowledge and the text. That is, there is an interaction between schemata (cognitive constructs of the reader) and text structures. The readers' schemata allow them to recognise the rhetorical organisation of the text and to process it, and at the same time, leads them to expect specific categories in that text. That is, text interpretation derives from an interaction between the receiver's schemata and features of the text, which activate a specific schema. As Fairclough (1989a: 144) explains:

Interpretation of text structures [...] involves matching the text with one of a repertoire of schemata, or representation of characteristic patterns of organisation associated with different types of discourse. Once an interpreter has decided she is involved in a telephone conversation, for example, she knows she can **expect** particular things to happen in a particular order (greetings, establishing a conversational topic, changing topics, closing off the conversation, farewells) [my own emphasis].

In the production of any text there will be elements common to other texts, arising out of its generic membership —i.e. the sharing of socio-cultural values and meanings and the constraints of the social context— and elements

specific to the text, arising out of the individual choices of the producer. The producers can choose the discourse pattern that best serves their purpose or they can manipulate generic form.

Consider the following text, which was distributed in the campus of an English university. This type of texts handed out in the street seek a response from the receiver, a reaction to the situation described in the text.

**The University of X
Guild of students**

THE CYPRIOT SOCIETY

Peace and happiness in Cyprus ceased due to the Turkish Invasion of 1974. The attempt to declare the occupied area as an "independent state" 14 years ago, was condemned by the international community and it is still only recognised by Turkey itself.

Despite Turkish claims of bringing peace to the island, both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities have suffered as a result of the invasion.

- 6,000 Greek Cypriots were killed.
- Some 200,000 people, 30-40% of the population, were forced to leave their homes, and
- 1,619 Greek Cypriots are still missing.

Harmony and co-operation between the two communities which existed for centuries has come to an end.

The Washington Post

"In Paphos (south) today, where some 500 Turkish Cypriots were being transferred to the (occupied) north, the main square resounded with the sobbing and wailing of elderly women abandoning their homes after a life time. Greek and Turkish Cypriots mingled easily with no apparent hostility towards each other. Many of the departing Turkish Cypriots handed over the keys of their home to the Greek Cypriot refugees, with apparent pleasure, "to look after them", as one said" (11.8.1975).

Shouldn't we, the new generation of Cyprus, be allowed to live together and have freedom of movement in our own country? Why is Turkey allowed to ignore international law and human rights? How would you feel?

I do not want to provide any detailed description of this text, only to have a look at some points of ideological importance. The first interesting point is the production and consumption of the text. The first element that occurs in the text informs about the social identity of the producer. The text has the official stamp of the Guild of Students on the right hand corner, which gives it a semi-official character and indicates the support of this institution for the claims in the text. There is a clear attempt to promote solidarity from the student community, who belong to the same component of the social structure as the producers. The heading of the text identifies the collective producer ("The Cypriot society"), turning the text into a kind of manifesto, with all the ideological implications that this genre has.

The text, designed to prompt receivers into giving a response, has two clearly distinguishable parts: the description of a problematic situation and the urgent request for help. The first part of the text—which occupies almost the whole text (except for the last paragraph)—explains the adverse situation: the Turkish invasion and its negative consequences. The producers make use of intertextuality, incorporating a fragment of the *Washington Post* in the part describing the problem, in order to show that they are concerned with a real problem, not only one perceived as such by the Cypriot community. The topic of the part describing the problem is the Turkish government and the affected Cypriot population. The last part of the text asks for a solution, appealing to the readers to support the Cypriot community. This part brings the problem of the Cypriot community nearer to the British students, with the inclusion of "we" and "you". The producers try to get the students involved and to make them identify with the Cypriot students. The text producers use text structure to differentiate clearly two social groups and to include the receivers within one of these groups.

Within the issue of ideology two aspects have to be distinguished: the ideology of a community embedded in the structure of the genres used by that community; and, the ideology and perspective that the text producer encodes when writing a particular text, which may involve the manipulation of text structure. Therefore, in the remainder of the paper I will analyse the ideological investment of text structure, focusing on two aspects: naturalisation and manipulation. Naturalisation is concerned with the fact that the occurrence of specific categories and not others and the conventional ordering of categories in the schema associated with a genre is in itself an ideological element. Manipulation is concerned with the fact that when encoding an argument the writer takes into account the readers' expectations

to articulate the different elements and organise the discourse in a specific way, thus conveying a specific ideology.

3. NATURALISATION OF DISCOURSE TYPES

One of the most effective ways to legitimise power relations is the *naturalisation* of certain discursive practices. When a dominant discourse type has been naturalised it is not seen as arbitrary or belonging to a particular social group within an institution, but as the natural discourse type of the institution (Fairclough 1989a: 91-92). The relation between naturalisation and ideology is clearly explained by Fairclough (1989a: 33):

Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimise existing power relations. Practices which appear to be universal and commonsensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class of the dominant bloc,³ and to have become naturalised. Where types of practices, and in many cases types of discourse, function in this way to sustain unequal power relations, I shall say that they are functioning ideologically.

Thus, naturalisation of discourse types is concerned with the maintenance and upholding of existing power relations. Fairclough's concept of naturalisation is related to Berger and Luckman's (1966) notions of *habitualisation* and *institutionalisation*. They argue that our sense of reality results from a social negotiation over the meaning of objects and actions. Language is one of the main mechanisms for this negotiation. The habitualisation and institutionalisation of actions narrow our choices and imply control. However, critical discourse practitioners do not subscribe to a theory of "unremitting determinism" (Kress 1990: 87). The fact that some discourse types have become naturalised does not imply that the users of language do not have any freedom of action. Critical discourse researchers argue that there may be a struggle between discourse types which are ideologically diverse, one of them being the dominant discourse type, the one that is considered to reflect common sense practices. There are opposing discourses which question the naturalness of the worldview represented in naturalised discourse types in an attempt to challenge and change existing power relations.

A clear example of naturalisation is the legitimisation of the capitalist system, based on an unequal power relation between workers and owners of

the means of production, through discourse. In western societies, institutions, including the media, act to support the capitalist system. As Murdock (1973: 158) points out, most newspapers "have a vested interest in the stability and continuing existence of the present system". The basis of the capitalist society is an economic system where the power to work is sold to the group who owns the means of production (Fairclough 1989a: 32; Mey 1985). It is a system grounded on the exchange of labour and money. The unequal power relations that this system involves are reflected, and in this way legitimised, in the structure of some texts. The following advert reveals how capitalist ideology underlies media discourse:

(1) Senior Management- Implementation
Based Moscow
Up to US \$160,000 package

The Company

With activities spanning the entire CIS & Russian region, this Fortune 100 organisation has developed the past five years a prolific portfolio Ventures and a thorough knowledge of dealing in this challenging hi-tech marketplace. Plans this year are to increase still further the pace of growth, establishing it as one of the major investors in this area.

The Role

With a large number of business opportunities at implementation stage this role will involve planning, directing, organising and controlling the setting up of significant Joint Venture business units. You will become involved at the business plan stage and will ensure the successful completion of the project. Your role will encompass relationship building with local partners, ensuring company objectives and standards are being maximised, and supervising Finance, Sales & Marketing and General Management.

The Person

Comprehensive knowledge of the cellular and/or wire telephone business is the primary requirement, preferably gained in Eastern Europe. An effective communicator, highly motivated and active, the person will fit into this rapidly growing environment. Russian language is a benefit rather than a priority, of more relevance is the ability to effectively manage projects whilst being conscious of time, cost and personal issues.

Please send a full resumé with covering letter to the address/fax below, quoting reference T110027 on all correspondence. Applications will be treated in the strictest confidence.

A genre is a goal-oriented highly conventionalised communicative event. Types of texts or genres that have been naturalised present the social relations of the institutions which produce them as natural and thus convey a specific

ideology, from which the text has to be interpreted. If a way of representing the world and encoding reality is naturalised it is not seen as arbitrary and, thus, the underlying ideology becomes invisible.

The generic structure of this advert reflects the traditional advertising for a post in a company: a heading identifying the post, the salary, description of the company, details of the post, description of the suitable candidate, procedures for applying. Thus, adverts of this kind include as distinct elements in the structure the goods that are exchanged, i.e. what the company offers and what the company asks for. This structure helps to maintain the capitalist principle that work is a product that can be bought. The company is a consumer of the employee's labour, a product that has to fulfil several requirements. In exchange for his/her abilities and qualifications the candidate is offered a high salary and a post involving responsibility in the company. The advert reproduces a naturalised view of "real" social relations. Each participant in the transaction has his/her role and it seems that each one gets equal profit from this exchange.

In this connection Mey (1985) argues that language "veils" reality and thus the "existing state of affairs" is "cemented"; in other words, it is considered natural. Mey considers that the actual state of power relations (i.e. the fact that they are not relations of equality) is misrepresented by means of language. He states that the semantic content conveyed by means of the lexicon gives the impression that the relation of employment is symmetrical and reversible: "A employs B" has the same meaning as "B is employed by A". It seems that the employer and the employee are in a relation of equality, that they have the same rights. The generic structure of adverts for posts also contributes to this impression: the company, the employer, offers the employee a great deal in exchange for his/her work. The ideological function of text structure consists in naturalising the representation of work relations as a transaction and at the same time in misrepresenting the actual state of affairs, since in fact there is no symmetry in the relation, but it is the employer who gets the profit generated by the employee's labour. The effect of this misrepresentation is the perpetuation of the system. In Mey's words (1985: 21):

The oppressed are led to believe that they are not oppressed at all, but that the ruling system is to their own advantage. In this way they cannot become aware of their oppressed state. Their lack of awareness, in turn, prevents them from criticizing the system that oppresses them [...]. And language, societies' veil, serves this rule-bound, system-dominated state of mind in a most appropriate

way. Behind people's back, so to speak, the system thusly cements the existing state of affairs.

"The oppressed" are not "aware of their oppressed state" because discourse represents these power relations as common sense, as natural, which makes it difficult for the interpreter to perceive the social and ideological meaning of this representation. This does not mean, however, that the assumptions that text producers present as commonsensical cannot be revealed as arbitrary.

Fairclough (1989a: 158) provides a good example of naturalisation in media discourse. Newspaper reporting of industrial accidents consist of the following elements: cause of the accident, how it was dealt with, consequent damage or injury, long-term outcomes. Fairclough remarks that this structure is the result of a naturalisation process, since there is no reason for the structure to be composed of these particular elements. In fact, other elements that could be part of this structure (e.g. the safety record of the firm) are not, and, therefore, they are not regarded as relevant information. The result of this naturalisation process is that elements which are not presented as separate structural elements are not given due attention and "tend to disappear from view and consciousness" (Fairclough 1989a: 158). By the same token, elements which are differentiated as categories within a structure are given prominence. Van Dijk (1988: 74) remarks that, both in the U.S. Press and in much of the world's press, when events in which the U.S. is involved are reported there tends to be a separate element of the structure of the news reporting which deals with the relevance of the event to U.S. politics. This reflects and reinforces the role of the U.S. as the "guardian" of world politics.

Kress (1985: 28) describes the relation between genre and the expression of discourse in the following way:

At any given time in history and in any given social group certain genres are available for the expression of specific discourses. Each generic form has particular possibilities and limitations, which are an inherent part of that genre. Hence the expression of a discourse within a specific genre carries with it the meanings, potentialities and limitations of that genre.

This point can be illustrated with the genre of the research paper. The discourse dealing with science is realised in different genres. The expression of this discourse by means of a specific genre results in the construction of certain meanings. If scientific discourse is expressed by means of a research

paper the implications deriving from the genre is that what is said is true, sanctioned by authority and a worthwhile contribution to science.

The IMRD (Introduction- Method- Results- Discussion) structure of the research paper contributes to making the readers conclude that the knowledge claims presented in the article are unproblematically related to data which have been produced with objective experimental procedures and that therefore it is sensible to recognise them as valid. In the introduction the author justifies his/her own investigation by pointing to an unresolved issue or question within the existing knowledge in a research area. The Material and Method section lists or describes the procedures used for obtaining the data. The Results section presents evidence on which the conclusion of the paper is grounded. And, finally, the Discussion "fills the gap" of the Introduction, by interpreting the research findings and providing a conclusion. Knorr-Cetina (1981) showed that this apparent objectivity is a construction, a meaning derived from the genre. The research paper is the result of a process of rhetorical construction which must follow conventions specific to this genre, among them the paradigm of Problem-Solution.

Thus, the structure of the paper answers its persuasive needs. Bazerman (1983: 169) states that in order to persuade and establish the value of a piece of research "within a particular market" "the paper must first reconstruct the market, define the needs of the market and identify the research being reported as the proper vehicle for the satisfaction of those needs". This statement can be said to reflect the structure of Introductions as defined by genre analysis (Swales 1990).

1. *Establishing the territory.* The writer establishes the field (i.e. "reconstruct the market").

2. *Establishing a niche.* The writer indicates a gap in existing knowledge (i.e. "define the needs of the market").

3. *Occupying the niche.* The writer makes a proposal for introducing a new piece of knowledge, which answers the question or fills the gap in the previous moves (i.e. "identify the research being reported as the proper vehicle for the satisfaction of those needs").

The meaning that what is said is "objective" is not conveyed when discourse is expressed in other genres. For instance, if discourse is expressed in a letter to the editor it carries with it the implication that it has an opinion element. Genres are used to endow a given discourse with different meanings by means of contrasting genres. Therefore, genre-awareness has an important ideological effect. If the readers are aware of the naturalised conventions of a genre they will assign specific meanings to any discourse expressed by means

of this genre (e.g. they will regard what is expressed in a research paper as objective).

Another important concept is that of the interactional routines characteristic of particular genres (i.e. the routines concerning the conventions that control the interaction between the participants). The interaction engaged in through some genres is structured in a way that makes for class maintenance and control. Some genres connected with specific institutions allow the most powerful participant to initiate and finish the interaction, and to control the turn-taking, thus reflecting and exercising his/her power over the other participants.

A number of researchers have shown the enacting of power relations in the discourse of health (doctor-patient interactions) and in that of police and order. Fairclough (1992) examines an interview between a male doctor and a female patient. The conversation is structured in cycles consisting of three parts: question by the doctor, response by the patient, acceptance of the response by the doctor. It is the doctor who controls the interaction. He takes turns when he considers it necessary, while the patient only talks when she is questioned. The structure of this interview is quite similar to that of classroom discourse, where there is an unequal power relation between teacher and pupil. The *exchange structure* proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) consists of up to three elements: an initiation by the teacher, a response by the pupil, and a follow-up by the teacher, which evaluates the response. Lacoste (1981) reveals that the routines in doctor-patient interviews have the effect of reducing the patient to docility. The patient is not allowed to have initiative in the interaction, which reflects the existence of an unequal status. Interactions in legal and police discourse also reflect the control of institutions and the differences in power. Sharrock and Watson (1989) report the existence of asymmetrical power relationships in police interviews. In both types of discourse (i.e. medical, legal) there is no reason why the interaction should be structured in this way. The interactional routines in these discourses are a matter of convention which results in the reinforcing of a particular ideology. As Fairclough (1989a: 99) points out: "the naturalisation of a particular routine as the common sense way of doing things is an effect of power, an ideological effect". For instance, the control of the doctor-patient interaction by the doctor reflects and perpetuates the unequal power relation between the participants.

4. MANIPULATION

The processes involved in the encoding of an argument and in the organisation of the text which are a result of the desire to reflect a particular ideology are referred to in this paper as manipulation. Therefore, manipulation involves the writer's/ speaker's conscious choice of linguistic elements and text-ordering in order to convey ideology. Manipulation may have different aspects.

First, the choice of a specific structure to convey a message may carry with it an ideological meaning or implication. A comparison of the following two adverts will show that they deal with the same topic, but are built on different structures:

(2) Some of the reasons for saving tropical forests are disappearing. Tropical forests provide precious medicines, habitat for rare birds and other wildlife, and the means of survival for hundreds of millions of people. Yet these forests are being destroyed at the rate of 50 acres a minute. Help stop the destruction now, before the reasons disappear. Keep Tropical Forests Alive.

For information write: Tropical Forest Project.

Fortune, April 1, 1996

(3) Topical, not tropical.
The Press is conspicuous in its use of paper.
Some people's imaginations make an enormous leap from this fact to the false conclusion that the newspaper business is destroying the tropical rainforests. This is not true.
Trees from tropical rainforests are not used to make newspapers. The woodpulp used to make newspapers comes from softwood trees from well-managed forests in Canada, Europe, Scandinavia and the U.K.
So please remember, Tropical rainforests are in the news —but they don't make the newspapers.

*Issued by the newsprint and newspaper industry environmental action Group.
The European Magazine, 23-29 May 1996*

Example (2) follows the pattern Problem-Solution. This pattern consists of two basic parts closely related: *problem* and *solution*. They may be preceded by a *situation* part, which establishes the basis of the problem, and followed by an *evaluation* part, which provides the assessment of the solution. The existence of a problem in example (2) is emphasised by its repetition in the heading and in the body of the advert. The solution is not given to the

readers, but they are encouraged to help solve the problem. Example (3), which deals with the same topic, is organised following another pattern: Hypothetical-Real. This pattern consists of a binary relation between a hypothetical situation and the real element that is presented in the discourse. The Hypothesis is that newspaper business is destroying the tropical forest. The Real element is that this is not true. Following different patterns the authors try to convince the readers to take different courses of action. In the first advert the readers are prompted to act, in the second one they are exhorted not to believe that there is a problem.

The way the different categories of the structure are "filled" or realised may also have ideological significance. In the following advert, which follows the structure Problem-Solution, the potential readers have a problem ("I need a couple of raincoats cleaned overnight") and they are provided with the solution. There is a specific problem which in fact implies a more general one: the need for a hotel where the readers may have all the services they want. After stating a particular problem the advert is constructed as a list of solutions to all the problems "you" ("the consumer") may have:

(4) I need a couple of raincoats cleaned overnight.
Say the word, and our valets will clean and deliver your clothing by morning. If it is wrinkled, they will press it with equal dispatch. We will polish your shoes with a virtuoso's touch, and if need be, even provide new laces—all with our compliments. And our room service chefs will ensure your breakfast arrives well before your 5:30 a.m. taxi. In this value-conscious era, the demands of business demand nothing less. For reservations, please telephone your travel counsellor or call us toll free.
Four Seasons Hotels.

Fortune, April 1, 1996.

The structure helps to maintain the ideology on which consumerism and advertising is based. As Mey (1985: 54) points out: "in the ideology of advertising, the consumer is proclaimed king of the market place: The sovereign autocrat of the realm of circulation". All the consumer's potential problems have a solution. Discourse is used to construct the consumers' needs as the initiators of the producing process, when the real initiators of the process are the producers' interests. Advertisements are so often built on the rhetorical pattern Problem-Solution because this pattern helps to disguise an order to buy something as a recommendation or as a help from the producer: as a solution to the consumer's problems. Mey (1985: 55) states that "[t]he hidden power of such indirect orders lies in their appeal to people's weak spots, special interests and personal idiosyncrasies". The "people's weak spots, special interests and personal idiosyncrasies" are represented as

problems which will be solved by the products advertised. If we ask who has the problem and who provides the solution we find that there is an ideological assumption which impregnates the advert: the distinction between high-class and working class. The problem of the high-class customer is solved with the labour of the working class ("Say the word (*I need*) and our valets...", "all with our compliments", "our room service chefs"). The unequal power relations between classes is thus strengthened and legitimised.

The following example also shows that the actualisation of the different categories of the structure may have an ideological effect. The choice of the structure Problem/ Solution allows the writer to identify a situation as a Problem (i.e. to fill the category Problem with a specific situation) and to make his/her proposal correspond with *the* Solution to this problem. The stretch of text which realises the element "Problem" describes a situation that need not be a problem for the reader, but, as the author presents it as a problem, it is accepted as such and the following element accepted as a solution. The following advert illustrates this point clearly:

(5) This could be the first industry to die of AIDS.

In the coffee growing region of southern Uganda, the AIDS epidemic is wiping out whole families, destroying farms and leaving the fields unharvested and overgrown with weeds. Coffee, the backbone of Uganda's economy, may become the first industry to be destroyed by AIDS.

It isn't the only one at risk. The sugar plantation of Haiti, Thailand's \$5 billion tourist industry, copper mining in Zambia, these and many others are threatened. So are the national economies they support and the multi-national corporations that do business with them. Right now, several multi-nationals are taking steps to prevent the worst from happening. By Western standards, it costs very little to make a major impact. You can fund an important study, underwrite an AIDS education program or sponsor a wide range of social and scientific projects.

To learn more about the impact of AIDS on international business and what your company can do about it, send for your free copy of our comprehensive handbook of international AIDS grant making. Fax your order to (212) 949-1672 or call (212) 573-5533.

Fortune, April, 1996

The Problem is that the destruction of industry in the Third World due to AIDS is threatening international business and Western multi-nationals. The Solution is the economic help from these multinationals. The Problem is not that people are dying of AIDS, but that workers, the source of labour, are

disappearing. There is only one human reference ("wiping out whole families"), and the thematic structure of the sentence where it appears presents it as the cause which triggers off the really worrying effect (i.e. the fields are left "unharvested and overgrown with weeds"). The advert appears in an economy journal and is addressed to the owners of the multi-nationals. Thus, it will only be successful if the category Problem is realised by a situation which is really a problem for them: AIDS is having a harmful impact on international business. What is proposed in the advert is a solution to an economic problem for Western multi-nationals, not a solution to a health problem in developing countries. The advert is based on and reinforces the split between developing countries, which provide cheap labour force and materials, and Western economies, which control the wealth and need this force. Developing countries are only represented in terms of their economic relation to the Western countries (e.g. "the coffee growing region of southern Uganda", "the sugar plantation of Haiti, Thailand's \$5 billion tourist industry, copper mining in Zambia"). The representation of the world as divided into two parts with different roles in economy is accepted and perpetuated.

Part of the ideological effectiveness of structures derives from their anticipatory or predicting power and from the fact that the receiver has expectations about the structure of the texts. When the receivers map a schema onto a text they try to find the correspondence between the different elements of the schema and the text, that is, they try to identify which part of the text corresponds to which component of the text structure, and endows each fragment of text with meanings which derive from this correspondence. As Fairclough (1989a: 138) points out, "particular elements can be interpreted in accordance with what is expected at the point where they occur, rather than in terms of what they are".

This is clearly seen in news reports, when information that is not the real gist of the report is placed in the headline. Van Dijk (1988: 234) provides an illustrating example. In *Telegraaf* a story bears the following headline:

Help of German authorities suspected

NATIONAL POLICE INVESTIGATES TAMIL-INVASION

However, the main topic of the story is the government's decision to house the Tamils. The news report deals with the investigation of the help of

German authorities in illegal border crossing only as a secondary topic. Nevertheless, since this topic is placed in the headline it is presented as the most important one.

