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Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza • Spain
Tel. 976761530 / 976761514
Fax 976761519
E-mail: garciala@posta.unizar.es

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THE FUNCTIONAL MOTIVATIONS OF COMPLEMENT *THAT*-CLAUSES



JUAN CARLOS ACUÑA FARIÑA
UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to reveal some basic principles of the internal logic of the English complement system as applied to whole clauses.¹ Primarily, I will focus my attention upon *that*-clauses, although in order to do this appropriately, frequent mention will be made of the non-finite forms of complementation, especially of infinitives. In the main, the paper will revolve around a number of points raised by Bresnan (1972), Riddle (1975), Noonan (1985), Rudanko (1984), Beukema and Verspoor (1991), and Givón (1993), and may thus be seen as an attempt to integrate them all.

The complementation of a verb, a noun or an adjective can be expressed through different devices, the selection of one over the others normally implying a change in the meaning potential of the utterance in question. Thus, for instance, the differences between examples (1)-(4) can and must largely be attributed to the particular complementing structure chosen in each case:

- (1) He told me to do a nice job
- (2) He told me that he had done a nice job
- (3) He did not tell me whether he had done a nice job
- (4) He told me what a beautiful job he had done

The complement structure in (1) presents us with an agent that is imploring an affectee to do something in the future, (3) encodes the asking of a

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Juan José CRUZ HERNÁNDEZ, Universidad de La Laguna
Juan M. de la CRUZ FERNÁNDEZ, Universidad de Málaga
Carmelo CUNCHILLOS JAIME, Universidad de La Rioja
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The complement structure in (1) presents us with an agent that is exploring an affectee to do something in the future, (3) encodes the asking of a

question, and (4) expresses an exclamation. (2), the subject of our concern here, conveys the reporting of information. Notice that each complement type is syntactically as well as morphologically characterised by opposition to the others. Thus, (1) is the only one to have an infinitive as predicate in the embedded clause. (3) has a "wh-word" acting as complementizer followed by a kernel clause, that is, one with unmarked word order. (4) also exhibits a "wh-word" but with no kernel patterning after it. By restricting ourselves to (2), at least in principle, we shall be concerned mainly with finite declarative clausal complementation. *That*- complementizers are the main device used to introduce this kind of complement structure.

A corpus will be used. As a matter of fact, a lot of what is known about the system of complementation has been revealed through the use of corpora, for reasons which will become clear. Our corpus will be merely illustrative (only 35,000 words). Nevertheless—it might be said in advance—the results cast by it are perfectly consonant with larger pieces of linguistic research that we will in any case need to fall back upon. We will use two extracts, one from Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*² and another from Mark Twain's celebrated *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.³ I will refer to Franklin's text as text F and to Twain's as text T. The two samples are notable for, among other things, their lack of resemblance to each other. We need to find out what factors, if any, there are in the selection of a particular syntactic frame (a *that*-clause, a *to*-infinitive) and the particular communicative effects gained by the selection in question. In Givón's words, "the main theme of this [paper] is the isomorphic relation that exists between the meaning of a main verb and the syntax of its complement clause" (1993: 2.2).

The analysis which follows will be along the following lines. In the next section, the positions occupied by complement *that*-clauses in the schematic corpus will be itemized—that is, whether they function as subject complements, complements of nouns, objects, etc. After that, in section 3, the semantics of the system of complementation will be briefly analysed. Specifically, an attempt will be made to identify the sort of semantic matrix types associated with *that*- complementation. These two (brief) stages will have a distinctly descriptive component. A description of the syntax and semantics of *that*- clauses in English will prepare the ground for section 4, which will be concerned with some of the most relevant functional and structural properties of the English clausal complement system. Section 4, then, will constitute the bulk of the present study. Summing up will briefly be the concern of section 5.

2. THE POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY COMPLEMENT *THAT*-CLAUSES

Loosely speaking, a complement is an element that expands the inherent meaning of another (head) element. More precisely, a complement is an argument of a predication. Now, a predication denotes the abstract content which is common to propositions, questions and directives, and can thus be realised by only three elements in the morphology of the clause structure: by verbs, nouns and adjectives. Hence a complement typically complements a verb, a noun or an adjective. As regards complement *that*-clauses, it is possible to find clauses of this kind depending on verbs, nouns, and adjectives in almost all the positions available to phrasal constituents.

Our corpus exhibits examples of these three general types, although, as might reasonably be expected, in very different proportions for each type. Table 1 displays the figures for each general complement type, as well as their distribution across the two texts.

Table 1	F	T	TOTAL
Verb complementation	50	81	131 (93.5%)
Adjective complem.	3	3	6 (4.2%)
Noun complem.	3	0	3 (2.1%)

As expected, most of the occurrences in the corpus are realized by verb complementation. However, the dominance of this form (93.5%) over both adjective and noun complementation (6.3%) is, perhaps, even beyond reasonable expectations. Incidentally, the occurrence of non-verbal forms in the same corpus in the case of infinitival complementation displays a rather less marked disproportion, with a good 18.1% of infinitives occurring after nouns and adjectives. Let us restrict ourselves to verb complementation now.

The corpus shows five different syntactic subtypes of verb complementation. Table 2 displays the figures involved in each subtype, as well as their distribution in the two texts.

Table 2	F	T	TOTAL
Monotransitive	44	73	117 (89.31%)
Ditransitive	1	5	6 (4.58%)
Extrap. Subj.	2	3	5 (3.81%)
Extrap. Obj.	1	0	1 (0.76%)
Subj. Compl.	2	0	2 (1.52%)
	50	81	131

As before, a glance at the numbers will reveal the highly unequal presence of these forms. Monotransitive complementation (as discussed in Quirk et al. 1985: 1176 ff., or Huddleston 1984: 177 ff., for instance) takes up 84.62% of the total, while the sum total for the four remaining categories is only 10.67%. (5) below is an instance of the commonest type of structure which gives rise to complement *that*-clauses, dominant both in our corpus and elsewhere:

- (5) Pap always said *that* it warn't no harm to borrow things, if you was meaning to pay them back some time; but the widow said [*that*] it warn't anything but a soft name for stealing, and [*that*] no decent body would do it. Jim said [*that*] he reckoned [*that*] the widow was partly right and [*that*] pap was partly right.

3. THE SEMANTIC TAXONOMY OF PREDICATES

3.1. INTRODUCTION

So far, all that has been done is to mention the figures for the different positions that *that*-clauses typically occupy in the sentences of our corpus, with the monotransitive pattern emerging as the clearly dominant position. But this statistic in itself does not bring us much closer to finding out why the constructions in our corpus take *that*-clauses at all. Now of course, on a very general level, it could be answered that these constructions take *that*-clauses to expand their meanings. But the question then is: why, of all possible

complementing structures readily available in the English linguistic system, do these constructions take *that*-complements and not, say, participial clauses? We should remember that, apart from the mortally-wounded subjunctive, English has four main forms for the expression of its complements (Noonan 1985: 43):

- (6) That Sowa came at all is remarkable. (*That*-clause, declarative)
 (7) For Sowa to come at all is remarkable. (Infinitival clause)
 (8) Sowa's coming at all is remarkable. (Gerundial clause)
 (9) Lua saw Sowa coming. (Participial clause)

When one of them is barred another more appropriate one is not. Our task as linguists is to see in what way a form is or is not appropriate and to determine the conditions under which such appropriateness holds true. One relevant condition is the morphology of each complement type, for this endows it with certain potential abilities which other types may lack. For instance, the different meanings of (10) and (11)

- (10) I have decided to have a temperature
 (11) I have decided that I have a temperature

(Riddle 1975: 469)

may be put down to the form of the complement clause. So, faced with the predicate 'decide' and two rival ways of expanding its meaning, we as speakers must choose one or another way depending on the communicative effect we mean to obtain.

Seen in this light, complementation may be just a matter of selecting the adequate syntactic frame. However, a second factor normally comes into play to impose conditions on that selection: namely, the meaning of the matrix. Naturally enough, language being basically about the economic expression of meaning, it may not be possible to make use of a certain syntactic structure that is, say, particularly efficient for the coding of *any* time precisely after a matrix verb which, by virtue of its very meaning, can only code future time, especially if there are competing structures in the system that specialise in the expression of that future time. This is what explains the different acceptability of (12) and (13), for instance,:

- (12) Sowa wanted to do the job.
 (13) *Sowa wanted that he had done the job.

where the ungrammatical contrafactive implications of the complement clause in (12) are only obvious after a verb such as 'want' and not, for instance, after 'believe', in (14):

(14) Sowa believed that he had done the job.

The reason for their different acceptability flows naturally from their distinct meanings. 'Want' is a desiderative predicate and it therefore expresses a desire that the proposition in the complement clause be realised *in the future*. 'Believe', on the other hand, is a "propositional attitude predicate" (see below) and, thus, it expresses an attitude towards the truth or falseness of the complement proposition. The attitude may be a present one, even though the action expressed by the complement took place long ago. Now, the fact that one verb takes a *that*-clause while the other one takes an infinitival clause forces us to see that there may be a sort of specialization on the part of the different complementing structures, each covering the expression of a different range of meanings. Note also that in (10) and (11) above the verb 'decide' changes its meaning as well as its complementation pattern. At bottom, then, complementation is a matter of combining the particular potentialities of a given syntactic structure with the meaning of a matrix predicate. This combination might be seen, then, as a highly sophisticated language internal mechanism aimed at a unique and precise target: the economic expression of meaning. And it is the details of this mechanism that need further illumination.

What follows is a classification of the different semantic predicates found in our representative corpus. I present this classification now with a view to determining which of those predicates are intrinsically bound to *that*-complementation. The taxonomy is largely, but not wholly, based on the one put forward by Noonan (1985).

3.2. THE SEMANTIC PREDICATES OF OUR CORPUS

Table 3 displays the different types of semantic predicates found in the corpus. Here follow a few representative predicates of each type.

Utterance predicates: *say, mention, tell*.

Propositional attitude predicates: *think, suppose, believe*.

Knowledge predicates: *find out, know, understand*.

Commentative predicates: *be well, be glad, be likely*.

Desiderative predicates: *expect, wish, hope*.

Perception predicates: *observe, perceive, see*.

Fear Predicates: *afraid*.

Others: *take care, make it clear, be*.

	T	F	TOTAL
Utterance predicates	31 (36.9%)	9 (16.0%)	40 (28.9%)
Propositional attitude	35 (41.1%)	23 (41.0%)	58 (41.4%)
Knowledge	6 (7.1%)	14 (25.0%)	20 (14.2%)
Commentative	2 (2.3%)	2 (3.5%)	4 (2.8%)
Desiderative	6 (7.1%)	2 (3.5%)	8 (5.0%)
Perception	3 (3.5%)	2 (3.5%)	5 (3.5%)
Fear	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)
Others	0 (0%)	4 (7.1%)	4 (2.8%)
Total	84	56	140

4. THE LOGIC OF THE SYSTEM: FUNCTIONAL MOTIVATIONS

4.1. SPECIALIZATION

Some interesting conclusions follow from the figures in Table 3. A first point would be the relatively few different semantic types. Only seven major categories were found, apart from the catch-all term 'others'. Moreover, even this low number is deceptive given that more than half the categories are poorly *populated*. The fact is that the first three types (utterance, propositional attitude and knowledge predicates) cover as much as 84.28% of the occurrences, leaving the second most numerous group of five types with only 15.72%. According to Noonan (1985: 110), utterance predicates like 'say' and 'tell' are used to describe "a simple transfer of information initiated by an

agentive subject." The matrix encodes the manner in which the transfer is realised and, occasionally, the speaker's propositional attitude towards the truth or falseness of the proposition encoded in the complement. As briefly pointed out earlier, propositional attitude predicates like 'think', 'suppose' or 'believe' express a certain attitude in connection with the truth of the proposition conveyed by their complements. When their subjects are animate, which is often the case, they are experiencers of the mental state implied by the matrix. As for knowledge predicates, like 'understand', 'know' or 'find out', they describe either the fact that or the way in which the proposition carried by the complement clause is grasped or known by the experiencer subject, or, to put it a different way, the manner in which the information in the complement passes on to the experiencer subject.

Across the corpus, the tendency of these three types of predicates to predominate unambiguously over the others is confirmed: the three types appear repeatedly in both samples as compared with the occasional appearance of the other five categories. Overall then, the two texts of the corpus, very different as they are, consistently show a high occurrence of the three first semantic types and a low occurrence of the remaining five categories. Both behave in exactly the same way. Now, this is a remarkable circumstance. Notice, by way of illustration, how different the two narratives can be:

(T.15) Pap always said it warn't no harm to borrow things, if you was meaning to pay them back sometime; but the widow said it warn't anything but a soft name for stealing, and no decent body would do it. Jim said he reckoned the widow was partly right and pap was partly right.

(F.16) That good fortune, when I reflected on it, which is frequently the case, has induced me sometimes to say that, were it left to my choice, I should have no objection to go over the same life from its beginning to the end. . . .

Indeed, one would be tempted to attribute the coincidence in semantic types merely to chance, but the figures are too similar and, more importantly, the communicative nature of the two pieces of narrative is clearly too different for us to conclude that the same discourse functions may be involved in the two. There must be a hidden reason to account for the coincidence, for, after all, this is not merely a coincidence in what both texts share, but also in what they both lack. With regard to the latter, is it not strange that the two pieces of prose should not express such common matrices as aspectual, achievement and manipulative predicates, predicates such as 'begin', 'get' and

'order', for instance? And is it not strange too that the same pieces of narrative should make use of only four commentative (e.g. 'be well', 'be glad') and eight desiderative predicates (e.g. 'wish', 'hope') throughout their approximately 35,000 words? But such is the case—as far as finite declarative complementation goes, of course. A look at another structural frame for the expression of complementation certainly yields valuable, illuminating results. Table 4 gives a breakdown of infinitival complementation in the same corpus.

Table 4	Distribution of Semantic Predicates with Infinitival Clauses		
	F	T	Total
Commentative	16	8	24 (16.10%)
Manipulative	14	8	22 (14.76%)
Proposit. At.	6	1	7 (4.69%)
Desiderative	10	7	17 (11.40%)
Intention	10	3	13 (8.72%)
Aspectual	10	9	19 (12.75%)
Modal	5	0	5 (3.35%)
Pretence	0	1	1 (0.67%)
Knowledge	4	1	5 (3.35%)
Achievement	6	5	11 (7.38%)
Event	3	0	3 (2.01%)
Perception	5	3	8 (5.36%)
Utterance	7	0	7 (4.69%)
Others	7	0	7 (4.69%)
	103	46	149

A comparison of the figures in Table 3 and Table 4 will show an inverse trend. In Table 4 utterance predicates (4.69%), propositional attitude predicates (4.69%) and knowledge predicates (3.35%) are on the short side. Commentative predicates (16.10%), manipulative predicates (14.76%), desiderative predicates (11.40%), aspectual predicates (12.75%), intention predicates (8.72%), and achievement predicates (7.38%) make up the major

part of the corpus now, reversing the tendency of Table 3. To these latter some others may be added which were not even present in Table 3, such as pretence or modal predicates. The overall picture, then, is one of complementary tendencies: infinitives show up in connection with precisely those matrices which *that*-clauses appear to reject. This cannot be—and in fact it is well known that it is not—coincidental. The figures do more than merely suggest, they practically confirm a highly specialised complementation system of the sort speculated about earlier on, one in which certain structures are particularly effective for the expression of a given range of discourse functions while other structures are better suited for the expression of other semantic functions. But this can be further corroborated. To do this, it must be shown that utterance, propositional attitude and knowledge predicates expand their meanings *only* by means of *that*-clause complements. This in fact proves to be the case, as (17)-(27) clearly show:

- (17) She said she wouldn't let me go by myself.
 (17b) *She said (her) not to let me go by myself.
 (18) Some thinks old Finn done it himself.
 (18b) *Some thinks old Finn to have done it himself.
 (19) I reckoned I better keep still.
 (19b) *I reckoned (me) to better keep still.
 (20) He bet she did think of it.
 (20b) *He bet her to have thought of it.
 (21) I am not sure it is orthodox.
 (21b) *I am not sure it to be orthodox.
 (22) We are convinced therefore that you mean to do us good.
 (22b) *We are convinced therefore you to mean to do us good.
 (23) When he found I would leave him he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing house.
 (23b) */?When he found me to leave him/to have left him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing house.
 (24) If you go thither I believe he may employ you.
 (24b) */?If you go thither I believe him to employ you.
 (25) He didn't believe he could go any further.
 (25b) *He didn't believe him(self) to go any further.
 (26) I judge she would be proud of me.
 (26b) ?I judge her to be proud of me.
 (27) I imagine that he was angry at seeing me.
 (27b) ?I imagine him to be angry at seeing me.

Examples (17b), (18b), (19b), (20b), (21b) and (22b) are simply not grammatical, that is, *that*-clauses are the only expansion type allowed in

them. Examples (23b), (24b), (26b) and (27b) are at best only dubiously grammatical, but, even if they are, they do not express the same meanings as their real attested counterparts. So, given that the choice of complement type appears not to be free, but rather grammatically determined, the question should be asked: what is there in a *that*-clause that cannot be conveyed by means of a non-finite form of complementation? Or, more clearly, what makes the examples mentioned either ungrammatical or different with respect to the semantic types under consideration? In order to answer these questions, let us take a closer look at these types.

4.2. THE GRAMMAR OF COMPLEMENT *THAT*-CLAUSES (AND INFINITIVES)

Example (17b), the second one, illustrates a good deal of what needs to be said on this issue. Compared with (17), it is deficient in two important respects: first, the complement clause in it cannot code the proper time relationship. Second, its complement clause cannot express a proper subject either. Now, these two aspects present no problems for *that*-clauses, as (17) clearly proves. The fact is that indicative *that*-clauses are in all respects but one (the presence of the subordinating conjunction, and not necessarily in every case) exactly like simple sentences in the sense that they are not *reduced* in any way. A *that*-clause may refer to any time, regardless of the time specified in the matrix, for it has, in Noonan's words (1985: 92 ff.), "ITR," or independent time reference. Moreover, *that*-clauses contain subjects which enter into grammatical agreement with their 'logical' predications. Now, no other complement type in English can exhibit such properties.

Note further that the time reference of the infinitive in (17b) is not exactly pinned down, unlike that of the declarative subordinate clause of (17), which expresses future relative to a previous point in time specified in the matrix predicate ('said'), which is past. What is more, even though infinitives generally refer to a time contiguous with the time of the matrix clause (Givón 1993: 2.6 ff.), as in (28)-(29):

- (28) She promised to go as soon as she finished her assignments
 (29) They told me to do the job myself

and even though this temporal contiguity (future) is precisely what we need to convey in the complement clause of (17b), (17b) is still wrong. This is because infinitives cannot conform to the parameters of tense-copying which are at work in (17). In English, the "integrated" or "unified perspective of

events" (Givón 1993: 2.20-1) expressed in reported speech is usually marked with the primary tense of the matrix predicate, the original tense appearing as secondary tense where possible. A primary tense is one that makes reference to only one point in time relative to the time of the utterance. Secondary tenses make reference to the time of the utterance and to one additional point in time. In (17) the primary tense is past because the matrix verb ('said') is in the past, while the secondary tense refers both to that past (since 'would' is the past form of 'will') and to the future. In (17b) the presence of the infinitive does not allow for tense-copying of this kind. In fact, infinitives do not have ITR, like full indicative clauses, but DTR, or determined time reference (Noonan, *op. cit.*, 92 ff.), which explains why they cannot express their own time and must always depend on the control which their matrices exercise over them in order for their time reference to become specific.

As pointed out before, infinitives do not allow for the expression of a proper grammatical subject either, for the only way of endowing them with one would be by means of a proform in the objective case. However, the presence of the objective 'logical' subject would be perceived as communicatively awkward in as much as it would probably involve a complete change in the semantics of the verb, which would then be interpreted as a manipulative predicate (like 'tell'), instead of as an utterance predicate like 'say' in (17). Even ignoring this, (17b) would continue to be wrong, since it contains a proform that is incapable of successfully referring back to its proper antecedent, the first 'she' of (17b), across a sentence node. That is, (25) cannot properly code "referential continuity" (Givón 1993: 2.15). In short, severe restrictions to the grammaticalization of subjects and the grammaticalization of indispensable tense distinctions turn (17b) into an impossible string. (18)-(18b) and (19)-(19b) present the same scenario.

There is still another property of *that*-clauses which derives from their unreduced morphology and which makes them unique *vis-à-vis* the other complement types, namely, their ability to express their own modality. Note in this connection the pair (24)-(24b). Notice that there may be nothing absolutely wrong with (24b), and yet its meaning is not quite the same as (24). This is no doubt due to the presence of a modal operator in the latter, but not in the former. Modals must have ITR, although they impose DTR on the predicates they introduce as matrices. Thus, in (24) 'employ' has its time reference specified by the matrix modal 'may'. But in (24b) 'employ' does not have any time reference at all. Even contemplating hypothetical *'to may' (as in *I believe him *to may employ you*) as a possible controller would not solve matters, for *'to may' would still be a non-finite form incapable of coding time. Of course an infinitive cannot depend on another

infinitive unless at the end of the chain one can find a finite verb giving the whole catenative construction specificity in relation to time and/or to modality. The pairs (25)-(25b) and (26)-(26b) are similar instances.

As a matter of fact, the behaviour of complement *that*-clauses under the influence of modality goes beyond the capability of these clauses to express their own modality, as briefly pointed out. Complement *that*-clauses are not only capable of expressing modality, but they are also capable of sealing themselves off from external modality, and in particular, from the modality of their matrix predicates. As Bresnan (1970: 302; 1972: 72) suggests, *that*-clauses are "impervious" to modal operators. This can be seen in the pair (30)-(31):

- (30) It may distress John for Mary to see his relatives
 (31) It may distress John that Mary sees his relatives

There is a clear difference in the presuppositions entailed by (30) and (31). (31) presupposes that Mary does see John's relatives, which means that the complement clause in it is not affected by the presence of epistemic 'may' in the matrix. By contrast, (30) does not presuppose that Mary actually sees John's relatives, and this is because the infinitival complement clause is effectively under the semantic scope of epistemic 'may', even though this occurs in the higher clause (it must be noted, however, after Menzel [1975: 14], that if the non-finite form is a perfect infinitive then the lower clause is also immune to the scope of modals in the matrix: *It may distress John for Mary to have seen his relatives*). The same distinction that is evident in (30)-(31) affects, for instance, (32a) and (32b), which, according to Ransom, "differ in both the Information and the Evaluation Modalities of the complement, with all else remaining the same" (1986: 18):

- (32) a. PREDETERMINED TRUTH
 I like (it) that Alice plays chess
 b. UNDETERMINED OCCURRENCE
 I like for Alice to play chess

The difference between infinitival and *that*-clause complements as regards the scope of modality is related to another characteristic of the complement system which will now be looked at in connection with examples (27) and (27b) above, the last in that long series. Ungrammaticality is in (27b) of course out of the question. And yet, as before, it might be asked: does (27b), the artificial example, mean the same as (27), its attested counterpart? Well, not quite, and there is reason to argue that the difference in meaning has to do

with a corollary of the unreduced/reduced morphology distinction that we made allusion to above. In short, (27) denotes a *definite*, unique single action, whereas (27b) refers only to a *potential* occurrence. In (27) the subject of the embedded clause is in effect *angry* and that of the embedding one is *imagining* (guessing, supposing) that the reason for that matter (of fact) is that he is seeing *me*. In (27b), by contrast, the experiencer subject of the matrix clause is simply *imagining* (picturing in the mind) what would happen if the subject of the subordinate clause were angry at seeing *me*. As a consequence, (27) emphasizes causality (*he was angry because he saw me*), while (27b) emphasizes presupposition (*imagine that he is angry if he sees me*). On other occasions, more than a distinction between definite versus potential occurrence, there is another one between actual versus potential occurrence, as with 'imagine'. Compare *I imagine that the Chinese love and respect each other, like everybody else* with *?I imagine the Chinese to love and respect each other, like everybody else*.⁴ Naturally enough, the suitability of *that*-clauses to express single definite or actual actions is a concomitant circumstance of their unreduced morphology, which enables them to pin down the accompanying circumstances of any action or event just as easily as a main clause. Among such circumstances are, crucially, the proper time relationship and the proper subject. Conversely, the difficulty of tying the meanings of infinitives to actual concrete denotations follows from their non-finite nature. Remember the word *infinitive* itself means 'not limited' (Noonan 1985: 56), that is, not limited by person, number, or tense, and therefore only potential (Jespersen 1965: 304; Wekker 1985 and 1986; Ransom 1986: 17 ff.; Beukema and Verspoor 1991: 149 ff.). To return briefly to modality, it is only too natural that *that*-clauses, like (31), being definite, should be capable of sealing off their domain from external modality, while infinitives, like (30), generally cannot. This definite/non-definite distinction in connection with *that*-clauses and infinitives respectively has also been well attested since Bresnan (1972: 71 ff.).

To return to the main line of reasoning, it is now easy to see why utterance, propositional attitude and knowledge predicates demand—almost exclusively—*that*-clauses as complements. They do so simply because these predicates introduce clauses with *independent* time reference, *independent* subject reference and *independent* modality. In these circumstances, non-finite forms would result in information loss. Put very crudely, *that*-clauses are the only means of fully expressing what one *says*, *thinks* or *knows* about something that has taken place / is taking place / will take place in relation to me, you, him/her or anybody else. Unlimited range of times and circumstances equals unreduced morphology.

Reduced morphology, on the other hand, is likely to make its appearance every time circumstances and participants can be safely inferred from the preceding linguistic context, particularly from the main sentence. For reasons of economy, then, reduced complements, which are likely to lack tense distinctions, are typically restricted to DTR contexts, and DTR contexts are but one side of a many-sided complex which is what Givón understands by "event integration" (1993: 2.20-1). Non-finite complements code events or states that are strongly integrated into those of the main clause, hence the closer syntactic bond. Conversely, full, finite declarative clauses preserve their independence from their hosts, thus being least integrated in them. In (33),

(33) She said Jim would go

for instance, failure to express either the time or the agentive subject of the lower clause would result in a serious information gap, since neither of these two circumstances can be deduced from the the matrix *she said*. By contrast, in (34),

(34) I wanted to go

both the time reference and the agentive subject of the lower clause can be easily inferred from the higher one; they can be *controlled* (Riddle 1975) from the higher clause. Thus, the subject is equi-deleted under identity with that of the higher clause (*I*), and the time is, by default, future relative to that specified in the matrix. So no information is lost. Apart from equi-deletion, which is a very common process, recoverability of the missing subject argument of the complement clause can also come through raising. Raising, in its turn, can apply variously. In (35),

(35) I believe Tom to be a nice chap

we have object raising. In (36),

(36) Peggy Sue is hard to beat

we have subject raising. In whatever shape, raising or equi, the unexpressed but easily retrievable information calls for reduced morphology.

And when is the information easily retrievable? Table 4 was rather explicit in that respect. Easily retrievable information is found after predicates expressing commands, requests, intentions, desires, endeavour, volition... That is, after such predicates as *choose*, *care*, *hope*, *like*, *prefer*, *long*, or

promise. For a full classification, see Rudanko (1984) and, especially, (1989), where he wishes to underscore the notion of *volition* over all others as a close associate of infinitival EQUI structures. A final comment will now be made in the context of Rudanko's findings.

It has been seen that verbs of verbal communication, as well as those meaning 'believe' or 'understand' or 'come to believe or understand' take *that*-clause complements, and that verbs of volition, intention, endeavour and the like take *to* infinitives. It may be speculated, after Rudanko, that if there is a class of verbs which mean, roughly, 'communication of intention', or 'intention + communication' the two structural frames may be simultaneously valid. Not surprisingly, there is one such class of verbs, which includes items like those contained in Table 5:

Table 5	NP1 communicates his intention
	agree
	threaten
	avow
	undertake
	consent
	volunteer
	offer
	vow
	pledge
	swear
	promise

and, as expected, these verbs can take either complement type:

- (37) He threatened to kill me
 (37b) He threatened that he would kill me
 (38) He volunteered to do the job
 (38b) He volunteered that he would do the job
 (39) He pledged to defend his country
 (39b) He pledged that he would defend his country

Note, from (39)-(39b), for instance, that the communication of intention need not be necessarily verbal, and that even if the verb does not make that explicit, the *that*-clause more closely implies a verbal act and the content of

that act than the infinitive. Thus, as Rudanko points out (1984: 155), only the infinitival clause would be compatible with a continuation implying a nonverbal act, as in (39c)-(39d):

- (39c) He pledged to defend his country by raising his right hand
 (39d) ???He pledged that he would defend his country by raising his right hand

It is clear, then, that the highly specialised English system of clausal complementation shows remarkable signs of internal logic and functional motivation. A summary of the main steps of our argumentation follows.

5. SUMMARY

It is precisely the functional motivation—the logic—there is behind the whole machinery of complementation that I would like to stress at this final stage. The steps that led to this stage were as follows.

The starting point was a description of whatever functions *that*-clause complements perform in the sentence structure. A single basic structural pattern was clearly seen to make up almost the whole of our corpus. This is the monotransitive pattern, a subtype of verb complementation. All the other patterns pale in comparison. The overwhelming presence of the monotransitive type indicates that *that*-clauses are highly specialised complementing structures, particularly suitable for the expansion of one-object-taking predicates. The next step was to explore what sort of one-object-taking predicates were involved with this complement type. The meanings of the predicates cast up by our corpus were studied and they were divided up into semantic classes. Three clearly dominant classes emerged. These were utterance, propositional attitude and knowledge predicates. It was clear that other semantic classes were virtually prohibited with *that*-clauses, and that, interestingly enough, infinitives are associated with a completely different range of discourse functions. An attempt was made to answer an obvious question: namely, why is it that a given syntactic frame demands a given set of meanings or discourse functions, and at the same time excludes others? Note that the use of a corpus (schematic though it may well have been) proved to be an important discovery procedure, for the corpus cast a very clear liaison between particular complement types and particular discourse functions. Were it not for the corpus, then, the right questions might not have been posed. It is no wonder that a lot of what is known about the grammar of complementation has come to be revealed through the use of corpora.

Put very crudely, the answers to what may be termed *the specialization question* can be summarised as follows:

1. Verbs of knowledge, propositional attitude and reporting need complements which meet at least three conditions, namely: unlimited expression of time, unlimited expression of subject, and unlimited expression of modality. This independence of the complement clause must be what Beukema and Verspoor (1991: 153-4) refer to when they point out that these finite complements require that there is no "direct causal relationship" between the mental act or event expressed in the matrix and the action/state/event conveyed by the complement. *That*-clauses provide the ideal solution to the expansion needs of these predicates, for these clauses are morphologically unlimited themselves, and therefore highly capable of coding whatever needs to be coded *independently*.

2. Verbs of intention, endeavour, achievement and in general all those involving the idea of volition, together with a superordinate [+ human] NP subject may dispense with the expression of a good deal of information in their complements, since this information is in any case directly accessible from the superordinate clause in which these verbs are contained. This retrievability is, again, very probably a consequence of the direct causal link or the event integration existing between the mental state/event coded in the matrix and the action/state/event expressed in the complement. Therefore, those verbs take complements which are morphologically reduced in a number of ways, notably, in the expression of mood and tense distinctions, and in the grammaticalization of their subjects. Complements so reduced are typically infinitival (but see Beukema and Verspoor [1991] and Verspoor [1990] for very subtle distinctions between infinitives and *-ings*).

3. Thirdly, in behaving in the way reported here, language exhibits functionally firm groundings of a kind usually ignored on the face of self-contained formal regularities and idiosyncratic deviances. I think this point is worth emphasizing. To quote Givón once more: "What emerges from the study of the syntax of complementation, perhaps more clearly than in any other area of grammar, is the profoundly non-arbitrary nature of the coding relation between grammar and meaning" (1993: 2.24).

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Teresa Fanego and María José López for their perspicacious comments on an early draft.
2. As collected in *American Literature, the Makers and the Making* vol I, eds. R. W. B. Lewis and Robert Pen Warren (New York: Cleanth Brooks, St. Martin's, 1973). 129-40 ("To His Son" and "Remarks on the Politeness of the Savages of North America").
3. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985.
4. I owe the point about 'imagine' to an anonymous reviewer, to whom I am grateful.

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POST-HUMAN: THE CULTURAL LIMITS OF "CYBERPUNK"

(INCLUDING AN ELECTRONIC
CONVERSATION WITH BRUCE STERLING, AND HIS
OWN SELECTED LIST OF CYBERPUNK READINGS)



FRANCISCO COLLADO RODRÍGUEZ
SERGIO A. SALVADOR SEBASTIÁN

UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA

1. WHAT'S CYBERPUNK ALL ABOUT?

In his sixth and last column for the magazine *Interzone*, author Bruce Sterling remembers how the cyberpunk movement—and its consciously created poetics—sprouted in the early 1980s to die only a few years later. Cyberpunk, he confesses, "simply means 'anything cyberpunks write'" (1997: 2), in this way deferring the existence of any more precise definition of the new SF genre created by himself, William Gibson, Lewis Shiner, Rudy Rucker, and John Shirley. Here and there, however, the reader interested in defining the genre may find in the same article glimpses of what cyberpunk is for the author. Gradually, one may become aware, at least, of the postmodern and antihumanist stance of cyberpunk at the beginning of its literary adventure. The apparent aim was to renovate science fiction by incorporating into it a new narrative attitude, devoid of the old bourgeois and

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capitalist values that still maintained man at the center of creation: no more humanist and rationalist views of man were to be defended in this new type of fiction. On the contrary, they were ready to show that the idea that there are sacred limits to human action is a traditional but illusory value. There are no sacred boundaries to protect humans from themselves, Sterling comments:

Our place in the universe is basically accidental. We are weak and mortal, but it's not the holy will of the gods; it's just the way things happen to be at the moment. And this is radically unsatisfactory; not because we direly miss the shelter of the Deity, but because, looked at objectively, the vale of human suffering is basically a dump. The human condition can be changed, and it will be changed, and is changing; the only real questions are how and to what end. (1997: 4)

In these words, readers interested in the contemporary American novel may quickly recognize echoes from certain canonical postmodern writers. In effect, the names of Vonnegut and Pynchon spring to mind: human beings are vulnerable, unstable creatures, subject only to accident and necessity who, far from improving their living conditions on the planet, are systematically destroying it. Early in the 1990s, Brian McHale was already suggesting that cyberpunk fiction overtly actualizes the new understanding of the world that other—more “serious”—postmodernist fiction evokes or symbolizes by more subtle means (McHale 1992: chapters 10 and 11). A close analysis of some of the already canonical cyberpunk works shows that this SF genre corresponded, from its creation in the early 1980s, to a postmodernist understanding of life. In fact, for many critics cyberpunk fiction has become “the paradigmatic example of textuality in the age of information overload, the veritable cutting edge of the literature of the twenty-first century” (Collins 1995: 9). Not surprisingly, readers of the genre abundantly discover in its pages the elements—that soon became topoi—of the gloomy and fragmentary landscape, the rebellious anti-traditional (punk) protagonist, and the continual crossing of the humanist borders between the animate and the inanimate.

Cyberpunk, despite its apparent—and ultimate?—“indefinableness,” soon became a favourite genre for a postmodern generation who could not get rid of the humanist notion of “Man” as the center of creation—whence the allure of the tough guy/smart hacker protagonist who manages to defeat the system—even as they realized that man and the social systems created by and for him are destroying the planet and, consequently, all possibilities for the sur-

vival of the human race. Other readers will perceive in cyberpunk a deconstructive attack that its creators, according to Sterling, tried to carry out against the traditional values of the old master narratives. In this way, feminism, the instability of the subject, or class and race issues become aspects frequently analyzed by critics of cyberpunk (Haraway 1985, Sobchack 1994, Featherstone and Burrows 1995). However, it is our belief that the genre also stands at the cross-roads where typical SF stories underpinned by humanist modernism intersect with a more gloomy perception of the world and based on an awareness of the destructive power of the human being. Whether its creators wanted it or not, the genre has become a bridge between old humanist (and modernist) beliefs in a perfect creation and the new postmodern understanding of the world as a much more desolate place to live in (see Collins 1995: 12-13). The paradoxical side of the incorporation of these two different interpretations of life in cyberpunk pages, becomes clear if the three genre motifs mentioned above (the gloomy landscape, the existence of an individual and independent hero, and the transgression of the dichotomy animate/inanimate) are looked at in greater detail.

“The sky above the port was the color of television, tuned to a dead channel.” This sentence opens the story of Gibson’s *Neuromancer* (the novel that was soon converted into the keystone for the movement), a memorable parody—in the Hutcheonean sense—of Pynchon’s *The Crying of Lot 49* and also, some would say, of DeLillo’s *White Noise*: nobody pays attention to it any longer, but the TV set is permanently switched on, producing a background noise that fills the house up with deadly radiation—the clear indication of a human destructive power that has already escaped from our control. It is obvious that not all cyberpunk novels depict or foresee the same dystopic future for the human race, so *Neuromancer* cannot be taken as an absolute model when discussing cyberpunk predictions about our future in the planet, but it is also true that Gibson’s novel stands as a pathbreaker for other writers of the genre and that its pages soon became a *must* for readers interested in this new manifestation of SF. In any case, the bleak predictions that Gibson posits in his novel are also shared in the two other novels of his celebrated trilogy (*Count Zero* and *Mona Lisa Overdrive*) and strongly coincide with Sterling’s views on the topic even if—as he argues in the interview reproduced below—dystopia is a term that can only be used in a relativistic way.