This leads us to another aspect of manipulation: the transformation of the genre structure. Van Dijk (1988: 233) comments on different thematic transformations in reporting news events, which help to convey specific ideologies. One of them is the upgrading of categories. The superstructure for a news report has the following elements (Van Dijk 1988):

-Summary: Headline and Lead

-Situation: Episode (Main Event and Consequences) and Backgrounds (Context and History)

-Comments: Verbal Reaction and Conclusions (Evaluations and Expectations)

The ordering of elements in news reports is based on importance. Thus, the headline and the first paragraph inform about what is considered the central or most important part, "the gist of the story" (Fairclough 1989a: 37). The category Comment, which usually occurs at the end of the report, may be upgraded and assigned a prominent position. When the Evaluations or Expectations of the reporter occur in the headline or the lead they get more prominence than the Main Event. Thus, the author may present his/her own ideology-imbued opinions as the most relevant part. Another category which is usually upgraded is that of Verbal Reaction, a category which provides the declarations of authorities or experts about the recent events. Sometimes these reactions occur in the headline and are thus given more prominence than the main event itself. Van Dijk (1988) exemplifies this point with a report of Tamil immigrants who were sent back by the police. The headline features the verbal reactions of the authorities expressing their doubts about the refugee status of Tamils. Again, these verbal reactions are given more relevance than the Main Event. In fact the Verbal Reaction, by virtue of occurring in the headline, acquires Main Event status, thus contributing to the enacting of racist discourse.

Manipulation may also involve the inclusion or omission of specific elements in the thematic structure. Van Dijk (1988: 79) compares the report of the same event, the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon on September 15, 1982, in two different newspapers (*New York Times* and a Cuban party newspaper, *Granma*). There are ideology-based differences between the news accounts in the two newspapers. *Granma* gets

its information from western news agencies, which would lead us to expect the topical structure provided by these agencies. However, there are some topics that are not present in *Granma* and this fact can be considered as the result of a conscious choice not to follow this structure. *Granma* does not include some topics which are present in the article in *New York Times*, like the circumstances of the assassination, speculations about the identity of the agents of the attack, or information about previous attacks against his life. Van Dijk (1988) remarks that the fact that some major sub-topics present in *New York Times* are lacking in *Granma* could have an ideological meaning. For instance, the fact that *Granma* does not inform about the previous attacks on Gemayel's life, but mentions his bloody actions in the civil war, could be interpreted as being motivated by the desire to provide a negative description of Gemayel.

Finally, departing from the discourse conventions and omitting some of the characteristic categories of the superstructure of a text is another type of manipulation. The receiver's expectations regarding the structure of the text may be dashed in order to achieve a specific effect. The speaker/ writer may attempt to bring about a change in the schemata of the hearers/ readers and question the naturalness of these schemata, and in this way challenge existing power relations. A clear example is the type of medical interview engaged in by doctors who practice "alternative" (such as homeopathic) medicine. Fairclough's (1989a: 144) analysis of an alternative medicine interview reveals that the underlying ideology is different from that of the standard medical interview. Instead of being structured in terms of the question-response-assessment cycle, this type of interview is organised around the patient's account of his/ her illness. In this kind of interview turn-taking is not controlled by the doctor, but there is a collaborative interaction, which challenges the unequal power relation between doctor and patient.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The ideological dimension of language is an expanding area of study which has brought to light that every text is constructed from a particular ideological position. In this paper I have attempted to provide insights into the relation between text structure and ideology. The paper shows that text structure is impregnated with ideology.

Three main claims have been made. The first is that the ideological significance of text structure derives from the fact that the participants in the interaction share schemata. This allows the receivers to recognise the type of

text, interpret the text, predict the categories that they will find in the text, and endow the information that realises each category with a specific semiotic meaning which derives from its position in the rhetorical structure. For instance, the discourse schema activated by the reader when reading a news report makes the reader interpret the information that appears in initial position as the most important.

Second, the paper has confirmed Fairclough's (1989a) claim that some discourse structures are not neutral as they claim to be but have been naturalised, so as to endow the existing power relations with a "common sense" feature. The fact that some types of discourse have a typical structure which includes specific categories, excluding others which might also be part of the schema, may have an ideological effect.

Finally, the speaker/writer uses the hearers/readers' expectations about text structure to their advantage and manipulates this structure to encode a specific ideological position in discourse.

NOTES

¹ Different names have been used to refer to this kind of structures: *plans*, *scripts*, *frames*, *scenarios*, *schemata*. Brown and Yule (1983: 236-255) give an account of the different concepts that underlie this terminology.

² An example of text schemata is the structure discovered from the analysis of six adventure stories from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with boy heroes: 1. a boy lives peacefully at home; 2. his father dies; 3. an event disrupts this peace; 4. he leaves home with an older male; 5. he searches for a precious object; 6. he learns a new language; 7. he is imprisoned in an enclosed space; 8. he finds the object; 9. he returns home as a man (Cook 1994).

³ For Fairclough the dominant bloc is the capitalist class (opposed to the working class), together with other workers whose interests are tied to capital, e.g. professional workers.

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THE USE OF PRAGMATIC POLITENESS THEORY IN THE INTERPRETATION OF HEMINGWAY'S "HILLS LIKE WHITE ELEPHANTS"



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1. INTRODUCTION

The critics seem to offer contradictory accounts of the extent to which the reader may venture to give a specific interpretation of a literary text. It is often the case that a text's literal meaning seems not to suffice, and reinterpretation based on inferencing is required. However, our inferences as readers are grounded upon previously organized representations of background knowledge or "schemata" (Brown and Yule 1983: 248) which help the reader to recontextualize the behaviour represented but left unexplained in the text. Those inferences are the result of a logical need to close the open-endedness of the events alluded to in a text. The more laconic the narration—that is, the more elements not manifested on the surface of the text—the greater the interpretative effort required to fill the information gaps found there and the greater the likelihood of multifarious readings of that text.

In Hemingway's short story "Hills Like White Elephants" (1935) a basic dilemma is presented, that of a couple who are considering an abortion. As readers, we are constrained in our interpretation of the story by its brevity and almost total lack of description or explanation in the text. Consequently, we have to rely on "higher-level schemata which cause us to see messages in certain ways" (Anderson et al. 1977: 377) for that sort of situation: the man,

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the adventurer, finds his freedom threatened; the woman, more sensitive, probably wants to keep the baby as a sign of their love, and so forth. Such a text engages the attention of the reader and thus requires an interpretation of the story which is bound to be highly dependent on his/her beliefs, previous experiences, moral stance, etc. The reader will also bring to the interpretation of the text his/her intertextual competence, since, as Eco suggests (1987), no text is read independently of the experience the reader has had with other texts.

Commenting on this specific story, Kundera (1994: 136) claims that readers are denied any definite clue to base their interpretation on by the writer's omission of background information and the scarcity of data we have access to through the succinct text; to use Eco's terminology, we are dealing with a "fabula aperta" (1987: 169). The reader does not know much about the characters, or about what has happened to them before, and thus he remains free to construct many different stories from the kernel situation he is presented with when reading the story. In other words, in the stylized dialogue between actual writer and reader what is unsaid weighs as much, if not more, as what is said.

As Brown and Yule (1983: 268) remark, a large part of the comprehension of what we read comes from our ability to make sense of the motivations and aims of the fictional participants. Accepting this is tantamount to saying that a text is to a greater or lesser extent open to overinterpretation (Eco 1987), that is, that a text allows for almost as many possibly divergent interpretations as readers exist.

Nevertheless, the reader is not entirely adrift; there is a relatively secure source of information in this short story which is none other than its patterning of relevant dialogue between two characters waiting for a train. We are allowed to occupy the seat next to the two strangers (the American and his lady companion) and overhear their exact words while they wait and have a drink together. I believe it is precisely on the analysis of that interaction that we can base our interpretation of the story.

In this respect, pragmatic theory has enabled researchers to probe for the uses to which speakers put language in actual communication. In addition, in theatre studies, the pragmatic approach has also recently brought about research into the nature of fictional dialogue as social interaction within a possible world. Elam (1980), Burton (1980), Herman (1995), Guillén Nieto (1998) and others operate on the assumption that dialogue in plays is a form of social interaction. Guillén Nieto (1998) testifies to the existence of a sociolinguistic and a linguistic approach to the interactive nature of dramatic dialogue. The ethnomethodologists and the Birmingham school,

representatives of the sociolinguistic approach (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1978; Coulthard 1987; Burton 1980), have concentrated on the systematic study of turn-taking, while pragmalinguistic theories have undertaken explorations of the way in which users construct meaning on the basis of the verbal code as well as other codes intersecting within language as social interaction.

More specifically I intend to use Brown and Levinson's pragmatic theory of politeness (1987) as the means of analyzing the use that the two central characters make of language when facing a conflict-ridden situation such as the one described in the story "Hills like White Elephants".

2. METHOD

Brown and Levinson (1987) postulate a Model Person endowed with the qualities of rationality and face who, being as efficient as possible, will choose the communicative strategies that will most suit his/her communicative and face needs. Furthermore, they attribute a central role to the concept of face which they define as¹ "the public self-image that everyone wants to claim for himself" (1987: 61) and which consists of two components: positive face, or the desire to be approved of and appreciated, and negative face, the desire not to be imposed upon.

Certain actions are intrinsically threatening to either kind of face; Brown and Levinson call them Face Threatening Acts (FTAs), and they include orders, requests, advice, disagreement, etc. The speaker will try to minimize the threat to face by using positive or negative politeness strategies.

Brown and Levinson's framework, unlike Leech's Politeness Principle (1983), succeeds in providing a motivation for the strategies chosen by the participants in an interaction and, as a result, their framework can be of great help in throwing light on the desires, fears and motivations of the characters and, by extension, in contributing to a less arbitrary interpretation of the narration.

In my view, the whole issue of abortion in "Hills like White Elephants" is dealt with by using well-defined politeness strategies. As Smiley (1990: 294) remarks, the American on the one hand has two major conversational objectives, viz. he wants to avoid coercing / imposing on his girlfriend while at the same time he wants her to go ahead with the FTA which the abortion represents. The girl on the other hand does not want to have the abortion but she wants to maintain camaraderie, i.e., to decrease distance. In brief, she wants to make her American man and her baby compatible.

The critics suggest that, for the American, having this baby is a great imposition, an undesirable act which means totally changing his lifestyle and giving away his freedom. For the woman, in contrast, the baby means life, motherhood and fertility; it probably also means developing a deeper bond with her partner and therefore she endeavors to preclude abortion.

It seems clear that they both have their own reasons for or against the abortion. Therefore, by asking the girl not to have the baby, the American is performing not only a very strong FTA, since this can be interpreted as lack of consideration for the girl's negative face, i.e., her freedom of choice, but also he is taking a very powerful ideological position (Fairclough 1991). Conversely, Jig, the woman, tries to preserve the baby's life on ethically and legally codified norms, even though that would bring about a radical change in their habits and severely restrict their current adventurous life. In doing this, she is also partially impinging on her partner's negative face. In brief, they both try to achieve their opposing objectives without losing face by using a variety of positive and negative politeness strategies which I will try now to detail.

Haas (1979: 290) and Tannen (1991) contend that female language tends to be relationship-oriented while male language is goal-oriented. In these terms, the strategies of the characters seem to work exactly in the expected direction. I agree with Smiley (1990: 290) that Jig's conversational objective is to establish intimacy through shared words and humor, the *joke strategy*. The girl's little witticism about the hills looking like white elephants can be explained in that light.

The girl was looking off at the line of hills. They were white in the sun and the country was brown and dry .

"They look like white elephants", she said.

"I've never seen one", the man drank his beer.

"No, you wouldn't have".

"I might have", the man said. "Just because you say I wouldn't have doesn't prove anything".

The girl looked at the bead curtain. "They've painted something on it", she said, "What does it say?"

"Anis del toro. It's a drink".

"Could we try it?" (211)

The American refuses to laugh at her innocent gag and this refusal strategically creates distance and increases his power. This is only one of the several subtle ways in which he craftily controls the interchange and also the relationship by playing with the variables in all politeness situations:

namely power and distance (Fairclough 1991). Jig, the woman, chooses to flout his dispraise and to turn it against him, but then quickly changes her tactics when he turns defensive. She grants him his desire for power by asking him about the words on the bead curtain, thus recognizing his superior knowledge and his role as an expert, an obvious positive politeness strategy.

In his study of the behavioral content areas that relate to friendship, Hays (1984: 78) includes companionship (doing things together), utility (friend as a helper), communication (disclosing information about oneself), and affection, among others. After the risk of giving the impression of lack of companionship, Jig quickly shows intimacy and friendship by addressing him as a helper and by sharing the agreeable experience of trying a new drink together.

Nonetheless she somehow finds this ritual type of intimacy unsatisfactory, inasmuch as her assertion "That's all we do [...] try new drinks" (Hemingway 1987: 212) is an attack on his positive face, for she denies common ground and creates distance. Yet the man does not seem concerned and even shows a compromising agreement on that point. The explanation of this unexpected agreement may lie in the fact that he is getting ready to bring up the abortion topic and cannot afford to disagree since that would mean increasing distance and reducing his power over her.

Following a number of irrelevant comments upon the drinks, the topic of the abortion is at last introduced by the American, who uses a combination of several strategies in order to achieve his goals.

"The beer's nice and cool", the man said.

"It's lovely", the girl said.

"It's really an awfully simple operation, Jig", the man said. "It's not really an operation at all".

The girl looked at the ground the table legs rested on.

"I know you wouldn't mind it, Jig. It's really not anything. It's just to let the air in". (212)

It is not a mere coincidence that he is now using the girl's nickname as an endearing address form and that this is the first time we hear him use a nickname at all. In this way he manages to convey in-group membership and to reduce distance whereas not long before he was drawing away from her.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 77) define power as "the degree to which the Hearer can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of the Speaker's plans and self-evaluation". The man uses power throughout the dialogue in that double way. He purposefully denies the

importance of the abortion by repeatedly banalizing its significance to that of a very simple insignificant operation. He consequently attempts to minimize the threat, that is, to manipulate (R), the rank variable of the imposition. It is interesting to note how he always represses the word "abortion" while misdefining the operation as "natural" and misrepresenting it by referring to it metonymically as "just letting the air in" (212). Through his choice of words he imposes his own image of the abortion on her, presenting it in a way she may be able to cope with in spite of her moral scruples and in that way, I repeat, making it a less weighty imposition. His words are in fact a bending of reality exclusively to fit his needs; he is also bending language to construct (or rather reconstruct) the world to his measure and exerting power to refashion her perception of things accordingly.

Nevertheless he does offer to be with her all the time in exchange for the sacrifice of her main objective, namely, avoiding the abortion. This could be taken as an act of intimacy (sharing actions) but in the light of politeness theory it can be explained as an offer of partial compensation for the hearer's wants, while at the same time including both in the activity. His is a manipulative strategy in that it is aimed at leading her to take an unwanted decision.

"I'll go with you and I'll stay with you all the time. They just let the air in and then it's all perfectly natural".

"Then what will we do afterward?"

"We'll be fine afterward. Just like we were before". (212)

The girl only appears to acknowledge that part of his utterance which affects her main goal, that is, that of maintaining the relationship and obtaining commitment. She is then "on record"² about wanting to know of his commitment.

"And you think then we'll be all right and be happy?"

"I know we will. You don't have to be afraid. I've known lots of people that have done it".

"So have I", said the girl, "and afterward they were all perfectly happy".

[...]

"I think it is the best thing to do, but I don't want you to do it if you don't really want to".

"And if I do it you'll be happy and things will be like they were and you will love me?" (213)

The man is willing to appease her with inadequate promises about what is to come but she puts an end to them by ironically echoing his questionable belief that happiness will be achieved by staying childless. At this point he shifts to a different strategy and seeks redress by avoiding coercing, a negative politeness strategy. He explicitly gives her an option not to do the act and continues to reduce the rank variable by minimizing the imposition and by impersonalizing it: "it is perfectly simple" (213); "[...] it is the best thing to do" (213); "[...] lots of people that have done it" (213).

Before giving in to having the abortion, Jig goes on record again to make sure she can at least gain one of her objectives. She asks him if he will love her afterwards and he implies that, since the baby is the cause of all their worries, everything will be fine once they get the abortion done with. But promising something you cannot possibly control or fulfill is an infelicitous act and a partly insincere one, which may allow us to conclude that he is rather more interested in getting her to go ahead with the abortion than in the possible consequences it may have for the relationship.

What comes next in their exchange is very significant. The young woman knows that she has secured one of her objectives and so she becomes deferential; she raises her partner and abases herself, thus placing him in a position to have options. Since she has chosen him over her ideals, she gives him the power of decision.

"Then I'll do it, because I don't care about me".

"What do you mean?"

"I don't care about me".

"Well I care about you".

"Oh yes. But I don't care about me. And I'll do it and then everything will be fine".

"I don't want you to do it if you feel that way". (213)

The man reacts in a way she did not expect. He refuses to take responsibility for the abortion and makes explicit his desire not to impinge on her. We may wonder why, once he has succeeded in making her agree with him, he detaches himself by refusing to take his share of responsibility for the act. Smiley (1990: 295) suggests that, in leaving the decision altogether to her, even though it is not hers at all, he shows that he is more concerned for his own freedom than for anything or anybody else. In my view, he becomes aware of the fact that he has damaged his positive face by forcing her to act against her will, and he tries to save his own face by showing appreciation of her goals and desires. However, in doing that, he increases the distance

between them and detaches himself from the responsibility of imposing on her.

Sensing his desire for non-involvement, Jig refuses to agree to the idea that things will work out well afterwards.

"We can have everything".

"No, we can't".

"We can have the whole world".

"No, we can't".

"We can go everywhere".

"No, we can't. It isn't ours anymore" [...] and once they take it away you never get it back". (213)

Although he is overtly giving options, she has realized that he will not be imposed upon and that his relative power is greater than her own, although not great enough to impose on her his views of the issue; all of which is proved by the fact that she again echoes him ironically in his assertion that he does not want what is not good for her and in his repeatedly expressed opinion masked as belief that the operation is perfectly simple.

3. CONCLUSIONS

With the present analysis, I hope to have borne out my contention that we can reach sound interpretative conclusions about the idiosyncrasies of the man and the girl in the story through politeness theory.

As Smiley (1990) contends, the different concept that each of the characters has of the components of intimacy and friendship may account to some extent for the miscommunication and hostilities raised throughout most of the dialogue. However, the situation of conflict they go through and the complementary linguistic strategies they follow cannot be fully accounted for by their strong gender-linked language differences. In my view, the tension results from two opposing needs: the need to do an FTA by making clear their contrary intentions, and the need to be deferential and save their own and the hearer's face by giving options and showing appreciation of the opposing party's face needs.

I hope to have shown that the use which the man makes of the strategies shows him to be at least partially insincere and scheming. With a goal-oriented objective, he skillfully manipulates all the variables of the imposition: he reduces the distance and rank of the imposition at his convenience, while at the same time he finds her deference helpful in order to

remain master of the relationship and of the conversation. It follows from my analysis that he fails to discuss sincerely with her their needs and most intimate feelings, not only because their different language is strongly gender-marked, but also because if he were sincere he would have to acknowledge how weighty indeed his imposition is on the girl.

On the other hand, it seems clear that the girl also shows dexterity in using language to her advantage by employing a variety of strategies that help her to reach her objectives. Nevertheless, in the end she is torn apart by his tactics and he appears to have succeeded in achieving his two main goals, namely to have her undergo the abortion, and to remain free from the blame of imposition.

A literary text is full of blank spaces which the reader has to fill in using inference based on his/her representations of the world and his/her intertextual competence. As Eco notes, the text is an idle mechanism which lives thanks to the additional meaning which the receiver puts into it (1987: 76). In the case of this story by Hemingway, extremely brief as it is, it may be helpful to look for formulae other than mere inferencing to arrive at a degree of univocity. In this respect, I hope to have shown that pragmatic theory, and within this, politeness theory, can offer a very useful contribution to the study of fictional dialogue as interaction in the realm of literature. It seems to me that pragmatic theory is better suited to the illumination of the intentions and strategies of the characters in the story than the broader-based but less penetrating remarks of a critic such as Smiley. 

NOTES

¹ The concept of face was originally developed by Goffman (1967). Goffman linked the concept to the folk expression "losing face", that is, being embarrassed or humiliated. He defined face as a public self-image not belonging intrinsically to the individual but on loan to him/her from society. Brown and Levinson's theory has received some criticism of the fact that they tend to see face as belonging to the individual, to the self. Similarly, several authors (Matsumoto 1988, Wierzbicka 1985, Mao 1993) have questioned the validity of their definition of the components of face, thus denying the direct applicability of the concept to many Eastern cultures.

² Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) define three sets of politeness strategies which any rational agent will employ to redress the threat inherent in certain face-threatening speech acts (FTAs). An actor can go "on record" by making

unambiguously clear to the hearer his intention when performing the act. The most direct way, going "on record", is to do the act without any redress. On the other hand, an "on record" FTA can be redressed by using a series of positive or negative strategies which show to the hearer that the speaker recognizes and tries to safeguard the hearer's positive and negative face wants. Finally, an actor goes "off record" when, his communicative intention not being completely unambiguous, he cannot be held to have committed himself to any particular intention.

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NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR: UNA INTERPRETACIÓN SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA¹



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1. INTRODUCCIÓN

La notoria sensibilidad de George Orwell hacia las conexiones existentes entre el lenguaje, las ideas y la estratificación social se plasma en toda su producción. Sus principales contribuciones como pensador del lenguaje son dos ensayos incluidos en su novela *1984* (1949);² uno es el libro herético supuestamente escrito por Goldstein, el Enemigo del Estado, en donde se exponen los principios políticos, ideológicos y lingüísticos que fundamentan la sociedad del futuro: el *Ingsoc* (socialismo inglés) el *doublethink* y el *Newspeak*; el otro es el apéndice de la propia novela —“The Principles of Newspeak”—, una sátira contra los planificadores y expertos en lenguaje, según coinciden en señalar la mayoría de los críticos (Fowler et al. 1983: 32). En *1984* se exploran las estructuras lingüísticas y sus métodos para transformar y oscurecer la realidad, para regular las ideas y el comportamiento, para clasificar y jerarquizar a las personas y para afirmar el poder institucional.

Para llevar a cabo el presente análisis del lenguaje como instrumento de control social y psicológico se describirán tanto la situación sociopolítica que se vive en la obra como la situación lingüística, tratando por separado cada una de las lenguas objeto de estudio: el *Oldspeak* y el *Newspeak*. La conclusión a la que se pretende llegar es que, si bien el *Newspeak* es un instrumento creado conscientemente para manipular y controlar a los hablantes, y a través de ellos a la propia realidad, también el *Oldspeak* realiza esa función de control, aunque de manera más sutil e inconsciente. El *Newspeak* es simplemente un paso más en el proceso, dado de forma abierta y

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manifiesta a los ojos del lector, pero debe tenerse en cuenta que el *Oldspeak* ya había estado ejerciendo su poder, un poder que todavía permanece y del que se sirven los creadores del *Newspeak*.