There are, then, a number of elements which are present throughout the near-futuristic world of *Neuromancer* and that offer its readers a highly dystopic vision of life, probably inherited from the New Wave SF writers of the sixties and seventies. From the very beginning the planet we live in is

described as a very gloomy place, its inhabitants surrounded by remembrances of the past amidst a present state of decadence: in Japan, where the story starts, "Night City was like a deranged experiment in social Darwinism . . ." or "The Jarre was decorated in a dated, nameless style . . . leaving each surface fogged with something that could never be wiped away" (Gibson 1993: 14, 16). From New England down to Atlanta everything is now the Sprawl, a concrete jungle of desolation with different zones inhabited by the marginal poor or by the more successful rich. Decadence is everywhere around Case, the male protagonist. Wealth and life seem to slip past him wherever he goes, be it America, Japan or European Istanbul (1993: 107).

Both the impression and the effects of decadence are emphasized by the almost continuous presence of rain everywhere; even those events in Case's life that seem to be more important for the protagonist happen against a backdrop of rain ("He'd found her, one rainy night, in an arcade," 1993: 15). Ironically, the only place where there is a constant—artificial—good climate is in Freeside, the orbital city where the very rich live and which only wealthy tourists can visit, being at the same time a new perverse Babylon for the Rastafarian outsiders who live in the nearby Zion cluster. It is very telling that Case and his group attack the Tessier-Ashpools' residence—a Borgesian labyrinth in Freeside—, thus putting an end to their economic hegemony and bringing earthly decadence to the outer-space city. In the other two novels of the trilogy, readers discover that the rich family (whose members hibernated as caterpillars to stay alive) has lost its economic predominance when Case brings about a chain reaction that motivates the loss of the two Artificial Intelligences (AIs) the family owned. In *Count Zero*, the second book in the trilogy, the previously wealthy residence of the family is now a place of abandonment and decadence, where the AI Neuromancer (in earlier times almost omnipotent) ceaselessly creates new art forms out of the multifarious rejected objects that still float in its chamber (Gibson 1987: 217, 226-27).

As might be expected of a postmodernist narrative, the AI Neuromancer is not the only entity that transforms fragments of the past to create new artistic objects with them. Cyberpunk landscapes also become the actualization of a post-industrial society of simulacra where originals do not exist any longer (Baudrillard 1988). "Shin's pistol was a fifty-year-old Vietnamese imitation of a South American copy of a Walther PPK..." (Gibson 1993: 29): the original, as the Derridean primordial trace, is always already deferred. Gloomy, rainy, abundant in simulacra and refuse, cyberpunk landscapes suggest the Pynchonian ironic motifs of the above and the below, the rich and

the poor, the visible and the occult. Its pages are also saturated with plots and paranoia, with criminal groups that belong to the American Other (the Japanese, the Jamaican Rastafarians...) and try to control or, conversely, oppose the system. As Sterling put it in the above quotation from *Interzone*, in cyberpunk fiction "the vale of human suffering is basically a dump." Despite the adventure plot, cyberpunk pages can only depict a society in dissolution, subject to irreversible social entropy where there is almost no hope left. In a world with no God, that stands drastically divided between the poor and the rich, there is no longer place for the old bourgeois narrative of social improvement nor for the modernist belief in the power of the inner self to cure the individual and restore him or her to their proper place in the universe (see Campbell 1968, Jung 1971). Cyberpunk radically sticks to some of the basic ingredients of the postmodernist understanding of the world: within its bleak landscapes, protagonists frequently appear as parodied copies of the old American motif of the solitary hero who comes to face the problem a community has, fights and defeats the existing danger, and then goes back to his lonely life. However, cyberpunk "heroes" do not help resolve the moral opposition good/evil any longer: this old mythic dichotomy has become extremely problematic again. There are times when the main characters actually show a moral sense rooted in the old narratives—such is the case of the two protagonists of Gibson's *Virtual Light* (1993)—but the illusion of morality frequently disappears in many narratives where the state of world affairs seems to be practically irresolvable. In a planet dominated either by international corporations—Sterling's *Islands in the Net* (1988)—or by extremely rich individuals or family units—Gibson's trilogy—, the only aims of the protagonist (in clear parody of the modernist motif of the monomyth) are survival and a little social improvement: hence the long list of protagonist hackers, pirates, mercenaries, people who ride the matrix—cyberspace—with the one aim of feeling powerful for a little while and penetrating the defences of the big banks and corporations to steal a little money. As mentioned above, now and then a variety of gangs also appear, in order to help or destroy the solitary protagonists: technologically armed bands of multifarious origins, from punks to Japanese Yakuza or drug-addicted rastas, the social debris of late 20th-century America.

A punk protagonist, even without upholding the moral values of yore, must oppose something while fighting for his or her life. That something is obviously the system or, as one of the great predecessors of cyberpunk, Thomas Pynchon, would put it, the opponent is the conceited THEM (1973). But, who or what is behind the system? Men or machines? The old threat of civilized humans saturates cyberpunk fiction: the world is directly

controlled by machines that dominate corporate capitalism or by rich people like Virek or the Tessier-Ashpool family (in Gibson's trilogy) who, in their old age, survive thanks to the assistance of machines with which—it is their inmost dream—they attempt to integrate in one fused cyborgian entity.

The blurring of boundaries between animate human flesh and inanimate technology is complete in cyberpunk fiction. The artificial augmentation of human beings reaches a stage in which the old Aristotelian categories of form and substance physically collapse: the postmodern notion of the instability of the human subject continuously *materializes* in the pages of cyberpunk literature. Man has created artificial intelligences, even the artificial world of cyberspace and, in so doing, Man feels like God and takes over God's role in a world in which the old deity is no longer necessary. Frequently, cyberpunk characters live in undefined futuristic societies where the technological scares of the late 20th century have been fully realized: genetic manipulation and implantation techniques mix to create a new race of cyborgs, with human flesh being implanted with a large variety of technical devices that improve sensorial cognition or that allow their bearers to receive the impressions of somebody else—the famous “sim-stim” of *Neuromancer* or Dan Simmons' *Hyperion*—or even to mentally retrieve somebody else's past life—*Count Zero*. In all likelihood, however, the ultimate fusion human-machine is epitomized in one of the most recurrent motifs of this kind of fiction: the hacker-computer being navigating in cyberspace, that electronic zone with which Gibson anticipated in 1984 the forthcoming influence of virtual reality. In 1993, at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington DC, Sterling had already commented on the speedy way in which the human-technology interaction prophesied by cyberpunk writers was actually taking place: “What I thought was fifty years away,” he said, “was only ten years away—it was already here. I just wasn't aware of it yet.” In the same speech he confirmed cyberpunk's bleak [?] prophesy about the fusion of the human being into the machine:

in the future, computers will mutate beyond recognition. Computers won't be intimidating, wire-festooned, high-rise bit factories swallowing your entire desk. They will tuck under your arm, into your valise, into your kid's backpack. After that, they'll fit onto your face, plug into your ear. And after that—they'll simply melt. They'll become fabric. (Sterling and Gibson 1997)

In a sense—as Sterling himself recognizes in our interview—the time has already arrived when the cyborg has become real. At the end of the century, our interaction with the world around us is increasingly mediated by technology:

in the Western hemisphere (and speedily extending into the Eastern one) personal computers surround us at home and at work, producing addiction and new feelings and sensations in our human understanding of reality. What could be more aberrant for a humanist or for a modernist than the realization that many people are becoming devotees of this new form of transgressive fusion? Be that as it may, this already seems to be the case, or at least this is what Mark Dery maintains from the pages of *The South Atlantic Quarterly* (the on-line version, of course) when dealing with the particular attraction American viewers feel for the Borgs, those evil [?] hybrids of technology and biology that fight Captain Pickard and his crew in the TV series *Star Trek: The New Generation*:

According to Clark Fife, who works at New York's Forbidden Planet sci-fi bookstore and memorabilia shop, a cap-and-T-shirt set produced by a merchandiser to capitalize on the inexplicable appeal of the Borg—implacable *Star Trek* villains who function as a “hive mind,” or collective entity, and whose bleached flesh is interpenetrated by fetishistic high-tech prostheses—have proven wildly popular. The Borg are popular, says Fife, because they resonate with the cyberpunk sensibility and because “they're symbols of technological victimization that appeal to people.” Simultaneously, their cultish following bespeaks a pervasive desire among sci-fi readers, *Star Trek* fans, and other members of fringe technoculture to sheathe the body in an impenetrable carapace, render it invincible through mechatronic augmentation—a hypostatization, perhaps, of a creeping body loathing congruent with the growing awareness that wires are twined through all of our lives, that our collective future is written on confetti-sized flakes of silicon. (Dery 1993: 3)

No longer are good and evil a valid dichotomy to analyze the impact of the new cyborg in our culture, but the fact remains that former “permanent” limits have been trespassed, ironically actualizing Lacan's paradoxical and well-known assertion of “I think where I am not, therefore I am where I do not think.” Or, in his other famous words, “I think where I cannot say that I am” (Lacan 1977: 166). The Cartesian duality has physically collapsed in the fictional pages of cyberpunk, a literary warning that something is already taking place in the *real* world.

2. AN ELECTRONIC CONVERSATION WITH BRUCE STERLING

We have never seen him in person but his kindness and the help of computerized technology made this interview possible. We first contacted Bruce Sterling on February 2, 1997. As a result of his first answers we formulated a second series of questions on March 11. In answer to our request, Sterling also sent us the list of his recommended readings that can be found at the end of the interview.

FIRST PART

Q- In 1993, at the National Academy of Sciences, in Washington, you said: "I used to think that cyberspace was fifty years away. What I thought was fifty years away, was only ten years away. And what I thought was ten years away—it was already here. I just wasn't aware of it yet." Do you think SF in general will always be a prophetic type of fiction, or will there be a day in which we find ourselves so completely surrounded by new technologies that writers will have to simply describe reality as it is (or seems to be)?

A- Well, this begs the question of "is SF itself a technology." SF does have a technological basis in print, paper, promotion, intellectual property rights and distribution practices. Literature in general is not something that stands entirely outside of society, gazing in all undisturbed. Literature requires mass literacy, printing presses, criticism, media empires, canons of academia. But even a completely nonhuman culture ought to be able to speculate about its circumstances and how those circumstances might change. We call that activity "science fiction" nowadays, but that term is only seventy years old and it isn't guaranteed to last indefinitely.

Q- Literary critics often mention the fact that cyberpunk constitutes a sort of postmodern amalgamation of high and low art because you still seem to write a kind of fiction for entertainment—for some, escapism—but at the same time it seems quite clear that you are also very fond of/influenced by the canonical prose written by people like Pynchon or DeLillo. What's your opinion about this? And, is there such a thing as high and low art in your understanding of contemporary fiction?

A- I'm very interested in social delineators like "high" and "low," or "establishment" and "bohemian," or "conservative" and "progressive," or "elitist" and "popular," or "classical" and "avant-garde." But those membranes

are very ductile, and they can turn from one to the other without much trouble at all. Thomas Pynchon's books are sold from a different aisle of the bookstore from my books, but I don't regard that commercial arrangement as a natural law of the universe, and I rather doubt that Thomas Pynchon does, either.

Q- In the article "Cyberpunk in the Nineties," which you published in *Interzone* several years ago, you affirm that cyberpunk is a Movement (with capitalised initial). Have your views changed in some way or other, or are they still the same?

A- Well, I think cyberpunk was a literary movement in the science fiction genre, but it's not as if we were Trotsky or Robespierre. Literary movements aren't revolutionary armies who swear loyalty until death, they're loose networks of artists who are trying to establish a contemporary sensibility. Cyberpunk writers are mortal human beings who are mired in historical circumstance just like other artists and thinkers. I think we had some modest successes, and we were remarkably prescient about some things, but many of our speculations were deeply wrong and based on assumptions that time has proven false. I've tried to stay true to a set of basic literary principles that I think allow people to write effective science fiction, so I've never denied being a "cyberpunk." But it would be very wrong-headed and self-defeating for a futurist to cling to the *Zeitgeist* of the year 1983.

Q- In the same article, you also stated that the future belonged to the future underground fiction. What is, in your opinion, the underground SF of the Nineties, and if such a thing exists, what are its similarities to and differences from cyberpunk?

A- There have been science fiction writers of great ability emerging in the 1990s, for instance, Neal Stephenson and Greg Egan. I don't believe there has really been a genuinely new "90s Movement" in Anglophone SF, however, and it is getting too late for one to start. I suspect there will be considerable turmoil in my field after the year 2000, which seems to offer an excellent chance to break decisively with 20th century traditions. The advent of multimedia, computer gaming and Internet have absorbed a lot of creative energy that might have gone into fiction writing.

Q- One of the most interesting issues you—and other cyberpunk writers—deal with in your fiction is the new type of human (?) being—connected to

the net—that emerges in your suggested near future. Do you think that we are moving towards a dystopic future or that the interaction person-machine is leading us towards a better kind of world, without gender or race barriers?

A- I think it's clear that we are heading for a profoundly different kind of world, but I don't think it's very accurate to ask if the 21st Century will be dystopian or utopian. That's like asking if the 19th Century was dystopian or utopian. For some people—for instance, most American Indian tribes—the 19th century was horribly tragic, but for others, like Victorian steam engineers, it seemed like a steady march toward ever greater power and glory. Seen from our own increasingly distant retrospect, the 19th century just seems increasingly odd and improbable.

Q- The issue that arises after our previous question concerns, of course, class: the economic views you foresaw in your famous "Islands in the Net" were not terribly optimistic. Money (epitomized by the pseudo-democratic Rizome corporation) is the ultimate weapon; your analysis of this factor was excellent but, perhaps, depressing. Is there any way out for us humans, or do you think we are definitely condemned to be exclusively ruled by economic corporations in the near future?

A- I am quite concerned about "commodity totalitarianism," a world in which every aspect of human existence is assumed to have a market price. But I don't think a civil society can exist when every man woman and child in it is a prostitute. Such a development is obsessive and fanatical and clearly bears the seeds of its own destruction.

Large corporations have proved to be surprisingly feeble and weak at commanding the allegiance and loyalty of people. I think there was a distinct chance that multinational corporations could have become quite powerful politically and economically, perhaps becoming oppressive semi-feudal organizations, but the opposite trend has occurred. Corporations have become slaves of their shareholders, pawns of the stock markets, and have lost all internal sense of tradition, loyalty, and continuity. They are cruel to their employees, dumping loyal followers without a second thought, and their managers and executive officers have no real loyalty to anything beyond their dividends. Corporations have not achieved any kind of serious sovereignty or permanent influence. I no longer consider them serious players in a global perspective.

To me a likely scenario is not rigid corporate authoritarianism, but something like contemporary Mexico, a very crowded world of weak busi-

ness, palsied governments, and extremely unstable economics; where currencies crash, casino style stock markets rise and fall at insane speed, and corrupt policemen engage in small-scale dirty war with breakaway ethnic groups. At the moment there are no large societies ruthlessly dominated by efficient corporations, but there is a strange similarity to the circumstances of Russia, Mexico, South Korea, Italy, Algeria, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Colombia, and Los Angeles, California. The future may already be here—it's just not well distributed yet.

SECOND PART (March II):

Q- In our previous electronic conversation, when talking about the notion of cyberpunk as a literary movement, you said: "I've tried to stay true to a set of basic literary principles that I think allow people to write effective science fiction, so I've never denied being a 'cyberpunk.' But it would be very wrong-headed and self-defeating for a futurist to cling to the zeitgeist of the year 1983." So, what are those "basic literary principles" that you still stick to? And how would you qualify your own development as a science fiction writer since the early years of cyberpunk?

A- "Global awareness, imaginative concentration, visionary intensity, technological literacy." Carrying extrapolation into the fabric of daily life; an awareness that the street finds its own uses for things. These have always been basic cyberpunk literary principles. As time has passed and I've grown older, I've become less interested in visionary intensity, and more interested in the way in which wonderful, exciting things become boring, everyday, invisible things. I'm less imaginative and more patient now.

Q- There is another occasion in your answers in which you say that "there will be considerable turmoil in my field after the year 2000. The advent of multimedia, computer gaming and the Internet have absorbed a lot of creative energy that might have gone into fiction writing." Could you clarify how you think new technologies, especially the Internet, are going to affect SF? Is the "writer as cyborg" endangering SF?

A- I think writers can still make a big difference if they can think deeply and honestly. There haven't been many genuinely novel ideas in SF recently. The Internet may help this, though, in that good ideas could spread around the world really quickly now, were we ever to have any.

SF is endangered mostly by the collapse of magazine publishing, which has been traditionally the way in which new young writers broke into the field. SF is also growing much older and stodgier, but then, so is society generally. Most of SF's basic problems are shared by science, which is itself undergoing wrenching changes, and fiction generally, which also seems lack-luster lately. Science fiction's problems are not just our problems, they are general cultural problems.

The year 2000 will offer a good excuse to do radical things, or at least a good chance to clean house and throw out the twentieth century's rubbish.

Q- The world in which we live witnesses the appearance of new conflicts within and between countries almost every day. At the same time, the Internet and other kinds of computer networks link those very countries, even the so-called Third World countries, more and more. Do you think this kind of interconnection and the idea of the "global village" will help to decrease this type of conflicts?

A- Decrease some, increase others.

Q- Is the emergence of a "super-country" or world alliance thinkable, one which might gain control of the world thanks to the computer networks, as you suggested in *Islands in the Net* with the case of Vienna?


A- It could happen. But not necessarily.

Q- We asked you earlier whether you thought that we are moving towards a dystopic future. You answered that life in the future, as in the past, will favor some people and become "dystopic" for some others. Let's rephrase our question: one of the current questions when discussing cyberpunk or SF in general, is whether the "person-computer-net" entity that is sprouting out of the new technologies will favor the disappearance of gender and race barriers. What's your opinion about it?

Q- It's a pipe dream. There's no such thing as a "person-computer-net entity," and if there was, it would have problems of its own that would probably be even thornier than race and gender.

Q- Are you scared of the power of the machine? Or, as cyberpunk writers suggest, of humans "leaving the 'meat' behind"? How do you think this is

going to affect Western culture in the near future? Clonation is already here. Cyborgs, clones: are we at the beginning of the end of the human race?

A- I don't scare easily, and so far the only people who have ever "left the meat" are dead. On the other hand, I think that we are at the beginning of the end of the human race, but the so-called "end of the human race" is going to be a far more complicated, bureaucratic, and tedious process than one might imagine. By the time it's done the process will have become invisible; posthuman people will be so bored and blasé about the "end of the human race" that they won't even notice it's gone. 

APPENDIX

BRUCE STERLING'S IDEA OF WHAT EVERY WELL-APPOINTED "CYBERPUNK SF" LIBRARY COLLECTION SHOULD POSSESS (circa January 1997).

THE CANON

Burning Chrome, William Gibson. His short stories.
Neuromancer, *Count Zero*, *Mona Lisa Overdrive*, William Gibson. The "Cyberspace Trilogy."
Mirrorshades: The Cyberpunk Anthology, Bruce Sterling, ed. Useful pointer to actual no-kidding Movement Cyberpunks.
Mindplayers, Pat Cadigan. Her best novel. An absolute must-have.
Heatseeker, John Shirley. Shirley's short-stories. His most significant and influential work.
Deserted Cities of the Heart, Lewis Shiner. His best SF novel.
Slam, Lewis Shiner. Intriguing cyberpunk mainstream non-genre novel.
Software and Wetware, Rudy Rucker. Best-known novels of deranged math-professor/hacker/cyberpunk.
Transreal, Rudy Rucker. Every short piece Rucker ever wrote. Enormous. Like being hit in the head with a bowling ball.
Blood Music, Greg Bear. His most c-wordish book.

- Crystal Express*, Bruce Sterling. His short work.
Schismatrix, Bruce Sterling. Posthuman space opera.
Islands in the net, Bruce Sterling. 21st-century global information politics.
The Difference Engine, William Gibson and Bruce Sterling. 19th-century cyberpunk by subgenre's foremost critics'-darlings.

OTHER USEFUL FICTION:

- Virtual Light*, William Gibson. A new, more intimate view of the future by the gomi-no-sensei.
Idoru, William Gibson. Light, graceful and brilliantly inventive.
Halo, Tom Maddox. Remarkable SF treatment of robots and artificial intelligence. Now available online in its entirety at no charge.
Globalhead, Bruce Sterling. His second story collection.
The Exploded Heart, John Shirley. His second story collection.
Patterns, Pat Cadigan. Cadigan's short work. Great range of topics and treatments.
Synners, Pat Cadigan. Her well-received second novel.
Fools, Pat Cadigan. The logical extreme.
Frontera, Lewis Shiner. His first novel, about mission to Mars.
Look Into the Sun, James Patrick Kelly. Interesting novel by peripheral cyberpunk.
Wildlife, James Patrick Kelly. This highly bizarre short-story fixup novel is a catalog of cyberpunk ontological riffs.
Arachne, Lisa Mason. Cyberspace robots vs drug-addict San Francisco lawyer-careerists. Weirdestissimo.
Snow Crash, Neal Stephenson. Fine example of second-generation cyberpunk by Seattle hacker.
The Diamond Age, Neal Stephenson. This guy may be the first native-born cyberpunk writer.
Hardwired, Walter Jon Williams. His most successful effort.
Spacetime Donuts and *White Light*, Rudy Rucker. His early novels. Brilliantly deranged.
Live Robots, Rudy Rucker. Paperback double reissue of Rucker's novels *Software* and *Wetware*.
Hacker and the Ants, Rudy Rucker. The indefatigable Rucker tackles artificial life issues.
Involution Ocean and *The Artificial Kid*, Bruce Sterling. His first two novels. SF adventures.

- Heavy Weather*, Bruce Sterling. Cyberpunk eco-disaster novel. Sterling's darkest work.
Holy Fire, Bruce Sterling. The European art scene in the late 21st century.
Semiotext(e) SF, Rudy Rucker, Peter Lamborn Wilson, Robert Anton Wilson, eds. Story anthology of bad craziness. Quite likely to cause protests from scandalized parents and censors.

MAGAZINES AND CRITICISM

- Mondo 2000*. "Cyberpunk" as glossy West Coast fashion magazine. It Had To Happen.
boING boING. Ultra-happening cyberslacker antizine from the heart of digitized desktop bohemia.
Asimov's Science Fiction. Least reactionary of the standard American SF magazines.
Interzone. Foremost British SF magazine. Libraries should carry this worthy zine as a public service, since individual US subscriptions are costly.
Science Fiction Eye. More-or-less official lit-crit organ of cyberpunk SF and assorted fellow-travellers. Very sporadic.
Science Fiction Studies. Dull gray academic rag seized in startling coup by wacky post-modernists. Now almost readable!
Wired. The first magazine of the 1990s that actually looks and acts as if it belongs in this decade. Now in its fourth year!
*21*C*. Australian cyberculture weighs in with a big glossy artzine. Non-Fiction, Critical Studies.
Storming the Reality Studio, Larry McCaffery, ed. Cyberpunk's man-in-academe gives his highly postmodern take on matters in this bug-crusher anthology.
Cyberpunk: Outlaws and Hackers on the Computer Frontier, Katie Hafner and John Markoff. The best book to date on the outlaw "computer underground."
Across the Wounded Galaxy, Larry McCaffery, ed. McCaffery interviews various weirdo leading-lights of po-mo SF, including Gibson and Sterling.
The Hacker Crackdown, Law and Disorder on the Electronic Frontier, Bruce Sterling. It's not just for breakfast any more.
Terminal Identity, Scott Bukatman. Headlong foray across the wild terrain of postmodern technology theory.

- The Happy Mutant Handbook*, Mark Frauenfelder, Carla Sinclair, Gareth Branwyn, Will Kreth, eds. The first Boing Boing book. More weird fun per micron than normals will ever imagine.
- Escape Velocity*, Mark Dery. Cyberculture: threat or menace? Round up the usual suspects: Stelarc, Moravec, Pauline, Sirius, Mu, Frauenfelder, Haraway, Orlan, Cronenberg, Dibell, Reznor, Leary, Lanier, Laurel, Barlow, Sobchack, Ross, Milhon, Kelly, Gibson, Cadigan, Shirley, etc etc—Good Lord, there's just no end to them.

NOTE

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'THEY LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER': ENDING CONTEMPORARY ROMANTIC COMEDY



CELESTINO DELEYTO ALCALÁ
UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA



Narrative endings, whether in film or fiction, have often been perceived to embody the ideological stance of the text. For example, in a recent study of endings in the cinema, Richard Neupert argues that "all the signifying systems in a closed text lead up to the point where they conclude their own development in order to help close all the patterns of signification into an efficiently condensed ending" (1995: 56) and the objective of such a move is "the binding-in of an active, unified spectator" (1995: 53). As can be seen from these quotations, Neupert's analysis bears strong marks of the Lacanian/Althusserian paradigm of film theory which, although nowadays contested from many quarters, continues to exert a strong influence on accounts of film genre. In this paradigm, the ideology of a film consists in either reinforcing the *status quo* or subverting it. Narrative elements and formal strategies, in turn, become either conservative or progressive, with fixed meanings attached to them. Consequently, certain privileged texts are "saved" by the critic when the visual or narrative techniques they use are perceived as subversive. In her critique of this theoretical trend, Barbara Klinger has also referred to the issue of closure: in ideological accounts, "the progressive film must escape the compromising forces inherent in the conventional procedure of closure," it must "refuse" closure (1984: 38). In such films as Sirkian melodramas, this refusal is carried out through excess and irony, terms which are often applied as redeeming features to many other apparently-conven-

tional-but-deep-down-subversive filmic texts. The arbitrariness of the subjective perception by the critic of what is or is not progressive, the inflexibility of the binary logic imposed on all texts (whether subversive or not) and its lack of attention to historical change also make this paradigm excessively reductive when applied to romantic comedy endings, which again are often too readily taken to enclose in themselves the text's ideology. Since most romantic comedies end in some sort of "happy ending" and this is almost universally taken to support the status quo in terms of intimate relationships, those films which appear to the critic to "problematise" the convention are considered transgressive whereas the rest are all grouped under such labels as "reactionary," "conservative" or upholders of patriarchal institutions. Frank Krutnik, on the other hand, views generic forms "as a functional interface between the cinematic institution, audiences, and the wider realm of culture" (1990: 57). In line with this approach, I would like, in this essay, to propose an ideological analysis of the ending in contemporary romantic comedy which does not restrict itself to deciding whether or not it subverts the classical convention, but, rather, one that explores the individual texts' incorporation of cultural transformations within their structure and, more specifically, how the strategies of containment and closure negotiate new attitudes in the realm of romantic and sexual relationships.

This is not to deny the resilience and ongoing good health of the traditional "happy ending." As Neale and Krutnik (among others) argue, one of the most outstanding characteristics of the genre is its powerful tendency to hold cultural transformations in place (1990: 171) and this is particularly obvious in the ideological uses of the convention of the ending. The intense focus of romantic comedy on gender relationships and the "war of the sexes" means that its endings are almost universally placed within the context of a stable union of the heterosexual romantic couple. Yet recent developments brought about by the influence of postmodernist art in Hollywood—its playful attitude and flaunted self-consciousness about narrative and generic conventions—and by changed attitudes towards gender, sexuality and marriage in society have put the narrative structure of the genre under considerable pressure. Steven Seidman has argued that important changes in US American intimate conventions have taken place in the course of the twentieth century. The dominant spiritual ideal of love of the Victorian period was replaced, in the first decades of our century, by a concept of "true love" that combined sexual fulfilment and idealised solidarity. This sexualisation of love obviously affected discourses of romantic love even in cases, such as screwball comedy, in which the sexual drive was not represented in direct fashion but

in more metaphoric or displaced ways. More recently, however, sex has become more and more separated from the sphere of love and romance and acquired a certain prestige as a medium of pleasure and self-expression, even though, to a very large extent, it still remains closely linked with the emotional and moral resonances of love (Seidman 1991: 4-5 and *passim*). These conflictive meanings of sex as part of the ethos of romantic love and sex as a medium of pleasure in itself and as carrier of individual identity, and, further, the relation of both meanings to an institution such as marriage that has been in crisis since the beginning of the century, have gradually found their way, in manners that are more or less direct or displaced, into the structure of contemporary romantic comedies. As Steve Neale has argued referring to the cycle of nervous romances at the end of the seventies, these comedies reflect "the dislocation of fucking from 'commitment' and the (ideological) dislocation of both these things from marriage" (1992: 286).

The crisis of marriage has frequently been frequently on ever expanding degrees of sexual freedom in our century, particularly after the so-called sexual revolution of the sixties. Sociologists such as Seidman and Anthony Giddens, however, have detached themselves from this notion. Whereas Giddens affirms that the true sexual revolution started decades before and has consisted mainly in increasing degrees of female sexual autonomy and the flourishing of male and female homosexuality (1993: 28), Seidman argues that divorce has more to do with the changing economic and social position of women than with sexual permissiveness (1991: 193). In romantic comedy, as in large sections of our society, marriage continues to be tied to the concept of romantic love, one which, according to Giddens, not only consists in the popular notion of "love at first sight," but also introduces the idea of personal narrative in people's lives. The "first glance" is a gesture which implies the discovery of potentialities in the other for a life together (39-40). This construction of a project for the future on the basis of love, which in literature can be traced back to Shakespeare, continues to constitute the central ideological foundation of romantic comedy, yet in the course of the history of Hollywood cinema, the genre has gradually introduced various different attitudes to love, such as the notions of companionate love and playfulness in screwball comedy (Lent 1995: 320-27, Krutnik 1990: 58), the dissociation between love and sex described by Seidman, which can be said to constitute one of the structuring principles, for example, of Woody Allen's comedies, or the increasing visibility of different gender permutations in comedies from the eighties and nineties. In general, the very concept of romantic love has been conveniently modified with respect to the Victorian and earlier periods, precisely in order to incorporate the ideal of sexual fulfilment

and notions of freedom and self-expression (see Wexman 1993: 8). That is, while still more or less committed to a view of love as heterosexual and permanent and of marriage as its logical conclusion, the genre, throughout its Hollywood history, has constantly explored and attempted to negotiate social changes in the relations between the sexes (or within them). The result has often been contradictory or ideologically confused texts but it is precisely those contradictions that make their role in the history of culture particularly significant. In the remainder of this essay I want to concentrate on five aspects concerning romantic relationships in which the endings of recent examples of the genre show awareness of social developments. This must not be taken as an exhaustive list but rather as an indication of the complex links existing between genre, culture and history. The five aspects are: the lonely/solitary romantic hero/ine in the films of Woody Allen, uneasiness about the durability of the couple, nostalgia for a more innocent past, the impact of changing gender roles both socially and sexually, and the increasing visibility of different gender permutations in intimate relationships.

LONELY HEROES/SINGLE HEROINES

The death of romantic comedy (Henderson 1980) was announced at the end of the nineteen seventies, what Christopher Lasch poignantly defined as the "me decade" (1979: 237). The "nervous" romances which, according to Krutnik (1990: 62-63), brought about the rebirth of the genre, were characterised by a tension between a nostalgic longing for old-fashioned romance and a resistance to commitment and fear of loss of freedom. Woody Allen was the director of several of these films. The first one of the series, *Annie Hall* (1977), is representative of the moment when it was made in that it starts with the solitary protagonist addressing the spectator and telling us about the end of his romance with the film's namesake and, at the end, returns to the voice-over of the protagonist who is again alone after Annie has left him. Within the specific structure of this film, this ending comes as no surprise for the spectator and, in the context of Allen's whole *oeuvre* to date, it is a relatively usual conclusion. The male hero who is left on his own after the break-up of a romantic (or marriage) relationship reappears as a narrative figure in the denouements of several other of the director's films, as in the "definitive" ending of *Stardust Memories* (1980) or the more pessimistic one of *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), a film which, to a great extent, passes as a non-comedy precisely by exploring and often reversing the conventions of the genre. In the bitterly ironic final scene of this film, the Allen character attends a

wedding ceremony when his own marriage has just broken up and he finds out that the woman he is in love with is romantically involved with his worst enemy. Even a more classically constructed film like *Manhattan* (1979) involves a rejection of the male protagonist by a woman he has been involved with, even though the final scene leaves a glimmer of hope that a more durable relationship will crystallise. In these films, therefore, the man's fear of commitment is displaced onto the infidelity of a series of aggressive women who are more or less openly blamed for the end of romantic love. This has led feminist critics like Kathleen Rowe to criticise Allen for his creation of victimised heroes who appropriate traditional features of femininity in order to shore up their male authority (1995: 197). Even an apparently more complex film like *Husbands and Wives* (1992), which ends with a series of fake-documentary interviews with the various characters of the film, suggesting that, in spite of frustrations, renunciations and various types of compromise, life goes on, depicts its two main female characters as the most formidable threats to durable relationships.

The male fear of women has been theorised from psychoanalytic stances by various feminist critics like Susan Lurie or Barbara Creed, but this theorisation becomes more appropriate to my study when it acquires a historical specificity. Lasch, for example, has argued that the simultaneous demand by women today of sexual satisfaction and tenderness terrifies men in ways that are socially unjust and deeply irrational (1979: 205). The male protagonists of Allen's comedies are illustrations of a crisis of masculinity which is embodied in endings in which the male protagonists' predicaments are complexly related to their fears of female sexuality and the social conquests of women's autonomy.

However, the solitary man who has been rejected by the insatiable, intellectual and neurotic modern woman is not the only possible ending in Allen's comedies. In films like *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), *Another Woman* (1988) or *Alice* (1991), the narratives revolve around central female characters all of whom are oppressed by patriarchal structures in different ways and seek permanent liberation through different forms of escape to fantasy and through a simultaneous process of introspection. In *The Purple Rose of Cairo*, the protagonist, Cecilia (Mia Farrow), escapes to the fantasy of a romantic involvement with the fictional hero of one of her beloved classical Hollywood films, but when the fantasy ends and the fictional character must return to his own world, and the real actor, with whom she is ready to start a new life, also abandons her, she is left on her own, faced again with the drab reality of life with a misogynist husband. More unambiguously than in the case of the male heroes in the films mentioned above, her grim

prospects for the future are openly blamed on the three men. In *Another Woman*, Marion's (Gena Rowlands) exploration of her own self leads her to come to terms with the role that romantic conventions have played in her life. She learns to acknowledge her failures as a human being but, at the same time, the narrative manages to have her share her guilt with her father and her husband, both of whom are ultimately more to blame for her crisis than Marion herself. At the end of the film, free of a frustrating relationship with her husband and of the romanticised memory of her father, Marion, like Nora, the heroine of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, can be "herself" again and begin a new life. *Another Woman* can be read as a narrative of female empowerment, the story of a woman whose relationship with another woman helps her reject the patriarchal constructions of the self that she had introjected. The conventions of romantic love are part of these patriarchal constructions and her rejection of them sets the film's happy ending off from that of a romantic comedy. A similar situation can be found in *Alice*, a film in which the protagonist's development proves to be incompatible with the conventions of romantic comedy explored by the film. Unlike *Another Woman*, *Alice* remains a comedy but substitutes an ending in which the heroine is both in control of her own life and an active member of her new community, thus replacing the new society symbolised by marriage in romantic comedy by one in which the woman is the only centre. Alice's final rejection of husband and lover is a way to regain her own identity and a comic indictment of the pernicious forms of socialisation of femininity endorsed by the traditional ending of the genre.

Woody Allen's films, therefore, increasingly explore the conventions of romantic comedy and it is this exploration that sometimes makes it difficult to consider the texts as fully belonging to the genre, especially in terms of the link between heterosexual pairing and the happy ending. In this as in other cases, genre becomes less a series of narrative and cultural conventions that are adapted to specific examples than a fluid negotiation between those conventions and the culture at large, a negotiation that turns each genre less into an unchanging structure to which all individual instances must conform than a constantly evolving narrative and cultural framework through which a culture makes sense of a set of ideas and historical determinations. The various pressures on commitment, both internal and external, that Allen's characters undergo in the course of the narrative produce as a result endings which often bode ill for the possibility of a lasting relationship in the heterosexual couple. Since, more often than not, the break-up of existing relationships or the difficulties of establishing new ones are blamed on the female characters, the solitary protagonist that features in so many of Allen's

endings has a different attitude to this condition, depending on his or her gender. The male protagonist will often long for or be nostalgic about the stable relationship whereas the female protagonist's separation from her partner is sometimes presented much more positively as a step towards empowerment and self-identity.

THE UTOPIAN COUPLE

Kathleen Rowe has argued that romantic comedy "endures in part because it speaks to powerful needs to believe in the utopian possibilities condensed on the image of the couple" (1995: 212). However, whereas utopian possibilities figure more or less prominently in many examples of the genre, the implied attitude of each one of them towards this utopianism may vary, generally, from a certain degree of uneasiness about the happy resolution to a relatively unproblematic final union against all odds. *Something Wild* (Jonathan Demme 1986), for example, ends with an "incredible" transformation of its initially unconventional heroine Lulu (Melanie Griffith) into the submissive woman who, in a final symbolic act, allows her male partner to drive the car into which she invites him as a proof of commitment. This unexpected turn, however, along with the excessive "old-fashioned" nature of the car and the clothes she now wears, forces the spectator to reflect on the artificiality of such an ending and, therefore, to mistrust the convention. The scene's high level of reflexivity is confirmed by the final shot in which the diner's waitress "comes out" of the film and sings the final song addressing the camera directly. The ending of *Pretty Woman* (Garry Marshall 1989), on the other hand, is anything but unexpected, yet the open reference to the stories of Cinderella and Sleeping Beauty, including Richard Gere's "knight-in-shining-armour" rescue of Julia Roberts climbing up her block of flats' fire stairs, marks it as excessive, as if we were being asked not to take the scene totally seriously. Moreover, the action takes place in Hollywood, the dream factory, and the appearance of an anonymous character at the beginning of the film and then, again, after the final rescue, advertising this and other Hollywood stories as fictions addressed to the spectators' fantasies confirms the awareness of the unreality of the couple's final union. The same link between uneasiness and formal or narrative self-consciousness regarding the happy ending can be perceived in films like *Peggy Sue Got Married* (Francis Coppola 1986), *Housesitter* (Frank Oz 1992) or the immensely successful British film *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (Mike Newell 1994). The resolution of this film is particularly representative of the uneasiness both towards marriage

and towards its replacement by other structures in the cultural discourse of which Hollywood romantic comedies are also part. In the film's final scene, after Charles (Hugh Grant) humiliates his fiancée at the wedding ceremony by refusing to marry her because he is in love with Carrie (Andie MacDowell), he makes the following proposition to Carrie:

Do you think, after we've dried off, after we've spent lots more time together, you might agree not to marry me? And do you think not being married to me might maybe be something you'd consider doing for the rest of your life?