2. SITUACIÓN SOCIOPOLÍTICA DE OCEANÍA

En la acción futurista de 1984, el mundo se halla dividido en tres grandes bloques —*Oceania*, *Eastasia* y *Eurasia*— en un estado de guerra permanente. El régimen de gobierno oceánico es un socialismo que ha degenerado en totalitarismo, y al que Goldstein denomina *Oligarchical Collectivism*, esto es, el gobierno de una minoría perteneciente a la misma clase social. De ese modo, y a pesar de que las clases sociales han sido abolidas oficialmente, la diferenciación persiste a través de la jerarquización del aparato del estado, de manera que la función política del grupo determina su localización en la escala social: *Big Brother* ocupa el vértice de la pirámide del estado totalitario; le siguen, en escala sociopolítica descendente, los miembros del Partido Interior, el Partido Exterior y los *proles*,

At the apex of the pyramid comes Big Brother [...] below Big Brother comes the Inner Party, its numbers limited to six millions, or something less than 2 per cent of the population of Oceania. Below the Inner Party comes the Outer Party [...]. Below that come the dumb masses whom we habitually refer to as 'the proles', numbering perhaps 85 per cent of the population [...] not a permanent or necessary part of the structure [...]. (217)

La estructura sociopolítica de la sociedad oceánica se corresponde con una estructura lingüística en la que entran en juego el *Oldspeak*, el *Newspeak* y sus respectivas variantes, y que se estudiará con más detenimiento en los apartados siguientes.

3. SITUACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA DE OCEANÍA

En Oceanía coexisten dos lenguas: el *Oldspeak* en calidad de *lingua franca*, y el *Newspeak* como lengua oficial. En realidad, ambas podrían considerarse variedades de la misma lengua si se tiene en cuenta que la segunda es una lengua artificial creada a partir de la primera. En cualquier caso, y siguiendo los criterios aportados por Holmes (1992: 32), Oceanía vive una situación de diglosia: "Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community, with one regarded as a high (or H) variety and the other a low (or

L) variety [...] each variety is used for quite distinct functions [...] no one uses the H variety in everyday conversation".

Aplicando los criterios anteriores, el *Oldspeak* se corresponde con la variedad baja (L), y el *Newspeak* con la alta (H). El *Newspeak* se utiliza en contextos formales —discursos, artículos de prensa especializada—, y especialmente dentro de los ministerios bajo la forma de jerga burocrática. A pesar de que no se emplea como medio de comunicación exclusivo, es reconocida como lengua de prestigio, ya que se identifica con la minoría que ostenta el poder, y se pretende que sustituya definitivamente al *Oldspeak*. Por el momento, este proceso de desplazamiento o *language shift* (Holmes 1992: 55-70) está en sus comienzos, de modo que el *Oldspeak* es todavía la lengua básica de los medios de comunicación, educación y propaganda. En los actos comunicativos se produce una mezcla de códigos —*code mixing* en términos de Holmes (1992: 41)— debido a la incorporación de vocablos del *Newspeak* al *Oldspeak*. Siguiendo a Fowler et al. (1983: 19), sería posible aplicar al *Newspeak* algunas características del código restringido tal y como lo define Bernstein: simplicidad, limitación en las abstracciones y carencia casi absoluta de valoración y crítica. El *Newspeak* se convierte así en una clase particular de código restringido, diseñado por y (en principio) para la clase gobernante.

4. NEWSPEAK

4.1. ESTATUS

El *Newspeak* es la lengua oficial de Oceanía, aunque resulta ininteligible para todo aquel que no sea miembro del grupo que ostenta el poder. Se trata de una lengua artificial, objeto de constantes reformas a manos de los filólogos del Partido: "The Eleventh Edition is the definitive edition" he said. "We're getting the language into its final shape [...]. When we have finished with it, people like you will have to learn it all over again" (53).

4.2. HABLANTES

En el apéndice de la obra, escrito bajo la perspectiva de un trabajador ortodoxo de los niveles medios del Ministerio de la Verdad se explica que, por el momento, ningún hablante utiliza el *Newspeak* como primera lengua. No obstante, "it was expected that Newspeak would have finally superseded Oldspeak [...] by about the year 2050" (312); además, "by 2050 [...] all real knowledge of Oldspeak will have disappeared" (56). Es decir, se espera que a

mediados del siglo XXI Oceanía se haya convertido en una comunidad monolingüe. Las previsiones dejan fuera a los *proles*, ya que, a pesar de constituir el grueso de la población, "they are not human beings" (56), y por tanto carecen de importancia a efectos políticos, ideológicos y lingüísticos.

4.3. VARIEDADES

Existen dos variedades de *Newspeak*: la variedad estándar, compilada en los diccionarios, y la jerga ministerial, esto es, "the abbreviated jargon [...] consisting largely of Newspeak words, which was used in the Ministry for internal purposes" (40). Esta última es utilizada únicamente por los empleados de los ministerios a efectos administrativos y de comunicación interna, y surge a partir de una serie de transformaciones realizadas sobre el inglés estándar: supresiones (que aportan concisión), sustituciones de términos y reordenación de estructuras. Sus funciones explícitas se corresponden con algunas de las razones apuntadas por Partridge (1972) para el uso de las jergas: brevedad, concisión, privacidad y cualidad de pertenencia a un determinado grupo. Sin embargo, la auténtica función del argot ministerial es la *censura*, ya que por medio de los mensajes así codificados se transmiten las instrucciones de falsificación del pasado para satisfacer las necesidades del presente. Esta función también es considerada por Partridge (1972: 6-7): "to 'prettify', to mask the ugliness [...] to lessen the sting [of the message]",

Even the written instructions [...] never stated or implied that an act of forgery was to be committed: always the reference was to slips, errors, misprints or misquotations. (43)

The work was overwhelming, all the more so because the processes that it involved could not be called by their true names. (190)

De este modo, y paradójicamente, la función de la jerga es ocultar su propia función, de manera que la opacidad de su léxico se convierte en mecanismo de manipulación de la información. Éste es uno de los casos en los que el lenguaje se superpone a la realidad y la controla:

times 3.12.83 reporting bb dayorder doubleplusungood refs
unpersons rewrite fullwise upsup antefiling.

In Oldspeak (or Standard English), this might be rendered:

The reporting of Big Brother's Order for the Day in the Times of December 3rd 1983 is extremely unsatisfactory and makes references to non-existing persons. Re-write it in full and submit your draft to higher authority before filing. (46-47)

4.4. CONTEXTOS DE USO

En el apartado 3 se han citado los principales contextos en donde se emplea el *Newspeak* estándar. Fuera del ámbito oficial, su uso se reduce de momento a la introducción de determinadas palabras en el habla corriente en especial neologismos de tipo ideológico, como *doublethink*, *thoughtcrime* o *crimestop*: "He noticed that she never used Newspeak words except the ones that had passed into everyday use" (138).

4.5. CARACTERÍSTICAS Y FUNCIONES

En cuanto a su origen, "Newspeak was founded on the English language as we now know it" (313). De acuerdo con el apéndice de la novela, la versión del *Newspeak* que se utiliza en 1984 es la compilada en las ediciones novena y décima del diccionario, una versión provisional que contiene aún términos superfluos y arcaicos que serán suprimidos en la undécima edición. Su estructura y funciones se basan en una concepción rudimentaria del determinismo lingüístico, una hipótesis desarrollada en los años treinta por los célebres lingüistas Sapir y Whorf, y que Hudson (1980: 103) define en su versión extremista como la creencia de que el lenguaje da forma al pensamiento, hasta tal punto que las ideas no existen sin el lenguaje. Así se expresa en el siguiente fragmento de la novela: "The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression [...] but to make other modes of thought impossible. When Newspeak has been adopted [...] a heretical thought should be literally unthinkable, at least so far as thought is dependent on words" (312).

El *Newspeak* es objeto de continuas transformaciones, eliminando palabras innecesarias o no deseables, o modificando sus significados. El lenguaje contribuye así a la falsificación de la realidad: el vocabulario se reduce con objeto de mermar las posibilidades del pensamiento y eliminar la vaguedad y los matices. Desaparecida la forma, desaparecen también el concepto y el referente. En palabras de Syme, miembro del equipo de expertos que elaboran los diccionarios: "Don't you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally

impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it” (55). Los rasgos más destacables del *Newspeak* son:

1. Regularidad y simplificación en la flexión y la derivación.
2. Funcionalidad intercambiable de las categorías léxicas: la economía del lenguaje es llevada a su máxima expresión.
3. Empleo de formas abreviadas (sub: subscripción; proles: proletarios; polits: presos políticos). Estas formas son especialmente importantes en la jerga ministerial (bb: Big Brother; ref: reference; doc: document) y contribuyen a su caracterización como lenguaje críptico y secreto.
4. Creación de neologismos por composición o aglutinación, con la finalidad de alterar sutilmente el significado resultante impidiendo ciertas asociaciones no deseadas. Se trata, por tanto, de una forma de eufemismo que, junto con las abreviaturas, otorga al lenguaje el aire de oscuridad, distinción y autoridad que responde a la condición de sus actuales usuarios. Entre los términos eufemísticos se encuentran, por ejemplo, joycamp (“campo de recreo”: campo de trabajos forzados), o los nombres de los cuatro ministerios, Minitrue, Miniplenty, Miniluv y Minipax:

Even the names of the four Ministries by which we are governed exhibit a sort of impudence in their deliberate reversal of the facts. The Ministry of Peace concerns itself with war, the Ministry of Truth with lies, the Ministry of Love with torture and the Ministry of Plenty with starvation. (225)

Los procesos de composición y aglutinación tienen además otros efectos: por una parte, demuestran la arbitrariedad del signo lingüístico al contribuir a la desvinculación entre significantes y significados; por otra, los vocablos así formados adquieren connotaciones nuevas y beneficiosas para el Partido: la aglutinación de elementos en formas como *Ingsoc* o *Minipax* aporta nociones de solidez, coherencia y estabilidad que son extendidas desde las propias palabras al Partido y al sistema.

El resultado de todo este proceso es una lengua concisa y que expresa exactamente sólo aquellas ideas convenientes para el mantenimiento del Partido en el poder: “*Newspeak* is *Ingsoc*, and *Ingsoc* is *Newspeak*” (55).

5. OLDSPEAK

5.1. ESTATUS

Oldspeak es el nombre que recibe en *Newspeak* el inglés estándar: “in *Oldspeak* (or Standard English) this might be rendered [...]” (46). Se trata de una lengua natural que posee hablantes nativos. Aplicando la definición de Holmes (1992: 80) para las lenguas vernáculas, “a language [...] which does not have official status [...] the first language of a group socially or politically dominated by a group with a different language”, se podría calificar al *Oldspeak* como lengua vernácula, puesto que se trata de la primera lengua de un grupo (el Partido) que se encuentra dominado por un subgrupo (el Partido Interior), el cual trata de imponer una lengua distinta, el *Newspeak*, con la que se identifica y que disfruta de la condición de lengua oficial: “English is its chief lingua franca and *Newspeak* its official language” (217).

Por otra parte, y como se menciona en la cita anterior, el *Oldspeak* funciona también como *lingua franca*, esto es, “a language serving as regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community” (Holmes 1992: 86). Al hablar de la situación política de la novela, se mencionó la división del mundo en tres superestados, uno de los cuales es Oceanía: “Oceania comprises the Americas, the Atlantic islands including the British Isles, Australasia and the southern portion of Africa” (193). Se trata, por tanto, de un estado multilingüe que necesita una lengua común para la comunicación entre sus miembros. La elección del *Oldspeak* se debe, entre otros factores, al hecho de que ésta era la lengua nacional y oficial en la mayor parte de los antiguos estados de Oceanía, y también al poder político y económico de dichos estados.

Dado que la acción de 1984 se desarrolla en Londres, la descripción de usos y características del *Oldspeak* se limitará a una situación espacial concreta. No se estudiará, por tanto, como *lingua franca* sino como primera lengua de la población.

5.2. HABLANTES

Todos los personajes que aparecen en 1984 utilizan el *Oldspeak* en sus actos comunicativos, aunque se trate de distintas variedades. No existe ninguna restricción de sexo o edad, pero la posición socioeconómica determina la variedad de *Oldspeak* utilizada.³ Se observa, sin embargo, que el grado de filtrado del *Newspeak* en el *Oldspeak* es mayor cuanto menores son los

hablantes, dado que la política lingüística del *Newspeak* contempla su introducción sistemática en todos los campos, incluyendo la educación y la propaganda, ante la que los jóvenes resultan especialmente vulnerables. El resultado es no sólo un aumento de los términos del *Newspeak* introducidos en los enunciados en *Oldspeak*, sino la internalización de dichos términos y del aparato ideológico que se oculta tras ellos. De este modo, los niños y los jóvenes (especialmente mujeres, atraídas por las promesas de igualdad e independencia del Partido) se suman a los miembros del Partido Interior) en su fanática defensa del régimen:

It was always the women, and above all the young ones, who were the most bigoted adherents of the Party, the swallowers of slogans, the amateur spies and nosers-out of unorthodoxy. (12)

Nearly all children nowadays were horrible [...] they adored the Party and everything connected with it. The songs, the processions, the banners, the hiking, the drilling with dummy rifles, the yelling of slogans, the worship of Big Brother —it was all a sort of glorious game to them. (26)

A la espera de la imposición definitiva del *Newspeak*, el *Oldspeak* asume de manera transitoria la función de control del individuo, y su poder se ejerce sobre los miembros más maleables de la sociedad: los jóvenes, que al carecer del *no deseable* bagaje del pasado que poseen los adultos se encuentran desprotegidos ante la avalancha de propaganda, canciones, desfiles y promesas de gloria y de victoria en un mundo ideal. Se convierten así en esclavos inconscientes al servicio del Partido. Por otra parte, el ascenso en la escala sociopolítica determina también el empleo de más términos del *Newspeak* en el habla cotidiana. A medida que los hablantes aumentan su edad y descienden en la pirámide social y en la escala de poder político y adquisitivo, el uso del *Oldspeak* se vuelve sistemático, hasta tal punto que los *proles* adultos, que se comunican en *substandard Oldspeak*, no utilizan ningún término del *Newspeak*.

5.3. VARIEDADES

5.3.1. OLDSPEAK ESTÁNDAR (STANDARD ENGLISH)

En estos momentos es la variedad utilizada por toda la sociedad a juicio del Partido, ya que los *proles* no se consideran parte de la misma. Abarca, por

tanto, al líder (*Big Brother*) al Enemigo del Pueblo, Emmanuel Goldstein, al Partido Interior (representado, por ejemplo, por O'Brien), y al Partido Exterior, al que pertenecen los personajes principales (Winston y Julia) y todos los que les rodean: amigos, vecinos y compañeros de trabajo (los Parson, Syme, Ampleforth, etc.). El registro se mueve entre formal e informal, dependiendo del grado de confianza de los hablantes y de la situación. El registro informal —ejemplos⁴ (1) y (2)— incluye términos afectivos (*old boy*), contracciones, extraposiciones enfáticas (*two dollars*) y vocabulario o expresiones específicas (*stuff, I tell you, bloody, a bit*):

(1) 'Look at him working away in the lunch hour,' said Parsons [...] 'What's that you've got here, *old boy*? Something *a bit* too brainy for me [...] *I tell you*, it *won't* be my fault [...] *Two dollars* you promised me'. (59)

(2) 'games, community hikes —all that *stuff* [...]. *It's* this *bloody* thing that does it,' she said. (127)

El registro formal es empleado normalmente por los miembros del Partido Interior, aún en los contextos de mayor intimidad, y recurre a los circunloquios, la voz pasiva, tiempos verbales compuestos y continuos, palabras largas de origen latino y ausencia de contracciones:

(3) O'Brien [...] began speaking with the peculiar grave courtesy that differentiated him from the majority of Inner Party members. 'I *had been hoping* for an opportunity of talking to you [...]. The tenth edition is not *due to* appear for some months, I believe. But a few advance copies *have been circulated*'. (164-165)

(4) 'I think *it is fitting* that we should begin by drinking a health'. (178)

Se asume que la pronunciación de estos personajes es la llamada *RP* (*Received Pronunciation*), es decir, la pronunciación estándar, en contraste con los *proles*, que exhiben el denominado *cockney accent* característico de la clase trabajadora londinense, y que el autor reproduce en los diálogos. Un caso particular es el del señor Charrington, que actúa de puente entre Winston y el mundo de los *proles*. En realidad se trata de un espía de la Policía del Pensamiento, que incorpora como parte de su disfraz de *prole* el empleo de un inglés marcadamente coloquial —repetición enfática de sujetos en posición

final, escisión de infinitivos— y el acento *cockney*, que en su caso no aparece reflejado tipográficamente,

(5) 'That's coral, *that is* [...]. They used *to* kind of *embed* it in the glass'. (99)

(6) Something had also changed in Mr Charrington's appearance... The *cockney* accent had disappeared. (233)

5.3.2. OLDSPEAK NO ESTÁNDAR (SUBSTANDARD ENGLISH)

Es la variedad utilizada por los *proles*, que constituyen un mundo aparte dentro de la sociedad oceánica. En la novela aparecen representados, entre otros, por el dueño de la taberna y sus clientes (7), el anciano que habla con Winston (8), la *prole* que canta mientras tiende la ropa (9) y la mujer que Winston conoce en la cárcel (10):

(7) 'Can't you bleeding well listen to what I say? I tell you *no* number ending in seven *ain't* won for over fourteen months!' 'Yes it 'as, then!' 'No, it 'as not! Back 'ome I got the 'ole lot of 'em for over two years'. (88)

(8) 'Ark at 'im! Calls 'isself a barman and *don't* know what a pint is!' [...] 'I likes a pint', persisted the old man [...]. 'A 'alf-litre *ain't* enough. It *don't* satisfy'. (91-92)

(9) She was singing in a powerful contralto:
It was only an 'opeless fancy,
It passed like an Ipril dye,
But a look an' a word an' the dreams they stirred
They 'ave stolen my 'eart awye! (144)

(10) 'Beg pardon, dearie', she said. 'I wouldn't 'a sat on you [...]. They dono 'ow to treat a lady [...]. Wass your name, dearie?' (239)

Las siguientes observaciones acerca del acento *cockney* y del inglés no estándar se basan en las aportaciones de Hughes y Trudgill (1979), Gimson (1989) y Wells (1990). Como se desprende de los ejemplos, el autor reproduce tipográficamente ciertos rasgos del *cockney*, ya sea mediante apóstrofes —por ejemplo, la ausencia del fonema /h/ ('as: has, 'ole: hole,

'eart: heart), o el empleo frecuente del alófono plosivo glotal [ʔ] ('em: them, reg'lar: regular)—, o recurriendo a la ortografía, como en la realización del fonema vocálico /ʌ/ como /æ/ —"I was jest [just] thinking" (93)—, o en la del diptongo /ei/ como [ai]: dye, awye, en lugar de day, away —véase ejemplo (9). Enumero a continuación otras características de las variedades no estándar que también aparecen en los enunciados de los personajes:

1. La utilización de la forma *ain't* en lugar de *aren't*, *hasn't* —ejemplos (7) y (8).

2. La extensión de la desinencia de 3ª persona singular -s a otras personas ("I takes"), o su supresión en la 3ª persona: "Calls [...] and *don't* [doesn't] know", ejemplo (8).

3. La formación de ciertos pronombres reflexivos a partir de los pronombres posesivos en lugar de los pronombres objeto (*hisself* en lugar de *himself*), ejemplo (8).

4. La utilización de la forma *done* en lugar de *did* para el pasado simple: "I *done* it often enough" (95).

5. El pronombre objeto *them* sustituye al demostrativo *those*: "I was young in *them* days" (95).

6. La negación múltiple: "You *ain't never* well" (96).

7. La ausencia de marcas de plural después de los numerales: "I *ain't* 'ad a woman for near on thirty year" (96).

No es ésta la única obra en la que el autor recurre al *cockney* como rasgo caracterizador de un grupo social; Rodríguez González (1991: 17) considera que esto se debe a su interés por las diferencias de clase, su filosofía izquierdista e igualitaria y su simpatía hacia los grupos oprimidos. Dicho interés explica asimismo la inclusión de términos de *slang* (jerga), que refuerzan la marginalidad que caracteriza al mencionado grupo social.

En la obra que nos ocupa, los *proles* representan a la clase obrera londinense, unificada bajo el empleo del acento *cockney* con sus consiguientes connotaciones discriminatorias. Hay que considerar, sin embargo, que de acuerdo con la novela la única esperanza de cambio reside precisamente en ellos, psicológicamente *libres* y por tanto todavía humanos: "If there was hope, it must lie in the *proles*, because only there, in those swarming disregarded masses [...] could the force to destroy the Party ever be generated" (72). Es por ello que todos los rasgos que dan unidad al grupo, incluidos los lingüísticos, pierden sus connotaciones desprestigiadoras, convirtiéndose únicamente en rasgos diferenciales y hasta cierto punto positivos, en tanto que representan a un colectivo que constituye el último reducto de humanidad en la novela.

5.4. CONTEXTOS DE USO

En estos momentos el *Oldspeak* es todavía la lengua de comunicación por excelencia: se utiliza en la política (discursos, lemas, boletines), la educación (libros de texto) y los medios de comunicación (prensa, panfletos, cartas prefabricadas, música, novelas, cine, radio, televisión, etc.), así como en el habla corriente, en contextos familiares e íntimos. De entre estas situaciones he seleccionado aquellas en donde el lenguaje se manifiesta de manera más clara como instrumento de manipulación psicológica, así como de perpetuación de una situación de ignorancia que beneficia a los intereses de la minoría gobernante.

5.4.1. MEDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN Y ENTRETENIMIENTO

Ya con anterioridad a la Revolución, los medios de comunicación se encontraban sometidos a la censura con objeto de eliminar toda idea peligrosa para el grupo de poder: "The invention of print [...] made it easier to manipulate public opinion, and the film and the radio carried the process further" (214). Bajo el régimen totalitario del Partido, el Ministerio de la Verdad monopoliza el intercambio de información y asume las tareas de censura y falsificación de la realidad en todos los campos que supongan un contacto con el público. A esta manipulación se suma un proceso de automatización que conduce a la uniformidad de opinión y a una beneficiosa rutina de ideas y expresiones:

Sentimental songs which were composed entirely by mechanical means on a special kind of kaleidoscope known as 'versificator'. (46)

By a routine that was not even secret, all letters were opened [...]. For the messages that it was occasionally necessary to send, there were printed postcards with long lists of phrases, and you struck out the ones that were inapplicable. (116)

The novel-writing machines in the Fiction Department [...]. 'What are these books like?' [...] 'Oh, ghastly rubbish [...] they only have six plots'. (136-137)

With all other channels of communication closed [...] complete uniformity of opinion on all subjects now existed. (214)

El lenguaje de la música se emplea como catalizador de sentimientos en la llamada *Hate Song*, la canción de la Semana del Odio, cuya finalidad es la de sumir a la población en un estado de fanático patriotismo y rechazo a los enemigos del régimen. Incluso el libro herético de Goldstein, escrito en *Oldspeak*, no es sino una trampa del Partido Interior para manipular la conciencia de Winston y posteriormente detenerlo y convertirlo.