To which Carrie, in a repetition of the traditional formula at weddings, replies, "I do." The mechanisms of representation conjured up by the film in this happy ending are no different from those used in the past and the conceit used by Charles practically amounts to a full-blown marriage proposal. But, as the comedy explicitly asserts, this is a proposition that excludes marriage and one, which, in its absurd use of the negative, undercuts the long-term engagement which it apparently enunciates. The film continues this ambivalent attitude to marriage into the final credit sequence with a series of snapshots in which the different characters in the film are all conveniently given a stable partner, including Prince Charles as Fiona (Kristin Scott-Thomas)'s husband. The film, therefore, in a move that brings it close to the other two films discussed above, manages to simultaneously celebrate and detach itself from the institution of marriage, once again striking an uneasy balance between the two irreconcilable opposites.

Many contemporary examples of the genre, therefore, express in their endings a very ambivalent attitude towards the permanent relationship which its traditional structure and the concept itself of romantic love seem to require. This ambivalence is produced by the combination of a deep-seated belief in the feasibility of stable heterosexual relationships, a belief which is, of course, enhanced by the genre's structure, and a certainty, which moves from melancholic to openly pessimistic, that the culture to which the films speak constantly rejects these traditional forms of commitment.

THE PAST IS A DESIRABLE COUNTRY

The nostalgia for a more innocent past is, as Neale and others have argued, a central characteristic of the most recent manifestations of the genre (1992: 294-299) and it is given various emphases and specific embodiments in the different films. In *Peggy Sue Got Married*, for example, the female protagonist actually returns to the past, a time of innocence which is represented by the nineteen fifties. The film's comic conflict consists in the clash between the traditional attitudes of the old characters and the modern woman's awareness of and sensibility towards gender issues. Peggy Sue (Kathleen Turner) is constantly torn between her attraction to this time of innocence and her knowledge of the unfairness of traditional gender roles. In *Big* (Penny Marshall 1988), innocence is represented by the child (Tom Hanks) who, on the surface, is magically transformed into an adult but still thinks and behaves like a child. The female protagonist (Elizabeth Perkins) is attracted to him precisely because he is the embodiment of a simplicity and purity which contrasts with the adult hypocrisy and corruption of the corporate world in which she lives. In *Green Card* (Peter Weir 1990), the conflict is produced by the ideological differences between Bronte (Andie MacDowell), a "modern" US American woman, and Georges (Gérard Depardieu), an old-fashioned Frenchman. Europe and, beyond Europe, Africa, represent the simple, preferable past of unrepressed instincts, eating red meat and drinking strong coffee, against the excesses of civilisation embodied in Bronte and her boyfriend's vegetarianism and phoney love of nature. This narrativised nostalgia for the past initiates the traditional psychological and emotional development of the protagonists in the three films but, with the exception of *Peggy Sue's* rather arbitrary ending, the new situation does not bring about a final union between the romantic partners. The adult woman of *Big* must remain adult when her partner returns to childhood and separation ensues. Bronte and Georges are also finally separated when Georges is deported back to France. The final reconciliation between Peggy Sue and her husband (Nicolas Cage) is based on the rather weak premise that he has also learnt from *her* journey to the past and they can meet again on a common ground, but, clearly, there is little hope that this reunion will be successful. The three women in these films indirectly show the extreme difficulty of romance in their real lives because their objects of desire are placed in "unreachable" innocent spaces: childhood, the past or Europe. Nostalgia for the past, therefore, ultimately prevents romantic union in the present or, at least, it makes it highly unlikely.

In other cases, however, these and other types of distance are not a definitive obstacle and more unproblematic romantic comedies like *Sleepless in Seattle* (Nora Ephron 1993), *Only You* (Norman Jewison 1994) and *French Kiss* (Lawrence Kasdan 1995) share strong happy endings with a more or less believable union with future prospects based on the bridging of long gaps between the protagonists. The three films also share a similar and very traditional structure in which the women (played by Meg Ryan in two cases and Marisa Tomei) are made to shed a relationship in which there is no passion or romance and replace their "wrong partners" by the "special relationship" for which they have been longing all their lives. The characterisation of these women falls fully within the category of nostalgia for the past since there is in them very little awareness of changes in the roles played by women in society or of the consequences of women's gains in social equality. Therefore, the films' combination of nostalgia for old forms of courtship and commitment with characters living in the present is made possible through various types of conscious escape from reality. Rowe argues that recent examples of the genre often resort to external frames of reference, "whether 'magic' and 'signs' or opera and old movies, to make believable its claims for the fantasy of romantic love" (1995: 205). In these three films, the external frames of reference become the permanent world of the protagonists.

WOMEN AT WORK

Women's ambitions of social and sexual equality have been, from the beginning, a central issue and often one of the main obstacles to the happy ending in Hollywood romantic comedy. For Neale and Krutnik, "screwball" comedies often feature women with a certain degree of economic and social independence or, at least, with aspirations of equality. The main impetus of the films tends to be towards the women's renunciation of their status or desire in order to achieve the final union (1990: 154). This type of renunciation, however, becomes increasingly difficult to defend in more recent texts. We have seen that, in such films as *Another Woman* or *Alice*, the women's final success and independence cannot be contained within the structure of the genre. Most other contemporary romantic comedies are also aware of women's changed roles in our world and build narratives which, while often conforming to the traditional conventions, at least point to social changes in this respect. *Moonstruck* (Norman Jewison 1987) is, according to Rowe, a paradigmatic example of a "woman on top" narrative (1995: 204), a film more sympathetic to women's clearer sense of identity than to men's melo-

dramatic crises. The ending witnesses Loretta's (Cher) betrothal to the man of her choice, Johnny (Nicolas Cage), in a familial context which also distinguishes the film from other instances of the genre, particularly through the prominent role played by the figure of the mother (Olympia Dukakis). Other recent romantic comedies also conclude with a relationship which has to take into account other members of the family apart from the two partners, particularly children. *Working Girl* (Mike Nichols 1988), on the other hand, places its protagonist Tess McGill (Melanie Griffith) in a professional context which excludes the family. In fact, the romantic involvement of the protagonist with Jack Trainer (Harrison Ford) becomes little more than an excuse for the film's central concern which is Tess's progression and eventual success in the world of high finance. The film's ending places her in an executive position in her firm while ironising on her social climb by suggesting, through an extreme long shot of the building where she works, how far away from the top she still is. Whereas her original boyfriend (Alec Baldwin) expected her to conform to patterns of traditional femininity, her new partner is last seen getting her lunch ready to take to the office, in an image of domestic happiness which at least superficially defends a new type of relationship based on equality and erases any promise of future stability. These two films are examples of narratives in which the women do not renounce their desires for the sake of the happy resolution. Unlike the situation in the two Allen films referred to above, these desires are still compatible with some sort of romantic involvement but these romantic involvements are clearly in the terms drawn by the women and, in the case of *Working Girl* especially, are not allowed to interfere with her ambitions of social equality. If these two examples can be taken as representative of larger tendencies in the genre, we can conclude that historical changes in gender roles have affected romantic comedies by making them move in two directions: in some cases, women are not only the subjective centre of the story but also the ideological one, with the men often unable to find a fixed position in the present sexual universe; in others, the romantic entanglements must be made compatible with, and, in some cases, subservient to the woman's professional and social ambitions. A world in which the only possibility of happiness for women was provided by the pleasures of home and a romance of subordination to men is slowly but firmly dwindling into oblivion.

BETWEEN MEN (AND WOMEN)

As I indicate above, social critics like Giddens and Seidman agree that the two most important changes which have occurred in our century in the field of intimate relationships are the increasing degrees of female sexual autonomy and the flourishing of male and female homosexuality. These social changes are the issues which, according to film critics like Babington and Evans (1989: 268,297), Neale and Krutnik (1990: 145,154) and Kathleen Rowe (1995: 45,47), can be seen as the most serious threats to the ideology and structure of romantic comedy in our time. The unchallenged privileging of heterosexuality and the subjugation of women have been the two central ideological tenets of the genre and also the tenets which have come under greatest pressure in contemporary films. Yet, in my view, the effects of this pressure are rather uneven: whereas the problematics of the foregrounding of female desire and the creation of a female space—Rowe's "women on top"—have, as we have seen, apparently become a primary concern of most recent Hollywood romantic comedies, the existence of alternative sexualities has remained significantly underdeveloped. For the final part of my paper I want to turn to a group of films which, in more or less direct ways, incorporate comic representations of homoerotic desire or homosocial threats to normative heterosexuality.

We're No Angels (Neil Jordan, 1989) is not strictly a romantic comedy, like *Pretty Woman*, *Green Card* or *Sleepless in Seattle*, but, primarily, a parody of an escape-from-jail-cum-religious film, in which, as in other contemporary parody (Linda Hutcheon 1985), the conventions of the original genres are laughed at but never openly criticised or frontally attacked. Most of the comic situations in the film arise primarily not from mistakes of identity related to gender relationships and romantic involvements but from the escaped-prisoners-masquerading-as-intellectual-priests central conceit. However, romantic comedy is present in various ways, especially in the way the narrative solves the problem of the two "good" prisoners' redemption and consequent moral justification of their escape from justice. The film's space, possibly its most attractive feature, is a characteristic feature of comedy: the border town dominated by the weeping madonna which works not only as the traditional door to freedom of classical movies but, primarily, as the liminal space of fantasy in which miracles can happen that will change people's lives. In the film's conclusion, the weeping madonna performs her miracle which includes saving the little girl from drowning and giving her speech back. This, along with the climactic phoney sermon performed by Jim (Sean

Penn), gives back to Molly (Demi Moore) some faith in people and recuperates her for society from her hard-as-nails-prostitute role.

But more spectacular miracles are performed at the film's close and these are more centrally related to romantic comedy. On the one hand, Ned (Robert de Niro), the more experienced, more hardened of the two prisoners, jumps into the turbulent waters of the dangerous river even though he cannot swim, his heart softened by the danger in which the little girl finds herself and by his love for her mother. After saving the girl, he, Molly and the girl finally cross the border to Canada and to freedom and form the usual heterosexual family unit, including the child who, as I mentioned above, has also become such an important feature in films such as *Sleepless in Seattle*, *Mrs. Doubtfire* (Chris Columbus 1993), *Corrina Corrina* (Jessie Nelson 1994), *Nine Months* (Chris Columbus 1995), the British *Jack & Sarah* (Tim Sullivan 1995), and others. This romantic "happy ending," however, destroys the central male couple of the story, which so far had followed the conventions of the "buddy" film. The solution to this narrative problem not only uses the conventions of romantic comedy but plays with and parodies one of the most frequent sources of anxiety in the genre: the presence of homosexual desire. The "buddy" coupling of this and other contemporary films, in which homosocial desire is compatible to the point of paranoia with a strict heterosexual regime is itself a defense mechanism against the threat of homosexuality (see Fuchs 1993), but in this magic world of the liminal town, fantasies (along with blatant implausibilities) are possible and Jim decides to stay in the monastery and take his vows as a priest but not primarily because he now has faith in God but because the monastery has become for him a haven of peace and quiet from the ruthless world outside, and, he, like the Gene Kelly character in *Brigadoon* (Vincente Minnelli 1954), makes up his mind to stay forever in this magic place. Above all, however, Jim stays because the young priest that he has met in the monastery is in love with him. The homosocial couple which, to judge from all the indications from narrative conventions to publicity posters, is clearly the central one in the film is, then, finally dissolved according to the dictates of romantic comedy and two new couples are formed: one heterosexual, one homosexual. This is fully congruent with the explicit ideology of the ending of *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, one of apparent sexual tolerance in which the one homosexual couple ends dramatically with the death of one of its members (and his eventual replacement by a new partner) but is otherwise never felt to be incompatible with or dangerous to the predictably predominant heterosexual energy embodied in the central couple and various attendant ones.

This spirit of tolerance in which homosocial desire is compatible with and ultimately replaced by both heterosexual and homosexual desire, is different from but exists in the same ideological space as that of other films such as *Much Ado About Nothing* (Kenneth Branagh 1993) and *White Men Can't Jump* (Ron Shelton 1992). Branagh's adaptation of Shakespeare's play intensifies the homosexual potentialities of the characters of the brothers Don Pedro (Denzel Washington) and Don John (Keanu Reeves) and defines the central conflict of the film as one between heterosexual romance and male homosocial bonding. The conflict is resolved fully within the traditional boundaries of the genre and homosocial desire is duly demonised and rejected in favour of a spectacular display of heterosexual energy and a vindication, through love and heterosexuality, of women's equality in view of the cultural backlash of dominant masculinity embodied in the ethos of the "buddy" film. *Much Ado* conflates homosocial and homosexual male desire in order to condemn both as equally formidable enemies of its ideology of egalitarian heterosexuality. Eve Sedgwick (1985) has famously argued that the place of women in patriarchal narratives is always subservient to male-to-male relations, but she is surely not right in the case of most romantic comedies, in which heterosexual desire is generally dominant. Changing patterns of gender relationships in our society have upset the old balance and *Much Ado* shows the awareness on the part of romantic comedy of the threats posed by these patterns to its central regime of desire.


This danger is fully realised in *White Men Can't Jump*, again a hybrid of "buddy" film and romantic comedy whose conclusion is different from the other two. The basic conflict arises from its central protagonist Billy Hoyle (Woody Harrelson)'s inability to mature because of his compulsive passion for basketball. The two pulls in the narrative are represented by his girlfriend Gloria Clemente (Rosie Pérez), who wants him to grow up, get a proper job and have a happy life together, and his basketball friend Sidney Deane (Wesley Snipes). At the end of the film, Gloria decides to leave Billy because he will never change, and at the end the couple who literally walks into the sunset is the one formed by the two men. Unlike the couples in the other two films, however, this couple is, at least on the surface, not based on homoerotic desire but on homosocial bonding. The process is, in a sense, the opposite from that in *We're No Angels* in which the initial male homosocial couple is finally replaced by two new couples based on sexual desire. In *White Men*, one of the two heterosexual couples is finally destroyed while the other one remains backstage in order to foreground the homosocial coupling of the two men.

This departure, however, is more apparent than real. The film does not have a romantic comedy ending, but the actual denouement takes place fully within the world of the genre. Unlike the popular "buddy" films of the 80s and 90s studied by Fuchs and others, heterosexual love is still as important at the end of the film as it is in the other films discussed above. It is true that part of its fascination for contemporary audiences resides in its representation of basketball culture and of interracial tensions and that these are mostly made present through an all-male world of pride in the gang and homosocial exchange, but the narrative is always aware, through the attitude of the two female characters, of the dangers that this all-male world poses to the heterosexual ideology of romantic comedy. At the end, Sidney, who acts as a sort of spiritual guide to Billy, advises him to "listen to the woman," even though he himself has just persuaded him not to listen to her. The implication is that Sidney's friendship will help Billy mature and appreciate the necessity to put heterosexual desire above basketball, a thought that would never occur, for example, to any of the protagonists of the numerous police "buddy" films such as *Seven* (David Fincher 1995), to mention a recent example.

The important point about these films is not, therefore, whether the endings are transgressive or not—I hope that my analysis has sufficiently proved the inadequacies of such a theoretical framework—but, rather, that the contemporary tensions between heterosexuality and male homosexuality and homosociality find their way into the narrative structures of romantic comedy. It is, for example, significant that, even though the ending is not the usual one, *White Men* does not constitute any sort of announcement of the end of romance but, rather, attempts to narrativise, within the spirit of tolerance and compromise characteristic of the genre, some of the anxieties about romance related to issues of sexual orientation and social exchange in contemporary US society. Earlier films like *Victor/Victoria* (Blake Edwards 1982) or *Tootsie* (Sydney Pollack 1982), for example, had narrativised similar anxieties through the older convention of mistakes of gender identity at the end of which the "proper" gender and heterosexual orientation of the participants shine through.

Less conventionally, the more recent *Switch* (Blake Edwards 1991) narrates the story of an extremely sexist man who is killed by a group of ex-girlfriends and returns to life in the body of a woman who is desired by both men and women, especially a lesbian woman whom the protagonist (who, initially, still feels "like a man") also desires, and his old "buddy" with whom s/he eventually has a baby. The rather inconclusive ending and the film's apparent acceptance of various possibilities of sexual orientation and

gender identity also make it representative of the adaptation of one of the oldest conventions of the genre to the present sexual and social climate. The interesting point about the ending in this case is, therefore, that it does not foreclose any possibility and that even the most traditional permutations remain unstable and in a state of constant flux. The film's central conceit, for example, makes it possible to conflate, not homosexual and homosocial desire as in *Much Ado*, but homosocial and heterosexual desire in the same couple, and, in general, underlines the performativity of sexual and gender roles (see Butler 1990 and Traub 1991).

To conclude, the examples analysed above prove my initial hypothesis that an ideological study of the endings of romantic comedy shows, beyond simplistic accounts of the either-conservative-or-subversive type, the complex negotiations that take place between historically specific attitudes towards the issues dealt with by the genre and its narrative conventions. My analysis has shown that the convention of the happy ending is, although under considerable pressure, still strong and intelligible enough to incorporate recent hesitations about and various departures from the traditional structure of romance. The five areas of historical change in the field of intimate relationships constitute, among others, the new space of romantic comedy. Even though the traditional structure of the genre remains relatively unchanged, the films analysed in this essay, and many more that have not been mentioned, can only exist and make sense within this new narrative space. 

NOTE

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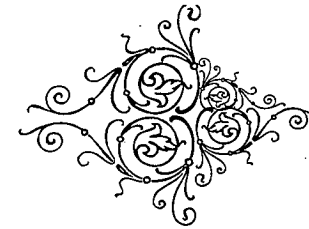
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MODULACIÓN DE MUNDOS IMAGINARIOS A TRAVÉS DE
DOS TÉCNICAS DE PRESENTACIÓN DEL TIEMPO EN
DANCE OF THE HAPPY SHADES

MARÍA JESÚS HERNÁEZ LERENA
UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA



I have to wait at least until that picture fades
that I see so clearly in my mind.

Alice Munro, "The Office", en
Dance of the Happy Shades

Con el siguiente análisis intentaremos identificar las implicaciones de los modos de presentación del tiempo en la colección de relatos *Dance of the Happy Shades* (1968) de la autora canadiense Alice Munro. Nuestro propósito es poder descubrir, a través de estas implicaciones, la forma en que los textos elegidos mediatizan nuestras percepciones de los personajes y de sus acciones, y nos permiten reconstruir un mundo imaginario especial cuya cualidad se desprende de la perspectiva temporal utilizada para narrarlo.

En cualquier narración, no son sólo los personajes los que se mueven en un mundo ficticio que acoge referencias temporales, sino que el narrador organiza sus materiales dentro de una posición temporal más o menos alejada de los sucesos que relata. Además, la experiencia que obtiene el lector de una narración es también temporal. La lectura es, como apunta Cesare Segre (1976: 10), "una aventura que ha sido programada con sus fases y su duración". Asimilamos la información como una sucesión producida por la contigüidad de las palabras. En esta aventura, el texto orienta y modela nuestra interpretación distribuyendo la información sobre los sucesos y los personajes a través de los diferentes recursos o técnicas que tienen que ver con

el orden, la frecuencia y el grado de atención textual prestado a los diferentes estímulos que componen el material del relato. Una técnica concreta en una narración, según la define A. A. Mendilow (1952: 234) es "content caught in a particular way". Otra técnica produciría una interpretación diferente, materializaría una experiencia diferente.

Por ello, el análisis de los modos de presentación del tiempo nos ayuda a comprender cómo asimilamos los sucesos o los personajes del relato. Los modos de presentación imponen unas condiciones de percepción. Si ponemos como ejemplo el caso del modo iterativo, tan importante en la producción inicial de Alice Munro, descubriremos cómo este modo arrebató al tiempo una de sus cualidades: la sucesión. De esta forma se pierde el carácter único de los momentos y de los sucesos y se produce una visión en la que los personajes aparecen como seres inmutables que están al servicio de una inexorable ley de repetición.

Para analizar los modos textuales de presentación del tiempo nos hemos servido de las categorías de frecuencia establecidas por Gérard Genette (1972), porque permiten identificar los mecanismos que distribuyen la información en el texto y también establecer un nexo entre la disposición de los elementos y el modo en el que afectan a nuestra comprensión. Con este análisis pretendemos hacer ciertos añadidos a las sugerentes apreciaciones de Genette (1972: 78), que él mismo consideraba como provisionales, en cuanto a las implicaciones del modo iterativo y singulativo, a la vez que apuntamos la posibilidad de extender su estudio, que se centraba sobre todo en la relación "número de sucesos/número de emisiones narrativas", hacia el análisis de personajes.

Si definimos al relato singulativo como el hecho de contar una vez lo que ha ocurrido una vez y al relato iterativo como el hecho de contar de una sola vez lo que ha sucedido en varias ocasiones, un primer acercamiento a los relatos de Alice Munro desde el punto de vista de estos dos modos de presentación nos permite establecer una clasificación de acuerdo al uso del tiempo. En nuestra opinión, *Dance of the Happy Shades* (1968) y *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971) forman el primer núcleo de la obra de Munro, a partir del cual se desarrollan otras técnicas diferentes en sus siguientes colecciones. Es en estos relatos donde el agente focalizador se alía con el modo iterativo para descartar la sucesión cronológica en favor de la enumeración y la síntesis.

W. R. Martin (1987: xiii) y John Orange (1983: 87) concluyen que la oposición relato iterativo/retrato singulativo es relevante fundamentalmente en las dos primeras colecciones de Alice Munro, dato que coincide con mis propias conclusiones aunque por diferentes razones. Estos autores señalan que

Munro encuentra en *Dance of the Happy Shades* las estrategias narrativas que desarrollará en *Lives of Girls and Women*, basadas en la utilización de secuencias cronológicas lineales, sin aparente ruptura, a través de un narrador en primera persona.¹ Esta organización es apropiada para canalizar el proceso de maduración de los personajes, especialmente en *Lives of Girls and Women*, y para presentar de forma ordenada el desarrollo de la sensibilidad, conocimiento y comprensión de Del, la narradora y protagonista.

Martin (1987: 31-57) y Orange (1983: 85) dan por sentado que estos textos orientan al lector a asumir una relación causa-efecto entre los acontecimientos, a saborear la impresión de que la experiencia humana puede ser comprendida y de que el mundo tiene un orden implícito. Sin embargo, un estudio de los modos frecuentativos de estas dos primeras colecciones de relatos permite averiguar también que el modo iterativo deforma la presentación cronológica del mundo imaginario hasta tal punto que resulta casi imposible reconocer un orden cronológico literal. El modo iterativo, frente al singulativo, según Genette (1989: 209), está más cerca de la "instancia mnémica" (la entidad que mediatiza la narración que de la historia (la temporalidad diégetica) porque organiza la narración a través de un proceso de agrupación y de identificación de momentos diferentes. Entonces, la posibilidad de que el iterativo refleje una secuencia cronológica—que avanza linealmente—aparece, por principio, eliminada.

Existe una gran diferencia entre relatar "lo que sucedió" (modo singulativo) y "lo que sucedía" (modo iterativo). Las implicaciones que estas dos perspectivas crean en cuanto a la organización textual de sucesos, de personajes y narradores son el principal objetivo de nuestro análisis. Quizá las observaciones siguientes puedan ser un complemento de los estudios sobre Alice Munro antes mencionados, los cuales no prestan atención a este aspecto.

I. BASES PARA UNA COMPRENSIÓN DE LA ORGANIZACIÓN ITERATIVA

En los relatos que componen *Dance of the Happy Shades* observamos que la alternancia entre el relato iterativo y el singulativo sólo es significativa en los relatos narrados en primera persona, y especialmente, en aquéllos en los que el personaje principal es una niña. Cada uno de estos relatos se desarrolla a partir de una línea temporal cuyo orden cronológico no ha sido aparentemente quebrantado. Sin embargo, más que construirse tomando como base la alternancia sumario/escena, presentan una predominante iteración que agrupa

clases de sucesos, arrebatando al relato singulativo su poder de presentar los acontecimientos como una sucesión modificada por el paso del tiempo.

De los quince relatos que componen *Dance of the Happy Shades*, diez son relatos en primera persona y, aunque todos los relatos de este libro fueron publicados independientemente antes de esta colección, sí establecen las bases para reconocer ciertos elementos comunes.²

El relato "Walker Brothers Cowboy" se inaugura con una narración en tiempo presente que permanece de esta forma casi ininterrumpidamente. Desde este momento somos conscientes de una contradicción entre este tiempo presente (expresado por los tiempos verbales) y las condiciones de la narración: no se puede narrar a la vez que se están produciendo los hechos.

After supper my father says, "Want to go down and see if the Lake's still there?" We leave my mother sewing under the dining-room light, making clothes for me against the opening of school. (DHS 1)

Aunque la narración se interpreta inmediatamente como una narración retrospectiva que depende del recuerdo, los hechos se instauran en un tiempo contemporáneo al de la narración. La imposibilidad de que hechos y narración se sucedan simultáneamente indica que esta información puede no ser fiel a lo que pasó, sino a una visión interna de la narradora.

Uno de los recursos que Munro emplea para conferir valor iterativo a los hechos pasados es utilizar la escena singulativa con sentido paradigmático. La narradora en primera persona recoge en forma de compendio una o varias escenas enfatizando su carácter típico. De esta forma, la globalidad de este relato aparece compuesta por dos escenas "ejemplo" que encierran la cualidad de un mundo especial, pero que no son únicas ni se pueden adscribir a un momento aislado en concreto de la vida de los protagonistas. Presentan una determinada clase de comportamientos o diálogos que tuvieron lugar a lo largo de un periodo de tiempo más extenso que una sola tarde, que es el periodo de tiempo al que se limita el relato.

Se han borrado las marcas de tiempo que sujetan los acontecimientos a sucesiones temporales únicas, y también las marcas del pasado, que se funden en el tiempo presente de la narración, dentro del cual se va *componiendo* y no simplemente *registrando* el movimiento de los personajes a la vez que se los nombra:

People are sitting out, men in shirt-sleeves and undershirts and women in aprons—not people we know but if anybody looks ready

to nod and say, "Warm night", my father will nod too and say something the same. (DHS 1)

Seguidamente, la introducción de un comentario que se encuentra más allá del poder de percepción de una niña, cierra el primer núcleo de la narración:

Children, of their own will, draw apart, separate into islands of two or one under the heavy trees, occupying themselves in such solitary ways as I do all day, planting pebbles in the dirt or writing in it with a stick. (DHS 2)

Este comentario anuncia la entrada de otra perspectiva, la de la narradora adulta, ya que es su reconstrucción de un mundo lo que estamos presenciando, por encima de la concreción de hechos pasados. Se nos hace conscientes de esta visión explicativa de los hechos a través de las intrusiones de la narradora, que informa al lector sobre lugares, objetos o personajes que no están directamente relacionados con el desarrollo del relato: "This is Tuppertown", "My father has a job, selling for Walker Brothers", o

The nineteen-thirties. How much this kind of farmhouse, this kind of afternoon, seem to me to belong to that one decade in time, just as my father's hat does, his bright flared tie, our car with its wide running board (an Essex, and long past its prime). (DHS 8)

El hecho de que nos encontremos ante una recreación sincopada de varios acontecimientos y no ante una descripción detallada de sucesos con carácter distintivo se subraya también por el uso que hace la narradora de los tiempos verbales en presente. Además, la narradora informa, a modo de sumario, sobre aspectos de la vida de los personajes que necesariamente han debido producirse varias veces. Ha elegido un modo de percepción en el que compone una "escena tipo" o "muestrario", ya totalmente alejada de un tiempo real, único e irrepetible. Sobre su madre, leemos:

In the afternoons she often walks to Simon's Grocery and takes me with her to help carry things. She wears a good dress. . . . My mother will sometimes carry home, for a treat, a brick of ice cream-pale Neapolitan; and because we have no refrigerator in our house we wake my brother and eat it at once. . . . My mother tries then to imitate the conversations we used to have at Dungannon. . . . She is not able to keep from mentioning those days. "Do you remember when we put you in your sled and Major pulled you?" . . . My mother has headaches. She often has to lie down. She lies on

my brother's narrow bed in the little screened porch, shaded by heavy branches. "I look up at that tree and I think I am at home," she says. (DHS 5-6)

Genette (1989: 179) califica a este tipo de procedimiento como "pseudo-iterativo" porque la precisión de los detalles impide que los lectores creen que se hayan producido de esa manera muchas veces sin variación. La escena singulativa se ha convertido en iterativa, aunque Munro ha utilizado el presente en vez del pretérito imperfecto.

El hecho de utilizar el presente hace que las afirmaciones sobre los personajes se conviertan en leyes generales de comportamiento. Además, el agente narrativo no sigue a los personajes hasta el término de una acción comenzada; hay varios cortes o pausas temporales en las que se retoma la figura del padre y de la madre con respecto a otros puntos de vista como, por ejemplo, sus relaciones con el trabajo. Esta recolección de acciones repetidas y su plasmación en unas pocas frases nos hacen contemplar la narración desde el primer momento como conocimiento de personajes y no como seguimiento de unas acciones que conducen unas a otras. Se trata de una organización siléptica, en la que, según Genette (1989: 137), se agrupan acontecimientos "con desprecio a toda cronología" a través de parentesco temático u otro tipo de conexión.

En el caso de que, durante el transcurso de la narración, se produzca alguna escena singulativa, ésta se considera parte de una puesta en escena repetida: lo que se dice no está asignado a una situación concreta, sino al tipo de cosas que se dirían, según la narradora, en ciertas ocasiones. Cuando describe la forma en la que, a veces, su padre intenta hacer reír a su madre, leemos:

"Now then, Missus, are you troubled with parasitic life? Your children's scalps, I mean. All those crawly little things we're too polite to mention that show up on the heads of the best of families?" . . . Or else, "Believe me, sitting and driving all day the way I do I *know* the value of these fine pills. . . . How about you Grandma?" He would wave the imaginary box of pills under my mother's nose and she would laugh finally. (DHS 10)

A cada paso de la narración observamos cómo el uso del iterativo neutraliza las acciones singulativas. Las acciones que se producen una vez aparecen enmarcadas dentro de una serie. Se produce así incluso cuando se introduce una analepsis (una vuelta al pasado) para informar al lector de la pérdida del negocio familiar. Este acontecimiento se "iterativiza" a través de la acción repetida de la madre, que lo cuenta una y otra vez:

I have heard my mother explain this, several times, to Mrs. Oliphant who is the only neighbour she talks to. We poured all we had into it, my mother says, and we came out with nothing. Many people could say the same thing, these days, but my mother has no time for the national calamity, only ours. (DHS 4)

Sin embargo, el factor sorpresa se va haciendo poco a poco posible, ya que el relato se centra en el viaje en el que los dos hermanos acompañan a su padre en su habitual ronda de visita comercial a las granjas. Este viaje se va configurando, no como un viaje típico, sino como uno concreto y especial, sobre todo cuando el padre abandona su ruta para visitar a una antigua novia. El sentido de repetición desaparece cuando el relato singulativo es puro, es decir, cuando no produce la impresión de que resume una serie de sucesos idéntica o parecida.

Además, hay un personaje femenino nuevo, el de la jovial amiga de su padre, al que no se puede "iterativizar" porque la narradora no la conoce de antemano. Se da paso al modo singulativo con un diálogo ininterrumpido y, cuando acaba la visita, se cierra este núcleo de la narración con un espacio en blanco en la página, lo que nos indica que ha pasado otra etapa en la narración.

En el último segmento del relato hay un retorno al modo iterativo, que permite la entrada a los comentarios de la narradora. Estos comentarios acerca del propio mundo representado en el texto restan nuevamente frescura a los acontecimientos que han ocurrido sólo una vez y cierran el ciclo de la iteración. Resumen las características familiares del padre, que son contrastadas con aquellas que pertenecen a un lado sorprendente de su personalidad:

So my father drives and my brother watches the road for rabbits and I feel my father's life flowing back from our car in the last of the afternoon, darkening and turning strange, like a landscape that has an enchantment on it, making it kindly, ordinary and familiar while you are looking at it, but changing it, once your back is turned, into something you will never know, with all kinds of weathers, and distances you cannot imagine. (DHS 18)

A pesar de que el tiempo continúa en movimiento, se restringe a un trozo temporal muy corto, en el que la protagonista observa a su padre mientras éste conduce su coche. Si existe un futuro, la narradora descarta que en él pueda llegar a conocer la verdadera personalidad de su padre.

Esta tarde particular del relato no se ha presenciado como una tarde en concreto, ni siquiera como una tarde típica; gracias a un uso especial del itera-

tivo y del singulativo, se ha convertido en una tarde "abstraible", porque permanece siempre en la memoria como presente.

La última frase del relato, que cierra el pasaje anterior, devuelve la conciencia de la narradora—que está afectada por un momento de revelación—a la estabilidad de un mundo inalterable y recurrente:

When we get closer to Tuppertown the sky becomes gently overcast, *as always, nearly always, on summer evenings* by the Lake. (DHS 18; énfasis añadido)

La lectura de este primer relato de Munro crea ciertas expectativas sobre la organización de los siguientes relatos en primera persona de esta colección. En primer lugar, la limitación del periodo temporal (una tarde) se suple con la iteración, ya que ésta recoge—desde un solo punto temporal de percepción—las características de los personajes que se han manifestado a lo largo de un lapso temporal mucho más extenso.

En segundo lugar, reconocemos que el movimiento del relato se dirige al descubrimiento de algún aspecto nuevo de un mundo que, a través de la iteración, se percibe como conocido por un narrador en primera persona. Las escenas singulativas privadas de cualquier signo de iteración hacen que nuestra atención se centre en ellas porque no contienen un narrador que nos guíe a través de descripciones iterativas que definan a los personajes por sus hábitos. Esta organización plantea la cuestión de la oposición entre lo cotidiano y lo novedoso, aspecto temático que ha sido identificado como esencial en la obra de Munro.³

En tercer lugar han de establecerse las relaciones entre la entidad narrativa y el modo iterativo. Según Stanzel (1988: 81-2), los críticos Wolfgang Kayser y Wayne C. Booth consideran que no hay diferencia alguna entre los relatos en primera y tercera persona. Sin embargo, el hecho de que estos narradores se encuentren o no personalizados en el texto da cuenta de las diferentes motivaciones del narrador para contar su historia.⁴

Aunque en las narraciones en tercera persona asumamos que existe una distancia temporal entre los acontecimientos y la narración, ésta permanece sin marcar, es insignificante. Pero, según Stanzel, una narración en primera persona sugiere casi inevitablemente que

the narratorial "I" has undergone a change since the time of the reported events, resulting in a revision of his conception of life. (1988: 95)

De esta forma, narrar el pasado a través de una recolección de los hechos, no sólo contribuye a formar el universo del relato, sino que los episodios seleccionados reciben una cierta relevancia en cuanto a su preservación y selección en la memoria del narrador. El tiempo pasado en las narraciones en primera persona presenta un contraste entre dos tiempos experimentados por el narrador.

Desde mi punto de vista, el relato "Walker Brothers Cowboy" inaugura *Dance of the Happy Shades* porque existe una intención de suprimir esta distancia temporal entre acontecimientos y narración. Se busca una estrategia que contrarreste los efectos de una posible filtración de un tiempo cronológico: el tiempo presente hace que los acontecimientos aparezcan como contemporáneos al acto de narrarlos o recordarlos. Además, se consigue el efecto de que aparezcan dominando la narración, ocultando el hecho de que un narrador adulto escondido vaya imperceptiblemente (con su uso del modo iterativo) definiendo las características de los personajes. Mediante un acercamiento artificial entre historia y narración a través de los tiempos verbales se suprime la distancia temporal, proclamando al recuerdo como estrategia que, más que recordar el pasado, crea hechos presentes. El modo iterativo extrae los acontecimientos de su cronología real y los coloca en una abstracción presente, que es la del recuerdo.

Por último, el iterativo es un medio que se utiliza sólo para describir ciertos personajes, lo que produce un contraste entre éstos y aquellos que se presentan a través del modo singulativo.

En "Walker Brothers Cowboy", el relato singulativo corresponde a la figura del padre, que se asocia con un mundo que atrae a la narradora porque se encuentra más allá de los límites del ámbito doméstico. El lago, el recorrido por las casas y, finalmente, el encuentro con una mujer muy diferente a su madre, forman los tres núcleos de principal atención del relato. En cambio, la madre siempre se presenta en un proceso iterativo, encerrada en sus hábitos nostálgicos y en su enfermedad. Incluso cuando se describen acciones u objetos atractivos para la protagonista, que es una niña—un helado, un viaje en trineo, objetos que poseía antes de que su familia fuera pobre—éstos aparecen "atrapados" en el discurso monótono de la madre, en su insistencia por recordarlos muchas veces. La respuesta de su hija es la siguiente:

I pretend to remember far less than I do, wary of being trapped into sympathy or any unwanted emotion. (DHS 5-6).

Por consiguiente, la última imagen que recuerda de su madre es cuando ella está acostada descansando. Su padre aparece, en cambio, conduciendo su

coche por un largo camino, reforzando la oposición entre lo estático y lo móvil.

Podemos concluir que el binomio iterativo/singulativo se utiliza como modo descriptivo de ciertas actitudes de los personajes. Además, ofrece la posibilidad de que un mismo personaje que se haya presentado en modo iterativo en un relato vuelva a aparecer en otro en modo singulativo, para canalizar su potencial de originalidad o sorpresa.