5.4.2. PUBLICIDAD

El Partido ejerce un control absoluto sobre la oferta de los bienes de consumo: las marcas de los productos se han reducido a una, cuyo nombre responde también a la necesidad de imponer en la población un estado psicológico favorable hacia las actividades del Partido: *Victory* ("Victoria"), denominación que se extiende desde los productos (*Victory Gin*, *Victory Cigarettes*, *Victory Coffee*) a las calles y los edificios (*Victory Mansions*, *Victory Square*).

5.4.3. EDUCACIÓN

Canciones, desfiles, lemas y libros de texto editados por el Partido contribuyen a la manipulación de la conciencia de niños y jóvenes. Organizaciones como la Liga Juvenil o los Espías colaboran en el mantenimiento de la ortodoxia mental:

By the rubbish that was dinned into them at school and in the Spies and the Youth League, by lectures, parades, songs, slogans and martial music, the natural feeling had been driven out of them. (71)

He took out of the drawer a copy of a children's history textbook [...]. 'In the old days before the glorious Revolution, London was not the beautiful city that we know today' [...] (75)

Se enseña también a odiar todo lo foráneo, y el aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras está prohibido, ya que la incomunicación es necesaria para preservar la ignorancia y la inconsciencia,

The average citizen of Oceania never sets eyes on a citizen of either Eurasia or Eastasia, and he is forbidden the knowledge of foreign languages. If he were allowed contact with foreigners he would discover that they are creatures similar to himself and that most of what he has been told about them is lies. (204)

5.4.4. POLÍTICA

A este subapartado pertenecen dos de las manifestaciones más evidentes del *Oldspeak* como elemento de manipulación discursos y comunicados oficiales. He aquí un ejemplo del grado de control psicológico que ejerce un orador del Partido Interior.

His voice boomed forth [...] an endless catalogue of atrocities [...]. It was almost impossible to listen to him without being first convinced and then maddened [...] a scrap of paper was slipped into the speaker's hand [...]. Nothing altered in his voice or manner, or in the content of what he was saying, but suddenly the names were different [...]. Oceania was at war with Eastasia [...]. The Hate continued exactly as before, except that the target had been changed. (188-189)

En los comunicados de los ministerios se destaca como recurso para enmascarar la realidad el empleo de eufemismos y expresiones retóricas que, según señala Rodríguez González (1991: 43-58), caracterizan al lenguaje político: "The phrase 'our new, happy life' recurred several times. It had been a favourite of late with the Ministry of Plenty" (61).

También pueden incluirse en este subapartado los nombres "oficiales" de los personajes: Winston Smith es para el Partido *6079 Smith W*, y el preso Bumpstead, *2713 Bumpstead J*. Los números eliminan las diferencias sociales, económicas y personales, y aportan connotaciones deshumanizadoras, todo ello una vez más de acuerdo con los intereses del Partido.

5.4.5. EL HABLA CORRIENTE

El empleo más significativo del *Oldspeak* como instrumento de control y nivelación social tiene lugar en las fórmulas de tratamiento. Como señala Rodríguez González (1991: 20-36), en consonancia con la filosofía supuestamente igualitaria del régimen, el término *comrade* ("camarada") es utilizado como símbolo de solidaridad, sustituyendo a cualquier otro que recuerde el viejo orden basado en postulados de desigualdad (*Sir*, *Mrs*, etc.). De este modo se neutralizan las diferencias de edad y posición social:

'Mrs' was a word somewhat discountenanced by the Party —you were supposed to call everyone comrade. (22)

In the old days [...] when any ordinary person spoke to a capitalist, he had to [...] take off his cap and address him as 'Sir'. (76)

La uniformidad expresiva se vuelve deshumanizadora cuando incluso palabras como *friend* o *woman* son reemplazadas por *comrade*.

It was his friend Syme [...]. Perhaps friend was not exactly the right word. You did not have friends nowadays, you had comrades. (51)

In this room I am going to be a woman, not a Party comrade. (149)

Especial mención merece también el término *Brother*, con las mismas connotaciones solidarias pero que en realidad enmascara de manera eufemística el concepto de "dictador".

5.5. CARACTERÍSTICAS Y FUNCIONES

Además de desempeñar las funciones ya citadas de manipulación psicológica, nivelación social y catalización de sentimientos, el *Oldspeak* estándar se utiliza en ocasiones como símbolo de rebeldía y disconformidad con el Partido: "Julia, however, seemed unable to mention the Party, and specially the Inner Party, without using the kind of words that you saw chalked up in dripping alleyways [...]. It was merely one symptom of her revolt against the Party" (128-129).

Por otra parte, tanto el *Oldspeak* estándar como el no estándar cumplen de manera involuntaria otra función: la de ser *símbolos de una forma de vida anterior*. Frente al *Newspeak*, que representa una nueva vida y una nueva sociedad, el *Oldspeak* se mantiene como puente entre pasado y presente, pero ante todo como reliquia del pasado:

The old man brightened again.
'Lackeys!' he said. 'Now there's a word I ain't 'eard since ever so long. Lackeys! That reg'lar takes me back, that does [...]. *Lackies of the bourgeoisie! Flunkies of the ruling class! Parasites* —that was another of them. And 'yenas —'e def'nitely called 'em 'yenas' [...].

'In the old days, the people at the top—'
'The 'Ouse of Lords', put in the old man reminiscently. (93-94)

Su futuro es convertirse en patrimonio de los *proles*, quizá para entonces los únicos guardianes de la memoria colectiva,

'Has it ever occurred to you, Winston, that by the year 2050 [...] not a single human being will be alive who could understand such a conversation as we are having now?'
'Except—' began Winston doubtfully [...]. It had been on the tip of his tongue to say 'Except the proles'. (55-56)

Un ejemplo interesante del *Oldspeak* como símbolo del pasado la canción popular que Winston va completando poco a poco con la ayuda de los recuerdos de otros personajes: el supuesto *prole* Charrington, Julia y el propio O'Brien: "'Oranges and Lemons', say the bells of St Clement's [...]" (102, 153, 186). Los últimos versos se repiten en el momento de la detención de Winston ("Here comes a chopper to chop off your head" (231)), y simbolizan el destino que le aguarda: su delito mental ha sido recordar.

Con respecto a las características del *Oldspeak*, merece especial mención el empleo de los siguientes mecanismos de control: eufemismos, disfemismos, circunloquios, polisemia, neologismos semánticos y antífrasis.

5.5.1. EUFEMISMOS

Rodríguez González (1991: 43) define el eufemismo como "una expresión ornamentada que contribuye a ocultar u oscurecer deliberadamente la realidad que se esconde tras ella". En este caso, su objetivo son aquellas áreas o conceptos más o menos dependientes del poder y cuyo conocimiento resulta inconveniente o desagradable. Este recurso se utiliza de manera sistemática a lo largo de la novela: por ejemplo, *vaporized* ("evaporado") es el término que se aplica a los desaparecidos como consecuencia de algún delito mental, y la tarea de falsificación que se lleva a cabo en el Ministerio de la Verdad se denomina *rectification* o *readjustment*.

5.5.2. DISFEMISMOS

El disfemismo supone la elección de términos con significado negativo que implican una peyorización del referente. Su finalidad en el ámbito político es denostar y desprestigiar al adversario. Los apelativos dirigidos al ejército eurasiático, a Goldstein y a la Hermandad resultan efectivamente denigrantes (Enemigo del Pueblo, herejes, traidores, violadores, mentirosos), y responden a la estrategia de la denuncia del mal ajeno para revelar el bien propio.

5.5.3. CIRCUNLOQUIOS

La retórica empleada en los comunicados y boletines de los ministerios tiene como finalidad mostrar a la opinión pública un perfil favorable de la labor realizada desde el gobierno que justifique y perpetúe el ejercicio del poder. La sintaxis deliberadamente compleja y la elección de un vocabulario altisonante, hiperbólico y vacío contribuyen a la ocultación o a la desfiguración de la realidad de acuerdo con los intereses del Partido. De esta manera anuncia el Ministerio de la Abundancia un aumento del nivel de vida cuando en realidad las raciones han disminuido:

'Attention, comrades! We have glorious news for you. We have won the battle for production! [...] The standard of living has risen by no less than 20 per cent over the past year. All over Oceania this morning there were irrepressible spontaneous demonstrations [...] with banners voicing their gratitude to Big Brother for the new, happy life which his wise leadership has bestowed upon us'. (61)

También el Ministerio de la Guerra comunica victorias completas y definitivas en una guerra que siempre parece a punto de terminar pero que nunca lo hará, ya que con ello peligraría la permanencia del Partido en el poder:

Fragments of triumphant phrases [...] 'Vast strategic manoeuvre – perfect co-ordination – utter rout – half a million prisoners – complete demoralisation – control of the whole of Africa – bring the war within measurable distance of its end – victory – greatest victory in human history – victory, victory, victory!'. (310)

5.5.4. POLISEMIAS, NEOLOGISMOS SEMÁNTICOS Y ANTÍFRASIS

Ciertas palabras son objeto de una distorsión de su significado, de tal forma que, o bien es sustituido por otro (neologismo semántico), o bien se degenera y oscurece al dar cabida a acepciones diversas (polisemia) e incluso contrapuestas (antífrasis). Términos como *free* o *equal* se desvinculan de los conceptos "intellectually free" y "politically equal", los cuales desaparecen. Algunas palabras de *Newspeak* se utilizan con significados opuestos según los contextos: *duckspeak* (esto es, hablar sin ser consciente de lo que se dice) puede ser una alabanza o un insulto dependiendo de la opinión que se exprese.

Slavery y *War* invierten su significado al hacerse equivalentes a sus opuestos ("Freedom is Slavery, War is Peace"). La inversión del significado de las palabras es un caso extremo de eufemismo, y se lleva a cabo tanto en *Newspeak* como en *Oldspeak*, por ejemplo, en los nombres de los ministerios. Como señala Goldstein en su libro herético, las contradicciones son necesarias para el mantenimiento del sistema: "The official ideology abounds with contradictions [...] they are deliberate exercises of doublethink. For it is only by reconciling contradictions that power can be retained indefinitely" (225).

6. PLANIFICACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA EN OCEANÍA

Este apartado se centra en las previsiones formuladas por el equipo de lingüistas del Partido con respecto a las dos lenguas estudiadas. Como ya se ha mencionado, los expertos calculan que el *Newspeak* habrá reemplazado por completo al *Oldspeak* hacia el año 2050. Mientras tanto, y como paso previo a esta sustitución, los testimonios escritos del *Oldspeak* están siendo sometidos a un proceso de traducción que se espera finalice entre el año 2010 y el 2020. Se trata de una tarea larga y complicada, que implica una traducción ideológica a la vez que lingüística, puesto que el *Newspeak* no es sólo una lengua, sino también una forma especial de percibir la realidad,

History had already been rewritten, but fragments of the literature of the past survived here and there [...] a full translation could only be an ideological translation [...] a good deal of the literature of the past was, indeed, already being transformed in this way [...]. Various writers, such as Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Byron, Dickens and some others were therefore in process of translation. (324-325)

Anteriormente se ha calificado al *Newspeak* como lengua oficial de Oceanía; en palabras de Holmes (1992: 105), "a language that may be used for government business". Aunque la distinción entre lengua oficial y lengua nacional no se realiza de forma consistente, ya que depende de la situación lingüística de los países y de sus gobiernos, puede decirse que en 1984 las previsiones apuntan a que el *Newspeak* se convierta en lengua nacional, una vez establecida como lengua única de Oceanía. En este caso entiendo por lengua nacional la lengua que se erige como símbolo de una comunidad política, social y culturalmente consolidada (es decir, lo que se espera que sea Oceanía en un futuro). Una nación unida bajo una lengua es el ideal del

Partido, puesto que supondría su afincamiento definitivo en el poder y, por tanto, el mantenimiento indefinido de una estructura social, política y económica basada en el sistema de pensamiento al que da forma esa misma lengua.

Los planes lingüísticos del Partido pretenden elevar al *Newspeak* a la categoría de lengua nacional y oficial a la vez, y para ello se están siguiendo los pasos descritos por Holmes (1992: 112):

1. Selección de la variedad (generalmente, es una decisión de tipo político: en 1984 el *Newspeak* es la lengua que representa ideológicamente a la minoría gobernante).

2. Codificación y estandarización (en este caso, por medio de los diccionarios).

3. Extensión de sus funciones para utilizarla en nuevos campos.

4. Asegurar la aceptación de los hablantes y su actitud positiva ante la variedad elegida. En la novela, los creadores del *Newspeak* (los expertos del Partido Interior son los que la extienden como lengua de prestigio y exhortan a los hablantes a utilizarla).

Con respecto a la codificación del *Newspeak* en los diccionarios, todas las iniciativas de reforma son atribuidas al Gran Hermano y desarrolladas por un equipo de filólogos. De este modo tiene lugar un hecho interesante: en lugar de que los diccionarios reflejen los cambios que los hablantes introducen en la lengua, es la propia lengua la que surge de los diccionarios para ser aprendida por los hablantes.

En estos momentos, el *Oldspeak* se encuentra en un proceso de desplazamiento que se espera culmine con su definitiva desaparición —*language loss* en términos de Holmes (1992). No obstante, el *Oldspeak* está destinado a convertirse en patrimonio exclusivo de los *proles*, que quedan fuera de la planificación lingüística del Partido, y esto sugiere que la lengua no llegará a morir mientras ellos la sigan utilizando. Si las previsiones llegaran a cumplirse, en el año 2050 el *Oldspeak* habría añadido a su calidad de lengua la de *símbolo* sería el símbolo de un pasado (anterior a la Revolución), de una clase social (los *proles*), e incluso de una ideología, si todavía existiese alguna resistencia al Partido. Además, curiosamente, continuaría siendo la lengua mayoritaria de la población, aunque se trate de una población que, según el Partido, carece de papel político, de poder económico y de estatus social.

7. CONCLUSIÓN

En la sociedad futurista propuesta por Orwell se funden una serie de realidades, posibilidades y utopías. Es indudable que el lenguaje resulta un poderoso instrumento de control psicológico, especialmente visible en la práctica política y en los medios de comunicación. La distorsión de la realidad y la evasión del conocimiento no deseado son estrategias de manipulación utilizadas por todas las lenguas en mayor o menor medida, y aceptadas de forma más o menos consciente por sus hablantes. También es un hecho verificable fuera de la novela el papel que desempeña el lenguaje en la consolidación y perpetuación de las estructuras sociales, así como su utilidad para evitar lo desagradable o para conseguir la tranquilidad psicológica o el control político a costa de la distorsión de la realidad. No obstante, y a pesar del pesimismo del autor, la subsistencia de los *proles* y su sugerida perpetuación representan en la novela la semilla del fracaso del régimen. Finalmente, por lo que respecta al futuro monolingüe de Oceanía, resulta difícilmente viable: si bien es cierto que las lenguas se mezclan, superponen o incluso desaparecen, nunca podría llegarse a los extremos de anulación previstos en la novela, especialmente porque las lenguas son creaciones del hombre, que aportan identidad a las comunidades que las utilizan. Eliminar la variedad lingüística sería lo mismo que eliminar a los seres humanos, ya que también se estaría eliminando la diversidad que los caracteriza.

En 1984, el lenguaje es una criatura que se vuelve contra su creador y se escapa a su control: los miembros del Partido Interior son sus primeras víctimas, y una vez que el *Newspeak* consiga controlar por completo sus mentes, el sentimiento y la espontaneidad habrán dejado de existir, y con ellos el último reducto de humanidad. Ante un panorama tan desolador, no podemos olvidar que 1984 es, ante todo, ficción, aunque se trate de una ficción tremendamente aleccionadora. A pesar de que, por fortuna, la realidad no va a llegar a esos extremos, sabemos que la interacción de lengua y pensamiento es inevitable, y que el lenguaje no podrá nunca dejar de ejercer una cierta influencia sobre quienes lo utilizan. Lo importante es recordar que una lengua es un arma de doble filo, susceptible de ser controlada pero también capaz de controlar. Si la sociedad oceánica hubiera llegado a percatarse de esto, el futuro de 1984 habría sido, sin duda, mucho más halagüeño. 

NOTAS

¹ La investigación llevada a cabo para elaborar el presente artículo ha sido financiada por la Xunta de Galicia (XUGA 20401A97).

² De aquí en adelante, 1984 se utilizará como abreviatura de *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Por otra parte, en las citas y ejemplos figurará entre paréntesis el número de página correspondiente a la edición manejada (1989).

³ El inglés hablado por los *proles* entraría en la categoría de *substandard*, mientras que el utilizado por los miembros del Partido es el que realmente recibe el nombre de *Oldspeak* o *standard English*. No obstante, a efectos descriptivos y dado que se trata de la misma lengua, dichas variedades se denominarán en el presente análisis *substandard Oldspeak* (*Oldspeak* no estándar) y *standard Oldspeak* (*Oldspeak* estándar).

⁴ En todos los ejemplos, el énfasis (en cursiva) es mío.

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THAT/ ZERO VARIATION IN PRIVATE LETTERS AND DRAMA (1420-1710): A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH



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I. INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the variation of the commonest complementisers in English —*that* and *zero*— in two informal registers,¹ namely drama and private letters, the former being the more informal of the two. The aim of this study is to see how *that* and *zero* behave in these registers over the particular period that has been selected, and what determinants favour the selection of one over the other. An attempt will be made to see, then, to what extent different factors, both extralinguistic and intralinguistic, have an influence on the choice of the complementiser.

The period that I have chosen to study goes from 1420-1710. It includes the last eighty years of the Middle English period (henceforth ME), from 1420 to 1500, and the whole of the early Modern English period (henceforth eModE), as delimited in The Helsinki Corpus, from 1500 to 1710.

It is generally acknowledged that in Old English (henceforth OE) and early ME, *that* is the predominant complementiser, while *zero* only appears in isolated instances (Mitchell 1985: §1976ff; Rissanen 1991: 277-278; Traugott 1992: 236). In late ME (henceforth lME), the situation changes in this respect because *zero* starts to become of more frequent use and gains ground progressively (Warner 1982: 169-170; Rissanen 1991: 278-280; Fischer 1992: 313). The rapid increase of the use of *zero* as a complementiser, started in the previous stage (late ME) continues in the next stage, eModE, when it becomes very common (Fanego 1990: 142ff; Rissanen 1991: 279; López Couso 1996: 272). Finally, in the next period



that connects with present-day English (henceforth PDE), the rapid progression of *zero* suddenly stops and *that* seems to be favoured again, although in colloquial style *zero* is still maintained as the unmarked link (McDavid 1964: 104ff; Elsness 1982: 6ff; Elsness 1984: 521; Rissanen 1991: 285-286; Finegan and Biber 1995: 247-248).

The corpus singled out for this study has been drawn from *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal* (Rissanen et al. 1991), compiled at the English Department of the University of Helsinki. A limited sample of approximately 20,000 words has been selected, from private letters and drama, both types of texts that belong to the very bottom of a cline from more formal to less formal (or more informal), drama occupying an even lower position on the scale than private letters. The letters examined have been written by both men and women belonging to the same circles of correspondence. Approximately 2,500 words have been chosen from four different circles of correspondence, each of them matching chronologically with the four subperiods under study.² Accordingly, the first sample of letters, representative of ME4, belongs to the group of the *Paston Letters* and evidence from two men and one woman has been singled out. The second sample, corresponding to eModE1, belongs to the circle of the *Plumpton Letters*, the letter-writers being two women and two men. The next sample is from the *Barrington Letters* (eModE2) written by two women and two men. Finally, the last sample belongs to the *Oxinden* circle (eModE3) of correspondence written by a man and a woman.

An attempt was made to avoid verse in the analysed corpus as the selection of the complementiser in poetic works can be biased for metrical or prosodic reasons. However, due to the unavailability of dramatic prose texts for the last sub-period of ME and the very first sub-period of eModE in the Helsinki Corpus (Rissanen 1986: 99), use was made of some fragments in verse of a mystery play belonging to *The York Plays* and Nicholas Udall's comedy *Roister Doister*. The other two plays that the corpus includes are fragments in prose, taken from Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and, finally, Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*. As in letters, approximately 2,500 words have been selected from each of the plays, corresponding to each of the subperiods included in our study.

2. COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE CORPUS

The number of complement constructions introduced by the two major complementisers —the complementisers we are interested in— amounts to 261 in both genres. The following table (Table 1) shows how they are distributed, according to genre and to complementiser:

Table 1: *That* and *zero* overall distribution

	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>	TOTAL
LETTERS	102 (53.1%)	90 (46.9%)	192 (73.6%)
DRAMA	25 (36.2%)	44 (63.8%)	69 (26.4%)
TOTAL	127 (48.7%)	134 (51.3%)	261

As can be seen in the table, the sample of complement clauses in the drama section has turned out to be exceptionally low, lower than we had expected *a priori*. Due to the scarcity of examples in drama as compared to letters, the source of exemplification throughout the paper will be mainly letters. We will draw on examples from drama when available.

As had been expected with such styles —informal—, *zero* is more frequent than *that* in the corpus (51.3% vs. 48.7% respectively). What is more surprising is that the difference between the two complementisers is not so outstanding as had been expected, particularly bearing in mind that both styles are informal. As can be seen from the table above, *that* is even more frequent than *zero* in private letters (cf. López Couso, 1996: 275). The tendency is inverted though as far as drama is concerned, perhaps because drama is on the borderline of colloquial spoken language (Rissanen 1986: 99-100). Here a predominance of *zero* is observed, although admittedly that the percentage is not very high (cf. Fanego 1990: 5; López Couso 1996: 275).

It should be remembered that a long time span is involved —three centuries— and accordingly a table with the distribution of the two complementisers in terms of the diachronic survey above would not be out of place to see whether, in fact, a clear increase of *zero* is shown:

Table 2: *That / Zero* in different sub-periods³

	LETTERS		TOTAL
	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>	
ME4	44 (57.9%)	32 (42.1%)	76
EModE1	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)	21
EModE2	6 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)	27
EModE3	4 (17.4%)	19 (82.6%)	23
TOTAL	69 (46.9%)	78 (53.1%)	147

	DRAMA		TOTAL
	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>	
ME4	8 (100%)	-	8
EModE1	3 (16.7%)	15 (83.3%)	18
EModE2	1 (5.6%)	17 (94.5%)	18
EModE3	8 (47%)	9 (53%)	17
TOTAL	20 (32.8%)	41 (67.2%)	61

The increase of *zero* is noticeable if the earliest period under study (ME4) is compared with the latest one (EModE3), thus confirming the tradition.

Our overall count includes not only complement clauses introduced by a verbal predicate —both subject (V SUCL) and-object clauses (V OBJCL)— but also complement clauses depending on a noun (NOUNCL) or an adjective (ADJCL), as a variation —although a lesser one— has also been observed in such syntactic patterns.