El relato en primera persona que sigue a "Walker Brothers Cowboy", "Images", presenta una organización temporal similar. El modo iterativo abre ambos relatos describiendo el ritual cotidiano de los personajes. A través de una transición al relato singulativo se presenta a la protagonista acompañando a su padre a un escenario inusual donde experimentará el encuentro con otro personaje que no pertenece al mundo familiar. La peligrosidad de este encuentro hace que, como en "Walker Brothers Cowboy", la niña comprenda que no puede relatar su aventura cuando regrese al entorno familiar.

El modo iterativo aparece en "Images" en su forma más tradicional, sirviéndose de tiempos verbales como el pretérito imperfecto y el pluscuamperfecto, en contraposición a las escenas singulativas con valor paradigmático expresadas a través de tiempos verbales en presente habitual incluidas en "Walker Brothers Cowboy". Pero, a pesar de esta diferencia, "Images" sigue manteniendo la misma contradicción inicial en cuanto a las referencias temporales del narrador. El relato se abre así:

Now that Mary McQuade had come, I pretended not to remember her. (DHS 31; énfasis añadido)

El tiempo verbal no es el lógico "Now that Mary McQuade has come" porque el narrador está interesado en asociar al presente del personaje (*now*) algo que, a través del pluscuamperfecto, indica un hecho ocurrido antes de los acontecimientos que se suceden en el relato. Se utiliza el adverbio *now*, que indica un periodo de tiempo sin continuidad futura, en lugar de *after*. Así se transforma un hecho—la llegada de un personaje—en un estado, ya que *after* indica secuencia pero *now* indica una condición, circunstancia o estado. En este *impasse*, la protagonista sufre las consecuencias de la presencia de Mary McQuade.

Seymour Chatman (1980: 80), que insiste en las posibles complicaciones que pueden surgir en torno a la señalización del tiempo en una historia, señala que es bastante usual encontrar un uso paradójico de adverbios y de formas verbales. El ejemplo que utiliza Chatman, "Now I knew they were true", tomado del relato de Joyce "The Sisters", es similar a la frase que inau-

gura "Images". Los adverbios de estas frases sirven para dar énfasis al "ahora" del "yo" como personaje y a su punto de vista en oposición a su encarnación posterior del "yo" como narrador.⁵

La primera frase del relato "Images" convierte en predecible un elemento nuevo de la narrativa. El adverbio *now*, que hace referencia a un tiempo dentro de propio mundo del relato—y no del acto de narración—y que quiere decir "todo este tiempo transcurrido desde que Mary McQuade apareció", parece anticipar que se va a producir un tipo de acontecimientos esperado. A continuación se confirma esta anticipación: "I pretended not to remember her". La protagonista, por lo tanto, ya conoce al personaje y anuncia que el estímulo de su presencia provocará la misma reacción. Se produce la condición paradójica del modo iterativo, que indica la familiaridad que el narrador posee con los materiales que maneja, materiales que son estrictamente novedosos para el lector.

La comparación es otra estrategia que Alice Munro utiliza para propiciar la impresión de que el tiempo sigue funcionando después de que el relato acaba. Es un procedimiento parecido a la iteración porque identifica rasgos comunes entre los objetos, los cuales pierden su individualidad en favor del reconocimiento de aspectos coincidentes. Este es el párrafo que cierra el relato:

Like children in fairy stories who have seen their parents make pacts with terrifying strangers, who have discovered that our fears are based on nothing but the truth, but who come back fresh from marvellous escapes and take up their knives and forks, with humility and good manners, prepared to live happily ever after—like them, dazed and powerful with secrets, I never said a word. (DHS 43)

En este pasaje se ha unido la particularidad de una situación con la universalidad de una trama recurrente en los cuentos infantiles. Parece haber una intención consciente de eliminar lo peculiar de cada circunstancia en favor de una ley de recurrencia que sitúa al personaje dentro de un proceso predecible en su comportamiento. La última frase del relato, "I never said a word", deja constancia de un tiempo posterior en el cual la protagonista se vio envuelta en situaciones donde, repetidamente, calló lo que sabía.

Pero el resultado de este tipo de narración es ambiguo; se hace patente una sensación de irrealidad producida por el hecho de que la conducta de los personajes se haya reducido a unas imágenes constantes. El modo iterativo, que recoge sólo aquellos aspectos estables de la personalidad de los personajes, es utilizado por Alice Munro de forma tan "avasalladora" que tiene un efecto opuesto: alerta al lector y le hace cuestionar la validez de un modo de

narración basado exclusivamente en la identificación de aspectos inalterables de la conducta humana.

El modo iterativo es el modo que mejor refleja la forma de conocimiento a través del recuerdo, donde la linealidad de la sucesión cronológica se ve reemplazada por la acumulación de la información a través de una asociación temática de aspectos comunes. La repetición, como señala Genette es, en realidad,

une construction de l'esprit, qui élimine de chaque occurrence tout ce qui lui appartient en propre pour n'en conserver que ce qu'elle partage avec toutes les autres de la même classe, et qui est une abstraction (Genette 1972: 172).

2. APLICACIÓN DE NUESTRAS OBSERVACIONES SOBRE LA ITERACIÓN AL RESTO DE LOS RELATOS QUE COMPONEN *DANCE OF THE HAPPY SHADES*

La mayoría de los aspectos temporales que hemos observado en los relatos "Walker Brothers Cowboy" e "Images" se van a repetir casi sin variación en el resto de los relatos que componen *Dance of the Happy Shades*. Por esta razón hemos agrupado otras características recurrentes dentro de diferentes apartados en los cuales analizaremos sólo aquellas estrategias que consideremos relevantes en los relatos "Day of the Butterfly", "Boys and Girls", "Red Dress-1946", "The Peace of Utrecht" y "Dance of the Happy Shades".

2.1. INICIO DEL RELATO COMO REPETICIÓN DE UN ACONTECIMIENTO ANTERIOR

El acontecimiento presentado en las primeras líneas de cada relato es una repetición de otros que permanecen "fuera" de él. La introducción de aspectos que ya se han producido con anterioridad en la vida del protagonista permite, en primer lugar, ampliar los límites temporales del relato que, por lo general, se centra en un periodo corto de tiempo. En segundo lugar, da entrada a comentarios generales sobre lo que ocurre "ahora", desde el conocimiento de lo que ha ocurrido en el pasado. Tiene el doble efecto de colocar al lector ante información nueva que, debido al uso iterativo, debe asumir como conocida. Además, crea expectativas sobre una posible alteración de la situación inicial.

El comienzo de "Day of the Butterfly" es similar al de "Images". En él se menciona la actividad de recordar, que supone una llamada de atención sobre un proceso retrospectivo:

I do not remember when Myra Sayla came to town, though she must have been in our class at school for two or three years. I start remembering her in the last year, when her little brother Jimmy Sayla was in Grade One. Jimmy Sayla was not used to going to the bathroom by himself and he would have to come to the Grade Six door and ask of Myra and she would take him downstairs. Quite often he would not get to Myra in time and there would be a big dark stain on his little button-on cotton pants. (DHS 100)

Se lleva a cabo una revisión de un periodo de la niñez de la protagonista, pero desde una visión que transforma algo que pasó en algo que "solía pasar", de ahí el uso de los verbos *used to* o *would* y los adverbios *often*, *whenever*, *always*, etc.

Asimismo, "Dance of the Happy Shades" se abre con una afirmación que contiene un suceso repetido dentro de un plan organizado de antemano: "Miss Marsalles is having another party". La narradora cree inicialmente que esa fiesta será igual a las anteriores, pero en ella descubre un nuevo aspecto de la personalidad de Miss Marsalles, el cual la hace partícipe de un mundo diferente del cotidiano.

En el comienzo de "The Peace of Utrecht" se enfatiza la duración de un proceso todavía no acabado:

I have been at home now for three weeks and it has not been a success. Maddy and I, though we speak cheerfully of our enjoyment of so long and intimate a visit, will be relieved when it is over. Silences disturb us. We laugh immoderately. I am afraid—very likely we are both afraid—that when the moment comes to say goodbye, unless we are very quick to kiss, . . . we will have to look straight into the desert that is between us (DHS 190)

Aunque el narrador, lógicamente, ya ha salido de este proceso, finge quedarse en él para siempre, sin darle término y sin poder continuar con otros sucesos.

Incluso en aquellos casos en los que se comienza con una alusión a algún suceso a través de un tiempo verbal en pasado, este suceso no se da por acabado porque se usa el pasado continuo, como en "Red Dress-1946". La narradora permanece en un tiempo inconcluso, no siente la necesidad de llevar un suceso a su fin o a un desenlace en el nivel argumental:

My mother was making me a dress. All through the month of November I would come from school and find her in the kitchen, surrounded by cut-up red velvet and scraps of tissue-paper pattern. (DHS 147)

Por otra parte, cuando en el comienzo del relato no se revela ningún interés por traer al presente lo que sucedió en el pasado, el párrafo introductorio se cierra con alguna alusión a una visión intemporal. En "Boys and Girls", esta visión aparece representada por la imagen inalterable que ofrece el calendario que la empresa regalaba cada año al padre de la protagonista. Cada una de las pinturas del calendario reflejan las características esenciales de los meses que componen cada estación:

Against a background of cold blue sky and black pine forests and treacherous northern rivers, plumed adventurers planted the flags of England or of France; magnificent savages bent their backs to the portage. (DHS 111)

El argumento de este relato—como descubriremos posteriormente—reflejará el contraste entre esta definición de grandeza pionera (que se puede comparar con la inicial admiración de la niña hacia la profesión de su padre) y la violencia del sacrificio de los animales, retratada en un caso especial. Esta oposición ofrecerá a Munro la oportunidad de poner en juego un modelo iterativo y singulativo de comprensión de los acontecimientos.

2.2. EL RECUERDO COMO ACTO SINCRÓNICO

En muchos relatos, los acontecimientos de la historia ocurren en un "ahora" eterno, contemporáneo al acto de narración. Se pone al descubierto la convención literaria que hace perder al pretérito su función gramatical de designar el pasado. Este pretérito no impide, en la mayoría de las obras, que lo tratemos como un presente "en el sentido de un tiempo simultáneo a la acción narrada, pero un presente a su vez sin relación con el presente real del aserto", como Ricœur (1987: 119) comenta.⁶

El hecho de que Munro elimine cualquier marca del pasado—con la utilización de los tiempos verbales y los adverbios—parece inducirnos a entender que el pasado sólo comienza cuando la narradora empieza a recordar y poco importa lo que haya sucedido fuera de este acto de recuerdo presente. Munro elude describir la progresión del tiempo en detalle, ya que los verbos y adverbios incluidos en el texto designan procesos internos del acto de narración y hacen referencia exclusivamente al proceso de organización del narrador.

Tampoco precisa el orden en el que se sucedieron los acontecimientos; por eso los adverbios más utilizados son *once*, *when*, *whenever*, *always*, *then*, *now*, *often*.

"Walker Brothers Cowboy", un relato narrado exclusivamente a través de tiempos verbales en presente, inaugura el libro de relatos y anticipa estrategias utilizadas en otros relatos que desde el comienzo crean expectativas similares en el lector. En "Images" leemos: "Now that Mary McQuade had come"; en "The Peace of Utrecht": "I have been at home now for three weeks" y en "Dance of the Happy Shades": "Now that Miss Marsalles has moved from the brick and frame bungalow on Bank Street. Now? asks Miss Marsalles."

En estos dos últimos relatos de la colección hay un retorno al uso del tiempo presente, lo que produce la impresión de que nos acercamos al punto de partida de "Walker Brothers Cowboy", siguiendo un diseño circular que llega a su final con "Dance of the Happy Shades", relato caracterizado por crear un tiempo presente en el que se localizan los hechos de la historia.

"Dance of the Happy Shades", el último relato del libro, se compone—al igual que "Walker Brothers Cowboy"—de dos escenas que no aparecen separadas gráficamente a través de un espacio en blanco. En la primera, los acontecimientos presentados tienen el carácter "pseudoiterativo" de las escenas que reflejan algunos aspectos de un acontecimiento que se ha producido anteriormente varias veces: el anuncio de la fiesta, las quejas de aquellas madres que tienen que asistir, la actitud de Miss Marsalles.

En una segunda escena se utiliza el tiempo verbal presente para producirnos la inquietud de contemplar una situación paso a paso, sin la seguridad de la presencia de un narrador que, desde una posición ulterior, explica lo que ha ocurrido y cómo ha de interpretarse cada gesto o comentario. Este tipo de narrador, que maneja todas las referencias temporales, se sustituye por otro que permanece en un presente lleno de incertidumbre:

It is while I am at the piano, playing the minuet from *Berenice*, that the final arrival, unlooked-for by anybody but Miss Marsalles, takes place. . . . Out of the corner of my eye I see a whole procession of children. . . . Something has happened, something unforeseen, perhaps something disastrous; you can feel such things behind your back. I go on playing. (DHS 220-1)

2.3. ÉNFASIS EN EL COMPONENTE TÍPICO DE LOS PERSONAJES

El uso del modo iterativo convierte a los personajes en presencias predecibles ya que se escogen los rasgos comunes a una serie amplia de actuaciones. "Day of the Butterfly", por ejemplo, enfatiza el contraste entre la individualidad de Myra (el personaje rechazado por sus compañeros de clase) y su capacidad para convertirse en un *tipo* de persona por la que automáticamente se siente compasión y afecto fingido.

La narradora es el único personaje que descubre la sensibilidad de Myra, descubrimiento presentado a través de una única escena singulativa que dramatiza la conversación que ambas mantienen de camino a la escuela. Sin embargo, este modo de conocimiento particularizado se ve traicionado al final del relato. En él, la narradora vuelve a considerar a Myra desde un punto de vista mediatizado por el hábito de definir identidades, clasificándolas dentro de estereotipos. Después de que los compañeros de Myra fueran a verla al hospital—por orden de su profesora—y de que Myra haya invitado a la narradora a jugar en su casa, ésta comenta:

Did Myra ever say goodbye? Not likely. She sat in her high bed, her delicate brown neck, rising out of a hospital gown too big for her, her brown carved face immune to treachery, her offering perhaps already forgotten, prepared to be set apart for legendary uses, as she was even in the back porch at school. (DHS 110)

El uso del adverbio *likely* refuerza la idea de predicción: el comportamiento habitual de los personajes es comprendido de un modo satisfactorio porque se somete a una idea preconcebida. Lo que importa, parece subrayar la narradora, no es lo que Myra dijo o hizo, sino el uso que puede darse a su vida como material de una historia. Como en la leyenda, el original aparece "borroso", sin contornos definidos, lo que hace posible que recoja nuestras propias ideas proyectadas en él.

"Boys and Girls" utiliza el marco de referencia de los sexos para ofrecer un ejemplo de lo que se puede esperar de cada uno. El comportamiento final de la protagonista, que deja escapar a la yegua que iba a ser sacrificada, se incluye dentro de un conjunto de rasgos típicos que se le atribuyen por el mero hecho de ser "niña" y que, por ello, quedan sin castigo:

"Never mind", my father said. He spoke with resignation, even good humour, the words which absolved and dismissed me for good. "She's only a girl", he said. (DHS 127)

El final de la obra no sólo sirve para detener el relato en un punto de la acción o para mostrar la revelación de una verdad: "I didn't protest that, even in my heart. Maybe it was true". También se utiliza para mostrar el reconocimiento de la existencia de modelos fijos de comportamiento que existían antes de que el personaje tomara conciencia de ellos.

El uso de la iteración al final del relato elimina, en cierto sentido, la posibilidad de un cierre o resolución del relato. El argumento no posee un desenlace que muestre un cambio, sino un descubrimiento: un determinado suceso se repetirá inevitablemente en el futuro. El periodo de tiempo escogido para cada relato no se detiene al final; muy al contrario, queda expuesto como ejemplo de lo venidero.

Cuando la protagonista de "Red Dress-1946" vuelve de su primera fiesta en el instituto, comenta en el último párrafo del relato:

I went past the kitchen window and I saw my mother. She was sitting with her feet on the open oven door, drinking tea out of a cup without saucer. She was just sitting and waiting for me to come home and tell her everything that had happened. And I would not do it, I never would. But when I saw the waiting kitchen, and my mother in her faded, fuzzy Paisley kimono, with her seepy but doggedly expectant face, I understood what a mysterious and oppressive obligation I had, to be happy, and how I had almost failed it, and would be likely to fail it, every time, and she would not know. (DHS 160)

El relato se transforma casi en un relato profético, se despegas de un punto concreto en el desarrollo de la vida de un personaje para aplicar lo experimentado a una línea indefinida futura. La anticipación de este futuro permite que el tiempo del relato siga existiendo y fluyendo incluso cuando la narración ha acabado.

La vuelta al presente en "Dance of the Happy Shades" convierte las frases en afirmaciones provistas de una aplicación eterna, no sujeta a las leyes del tiempo cronológico. A través del uso de los tiempos verbales en presente, "lo que ha sucedido" sucede ahora: "Miss Marsalles says", "her smile is", "the girl is finished". Cualquier comentario que provenga del narrador se convierte en una definición que no puede modificarse al estar fuera de la progresión temporal. Este es el párrafo final de este relato:

But when driving home, driving out of the hot red-brick streets and out of the city and leaving Miss Marsalles and her no longer possible parties behind, quite certainly forever, why is it that we are unable to say—as we must have expected to say—*Poor Miss Marsalles?* It is the Dance of the Happy Shades that prevents us, it is that one communicated from the other country where she lives. (DHS 224)

Tal como hemos mencionado, el final de "Boys and Girls" nos permitía poder aplicar lo que sucede a una serie iterativa que continúa en un futuro. En "Dance of the Happy Shades", la revelación sobre un aspecto de un personaje transporta una verdad apresada momentáneamente a un ámbito de consideraciones simbólicas o interpretativas. Este ámbito de resonancias temáticas se encuentra fuera de un desarrollo argumental de los acontecimientos, por lo que no necesita un cierre adscrito a un periodo de tiempo.

La falta de la adscripción temporal en estos relatos de Munro está unida a una falta de identificación de la narradora y de los personajes pertenecientes a la familia ya que nunca aparecen sus nombres. Los personajes aparecen como visiones que se recuerdan y su existencia en el tiempo no se puede "narrativizar" en forma de secuencia de sucesos: se les comprende a través de una revisión de su comportamiento; sus acciones no se cuentan, se describen. Este es precisamente el modo de funcionamiento del iterativo. Los personajes no se conciben como entidades que siguen el curso de sus vidas; no pueden avanzar porque son figuras de la memoria, identidades que se han creado con el propósito de fijar para siempre un mundo complejo pero inmutable.

3. EL MODO ITERATIVO: IMPLICACIONES EN LA OBRA DE ALICE MUNRO

En el apartado anterior se ha intentado demostrar, por medio de ejemplos, cómo el relato iterativo consume al singulativo en la primera colección de relatos de Alice Munro. También hemos intentado identificar las técnicas temporales mediante las que se construyen los personajes y se mediatiza la narración.

Este apartado está dedicado fundamentalmente a analizar la visión que ofrecen estos relatos, utilizando nuestras anteriores conclusiones para redefinir los usos de los dos modos de presentación temporal que nos han ocupado hasta ahora. Nuestro intento es ampliar, si cabe, las acertadas conclusiones de Genette sobre el funcionamiento del iterativo al aplicarlas a unos textos dife-

rentes que, además, pertenecen a un género que no es el novelístico y que, por tanto, pueden producir diferentes connotaciones.

En la novela tradicional, el uso del modo iterativo se relaciona con las pausas en la acción; se concibe como descripción previa al relato propiamente dicho. Sin embargo, en la obra de Alice Munro se producen unas circunstancias muy diferentes. Existe un narrador en primera persona que no sigue el curso de los acontecimientos, sino que está más interesado en dejar constancia de ciertas manifestaciones habituales de un grupo reducido de personajes.

W. R. Martin (1987: 31) recoge la distinción de Henry James (1908) entre relatos que se configuran como anécdotas (porque poseen un elevado contenido dramático) y relatos que se forman como cuadros o retratos. A su vez, nosotros podemos relacionar estos dos conceptos con la oposición modo lineal/modo asociativo, que John Orange (1983: 87) propone para definir las conexiones entre los recuerdos de los personajes.

Dadas las características propias al modo iterativo, éste aparece relacionado con el segundo término de los binomios antes expuestos y, por lo tanto, podríamos perfilar los relatos pertenecientes a *Dance of the Happy Shades* como retratos. Como en éstos, los relatos de Munro favorecen el componente estático por encima del dinámico, de modo que podríamos concluir que el relato iterativo contiene las claves para nuestra interpretación de estas dos primeras colecciones.

Martin (1987: 37) ha señalado que una de las principales características de los primeros relatos de Munro es el éxtasis en que se ven envueltos los personajes en la resolución final, en contraposición a otros métodos utilizados en relatos posteriores, que presentan a los personajes atrapados entre dos tendencias opuestas.

También Orange señala que, en los libros siguientes a *Dance of the Happy Shades* y *Lives of Girls and Women*, se realiza una yuxtaposición de episodios desde tiempos diferentes, lo que obliga a continuos cambios de perspectiva y atención: "all serve to reinforce the idea that our lives take terribly and wonderfully *unpredictable turns* in that maze" (Orange 1983: 95-7). He añadido énfasis a esas dos palabras de la cita de Orange porque precisamente iluminan el contraste entre estos relatos posteriores y los que pertenecen a *Dance of the Happy Shades*.

Nuestras conclusiones sobre el predominio del modo iterativo confirman, desde el estudio de las estrategias textuales, las observaciones de los críticos mencionados. En mi opinión, Munro escoge el modo iterativo porque es el que permite a un narrador en primera persona extraer conclusiones sobre su mundo conocido, apartando a los personajes de una existencia temporal

lineal. Hemos comprobado que, en *Dance of the Happy Shades*, la iteración es un proceso que neutraliza al tiempo, pero que singulariza a los personajes.

Según Uspenski (1983: 67), pueden registrarse diferentes posiciones temporales del narrador con respecto al suceso presentado. Por ejemplo, un solo suceso puede percibirse desde diferentes posiciones temporales, lo que favorece la aparición de diferentes interpretaciones sobre un mismo tema. Pero hemos de considerar también otra combinación posible que Uspenski no relaciona con el modo iterativo: la contemplación de varios sucesos desde una sola posición temporal, produciéndose una evaluación simultánea. Esta es la base del modo iterativo.

El empleo predominante del modo iterativo lleva a un primer plano el hecho de que el narrador en primera persona se encuentra en una posición que le permite descubrir los vínculos entre los estímulos que percibió en su pasado. Gracias a la ley de recurrencia puede agrupar ciertas características de los personajes o de los objetos y eliminar todo lo que no se ajuste a este modelo. Su posición es autoritaria porque sus principios de selección y organización acaparan todos los elementos constitutivos del relato que el lector ha de interpretar.

El modo iterativo no está sólo cercano a la descripción, sino al comentario, porque define a los personajes a través de acciones comunes. Es bastante usual que las narraciones ofrezcan la imagen de un personaje a través de situaciones concretas que ejemplifican manifestaciones de su personalidad. En "Day of the Butterfly", la narradora describe cómo su profesora intenta convencer a sus alumnas de que han de incluir a Myra, una chica solitaria, en su grupo:

"Oh", said Miss Darling dubiously. "Well you ought to try to be nicer to her anyway. Don't you think so? Don't You? You will try to be nicer, won't you? I know you will". Poor Miss Darling! *Her campaigns were soon confused, her persuasions turned to bleating and uncertain pleas.* (DHS 102; énfasis añadido)

Por otra parte, podemos preguntarnos si el uso constante de la iteración responde a un intento de reflejar fielmente las características propias del mundo representado, o, por el contrario, es una opción que el narrador escoge como parte de su visión de la experiencia. Con otras palabras, si el iterativo es la consecuencia de tratar con un material que pertenece al mundo de lo rutinario y habitual o si es la perspectiva iterativa la que mediatiza y transforma el mundo evocado de la niñez en un conjunto de series similares de acontecimientos.

La primera cuestión nos conduce a un estudio temático, aspecto que la crítica de la obra de Munro ha considerado prioritariamente.⁷ Catherine Sheldrick Ross relaciona los contenidos de la obra de Munro con la leyenda, el ritual, la ceremonia y la experiencia cotidiana y familiar. En *Dance of the Happy Shades* y *Lives of Girls and Women* los personajes viven fuera de las complicaciones del tiempo,

giving shape to the past by their annual rituals . . . Uncle Craig in *Lives of Girls and Women* is attempting, however misguidedly and ineptly, to give a ritualized order to events of the past. In his family tree, he wants to reveal "the whole solid, intricate structure of lives supporting us from the facts." (Ross 1983: 121-2)

Como en el método iterativo, Uncle Craig trabaja poniendo orden a la historia de Jubilee acumulando los hechos más comunes. Sin embargo, la "contaminación" o "embriaguez" del método—utilizo las palabras con las que Genette (1989: 181) describe *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*—no tiene por qué estar basada exclusivamente en el aspecto repetitivo y rutinario de una vida provinciana, sino en la motivación intrínseca a la obra.

El tipo de narradora que utiliza Alice Munro coloca juntas las características no sólo percibidas, sino aprendidas y recopiladas a posteriori de los demás personajes, haciendo que saboreemos la experiencia como una realidad comprimida y no experimentada con toda su multiplicidad de estímulos. En la cita con la que hemos introducido este artículo recogíamos las palabras que la protagonista del relato "The Office" utiliza para cerrar su relato: la percepción primera que la narradora obtiene de una persona (en este caso el hombre que le alquiló la oficina en la que trabajaba) ha de esperar para poder apresarla con palabras. A través del iterativo, estos personajes de Alice Munro, que son a la vez narradores de su propia infancia, intentan hacer posible un nuevo conocimiento "abstraible" al devenir temporal.

Según Genette (1989: 182), Proust utiliza el modo iterativo porque confunde los momentos y singulariza los espacios. Mi opinión es que Munro utiliza este modo porque particulariza a los personajes convirtiéndolos en identidades distintivas que no se someten a una existencia temporal. Las características que definen a los personajes permanecen inmutables porque Munro no incluye en el relato las alteraciones que inevitablemente causa el tiempo real.

Para Ingarden, una de las diferencias entre sumario y escena es que en la escena una situación se desarrolla en su específica plenitud. Por contra, el sumario presenta a las semanas, meses y años como intervalos vacíos, desprovistos de una completa continuidad:

time sinks nearly to the level of an *empty schema* which merely provides an orientation in the temporal order of the indicated events. Only when a scene is shown in its concrete fullness and in its entire temporal extension are we again dealing with *qualitatively determined*, represented time. (Ingarden 1973: 241; énfasis añadido)

Desde mi punto de vista, el modo iterativo se basa en una concepción del tiempo como un modelo *vacío*—y por lo tanto, reorganizable a voluntad—a la vez que permite describir *cualitativamente* un segmento de tiempo determinado. Es una síntesis no “por aceleración, sino por asimilación y abstracción”, citando la definición de Genette (1989: 199).

Esta conclusión coincide con la opinión de John Orange, que denomina al tipo de tiempo utilizado por Munro *memory time*, porque la acción de la memoria funde los episodios en una serie indiferenciada de momentos:

and the emphasis of these stories is on the quality of experience being described rather than on the tricks time itself plays on people. (Orange 1983: 84)

El modo iterativo es el medio principal que proporciona esa cualidad especial de los relatos de Munro que los críticos de Munro han denominado *the familiar and the strange*. En las obras de Munro, este modo convierte a la experiencia en materia clasificable, de modo que un ocasional uso del singular, siempre en un periodo muy limitado de la narración, permite que los personajes asuman momentáneamente proporciones exageradas o aspectos inusuales. Así, Nora en “Walker Brothers Cowboy”, Joe Phippen en “Images”, Myra en “Day of the Butterfly” o la chica que toca el piano en “Dance of the Happy Shades” encarnan ese elemento de extrañeza y misterio. Cuando esta nueva visión, este “respiro singular” se intenta integrar dentro de las leyes del modo iterativo al final del relato es cuando descubrimos la fuerza y el alcance de este modo en los primeros relatos de Munro, que se ha convertido ya en una voluntad de percepción.

Todas estas características nos hacen adivinar un tipo de argumento o trama específica. El hecho de colocar juntos acontecimientos semejantes elimina su sucesión y, por lo tanto, se produce un desbancamiento del criterio de causalidad como nexo de unión entre los acontecimientos.

En “Dance of the Happy Shades”, “Images” o “The Peace of Utrecht”, la voz narrativa no presenta lo que va ocurriendo, sino la forma en que los personajes asumen, fuera de una referencia temporal detallada, determinados ras-

gos. La información se distribuye en círculos temáticos y se centra, por turnos, en descripciones de diferentes personajes. En “The Peace of Utrecht”, por ejemplo, el primer apartado relata las acciones habituales de las dos hermanas, el tipo de cosas que hacen cuando se encuentran con otro personaje (Fred Powell) y lo que la gente del pueblo les pregunta con respecto a su madre. Finalmente, el narrador abre otro apartado con la frase: “to change the subject, people ask me what it is like to be back in Jubilee”.

Cada apartado se centra en una idea o tema. Si, por ejemplo, esta idea gira en torno a un suceso particular, las condiciones de las que depende este suceso representan un acicate para la narradora, que incluye otros sucesos similares o las reacciones de los personajes en otras situaciones parecidas. Se llega, como término, a la formulación de una pregunta o a una conclusión sobre esta idea. El movimiento no es lineal, cronológico, sino asociativo; las percepciones y sucesos que han ocurrido en diferentes momentos son puestas al servicio de una idea principal.

Observamos que la narración se desarrolla en círculos, gracias a la acumulación de conclusiones que proceden del esfuerzo del narrador para obtener un significado satisfactorio. El argumento que resulta no depende tanto de nexos causales o temporales entre los acontecimientos (de la influencia de un suceso sobre otro), como de una acumulación de percepciones y situaciones extraídas de una serie temporal. En relación con esta idea, Genette señala que la utilización del modo iterativo como base del relato hace que asumamos

toute histoire non comme un enchaînement d'événements liés par une causalité, mais comme une *succession d'états* sans cesse substitués les uns aux autres, sans communication possible. L'itératif est ici, plus que de l'habitude, le mode (l'aspect) temporel de cette sorte d'oubli perpétuel, d'incapacité foncière du héros proustien . . . à percevoir la continuité de sa vie, et donc la relation d'un “temps” à l'autre. (1972: 169)

La vocación del iterativo es la ausencia de acontecimientos, pero es también la ausencia de la causalidad como criterio que unifica acontecimientos, pudiendo ser éste simplemente un criterio de “necesidad”. Los acontecimientos se producen necesariamente de una forma concreta durante un periodo de tiempo, como la fiesta anual de Miss Marsalles, la reacción de la madre en “Red Dress-1946” o su comportamiento en “Princess Ida”—relato perteneciente a *Lives of Girls and Women*, cuando se presenta en el colegio de su hija:

the tone of her voice, the reckless, hurrying way she moved, her lively absurd gestures (any minute she might knock the ink bottle off the principal's desk), and most of all her innocence, her way of not knowing when people were laughing, of thinking she could get away with this. (LGW 79)

Rimmon-Kenan señala que el criterio de causalidad como principio de organización de una historia puede ser desbancado por el criterio de verosimilitud. Este se basa simplemente en una síntesis temporal en la que los sucesos y los personajes adquieren solidez dentro del mismo mundo representado:

the temporal conjunction requires us to imagine some world where these events can co-exist. (Rimmon-Kenan 1983: 18-9)

El tiempo en los relatos de Munro no está relacionado con una sucesión de acontecimientos, sino con un estado de cosas pasado, estado que trata de comprenderse gracias a la distancia temporal. Considero muy apropiadas las afirmaciones de Rimmon-Kenan que reclaman que la noción de "suceso" o "acontecimiento" ha de extenderse más allá de la definición "cambio de un estado de cosas a otro":

Unlike Chatman, I do not insist on an opposition between state and event (or stasis and process), because it seems to me that an account of an event may be broken down into an infinite number of intermediary states. This is why a narrative text or a story-paraphrase need not include any sentence denoting a dynamic event; a succession of states would imply a succession of events. (Rimmon-Kenan 1983: 15)

El uso de los tiempos verbales apoya las anteriores conclusiones, en especial el uso del presente para narrar los acontecimientos de la historia. Boris Uspenski (1983: 69) confirma que la posición temporal desde la que se conduce la narrativa es a menudo expresada en forma gramatical. El tiempo y el aspecto del verbo no sólo tienen que ver con una expresión lingüística, sino con una expresión poética.

En la introducción a nuestro estudio anunciamos la gran diferencia entre contar "lo que sucedía" y "lo que sucedió" y cómo *Dance of the Happy Shades* se decanta por el primer aspecto verbal. Para Uspenski el modo "imperfecto" y el "perfecto" representan la esencia del punto de vista sincrónico y retrospectivo respectivamente. El primero traslada al lector directamente a la acción del relato, colocándolo en la misma posición que ocupan los personajes:

Like the present-tense form of the verb in the examples we discussed earlier, the imperfective aspect enables the author to carry out his description from within the action—that is synchronically, rather than retrospectively—and to place the reader in the very center of the scene he is describing. (Uspenski 1983: 74)

El presente habitual y el pasado imperfecto consiguen el efecto de un tiempo extendido, nos hacen testigos de la acción en un periodo de tiempo al que no se le ha dado término, ni es posible que se le dé. Pero la imposibilidad de una perspectiva temporal amplia—que nos permita contemplar retrospectivamente lo acaecido anteriormente—se encuentra en profundo desacuerdo con otra circunstancia lógica: el narrador está inevitablemente ligado a una posición temporal posterior.

Este aspecto se hace notar cada vez que las narraciones son relatadas en tiempo presente y puede responder a una intención de retratar al narrador como un personaje implicado en una actividad presente del recuerdo. Su rasgo principal aparece determinado por el deseo de permanecer en el tiempo de la historia e ignorar la lógica discordancia temporal entre el tiempo de la historia y el tiempo de la narración.

Lorraine McMullen (1983: 157) utiliza la expresión *the needs of present consciousness* para insistir en la importancia que en la obra de Munro adquiere la representación del narrador en un presente que contiene progresión. Aunque el material usado para el relato procede del pasado, es modelado por la memoria y la imaginación, actividades que emanan de un acto presente, de una corriente de pensamientos actuales del narrador en primera persona.

Este punto de vista es apoyado por Blodgett, que contempla la figura del narrador en los relatos de Munro como la dramatización de una conciencia preocupada fundamentalmente con el paso del tiempo:

The question springs from the predicament that time poses for the narrator, posed not simply between a past and a present, but within a plurality of presents that unfold in the course of narrating and within the *changed* pasts that spring from the continuous change of insight. (Blodgett 1988: 15)

Por consiguiente, se ha utilizado el modo iterativo porque es fiel exclusivamente a una visión sincrónica que define y agrupa percepciones y acontecimientos a través de sus formulaciones silépticas. El orden de presentación de los acontecimientos no es cronológico, sino que pertenece a un orden de evocación del narrador en el "ahora" del acto de narración, utilizando el término de Chatman (1980: 65-66).

Munro hace uso de las convenciones narrativas para presentar una percepción y asimilación de la experiencia que no puede conseguirse en la vida real. Ingarden (1973: 239) señala que las narraciones literarias poseen una ventaja frente a las situaciones que se producen en nuestra vida en cuanto a las condiciones en las que evocamos o recordamos. En la realidad, incluso cuando intencionalmente nos hemos trasladado a un pasado "ahora", nuestro tiempo real nos mueve cada vez más lejos del suceso que recordamos. En la literatura, sin embargo, es posible excluir el tiempo experimentado real, que avanza irremediamente. Las narradoras de estos relatos intentan ocultar que existe una distancia temporal entre sus recuerdos y el contenido de sus recuerdos y, de esta forma, ocultan el hecho de que, inevitablemente, ellas mismas han tenido que experimentar cambios. Imaginan la continuidad invariable de un estado de cosas, algo que, por principio, es contradictorio: las cosas no pueden producirse siempre de forma idéntica.

La narradora del relato "Epilogue: The Photographer", que está escribiendo un libro sobre su ciudad natal, Jubilee, comenta:

what I wanted was every last thing, every layer of speech and thought, stroke of light on bark or walls, every smell, pothole, pain, crack, delusion, *held still and held together*—radiant, everlasting. (LGW 249; énfasis añadido)

Sin ser consciente de ello, define así la vocación misma del modo iterativo. Este modelo convierte un conjunto de acontecimientos u objetos en una situación permanente. Aunque el ciclo de relatos *Lives of Girls and Women*, al que pertenece el anterior pasaje, es muy similar en términos de presentación temporal iterativa a *Dance of the Happy Shades*, en aquél observamos ya por los comentarios indirectos de la narradora una incipiente conciencia sobre la arbitrariedad que este tipo de relato conlleva. Aunque no será hasta el relato "Winter Wind", perteneciente a una colección posterior, *Something I've Been Meaning to Tell You* (1974), cuando la narradora reconozca abiertamente el carácter irreal y engañoso de su hábito de deformar a los personajes (a través del modelo iterativo, según mi opinión):

And how is anybody to know, I think as I put this down, how am I to know what I claim to know? I have used these people, not all of them, but some of them, before. I have tricked them out and altered them and shaped them any way at all, to suit my purposes. I am not doing that now, I am being as careful as I can, but I stop and wonder, I feel compunction. (SMT 193)

Orange (1983: 94-5) señala que el diseño de las narraciones de Munro lleva a un primer plano el tema de la naturaleza ilusoria de la vida cotidiana y de nuestras percepciones sobre la gente. En *Dance of the Happy Shades*, este tema se pone de relieve a través de la aparición de aspectos secretos de la vida de los personajes y a través de las distorsiones de las percepciones de la protagonista. En nuestro estudio, hemos comprobado que se manifiesta a través del relato iterativo, que es origen de reflexión e ironía cuando se aplica a la construcción de personajes.

El empleo del modo iterativo en los relatos analizados es contradictorio porque contiene una paradoja; por una parte, se crea una dimensión temporal permanente en la que existen los personajes y, por otra, se cuestiona la validez de esa existencia estable que, aunque libra a la memoria de inquietud, apunta directamente a la irrealidad y falsedad de lo que permanece inmune al cambio.⁸


En la mayoría de los relatos de *Dance of the Happy Shades*, las narradoras organizan el pasado para que pueda ser comunicado como una clasificación; de la serie biográfica de los personajes extraen varios sucesos para unirlos en uno sólo y expresarlos a través de una única enunciación narrativa. Por su falta de movimiento, el modo iterativo transforma hechos en estados. Surge de la concentración en aspectos de un discurrir cotidiano que hace que los personajes puedan *actuar*, pero no embarcarse en *un curso de acción* ya que, al ser descritos por sus hábitos, el relato iterativo no permite la singularidad de sus acciones. Para éstas no existe término ni finalidad, sólo una capacidad ilustrativa que muestra cómo ciertas situaciones han venido produciéndose en un periodo extenso de tiempo.

En los relatos de Munro observamos a los personajes realizando actividades o hablando, pero comprendemos desde el primer momento que el tiempo no nos puede cambiar porque no avanza. Las narradoras en primera persona de *Dance of the Happy Shades* presentan a los personajes de su mundo como personalidades ya formadas porque dirigen su mirada conclusiva hacia atrás desde un conocimiento ya adquirido, permitiendo muy pocas veces que el lector observe situaciones que no han sido previamente definidas.

El hecho de que el iterativo sea el modo predominante en esta colección no convierte a todos los relatos en iguales, sino que orienta nuestra lectura hacia un ejercicio de comprensión parecido: contribuye a que la relevancia de cada relato no se atribuya a una secuencia de sucesos, ni a la modificación del carácter, ni al cambio de situación, ni a ninguna proeza del destino. El relato iterativo centra su atención en la creación de una atmósfera envolvente en la que los personajes aparecen atrapados por sus rasgos recurrentes.

El modo iterativo deja de ser en estos relatos un modo auxiliar que presenta un "tiempo auxiliar", aquel que sirve de nexos y transición a las partes más dramáticas de la historia. Por el contrario, contiene todas las claves para comprender el mundo representado. No es simplemente un modo apropiado para la exposición, que nos informa de los antecedentes de la historia o nos introduce en el mundo ficticio, según la definición de Meir Sternberg (1978: 28-9).

Según Christine Brooke-Rose (1986: 318), teóricamente es imposible contar una historia totalmente con el modo iterativo porque es un modo "no-narrativo": una historia sólo puede comenzar con el modo singulativo, cuando algo específico y puntual ocurre. El relato iterativo se convierte, en autores como Samuel Beckett o Philippe Sollers, en el medio para eludir el aspecto puntual del tiempo y para presentar estados que no tienen principio ni final.

Alice Munro también muestra que es posible escribir historias basadas casi exclusivamente en cosas usuales y habituales. Utiliza el modo iterativo para eliminar de la historia el contenido de la acción y depositar el interés en la construcción de personajes. Aunque se hayan seleccionado sólo unos pocos rasgos de éstos, el relato consigue configurarse como una historia y no como un *sketch* descriptivo porque nos invita a construir explicaciones sobre la causalidad o los motivos que se desprenden de la obra. Esta es precisamente la definición de "relato" según John Gerlach (1989: 80): una historia se crea cuando nos hace pensar en los personajes como si fueran personas, pensar en quiénes son y qué hacen. El mínimo requisito para que se forme una historia es que nos haga pensar en personas en un tiempo y en un espacio. 

NOTAS

1. W. R. Martin (1987: 77) señala que, después de *Lives of Girls and Women*, Munro adopta secuencias temporales más flexibles porque abandona el diseño básicamente cronológico. También Orange comparte esta idea, que relaciona con una evolución de Munro como escritora: "Perhaps, then, Munro has decided that a first person narrator setting down memories in a more or less linear sequence is not the only way, or even the most desirable way to communicate her vision" (1983: 87).

2. Munro comenta en su entrevista con J. R. Struthers que su deseo en la colección de relatos *Dance of the Happy Shades* era conseguir un efecto de variedad y yuxtaposición: "The idea when we got this together was so the reader would sort of come up for air and then go into a new story" (Struthers 1983: 22-3). Sin embargo, en la misma entrevista, Munro admite conexiones, e incluso progresión, entre algunos de los relatos, sobre todo entre "Walker Brothers Cowboy", "Images", "Boys and Girls" y "Red Dress-1946".

3. W. R. Martin (1987: 1-13) dedica un capítulo entero a este aspecto temático y Sheldrick Ross señala que en estos relatos la rutina se funde ocasionalmente con un mundo encantado o lleno de locura: "familiar landscape revealed in an unfamiliar aspect" (1983: 114-5). Coral Ann Howells (1987) y Lorraine York (1988) exploran desde diferentes puntos de vista la mezcla de códigos realistas y fantásticos en la obra de Munro. Uno de los ensayos más recientes que estudian la polaridad de percepción y los diferentes niveles de realidad en juego en los relatos de Alice Munro es el de Ajay Heble (1994), que utiliza el concepto de "paradigma" para analizar las posibilidades de interpretación que se incluyen en sus textos, tomadas de un nivel de significado ausente o hipotético.

4. Según Stanzel, "For an embodied narrator, this motivation is existential; it is directly connected with his practical experiences, with the joys and sorrows he has experienced, with his moods and needs. . . . The motivation to narrate can also originate, however, in the need for an organizing overview, in search for meaning on the part of the matured, self-possessed 'I', who has outgrown the mistakes and confusions of his former life" (1988: 93).

5. Ricœur (1987: 119) ha señalado también las combinaciones discordantes entre adverbios temporales y tiempos verbales en los relatos, que serían inaceptables en afirmaciones sobre la realidad.

6. Ricœur (1987: 117) transmite la opinión de Käte Hamburger en *Die Logik der Dichtung* (1957) de que, en el régimen de ficción, las formas del pretérito del discurso del narrador no indican tiempo pasado.

7. Nos referimos, entre otros, a George Woodcock (1987), W. R. Martin (1987), Ildico de Papp Carrington (1989), Beverly J. Rasporich (1990), o Magdalene Redekop (1992).

8. Aunque el modo iterativo se contemple en *Lives of Girls and Women* como un modo de conocimiento engañoso, recordemos que, en *Dance of the Happy Shades*, la falsedad o deformación que produce este modo se contempla todavía como algo positivo porque facilita la confección de una leyenda. Munro comenta que el relato "Images" "started with the picture in my mind of the man met in the woods, coming obliquely down the river-bank, carrying the hatchet, and the child watching him, and the father unaware, bending over his traps. . . . Of course the character did not spring from nowhere. His ancestors were a few old men, half hermits, half madmen, often paranoid, occasionally dangerous, living around the country where I grew up. . . . I had always heard stories about them; they were established early as semi-legendary figures in my mind" (Cit. por Sheldrick Ross, 1983: 118).

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THE APPLICABILITY OF LINGUISTIC POLITENESS STUDIES TO TRANSLATION: A CASE STUDY



ROSA LORÉS SANZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA



1. INTRODUCTION: BROWN AND LEVINSON'S POLITENESS THEORY

The present paper takes some aspects of a more complex description in order to approach Politeness studies from a new angle: translation. The most relevant approaches to the study of politeness agree in considering it as a linguistic phenomenon in which the close relationship between language and society can be perceived. Thus, the expression of politeness has a double dimension which, on the one hand, entails linguistic meaning and, on the other, a social one, from which may be inferred a certain personal relationship between addresser and addressee, a relative status, and a certain degree of social formality, as well as a certain speaker attitude towards the hearer. All these aspects determine the close relationship between the linguistic expression of politeness and the cultural context within which such expression is used.

This cultural-relativistic stand somehow contradicts or, at least, partly questions, the universal character ascribed to linguistic politeness by one of the seminal theories in the field: the framework of Politeness theory devised by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson in their book *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use* (1978, 1987).

This article will take as its framework this discussion, to which cross-cultural research has greatly contributed in an attempt to determine the extent to which the principles of politeness vary or coincide among languages or,

rather, among cultures. As I see it, politeness theory and the discussion concerning what is universal and what is culturally-determined in politeness can benefit from contrastive studies in the field of translation, and translation can also profit from insights into the study of linguistic politeness.

Although Brown and Levinson's theory continues to attract criticism because of its claim to universality, it may be considered the most comprehensive politeness model so far. Gumperz states in his preface to the 1987 edition:

In the years since it first appeared it has come to be accepted as the classic treatment on politeness in communication. As an integrative treatment of phenomena previously dealt with in a variety of disciplines it is now widely cited by linguists, psychologists and students of social interaction. A major reason for this interest is that politeness, as the authors define it, is basic to the production of social order, and a precondition of human cooperation, so that any theory which provides an understanding of this phenomenon at the same time goes to the foundations of human social life. (1987: xiii)

The point of departure for Brown and Levinson is "the extraordinary parallelism in the linguistic minutiae of the utterances with which persons choose to express themselves in quite unrelated languages and cultures" (1987: 55), and their objective is to set up a contrastive study to enable them to describe and account for such parallelism. To do so, their contrastive study is carried out on three very different languages: English, Tzeltal, (spoken in Chiapas, Mexico) and South Indian Tamil. Brown and Levinson state that the parallelisms found in these three languages as far as linguistic politeness is concerned enable them to posit the universality of politeness as a regulative principle in verbal exchanges.

Their methodological framework is based on the construction of a model person (MP), endowed with two special properties: 'rationality' and 'face' (1987: 58). 'Rationality' refers to the application of a specific way of reasoning which guarantees the ability to choose effective courses of action to achieve the intended effects (1987: 64). Derived from Goffman's model (1967), 'face' is a key concept which refers to the public self-image that every person wants to claim for him/herself (1987: 61).

It is generally understood that, in general, speakers tend to cooperate (and expect cooperation from others) in maintaining face in every verbal interaction, and this cooperative attitude is based on the assumption that both the speaker's and the hearer's face can easily be threatened. They assume that

both the awareness of each other's face and the social need to avoid loss of face are universal, and they prefer to define 'face' not as an arbitrary norm, acknowledged by all members of society, but as something whose protection is a shared need and a mutual interest.

Brown and Levinson conceive 'face' as consisting of two related aspects: positive and negative, the former understood as every individual's desire that his/her self-image be appreciated and approved of, and the latter as every individual's claim to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

Face, in its positive and negative aspects, and as the speaker's and the hearer's face, can be threatened by certain acts which Brown and Levinson call Face Threatening Acts (FTAs), whose impact can be reduced by the use of certain politeness strategies.¹ In order to choose an appropriate politeness strategy to counteract the threat involved in an FTA, any model person has first to assess the danger that the realization of the FTA implies,² such assessment being calculated on the basis of three sociological variables: the social distance (D) between the speaker (S) and the hearer (H), the relative power (P) of S and H, and the absolute ranking of the imposition (R) in the given culture. The results of that calculation will guide the speaker in the selection of the most appropriate strategy to use in a given situation. (1987: 67-70). The following strategies are available: bald-on-record, positive politeness, off record, don't do the FTA.

As mentioned above, the criticisms of Brown and Levinson's theoretical proposal have been many and various: they tend to focus on four main problems:³

- the absence of context (both situational and cultural),
- the neglect of discourse,
- the rigidity of the politeness scale in relation to the three sociological variables (P, D and R),
- the universality of their ranking of negative politeness and off-record strategies.

To these might be added objections to the concept of face itself.

Many of the most common objections to Brown and Levinson's theoretical proposal come from scholars working within distant cultures from the Western one, like the Japanese and the Chinese (Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1989, et al.), but there are other voices raised within the so-called Western world (Blum-Kulka and Olshtein 1984; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Sifianou 1992, et al.), who also help to show that cross-cultural studies are a way, not of refuting but, rather, of developing and improving valuable material such as Brown and Levinson's model.⁴ Therefore, in spite of all the objections and criticisms of their work, which reveal the need to

revise some of their basic tenets, it is undeniable that their theory is still valid and continues to shed light on linguistic politeness.

It is my intention in this paper to gather evidence which may prove, firstly, that although the use of linguistic strategies to compensate for the threat of a Face Threatening Act (FTA) seems to be universal, the type of strategy used is not necessarily so and, secondly, that the study of translations of literary texts is a valid field of research for those who work in linguistic politeness. Some examples taken from the American play *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and its Spanish translation *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente* will be commented on. It is also my purpose to show that Brown and Levinson's claim that "any rational agent will tend to choose the same genus of strategy under the same conditions" (1987: 71) does not hold when the cultural context varies, and this may be seen within the field of literary translation.⁵

2. THE APPLICATION OF POLITENESS THEORY TO THE STUDY OF LITERATURE

At the 1989 IAUPE Conference in Lausanne, Roger Sell declared that more and more linguists were coming to see entire processes of production and reception as specific to particular socio-cultural, situational and interactional circumstances. In his view, that trend towards contextualization, which could be traced from Speech Act Theory through Discourse Analysis to Pragmatics, may also serve as a rallying point for a different species of literary scholar, one who centres on the pragmatic and communicative aspect of literary texts. However, that trend does not fundamentally distinguish the communication between literary writers and their readers from any other type of language communication (Sell 1989). Thus, Literary Pragmatics has emerged as a discipline which draws on the contextualizing insights of both linguists and literary scholars and which sees the writing and reading of literary texts as interactive communication processes, inextricably linked with the particular socio-cultural contexts within which they take place.

Sell believes that the literary text, like any other instance of language, is an action performed in the real world. Therefore, in contradistinction to previous theories which placed the action within the limits of the literary text in which an implicit writer and an implicit reader take part, Literary Pragmaticists conceive the implicit writer and reader in the text as aspects of the real writer and the real reader who interact in a real world. According to Sell, if in everyday interaction speakers respect conversational turns, wish to

maintain their addressee's face and, in general, comply with what is called the Cooperative Principle, it would be most surprising if they were to experience a literary speech act in different terms (1985: 175).

Sell claims that no student of politeness can afford to overlook literary texts, and he offers a threefold reason for this (1989): a) in their mimesis of human interaction literary texts offer noteworthy portrayals of politeness at work (politeness *in* literary texts); b) the process of communication between authors and readers itself constitutes a field of interaction in which politeness considerations operate (politeness *of* literary texts); c) the politeness in literary texts and the politeness of literary texts lend themselves to study from a diachronic perspective.

Sell believes, then, that literature and all other human activities are linked through social interaction; just as there are changes in politeness so there are changes in literature or in other aspects of life. He illustrates his approach to the study of politeness in literary texts with an analysis of Chaucer's *The Miller's Tale* and T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, a poem which offended the readers of its time and then became well accepted as a classic some years later; that is, it started out as an offensive act only to become a polite one.

Other scholars have also devoted their time to the application of Linguistic Politeness to the study of literature. Paul Simpson studies politeness in Ionesco's *The Lesson* and claims that his study is "a discursive-stylistic analysis [which] should open the way for wider discussion of the text as interaction on several levels [and] highlight the roles of writer and reader as conversationalists in real-time speech events" (1989: 172).

In 1989 Roger Brown and Albert Gilman set out to test the universality of Brown and Levinson's model by applying it to the study of four Shakespearean tragedies (*Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth* and *Othello*). In their view, the use of dramatic texts was justified because a) these provide the best information on colloquial speech, b) the psychological soliloquies in the tragedies provide the access to inner life that is necessary for a proper test of politeness theory, and c) the tragedies represent the full range of society in a period of high relevance to politeness theory (1989: 159).

Literary texts, then, seem to offer an appropriate field of study for pragmatic issues. Among them, dramatic texts understood, in Sell's terms, as both a mimesis of human interaction and as a process of communication between writer and reader, are, it would seem, particularly apt for the study of linguistic politeness. The present study will focus on the first of these aspects, that is, on what Sell calls politeness *in* literary texts.

3. AN APPLICATION OF POLITENESS THEORY TO TRANSLATION

3.1. PROPOSAL FOR A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

The application of politeness theory to literary texts may enrich both relevant disciplines: on the one hand, a vast field of research opens up for politeness theory; on the other, literary studies may gain insights from the application of a new perspective. Additionally, the incorporation of translation as a field of research for politeness studies provides further possibilities for the study of social interaction, and translation may also benefit from a new and different cross-cultural perspective.

Here it is my intention to show that the translation of literary works is a field of research for those working in linguistic politeness and, what is more, the practice of translation can also be illuminated by the confrontation of cultural differences in the linguistic expression of politeness. To illustrate these points I shall focus on the American play *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* by Tennessee Williams (1955), and its Spanish translation *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente* by Ana Diosdado.

The aim of the study is to test, within the field of translation, the conclusions drawn by a certain number of researchers,⁶ according to whom the assessment of the danger that the realization of an FTA involves, as well as the linguistic strategies that speakers use to compensate for such danger, are not universal, as Brown and Levinson postulate in their model, but vary across cultures. In accordance with this hypothesis, every translation, which may be defined as the adaptation of a text, created and modelled within a certain cultural framework, to a different cultural environment, will necessarily reflect alterations dictated by the different politeness strategies of the target culture, alterations which may help the translated text to comply with the expectations of a target reader, as distinct from the source reader.

In carrying out a textual analysis of both original and translation, a number of considerations were taken into account:

a) My starting point was Brown and Levinson's statement that "as Wx [Weight] increases, a rational agent would tend to choose to use the higher-numbered strategies . . . [They] serve best to minimize face risk" (1987: 83). It may be recalled here that Brown and Levinson distinguished five types of compensating politeness strategies, which, from most threatening to least threatening, are: 'bald-on-record', 'positive politeness', 'negative politeness', 'off-record' and 'do not do the FTA'.

b) I took W (Weight) to be the sum of the values ascribed to the sociological variables P (relative power), D (social distance), R (ranking of

imposition) and A (affect). It should be pointed out that the existence of A as a sociological variable in its own right which may contribute to the assessment of the weight of an FTA was not recognised by Brown and Levinson in practical terms. However, I agree with Slugoski and Turnbull (1988) and Brown and Gilman (1989) that the more affectionate a relationship is, the higher numbered the strategies that tend to be used.

c) As I considered that reliable conclusions could not be drawn from the analysis of individual verbal exchanges, my final considerations were extracted from a global evaluation of the weight of FTAs, grouped according to the characters taking part in the verbal interactions. In this way, less adventurous conclusions might be inferred about the alterations that politeness strategies possibly suffer after a process of translation, as more data were handled at the time of isolating possible modifications in the values that the original author and the translator ascribed to the variables which make up W (P, D, R and A).

A textual analysis model was applied to the original version and to the translation. First, a selection of those FTAs, or rather MFTAs,⁷ which varied in the Spanish version, was made in both texts and then the following steps were taken:

a) The MFTAs and the FTAs within MFTAs were labelled according to Brown and Levinson's typology.

b) A contrastive study of compensating strategies was made, signalling those which differed in both texts and stating the possible alterations that such divergences could bring about on the nature of the FTA or even of the MFTA.

c) The verbal exchanges were grouped according to the characters involved in them, in order to draw more reliable conclusions about the possible alterations in the values of the sociological variables which constitute W.

d) A global study of the alterations in the politeness strategies used in each text was made. This made it possible to reach some conclusions about the type of politeness strategies that most frequently undergo modification when translated.

3.2. THE APPLICATION OF POLITENESS THEORY TO TRANSLATION: A CASE STUDY

The contrastive study outlined above was carried out on the chosen text and on its Spanish translation. I focused on the types of MFTAs which were modified in some way, either because they now had a different nature and/or because some of the politeness strategies used to mitigate FTAs had been

transferred to the translated text as different strategies or had even been omitted. A great deal of data were extracted from the exchanges analysed, and are presented here in accordance with Brown and Levinson's typology. I shall concentrate on those alterations which took place in realizations of both positive and negative politeness strategies when transferred to the translated text.

A) By way of illustration, and in the field of positive politeness, the most common strategies to undergo alteration in the translation process were:

- seeking of agreement
- use of in-group identity markers
- use of slang.

Among these the positive politeness strategy which most frequently underwent modification was the use of in-group identity markers, including the use of terms of address and affectionate terms. These items were almost systematically suppressed, a course of action on the part of the translator which, in my opinion, was dictated by the need to avoid artificiality in the Spanish text.

Several examples will now be provided to illustrate the variations mentioned above:⁸

a) seek agreement:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p. 17, Act One)

MARGARET: [1] [FTA+H accusation] Well, I!—just remarked that!—one of th' no-neck monsters messed up m' lovely lace dress so I got t' cha-a-ange...

BRICK: [2] [FTA-H asking for information] Why d'ya call Gooper's kiddies no-neck monsters?

MARGARET: [3] [FTA+H accusation and insult] Because they've got no necks! Isn't that a good enough reason?

BRICK: [4] [FTA-H asking for information] Don't they have any necks?

MARGARET: [5] [FTA+H insult] None visible. Their fat little heads are set on their fat little bodies without a bit of connexion.

BRICK: [6] [FTA+H disapproval] That's too bad.

MARGARET: [7] [FTA+H insult] Yes, it's too bad because you can't wring their necks if they've got no necks to wring! Isn't that right, honey?

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p.11, Acto Primero)

MARGARET.- [1] [FTA+H accusation] Nada que... Bueno, sólo decía que uno de esos monstruos cuellicortos me estropeó el vestido, así que tuve que subir... ¡a cambiaarme!

BRICK.- [2] [FTA-H asking for information] ¿Por qué les llamas monstruos cuellicortos a los críos de Gooper?

MARGARET.- [3] [FTA+H accusation and insult] Porque lo son. No tienen cuello. ¿No es suficiente motivo?

BRICK.- [4] [FTA-H asking for information] ¿No tienen cuello?

MARGARET.- [5] [FTA+H insult] Por lo menos no se les ve. Parece como si tuvieran una cabeza gorda directamente pegada a un cuerpecito gordo.

BRICK.- [6] [FTA+H disapproval] ¡Es terrible!

MARGARET.- [7] [FTA+H insult] Sí, sobre todo porque si no tienen cuello no hay manera de retorcerselo.

According to Brown and Levinson, 'seeking agreement' constitutes one of the most common positive politeness strategies used by speakers to claim common ground with hearers (1987: 103). Examples of this positive politeness mechanism are found in the MFTA above: the repetition of *it's too bad* and the use of *Isn't that right*. None of these mechanisms is reproduced in the Spanish text.

b) use of in-group identity markers:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p.21, Act One)

MARGARET: ... [1] [FTA-S confession] I sometimes suspect that Big Daddy harbours a little unconscious 'lech' fo' me...

BRICK: [2] [FTA-H asking for information] What makes you think that Big Daddy has a lech for you, Maggie?

MARGARET: [3] [FTA-S confession] Way he always drops his eyes down my body when I'm talkin' to him, drops his eyes to my boobs an' licks his old chops! Ha ha!

BRICK: [4] [FTA+H criticism] That kind of talk is disgusting.

MARGARET: [5] [FTA+H insult] Did anyone ever tell you that you' re an assaching Puritan, Brick?

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente* p.15, Acto Primero)

MARGARET.- ... [1] [FTA-S confession] Incluso... a veces tengo la impresión de que inconscientemente a papá le gusto yo más de la cuenta.

BRICK.- [2] [FTA-H asking for information] ¿Qué te hace pensar que le gustas a papá más de la cuenta?

MARGARET.- [3] [FTA-S confession] El modo en que me recorre el cuerpo con los ojos cuando le estoy hablando, el modo en que me mira los pechos y se pasa la lengua por los labios. ¡Ja, ja!

BRICK.- [4] [FTA+H criticism] Tienes una manera de hablar repugnante.

MARGARET.- [5] [FTA+H insult] ¿No te han dicho nunca que eres un mojigato?

This example helps to illustrate the recurrent loss in the Spanish translation of in-group identity markers (terms of address, family names, nicknames etc.) which constitute a positive politeness strategy. As Brown and Levinson state, "by using any of the innumerable ways to convey in-group membership, S can implicitly claim the common ground with H that is carried by that definition of the group" (1987: 107). In the translated text, the proper names *Maggie* and *Brick*, used as compensating devices for their corresponding FTAs, are omitted, and no other strategies are used in their place.

c) use of slang:

The example used above is also helpful to illustrate the alteration in the use of slang as a positive politeness strategy. Brown and Levinson claim that, by referring to an object with a slang word, S may evoke all the shared associations and attitudes that both he and H have toward the object (1987: 111). In the Spanish text, words such as *boobs* and *old chops* are translated by the much more standard Spanish terms *pechos* and *labios*, which fail to transmit the close connection that Maggie intends to make between herself and her father-in-law.

B) The negative politeness strategies which most frequently suffer modification are the following:

- point-of-view distancing
- minimizing of threat
- use of 'hedges'
- use of 'honorifics'

- use of passive voice
- use of indirect speech acts

As a general rule, there was a tendency in the Spanish text to suppress negative politeness strategies or to replace them with positive politeness mechanisms. Some examples will now be provided.

a) point-of-view distancing:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p 25, Act One)

MARGARET: [1] [FTA-H warning] Well, sooner or later it's bound to soften you up. [2] [FTA+H criticism] It was just beginning to soften up Skipper when-[3] [FTA+S excuse] I'm sorry. I never could keep my fingers off a sore.

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p 19, Acto Primero)

MARGARET.- [1] [FTA-H warning] Bueno, eso le pasa a todo el mundo tarde o temprano. [2] [FTA+H criticism] El mismo Skipper empezaba ya a... [3] [FTA+S excuse] Perdona. Siempre acabo poniendo el dedo en la llaga...

FTA 2 is compensated for in the source text with a negative politeness strategy which Brown and Levinson call 'point-of-view distancing' and which helps to distance S from H or from the particular FTA (1987: 204). In this particular case the impersonal *It* is used to establish some distance between Skipper and the act of drinking, the 'it' to which Maggie refers and which constitutes an FTA. The Spanish version does not make use of this compensating device and the action is personalized and ascribed to Skipper.

b) minimize threat:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p 89, Act Three)

BRICK: ... [1] [FTA-H offer] Anyone else?

BIG MAMA [*sadly*] [2] [FTA+H disapproval]: No, son. I wish you wouldn't!

BRICK: I wish I didn't have to, Big Mama, [3] [FTA-S excuse] but I'm still waiting for that click in my head which makes it all smooth out!

BIG MAMA: [4] [FTA+H accusation / FTA+H expression of violent emotions] Aw, Brick, you—BREAK MY HEART!

MARGARET: [5] [FTA-H order] *Brick, go sit with Big Mama!*

BIG MAMA: [6] [FTA+H complaint / FTA+ H expression of violent emotions]: I just cain't staiiiiiiiii-nnnnd—it...[She sobs]

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p 68, Acto Tercero)

BRICK.- ... [1] [FTA-H offer] ¿Alguien más quiere?

MAMÁ.- No, hijo. [2] [FTA-H advice] Y tú tampoco deberías beber más.

BRICK.- Ójala pudiera, mamá. [3] [FTA-S excuse] ¡Pero todavía no he ingerido la cantidad necesaria para conseguir la paz!

MAMÁ.- [4] [FTA+H accusation / FTA+ H expression of violent emotions] ¡Ay, Brick, qué cosas dices! ¡Si tú supieras el daño que me haces...!

MARGARET.- [5] [FTA-H order] Brick, ve a sentarte con tu madre.

MAMÁ.- ... [6] [FTA+H disapproval] ¡Cada vez que te veo llenar el vaso y...!

In the source text, in which the mother expresses both disapproval and violent emotions, FTA 6 is compensated for with a politeness strategy which Brown and Levinson call 'minimizing the imposition Rx' and which consists of indicating that Rx, the intrinsic seriousness of the imposition, is not in itself great (1987: 176). This strategy is generally carried out by means of terms such as *just*, as is the case in the example above. The Spanish version eliminates this strategy and compensates for the FTA of disapproval with a positive politeness device ('personal-centre switch' from S to H). The change in the type of strategy used transforms the nature of FTA 6 in the translated version, which fails to transmit the expression of violent emotions.

c) use of 'hedges':

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p 32, Act One)

BIG MAMA: ... [1] [FTA+H disapproval] Whacha took off you' dress faw? [2] [FTA-H compliment] I thought that little lace dress was so sweet on yuh, honey.

MARGARET: [3] [FTA-H complaint] I thought it looked sweet on me, too, but one of m'cute little table-partners used it for a napkin so—I

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p 26, Acto Primero)

MAMA.- ... [1] [FTA+H disapproval] ¿Por qué te has quitado el vestido? [2] [FTA-H compliment] Te quedaba precioso.

MARGARET.- [3] [FTA+H complaint] Me quedaba precioso, pero uno de mis adorables vecinitos de mesa lo usó de servilleta, así que...

The mother carries out an FTA (2) which, in the source text, is compensated for with what Brown and Levinson call 'a quality hedge' (*I thought*), a negative politeness strategy derived from the desire not to coerce H (1987: 145). In the translated version the mother performs the same FTA, but this time it is expressed 'bald-on-record' (*Te quedaba precioso*).

d) use of honorifics:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p. 58, Act Two)

BIG DADDY:.... [1] [FTA-H asking for information] What are you doin' there now?

BRICK: [2] [FTA-H dare] Fresh'nin' up my drink.

BIG DADDY: [3] [FTA+H disapproval] Son, you know you got a real liquor problem?

BRICK: [4] [FTA+S admission of guilt] Yes, sir, yes, I know.

BIG DADDY: [5] [FTA-H asking for information] Is that why you quit sports-announcing, because of this liquor problem?

BRICK: [6] [FTA+ S admission of guilt] Yes, sir, yes, sir, I guess so.

BIG DADDY: [7] [FTA+H disapproval] Son, don't guess about it, it's too important.

BRICK [*vaguely*]: [8] [FTA+ S admission of guilt] Yes, sir.

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p. 47, Acto Segundo)

PAPÁ.... [1] [FTA+H criticism] ¿Qué coño haces ahí?

BRICK.- [2] [FTA-H dare] Servirme otro whisky.

PAPÁ.- [3] [FTA+H disapproval] Oye, lo tuyo es muy serio, ¿eh?

BRICK.- [4] [FTA+S admission of guilt] Sí, supongo que sí.

PAPÁ.- : [5] [FTA-H asking for information] ¿Por eso dejaste el deporte, por la bebida?

BRICK.- [6] [FTA+S admission of guilt] Supongo que fue por eso, sí.

PAPÁ.- [7] [FTA+H criticism] Déjate de suponer, todo esto es importante.

BRICK.- [8] [FTA+S admission of guilt] Sí... Claro.

According to Brown and Levinson, honorifics constitute deference linguistic phenomena, that is, "direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants" (1987: 179). In the source text, honorifics are used, as negative politeness strategies which compensate for the realization of FTAs 4, 6 and 8, all of them of the same nature (admission of guilt). The translated version omits the use of honorifics and the FTAs are carried out without any compensating mechanisms.

e) use of passive voice:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p.42, Act One)

MARGARET: [1] [FTA-H threat] I can't stop myself! I'd go on telling you this in front of them all, if I had to!

BRICK: [2] [FTA-H order] Little girl! Go on, go on, will you? Do what I told you, call them!

MARGARET: [3] [FTA-H threat] Because it's got to be told and [4] [FTA+H accusation] you, you!- you never let me!

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p.33, Acto Primero)

MARGARET.- [1] [FTA-H threat] ¡No me pienso callar! ¡Todos! ¡Seguiré hablando delante de todos si hace falta!

BRICK.- [2] [FTA-H order] ¡Anda, nena, corre...! ¡Corre y díles que suban!

MARGARET.- [3] [FTA-H threat] ¡Porque tengo que decirlo y [4] [FTA+O accusation] tú... tú nunca me dejas!

The American text displays an FTA characterized as 'threat' (FTA 3) which is compensated for with the use of the passive voice (*It's got to be told*). The use of the passive voice is a negative politeness strategy considered by Brown and Levinson as a way of avoiding reference to persons involved in FTAs, as is the case of the speaker in the example above (1987: 194). The Spanish version, however, includes no such compensating device and the speaker realizes the FTA without any redressive strategy.

f) use of indirect speech acts:

MFTA (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, p.42, Act One)

BRICK:[1] [FTA-H threat] Maggie, you want me to hit you with this crutch? Don't you know I could kill you with this crutch?

MARGARET: [2] [FTA-H dare] Good Lord, man, d'you think I'd care if you did?

MFTA (*La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, p.33, Acto Primero)

BRICK.- : [1] [FTA-H threat] Maggie, ¡podría matarte con esta muleta!

MARGARET.- [2] [FTA-H dare] ¡Pues adelante, hombre! ¡Supones que me importaría?

FTA 1 is compensated for in the source text by the use of indirect speech acts (*you want me...?; Don't you know...?*). In Brown and Levinson's view, indirect speech acts are certainly "the most significant form of conventional indirectness," as they allow the speaker to solve the tension between two opposing forces: the wish to allow H a way out and the wish to perform the FTA (1987: 132). Indirect speech acts constitute, therefore, a negative politeness strategy. The Spanish version avoids such redressive strategy and the speaker goes on record.

As was indicated above, these examples illustrate some of the most significant changes between the ST and the TT as far as the type of linguistic politeness strategy is concerned. However, some further alterations were found in the corpus analysed, as the following graphs and tables will show.⁹

Fig. 1: No. of FTAs that undergo alteration in terms of the type of strategy used

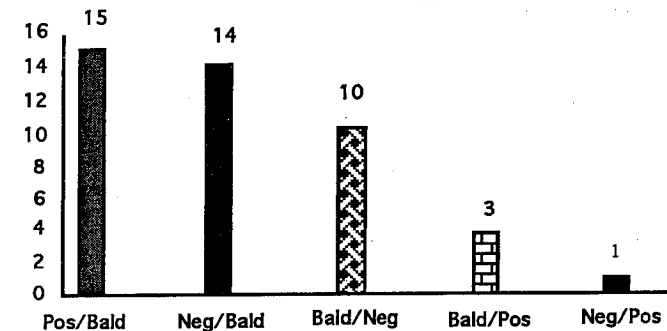


Table 1

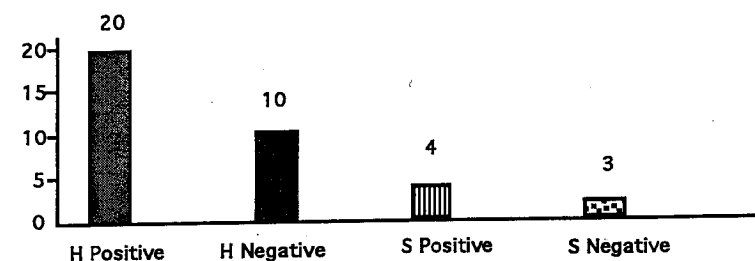
Typology of MFTAs	Total number	Percentages
Accusation	8	21.6%
Confession	4	10.8%
Order	3	8.1%
Excuse	3	8.1%
Disapproval	2	5.4%
Reprimand	2	5.4%
Threat	2	5.4%
Bad news	2	5.4%
Dangerous topics	2	5.4%
Insult	2	5.4%
Complaint	2	5.4%
Warning	1	2.7%
Offer	1	2.7%
Request	1	2.7%
Asking for information	1	2.7%
Dare	1	2.7%

Total number of MFTAs: 37

With respect to MFTAs, Table 1 shows the types, total number and percentages of MFTAs most frequently altered.

Finally, Figure 2 organizes the MFTAs modified in the translated text according to the perceived threat to the positive / negative face of the speaker / hearer.

Figure 2: MFTAs modified according to the type of face threatened



Total number of MFTAs modified: 37

Total number of MFTAs that threaten H (hearer) and are modified: 30 (81,08%)

Total number of MFTAs that threaten S (speaker) and are modified: 7 (18,91%)

4. CONCLUSIONS


Overall, the study briefly outlined above was successful in the sense that it once again called into question Brown and Levinson's postulate of the universality of the type of linguistic strategy used to compensate for FTAs. As shown in our study of *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*, evidence was found that the translator adapted and modified the original text presumably in an attempt to comply with the expectations of a different type of audience as far as linguistic politeness was concerned. However, it must be pointed out that, although the variation was found in the type of strategy used, the translator could always have resorted to an alternative compensating strategy within the frame of Brown and Levinson's theory, which means that their claim to universality is still valid with regard to the use (not the type) of politeness strategies.

Some more specific findings were made with regard to other basic aspects of Brown and Levinson's theory. In particular, the summative formula devised by them for the assessment of the weight or seriousness of an FTA was brought into question. According to Brown and Levinson, the

weight of an FTA is the sum of the values attached to the three sociological variables ($W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$). In accordance with their proposal, different values attached to the variables would give rise to a different assessment of W and, consequently, to a search for suitable compensating strategies. Even though a new sociological variable (Affect) was incorporated into the formula, it was found that in most FTAs, perhaps because of the cultural proximity of the American and Spanish cultures—Western cultures—it was difficult to ascribe different values to P , D , and A in the original and the translated version, and that only R —the most culture-dependent variable—could, ultimately, account for discrepancies found in the value of W , and for the use of different strategies in both the original and the translation. This may lead us to conclude that the addition of the variable A does not eliminate the dissatisfaction that the formula devised by Brown and Levinson arouses, and that further research should be done into the factors which influence the weight of an FTA, a fact which was somehow recognised by the authors in their 1987 critical revision of their model, though they did not act on their suggestion:

In our view, P , D , and R can be seen to subsume most of the culturally specific social determinants of FTA expression, but we must concede that there may be a residue of other factors which are not captured within the P , D and R dimensions. (1987: 16)

On the other hand, the fact that I have had to resort to R to explain the writer's and the translator's different assessments of W , may call into question Brown and Levinson's proposal of a hierarchy in the use of politeness strategies. That is to say, the fact that the type of linguistic strategy used in the two texts is different should not necessarily imply that the value attached to W is also different, or that different values have been assigned to the variables that constitute W . On the contrary, it might be argued that, under the same conditions (identical values ascribed to the sociological variables in both texts), the writer and the translator lead their characters to use different compensating linguistic strategies, in an attempt to comply with the expectations and demands of the different types of reader, in different cultural backgrounds. If this hypothesis were true, the universality of a hierarchy of politeness strategies would also be called into question.