The following table shows the distribution of the two complementisers at competence in the most frequent syntactic structures:⁴

Table 3: *That / zero* distribution in different syntactic structures

	(it) V SUCL		V OBJCL		V OI OBJCL		ADJCL.		NOUNCL.	
	T	Z	T	Z	T	Z	T	Z	That	Zero
LETTERS	4	4	46	70	23	8	9	6	18	2
DRAMA	1	-	18	33	2	8	-	3	4	-
TOTAL	5	4	64	103	25	16	9	9	22	2
%	1.	1.6	24.7	39.	9.6	6.2	3.5	3.5	8.5	0.7
	9		8							
	9		167		41		18		24	
	(3.5%)		(64.5%)		(15.8%)		(7%)		(9.2%)	

Coordinate clauses have also been taken into account, but only when the subject and the predicate were explicit in second conjoin of the coordinate

construction. Cases such as the one in the following example have counted as two complement clauses, the first with the complementiser *that* and the second with the complementiser *zero* (parenthesis are mine):

(1) certyfyng þow þat I haue spok wyth John Rwsse, and (certyfyng þow) Playter spak wyth him bothe, on Fryday be-fore Seynt Barthelmw. (1461, *Paston Letters*, LET. 116)

On the other hand, cases in which the subject of the second conjoin was omitted for reasons of coreferentiality or the like have been left out, such as the second conjoin of the following coordinate structure (in bold type):

(2) I am very glad you have overcom your pashon **and will see Mr Willyans**. (1629, *Barrington Letters*, LET. 49)

A number of dubious examples have also been excluded, among them comment clauses, such as that in (3) below, in which it was not clear whether a relation of dependence as in ordinary complement clauses obtained or, rather, a more parenthetical one. Notice how in this particular case, the sentence-medial position that the sequence *I beleeeve* occupies also proves that it is a comment clause. Moreover, the intonational contour of the clause in bold type is somehow marked with respect to the rest of the clause (cf. PDE):

(3) It cost Mr Cater **I beleeeve** above three pound. (1665/6, *Oxinden Letters*, LET. CXCVI)

Complement clauses with the following structure

NP₁ VP NP₂ VP

have also been left out. Such clauses were indeterminate between finite complement clauses with *zero* complementiser and non-finite complement clauses, at a time when the regularisation of *to*-infinitives or un-introduced infinitives (bare infinitives) had not yet been achieved (Fanego 1992: 30ff). In my corpus, a few examples with these characteristics have been found. In all of them, the NP₂ was a personal pronoun, and according to Fanego, "...a light NP₂ consisting of only a pronominal tends to correlate with *zero*..." (1992: 37). In addition, all the examples found in the analysed corpus have *pray* or *beseech* as the main verb (cf. Ando 1976: 524; Fanego 1990: 40), as illustrated in the following example:

(4) I pray 3ow send me it as hastily as 3e may. (1461, *Paston Letters*, LET. 116)

All these factors have led us to omit these interterminate cases between finite complement clauses with *zero* complementisers and non-finite complement clauses and leave them out of our analysis.

So-called knock-out contexts (López Couso, 1996: 272-3) have definitely been excluded too, as in such cases there is no variation between the two complementisers, i.e., these contexts are invariably *that* or *zero*. In accordance with this, exclamatory clauses in which the presence of *that* is mandatory have been left out, such as

(5) (^M. M. ^) That she coulde not sitte upright. (?1500-1571, Nicholas Udall: *Roister Doister*)

and similarly clauses in which the absence of complementiser or complementiser *zero* is compulsory. This refers to clauses of subject extraction by a process of relativisation, as is the case in example (6) (Bergh and Seppänen 1994):

(6) I desyre to be remembred, and so doe my wife and sisters, to owr brother Gerard and our sisters, and my neice and uncle, and cosen Brewster, who I assure me is now with you. (1629, Barrington Letters, LET. 94)

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the number of complement clauses found in the corpus amounts to 261. In the next section, an attempt will be made to show in greater detail what are the most important factors at play in determining one choice over the other and to show how the distribution of *that* and *zero* complementisers behaves in relation to these factors.

3. CONDITIONING FACTORS

As has been previously said here, we shall be concerned not only with purely linguistic factors such as the type of predicate on which the complement clause depends or the presence of intervening material between the matrix predicate and the subject of the subordinate clause, but also with factors such as style. Due to the fact that the corpus comprises material written by both men and women, we shall also study to what an extent sociological factors such as sex have an influence, if any, on the choice of the complementiser.

Although we shall deal with each of these factors individually, we must admit from the very beginning that there does not exist a one-to-one correlation between each of them and the choice of the complementiser; rather, this choice is a question of not just one factor, but of the interrelation of several factors together. We must constantly bear in mind that "factors reinforce one another" (Elsness, 1982: 31) and that "factors usually operate in combination" (Rydén, 1979: 12, fn 2). The general principle at work seems in all cases to be the avoidance of structural ambiguity in the interests of the greatest syntactic clarity.

3.1. STYLE

The factor of style has always been considered as relevant in complementiser selection, and the majority of the descriptive studies dealing with the variation between *that* / *zero* as complementisers devote some lines to this factor (Elsness 1984:520ff; Fanego 1990: 143; Rissanen 1991: 284-285; Finegan and Biber 1995: 253ff; López Couso 1996: 276ff).

It has been traditionally maintained that *that* tends to be used in formal contexts, while *zero* is more frequently used in less formal ones, especially in the spoken language. According to this general assertion, *zero* should be more frequent than *that* in our corpus simply because we are dealing with two registers which would seem to be *zero* favouring contexts. As has already been seen in table 1, partially reproduced here for convenience, *zero* is more frequent in the total number than *that*, but contrary to what might be expected the difference is almost insignificant since they show an almost even distribution (cf. Table 2).

A more detailed look at the genres in particular, will reveal that percentage of occurrences of *zero* is higher in drama, but this is not surprising because, as already stated, drama approaches the spoken language. In fact, drama is generally considered to be the genre that is nearest the

spoken language. In the letters, on the other hand, it will be seen that the relation is inverted: *that* is more frequent than *zero*, despite the fact that this register is also informal.

Despite the fact that these numbers go against the general tendency, it is possible that all the syntactic patterns considered and the results may be somehow biased. Among these patterns, ditransitive constructions and nominal predicates represent approximately a quarter of the examples of the corpus, and both of them are *that* favouring contexts (Table 3). Particularly striking in this respect is the case of nominal semantic predicates, both in letters and drama, because the alternation of complementiser is very rarely found; in fact, the percentage for the *zero* complementiser is totally insignificant, being below 1%. As to the ditransitive pattern, there is more variation, although the superiority of *that* is clear in letters (23 *thats* vs. 8 *zeros*). Drama differs in this respect, but it must be remembered that it constitutes an especially colloquial register (2 *thats* vs. 8 *zeros*).

Table 4: Predicates favouring *that*

	Vb IO OBJCL		NOUNCL	
	That	Zero	That	Zero
LETTERS	23	8	18	2
DRAMA	2	8	4	-
TOTAL*	25 (9.6%)	16 (6.2%)	22 (8.5%)	2 (0.7%)

* Notice that percentages here have been calculated by taking into account all the complement clauses in the corpus (261).

On the other hand a study of object clauses, the most frequent syntactic pattern in our corpus (64.5%) (and indeed throughout the history of English,) reveals different ratios. The situation seems to approach the general tendency, as shown in Table 5:

Table 5: *That* / *zero* in object clauses

	Vb OBJCL		TOTAL
	That	Zero	
LETTERS	46 (39.7%)	70 (60.3%)	116
DRAMA	18 (35.3 %)	33 (64.7%)	51
TOTAL	64 (38.3 %)	103 (61.7%)	167 (64.5%)

As can be seen, the percentages of complement clauses with *zero* increase considerably with respect to the overall distribution percentage (cf. Table 1).

Another possible explanation for such a deviance in the choice of complementiser from the general tendency, has to do with the fact that many of the letters are addressed to someone who is socially superior to the writer and therefore show a more careful style.⁵ Letters addressed to a person considered socially inferior by the writer have been also found, some which are particularly interesting for our purposes here. In these letters, object complement clauses —the most frequent of all syntactic patterns and where the variation can be best seen— are mostly introduced by the complementiser *zero*. There are also complement clauses introduced by *that*; however they seem to be used in apparently *that*-favouring contexts. Two of them are the result of the subcategorisation of a ditransitive verb, such as:

(7) And my brother **told Him that** hee came to acquaint him of a liveing was said lately to be fallen by the Incumbent's decease and desired hee might have it. (1662, *Oxinden Letters*, LET. CLXXVIII)

The other example has a non-pronominal subject in the lower clause, the presence of *that* thus preventing structural ambiguity:

(8) Whereupon the Gent replied that **the Incumbent** was as live as either of them,[...]. (1662, *Oxinden Letters*, LET. CLXXVIII)

The omission of *that* would lead to a possible misinterpretation of *reply* as a ditransitive verb with *the Incumbent* as IO and therefore, syntactic clarity is achieved by the insertion of *that* to avoid ambiguity. Furthermore, *reply* is a low-frequency verb in our corpus, as it only appears once (cf. López Couso 1996: 276), although admittedly this should not be taken as indicative because of the small sample of words that have been used.

3.2. MATRIX PREDICATE

The matrix predicate has also been considered to play an important role in the choice of the complementiser. As is to be expected, the majority of the studies devoted to this topic refer to it (McDavid 1964: 109; Elsness 1984: 522-523; Fanego 1990: 144-145; Rissanen 1991: 284-285; Finegan and Biber 1995: 253-254; López Couso 1996: 276-279).

The matrix predicate is considered to have played a role in OE times (Mitchell 1985: 30; Traugott 1992: 236) and also in ME (Fischer 1992: 313), principally as regards its frequency. It has been traditionally acknowledged that the complementiser *that* is more commonly used with low frequency predicates. Conversely, *zero* is more likely to be used with so-

called high frequency predicates. The following table (table 6) shows the most frequent predicates in the corpus:

Table 6: High-frequency predicates *

	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>	TOTAL
Believe	-	10 (100%)	10
Hear	4 (44.4)	5 (55.5%)	9
Hope	-	5 (100 %)	5
Know	2 (16.6%)	10 (83.3%)	12
Perceive	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5
Pray	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	7
Say	8 (27.6%)	21 (72.4%)	29
Suppose	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5
Tell	8 (61.5%)	5 (38.5%)	13
Think	3 (15.8%)	16 (84.2%)	19
Trow	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5
Trust	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5
Understand	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	9
Wit	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	6
TOTAL	44 (31.7%)	95 (68.3%)	139

*Five appearances or more

It can be seen that, in most cases, high frequency verbs —normally verbs with a general meaning— show a preference for *zero*, as the percentages show. It is clearer even with verbs such as *believe* or *hope*, where not a single example of a *that* complement clause has been found in the corpus. Especially noticeable as well are the high percentages of *zeros* with verbs such as *know*, *perceive*, *say*, *suppose*, *think*, *trow* and *trust*, considered as high frequency verbs too, at least in our corpus. It must be observed too that the majority of the *that*-complement clauses introduced by these matrix predicates are normally characterised by showing a *that*-favouring environment, such as the presence of an auxiliary verb:

(9) I **cannot think that** he hath informed us all truely, yet not fot that we will not suffer him to disobey our writinge; (1461, Paston Letters, 116)

(10) (^Aim.^) With all my Heart; and we have liv'd justly, (^Archer.^), we **can't say that** we have spent our Fortunes, but

that we have # enjoy'd 'em. (1707, George Farquhar: *The Beaux Stratagem*)

or the non-finite morphology of the verb in question, without an auxiliary verb:

(11) ...I beseech the lord to give me a hart so to seeke him that I may be harde and that I may make a holy and sactified use of all his fatherly chastisments, **knowinge that** all things shall worke together for good to his children. (1629, Barrington Letters, 93)

or even the presence of intervening elements between the matrix predicate and the subject of the lower clause:

(12) Dan I prayd here aȝyn **ðat** sche wuld teryn tyl ȝe kom hom, and I seyde I **trostyde veryly ðat** ȝe wuld don qhan ȝe kom hom as jtt longyth to ȝw to don; (1448, Paston Letters)

or a heavy subject in the subordinate clause:

(13) He sopeseth **ðat all ðat js don to hym js att** ðe request of ðe parson of Sparham and Knatylsale. (1448, Paston Letters)

Especially significant are the cases of verbs such as *understand* and *wit* and, to a lesser extent, *hear*, because these show an unexpected number of occurrences of *that* complement clauses. This is not so surprising as it might seem at first sight, because most of these verbs appear in non-finite forms, a context favouring *that*, as has just been seen (see example 11):

(14) Lettyng you to **understand that** my Lord Archbishop sent one servant of his unto my son William, chardging him in the Kyngs name to sette in the tenaunts agayne; (1502, Plumpton Letters, CXXXV)

(15) Ryth wyrchpful hwsbond, I recomawnd me to ȝw, desiryng hertyly to heryn of ȝwr wel-fare, praying ȝw to **wete ðat** I was wyth my Lady Morley in ðe Satyrday nexst after ðat ȝe departyd from hens,[...]. (1448, Paston Letters)

Finally, other verbs in which the number of *thats* is greater than the number of *zeros* must be accounted for, notably the ditransitive verbs *pray* and *tell*. The fact that they are ditransitive — a context favouring *that* — explains the superiority of *that* as complementiser:

(16) (^Arch.^) And our Horses, Cloaths, Rings, &c. why we have very good Fortunes now for moderate People; and let me **tell you**, besides Thousand, **that** this Two hundred Pound, with the experience that we are now Masters of, is a better Estate than # the Ten we have spent. (1707, George Farquhar: *The Beaux Stratagem*)

(17) Laveraw[*{n}{ce Rede of Mawthby recommaw[*{n}{dyth hym to 3u and prayith 3w dat 3e wyl vwchesave to leten hym byn of 3 w de ferm barly dat 3e xuld have of hym,[...]**. (1448, Paston Letters)

(18) and with Dr. Porie who hath Ickham and is a kinsman of the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, who **tells mee that** my Lord hath set down my name in Order to somewhatt. (1662, *Oxinden Letters*, CLXXVIII)

As can be gathered from the examples above, the cooperation among factors seems to be again at work. The alternation of one or the other complementiser is not so much conditioned by the presence of one determining factor as by the combination of several of them.

As to the different categories of predicates, our examples are not numerous enough to draw definite conclusions; even so, tentative ideas will be suggested. In connection with nouns as predicates, we have already hinted that the typical determining factors do not apply here as they do to other types of semantic predicates, since the majority are *thats*. It would be risky to say that it is a knock-out context, because variation is still observed, but it is also true that it is not far from being one either (0.7% of *zero* with nominal predicates (Table 2)). It would be well to take into account at this point the possibility that stylistic reasons play a role in these specific cases in which a *zero* complement clause depends on a noun. As can be observed, in the following example the complement clause depends on a nominal phrase that is a sort of set phrase. This may also have an influence on the choice of the complementiser:

(19) The measels have bin in most placis abowte us, but **thanks be to God** I here of none that dye of them. (1629, Barrington Letters, 49)

In the case of adjectives, once again, the scarcity of examples prevents us from drawing definite conclusions. However, one particular adjective stands out among the others: it is *glad* and it appears four times in the corpus. In accord with the frequency factor, the majority of occurrences of this adjective (3) shows the complementiser *zero*:

(20) I am **glad** my husband sent you some of your one cheries and that they cam at soe fitt a time to my sister Robert. (1629, Barrington Letters, 49)

as opposed to one single case in which *that* is made explicit:

(21) Deare mother I am wonderfull **gladd that** it pleaseth God to give you your health soe well at Harrow. (1629, Barrington Letters, 49)

Intimately connected to the frequency of the matrices is their meaning, as it is generally acknowledged that the more general the meaning of the predicate, the more likely it is that *zero* will be used (Table 6). Conversely, the more specific the meaning of the predicate, the more frequently *that* is resorted to.

(22) Hodge Foke told me *dat* Sym Schepherd js styl wyth Wyly, and jf 3e wyl I xal **purvey dat** he xal be broht hom ere 3e kom hom. (1448, Paston Letters)

(23) Sir, I **marvell greatly that** I have no word from you (and my cousin Gascoyne also) under what condition I shall behave me and my servants. (1502-3, Plumpton Letters, CXLII)

(24) (^R. Royster.^) The iolyest wenche that ere I hearde, little mouse, May I not **reioyce that** she shall dwell in my house; (1500-1570, Nicholas Udall: *Roister Doister*)

(25) (^Arch.^) Our Friends indeed began to **suspect that** our Pockets were low; but we came off with flying Colours, shew'd no signs of want either in Word or Deed. (1707, George Farquhar: *The Beaux Stratagem*)

This idea of semantic specificity seems to explain why the verbs that appear in the corpus once are *thats* in their majority, rather than *zeros*, as can be seen in table 7:

Table 7: Verbs with one appearance

	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>
Answer	1	-
Acquaint	1	-
Beg	1	-
Bid	1	-
Complain	1	-
Conceive	1	-
Confess	-	1
Deem	-	1
Deny	1	-
Ensure	-	1
Feel	1	-
Imagine	-	1
Marvel	1	-
Purvey	1	-
Rejoice	1	-
Suffice	1	-
Suspect	1	-
Take no unkindness	1	-
Wish	-	1
TOTAL	14 (73.7%)	5 (26.3%)

Not only is the frequency and semantics of the matrix predicates important as to the choice of one complementiser over the other, but so is their morphology (Table 8).

Table 8: Morphology of the matrix predicate

		<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>
NONFINITE	LETTERS	13	6
	DRAMA	2	1

COMPLEX VERB PHRASES	AUXILIARY VB.+ V _{lex}	LETTERS	9	4
		DRAMA	3	5
	NEGATIVE VB.	LETTERS	2	-
		DRAMA	1	-
TOTAL			30 (65.2%)	16 (34.8%)

Accordingly, as we hinted before in the examples provided and as can be observed in the table, complex verb phrases (henceforth VPs), i.e., an auxiliary verb followed by a matrix verb or negative matrices—usually accompanied by an auxiliary verb in our corpus—are more frequently complemented by clauses introduced by *that* than by *zero* (Finegan and Biber 1995: 254):

(26) My child has bene very ille againe which maks me fearfull to stir from hir but, and pleas God, if the weather hold faire, I purpose to come and se you the next weeke, and then nurse Mitchell **shall see that** there is littell hope of me as yet. (1629, Barrington Letters, 31)

(27) I **cannot that** he hath informed us all truely, yet not for that we will # not suffer him to disobey our writinge; (1461, Paston Letters, 116)

(28) and we have liv'd justly, # (^Archer^), we **can't say that** we have spent our Fortunes, but that we have # enjoy'd 'em. (1707, George Farquhar: *The Beaux Stratagem*)

Similarly, nonfinite verbs on their own, not accompanied by any auxiliary verb, more frequently require *that* than *zero* since such cases are syntactically less clear than with finite verbs (Elsness 1982: 32).

(29) Sir, in my most hartiest wyse I recomennd me unto you, desiring to heare of your prosperitie and welfare, and of your good spede in your matters; **certyfiing you that** I, and my sone William, with all your children, are in good health (blessed be

([^]Jesu[^]) with all your servants. (1502, Plumpton Letters, CXXXIII)

(30) ([^]Arch.[^]) Our Friends indeed began to **suspect that** our Pockets were low; but we came off with flying Colours, shew'd no signs of want either in Word or Deed. (1707, George Farquhar: *The Beaux Stratagem*)

3.3. PRESENCE / ABSENCE OF INTERVENING MATERIAL

It has also been traditionally acknowledged that the presence of material between the matrix predicate and the subject of the lower clause acts against the principle of syntactic clarity and favours structural ambiguity: the greater the distance between the matrix predicate that selects for the complement clause and the subject of the complement clause itself, the more necessary the complementiser *that* is to mark a clause boundary and make the sequence clearer. Conversely, the shorter the distance between the matrix predicate and the subject of the complement clause, the more frequently will the complementiser *zero* be resorted to. The clause boundary is marked here by the subject of the lower clause and the presence of an overt marker such as *that* is not felt as necessary (McDavid 1964: 109; Elsness 1984: 523-524; Fanego 1990: 145-146; López Couso 1996: 279-282).

Table 9: Presence / absence of intervening material

	Intervening material		Non-intervening material	
	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero</i>
LETTERS	41	15	37	69
DRAMA	8	11	12	33
TOTAL	49 (65.3%)	26 (34.7%)	49 (32.5%)	102 (67.5%)
	75 (33.2%)		151 (66.8%)	

Not only object clauses, but also clauses depending on an adjective have been taken into account, as variation has been observed with respect to this factor. On the contrary, clauses depending on a noun have not been considered at this point because, as has already been observed, nouns almost invariably take *that*, irrespectively of other determining factors. Neither have subject clauses been included here since the representation of this syntactic pattern is insignificant.

It can be gathered from the table above (Table 8) that clauses without intervening material are much more frequently used than clauses in which

some material is inserted between the matrix predicate and the subject of the lower clause.

Likewise, as has been explained in the brief theoretical summary of the general tendency, *thats* dominate when some intervening material is present and, conversely, *zeros* show higher figures when there is no material between the matrix predicate and the lower clause subject.

In the table below, ditransitive verbs have been included, even though they have been traditionally considered as a *that* favouring environment, as the presence of a personal pronoun (IO) in most cases in the analysed corpus, may be erroneously taken as belonging to the lower clause.

Table 10: *That / zero* with ditransitive verbs

	DITRANSITIVE VERBS	
	<i>THAT</i>	<i>ZERO</i>
LETTERS	23 (74.2%)	8 (25.8%)
DRAMA	2 (20%)	8 (80%)
TOTAL	25 (61%)	16 (39%)

*It stands for prepositional object

In the table above, it can be observed that ditransitive patterns of complementation are preferably *thats* in the total count. Nevertheless, if the statistics for the different genres are examined, it will be seen that this tendency is notably high in letters, and notably low in drama. An explanation for the second case might be sought in stylistic factors: a check was made for examples of ditransitive clauses in the section of drama that is in verse, because metrical and prosodic factors or the like would play an important role here, but not a single example of a ditransitive pattern of complementation was found there.