All in all, what the contrastive analysis clearly shows is that the translation of literary texts is a very fruitful field of study for politeness theory and also that the study of translation, both in theory and in practice, could benefit from the insights that this approach involves. 

NOTES

1. Brown and Levinson include and devise a whole, though not exhaustive, typology of FTAs, according to whether they threaten the positive/negative face of the speaker/hearer. Orders, suggestions, offers, promises, compliments, complaints, excuses, apologies, among others, are considered FTAs.
2. Brown and Levinson make use of the term 'weight' (to refer to the threat involved in an FTA).
3. See Vázquez (1995).
4. For future research on cross-cultural analysis of linguistic politeness see also Escandell (1995), Fraser (1990), Garcés Conejos (1991, 1995), Haverkate (1990, 1991), Hickey (1991), Márquez (1997), Tannen (1984), Thomas (1995), Werzbicka (1985), Wood and Kroger (1991), among others.
5. The contrastive study which will be outlined here is only part of a more complex study for which a wider corpus of analysis, which included three more American plays and their translation into Spanish, was used.
6. See Blum-Kulka and Olshtein (1984), Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), Wierzbicka (1985, 1991), Matsumoto (1989), Sifianou (1992), and Mao (1994) among others. I have underlined those examples of politeness strategies that are commented on in this paper.
7. For the present study, and as a unit of analysis, I used the MFTA (Macro Face Threatening Act), which has a discursual structure, instead of the FTA, which has a sentence structure. Thus, I was following Garcés' proposal (1991), which was based on Van Dijk's concept of Macro-Speech Act.
8. In each example, the FTAs are numbered, and information is provided about their nature and whether they threaten the positive (+) or negative (-) face of either speaker (S) or hearer (H).
9. The binomials in the graph refer to the strategy used in the original version and the strategy used in the Spanish translation.

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BEYOND CODING AND CONTROL: LEAKAGE, CATEGORIZATION AND BLOCKING IN THE DEFINITION OF THE ENGLISH SUBJECT¹



JAVIER MARTÍN ARISTA
UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA

I. INTRODUCTION

Having aligned itself with logic, traditional grammar has defined the clause as a sequence of two compulsory parts: the entity about which something is predicated and what is predicated about that entity. In this vein, Aarts and Aarts (1988: 136), for instance, define the clause as consisting of subject and predicate. Let us consider three examples:

- (1)
- a. The moon rose
 - b. Many students enjoyed the concert
 - c. The board has appointed Mr. Smith chairman in the meeting

In (1.a) the constituent *The moon* is the subject and the constituent *rose* the predicate. The same applies to (1.b) and (1.c), where the constituents *Many students* and *The board*, on the one hand, and the constituents *enjoyed the concert* and *has appointed Mr. Smith chairman in the meeting*, on the other, are the subject and the predicate respectively. However, even simple instances like (1.b) and (1.c) are not without problems when analysed non-intuitively. The first question concerns the formal and functional criteria that allow for a definition of the subject; to this question we devote the remainder of this paper. The second question posed by these examples relates to the unity of the second immediate clause constituent: the intransitive construction in (1.a) causes no problem, but there is no general agreement as to whether the predi-



cate of (1.c) can be broken down into two immediate clause constituents, the verb phrase and the adverbial; moreover, some linguists would not admit either the direct object of (1.b) or that of (1.c) as formatives of the verb phrase. Although the predicate is not the topic of this paper, we will say only in passing that both syntactic (Givón 1995: 219) and semantic evidence (van Valin 1990: 195) favour a distinction between central constituents like the direct object, which belong in the verb phrase, and peripheral constituents, such as certain adverbials, which are not part of the verb phrase.

2. FORM AND FUNCTION IN THE DEFINITION OF THE SUBJECT

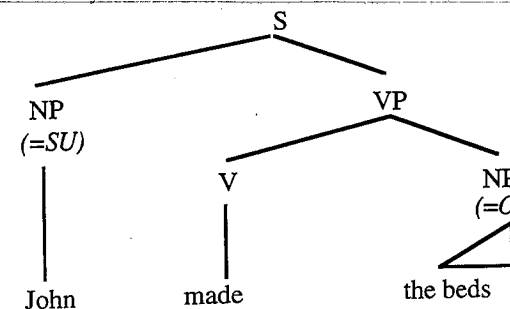
When coming to grips with the notion of subject, it is difficult to resist the temptation to quote Sapir's remark:²

There must be something to talk about and something must be said about this subject of discourse once it is selected. This distinction is of such fundamental importance that the vast majority of languages have emphasized it by creating some sort of formal barriers between the two terms of a proposition. . . . No language wholly fails to distinguish noun and verb, though in particular cases the nature of the distinction may be an elusive one. (1921: 119)

Almost a century before Sapir wrote this, Humboldt had already stated that several linguistic phenomena that directly relate to the notion of subject, such as case, voice and category, have a universal character. Bloomfield (1933: 173), though admitting the relevance of the subject, rejected the notional definition provided by Sapir and took the line that the function of subject is determined by its position or, in other words, by the privilege it has of appearing in a certain position of a given construction like agent-action.

Drawing on this concept of function, classical generative grammar, as devised in Chomsky (1965), stood committed to the view that syntactic functions must be defined in configurational terms, that is, in a purely structural way: the subject is the noun phrase directly dominated by (*directly depending on or being an immediate constituent of*) the node sentence, whereas the direct object is the noun phrase directly dominated by the node verb phrase. This kind of definition is illustrated by example (2):³

(2)



In *John made the beds* the noun phrase *John* is an immediate constituent of the sentence, whereas the noun phrase *the beds* directly depends on the verb phrase *made the beds*. The definitions of subject and object based on direct dominance are based on this fact. Although these definitions raise some problems, which were soon identified in Chomsky's (1970) paper on nominalizations, the revisions of the Chomskian model carried out in the 1970s and 1980s did not change this approach substantially. As Marantz (1984: 292) has remarked, grammatical relations are still defined by means of the concept of structural relation, independently of the assignment of semantic functions and the complementation of the verb: a given constituent bears a certain function by being inserted into a certain structural position.

In his doctoral dissertation, Dik (1968: 144) criticised the definition of grammatical relations accepted by distributional syntax, since such definition is restricted to the notion of position; he also criticised the definition of grammatical relations offered by Chomsky, because it relies only on formal aspects, thus neglecting the function of the constituents. Coming very close to Foley and van Valin (1984: 108), Dik (1989: 71) defines syntactic function assignment as a choice of perspective or point of view.⁴ For example, in (3.a), the event is presented from the point of view of the participant *John*; whereas in (3.b), the same event is rendered from the perspective of the participant *Mary*:

(3)

a. *John* saw *Mary*b. *Mary* was seen by *John*

Put another way, the participant *John* in the linguistic expression (3.a) receives great prominence, and the same goes for the participant *Mary* in (3.b). Consequently, the constituent *John* bears the syntactic function of subject in (3.a) and the constituent *Mary* is assigned this syntactic function in (3.b).

Dik's definition of subject, however, does not pay attention to several syntactic properties of the subject that are not incompatible with a functional tradition, as Givón (1995: 225) has put forward. Indeed, there has been a tendency in the functional field to put aside the formal properties of syntactic functions since the main concern of a functional paradigm is the function, not the structure of language. In this spirit, syntactic functions could be ignored since they correlate with pragmatic functions in such a way that the subject, for instance, is frequently the topic of the clause. In fact, the traditional definition according to which the subject is the entity about which the predicate states something constitutes a semantic or a notional definition, rather than a syntactic one. According to Givón (1984: 139) or Dik (1989: 216), the subject is prototypically the topic of the clause. This is illustrated by example (4):

- (4)
- a. **The mail** leaves tomorrow
 - b. **Caroline** is my sister
 - c. **The glass** broke noisily

In (4.a), (4.b) and (4.c) the subject correlates with the topic of each of the clauses. In other words, the function of subject coincides with the piece of information which constitutes, in the terminology adopted by Halliday (1985), or by Prague School linguists like Firbas (1992), the point of departure of the message.

In non-prototypical, or marked, associations, the subject correlates with non-topical constituents which carry focal information. Thus, compare example (5.a) with example (5.b):

- (5) (Lambrecht 1994: 137)
- a. A: What's the matter?
B: **My NECK** hurts
 - b. A: How's your neck?
B: My neck **HURTS**

In example (5.a), the subject carries new information thus being non-topical (and non-prototypical); whereas in example (5.b) the subject involves given information, thus constituting a topical (and prototypical) subject.

From the semantic point of view, the subject is prototypically the agent of the event contained in the proposition, which is exemplified by (6):

- (6)
- a. **The policeman** broke the door
 - b. **My brother** made the meal

For example, the participant *The policeman* is the agent of the action to which the linguistic expression (6.a) refers. The same situation holds in the linguistic expression (6.b), in which the participant *My brother* performs consciously the action depicted by the linguistic expression.

As Dik (1989: 223) and Givón (1993: 93) have suggested, there is a hierarchy of semantic functions to which the syntactic function of subject can be assigned.⁵ In English, this hierarchy includes the semantic functions agent, patient and recipient. The assignment of the subject to the agent is more prototypical than the assignment of the subject to the patient, which is, in turn, more prototypical than the assignment of the subject to the recipient. This is exemplified by (7):

- (7)
- a. **My mother** gave the tickets to me
 - b. **The tickets** were given to me by my mother
 - c. I was given the tickets by my mother

In (7.a), the subject is assigned to the agent participant; in (7.b), the subject is borne by the patient participant; and in (7.c), the recipient participant bears the function of subject.⁶

So far we have seen that the subject has prototypical correlates at the pragmatic and at the semantic level: the subject is assigned prototypically to the participant agent and to the topical information of the clause. However, we come across many exceptions that do not conform to the prototype. We offer two more examples of this:

- (8)
- a. I was dismissed for insubordination
 - b. **Who** did it?

(8.a) illustrates the assignment of subject to the patient participant, to the first person singular pronoun *I*; while the linguistic expression (8.b) is a case of a subject constituent, the WH-pronoun *who*, carrying non-topical information. As a matter of fact, these exceptions allow for a definition of the syntactic function subject. As Dik (1989: 222), Palmer (1994: 6) and Givón

(1995: 226), among others, hold, in order to demonstrate the relevance of the syntactic function of subject one must dissociate it from semantic and pragmatic functions. In other words, if the English subject were always coterminous with the topic and the agent, we could put the syntactic and the semantic functions aside in our description.

Up to this point nothing has been said concerning the universal status of the subject, implicit in Humboldt and present in Sapir, as has been stressed above. Universality is a major issue in the definition of the subject: characterising the subject has raised a number of unsurmountable problems, the most central one being, *does the subject occur in all languages?* As is usually the case with linguistics, the answer seems to depend on the kind of definition that we adopt. A highly syntax-driven definition of the subject leads to the conclusion that the subject is by no means universal. To start with, there are languages that favour topic-prominent (instead of subject-prominent) patterns. Let us consider the following Chinese example and its translation into English as illustration:

- (9) (Li and Thompson 1976: 462)
 Nèi-xie shùmu shù-shèn dà
 Those trees (topic) the trunks are big
 "The trunks of those trees are big"

In some other languages, such as Japanese, both subject-prominent and topic-prominent structures occur:

- (10) (Shibatani 1991: 98)
 a. Hi wa noburu
 sun topic rise
 "The sun rises"
 b. Hi ga noburu
 sun nominative rise
 "There rises the sun!"

When both subject and topic prominence do occur in a language, the preference for one to the exclusion of the other is attributable to semantic-pragmatic reasons. Indeed, the topical expression (10.a) states a general property of the sun, that it rises in the morning; whereas the topicless expression (10.b) implies some sort of exclamation uttered by someone who has just witnessed the rising of the sun.

There are even languages that show neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent arrangements. For example, in Cebuano the basic transitive clause

is the actor-focus clause, in which no Indo-European-like subject shows up (Schachter 1976: 516):

- (11) (Siewierska 1991: 83)
 Ni-hatag si Juan sa libro sa bata
 AF-give act/foc Juan goal book rec child
 "Juan gave the book to the child"

This kind of evidence has made some linguists, such as Foley and van Valin (1984), Langacker (1991) and Foley (1993), draw the conclusion that semantically empty universal syntactic functions do not exist. Nevertheless, these scholars do not agree on the kind of definition that should be substituted for the non-semantic one. At this point, we come back to the issue of the generality of the definition. It seems out of the question that the more general the definition you provide the more chances there are that the definition will achieve universal status. We have just seen that a syntax-driven definition is not applicable to many non-European languages. Foley and van Valin and Foley, on the one hand, rely on the universal semantic macroroles *agent* and *undergoer*, which represent extended notions of agent and patient respectively. Let us recall example (11), where the focus particle *si*, which can hardly be said to introduce the subject, is attached to the agent; and the particle *sa* introduces the undergoer. Langacker (1991: 318), on the other hand, has opted for a wider—schematic rather than semantic—definition according to which the subject is a relational figure within a profiled relationship: the subject represents the syntactic figure, the object the syntactic ground and the verb expresses the relationship between figure and ground.

The picture that emerges from this brief discussion of the state of the art could be described as follows: in the first place, there seems to be agreement (at least, in the functional-cognitive field) that there are no universal properties of subjects, perhaps with the only exception of the raising of embedded clause arguments (Bresnan 1982: 301).⁷ From the intralinguistic perspective, Foley and van Valin's proposal for macroroles reinforces the view that grammatical properties are associated with certain noun phrases, even interlinguistically (although the data show that the choice and coding of those nominals are, to a large extent, language-dependent). In this respect, we will follow in the steps of those (Downing and Locke 1992; Givón 1993; Huddleston 1989; and Quirk et al 1994, *inter alia*) who have stressed that both formal and functional characteristics must be taken into account in defining the English subject. Although there are glaring differences among the approaches taken by scholars, they usually recognise the formal unity of the subject, list a number of formal properties that characterise this grammat-

ical function and give a bird's eye view of its semantic and pragmatic correlates. However, it is our contention that formal leakage and rule blocking will allow us to report more solid results in the intralinguistic dimension than the ones quoted so far, as well as to derive some implications for the interlinguistic dimension.⁸ Methodologically, we will part company with Langacker's (1991: 312) schematic definition of the subject. It is not our intention to be polemical, but classical generative grammar already pointed out the need to constrain the power of linguistic theories, since that which excludes nothing explains nothing. In other words, although we accept the view that the definition of the subject as a relational figure may be of use in the interlinguistic axis, the explanatory power of Langacker's definition in the intralinguistic axis remains unclear to us. Finally, as regards the functional properties of the English subject, the above outline will suffice for the purposes of this paper.

3. LEAKAGE

The property cluster definition was first proposed by Keenan (1975, 1976), who attempted a universal definition of subject that demonstrated the relevance and the formal unity of this syntactic function.⁹ According to Keenan (1976: 324), the formal properties of the subject fall into two categories: coding properties and control properties. The term *coding properties* makes reference to the morphosyntactic features that subjects possess. In the case of English these properties are omissibility, position, tag recoverability, case marking and agreement:

(i) As is well known, the subject in English, must be present in declaratives and interrogatives, but not in imperatives, as (12) exemplifies:

- (12)
 a. **He** switched off the light
 b. Can **you** switch off the light?
 c. \emptyset Switch off the light!

(ii) The English subject is placed before the verb in declarative clauses, as in (13.a), and in WH-interrogative clauses where the WH-element is subject, as in (13.b):

- (13)
 a. **Everyone** left early
 b. **Who** came in last night?

The subject is placed after the auxiliary in yes/no interrogative clauses, as in (14.a), and in WH-interrogative clauses in which the WH-element is object or adverbial, as in (14.b):

- (14)
 a. Did **everyone** leave early?
 b. Who(m) did **you** see last night?

(iii) The subject is the element which is picked up in a tag-question phrase and referred to anaphorically by a pronoun. This is shown in (15):

- (15) **Your brother_i** goes in for skiing, doesn't **he_i**?

(iv) The pronominal forms *I*, *he*, *she*, *we* and *they* are used to realise the subject function, as is illustrated by (16.a); in contrast to the objective forms *me*, *him*, *her*, *us* and *them*, which are used for objects, as in (16.b):

- (16)
 a. **I** met him
 b. **Jennifer's** got lost in the post

(v) English subjects determine number and person agreement with the verb. Concord is manifested only in those verb forms which show inflectional contrast, as is the case with the ones under (17):

- (17)
 a. The librarian/he/she **has** checked the book
 b. The librarians/I/you/we/they **have** checked the book
 c. Where **is** my credit card?
 d. Where **are** my credit cards?

The subject typically determines the number of the nominal phrase realising the syntactic function of subject complement, as in (18.a); and of the person, number and gender of reflexive pronouns, as in (18.b):

- (18)
 a. Jean and Bill are **my friends**
 b. **She_i** cut **herself_i** with a piece of broken glass

So far, so good. But the data display more complexity than these examples do. In other words, coding properties leak, or show a degree of irregularity

that should be accounted for in a non-intuitive definition of the English subject. This comes as no surprise since, as Sapir put it, "*there is in all languages a certain degree of randomness . . . all grammars leak*" (1921: 38).

As regards the first coding property of the English subject that we have mentioned, omissibility, the subject remains opaque even in complex expressions like (19.a). Quirk et al (1985: 403), however, observe that the omitted subject of the imperative is recoverable from tag questions, like (19.b), and object reflexive pronouns, as in (19.c). Moreover, the subject must be retained in strengthened commands like (19.d):

- (19)
- a. On no account \emptyset open the floodgates!
 - b. Close the window, will **you**?
 - c. Pull **yourself** together!
 - d. **You** get out of here!

In examples (13) and (14) we have already shown that the position of the subject is in no way context-independent. On the contrary, it is directly bound to considerations of illocution and polarity.

With reference to tag recoverability, this area does not cause much trouble. Nevertheless, clause subordination entails a certain degree of complexity for subject recoverability:

- (20) (Quirk et al. 1985: 391)
- a. **I** suppose you are not serious, are **you**?
 - b. ***I** suppose you are not serious, don't **I**?
 - c. **I** do not suppose he is serious, is **he**?
 - d. ***I** do not suppose he is serious, do **I**?

Notice that (20.b) and (20.d), in which subject recoverability is straightforward, are not grammatical.

As for subject case marking, this realm is a bit more troublesome. One may say that the subject undergoes the same degree of syntactic complexity as the construction to which it belongs. Thus, the subject of non-finite clauses has prepositional marking, as in (21.a); the subject of nominalizations is not coded in the direct case but in the oblique (accusative or genitive case), as is shown by (21.b); and prepositional marking is used as well in nominalized expressions like (21.c):

- (21)
- a. It is difficult **for me** to leave now
 - b. I was astonished at **his/John's/him/John** cheating
 - c. The painting of the house **by John**

Even though Quirk et al (1991: 739) remark that the preposition in instances such as (21.a) acts more as a conjunction than as a preposition proper, it seems beyond doubt that the control of case marking in clause embedding and nominalization allows for a certain amount of coding property leakage to take place.

Regarding agreement, we do find property leakage, both in number and in gender agreement. As far as number agreement is concerned, it is a well-known fact that collective nouns do not conform to the rules of grammatical agreement, as is illustrated in (22.a). The same applies to copulative subjects like that in (22.b), but not to disjunctive subjects, such as the one of (22.c). Notice that, as Quirk et al. (1991: 363) point out, with two plural subject phrases, as in (22.d), the verb is plural; but when one subject phrase is singular and the other is plural the dilemma is normally solved in terms of proximity, that is, the number of the verb is determined by the number of the phrase with is closer to the verbal element, as is displayed in (22.e) and (22.f).

- (22)
- a. The government **have** made no comment
 - b. Jerry and Susan **are** not coming tonight
 - c. Either the Senior Tutor or the Dean **is** bound to resign
 - d. Either the patients or the visitors **are** responsible for this mess
 - e. Either the teacher or **the pupils are** responsible for this mess
 - f. Either the journalists or **the minister is** responsible for this mess

As the instances under (22) show, the area of agreement in number is subject to a considerable degree of coding property leakage: the non-grammatical concord of (22.a) and the recourse to proximity considerations confirm this view. What is more, the proximity principle, in terms of which the number of the verb is determined in examples such as (22.e) and (22.f), is ultimately governed by pragmatic conditions, such as ease of recoverability, because the choice of the noun phrase that comes closest to the verb is by no means morphosyntactic.

Gender agreement also suffers from leakage, even though this is a less widespread phenomenon than leakage in number concord. To illustrate this,

let us take a look at the kind of definition that has imposed itself in dictionaries published in recent times:

- (23)
- a. If **someone_i** keeps up **they_i** move at the same speed as someone else (*Collins COBUILD*)
 - b. If **someone_i** keeps up (with someone else) **they_i** do whatever is necessary to stay level or equal with that person or thing (*Cambridge International Dictionary of English*)
 - c. [To keep up means] to succeed in moving as fast as **someone else_j**, when **they_i** are moving very quickly and remaining level with **them_j** (*Longman Language Activator*)

These cases illustrate the weakness of the gender concord system: in order to use language in a politically correct way, the plural forms *they/their*—which do not show gender agreement—are used in a co-referential way with the singular forms *one/one's* to avoid the third person pronouns *he/she/his/her*, which do follow agreement patterns; or the sequences *he/she* and *his/her*, which do not seem compatible with the economy principle that governs many areas of language. The lesson that can be learned from these examples is that coding rules cannot be very tightly woven if extra-linguistic reasons, justified though they are, modify such rules almost overnight (even when linguistic and cognitive evidence show that the feminine gender is the marked member of the pair masculine-feminine, as Givón (1995: 65) has remarked).¹⁰

4. CONTROL

In the preceding section we have dealt with the coding properties of the English subject and have identified some troublesome areas of inflectional morphology and word order. Taking inspiration from Sapir (1921), we have drawn the conclusion that there is a considerable amount of leakage in the codification of the English subject. The next step in our discussion is to decide whether the control properties of the subject leak too, and to see if there is a moral to be drawn from the cross-linguistic dimension. To do so, we will consider not only control properties, but also blocking properties, the latter constituting, most probably, a subset of the former. In the light of control and blocking properties we will establish whether, in the event of these properties also leaking, they allow for more or less leakage than coding properties.

As we have already said, the prototype approach to syntactic functions is based on the clustering of many features to determine subjecthood. These features are ranked along the implicational hierarchy (Keenan 1976) *case marking > grammatical agreement > word order > control properties* (case marking is the least universal subject property and behaviour and control the most universal one). Givón (1995: 251) has re-interpreted Keenan's intuition as follows: functionally-transparent subject properties (i.e. the pragmatically-motivated ones) occur more frequently in cross-linguistic distribution than functionally-opaque subject characteristics. In this view, inflectional morphology represents a higher degree of grammaticalization than word order, which, in turn, involves a higher degree of grammaticalization than control properties. Indeed, some control properties (at least) do not stray outside the bounds of topicality.¹¹ Let us take stock of control properties in order to decide on the matters we have just set out.

We define the control properties of subjects, in line with Moreno Cabrera (1991: 425), as follows: if a certain noun phrase syntactic phenomenon occurs in a language, this phenomenon will typically involve the subject. Control properties of the English subject include: co-referentiality, reflexivization, raising, promotion, relativization, clefting, quantification and extraposition. Let us revise them very briefly.

(i) Co-referential pronominalization, as (24) illustrates, is controlled by the subject:

- (24) (Keenan 1976: 315)
- a. **John_i** talked to Bill for a while and then **he_i** left
 - b. >**John** talked to Bill for a while and then **John** left
 - c. *>**John** talked to Bill for a while and then **Bill** left

Indeed, we associate the anaphoric pronoun with the subject. This is the reason why we interpret (24.a) as (24.b), and not as (24.c). The same association is found in the case of cataphoric co-referentiality, as is shown by (25), where (25.c) is asterisk.

- (25)
- a. When **he_i** got home, **John_i** talked to Bill
 - b. >When **John** got home, **John** talked to Bill
 - c. *>When **Bill** got home, **John** talked to Bill

(ii) Another syntactic phenomenon that is controlled by the subject is reflexivization. According to Givón (1995: 258), the non-subject noun phrase becomes the reflexive pronoun and is inserted into the second nominal slot:

- (26)
 a. **She_i** cut **herself_i**
 b. **She_i** is thinking about **herself_i**

Possessive reflexives, as in (27.a), and the emphatic reflexives, like the one in (27.b), are also controlled by the subject:

- (27)
 a. **He_i** killed **his_i** own mother
 b. **I_i** wouldn't do that **myself_i**

(iii) The subject can take part in raising constructions by means of which the subject of the embedded clause is raised to object of the matrix clause.¹² This is displayed by (28):

- (28)
 a. She believes it
 b. **Cindy** is a genius
 c. She believes **Cindy/her** to be a genius

According to Bolkestein (1979: 15) and Dik (1979: 119), the constituent *Cindy/her* is the subject of the embedded clause and the object of the main clause. The analysis of *Cindy/her* as object is apparent in example (29), where *Cindy/her* is the object and *a genius* the object complement:

- (29) I consider **Cindy/her** a genius

The subject of an embedded clause can also be raised to subject of a matrix clause, as in (30):

- (30)
 a. It seems that **the door** is locked
 b. **The door** seems to be locked

These examples bear on the restrictions that apply to raising: only the top-ranking syntactic function subject can control such construction; not even objects can take over raising, as example (31), which involves raising to object shows:

- (31)
 a. They said that **Bill** murdered **Rose**
 b. *They said **Rose Bill** to have murdered her
 c. ***Rose** is reported **Bill** to have murdered her

According to Givón (1993: 2.229), the raised referents are more topical than their unraised counterparts. If raising only applies to highly topical noun phrases, then the restriction on subject raising insists on the fact that the subject is the most topical grammatical role in the clause and reinforces the functional motivation of these constructions.

(iv) As Perlmutter (1980: 195) and Perlmutter and Postal (1983: 81) have pointed out, the subject undergoes demotion when the object is promoted to subject in a passive construction. This is given under (32):

- (32)
 a. The media criticised **the Prime Minister**
 b. **The Prime Minister** was criticised by the media

Similarly, a *to*-phrase complement can be promoted to the position of indirect object while the direct object is displaced towards the final positions of the clause, as is displayed by (33):

- (33)
 a. Sarah gave **his son** a present
 b. The porter called **the don** a taxi

The non-final indirect object of these examples achieves a more topical status, while the direct object, which is inserted into final position, becomes more focal.¹³ As is the case with raising, promotion of subjects and indirect objects possesses a clearcut functional import.

(v) Example (34) illustrates subject and object relativization:

- (34)
 a. The man who likes rattlesnakes is my uncle
 (>**that man** is my uncle and **that man** likes rattlesnakes)
 b. The book you recommended is very boring
 (>You recommended **a book** and **that book** is very boring)

Since the direct object can be relativized in English, the subject can also be relativized. If only one syntactic function controlled relativization, that function would be the subject. This follows from our definition of control properties, according to which if a certain noun phrase syntactic phenomenon

occurs in a language, this phenomenon will typically involve the subject. This view is reinforced by the fact that in participial relative clauses only the subject can be relativized, as example (35) illustrates:

- (35) (Foley and van Valin 1984: 109)
- a. The woman scolding the policeman is my mother
 - b. *The policeman the woman scolding is my father
 - c. The policeman being scolded by the woman is my father

Within the domain of relativization, there seems to be a certain amount of leakage caused by the fact that complex noun phrases in postmodification (phrasal qualifiers and relative clauses) can be relativized inside but not outside the main clause. This is called the *complex NP constraint* (Ross 1967 in Radford 1988: 487): the co-referentiality relation must hold between a head noun and its co-referential noun phrase inside an adjacent relative clause, as in (36.a). On the other hand, embedding configurations where the relative clause is not adjacent to its head noun, as is the case with (36.b), are not acceptable; the reason being that the co-referentiality relation must cross two clause boundaries to reach a non-adjacent relative clause.

- (36) (Givón 1993 vol II: 155)
- a. **The woman** [who [Ø] saw **the dog** [that [Ø] bit the man]]
 - b. ***The man** [that the woman saw **the dog** [that [Ø] bit [Ø]]]

It is not by chance that subjects are *islands* (to use the term coined by Ross), whereas complements are accessible to the extraction that relative constructions involve.

(vi) The subject, like the object, can control cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions as in (37.b) and (37.c) respectively:

- (37)
- a. John hates sand
 - b. It is **John** that hates sand
 - c. What John hates is **sand**

According to Givón (1993 vol II: 195), clefting tends to apply to free lexical words, nouns and anaphorically topical constituents (verbs, adverbs, auxiliaries and adjectives are likely to constitute the asserted information since they are more topical than nouns). As is the case with raising, the restrictions on clefting are, to a large extent, pragmatic.

(vii) Subjects (and objects) control floating quantifiers, that is, mobile quantifiers like *all*, that can appear in more than one position in the clause:

- (38) (Perlmutter and Postal 1974 in Keenan 1976: 320)
- a. **All** the boys left
 - b. The boys **all** left

(viii) The subject controls extraposition as well. Extraposition is a syntactic device by means of which a complex subject, like *That John was late* in (39.a), is inserted into clause-final position. Clause-initial position is filled by the anticipatory pronoun *it*, as is illustrated by (39.b).

- (39) (Huddleston 1984: 89)
- a. **That John was late** annoyed them
 - b. It annoyed them **that John was late**

As example (39) shows, extraposition, being a syntactic device, serves a clear pragmatic purpose: focal or complex subjects are displaced towards the end of the clause, where they receive clause stress and are more easily available for the hearer. There is extraposition of the clausal object too:

- (40) (Quirk et al 1991: 965)
- a. I made **it** my business to **settle the matter**
 - b. You must find **it** exciting **working here**
 - c. I owe **it** to you **that the jury acquitted me**

At this point, several remarks are in order. Firstly, we have not dealt yet with those properties that we consider to constitute not control properties but rather blocking properties of the subject. We make reference to blocking properties below. Secondly, we have observed a certain degree of leakage in the control properties of the subject. Our position in this respect is that, as has been shown in the above, coding properties leak more than control properties do. Moreover, the leakage of control properties can be put down to pragmatic reasons associated with syntactic complexity (as is the case with raising or relativization), and can thus be functionally motivated. As we have seen in the preceding sections, the functional motivation of coding property leakage is a bit more elusive.¹⁴ And, thirdly, even though the realization of the subject may be of little use in cross-linguistic comparison, the kind of category that performs this grammatical function should be taken into account in a non-intuitive definition of the English subject.

5. CATEGORIZATION

The subject in English can be realised by various phrases and clauses: by a noun phrase, as in (41.a); by a finite clause, as in (41.b); by a non-finite clause, as in (41.c); by the anticipatory *it* plus an extraposed clause, as in (41.d); by an empty (*dummy*) *it*, as in (41.e); by an existential *there* plus a postposed nominal phrase, as in (41.f); by a prepositional phrase, as in (41.g); by an adverbial phrase, as in (41.h); and by an adjectival phrase, as in (41.i):

- (41) (Downing and Locke 1992: 34-39)
- a. It is alarming
 - b. **That he failed to turn up** surprised nobody
 - c. **To take such a risk** was rather foolish
 - d. It surprised nobody **that he failed to turn up**
 - e. It was a dark, windy night
 - f. **There is plenty of time**
 - g. Will **up in the front** suit you?
 - h. **Now** is the time to act
 - i. **The very young and the very old** need State care

We may take several cues from these realizations. In the first place, a noun phrase or a noun clause is a more prototypical subject than a prepositional phrase, an adverbial phrase or an adjectival phrase. Indeed, prototypical subjects are concrete nouns. Therefore, noun phrases are more prototypical than noun clauses. This is easily demonstrated by the fact that noun clauses cannot occur as subjects in interrogatives, which is illustrated by example (42):

- (42) (Huddleston 1989: 64)
- a. **That John was late** annoyed them
 - b. *Did that John was late annoy them?

In the second place, only subjects can be realized by dummy constituents. We are aware, however, that we are on slippery ground here, for the function of the dummy constituent is a much debated point. The transformational analysis, to start with, assumes that the postponed noun phrase is the subject of the source sentence. Quirk et al (1991: 956) have also taken this line and have described the dummy as the grammatical subject (because it exhibits subject properties) and the indefinite noun phrase as the notional subject. Downing and Locke (1992: 35) also assign to both constituents (the dummy on the one hand and the postponed noun phrase on the other) the

function of subject, since both have subject properties. Huddleston (1984: 66) remarks that the dummies *it* and *there* must be the subjects since they assume many of the prototypical characteristics of the subject: *it* assumes category, pronominal inflection, position in declarative clauses and position in interrogative clauses; *there* assumes verb agreement, pronominal inflection, position in declarative clauses, position in interrogative clauses and omissibility. Dik (1980: 108) and Hannay (1985: 14) insert *it* and *there* in the subject slot because they have the positional properties of subjects; nevertheless, neither Dik nor Hannay has defined *there* and, by extension, *it*, as the subject term itself. Givón (1993 2.206) considers the postponed noun phrase the only subject since it is the most topical constituent, which Givón identifies with this syntactic function. Finally, Langacker (1991: 349) describes these constructions as consisting of two subjects that belong to different levels of structural complexity, the higher level designating a participant that pertains to that setting. In the light of this discussion, it could be said that dummy elements share, at least, certain properties with more prototypical subjects, which reinforces the view that the subject is a privileged member of any syntactic construction: again, if *dummying* (if this term exists) is possible, it is associated with the subject.

6. BLOCKING

The term *blocking* refers to the non-assignment of a certain function or the non-expression of a given feature. It is our contention that some properties that have been referred to in the literature as control properties are better described in terms of blocking, because they involve the compulsory or optional absence of the subject. This is the case with co-referentiality. To the best of our knowledge, other blocking properties, such as subject omission, blocking or pronominal agreement blocking, have not been dealt with in connection with the definition of the subject. Let us consider blocking properties in turn.

(i) The subject blocks the occurrence of a co-referential noun phrase, as in (43):¹⁵

- (43) **Mary_i** opened the door and [**Mary_i**] said 'hello'

The subject of the main clause also blocks the presence of a co-referential noun phrase in an embedded clause, as (44.a), or a dependent clause, as in (44.b):

- (44)
- a. **She_i** wanted **PRO_i** to leave
 - b. **They_i** sold the car **PRO_i** to buy a house

Leakage also affects blocking properties: even though the presence of the subject of the dependent clause is, as a general rule, blocked by the subject of the main clause, the object of the main clause seems to block the subject of causative constructions, with verbs such as *force*, *tell*, *make*, etc.¹⁶

- (45) He asked **them_i** **PRO_i** to leave the room

Putting aside cases like (45), what examples (43) and (44) show is that the control of co-referentiality in coordinate, embedded and dependent clauses is governed by the equi-subject condition, which stipulates that the natural tendency in language is to assign the co-referentiality of a zero-marked subject to the subject of the preceding clause. Therefore, the natural tendency is to assume subject continuity, which iconically reflects topic continuity, topic continuity representing functional motivation. Under certain circumstances, however, the co-referentiality of the zero-marked subject can be assigned to the following clause. This is the situation in participial constructions like the following ones:

- (46) (Dik 1989: 22)
- a. **PRO_i** seeing nobody, **John_i** left the hotel
 - b. *Nobody seeing **PRO_i**, **John_i** left the hotel
 - c. **PRO_i** seen by nobody, **John_i** left the hotel

As can be gathered from (46), it is the subject of the main clause that blocks the subject of the adverbial clause: the blocking of the object of the dependent clause by the subject of the main clause is not possible, as (46.b) shows.

(ii) The omission of the relative pronoun exemplified by (47.a) is blocked by the assignment of the subject to the relative pronoun. Therefore, (47.b) and (47.c) are asterisk:

- (47)
- a. The lady **whom/Ø** I visited yesterday is Frank's mother

- b. *The man likes rattlesnakes is my uncle
(>**that man** is my uncle and **that man** likes rattlesnakes)
- c. *The car is over there is mine
(>**that car** is mine and **that car** is over there)

However, further complexity is added if direct object and oblique assignment are taken into account. The assignment of direct object to the relative does not block its omission, as is reflected in (48.a). The prepositional phrase does block the omission, as can be seen in (48.b), which is asterisk. Finally, the stranded preposition construction exemplified by (48.c) does not block the omission under consideration:

- (48)
- a. I don't like the book **that/Ø** you recommended
 - b. *I don't like the book **Ø** you devoted so many years
 - c. I don't like the book **that/Ø** you devoted so many years to

Such evidence seems to contradict the hierarchy of syntactic functions in terms of control of syntactic constructions given in Keenan and Comrie (in Dik 1980: 57), since the subject blocks an omission that the direct object does not block and which the indirect (prepositional) object blocks only under certain conditions.

Notice that the omission of the relative pronoun is a variant of the omission of a co-referential noun phrase which we have mentioned above. As we have already pointed out, the subject controls co-referential pronominalization. The control of the omission of a relative pronoun is shown by (49):

- (49) **The book_i** you recommended **pro_i** is very boring

In (49) the co-referentiality of the omitted relative pronoun is assigned to the subject of the main clause. As we have already seen, we assign the co-referentiality of a zero-marked subject to the subject of the preceding clause. If the function of subject is filled, however, we assign the co-referentiality of a zero-marked object to the subject of the preceding clause. This is a slightly modified version of the *equi-object condition* (Givón 1993 2.165).

(iii) As example (50) illustrates, the object and the subject, at least, can be the target of a question:

- (50)
- a. **Who** came yesterday?
 - b. **What** do you prefer?
 - c. ***Who** did come?

However, whereas the assignment of the object to the *wh*-pronoun has no special effect, the assignment of subject to the relative pronoun brings about different verb morphology: we use the order and coding associated with statements, instead of the usual order and coding of statements. A possible interpretation of this is that the subject is the unmarked target of a question, which is reflected iconically by the unmarked morphology of the verb in subjective *wh*-questions. Conversely, the object and the complements are the marked target of questions, and trigger marked verbal morphology in *wh*-questions. From the perspective of blocking, the assignment of subject blocks pronominal agreement whereas object assignment does not. On the other hand, subject and object assignment share lack of case marking. Consequently, only the indirect object (in the sense given by Givón [1993]) can opt for *pied piping* (Ross 1967 in Radford 1988: 487), that is, initial-position preposition, or for the *stranded* (final position) preposition exemplified by (51):

- (51)
 a. To whom did you talk?
 b. Whom did you talk to?

Notice that the same choice is available in relativization:

- (52)
 a. For which party did you vote?
 b. Which party did you vote for?

Unlike relative pronoun omission, question targeting reinforces the hierarchy of syntactic functions in terms of control of syntactic constructions given in Keenan and Comrie (in Dik 1980: 57): the direct functions are morphologically unmarked with respect to the oblique ones.

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the cross-linguistic field, we have drawn inspiration from those who have questioned the universal validity of any narrow definition of the subject. It has been in this spirit that we have voiced an objection against schematic definitions of the subject which, however universal they may be, do not have much descriptive or explanatory power.

In the intra-linguistic dimension we have pointed out that a non-intuitive definition of the English subject calls for the notions of leakage and blocking as well as for the type of categorization associated with the syntactic function under scrutiny. The following table summarises our discussion and helps us establish a hierarchy of leakage of coding, control and blocking properties:

Coding properties	Leakage
omissibility	√
order	√
recoverability	√
case marking	√
agreement	√
Control properties	
co-referentiality	
reflexivization	
raising	
promotion	
relativization	√
clefting	
quantification	
extraposition	√
Blocking properties	
co-referentiality	√
relative omission	
question target	


Table 1: Leakage of coding, control and blocking properties

According to this table, the hierarchy

blocking properties > *control properties* > *coding properties*

could be put forward. This hierarchy stipulates that the degree of leakage of the coding properties of the English subject is higher than that of control and blocking properties. It remains to be demonstrated that this hierarchy is of universal relevance; if it were, it would modify Keenan's and Givón's proposals in the sense that coding properties imply control properties, but not viceversa.

As regards the hierarchy of syntactic functions of Keenan and Comrie, we have found that, whereas question targeting keeps to this hierarchy, other blocking properties such as relative pronoun omission challenge it.

To round off, the idea has implicitly been fostered throughout this discussion that a cross-theoretical approach to a complex linguistic phenomenon, like the subject, is more likely to report net results than a theory-driven one, in which the risk certainly exists of failing to see the linguistic wood for the theoretical trees. Such an approach, however, is not devoid of problems. Indeed, we have found ourselves admitting the advantages that the consideration of blocking properties has for a functional paradigm (since it allows us to dispense with multi-level analyses that quite often imply structure-changing operations), while resorting to promotion and demotion (which can hardly be accused of not involving multiple strata) in dealing with the passive and dative shift. We hope that the overall picture of the subject in English we have offered will be worth the theoretical inconsistencies that arise in eclectic approaches. 

NOTES

1. The funding for this research has been granted through the projects DGES-PB96-0520 and UR-API-97/B18, whose main researcher is Dr. Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (Universidad de La Rioja).
2. For Boas on this topic, *vid.* Foley (1993: 136).
3. In more recent versions of the theory, the subject is the Noun Phrase of Sentence (Chomsky 1981) or the Specifier of the Inflection Phrase (Chomsky 1995).
4. The semantic notion *perspective* is related to the syntactic notion of pivot: the pivot is the noun phrase around which the construction is built (Foley and van Valin 1984: 108).
5. In Dik's functional grammar the notion of agentivity is associated with the concept of first argument. Givón (1995: 226), whose concept of agentivity is less restricted than Dik's, points out that in English the assignment of subject is restricted to the semantic roles agent, dative and patient. *Vid.* Blake (1994: 63) and Schlesinger (1995: 28).
6. *Vid.* Goldberg (1995: 116) and Taylor (1989: 206) with reference to prototypical constructions involving the subject.
7. Dixon (1990: 97; 1994: 123) takes a different tack: S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) constitute universal core categories in terms of which the syntactic rules of every grammar are defined. By raising of embedded clause ar-

guments we mean the semantic and syntactic promotion of the dependent clause subject involved in instances like *We consider that he is honest > We consider him honest > He is considered honest.*

8. The term *blocking* has been drawn from classical generative grammar, where the application of a rule to a given domain could be blocked by certain phrase-structure characteristics. *Vid.* Akmajian and Heny (1975) and Huddleston (1976).

9. Keenan's proposal has been revised by Andrews (1985), Faarlund (1988) and Givón (1995). We also refer the reader to Mithun (1991: 166).

10. According to Corbett (1991: 226), there exists an agreement hierarchy *attributive < predicate < relative pronoun < personal pronoun*, according to which possible agreement patterns are constrained as follows: The further we move rightwards along the hierarchy, the more likely semantic agreement (to the exclusion of grammatical agreement) becomes.

11. By *topicality* we mean pragmatic function assignment. It is worth having a look at the way Langacker (1991: 314) interprets this term: topicality involves role, empathy, definiteness and figure/ground organization.

12. *Vid.* Haegeman (1995: 320) and Radford (1988: 435; 1997: 315).

13. *Vid.* Wierzbicka (1988: 359).

14. For the relationship between control, accusativity and ergativity, I refer the reader to Palmer (1994: 88).

15. *Blocking* is used here in the sense that the subject is the syntactic pivot of the structure under discussion. *Vid.* Foley and van Valin (1984: 108) and Haegeman (1995: 251).

16. *Vid.* Dik (1980: 57).

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SOME INSIGHTS INTO THE TEACHING OF TRANSLATION

IGNACIO M. PALACIOS MARTÍNEZ
UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last few years the field of translation has gone through three major changes. First, an emphasis has been placed on the translation problems that go beyond the word and the sentence levels, that is, as in the general linguistic domain, attention has been paid mainly to translation in connection with suprasentential units of analysis. Secondly, translation has ceased to be regarded exclusively as a simple transfer of information from one language to another. Translation is not seen only as a textual operation; it is not simply a matter of isolated words. It is at present seen as an intercultural and communicative act. It is a cross-cultural event as it is quite clear that there are more factors intervening in the translation process than the inherently linguistic ones. This in fact has been considered as a "top-down" approach (Neubert and Shreve 1992) since now attention is devoted to the function and relevance of words and sentences within the text. Thirdly, Translation Studies have tried hard to become an autonomous and well-organised empirical science, with its own objectives and methodology, and independent of Linguistic Theory. In this direction, Toury (1995: 9-10), following Holmes (1970), makes a distinction between pure and applied translation; the former divided in its turn into two components: theoretical and descriptive. Moreover, translation is now conceived from the perspective of the target culture and the traditional conception of 'equivalence' as an instrument of linguistic transference is questioned. There is not only one possible translation for a given text but several and the existence of several types of equivalence should be accounted for: communicative, stylistic, structural, formal, pragmatic, semantic and textual (Rabadán 1991).

Moreover, nobody questions the importance of translation in the current world; without translators several fields such as art, politics, science, trade

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would be highly constrained; moreover, exchanges and contacts between and across the different countries, communities and cultures in our planet are becoming more and more frequent. This is specially true for Spain: the consolidation of Translation Studies in Spain was favoured by Spain's joining the European Union and by its full incorporation into NATO, as well as by the creation of a network of Schools of Languages (*Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas*) and the setting up of a series of Faculties of Translation. However, translation and interpreting were not recognised as an independent area of research until 1991 (Lonsdale 1996).

Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that the concept and role of translation in foreign language teaching have changed considerably in the last few decades. First, there was a reaction to the Grammar-Translation Method, which based its teaching methodology exclusively on grammar and translation exercises, and as a result translation was completely banned from the language teaching field. Later methods, such as the so-called structural or audio-lingual, did not greatly alter this previous trend. Nevertheless, in the last few years with the advent of the Communicative and the Task-based approaches, translation has been regarded as one of the many useful exercises and tools the teacher can use in the classroom. According to Zaro (1997), translation has become a strategy or procedure in the foreign language teaching and learning processes. Second language acquisition research has shown the importance of translation as a type of cognitive strategy students resort to in their study of the second language (Oxford 1989; O'Malley and Chamot 1990). Thus Oxford classifies it as a cognitive strategy within the general heading of "analysing and reasoning." In her view,

Translating can be a helpful strategy early in language learning, as long as it is used with care. It allows learners to use their own language as the basis for understanding what they hear or read in the new language. It also helps learners produce the new language in speech or writing (1989: 84).

In spite of the emergence of translation studies in our country and their new role in the realm of foreign language teaching, there seems not to have been enough concern with the actual didactics of translation. For some time a sort of contrastive approach has been adopted, quite limiting and constraining in nature as it only accounts for a few aspects of the translation process (Porter 1984; Parkinson de Saz 1984). However, it is also true that in the last few years interesting proposals have been put forward both in Spain (Lonsdale 1996; Mott 1996) and elsewhere (Duff 1989; Grellet 1991).

2. AIMS

The present paper aims to make a simple contribution to the teaching of translation along those lines and proposes a creative and communicative teaching of it. The principles and activities here presented form part of the material used in an optional course on translation offered to English Philology students of the first cycle at the University of Santiago. One should mention at the outstart that in this course translation is not regarded as an end in itself but as a means to improve and consolidate the students' command of the English language. The course thus differs from courses addressed to professional translators where translation constitutes an end in itself.

Three different types of sample activities are presented: a) exercises devised to make students aware of the communicative value of translation, b) tasks in which learners reflect upon the translation process and are provided tips to develop and improve translation work, and finally, c) activities conceived to make students aware of the importance of cultural and pragmatic differences found at times in the practice of translation, and designed to provide general guidelines on how to cope with them.

3. ACTIVITIES PROPOSED

3.1 FILM TITLES

3.1.1. Objectives:

– Direct and indirect translation skills practice. The translation of titles and film subtitles: factors to be considered. It is extremely important that students should understand the communicative value involved in a piece of translation.

– Expand students' vocabulary and reinforce their grammar.

3.1.2. Level: Intermediate/Advanced

3.1.3. In class

a. Students are first given a list of film titles organised in two columns, one in English and the other in L1. (See worksheet 1.)

b. In pairs, they are then asked to match the corresponding titles.

3.1.6. Worksheet 3

Here are some of the titles and translations provided by the students in our group.

TITLE IN LI	TRANSLATION PROPOSED	STUDENT'S NAME
<i>El día de la bestia</i>	<i>The Day of the Beast</i>	A.R.M.
<i>El amor tiene dos caras</i>	<i>The two faces of love</i>	M.R.V.
<i>El amor perjudica seriamente su salud</i>	<i>Love is a disease</i>	B.M.V.
<i>Los peores años de nuestras vidas</i>	<i>Young people, love and sex</i>	J.M.S.R.
<i>Libertarias</i>	<i>Brave women</i>	E.P.Q.
<i>Tesis</i>	<i>Thesis</i>	M.R.C.
<i>Boca a boca</i>	<i>Mouth to Mouth</i>	S.M.M.
<i>Cruzando la oscuridad</i>	<i>Crossing Darkness</i>	M.C.T.D.
<i>Volver a empezar</i>	<i>A New Beginning</i>	E.R.M.
<i>Airbag</i>	<i>Airbag</i>	J.S.M.
<i>Tacones lejanos</i>	<i>Distant Heels</i>	A.B.N.N.
<i>Jamón, Jamón</i>	<i>Ham, Ham</i>	L.M.P.H.
<i>Nadie hablará de nosotros cuando estemos muertos</i>	<i>Death silences everyone</i>	J.C.P.A.
<i>El bosque animado</i>	<i>Soul in Torment</i>	A.P.N.
<i>La mano negra</i>	<i>The Black Hand</i>	M.N.C.
<i>La flor de mis secretos</i>	<i>My Secret Flower</i>	A.B.N.N.
<i>Escondido en la memoria</i>	<i>Hidden in the memory</i>	M.C.T.D.
<i>El avión del presidente</i>	<i>Air Force One</i>	S.R.A.
<i>Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios</i>	<i>Mad Girls</i>	I.C.R.
<i>Todos los hombres sois iguales</i>	<i>* Every man are the same</i>	I.C.R.
<i>El amor perjudica seriamente la salud</i>	<i>Love is bad</i>	A.B.F.G.
<i>El efecto mariposa</i>	<i>The magic of the butterfly</i>	M.F.C.
<i>El amor perjudica seriamente la salud</i>	<i>* Love damage seriously the health</i>	M.G.O.
<i>Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios</i>	<i>* Women on the verge of a nervous' attack</i>	M.J.L.G.
<i>Tacones lejanos</i>	<i>Far high-heeled shoes</i>	M.J.L.G.
<i>El día de la bestia</i>	<i>The Antichrist's Day</i>	D.L.C.
<i>Brujas</i>	<i>Witches</i>	B.P.L.

3.1.7. Worksheet 4

COMMENTS AND TASKS:

- a. * Means that there is something wrong and that it should be corrected.
- b. Find a film which has been given more than one translation and explain which one of them is the most suitable in your opinion.
- c. "Airbag" is the title of a Spanish film. No translation has been provided for it. How do you feel about using English words for Spanish film titles? Is it positive, negative?
- d. List at least five words that have been directly borrowed from English into Galician/Catalan/Basque/Spanish.
- e. Make up a list of five words that occur in the English versions and that you were not familiar with. Provide their meaning.
- f. Choose from the list one of the films you have already watched and explain in three lines what it is about.

3.2. ACTIVITIES WHERE LEARNERS REFLECT UPON THE PROCESS OF TRANSLATION

3.2.1. Objectives

- To make learners reflect upon the process of translation and upon the skills involved in it.
- To provide students with a series of general guidelines on how to set about translating a text.
- To promote and develop student autonomy in the learning of translation skills.

3.2.2. In class

- a. The teacher explains to the students that in today's session they are all going to reflect upon the process of translation and the skills involved in it.
- b. The teacher then asks the students to discuss in pairs what translation means for them. What does the process of translation consist of? Is it just a

simple transfer of information from one language to another? What factors and variables are present in it? This is followed by a general discussion.

c. The teacher now gives out the first part of a questionnaire for the students to read. (See worksheet 1.)

d. Students fill in the questionnaire.

e. This is followed by a general class discussion.

f. The teacher then hands out the second part of the questionnaire and asks them to read it and fill it in. (See worksheet 2.)

g. General class discussion followed by a summing-up. The teacher lists general conclusions on the board

3.2.3. Worksheet 5

THIS ACTIVITY IS INTENDED TO MAKE YOU REFLECT UPON THE PROCESS OF TRANSLATION AND UPON THE SKILLS INVOLVED IN IT. ANSWER THE QUESTIONS AS CAREFULLY AS POSSIBLE. IN SOME CASES THEY ARE RELATIVELY OPEN QUESTIONS SO THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

A. Here is a list of strategies that you may use when carrying out a translation. Read them carefully and be prepared to discuss them with your teacher and with the whole class.

1. Read the title (and the subtitle) of the text and try to predict its content, that is, quickly call to mind anything you may know about the subject.
2. Glance at the text to get an idea of the subject matter.
3. Read the text through from beginning to end.
4. Try to guess where the text has come from (newspaper, magazine, book, leaflet, brochure); this will help you to determine the medium of expression used (written/spoken language), its format (letter, article, literary text, cooking recipe, journalistic text, advertisement, etc), tone (formal, neutral, informal, colloquial, slangy) and style (use of long/short sentences, concise, long-winded, etc) as well as the author's purpose.
5. If you come across any unknown words, try to work out their meaning from context clues. Do not get stuck with one word or expression.

B. What are your strategies for doing translations? Try to add new ones to those listed above.

.....

.....

.....

C. What pitfalls do you fear as a translator? Choose five from the following list and arrange them in order of importance. You may add other of your own.

1. Wrong word-order
2. Too literal a translation
3. Too liberal a translation
4. Inappropriate vocabulary
5. Overly long sentences
6. Lack of ease with colloquialisms
7. Grammatical errors (which?)
8. Unnatural sounding English
9. Difficulties in conveying the right or complete meaning
10. A line-by-line or word-by-word translation instead of one based on the sentence or paragraph as a whole.
11. Problems with interpreting parts of the translation. Is the author really trying to say this?

.....

.....

.....

3.2.4. Worksheet 6

A. HERE ARE SOME TIPS TO HELP YOU IMPROVE YOUR WORK. WHICH DO YOU CONSIDER MOST HELPFUL? CAN YOU ADD ANY OTHERS TO THE FOLLOWING LIST?

- a. Work with good dictionaries (mono- and bilingual). They are a worthwhile investment. You should also consider using bilingual glossaries with word distinctions (e.g. *Cambridge Word Selector*) and a grammar.
- b. Keep a word and expression bank under subject headings. Make a note of items you have picked up while reading English-language texts or going over translations in class. For example, you may decide on a vocabu-

lary bank relating to different ways of cooking food, from the most general to the most particular (*cook, boil, simmer, fry, bake, roast, barbecue, etc.*).

c. Record the subtitled English language films which are broadcast late on weekdays and particularly on Saturday on *TVG, La 2* and other television channels. Then pay close attention to how the dialogues have been translated and when you are not sure about something, check it with your teacher or in a dictionary/grammar.

d. Read and compare bilingual texts, such as

- Penguin Bilingual Readers,
- the *Iberia* magazine (from their local office),
- Spanish/Galician/Catalan/Basque translations of books you already own in English,
- tourist information leaflets and brochures; and—
- multilingual labels on food, beauty products, instructions on electronic devices, etc.

Remember to be critical. The translations you pick up may be badly done. However, you can learn a lot from both good and poor-quality work.

e. Keep record sheets with sentences or phrases containing the mistakes you commonly make as well as their correct translation. For instance, you may want to record how the word order changes in certain texts.

f. Pay close attention to false friends or words which have a different meaning in English. E.g. *actual* in English means *real* while in Spanish it means *current, present-day*.

g. When you are not completely sure about something in your translation, ask yourself "How would I say this in everyday Spanish/Galician/Catalan/ Basque/English?"

As regards section B of the questionnaire, that is, the strategies used by students for doing translations, the results obtained confirm the list of strategies presented in the previous section, section A. One student explains this as follows:

First, I read the text quickly in order to know the topic. Then I look up the terms I'm not acquainted with in the dictionary. I next write these new words on a piece of paper. I read the text again trying to understand the different ideas, that is to say, its contents. Once I've done this, I am ready to start with the translation of the text.

Our informants also stressed the importance and usefulness of dictionaries: they usually start with a bilingual dictionary and if they still have problems with the translation, they resort to monolingual ones.

I read the text once or twice and if it's difficult, I read it again. Then I start translating sentence by sentence with the help of a bilingual dictionary. If some sentences are somewhat confusing or not clear, I then use a monolingual dictionary. Finally, I read the translation and I sometimes make the last changes.

Other strategies suggested by the students were the following:

- Thinking very carefully about the writer's real intention before starting with the actual translation.
- Doing a mental translation first of all and then putting it down on paper.
- Underlining difficult terms and expressions.
- Looking for synonyms, trying to find the best words and lexical items that suit the context.
- Examining carefully the form of the unknown words in the hope of making connections with already known ones.
- Working with different draft copies till the final version is ready.

With respect to section C of the questionnaire, that is, the pitfalls students fear as translators, the results do not differ from what was expected. The three most students chose were in this order: too literal a translation, difficulties in conveying the right or complete meaning, and problems with the interpretation of parts of the translation. Numbers 5 (line-by-line translation instead of one based on the sentence or paragraph as a whole) and 3 (overly long sentences) were the ones that were mentioned least.

For section A of worksheet 6, which dealt with the tips to improve translation and develop translation work more autonomously, there seems to be almost unanimous agreement on the usefulness of both mono- and bilingual dictionaries together with the reading of bilingual texts and working with subtitled English films. Learners are also aware of the difficulties caused by false friends and consequently they stress their importance. The learning

aids to improve and expand the students' vocabulary, such as the use of word banks and record sheets with the most common mistakes do not appear to be very common as they come last and last but one in order of importance. Other supplementary tips added by the students to the list given were: practice English with a native speaker because in that way "it's easier to remember things," and listen to music and try to understand the lyrics. One of the students questioned even gives more details about the way this can be done in the classroom by suggesting "the use of song books with the lyrics in English but with the corresponding translations in Spanish (Metallica, Iron Maiden)."

3.3. TRANSLATION AS A MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING AND BECOMING AWARE OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

3.3.1. Objectives

- To make students aware of the importance of cultural differences that occasionally make their appearance in the practice of translation and to provide general guidelines on how to cope with them.

- To make learners consider pragmatic features as part of the translation process.

3.3.2. In class

a. The teacher selects a text where certain cultural differences can be seen, for example in the use of polite forms, the different types of food, what people say/do when visiting friends or when meeting someone for the first time, how people answer the phone, the use of gestures to mean things such as money, OK, come here, insults; situations where people kiss or shake hands, the kind of questions you can ask people you do not know very well, etc. (See worksheet 7.)

b. Students are asked in groups of four or so to spot the features that attract their attention in particular and that differ from their own linguistic and cultural background.

c. The whole class discusses the issues presented by the different groups.

d. Students are then asked to translate the text bearing in mind the points raised in the general class discussion.

In the first text, addressed to students at intermediate level, Spanish students would have problems with the translation of certain forms such as *Can I help you?* (line 1) and the use of *please* and *thank you*, which is much more common in English than in Spanish/ Galician/Catalan/Basque. The transla-

tion of certain dishes and drinks, which are typically British—*baked potatoes* and *roast beef* (line 5), *rump steak* (line 7), *Cornish pasty* (line 11), *beans*, *onion rings* and *green salad* (line 13), *shandy* (line 15), *coffee with cream* (line 23)—as well as certain measure units—*pint* (line 17)—would also pose certain translation problems. Furthermore, certain conventions, which are common in British culture, as for instance the inclusion or not, according to the restaurant, of a service charge in the total price of the meal should be borne in mind.

In the second text, specially designed for students at advanced level, the translation problems might derive from various references to British Christmas traditions and celebrations which do not necessarily have a counterpart in Catalan/Basque/Galician/Spanish. This may be the case of words such as *Christmas cracker* (line 1), *stocking-full* (line 2), *Claus* (line 13), *Christmas Eve* (line 14), *Boxing Day* (line 17). Furthermore, as this text was extracted from the newspaper *The Sun*, other translation problems may have their origin in wordplay typical of journalistic advertising: the use of *yule* instead of *you'll*, *santastic* for *fantastic*, the contrast between two senses of the verb *tuck*, *tucking in* (line 18) with the meaning of eating enthusiastically and *tucked inside* (line 21), meaning *folded in*, *Duper Golas* for *Super Goals*, etc.

3.3.3. Worksheet 7 (intermediate level)

At a restaurant

Waiter: Good afternoon. Can I help you?

Rob: Have you got a table for two, please?

Waiter: Yes, sir. Over here, by the window.

Waiter: Here's the menu.

5 Anne: I'll start with baked potatoes, please, and then I'll have roast beef.

Waiter: I'm sorry, Madam, there's no more roast beef.

Anne: Oh, all right, then. I'll have a rump steak.

Waiter: How would you like your steak?

Anne: Rare, please.

10 Waiter: And for you, sir?

Rob: Cornish pasty, for me, please.

Waiter: Vegetables, sir?

Rob: A few beans, onion rings and a green salad, please.

- Waiter: Would you like something to drink?
- 15 Anne: Could I have a shandy, please?
Waiter: Certainly, madam.
Rob: I'll have a pint of lager, please.
...
- Waiter: Is everything all right?
Anne: Oh yes, excellent, thank you.
- 20 Rob: Very good.
Waiter: Would you like some coffee?
Anne: Yes, please. I'd like a cappuccino.
Rob: I'll have a coffee with cream, please.
...
- Waiter: Can I give you a little more coffee?
- 25 Anne: No, thank you.
Rob: Yes, please.
Rob: Could you bring us the bill, please?
Waiter: Here it is, sir.
Rob: Is service included?
- 30 Waiter: VAT is included but not the service, I'm afraid.
Rob: OK. Thank you

3.3.4. Worksheet 8 (advanced level)

NEW YEAR TV GUIDE NEXT WEEK plus free goes on both Lottos

- We've got a cracker of a Christmas lined up for Sun readers next week. We are playing Syndi Claus again with a stocking-full of FREE goes on the week's two lotto draws.
- 5 You get 20 free goes on the midweek Christmas Eve draw—ten with the card in your Wednesday paper and ten with the Christmas gamecard we gave you earlier this month.
And there's ANOTHER 20 free goes on Saturday- ten with the card inside Saturday's TV SuperGuide and ten with the Christmas gamecard.
There's lots, lots more in store for you next week.
- 10 Yule love Monday's paper with its 24-page Duper Golas pullout—stuffed like a turkey with all the weekend's in-depth soccer reports, results and league tables.
There'll be Claus for celebration across the land for our Tuesday and Christmas Eve editions—featuring all the very best news, features and

- 15 sport.
There will be no Sun on Christmas Day—but we will be back with another knockout paper on Boxing Day.
And don't forget when you're tucking into your Christmas dinner, to leave plenty of room for another festive feast—your sensational Saturday
- 20 Stonker Sun.
Tucked inside will be the TV SuperGuide with complete telly listings for the New Year.
So stick with your Sun—it's just santastic.

(*The Sun*, Saturday, December 20, 1997).

4. CONCLUSIONS

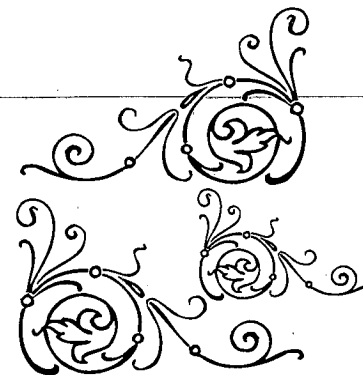
The activities presented in the previous pages are simple examples of what I consider a creative way of teaching translation. As was stated in the Introduction, translation is seen as being much more than a mere transfer of information from one language to another; consequently, the teaching of translation should not be based exclusively on a series of dull and boring exercises in which the students' role is mostly passive and limited to a simple manipulation of language. The process of translation is much wider in scope than that. Students should participate directly in the translation class by selecting the material to be worked on and even deciding jointly with the teacher on the kind of activities they will be doing. Finally, students should be made aware of the fact that there are more factors involved in the translation process than the linguistic ones. The translation course as part of the English Philology degree could thus help to consolidate language skills as well as being a useful means of teaching students the importance of the communicative and intercultural values of texts. 🎁

NOTE

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THE PASSIVE AS A STYLE MARKER IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH:

EVIDENCE FROM THE HELSINKI CORPUS

ELENA SEOANE POSSE
UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

I. INTRODUCTION

The passive is commonly regarded as a specific style marker in Present-day English (henceforth PE),¹ since one of the factors that determines the choice of a passive over an active clause is linguistic style. The aim of this paper is to examine the stylistic function of the passive in Early Modern English (henceforth EModE) with a twofold purpose: firstly, to ascertain whether the passive voice also has a stylistic significance in that period, and, secondly, to discover the factors which determine the preference for *be*-passives in formal registers. For this twofold purpose, the computerised *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* has been used.

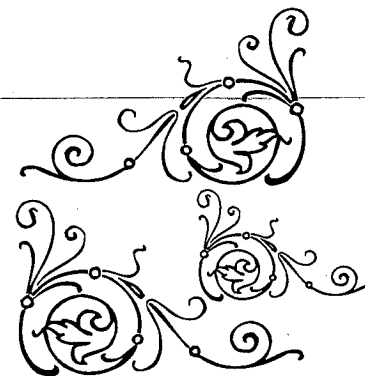
The analysis of the EModE corpus is offered in section 3; nevertheless, before proceeding to examine the linguistic evidence, a few words seem in order concerning the functions, whether stylistic or other, usually assumed to be associated with the passive in PE. This is done in section 2.

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The analysis of the EModE corpus is offered in section 3; nevertheless, before proceeding to examine the linguistic evidence, a few words seem in order concerning the functions, whether stylistic or other, usually assumed to be associated with the passive in PE. This is done in section 2.

2. THE FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION OF THE PASSIVE

Only recently has the function of the passive been examined in detail. Formerly, most of the attention had been focused on the formal, syntactic characteristics of passives and their relation to actives. Traditional grammarians were of course well aware that, though referentially the members of the active-passive pair may be considered synonymous, voice represents something more than a mere possibility of grammatical or stylistic variation (Poutsma 1914-29: 2.2, 102; Jespersen 1933: 120). An examination of the semantic differences between active and passive naturally leads to the analysis of the reasons why a passive clause is chosen instead of its active analogue in any given context.

However, no detailed analysis of such reasons ever came to be provided; most traditional grammarians were satisfied with alluding to the issue cursorily, and, moreover, they tended to concentrate on the function of agentless passive clauses exclusively, because getting rid of the subject / agent is, in their opinion, the main reason why the passive is used (cf. Sweet 1898: 113).² In fact, some of them do not mention any other reason, such as, for instance, Zandvoort (1975: 53), who merely says that "it [the passive] is used in sentences in which it is unnecessary or undesirable to mention the agent".

Only a few of the traditional scholars deal with the function of agent clauses. Jespersen, for example, gives two reasons for their use. The first is related to emphasis: "the reason why the passive turn is preferred is generally the greater interest taken in the passive than in the active subject." The other deals with the connection of sentences: "the passive turn may facilitate the connection of one sentence with another" (1933: 121). The latter reason is also adduced by Sledd, according to whom the choice between active and passive is determined by "the ease or difficulty of the transition which each makes possible" (1959: 303).

However, when dealing with Jespersen's first reason, namely the emphasis which passive clauses place on the active object, the opinions of traditional grammarians are contradictory. Sweet agrees with Jespersen: "the passive voice is, therefore, a grammatical device for bringing the object of a transitive verb into prominence by making it the subject of the sentence" (1898: 113). Similarly, Charleston (1960: 286-7) believes that the choice of the passive is subjective because it is determined by the speaker, who employs the passive in order to convey that he views the action from the perspective of an entity which is being affected by the activity. For Poutsma,

however, the prominence may be placed both on the passive subject and on the passive *by*-phrase: "the passive construction is frequently resorted to to serve the diametrically opposite purpose of giving prominence to the primary participant in the action, by mentioning it expressly at the end of the sentence" (1914-29: 2.2, 101).

This entangled state of affairs (cf. also Doherty 1996: 591-2) led Robin Lakoff, as late as 1971, to put forward the question of "why passivize at all?", and so to express the belief that

Passivization is one of the few rules I know of that, while apparently adding little semantic material to the 'basic' active sentence, considerably complicate it syntactically and morphologically. The linguist's task, then, in characterizing passivization—it would seem to me—is to ask why it is done, and done in this way, rather than, as usual, merely to ask what is done to the superficial configuration of lexical items. (1971: 149)

Today, the passive is generally regarded as having a thematic and a stylistic dimension.³ From the thematic perspective, the passive involves two related phenomena: a) firstly, *subject backgrounding*, whereby the subject/topic of an active transitive clause is removed from initial position when passivisation takes place (Stein 1979: 142; van Valin 1980: 317; Werth 1984: 238; Siewierska 1984: 237; Shibatani 1985: 832-4). In Givón's words, "in the passive, the agent of a semantically-transitive event is **demoted**⁴ from its prototypical topic position" (1990: 567). b) Secondly, promotion of a non-agent to subject position, known as *topicalisation* (Givón 1981, 1982) or *object foregrounding* function of the passive (Langacker and Munro 1975; Frajzyngier 1982; Foley and van Valin 1985; Keenan 1985). These labels refer to the assignment of subject/topic or merely topic function to a non-agent, which Givón terms *clausal topic assignment*: "the subject/agent of the active then assumes, by whatever means, the clausal-topic function" (1981: 168; cf. also Givón 1994: 9; Vezzosi 1996).⁵

Independently of the thematic function just outlined, the passive serves a stylistic function in the language, since, as is widely acknowledged, the passive is a specific style marker in PE (Bryant 1959: 68; Leech and Svartvik 1975: 258-9; Nash 1980: 140-42; Palmer 1987: 90). Section 2.1 below provides a brief analysis of the interrelation between the passive voice and certain varieties of PE.⁶

2.1. THE STYLISTIC FUNCTION OF THE PASSIVE

Linguistic style is defined by Crystal and Davy (1969) as the language habits of one person or group of people in a given situation. By situation (later in the same work labelled *dimensions of situational constraint*) is meant "that sub-set of non-linguistic events which are clearly relevant to the identification of the linguistic features" (1969: 11), namely individuality, singularity, dialect, time, status, province, discourse and modality. The assumption, therefore, is that certain linguistic habits provide information about the speaker/writer's unconscious idiosyncratic features, conscious idiosyncracies, geographical origin, age and social standing, and also about the nature or type of the discourse, medium (oral or written) and suitability of form. As is well known, one of the linguistic features that can provide this type of information is the use of the passive construction, because the choice of a passive over an active clause is not random, but determined by the linguistic style concerned.

A distinction must be drawn here between *be*-passives and *get*-passives, since *be* and *get* are not interchangeable as passive auxiliaries because of syntactic, pragmatic and, what is more relevant here, stylistic differences (Weiner and Labov 1983: 43; Downing 1996: 183-201). As is well known, *get* is far more prevalent in the speech of working-class speakers, and is avoided in formal language,⁷ whereas *be*-passives are associated with formal styles, as has already been mentioned.⁸

With regard to *be*-passives in particular, linguists of various tendencies have voiced their opinion about the relationship between the passive and impersonal style. Leech and Svartvik, for instance, believe that the use of the agentless passive is associated with impersonal style, which in turn is characteristic of formal written varieties of English. This style—they say—is the style characteristic of those discourses in which the speaker tries not to refer to himself or his readers directly (1975: 25, 258-59), because in impersonal styles "the question of who is the agent (i.e. who performs the action described by the verb) is unimportant and often irrelevant" (1975: 259). This opinion is shared by Bryant:

Its [the passive's] greatest asset is its impersonality, which makes it well adapted to the statement of scientific facts. . . . Its use is necessary where the actor is unknown, and no one would be likely to condemn a writer of a mystery story who wrote the brief passive "Lord Lee had been murdered" in preference to the far clumsier "A person or persons unknown had murdered Lord Lee." (1959: 68)

For Palmer (1987: 79), too, the passive is most common in formal writings, particularly in scientific texts, for "the work can be described impersonally—without indicating who did it" (cf. Also Gotti 1996: 64). Similarly, Biber's multidimensional approach to register analysis (1988, 1995; Biber and Finegan 1997) has shown that passives are one of the linguistic features characterising his Dimension 5 ('Abstract versus Non-Abstract Style'; see Biber 1988: 103, 111-13; 1995: 163-65, or 'Non-Impersonal versus Impersonal Style'; Biber and Finegan 1997: 259). Abstract registers as found in official documents, academic prose or technical and engineering prose yield high scores for passive constructions (1997: 261).

For some authors, however, the fact that the passive is used mostly in scientific texts⁹ is not due solely to the requirement of impersonality in the sense of modesty or of not revealing the agent of the action. Thus, Gotti (1996), when describing the style of the experimental essay-writings by the 17th-century writer Robert Boyle, mentions another case in which the passive voice is also resorted to, namely "in reporting how certain procedures (usually involving the utilization of equipment) have been carried out" (1996: 65). Turner argues that the passive is also used in order to avoid making mistakes in attributing agency or causality in scientific phenomena that are as yet not fully understood. According to him, then, the passive is a tentative, prudent way of describing scientific processes about which not much is known. He illustrates this idea with the following example:

In the history of physics the problem of 'action at a distance' became a central one in discussions of gravitation. As the new and related science of electricity and magnetism developed, the causes of the phenomena observed were unknown and it was an embarrassment even to find a subject for an active sentence. Something deflects a needle. What deflects it? A needle is deflected. That is all we know. (1973: 181)

Finally, Stanley believes that the agentless passive is a syntactic construction used by the writer when he is guided, not by politeness or tact, but by a desire to deceive or misinform the reader:

the passive voice provides us with a syntactic construction for deceiving our readers into believing that we're giving them information when we're not. It is a construction that allows us to lie without overtly lying, and only the careful, analytical reader will notice that information is missing. (1975: 30)

As has been shown, most authors believe that the reasons for the association between the passive and formal varieties of English are primarily related to the impersonalising purpose of the passive. Other authors, however, adduce other stylistic factors, which are examined in the following paragraphs.

As was pointed out at the beginning of this section, certain linguistic habits provide information about the situation in which the act of communication takes place. This is clearly the case with passives, as is demonstrated by the fact that almost all traditional books on rhetoric recognise the widespread use of the passive in formal texts and warn against the abuse of it. As Sinha points out, "pundits of stylistics censor even writers like Gibbon and Shaw for using too many passives" (1974: 631), and believe that a text with less than one passive every twenty verbs is "tough," while a text with more than one passive per five verbs is "stuffy."