It should also be highlighted that in a considerable number of complement clauses whose main verb subcategorises for a ditransitive predicate, there is another determining factor at play that may insist on the necessity of an explicit complementiser *that*, such as the presence of a ditransitive non-finite verb:

(31) Sir, in my most hartiest wyse I recommend me unto you, desiring to heare of your prosperitie and welfaire, and of your good spede in your matters; **certyiing you that** I, and my sone William, with all your children, are in good health (blessed be ([^]Jesu[^]) with all your servants. (1502, Plumpton Letters, CXXXIII)

or an auxiliary verb:

(32) Also, he is not aqueyntyd wyth no body but wyth Wekys, and Wekys **ad told hym that** he wold bryng hym to the Kyng; (1461, Paston Letters, 116)

(33) But my sone kepes them forth as yet, and therfor I trow my lord Archbishop will compleane of my son and you; and sath, that he **will indyte them** that was at castyng out of tham. (1502, *Plumpton Letters*, CXXXIII)

or even some intervening adverbial *that*, without the presence of *that*, would be ambiguous:

(34) ðan I prayd here aȝyn ðat sche wuld teryn tyl ȝe kom hom, and I seyð I trostyð veryly ðat ȝe wuld don qhan ȝe kom hom as jtt longyth to ȝw to don; (1448, Paston Letters)

Indirect objects are realised mainly by means of personal pronouns in our corpus, but there is still one single case of an IO realised by an NP (Det + H) with the DO clause introduced by the complementiser *that*. The scarcity of examples makes it difficult to draw definite conclusions, but it seems that the use of the explicit complementiser in such cases is not surprising in view of the fact that NPs are heavier elements than personal pronouns:

(35) And so I sent one servant to the schereffe, and the schereffe shewed **my servant** that my Lord had wrytten unto him for to poynt them on agayne. (1502, *Plumpton Letters*, CXXXV)

Likewise, most ditransitive syntactic patterns have their two arguments realised by an IO and a DO (*that*- or *zero*- clause), but there are also some examples in which a PO appears instead of an IO. In the very few cases that I have found (2) —none of them in drama—, *that* is again the choice, and the reasons for this do not seem to be very far from the ones explaining the use of *that* with NPs as IO: the heavier weight of the IO:

(36) Wherffor, for Goddysake, late my moodre take heede⁶ **to my yonge brytheryn**, that they be nat in #noon place wher that sykenesse is regnyng, nor that they dysport not wyth # noon

other yonge peple whyche resortythe wher any sykenesse is. (1471, Paston Letters, 263)

The next point to be studied was Elsness's assertion that *zero* constructions with intervening material were more frequently used "if the intervening adverbial belongs in the matrix clause" (Elsness 1982: 16). A careful examination of the corpus showed it to be valid, as can be seen in the following examples:

(37) I xall be fayn to lend it him of myn owne siluer. If I knew **verily** ȝour entent were ðat he xwld cum hom I wold send hym non. (1461, Paston Letters, 116)

(38) (^M. Mumbl.^) I holde a **grote** ye will drinke anon for this geare. (...) (^M. Mumbl.^) I holde a **penny**,⁷ ye will drinke without a cup. (1500-1570, Nicholas Udall: *Roister Doister*)

Only one apparently divergent example was found, but it is also in agreement with Elsness's results (Elsness 1984: 524), because the intervening material is a finite clause that already functions as a clause boundary and ambiguity is consequently solved:

(39) I pray **if you send to my brother Mewix** let him know so much. (1629, Barrington Letters, 65)

As to the *that* examples of intervening material, in some of them the presence of the complementiser is felt as needed to prevent ambiguity (*greatly* could affect both the main and the subordinate clause):

(40) Right worshipfull Sir, in my most hartiest wyse I recomend me unto you, desiring to here of your prosperytie and welfare, and good spede in your matters, the which I marvell **greatly** that I have no word from you. (1504; *Plumpton Letters*, CLI)

In the other cases, this material belongs undoubtedly to the main clause, —a *zero* favouring context— but in some cases, the presence of heavy elements determines the presence of *that*, to provide syntactic clarity and to prevent that the recipient of the message from getting lost:

(41) for I ensure yow it is the most vnyuersall dethe *ðat* euyre I wyst in Ingelonde, for by my trowthe I kan not her by **pylgyrimes *ðat* passe *ðe* contre`, ner noon other man *ðat* rydethe er gothe any *contre`*, *ðat* any borow town in Ingelonde is free from *ðat* sykenesse. (1471, Paston Letters, 263)**

(42) Be sure, **however you come not by my letters**, that I write constantly by every Tuesday and Fryday post. (1662, *Oxinden Letters*, CLXXVIII)

A conclusion, then, to this section would seem to be that the principle at work is that of averting ambiguity to achieve the greatest syntactic clarity.

3.5. GENDER: WOMEN VS. MEN

The next factor to be taken up is the gender distinction: women vs. men. As mentioned in the introduction, letters written both by men and by women have been studied. Accordingly then, the next few lines will be concerned with whether sex is a determining factor in the variation of the complementisers *that* / *zero* or not and, if it proves to be, to what extent it plays a role in such a choice.

Unlike the previous factors, this one has been neglected in the literature. It has not been so thoroughly studied. The few grammarians that have devoted some time to these sociolinguistic factors agree that women's role in linguistic change is more important; women usually take the lead in this sense (Labov 1983: 371-374; 1990: 213). Likewise, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg seem to insist on the same idea by saying that "women are generally the innovators in linguistic change" (1996:7).

Table 11 shows the figures that resulted from counting the complement clauses available in the corpus depending on whether they were written by men or women. Approximately the same number of words has been selected for each sex (ca. 5000), in the hope of reaching at least tentative conclusions.

Table 11: *That/Zero* according to sex in all syntactic patterns

	That	Zero	TOTAL
WOMEN	45 (46%)	53 (54%)	98 (51.3%)
MEN	56 (60.2%)	37 (39.8%)	93 (48.7%)
TOTAL	101 (52.9%)	90 (47.1%)	191

As can be inferred from this table, there is not a significant difference in the number of complement clauses of each of the groups (98 for women vs. 93 for men). On the other hand, it is very curious to see how the variation increases a little as to the choice of complementiser. Interestingly enough, women resort more commonly to *zero* (54%) than to *that* (46%) and, conversely, men prefer to use *that* (60.2%) more often than *zero* (39.8%).

These results become all the more surprising when it is realised that the women writers of the letters in the analysed corpus address all their letters to persons considered socially superior to themselves. This role of inferior addressing a superior applies to some men as well, when they are writing to their mother or father. However, men also send letters to persons considered by themselves as equal (friends) and as inferior (wives). The percentages even increase if object clauses, the most common syntactic pattern, are solely included (Table 12).

Table 12: *That/Zero* according to sex in OBJCL

	That	Zero	TOTAL
WOMEN	33 (43.4%)	43 (56.6%)	76 (51.4%)
MEN	38 (52.8%)	34 (47.2%)	72 (48.6%)
TOTAL	71 (48%)	77 (52%)	148

As can be observed here, the percentages for *zero* increase in both groups, but these figures are again higher for women than for men. The expectations that women's language should be more formal since they are writing to "superior" persons are not met according to these empirical results.

It can be concluded, then, that in the increase of *zero* that was taking place particularly in the period from lME to the end of eModE, the period of this study, women seem to be responsible for or, at least, play an important role in reversing the trend that prevailed in previous stages of the language. These results concur with those of Labov (1983, 1990) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996). Admittedly, the sample in our corpus is too limited to be fully significant and so fully conclusive results must await further research.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The objective of this study was to compare the variation of *that* / *zero* in complement clauses in two colloquial registers, namely private letters and drama. To achieve it, a selection of texts from the Helsinki corpus was made. Despite the fact that approximately the same number of words was taken

from each genre in order to obtain more accurate results, the number of complement clauses in drama turned out to be very low, against our expectations. Nevertheless, the evidence available matches the historical tendency for *zero* complement clauses to predominate over *thats* in such a colloquial register.

On the other hand the greater number of *thats* as compared with *zeros* in letters, a colloquial register too, is more confusing. No definite explanation has been found, but the fact that the addressee of most of the letters is socially superior to the writer himself/herself seems quite convincing, as the degree of formality is increased. A fact that goes some way towards explaining these is that the earliest texts of the corpus date from IME, a stage of the language in which *zero* starts to gain ground progressively.

The next step in the study was to corroborate the evidence with the so-called determining or conditioning factors. The factor of style definitely applied to drama. *A priori*, the influence of style in the correspondence was treated with certain scepticism, but if, again, the question of social superiority is taken into account, and from our point of view it must be, the factor of style definitely applies to letters, too. Complement clauses introduced by *that* have always been considered more formal than *zeros*.

As to the matrix predicate, the evidence matches the general tendency, not only as regards the frequency of the matrix, but also as regards its morphology. This is particularly operative in relation to verbal matrices.

The third factor that was taken into consideration—presence / absence of intervening material—does not behave atypically according to the results obtained in this study. The main concern that seems to be operating at this point is clearly the avoidance of structural ambiguity in the interests of achieving syntactic clarity.

Finally, the variation of the two main complementisers has been studied according to the factor of sex, only applicable to private letters, as is self-evident. The conclusion that can be drawn from this section is that women seem to be more advanced than men in their choice of complementiser, even though most of their letters are addressed to a superior person where a certain degree of formality is expected.

In the end, the results obtained do not seem to diverge a lot from the norm. Style seems to be a very powerful factor, however none of the other factors that have been studied must be disregarded, since all of them are relevant in the choice of one complementiser over the other. ❧

NOTES

¹It is generally acknowledged that dramas and private letters are written in an informal style. They are considered by Traugott as approaching the "conversational language[']s]" (1972: 21) end of the continuum. Likewise, Rissanen includes dramas (1986: 99, 101) and private letters (1986: 100-101) within the informal style. Moreover, in the corpus used for this research, namely *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal* (Rissanen et al. 1991), the texts that have been selected are described as informal in their respective reference code (<I Informal>).

²The process of selection of the samples of private letters has been guided by the aim of studying approximately the same number of words written by men and women of each sub-period, as it has been thought that the representativeness of such a sample and the conclusions drawn from it would be more accurate. Accordingly, the number of words selected for each of the sexes was more or less the same (c. 5000 words).

³In this table, only complement clauses in object function have been included as this seems the pattern best suited for a study of the variation of the two major complementisers of the English language, *that* and *zero*.

⁴Clauses with the syntactic pattern S V PC_s have been omitted in this table, because their frequency of appearance is considerably low. Only two examples have been found in the corpus.

⁵It is a well attested fact that in conversational language varies notably when speaking to a person considered inferior or equal by the speaker, and one considered superior. Likewise, letters are probably written differently too depending on the person they are addressed to.

⁶I have considered *take unkindness* as a so-called "complex predicate" (Catell, 1984: 43ff) with a complement clause depending on the whole lexicalised unit, rather than a complement clause depending on the noun *unkindness*:

He took noe unkindnes that I colde perceave for your not seing him, he did not speak a word of it tell I asked him. (1629; Barrington Letters, 49)

There is something syntactically odd about the construction—it is definitely neither a relative clause nor a complement clause depending on *unkindness*—and, semantically, it seems that the whole unit is highly lexicalised so as to form one of the so-called "complex predicates"; besides, the verb involved in the predicate is "semantically very light and [...] mean[s] very little more than that a verbal action

occurred" (Cattell 1984: 7). Likewise, I have also considered the similar predicate *take heed* as "complex-predicate":

Wherffor, for Goddysake, late mymoodre **take heede** to my yonge brytheryn, **that** they be nat in noon place wher that syknesse is regnyng, **nor that** they dysport not wyth noon other yonge peple whyche resortythe wher any siknesse is. (1471; Paston Letters, 263)

I have felt more dubious about the apparently similar predicate *make vow*, considered by some grammarians to be a "complex predicate" (Cattell 1984: 297),

And derwith he **made a gret a-vowe that** if ye come not at the third commandement ye xulde dye therefore. (1461, Paston Letters, 116)

but, despite this, the fact that there is some material between the "semantically very light" (Cattell, 1984: 7) verb, led me to think less about cohesion between both elements and to consider the *that*-clause as a complement clause depending on the nominal matrix predicate *vow*.

⁷ Predicates of this type, namely *hold (somebody) something that*-clause or the parallel *bet (somebody) something that*-clause, could either be considered as three-place predicates if the IO is present or a two-place predicate and an adverbial (*a grote* and *a penny*) in the examples above (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: §10.13). I have considered them as verbs with two objects and an adverbial on the grounds that they allow adverbial questions with *How much...?*

How much do you hold (that you will drink without a cup)?

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POLYSEMY IN THE SEMANTIC FIELD OF MOVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE



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INTRODUCTION

One of the long-established misconceptions about the lexicon is that it is neatly and rigidly divided into semantically related sets of words. In contrast, we claim that word meanings do not have clear boundaries.¹ In this paper we will give proof of the fuzziness of meaning through an analysis of the semantic field of MOVEMENT in the English language. We will show that many MOVEMENT verbs belong not only to several subdomains within the field of MOVEMENT, but also to various semantic domains through metaphorical extension.

Before dealing with the double or even triple membership of MOVEMENT verbs, let us first present the model on which our description of the lexicon is based, the Functional-Lexematic Model (Martín Mingorance, 1984, 1985a,b; 1987a,b,c; 1990a,b).

1. THE FUNCTIONAL-LEXEMATIC MODEL

The FLM integrates Coseriu's *Lexematics* (1977), Dik's *Functional Grammar* (1997a) and some fundamental principles of cognitive linguistics. Following Faber and Mairal (1998: 4-5), the two main objectives of this model are, on the one hand, the construction of the linguistic architecture of the lexicon of a language, and on the other hand, the representation of knowledge based on the linguistic coding of dictionary entries.

The FLM establishes three axes of analysis: the paradigmatic, syntagmatic and cognitive axes. The elaboration of the paradigmatic axis entails the structuring of the lexicon in semantic domains —each

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corresponding to a basic area of meaning,² and the organization of lexical domains into hierarchically constructed subdomains elaborated on the basis of shared meaning components. A subdomain is "a subdivision of semantic space derived from the factorisation of the meaning definition of its members"³ (Faber and Mairal 1998: 6). Word definitions are built according to Dik's method of *Stepwise Lexical Decomposition*. This means that the definition structure of each lexeme consists of the nuclear word—the archilexeme—and a series of semantic features which mark its distance from the preceding members of the subdomain.

Following Faber and Mairal (1999), the domain of MOVEMENT is organised into four subdomains. The first subdomain describes generic movement, while the other subdomains subsume lexemes which denote movement in a number of contexts: liquid, atmosphere and land. Cutting across this major configuration of the domain, the parameters of manner and direction introduce further divisions within each subdomain.⁴ For instance, these parameters traverse the following subdomains within the subdomain lexicalizing generic movement:

1. Direction:

- To move towards a place/person/thing*
- To move back*
- To move up*
- To move down*

2. Manner:

- To move quickly*
- To move slowly*
- To move smoothly*
- To move in a circular manner*

As an example of a subdomain structured paradigmatically, we have selected the subdomain *To move down*:

fall: to move down from a high position/the sky/a tree.

plunge: to fall suddenly a long way from a high position.

plummet: to fall very quickly from a high position.

come down: to fall (rain/snow) heavily.

descend: to move down a slope/stairs (fml).

The verbs indented to the right (*plunge*, *plummet*, *come down*) are defined in terms of the verb immediate above them (*fall*), which thus becomes their definiens. They are basically differentiated from one another in terms of manner. The other archilexeme of this subdomain is *descend*.

The construction of the syntagmatic axis implies the analysis of the complementation patterns of each lexeme using predicate frames as integrated formulae.

The following types of information are captured in predicate frames:

- (i) the form of the predicate
- (ii) the syntactic category to which it belongs
- (iii) its quantitative valency, i.e. the number of arguments that the predicate requires
- (iv) its qualitative valency, i.e. the semantic functions of the arguments and the pertinent selection restrictions
- (v) the meaning definition

Predicate frames describe a state of affairs and specify the relationship between the predicate arguments (represented by the variable *x*). Each argument is characterized by a selection restriction—described in terms of binary semantic features—and fulfills a semantic function (Agent, Experiencer, Goal, Recipient, etc.).

Consider the predicate frame of the verb *bow*:

[(*x*₁: prototyp. human)_{Ag} (*x*₂: prototyp. part of the body)_{Go}]_{Action}

DEF = to bend your head and upper body as a greeting or as a sign of respect.

This frame describes an Action and specifies the relationship between a human argument, performing the function of Agent, and an argument fulfilling the function of Goal and semantically marked as part of the body (head).

The elaboration of the cognitive axis entails the formulation of the predicate conceptual schemata, which are cognitive constructs encoding semantic, syntactic and pragmatic information and representing our knowledge about the lexical unit in question. Conceptual schemata are codified at three levels: lexeme, subdomain and domain.

2. POLYSEMY OF MOVEMENT VERBS

Many MOVEMENT verbs fall within several subdomains. This double/multiple membership may be accounted for on the following grounds:

- a) The meaning component focalised
- b) The genus of the lexeme
- c) The metaphorical extension of the verb

Let us examine each of these factors.

2.1. FOCALIZATION OF A MEANING COMPONENT

We have used Dik's (1997a) pragmatic functions of *Focus* and *Topic* to account for some instances of polysemy in the semantic field of MOVEMENT. These functions specify the information status of the constituents of the predicate within the communicative setting in which they occur, and they are assigned to the constituents after the assigning of semantic and syntactic functions. The *Topic* is the entity about which the predication predicates something in the setting in question, whereas the *Focus* refers to the most relevant information in the setting:

(1) As for Mary (Focus), I don't care for her (Topic).

The application of such functions to the paradigmatic description of the lexicon is based on the organization of the lexicon at three levels: domain, subdomain and lexeme. In consonance with this idea, we may formulate various levels of focalization:

Level of focalization 1: Domain

Level of focalization 2: Subdomain

Levels of focalization 3, 4, ... : Lexeme

A domain stands for the level of focalization number 1. It performs the function of Focus in that it represents one of the basic areas of meaning.

A subdomain represents the level of focalization number 2 in that it focuses on an area of meaning within a domain.

The following levels of focalization are formulated at lexeme-level. This means that the lexemes of a subdomain represent different levels of focalization based on the meaning hierarchies within the subdomain.

What is most relevant is that what is Focus on a level becomes Topic on the level below. Then a domain, which performs the function of Focus on the level of focalization number 1, becomes topic at subdomain-level in that it presents the given information, since all the subdomains of MOVEMENT lexicalize the concept of movement. Therefore, the archilexeme of the lexical field, *move*, which performs the function of Focus at domain-level in that it codifies the nuclear meaning of the domain, becomes Topic at subdomain-level, since it is the definiens of the archilexeme of each subdomain.

Similarly, a subdomain, which acts as Focus on the level of focalization number 2, becomes Topic at lexeme-level, since all the lexemes in the subdomain share the nuclear information formalised by the subdomain. Then, as we move down in the semantic hierarchy which characterizes the internal structure of each subdomain, what is Focus in the meaning definition of the archilexeme (level of focalization number 3) becomes Topic in the meaning definition of its hyponyms (level of focalization number 4). For example, if we take the subdomain analysed above, *To move down*, the definiens "to

move down" acts as Focus in the definition of *fall* (the archilexeme), and as Topic in the definition of *plunge*, *plummet* and *come down*, the function of Focus being performed by the semantic parameters of manner and place in that they individuate the members of the subdomain.

Let us now consider the functions of Topic and Focus in the case of lexemes belonging to several subdomains. Here the function of Focus applies to a particular meaning component, which thus becomes especially relevant. The verbs *whizz* and *zoom* involve quick movement, thus belonging to the subdomain *To move quickly*. But they can also denote movement through the air:

(2) The bullets whizzed past.

Then, these verbs belong to the subdomain *To move quickly* or *To move through the air* depending on which parameter is highlighted, whether manner or medium.

Similarly, the verbs *circle* and *whirl* refer to circular movement in the air. If the manner component is focalized, then the verbs fall in the subdomain *To move in a circular manner*. If the focus is on the medium, then the verbs belong to the subdomain *To move through the air*.

The table below shows the double membership of these verbs.

VERB	FOCUS	DIMENSION	MEANING
<i>whizz</i> <i>zoom</i>	Manner	<i>To move quickly</i>	To move (an engine/device) <u>very quickly</u> with a loud whistling noise To move (a vehicle/an aircraft) <u>very quickly</u> with a loud buzzing/humming noise
<i>circle</i> <i>whirl</i>		<i>To move in a circular manner</i>	To move <u>in a circular manner</u> in the air To <u>turn round</u> in the air very quickly
<i>whizz</i> <i>zoom</i> <i>circle</i> <i>whirl</i>	Medium	<i>To move through the air</i>	To move very quickly <u>through the air</u> with a loud whistling noise To move very quickly <u>through the air</u> with a loud noise

			To fly around in circles To move very quickly in a circular manner <u>through the air</u>
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2.2. GENUS OF THE LEXEME

Many verbs describe generic movement. Verb membership is then determined by the semantic parameter of medium or direction, or by the parameter specifying the nature of the subject/object.

The table below presents the verbs whose membership is influenced by the medium parameter.

VERB	MEDIUM	DIMENSION	MEANING
<i>dart</i>	Air Land	To move through the air To move quickly using one's feet	To fly <u>suddenly</u> and quickly (insects) To run <u>suddenly</u>
<i>dive</i> <i>plunge</i>	Air	To move down through air To move down through air To move downwards	To move <u>down</u> through air quickly and steeply To move <u>down</u> through air suddenly a long way To <u>fall</u> suddenly a long way from a high position
<i>dive</i> <i>plunge</i>	Water	To move in/down below the surface of a liquid To cause sb/sth to move in/down below the surface of a liquid	To move head-first <u>down</u> into water To cause sth to move <u>down</u> into water quickly and violently
<i>sink</i>	Air Water/ Liquid/ Substance	To move down through air To move in/down below the surface of a liquid	To move <u>down</u> through air To move <u>down</u> below the surface of a liquid/ soft substance

<i>glide</i>	Water Air Land	To move over liquid To move through the air To move smoothly	To move (boat) <u>quietly</u> and <u>smoothly</u> across water To fly <u>quietly</u> To move <u>quietly</u> and <u>smoothly</u> in an effortless way
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The verb *dart* describes sudden movement in air and on land:

- (3) He darted across the room.
- (4) Bees were darting from one flower to another.

The verbs *dive*, *plunge* and *sink* designate downward movement in air and water:

- (5) She plunged into the swimming-pool.
- (6) The falcon plunged towards its prey.

Sink, as the general term, denotes movement in a wider variety of contexts:

- (7) Helen sank into water/mud/an armchair.

However, we postulate that the verbs *dart*, *dive* and *sink* prototypically describe movement in a given medium: *dart* is prototypically associated with *air*, and *dive* and *sink* with *water*. Our claim is supported by the fact that the medium parameter need not be syntactically present:

- (8) She dived from the bridge and rescued the drowning child.
- (9) The aircraft-carrier, hit by a torpedo, sank at once.

Further, as we will show below, *sink* has a metaphorical projection onto FEELING, which codifies the metaphor Emotion = Liquid (Goatly 1997):

- (10) When he crashed, his heart sank at the thought that he might die.

Finally, *glide* refers to quiet/smooth movement in a wide range of contexts (water, air, land):

- (11) The cruiser glided across the sea.
- (12) An owl glided over the fields.
- (13) The snake glided towards its prey.

As mentioned above, the domain of MOVEMENT is marked by the semantic parameter of direction, which can determine verb membership. The

lexemes *jump, vault, leap, hop* and *spring* are subsumed under various subdomains depending on whether they denote forward or upward/downward movement over an obstacle:

VERB	DIRECTION	DIMENSION	MEANING
<i>Jump</i> <i>Vault</i> <i>Leap</i> <i>Hop</i> <i>Spring</i>	Forwards	<i>To move forwards quickly/suddenly</i>	To move forwards quickly using your legs To jump onto sth with your hands on it To jump energetically a long distance To jump on one foot (sb)/with both feet (birds/small animals) To jump suddenly
<i>Jump</i> <i>Vault</i> <i>Leap</i>	Over sth	<i>To move across/over/through</i>	To move over sth quickly using your legs To jump over sth with your hands on it To jump over sth energetically
<i>Jump</i> <i>Spring</i> <i>Hop</i>	Up/Down	<i>To move up/down using one's feet</i>	To move up/down quickly using one's feet To jump suddenly To jump on one leg

(14) Robert jumped one metre/over the fence/out of the shadow.

(15) Carol sprang at him/to her feet.

Finally, as shown below, verb membership can also be determined by the parameter describing the nature of the subject or object.

ARGUMENT	SEMANTIC SCOPE	VERB	DIMENSION	MEANING
	Human/ Object	<i>shake</i>	<i>To move from side</i>	To move quickly from

Subject		<i>tremble</i> <i>quiver</i>	<i>to side/back and forth/up and down repeatedly</i>	side to side/ up and down To shake uncontrollably/ slightly To shake slightly
	Part of the body	<i>shake</i> <i>tremble</i> <i>quiver</i>	<i>To move one's body</i>	To move one's body quickly from side to side/up and down To shake uncontrollably/ slightly To shake slightly
	Human Boat	<i>sail</i>	<i>To move towards a place</i> <i>To move over liquid</i>	To travel to a place by ship To move (boat) over the sea
	Object	<i>rise</i> <i>fall</i>	<i>To move upwards</i> <i>To move downwards</i>	To move upwards through air To move down from a high position/the sky/a tree
	Vehicle/ aircraft	<i>plunge</i> <i>plummet</i>	<i>To move in/downwards below the surface of a liquid</i> <i>To move downwards through air</i>	To move (vehicle) below the surface of water To move down through air very quickly
	Human	<i>rise</i> <i>fall</i>	<i>To move one's body by raising it</i>	To stand up (fml)

		<i>plunge</i> <i>plummet</i>	<i>To move to the ground</i>	To move to the ground from force of weight / loss of balance To fall suddenly a long way from a high position To fall very quickly from a high position
Object	Object	<i>swing</i> <i>lift</i> <i>raise</i> <i>bend</i>	<i>To move from side to side/back and forth/up and down repeatedly</i> <i>To cause sb/sth to move up</i> <i>To move in a different direction</i>	To move regularly from side to side/back and forth To cause sb/sth to move up To lift sth To turn in a curve/angle
	Part of the body	<i>swing</i> <i>lift</i> <i>raise</i> <i>bend</i>	<i>To move a part of one's body</i>	To move regularly from side to side/back and forth To move a part of one's body upwards (esp. head/arm/leg/foot) To move a part of one's body upwards To move a part of one's body downwards

The verbs *shake*, *tremble* and *quiver* may be found with a subject argument semantically characterized as human or as concrete. But they can also take an object denoting a part of the body via the metaphor Body part = Human (Goatly 1997):

(16) Mark was so nervous that his knees were shaking.

Sail typically occurs with a subject semantically characterized as boat. Its use with a human agent results from a metonymical process (content for receptacle):

(17) They sailed the Mediterranean.

Rise designates upward movement of both human and concrete entities, but the prototypical argument is human, as shown in the restricted use of *rise* with human subjects when it describes body movement:

(18) She rose to greet me.

Fall, *plunge* and *plummet*, which denote downward movement, may also occur with human and concrete entities:

(19) He fell off the horse.

(20) The vase fell from her hand.

Lastly, the verbs *swing*, *lift*, *raise* and *bend* take an object semantically marked as object or part of the body:

(21) She lifted her head when I came in.

(22) The suitcase is too heavy for him to lift.

2.3. METAPHORICAL EXTENSION OF THE LEXEMES

The verbs *creep* and *escape* fall within various subdomains because of their metaphorical extension.

VERB	SUBDOMAIN	MEANING
<i>Creep</i>	To move in a particular way	To move quietly and <u>slowly</u> in order to get to a place <u>without being noticed</u>
	To move slowly	To move (light/shadow/mist) ^{very} <u>slowly</u> , so that you <u>hardly notice it</u> (lit.)
<i>Escape</i>	To move off/away from a	To <u>leave</u> a place after doing sth illegal

	place/thing/person	
	To move out of a place	To <u>move</u> (gas/liquid) <u>out of</u> an object/a container

Creep typically describes a person's slow movement towards a place and thus falls primarily within the subdomain *To move in a particular way*, which refers to movement on land. Yet it also belongs to the subdomain *To move slowly* through a process of personification (Object/Substance=Human), whereby a concrete entity semantically marked as "light/ shadow/ mist" is seen as a human entity. The meaning components speed —"slowly"— and secrecy —"without/hardly being noticed"— are basic to the definition of both verbs.

On the other hand, *escape* falls in the subdomains *To move off/away from a place/ thing/ person* and *To move out of a place*. This double membership obtains from the metaphorization of liquid as a human entity:

(23) Gas is escaping from this hole.

3. INTERFIELD MEMBERSHIP OF MOVEMENT VERBS

We have so far analysed the intrafield membership of a set of MOVEMENT verbs, i.e. their grouping under several subdomains within the semantic domain of MOVEMENT. We will now focus on the verbs' interfield membership, i.e. their projection onto other semantic fields.

The relations of a semantic domain with others codify metaphorical processes, thus showing that lexical structure is governed by conceptual structure., or, in Sweetser's words (1990:25), "much of meaning is grounded in speakers' understanding of the world". Indeed, each language is equivalent to a particular conceptual system by means of which we interpret our environment, and this conceptual organization is reflected in the lexicon. This means that metaphor is not only a cognitive but also a linguistic phenomenon. Metaphorical processes are encoded in the lexicon and must thus be integrated in a lexical model.

Therefore, the codification of metaphorical processes in the lexicon not only tells us a great deal about how we understand and construct reality but also reflects the internal organization of the lexicon.

Below we sketch the metaphors codified in the domain of MOVEMENT, which establish connections with the semantic fields of COGNITION, SPEECH, CHANGE, FEELING and ACTION.

MET. PROCESS	TYPE METAPHOR	METAPHOR	LEX. EXPRESSION	TARGET DOMAIN
Reification	Concretization	Idea = Object	<i>swing, revolve, stuff cram, shove</i>	COGNITION
		Words = Object	<i>raise, drop, pass</i>	SPEECH
		Ideas/Words = Cloth	<i>spin, weave</i>	SPEECH
	Place/Space	Activity = Place	<i>rush, leave, quit abandon</i>	ACTION
		Orientational	Health = Up	<i>fall, sink</i>
	Pitch = Up		<i>rise, raise, sink, lower drop</i>	CHANGE
	More = Up		<i>jump, rise, raise, fall sink, plunge, plummet come down, lower drop, sink</i>	CHANGE
	Importance/Status = Up		<i>rise, climb, come down</i>	CHANGE
	Happy = Up		<i>fall, sink, lift</i>	FEELING
	Activity/Processes = Movement forward		<i>push, prod</i>	ACTION
Personification	Emotion = Sense expression	<i>shake, tremble, shiver shudder, quiver</i>	FEELING	
	Idea = Human	<i>slip, escape</i>	COGNITION	
	Body part = Human	<i>fall, sink</i>	FEELING	

Following Goatly (1997), the metaphorization of abstract entities can obtain through a process of reification or personification. Reifying metaphors fall into three categories:

- (i) Concretizing metaphors, which codify the representation of abstract entities as objects or cloth/clothes (first row).
- (ii) Orientational metaphors, i.e. equations linked to the notion of place/space (second row).
- (iii) Metaphors related to the notion of orientation. Abstract concepts such as health, pitch, happiness, amount and rank are seen as entities on a vertical axis (up/down)⁵.

The last set of equations codify the personification of abstract entities.

Note that some verbs codify several metaphors, e.g. *rise, fall, sink, lower*. In this regard, we may affirm that the intrafield membership correlates with the interfield double membership.

MOVEMENT AND CHANGE

The projection of MOVEMENT onto CHANGE touches upon verbs denoting an increase or decrease in amount or degree, thus linking MOVEMENT to CHANGE, since the semantic parameters of amount and degree traverse the domain of CHANGE. The connection between both semantic fields obtains from a set of orientational metaphors (cf. above):

- (24) He has risen to the position of manager.
- (25) Share prices have plunged.

MOVEMENT AND FEELING

MOVEMENT verbs also extend to FEELING. This extension results from the codification of several metaphorical processes:

- the metaphorical representation of a feeling (happiness) on an up/down scale:

- (26) Whenever I feel down, Martha lifts my spirits.
- (27) Peter's face fell when I broke the news to him.

- the personification of body parts. This metaphor interacts with the previous one (cf. example above).

- the metaphorical structuring of emotions as sense expressions. The verbs *shake, tremble, shiver, shudder* and *quiver* describe body movement as expression of an internal emotional state (anxiety, fear, disgust). This metaphorical process can be explained by the fact that emotions have corresponding physical effects on the experimenter, and these effects have come to represent the emotion that caused them:

- (28) He trembled like a leaf at the sight of the tiger.

MOVEMENT AND COGNITION

The metaphorical projection of MOVEMENT into COGNITION results from a process of reification or personification of abstract entities. On the one hand, ideas can be metaphorized as objects moving in/into (*revolve, penetrate*) or out of somebody's mind (*slip, escape*):⁶

- (29) The importance of her decision did not penetrate at first.
- (30) His surname has slipped my mind.
- (31) There is a major point which seems to have escaped you.

To use Halliday's terminology (1994:117), the last examples are instances of the *please-type* metaphorical structuring of mental processes. Mental processes can be represented either as *like-types* or *please-types*. This means that *I like X* is equivalent to *X pleases me*. Then, *It has slipped my mind/It has escaped me* has the same meaning as *I have forgotten it*.

Ideas can also be seen as objects which are pushed into someone's mind:

- (32) He stuffed my head full of strange ideas.

Following Reddy (1993), the verbs *stuff, cram* and *shove* lexicalize an aspect of the *conduit metaphor*, which explains the conceptualization of communication as the transfer of thoughts bodily from one person to another.

MOVEMENT AND SPEECH

The verbs *raise, drop, pass, spin* and *weave* show the extension of MOVEMENT to SPEECH. Ideas can be communicated like objects being moved: *raise* (a subject, an *objection*), *drop*⁷ (a *hint, remark*), *pass* (a *sentence, remark*):

- (33) You shouldn't drop hints about promotion to your boss.

Words can also be metaphorically seen as strands of thread that the speaker puts together to produce a coherent message:

- (34) The old sea captain sat by the fire spinning yawns.

MOVEMENT AND ACTION

The connection of MOVEMENT with ACTION is established through the metaphorization of activities as places. Activities can be described as if they were linear motion. It is then possible to move into (*rush*) or away from an activity (*leave, quit, abandon*):

- (35) They abandoned the game because of the rain.

On the other hand, causing an activity is causing movement forward:

- (36) She pushed me into taking the job.

CONCLUSION

The semantic analysis of the field of MOVEMENT has shown that words are embedded in a set of rich semantic relations. The focalization of a meaning component and the genus of the lexeme account for the extension of a few MOVEMENT verbs to other subdomains within the domain (intrafield extensions). On the other hand, the metaphorical processes encoded in the semantic domain of MOVEMENT account for the projection of many verbs onto other semantic fields (interfield extensions), thus giving proof of the linguistic significance of metaphor. 

NOTES

¹ This assumption is found in some semantic theories (i.e. prototype semantics).

² By working upwards from the definitional structure of primary lexemes, Faber and Mairal (1997) have identified eleven semantic domains corresponding to basic conceptual categories: EXISTENCE, MOVEMENT, POSITION, CHANGE, PERCEPTION, FEELING, COGNITION, POSSESSION, SPEECH, SOUND, and GENERAL ACTION.

³ The concept of subdomain is based on Geckeler's (1971) concept of *lexical dimension*.

⁴ See appendix for the configuration of the paradigmatic axis of the semantic domain of MOVEMENT.

⁵ Lakoff and Johnson's Experiential Hypothesis (1980: 267-268) postulates that most abstract concepts arise from our preconceptual bodily experiences as infants —like the experience of up and down— by metaphorical projection.

⁶ Note the conceptualization of the mind as a place. As Romelhart (1993:89) points out: "We use a spatial world to talk about the mind".

⁷ This verb codifies the *conduit metaphor* (cf. above).

⁸ The verbs in brackets are an example of the type of verbs falling in each subdomain.

APPENDIX: PARADIGMATIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SEMANTIC DOMAIN OF MOVEMENT⁸

1. MOVEMENT

1.1. General (*move*)

1.1.1. To move in a particular way

1.1.1.1. To move quickly (*race, hurry*)

1.1.1.1a. To cause sb/sth to move quickly (*race, hurry*)

1.1.1.2. To move slowly (*slow, trundle*)

1.1.1.2a. To cause sth to move slowly (*slow, trundle*)

1.1.1.3. To move smoothly (*glide, slide*)

1.1.1.4. To move forwards quickly/suddenly (*jump, leap*)

1.1.1.5. To move in a circular manner (*curl, circle*)

1.1.1.5a. To cause sth to move in a circular manner (*turn, spin*)

1.1.1.6. To move from side to side/back and forth/up and down repeatedly (*swing, rock*)

1.1.1.6a. To cause sb/sth to move from side to side/back and forth/up and down repeatedly (*swing, rock*)

1.1.2. To move off/away from a place/thing/person (*leave, go*)

1.1.3. To move towards a place/person (*advance, go*)

1.1.4. To move backwards (*back, reverse*)

1.1.4a. To cause sth to move backwards (*back, reverse*)

1.1.5. To move upwards (*rise, climb*)

1.1.5a. To cause sb/sth to move upwards (*lift, raise*)

1.1.6. To move downwards (*fall, descend*)

1.1.6a. To cause sth to move downwards (*lower, drop*)

1.1.7. To move upside down (*turn over, overturn*)

1.1.7a. To cause sb/sth to move upside down (*turn over, overturn*)

1.1.8. To move across/over/through (*pass, cross*)

1.1.9. To move in a different direction (*change, turn*)

1.1.10. To move in relation to sb/sth

1.1.10.1. To move together (*accompany*)

1.1.10.1a. To cause sb/sth to go with you (*take, bring*)

1.1.10.1.1. To move with sb, going before/after (*lead, follow*)

1.1.10.2. To move round in order to be on all sides of (*gather round, surround*)

1.1.10.3. To move out in all directions (*spread*)

1.1.10.3a. To cause sth to move out in all directions (*spread*)

1.1.10.4. To move into a place (*enter*)

1.1.10.4a. To cause sb/sth to move into a place/sth (*pierce, push*)

1.1.10.4.1. To move into a building by force (*break in*)

- 1.1.10.5. To move out of a place (*emerge*)
 1.1.10.6. To move to a different place/position (*shift, relocate*)
 1.1.10.6a. To cause sb/sth to move to a different place/position (*shift, relocate*)
 1.1.10.6.1. To move sb/sth to a different place/position by holding and drawing them along, esp. with force (*pull*)
 1.1.10.6.2. To move sb/sth to a different place/position by holding/walking behind them and exerting force on them, esp. with one's hands (*push*)
 1.1.11. To not move any more (*stop*)
 1.1.11a. To cause sb/sth to not move any more (*stop*)
 1.2. Liquid
 1.2.1. To move as liquid in a particular way (*flow*)
 1.2.1.1. To move slowly in small quantities (*drip*)
 1.2.1.2. To move quickly in large quantities (*pour*)
 1.2.1.3. To move out through an opening (*squirt*)
 1.2.1.3a. To cause a liquid to move out through an opening (*squirt*)
 1.2.2. To move in/downwards below the surface of a liquid (*sink*)
 1.2.2.a. To cause sb/sth to move in/downwards below the surface of a liquid (*sink*)
 1.2.3. To move over liquid (*sail*)
 1.3. Atmosphere
 1.3.1. To move through the air (*fly*)
 1.3.2. To move upwards (*rise*)
 1.3.3. To move downwards (*descend*)
 1.4. Land
 1.4.1. To move in a particular way (*skulk, creep*)
 1.4.1.1. To move using one's feet (*walk*)
 1.4.1.1.1. To move quickly using one's feet (*run*)
 1.4.1.1.2. To move up and down using one's feet (*jump*)
 1.4.2. To move downwards to the ground (*fall*)
 1.4.3. To move one's body (*writhe, squirm*)
 1.4.3.1. To move one's body by raising it (*stand up*)
 1.4.3.2. To move one's body by lowering it (*sit*)
 1.4.3.3. To move a part of one's body (*raise, bend, lick*)

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H. Olbertz, K. Hengeveld and J. Sánchez García, eds.
THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEXICON IN
FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

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312 pp.

The present volume can be ascribed to a current of resurgence of interest in the lexicon and lexical analysis which has characterised linguistic theory in the last few years. As the title suggests, the book deals with the role of the lexicon in Functional Grammar (FG henceforth), a model which the editors outline in the preface. In FG the lexicon is a fundamental component. Lexical items are treated as predicates (basic and derived predicates) and stored in the lexicon in the form of the predicate frames, which provide the following types of information:

- (i) the form and the syntactic category of the predicate,
- (ii) its quantitative valency, i.e. the number of arguments that the predicate requires,
- (iii) its qualitative valency, i.e. the semantic functions of the arguments and their selection restrictions,
- (iv) the meaning definition.

The underlying clause structure is built from the predicates. The expression rules transform the underlying structure into a clause in natural language, introducing the words that do not form part of the lexicon.

The volume is divided in five sections. The first section concentrates on the Functional Lexematic Model (FLM henceforth) and consists of five articles. The first one is a presentation of the model by Faber and Mairal, followed by three applications of it by Calañas, Felices and Fernández. In the last article of this section, Rozina discusses the semantics-syntax interplay.

The second section of this volume, which contains three articles, is devoted to predicate formation, i.e. the derivation of predicates on the basis of productive rules. Baron and Herslund deal with nominalizations in Danish, François analyses pseudo-reflective constructions in French, and Tweehuysen compares causative constructions in Dutch and Swedish.

The third and fourth parts consist of two articles each. In the third section, Butler and Corda raise the question of how to account for collocational

properties of words. The articles of the fourth part by Guerrero and Podolski focus on transitive verbs.

The last section of the book consists of three articles by García Velasco and Martín Miguel, Samuelsdorff, and Weigand and Hoppenbrouwers, which provide an insight into the relationship between the lexicon and the underlying structure of the clause.

The book explores new aspects within the framework of FG, such as the semantics-syntax connection and the enlargement or modification of Dik's predicate frames model (1978a) to account for syntactic or semantic properties of predicates. Further, the arguments are illustrated with material from a variety of languages. The book also contains the description of a new lexicological and lexicographic model of linguistic description (the FLM), providing valuable applications of it.

Starting from the assumption that the lexical component in FG should be reorganised to show the linguistic architecture of the lexicon and the codification of pragmatic and cognitive information, Faber and Mairal (1998: 3-24) present the FLM as an enriched version of the model developed by Martín Mingorance (1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1990). The construction of the model integrates three axes:

- (i) the paradigmatic axis, i.e. the structuring of the lexicon in semantic domains and subdomains based on shared meaning components following Dik's Stepwise Lexical Decomposition,
- (ii) the syntagmatic axis, i.e. the analysis of the complementation of the predicates adopting the predicate frame structure as a notational device,
- (iii) the cognitive axis, i.e. the description of the predicate conceptual schemata which codify the prototypical semantic, syntactic and pragmatic features at three levels: domain, subdomain and lexeme.

In line with this, Faber and Mairal conceive the linguistic architecture of the domains as a core lexical grammar or lexical domain grammar where a set of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic features converge. In this sense, they underline the semantics-syntax connection, which is epitomized in terms of the following iconic principle (1998: 8): "The greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme, the greater its syntactic *variations*".

As an example, the authors analyse the subdomain-level schema to think about something in order to make a decision within the domain of COGNITION.

The next three articles are specific applications of the FLM to the Spanish and English lexicon. Calañas (1998: 25-46) studies three aspects of

the lexical field of EXISTENCE in German: (1) the domain hierarchy, conditioned by phasal distinctions (inception, duration, cessation); (2) the paradigmatic organization of some subdomains; (3) the syntagmatic description of one of such subdomains (To cause sb/sth to begin to exist).

The semantic study of Felices (1998: 47-64) is more limited in scope, since he sketches the paradigmatic structure of the Spanish verbs of FEELING, focusing on the construction of definitions according to the principle of economy and the deficiencies of two Spanish dictionaries (*Diccionario de la Lengua de la Real Academia Española and Diccionario de Uso del Español*), which he illustrates through samples of the corpus: lack of innovation, moral and social prejudice, obsolescence and circularity of definitions.

In contrast, Fernández (1998: 65-84) centres upon the cognitive axis, stressing the validity of the FLM as a model of representation of knowledge. Through the etymological study of POSSESSION verbs in English, he demonstrates that:

- 1) Abstract concepts are structured in terms of more concrete experiences. For example, the notion of POSSESSION is constructed from the domains of POSITION, MOVEMENT, ACTION, EXISTENCE, PERCEPTION and MATERIAL. This reflects the role of cognitive abilities (e.g. metaphor, metonymy) in our perception and interpretation of the world.
- 2) Lexical structure reflects conceptual structure in two ways:
 - (i) the FLM provides a systematic organization of concepts and their interrelationships,
 - (ii) the archilexeme (the nuclear word of the domain) can be seen as the central member of the category represented by the lexical field. This is in consonance with the idea of categorization as a gradable category.

But the major contribution of Fernández is his claim that the semantic structure of the field of POSSESSION represents different levels of lexicalization—the archilexeme standing for the first level—and that each level shows a different kind of conceptual overlapping depending on the relevance of the more concrete domains to the conceptualization of possession.

The semantics-syntax interaction, one of the fundamentals of the FLM is the subject of the paper by Rozina (1998: 85-95). She demonstrates through examples from Russian that the ability of exercitive verbs of POSSESSION (i.e. those combining in their definition a physical component with a speech component) to take certain aspectual meanings (action in progress, intention,

unsuccessful attempt) depends on the presence of meaning components or on the arrangement of components in the definitional structure. For instance, the inability of these verbs to carry the meaning of action in progress results from the combination of the performative and physical components within their definition. This means that "the meaning definitions of predicates contain information about their grammatical properties, and the latter can be predicted on the basis of the analysis of meaning definitions" (1998: 94).

In the first article of the second section (1998: 99-116), Baron and Herslund propose an enlargement of Dik's notion of predicate frame to support verb constructions or verbonominal predicates (VNP)—combinations of a verb with a noun specifying its meaning, which would obtain through a predicate formation rule whereby the verb includes the object. They also note the features of VNP: constituents (subject, effected object and prepositional object), semantic unity contrasting with the bipartite syntactic structure.

In the next article François (1998: 117-137) suggests the application of lexically-restricted PF rules to French pseudo-reflective verbs of AFFECTION derived from transitive verbs, although he acknowledges some arguments against it (e.g. the metonymical meaning of some constructions and the development of intransitive uses in informal speech). He proposes two PF rules:

- (1) A pseudo-reflexive Process rule to explain the change in the State of Affairs designated by the predication - from an Action or causative Process to a Process.
- (2) A valency extension rule which introduces a second argument and may impose selection restrictions on it ([animate]). The application of this rule accounts for four types of pseudo-reflexive constructions.

The second section ends with Tweehuysen's paper (1998: 139-167), in which he argues for the treatment of causatives as bisentential constructions, contrasting with FG approach based on valency extension. While Dik describes causatives as derived predicates resulting from the addition of an Agent argument and the feature [+Caus] to the predicate frame and the application of three rules for subject and object assignment, Tweehuysen treats causatives as complex predicates resulting from the addition of a predicate to a basic predicate. This claim is exemplified by means of the analysis of some causative constructions in Dutch and Swedish, which leads him to postulate that some causatives should be described as passives.

The third part of the book is concerned with the inclusion of collocational properties of predicates in the predicate frame or in the meaning

definition. In this regard, Butler (1998: 171-194) suggests incorporating them to an enriched version of the predicate frame including other types of information so that the PF is a model of the native speaker's lexical competence:

- (i) relationships among senses of polysemous lexical units in terms of schematic networks;
- (ii) pragmatic information.

This argument is illustrated from English and Spanish corpora.

The assumption that collocations must be taken into account in lexical entries is also found in the next article by Corda (1998: 195-211), in which she gives proof through examples from Italian that collocations are not satisfactorily dealt with in dictionaries, where they are not distinguished from senses, since dictionaries list as independent senses those derived from the sense of some fixed collocations.

The problem of collocations is also approached from a lexicological perspective. In this light, Corda criticises FG for ignoring "the interaction between grammar and combinabilities in the lexicon" (1998: 200), and claims that syntagmatic relations can only be accounted for in a linguistic theory integrating semantics and syntax and incorporating extralinguistic knowledge to meaning definitions.

The fourth part of the volume concentrates on the relation of transitive verbs (including causative verbs) to Dik's typology of States of Affairs. Guerrero (1998: 215-232) describes the syntactic and semantic properties of prototypical transitive constructions within the framework of FG. Transitive clauses are syntactically marked by the presence of a lexical verb and two arguments. The semantic features are defined in terms of two types of parameters: (i) Aktionsart parameters, [+control] and [+change], which specify the semantic properties of predicates and terms; (ii) Seinsart parameters, [+human], [+animate] and [+concrete], which denote inherent semantic features of the terms filling argument positions.

Guerrero remarks that the absence of the parameter Control and the presence of Change block transitive patterning in Spanish and German, and in line with it, she presents a new typology of SoAs based on these parameters, which contrasts with Dik's typology, where Dynamism and Control are the basic parameters.

The issue of causative constructions is taken up again in the next article by Podolski (1998: 233-245), who examines several aspects of causative constructions in English, Estonian and Russian: the relationship between causation and transitivity, the potential relationship between semantic and

formal derivation in causative verbs, and the semantic features of causative constructions:

- (i) the feature [+change], associated with the predication as a whole;
- (ii) the feature [+control], associated with the semantic function of the first argument, Agent ([+con]), or Force ([-con]);
- (iii) the feature [\pm telic] depending on the degree of successfulness of causative events.

In the last section of the book García Velasco and Martín Miguel (1998: 249-265) compare the status of the lexicon in FG and Systemic Functional Grammar, and the connection between semantics and syntax in these grammatical theories and others (Generative Theory, the proposals of Jackendoff, and Hale and Keyser within the Lexicon Project at the MIT), concluding that this relationship should be accounted for in a more systematic way.

In the next article, Samuelsdorff (1998: 267-278) invites the reader to consider the status of three word classes within the lexicon: pronouns, adpositions and adverbs. He concludes that pronouns, the majority of adpositions and a class of adverbs are grammatical items. His major contribution is the idea that adverbs should not be treated as basic predicates, since they are derived from adjectives and are semantically equivalent to them.

The final article (1998: 279-300) provides a critical review of the FG lexicon, pointing to its shortcomings —exclusion of grammatical items, inability to represent the actual words of a language, and absence of concepts. Within a functional framework, Weigand and Hoppenbrouwers present a lexical model, the dynamic lexicon, in which the linguistic acts play a central role. This lexicon covers the lexemes and the expression rules, i.e. the words and the actions on words —the devices to create new words, formulated by means of Weigand's (1994) f-structure.

This volume adds new insight to a number of lexical and syntactic issues, such as the configuration of the lexicon, the nature of lexical entries, causativity, transitivity and the semantics-syntax interface. Further, it combines theoretical orientations with descriptive analyses of lexical and syntactic problems. This book will be valuable reading for researchers and students in the domain of linguistics and for anyone interested in the development of this science.

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Antonio Gil de Carrasco y Leo Hickey, eds.
APROXIMACIONES A LA TRADUCCIÓN

Madrid: Instituto Cervantes, 1999

190p.

El siglo XX ha constituido el escenario para una revolución en torno a uno de los modos más antiguos de comunicación lingüística: la traducción, entendida ésta en su modo más amplio, esto es, como traducción e interpretación. La evolución tecnológica, la intensificación de las relaciones comerciales y los intercambios culturales han contribuido de manera decisiva a la hora de situar esta disciplina en su lugar correspondiente. En una sociedad concebida como aldea global, donde prima la comunicación entre las culturas de los rincones más remotos, nadie niega ya la importancia de un área de conocimiento cuyo concurso es pieza clave en el engranaje del funcionamiento de los más importantes organismos internacionales. Así, la consolidación de la traducción como una disciplina independiente ha dado lugar, entre otras muchas manifestaciones, a la proliferación de publicaciones sobre el tema.

Dentro de este marco debemos interpretar la aparición de *Aproximaciones a la Traducción*. Este volumen es el resultado de un encuentro organizado conjuntamente por el Instituto Cervantes de Manchester y el Instituto de Estudios Europeos de la Universidad de Salford, y celebrado en esta última universidad en marzo de 1996. Algunas de las contribuciones que tuvieron cabida en dicho foro se recogen ahora en el volumen editado por el Instituto Cervantes.

Como los propios editores indican en su introducción, las aportaciones aquí recogidas pueden categorizarse de acuerdo con tres aspectos diferentes de la disciplina traductora: a) cuestiones generales referidas a la profesión del traductor/ intérprete, b) cuestiones de tipo pedagógico y metodológico, y finalmente, c) consideraciones sobre la práctica de ciertas modalidades concretas (traducción literaria, técnica, etc.). El volumen recoge un total de once artículos, obra de profesores universitarios, traductores/ intérpretes y profesionales que reúnen en sí mismos ambas condiciones.

Las contribuciones de Montserrat Phillips y Virginia Cano se centran en el tratamiento de aspectos referidos al ejercicio de la profesión. Montserrat Phillips comenta aspectos generales y cotidianos de la actividad del traductor autónomo en Inglaterra, y aconseja a quienes quieran dedicarse a ello una cierta especialización en un género o subgénero concreto. Resulta muy



ilustrativa su comparación entre el campo de la traducción jurídica en España y en Gran Bretaña.

Los primeros pasos que hay que dar cuando se decide ejercer la profesión de traductor/ intérprete en el Reino Unido constituye el tema del artículo de Virginia Cano. La traductora e intérprete trata además aspectos muy prácticos como son el equipo técnico con el que hay que contar.

Un segundo bloque de artículos lo constituyen aquellos que versan sobre aspectos pedagógicos y formativos. La competencia traductora conforma el tema de análisis de Patrick Zabalbeascoa. El autor aboga por fomentar el conocimiento racional y por la sistematización del trabajo en lugar de confiar en la habilidad innata y en la intuición del traductor. De esta forma, entre otras propuestas, detalla una relación de los posibles aspectos que constituyen la llamada competencia traductora, así como los factores que intervienen en la evaluación del rendimiento del traductor.

Roberto Mayoral basa su contribución en los aspectos curriculares de la enseñanza de la traducción e interpretación en España. Así, tras una descripción del nuevo Plan de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación, implantado en España en 1991, y una relación de los aspectos positivos que dicho plan ha introducido, el autor pasa a comentar otras cuestiones que han resultado más polémicas y cuyo debate considera imprescindible de cara a plantear una posible reforma.

La formación de los traductores técnicos es el punto de reflexión de Natividad Gallardo. La autora argumenta que el traductor de textos especializados puede traducir este tipo de textos sin poseer un conocimiento exhaustivo del tema, apoyándose en su conocimiento de la lengua, en el conocimiento extralingüístico y en el análisis del texto. De cara a desarrollar estas herramientas, y a modo de ejemplo, la autora detalla los aspectos que deben contemplarse en la programación de la disciplina de Traducción Científica.

Anabel Borja centra su contribución en los aspectos didácticos de la traducción jurídica. La autora define esta disciplina según el modelo de clasificación integrador de Amparo Hurtado (1996), quien contempla otros aspectos que van más allá de las funciones de los textos originales (modalidades de traducción, naturaleza, dirección, métodos). Tomando esta definición como punto de partida, Anabel Borja realiza una propuesta didáctica que se centra en la enseñanza de la traducción inglés-español de textos jurídicos.

Finalizando el segundo bloque de contribuciones se encuentra la propuesta de Anne Martin, única aportación que se centra en la interpretación. En contra de lo mantenido por algunas autoridades en la materia, la autora,

haciéndose eco de otras voces, parte de la base de que la Traducción y la Interpretación son disciplinas estrechamente relacionadas, de tal forma que la formación en una de ellas condiciona el aprendizaje de la otra. Martin hace un rápido repaso por los distintos modelos y métodos pedagógicos de la interpretación para pasar a centrarse en la enseñanza de dos modos de interpretación de conferencias: la interpretación consecutiva y la simultánea.

El tercer bloque de contribuciones a *Aproximaciones a la Traducción* lo conforman aquellos trabajos que tratan sobre la práctica de tipos concretos de traducción. Antonio Gil de Carrasco y Nicholas Round coinciden en la utilización de la traducción literaria como marco de análisis. Gil de Carrasco plantea la cuestión de cómo evaluar las traducciones literarias. El autor propone hacer uso de un marco práctico que sistematiza tres tipos de transformaciones que se producen en todo proceso de traducción: las obligatorias, las involuntarias e inconscientes, que abarcarían lo que se entiende por errores de traducción, y las deliberadas, en las que entran en juego consideraciones de tipo pragmático. En opinión del autor este último tipo de transformaciones constituye el campo de análisis para la evaluación de traducciones literarias, evaluación que aplica a la traducción de *The Bell*, de Iris Murdoch.

Nicholas Round establece una comparación entre la traducción (traslación interlingual) y la parodia (traslación intralingual), entendida ésta última como una forma de para-traducción, es decir, de traslación a una nueva subcategoría lingüística o a un código cultural distinto. Round establece que, si bien existen muchos puntos en común entre los dos modos de traslación, son muchas también las diferencias que los separan. Estas diferencias son analizadas y ejemplificadas por el autor mediante varias versiones en inglés de fragmentos de *La vida es sueño*.

La práctica de la traducción médica es el tema de análisis de Malcolm Marsh. El autor comienza por establecer una categorización dentro de los heterogéneos textos médicos, para luego pasar a comentar algunos de los problemas de tipo general y específico con los que se enfrentan los traductores. Como consideración general, el autor mantiene que estos problemas vienen dados, no tanto por cuestiones terminológicas, sino por cuestiones de tipo estilístico y genérico.

Finalmente, Leo Hickey retoma uno de los aspectos que de forma menos satisfactoria se resuelve: la traducción del humor. El humor nace de la incongruencia, y, según el autor, puede categorizarse como: a) el que depende exclusivamente del comportamiento o del conocimiento universal, b) el que se origina en algo específico a una sociedad o cultura, y c) el que deriva de algún aspecto del lenguaje. Para Hickey, los dos últimos tipos son los que

exigen mayor atención y esfuerzo por parte del traductor. Ilustra estas dificultades con ejemplos en los que intervienen factores específicamente culturales, de tipo gramatical, modismos, frases hechas y juegos de palabras. El autor propone una práctica basada en el mantenimiento de las incongruencias y en el análisis pragmalingüístico del texto original.

Como se puede deducir de lo arriba esbozado, *Aproximaciones a la Traducción* constituye un volumen coral al que no se puede negar una voluntad de pluralidad. Si hay algo que criticar, esto sería lo que es inevitable en este tipo de textos colectivos: un cierto aire de cajón de sastre, disculpable si recordamos que el libro nació como resultado de unos encuentros organizados bajo el genérico nombre de "Simposio Internacional sobre Traducción Española e Inglesa". A resaltar, un tono informativo e ilustrativo, muy adecuado para el que se perfila como potencial lector del volumen: el traductor en formación. Resulta, además, refrescante oír unas voces que con frecuencia se echan en falta en los estudios sobre traducción: la del docente y la del traductor/ intérprete en ejercicio, voces que muy bien pueden iluminar el camino de aquellos que se quieran dedicar a una práctica inherente a la esencia del ser humano y a su deseo de conocer y de comunicarse.

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HURTADO ALBIR, AMPARO. 1996. "La traduction: Classification et éléments d'analyse". *Meta* 41 (1).



ABSTRACTS



ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DE LA ISOCRONÍA ACENTUAL EN INGLÉS

M. Heliódora Cuenca Villarín

En este artículo se lleva a cabo una revisión de la isocronía acentual en inglés por medio del análisis de muestras orales de prosa leída y habla espontánea. Con el objeto de determinar qué factores pueden ejercer una influencia en la duración del pie, se han aplicado correlaciones entre ésta y otras variables (posición prepausal/ no prepausal, número de segmentos en el pie y número de sílabas en el pie). El número de segmentos en el pie demostró ser el factor más significativo para la duración del pie en inglés en ambas muestras. A pesar de que la duración del pie mostró un incremento lineal con el número de sílabas en habla espontánea, llegó a apreciarse cierto efecto rítmico de isocronía acentual en prosa leída. Este comportamiento ambiguo quedó igualmente de manifiesto en las líneas de regresión trazadas. Nuestros resultados señalan la necesidad de adoptar otros criterios fonéticos y fonológicos, así como la importancia del estilo de habla o registro en la clasificación rítmica del inglés y demás lenguas en general.

Palabras clave: inglés, fonética, ritmo, isocronía acentual, registro.



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Palabras clave: inglés, fonética, ritmo, isocronía acentual, registro.



SOME REFLEXIONS ON THE STUDY OF IDIOMS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR L2 TEACHING

Marisa Díez Arroyo

This paper focuses on the importance of a particular manifestation of figurative language: the idiomatic phrase. Its purpose is to analyse fixed expressions, the difficulties they pose and the main preoccupations shown by theoreticians. At the same time, the study offers a comparison of idioms in L1 with the circumstances which surround L2 learning, together with an exploration of how the emerging differences affect L2 idiom teaching. The investigation has been conducted along the lines of an interdisciplinary methodology; thus, a conscious effort has been made to combine the linguistic and the psycholinguistic viewpoints, implemented with the analysis of Proficiency level coursebooks, in the hope that this helps us to gain a better understanding of the nature, processing and teachability/learnability of these phrases.

Key words: idiom comprehension, idiom processing, idiom transparency, Cognitive Semantics, L2 teaching.



1984: UNA INTERPRETACIÓN SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA

Paula López Rúa

El presente artículo analiza la utopía lingüística propuesta por Orwell en la obra *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), así como las conexiones que se establecen entre las condiciones lingüísticas y las circunstancias políticas, sociales y psicológicas descritas en la novela. Tras una introducción en la que se expone el marco sociopolítico en donde se encuadra la situación lingüística que se vive en la obra, el estudio se centra en el análisis comparativo de las dos lenguas utilizadas, el *Oldspeak* y el *Newspeak*, teniendo en cuenta sus características más relevantes, su estatus, el tipo de hablantes que las utilizan,

sus variedades y sus funciones respectivas. El resultado de dicho análisis pone en evidencia que *ambas* lenguas (*Oldspeak* y *Newspeak*) son instrumentos de incalculable valor para manipular y esclavizar social, política y psicológicamente a sus hablantes; en otras palabras, el *Newspeak* representa simplemente un calculado paso adelante en el proceso iniciado y aún continuado por el *Oldspeak*. De este modo, el auténtico mérito del *Oldspeak* no es otro que el de realizar la misma función de manera tan sutil que, en un primer momento, el lector sólo es consciente de la evidente manipulación ejercida a través del *Newspeak*. A la luz del análisis efectuado, el artículo concluye con una reflexión sobre hasta qué punto sería factible la transferencia al mundo real de la ficción lingüística recreada por el autor.

Palabras clave: determinismo, diglosia, eufemismo, manipulación, sociolingüística.



PROLEGOMENA TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INVENTORY *SYNSEM* FEATURES AFTER THE OLD ENGLISH VERB

Javier E. Díaz Vera

Through the detailed analysis of the meaning definitions of different semantic sets of old English verbs and of their complementation patterns, I will propose a preliminary reconstruction of a basic set of *synsem* features, i.e. syntactic and semantic parameters which operate throughout the lexicon in the various areas of meaning. These features are divided into three basic types: obligatory, optional and contextual. Through the addition of a morphological component, I will propose some possible applications of Faber and Mairal's (1988) semantic-syntactic model to the analysis of the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary.

Key words: Semantic Syntax, FLM lexicon, lexical derivation, causation, case, impersonality, pragmatics.

THE POSITION OF SUBJECT CLAUSES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Javier Rivas

In English, subject clauses can occur either preverbally (in subject initial position) or postverbally (in final position). In order to account for these structures, linguistic theory has presented two major hypotheses: extraposition and intraposition. All through the history of English, the criterion of frequency seems to support the hypothesis of intraposition, since preverbal subject clauses are not found in OE and are a very marginal type in both the ME and eModE periods. The aim of this paper is to account for the factors which favour the occurrence of preverbal subject clauses by examining the evidence attested in the earlier periods of the English language as well as presenting new data concerning the 18th century. The general tendency is for clauses of this type to convey low informational load, sometimes even acting as cohesive links between paragraphs. Other conditioning factors are the text-type and the principle of end-weight.

Key words: subject clause, extraposition, intraposition, informational load, end-weight principle.



THE ROLE OF TEXT STRUCTURE IN ENCODING IDEOLOGY AND INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE

M^a José Luzón Marco

Although any aspect of discourse can be ideologically significant, research on the relation between discourse and ideology has generally focused on the ideological investment of lexis and grammar. This paper analyses the ideological significance of the structure of the text. The role of text structure in perpetuating existing power relations is examined and described in terms of naturalisation and manipulation. Naturalisation of discourse structure refers to the fact that a structure associated with a specific social group is considered to be universal and thus the ideology which invests it is not regarded as ideology, but as common sense. Manipulation is concerned with the fact

that, when encoding an argument, the writer considers the reader's expectations regarding the structure of the text in order to articulate the different elements and organise the discourse in a specific way, which reflects the ideological position from which the text is constructed.

Key words: critical discourse analysis, ideology, text structure, genre, schemata.



THE USE OF PRAGMATIC POLITENESS THEORY IN THE INTERPRETATION OF HEMINGWAY'S "HILLS LIKE WHITE ELEPHANTS"

Enrique Lafuente

In the interpretation of a literary text, specially if the information granted by the author is insufficient, reinterpretation by means of inferences is necessary. The reader's previous background knowledge will often position him/ her in his/ her interpretation and so the text is open to subjective rendering. If we accept that literary dialogue is another form of social communication, Pragmatic Theory can be of help when it comes to studying texts like "Hills like White Elephants", where the words uttered by the characters hold the key to the meaning of the story. In this article, I will mainly use Brown and Levinson's politeness theory to analyze the strategies used by the two interactants in an attempt to sketch a profile of the motivations underlying their linguistic behaviour and to provide a less arbitrary interpretation of the text.

Key words: pragmatic politeness, fictional dialogue, interpretation, gender, negotiation.



¿QUÉ SE ENTIENDE POR 'ESQUEMA' EN LA SEMÁNTICA DE ESQUEMAS?

Ana Rojo López

En ámbitos como la inteligencia artificial, la psicología cognitiva y la lingüística cognitiva, la creciente adopción de modelos de comprensión basados en estructuras interactivas de conocimiento ha generado una cierta proliferación de etiquetas utilizadas para designar a dichas estructuras (por ejemplo, *schemata*, *schema*, *frame*, *script*, *scenarío*, etc). De entre todas ellas, las más generales para referirse a estas estructuras de conocimiento parecen ser 'frame' y 'schema' en inglés, y 'esquema' en español. Como resultado, el término 'frame' ha sido utilizado de manera diferente por un amplio número de autores. Este trabajo intenta aclarar, en la medida de lo posible, la confusión terminológica, definiendo en mayor profundidad la noción de 'frame' ('esquema') y analizando su papel en la teoría sobre el significado conocida con el nombre de 'Frame Semantics.'

Palabras clave: Semántica de Esquemas, Semántica de Esquemas y Escenas, Marcos, Lingüística Cognitiva.



THAT/ZERO VARIATION IN PRIVATE LETTERS AND DRAMA (1420-1710): A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

Cristina Suárez Gómez

This paper offers a description of the distribution of the complementisers *that* and *zero* in two informal registers of the language, namely, private letters and drama. The analysed texts date from the last period of Middle English and the whole of Early Middle English as represented in the computerised *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. In the first section the complement clauses and the complementisers found in the selected texts are analysed to discover their particular contexts of distribution. The second section, in turn, examines possible factors, both linguistic and extralinguistic, which may influence, and even condition, the choice of the complementiser.

Key words: complementiser, complement clause, colloquial register, gender, style.



POLYSEMY IN THE SEMANTIC FIELD OF MOVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Isabel Negro

In this paper we will attempt to demonstrate that the lexicon is not neatly divided through the analysis of the semantic field of MOVEMENT in the English language. We will first describe the model of lexical description that we have followed, the Functional-Lexematic Model (Martín Mingorance, 1984), which consists of three levels of analysis: the paradigmatic, syntagmatic and cognitive axes. Then we will examine the double/multiple membership of MOVEMENT verbs within their semantic field (intrafield membership) and across the lexicon (interfield membership). Intrafield membership is determined by three factors: focalization of a meaning component, genus of the lexeme, and metaphorical extension of the lexical unit. Interfield membership is accounted for by metaphorical processes.

Key words: semantic domain, levels of focalization, semantic parameters, metaphorical processes, intrafield and interfield membership.





NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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