Bryant, for example, characterises active clauses as spontaneous and lively, while passive clauses, in his opinion, are stiff, complex and rhetorically contrived:

Probably the majority of the verbs used in spoken English are in the active voice, which is usually more direct, brief and vigorous than the passive. . . . Many rhetoricians advise against its use on the grounds of its frequent dullness, monotony and circumlocution; yet these qualities do not seem to inhere in the passive itself so much as in the ideas it expresses. (1959: 68)

In this vein, Nash (1980: 141) believes that the passive "helps convey the impression of consciously planned rhetoric rather than casually impulsive argument" and Biber (1988: 112) states that "discourse with very frequent passive constructions is typically abstract and technical in content, and formal in style."

Siewierska (1984) also views the passive as determined by register, and provides a very accurate explanation for the connection between the passive and the written medium. As she points out, the passive is mainly used in academic, bureaucratic, literary and journalistic texts, because it "has acquired the status of a sophisticated stylistic device" (1984: 229). This status, she says, is due, firstly, to the fact that the passive is morphologically more complex than the active; secondly, to the traditional influence of Latin on European culture as a whole. In Latin the passive voice was also used in the most formal registers.

The association between the use of passives and formal registers has a corollary in the lack of passives in the oral medium. Siewierska (1984: 229) claims that the lack of passives in live discourse is due to the widespread use of ellipsis. As is well known, the speaker and hearer in a conversation share most of the information, which is, therefore, given information. Since, as Chafe (1976: 30) puts it, "given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance", speakers do not normally repeat anaphoric information, unless for emphasis or contrast. Instead, ellipsis is used.

Consequently, if the object of an active transitive clause is old information and the subject is new information, a situation that normally favours the passive, in speech the piece of new information would be introduced in a separate—elliptical—proposition, and it would not be integrated in a clausal (passive) structure. Thus, the question *who bought the house?* (someone = subject: new information; *bought the house* = verb group and object: old information) would not have as an answer the expected passive construction *the house was bought by John*, but the elliptical *John did* or simply *John*, with the verb group and object elided. The speaker, consequently, since he may and does avoid such a repetition of old information, has no need to organise old with respect to new information.

In the written medium, by contrast, the absence of shared knowledge between the writer and addressee makes it necessary for the writer to rule out ellipsis, and to repeat old, anaphoric information. This forces the writer to make decisions regarding the distribution of what is old and what new, which triggers the frequent use of the passive, as it is one of the linguistic devices capable of rearranging the distribution of information within the clause.

The lower frequency of passives in informal styles is also justified by the availability of alternative devices to promote non-agents to topic position in informal registers, namely left-dislocations and topicalisations.¹⁰ According to Givón (1979: 58, 66), while these two constructions are very common in unplanned speech and child language, their frequency in written texts, however, approaches zero. The passive, therefore, is also used in the written medium in order to make up for such a deficiency.

Finally, another determining factor for the use of passives in writing is the fact that, in contrast with the spontaneity that characterises colloquial speech, the written language is a planned mode of communication. As such, the written language is "expected to be more elaborate and varied both in terms of the lexical items and the constructions used" (Siewierska 1984: 230). Consequently, in compliance with the requirements for stylistic diver-

sity, the passive is used in alternation with the active to achieve structural variation and a rhetorically balanced text.

All the above-mentioned stylistic factors have been examined in the passive clauses found in the EModE section of the *Helsinki Corpus*; section 3 below describes the sample used in this study and provides the analysis of the data retrieved from the corpus.

3. THE PASSIVE AS A STYLE MARKER IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH: EVIDENCE FROM THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

3.1. THE CORPUS

The present study is based on actual linguistic data drawn from the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. The sample used is not the whole EModE section of the corpus, but a selection from it, comprising about 153,000 words. A preliminary overview¹¹ of these 153,000 words showed that the size of the sample was sufficient for my purposes, since it contained a high number of passive constructions, and, what is more, the passive types and forms represented in the sample were repeatedly met with. In other words, the preliminary examination showed that an analysis of a larger number of words would not result in the addition of significant instances, and that it would not modify their proportional distribution in any relevant way.

TABLE I	WORDS	ACTIVES	% ACT.	PASSIVES	% PASS.
E1 (1500-1570)	50,000	2236	78.5%	612	21.4%
E2 (1570-1640)	48,000	2550	77.9%	722	22.0%
E3 (1640-1710)	55,000	2893	75.8%	922	24.1%
TOTAL	148,000	7679	77.2%	2256	22.7%

Table I: Number of words examined, with indication of actives and passives and of relative frequency of passives with respect to actives.

Table I displays the number of words examined, the number of active and passive clauses found, and the ratio of passive constructions with respect to actives in each chronological subperiod. The count of active constructions was restricted to those for which a passive counterpart would be available, that is, to those active transitive constructions with an overt object eligible to become passive subject.

Stylewise, the text-types selected can be broadly classified into two groups. Though I am aware that it is more accurate to describe a text as more or less formal, since these parameters are a matter of degree rather than a binary distinction, I have adopted in this respect the classification provided by the compilers of the *Helsinki Corpus*. These identify *Science*, *Statutes* and *Sermons* as formal, and the other three text-categories singled out here, namely *Drama*, *Fiction* and *Private Letters*, as informal. Table II provides the breakdown for the text-types studied and the number of words analysed in each.

TABLE II	WORDS
STATUTES	37,000
SCIENCE	25,000
P. LETTERS	37,000
SERMONS	15,000
DRAMA	19,000
FICTION	20,000
TOTAL	153,000

Table II: Number of words examined in each text-type.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE CORPUS-DATA

In order to check whether the passive in EModE is connected with style as it is in PE, I examined the distribution of the 2,256 passives found in the corpus by text-category.

Table III shows the textual distribution of passives in each chronological subperiod. The percentages for each register in each of the chronological subperiods in Table III are relative to the total number of passives found in the register in question, a figure which is provided in the right-hand column; for instance, the figures adduced under E1 Statutes indicate that the number of passive examples in this text and subperiod is 240, which represents 23.3% of the total 1030 examples of passives recorded in legal writings. The percentages in the right-hand column and those in the bottom row refer to the total number of passives found in the corpus, namely 2,256.

TABLE III	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
STATUTES	240-23.3%	377-36.6%	413-40.0%	1030-45.6%
SCIENCE	128-30.8%	90-21.6%	197-47.4%	415-18.3%
P. LETTERS	91-25.0%	122-33.5%	151-41.4%	364-16.1%
SERMONS	61-31.7%	44-22.9%	87-45.3%	192-8.5%
DRAMA	56-42.7%	35-26.7%	40-30.5%	131-5.8%
FICTION	36-29.0%	54-43.5%	34-27.4%	124-5.4%
TOTAL	612-27.1%	722-32.0%	922-40.8%	2256-100%

Table III. Number and percentage of passives per text-type and subperiod.

In Table III it is clear that Statutes and Science yield the highest frequency of passives, and next come Private Letters. This is a somewhat paradoxical finding, considering that Statutes and Sermons on the one hand, and Private Letters on the other, stand at opposite poles as regards register and sociolinguistic characteristics. However, the actual frequency of passives can only be measured by comparison with the frequency of actives in the same text and author, as is shown in Table IV below. There it can be seen that, when passives are considered in relation to actives, the percentage of passives is higher for the three formal texts, namely Statutes, Science and Sermons, and lower for the informal text-types, namely Private Letters, Drama and Fiction. In other words, if the number of passives in each text-type is compared with the number of actives, we find that it is in the three formal text-categories that passives are more frequent.

TABLE IV	TOTAL	ACTIVES	PASSIVES
STATUTES	1,978	948 (47.9%)	1,030 (52.07%)
SCIENCE	1,313	898 (68.3%)	415 (31.6%)
P. LETTERS	2,794	2,430 (86.9%)	364 (13.02%)
SERMONS	853	661 (77.4%)	192 (22.5%)
DRAMA	1,254	1,123 (89.5%)	131 (10.4%)
FICTION	1,743	1,619 (92.8%)	124 (7.1%)
TOTAL	9,9351	7,679 (77.2%)	2,256 (22.7%)

Table IV. Number of actives and passives per text-type, with relative percentages.

Table V is even more revealing: it provides the total figures for active clauses, passive clauses and their relative proportions in both formal and informal texts. The difference is outstanding: while passives in informal texts amount only to 10.6% of all transitive clauses, 39.5% of transitive clauses in formal texts are passives.

TABLE V	TOTAL	ACTIVES	PASSIVES
INFORMAL TEXTS	5,791	5,172 (89.3%)	619 (10.6%)
FORMAL TEXTS	4,144	2,507 (60.4%)	1,637 (39.5%)

Table V. Number of active and passive clauses and relative percentages in both formal and informal text-types.

Thus, the data in the corpus show that the generally accepted view that the passive is much more prevalent in formal varieties of English also holds true for EModE.

As already stated, the second purpose of this study is to examine the factors that determine the association found in the EModE corpus between passives and formal styles. As mentioned in section 2.1 above, when analysing the motivations behind the correlation between formal texts and passive clauses, most authors voice the opinion that such a correlation involves the impersonalising function of the passive, the reason being that formal texts demand an impersonal style to which passive agentless clauses contribute (cf. section 2.1 and Turner 1973: 181; Stanley 1975; Leech and Svartvik 1975: 25, 258-9; Palmer 1987: 79).¹² Agentless passives, accordingly, are used in formal texts because they constitute a useful device to present propositions with no emphasis on the agent, in compliance with the wish to avoid mentioning it out of modesty, ignorance or tentativeness.

In order to ascertain whether the association between the passive voice and formal styles in EModE is also motivated by a desire to describe facts impersonally, the distribution of agentless passives by text-types was examined. A higher proportion of agentless passives in formal texts should be indicative of the passive being used with an impersonalising motivation. The results of such an analysis are shown in Tables VI and VII:

TABLE VI	AGENTLESS	AGENT
STATUTES	804 (78.05%)	226 (21.9%)
SCIENCE	368 (88.6%)	47 (11.3%)
P. LETTERS	340 (93.4%)	24 (6.5%)
SERMONS	154 (80.2%)	38 (19.7%)
DRAMA	126 (96.1%)	5 (3.8%)
FICTION	115 (92.7%)	9 (7.2%)

Table VI. Distribution of agentless and agent passives by text-type.

TABLE VII	AGENTLESS	AGENT
FORMAL TEXTS	1,326 (81.0%)	311 (18.9%)
INFORMAL TEXTS	581 (93.8%)	38 (6.1%)

Table VII. Distribution of agentless and agent clauses in formal and informal text-types.

As can be observed in Table VI, the highest percentages of agentless passives do not correspond to formal text-types, but rather to informal texts: agentless passives amount to 93.4% in *Private Letters*, 96.1% in *Drama* and 92.7% in *Fiction*. The correlation between informal texts and agentless passives is most apparent in Table VII, which shows that 93.8% of passives are agentless in informal texts, as opposed to only 81% of agentless passives in formal texts.

The data relating to the distribution of agentless passives in the corpus, as shown in Tables VI and VII, therefore, do not seem to confirm, at least for EModE, the widespread assumption that the motivation behind the preference for the passive voice in formal registers lies merely in the requirement that the style should be impersonal. It seems that the passive is connected with formal written English for reasons other than this. The paragraphs that follow briefly outline other stylistic factors which may also be responsible for the correlation between the passive voice and formal registers of English observed in the corpus.

As shown in Table V, noteworthy among the stylistic factors that may determine the preference for the passive in formal registers are, firstly, the rhetorical, sophisticated style typical of formal registers as opposed to the ca-

sual style characteristic of informal texts (Nash 1980; Siewierska 1984). In this connection, it was pointed out in section 2.1 that Siewierska (1984: 229) accounts for the connection between passive constructions and formal styles in terms of the complexity of the passive structure and the traditional influence of Latin on English. Obviously, the influence of Latin and French on English is much more conspicuous in earlier stages of the language, when Latin was still regarded as the grammatical model to imitate and French culture had great prestige. It may be concluded, accordingly, that one reason why the passive construction is chosen mostly by formal writers in the corpus may be that it is considered suitable for the rhetorical, sophisticated style which formal texts require.

A second factor that may well justify the higher proportion of passives in formal registers in the corpus is the close relationship between formal registers and the written medium on the hand, and informal registers and the oral medium on the other. Though, as is obvious, all the linguistic evidence of past stages of the language at our disposal belongs to the written medium of expression, some texts record a type of language which is fairly similar to speech. This is the case of *Private Letters*, a text-type consisting of a communicative exchange between friends and relatives not intended for publication or official use. This text-type, consequently, exhibits characteristics of unplanned, spontaneous and speech-like discourse.

The other informal texts selected, namely *Drama* and *Fiction*, also afford a possibility of approximation to spoken language, for they contain lively dialogues between different characters, who, in their turn, very often belong to the lower orders of society, so that colloquial, spontaneous speech is imitated in such fictional discourse. Undoubtedly, when analysing the linguistic style of these three text-types we are often drawing inferences about actual speech.

The close relation between informal text-types and the oral medium I have just mentioned may determine the lower frequency of passives with respect to formal texts, since most of the information that the interlocutors of informal texts exchange is given, and, therefore, elided. By contrast, in formal registers given information is repeated and must, therefore, be integrated into clause structure; and, as was explained in section 2.1, contexts in which the interlocutor is given information favour the use of the passive voice (Chafe 1976; Siewierska 1984).

A third factor that may play a role in the connection observed in the corpus between formal text-types and the passive voice seems to concern the stylistic diversity demanded by formal texts, to which the passive, in alternation with the active, contributes (cf. section 2.1). Thus, in *Statutes*,

Sermons and Science, the choice of passive over the active may be a stylistic device resorted to for the sake of stylistic variation.

4. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, in this paper I have examined the stylistic function of the passive voice in Early Modern English as represented in the *Helsinki Corpus*. The analysis has yielded the following results. Firstly, as can be gathered from the results in Tables III, IV and V, the data retrieved from the corpus indicate that the passive in EModE is associated with formal registers, as in PE, and that it therefore functions as a style marker in this period, since the proportion of passive clauses with respect to active clauses is much higher in formal (39.5%) than in informal texts (10.6%).

Secondly, my data, however, do not corroborate the traditional hypothesis that the main reason for the association between passive clauses and formal styles is the aim for impersonal style (Bryant 1959; Turner 1973; Leech and Svartvik 1975; Stanley 1975; Palmer 1987; Biber 1988), as agentless passives are more common in informal than in formal texts, with frequencies of 93.8% and 81% respectively. The distribution of agentless clauses, consequently, seems to validate the opinion voiced by Nash (1980) and Siewierska (1984) that passives are associated with formal registers for reasons other than the search for impersonality.

NOTES

1. See, for instance, Leech and Svartvik (1975: 259), Nash (1980: 140-2), Granger-Legrand (1983: 193), Huddleston (1984: 445), Quirk et al. (1985: 161), Palmer (1987: 90), Biber (1988: 112), Biber and Finegan (1997: 259), Denison (1993: 420) and Givón and Yang (1994: 138).

2. Jespersen (1933: 120-21) adduces the following reasons for not mentioning the agent: either it is unknown, or self-evident from the context or it must be avoided out of tact. Both Kruisinga (1925: II, 122-3) and Sledd (1959: 303) also state that sometimes the speaker / writer merely wants to mention an action or process, independently of who performed it, which, as is well known, is not possible in English if an active is used: the presence of a subject is obligatory and the indefinite personal pronouns *one* or *someone* are not always suitable for the role of subject (cf. Frajzyngier 1982: 271; Siewierska 1984: 238-54).

3. Other factors, of a syntactic nature, may also intervene in the choice between active and passive clauses, namely the principle of end-weight and the desire to maintain the same

topic over consecutive sentences (cf. Leech and Svartvik 1975: 175; Weiner and Labov 1983: 42; Werth 1984: 237-8; Downing and Noonan 1995: 35).

4. "Demotion" refers to the change in syntactic status undergone by the agent NP in passive clauses, with concomitant loss of accessibility to and control of certain grammatical processes (cf. for instance, Foley and van Valin 1985: 317). The emphasis in the quotation is Givón's.

5. As a topicalising device, the passive serves a two-pronged purpose; on the one hand, it restores the unmarked given / new order of information within the clause and places an inherently topical NP in topic position (Givón 1979: 30; 1983: 10; Werth 1984: 236-40; Siewierska 1984: 220ff; Downing and Noonan 1995: 35). On the other hand, as is the case with other fronting strategies such as topicalisations and left-dislocations, it can topicalise a non-agent for contrastive, emphatic purposes (Givón 1981: 165; 1983: 17; Siewierska 1984: 234-36; Foley and van Valin 1985: 300-3; Keenan 1985: 244; Doherty 1996: 631).

6. By "varieties of English" I mean different registers and types of discourse, not geographical varieties. The use of the passive is not indicative of regional differences, because, as Leech and Svartvik point out, these are not normally reflected in formal written language: "within each English-speaking country there are many differences of regional dialect. . . . These differences rarely affect grammatical usage in written English or in educated spoken English" (1975: 22-3).

7. Leech and Svartvik (1975: 259); Granger-Legrand (1983: 193); Huddleston (1984: 445); Quirk et al. (1985: 161); Palmer (1987: 90); Denison (1993: 420-1); Givón and Yang (1994: 138).

8. Obviously, only *be*-passives are the concern of this paper, since *get*-passives had not yet emerged in the Early Modern English period. Denison (1993: 420) records the earliest unequivocal example, namely *so you may not only save your life, but get rewarded for your roguery* (Fielding, *Letter Writers* II.ix.20), which dates back to 1731.

9. Svartvik (1966) has studied the frequency of the passive in eight different types of text and found that the passive is most frequent in scientific texts (1966: 153).

10. These two fronting strategies, namely topicalisations and left-dislocations, are exemplified in (i) and (ii) below respectively:

(i) *Mary, I really love.*

(ii) *Mary, she loves playing the piano.*

For a comparison between the function of these two fronting devices and that of the passive construction, see Shibatani (1985) Keenan (1985) and Foley and van Valin (1985).

11. A preliminary overview of the corpus was necessary because, as Raumolin-Brunberg points out, the sample size depends on the phenomenon under study, and "at the introduction of a syntactic study the researcher seldom knows the real frequency of the phenomenon under examination. . . . This is why it is difficult to know in advance how large one's sample should be" (1991: 53).

12. Of course, the agent in passives is omitted or, alternatively, demoted to the status and position of an oblique adjunct. In both cases the emphasis on the agent is diminished, but to a different extent, since the choice between agent and agentless passives depends on the degree of defocusing that is being sought for. Agentless passives defocus agents completely, for the most conspicuous way of defocusing an element is not to encode it syntactically. For this reason, in the present study agentless passives as regarded as complying most clearly with the impersonal style characteristic of formal texts. Passives with agent *by*-phrases, on the other hand, involve an incomplete defocusing of the agent, because the strength of focus correlates

with the grammatical functions of constituents, oblique adjuncts having the lowest focus of all the syntactically encoded elements: "focus decreases along the hierarchy of grammatical relations: subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique objects" (Shibatani 1985: 832).

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ANAPHORA IN THE INTERLANGUAGE OF SPANISH LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

ELISA VÁZQUEZ IGLESIAS
UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

I. INTRODUCTION

Following previous work on interlanguage grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1981; Yuan, 1994; Schachter, 1996) and, more specifically, on the role of Universal Grammar (henceforth UG) in the acquisition of the English reflexive by native speakers of other languages (cf. Bennet 1994 for Serbo-Croatian; Matsumura 1994, Thomas 1995 and Wakabayashi 1996 for Japanese), this paper describes how native speakers of a Romance language such as Spanish acquire the reflexive in a Germanic language such as English. The experiment I conducted shows that Manzini and Wexler's (1987) GOVERNING CATEGORY and PROPER ANTECEDENT PARAMETER are violated in the interlanguage of Spanish Learners of English. The frequently inconsistent responses obtained from those obtained with Japanese Learners of English (JPLE) in Wakabayashi (1996), provide strong evidence that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is not always systematic. However, it seems impossible to determine the role of Universal Grammar in SLA from the study of the syntactic constraints in interlanguage. More specifically, while the interlanguage of Spanish Learners of English suggests that Manzini and Wexler's (1987) parameters concerning Principle A of the Binding Theory are not universal, the interlanguage of Japanese Learners of English seems to indicate that UG is indeed available in SLA.

As is well known, Principle A of the Binding Theory has traditionally been regarded as a universal constraint on the occurrence of reflexives. It states that they must be bound inside their local domain (cf. Chomsky,

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I. INTRODUCTION

Following previous work on interlanguage grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1981; Yuan, 1994; Schachter, 1996) and, more specifically, on the role of Universal Grammar (henceforth UG) in the acquisition of the English reflexive by native speakers of other languages (cf. Bennet 1994 for Serbo-Croatian; Matsumura 1994, Thomas 1995 and Wakabayashi 1996 for Japanese), this paper describes how native speakers of a Romance language such as Spanish acquire the reflexive in a Germanic language such as English. The experiment I conducted shows that Manzini and Wexler's (1987) GOVERNING CATEGORY and PROPER ANTECEDENT PARAMETER are violated in the interlanguage of Spanish Learners of English. The frequently inconsistent responses obtained from Spanish Learners of English (SPLE for short), which radically depart from those obtained with Japanese Learners of English (JPLE) in Wakabayashi (1996), provide strong evidence that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is not always systematic. However, it seems impossible to determine the role of Universal Grammar in SLA from the study of the syntactic constraints in interlanguage. More specifically, while the interlanguage of Spanish Learners of English suggests that Manzini and Wexler's (1987) parameters concerning Principle A of the Binding Theory are not universal, the interlanguage of Japanese Learners of English seems to indicate that UG is indeed available in SLA.

As is well known, Principle A of the Binding Theory has traditionally been regarded as a universal constraint on the occurrence of reflexives. It states that they must be bound inside their local domain (cf. Chomsky,

1986b). It is precisely the local domain of the reflexive that varies from one lexical item to another. Thus, Manzini and Wexler (1987) list the different domains that can be found cross-linguistically in their GOVERNING CATEGORY PARAMETER, defined in (1) below. At the same time, they claim that there are reflexives that are subject-oriented while others are not, and this is shown in their PROPER ANTECEDENT PARAMETER, given in (2) below.

(1) GOVERNING CATEGORY PARAMETER (Manzini and Wexler 1987: 53)

α is a GOVERNING CATEGORY (GC henceforth) for β iff α is the minimal category (syntactic domain) that contains β and

a) has a subject (as in [i] with English 'herself'), or

i. Alice(i) knew [GC that Mary(j) had looked at *herself*(*i/j) in the mirror]

b) has an inflection (as in (ii) with Italian 'sè', which can corefer both with a subject and with a possessor in a different PP), or

ii. [GC Alice(i) guardò i ritratti di *sè* (i/j) di Mario(j)]
'Alice looked at Mario's portraits of REFLEXIVE'

c) has a TENSE (as in (iii) with Norwegian 'seg', which can be coreferential with an NP outside an infinitive clause), or

iii. [GC Knut(i) ba Ola korrigere *seg*(i)]
'Knut asked Ola to correct REFLEXIVE'

d) has a REFERENTIAL (i.e. INDICATIVE) TENSE (as in (iv) with Icelandic 'sig', which is allowed to corefer with an NP out of a subjunctive clause), or

iv. [GC Jón(i) segir að María(j) elski *sig*(i/j)]
'Jon says that Mary loves (SUBJUNCTIVE) REFLEXIVE'

e) has a ROOT TENSE (as in (v) with Japanese 'zibun', which can take its antecedent from anywhere in the matrix clause.)

v. [GC John-wa(j) Bill-ga *zibun*-o(i/j) nikunde iru to omotte iru]
'John thinks that Bill hates REFLEXIVE'

(2) PROPER ANTECEDENT PARAMETER (Manzini and Wexler 1987: 64)

A proper antecedent for α is

a. A subject β (as in [vi]) or

vi. John-wa(i) Mary-ni(j) *zibun*-no(i/*j) syasin-o mise-ta
'John showed Mary pictures of REFLEXIVE.'

b. an[y] element β whatsoever

vii. Mario(i) chiese ad Alice(j) un ritratto di *sè*(i/j).
'Mario asked Alice for a portrait of REFLEXIVE.'

As far as the GOVERNING CATEGORY PARAMETER (GCP henceforth) is concerned, it is worth mentioning that Spanish has two different parameters, depending on the anaphoric element used: (1a) for 'se' and 'sí mismo' and (1b) for 'él/ella mismo/a'. On the other hand, English 'himself' fits, in general, into parameter (1a). As far as the PROPER ANTECEDENT PARAMETER (hereafter PAP) is concerned, Spanish 'se' and 'sí mismo' fulfill parameter (2a), while Spanish 'él/ella mismo/a' and English 'himself' fulfill parameter (2b). This is shown in the following sentences.

- (3) a. Mary(i) told Jane(j) about *herself* (i/j).
b. Mary(i) le contó a Jane(j) sobre *sí misma* (i/*j).
c. Mary(i) le contó a Jane(j) sobre *ella misma* (i/j).

Anyhow, since Spanish has two different parameters for the binding domain of reflexives, while English only has one, a great deal of inconsistency might be expected in the responses given to Types 2, 3, 4 below. Thus, some SPLE may set the value at (1a) and some other may set it at (1b). Since Spanish has both a subject-oriented anaphora ('sí mismo/a'), and an anaphora ('él/ella mismo/a') that allows subjects and objects as its antecedents, the same degree of inconsistency might also be expected in the responses to Type 5 below. Consequently, it is to be expected that some SPLE will allow 'himself' to corefer with a subject and a non-subject, while others will allow only subjects as antecedents for 'himself'.

2. EXPERIMENT

In order to find out if there is anything that could be considered 'knowledge' of UG in students whose L1 is Spanish and L2 is English, I conducted an experiment that resembles the one in Wakabayashi (1996) with Japanese learners of English. The subjects chosen for the experiment were forty Spanish students who started learning English at the age of twelve. By the time the experiment was carried out, they had all been learning English for six years, three in primary school and three in high school. The aim, then, was to examine the extent to which UG is present in the interlanguage of Spanish Learners of English when acquiring the reflexives.

The experiment was designed as follows: the SPLE were given five sets of sentences to read, one for each different syntactic structure, to read. At the end of each set, I included a question to check the informants' understanding of reflexive relations in English. Below each question, a list of all potential NP antecedents was also included, so that they could number these NPs according to their preferences.

The data, taken from Wakabayashi (1996), are given in (4) through (8) below. Type 1 consists of three examples in which the 'self' form only has an overt clause-mate antecedent; in Type 2, the 'self' form is inside a subordinate clause and there is an embedded and a main subject whose features match those of the reflexive; in Type 3, the 'self' form is inside an inflection (i.e. simple) clause and there is also a main subject and an embedded subject (which is also the object of the main verb); in Type 4, the 'self' form is embedded in a PP complement of a complex NP, whose specifier could count as one plausible antecedent for the reflexive. The other could, presumably, be the subject of the main clause.

Type 1

- (4) a. Tom likes himself.
b. Mary likes herself.
c. Sam hates himself.

Question: Who does 'himself/herself' refer to in (4a-c)?

Possible answers: 1. Local NP
2. Other NP

Type 2

- (5) a. Tom said that Sam liked himself.
b. Mary thinks Jane hates herself.
c. Mary told Jane to look at herself.

Question: Who does 'himself/herself' refer to in (5a-c)?

Possible answers: 0. Missing data
1. Long-distance NP
2. Local NP
3. External NP
4. Long-distance NP and local NP
5. Long-distance NP and external NP
6. Local and external NP

Type 3

- (6) a. Sam told Tom to support himself.
b. Tom told Sam to protect himself.
c. Mary told Jane to look at herself.

Question: Who does 'himself/herself' refer to in (6a-c)?

Possible answers: 0. Missing data
1. Long-distance NP
2. Local NP
3. External NP
4. Long-distance NP and local NP
5. Long-distance NP and external NP
6. Local and external NP

Type 4

- (7) a. Tom read Sam's criticism about herself.
b. Jane read Mary's report about herself.
c. Jane heard Mary's opinion about herself.

Question: Who does 'herself' refer to in (7a-c)?

Possible answers: 0. Missing data
1. Long-distance NP
2. Local NP
3. External NP
4. Long-distance NP and local NP
5. Long-distance NP and external NP
6. Local and external NP

Type 5

- (8) a. Jane showed Mary a photograph of herself.
 b. Sam told Tom a story of himself.
 c. Tom showed Sam a drawing of himself.

Question: Who does 'himself'/'herself' refer to in (8a-c)?

- Possible answers:*
1. Subject NP
 2. Non-subject NP
 3. External NP
 4. Subject NP and non-subject NP
 5. Subject NP and external NP
 6. Non-subject NP and external NP

As I have mentioned above, the goal of this task was twofold. It was designed to examine (i) the presence of the GOVERNING CATEGORY PARAMETER (Manzini and Wexler 1987) in interlanguage and (ii) their acceptance of subjects versus non subjects as antecedents for the anaphoras in their interlanguage.

3. DATA ANALYSIS

First, I will provide the collective percentage of responses for each sentence type, as has been traditionally done in previous analyses (Hirakawa, 1990; Matsumura 1994; Thomas 1995; Cook 1996). However, I fully agree with Wakabashi (1996: 275) that this is not the best way of analyzing the linguistic knowledge of L2 learners. As she claims, not all learners of a second language have a uniform level of proficiency, even when they belong to the same age group. Further, it may be the case that a learner has reset a parameter while another has not.

It should be taken into account, then, that the group (or aggregated) data given below show the general tendency in the acquisition of English reflexives by native speakers of Spanish. In other words, it only gives an incomplete description of interlanguage grammar.

a. Aggregated data concerning CGP

In Table I below, I include the figures of the percentages of the responses as first choices for Types 1, 2, 3 and 4. In Table II, I include all possible NP antecedents. 'Local NP' refers to an NP inside the governing category of the reflexive; 'Long-distance NP' refers to an NP outside the governing category but in the sentence; NC means native control group.

	Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4	
	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC
Subjects								
Local NP	100	100	86	100	65	91	49	54
LD NP	—	—	11	0	13	2	33	22
Local + LD NP	—	—	3	0	7	8	17	24
Others	—	0	0	0	4	0	1	0

Table I. Percentages of responses as first choices for Types 1, 2, 3, 4.

	Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4	
	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC
Subjects								
Local NP	100	100	65	100	54	89	27	44
LD NP	—	—	9	0	13	2	2	19
Local + LD NP	—	—	22	0	28	9	50	37
Others	—	—	2	0	4	0	1	0

Table II. Percentages of responses as all possible NP antecedents for Types 1, 2, 3, 4.

As for the first choices, it is noticeable that Spanish learners of English always choose the local NPs in Type 1 as antecedents for the anaphora, just like native speakers do. As the questions get harder, it can be seen that the percentages go down in Types 2, 3, and 4. The first descent is not very significant (9% for Type 2) but then Type 3 drops to 65%, and Type 4 to 42%. A comparison of these figures with those obtained with native speakers of English shows clear differences with regard to Types 2 and 3. What these figures seem to suggest is that the higher degree of difficulty makes the Spanish learners of English hesitate about the possibility of local NP antecedents. In contrast, a higher percentage of native speakers seem to prefer local NPs for all sentence types.

As for all possible answers, all SPLE coincide in assigning the local NP as the only possible antecedent for the English reflexive in Type 1. Interestingly, this figure goes down to 65% in Type 2, 54% in Type 3, and 27% in Type 4 (as compared to 30%, 30%, 5% and 44% obtained with native speakers of English). If this decrease were explained in terms of the higher degree of difficulty each sentence type involves, no SPLE should be able to answer satisfactorily to Type 4 while failing to do so in Type 2 (or 3 or 1). As I will show when dealing with individual responses, there are some L2 learners who have, in fact, acquired the constraint in Type 4 but not in Type 2. This provides good evidence that the GCP (and, by extension, UG) is violated in interlanguage grammar. I will come back to this later.

b. Aggregated data concerning PAP

In this section, I will compare the SPLE responses to the sentences in Type 5 with those obtained from native speakers of English. The figures for responses as first choices and all possible antecedents are examined, respectively, in Tables III and IV below.

In Table III, it can be observed that not only the Spanish learners of English but also the native speakers of this language mostly prefer subjects as their first choices, even though native speakers of English allow both subjects and nonsubjects as antecedents in a slightly higher percentage. The reason why SPLE pick up subjects as their first option may be due to the fact that in their L1 there are two anaphoras, i.e. 'sí mismo' and 'él/ella mismo/a' that can be subject-oriented. Recall that 'sí mismo/a' is subject oriented but 'él/ella mismo/a' may just optionally be so. Since both anaphoras can refer to a subject, this choice seems the most natural among SPLE. In connection with this, only 6% of the responses by SPLE indicate that they understand the reflexive to be coreferential both with subject NPs and non subject NPs

as their first choice. This result contrasts with the higher 25% by native speakers of English that allow both as antecedents for the reflexive.

Subjects	SPLE	NC
Subject NP only	77	68
Non-subject NP only	8	6
Subject + Non-subject NP	13	25
Other responses	1	0

Table III. Percentages of responses as first choice antecedents in Type 5.

Subjects	SPLE	NC
Subject NP only	51	54
Non-subject NP	5	3
Subject + Non-subject NP	39	43
Other responses	1	0

Table IV. Percentages of responses as all possible antecedents in Type 5.

As far as Table IV is concerned, it is worth mentioning that the aggregated figures obtained with Spanish learners of English for all possible antecedents are about the same as those representing the intuitions of native speakers of the language. In other words, when SPLE and native speakers of English rethink the data, 26% of the informants become aware of the possibility of non-subject NPs to corefer with the reflexive too. Therefore, it is clear that the strikingly different figures given in Table III and Table IV above illustrate the danger of running tests where only first choices, and not all possible antecedents along with individual responses, are analyzed. More specifically, the ratio of responses which successfully indicate that a reflexive in English is allowed by SPLE (and also by native speakers) to corefer to

both subject NPs and non-subject NPs has increased considerably in Table IV.

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
Subject 1	111	222	222	222	111
Subject 2	111	222	222	222	111
Subject 3	111	222	222	222	111
Subject 4	111	222	222	222	111
Subject 5	111	222	222	221	111
Subject 6	111	111	222	221	111
Subject 7	111	222	444	224	111
Subject 8	111	222	222	444	411
Subject 9	111	222	222	444	421
Subject 10	111	222	222	444	414
Subject 11	111	222	444	444	444
Subject 12	111	222	444	444	444
Subject 13	111	222	224	444	444
Subject 14	111	222	224	444	444
Subject 15	111	222	222	244	444
Subject 16	111	222	444	444	444
Subject 17	111	222	444	224	444
Subject 18	111	222	144	222	444
Subject 19	111	222	244	444	444
Subject 20	111	222	222	244	444
Subject 21	111	222	222	411	411
Subject 22	111	222	424	144	441
Subject 23	111	222	444	444	114
Subject 24	111	244	411	211	142
Subject 25	111	121	221	444	242
Subject 26	111	121	222	121	111
Subject 27	111	112	212	212	121
Subject 28	111	112	666	222	111
Subject 29	111	444	244	411	111
Subject 30	111	444	422	444	444
Subject 31	111	444	444	144	414
Subject 32	111	444	444	444	444
Subject 33	111	444	444	444	114
Subject 34	111	444	442	444	111
Subject 35	111	111	144	444	111
Subject 36	111	442	222	111	114
Subject 37	111	111	144	444	111
Subject 38	111	652	211	112	621
Subject 39	111	111	233	331	311
Subject 40	111	442	111	244	444

Table V. Individual responses concerning the GCP.

Notes to Table V:

For Type 1: 1-local NP.

For Type 2, 3 and 4: 0-missing data; 1-long-distance NP; 2-local NP; 3-external NP; 4- long-distance NP and local NP; 5-long-distance NP and external NP; 6-local and external NP.

For Type 5: 1-subject NP; 2-non-subject NP; 3-external NP; 4-subject NP and non-subject NP; 5-subject NP and external NP; 6-non-subject NP and external NP.

From Tables III and IV, the conclusion can be drawn that SPLE interpret reflexives as referring either to subject NPs or to both subject and nonsubject NPs, since more than 80% of the responses identifying possible antecedents exhibit one of these patterns.

a. Individual data concerning the GCP

Table V contains the individual responses obtained with respect to the GCP and the PAP.

Following Wakabayashi (1996: 283), I will only consider to be 'consistent' those L2 learners who give the same answer to all sentences in one sentence type. In contrast to JPLE, SPLE show a pattern of great inconsistency in their responses, as can be seen in Table VI below:

Subjects	Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4	
	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC
Local NP	100	100	70	100	45	86	30	10
LD NP	—	—	2	0	10	0	15	0
Local + LD NP	—	—	0	0	0	5	12	5
NC interpret.	0	0	18	0	45	10	43	86

Table VI. Percentages of the subjects with consistent responses as the first choices concerning GCP.

	Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4	
	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC	SPLE	NC
Subjects								
Local NP	100	100	57	100	40	81	12	10
LD NP	—	—	5	0	5	0	5	0
Local + LD NP	—	—	17	0	15	5	37	24
NC interpret.	0	0	20	0	37	14	45	67

Table VII. Percentages of the subjects with consistent responses as all possible antecedents concerning GCP.

In Tables VI and VII above, it may be noted that there is an increase in inconsistency, presumably due to the fact that when the subjects' interlanguage grammar permits more than one antecedent for the reflexive, it is very difficult to indicate all possible antecedents in all three sentences of each type. In this respect, the experiment fails to reveal the learner's competence. What inconsistent responses clearly show, though, is that the binding coreference is not constrained to local NPs, since there are some children who allow long-distance NPs, especially for Types 3 and 4. The exact figures are 2%, 10% and 15% for Types 2, 3 and 4, respectively, in first choice responses, and 5% in all possible antecedents responses.

To close this section, I provide a table with the different patterns of responses with respect to the GCP (Table 8). This table illustrates the lack of systematicity in the SPLE's responses. Every possible combination of responses is found: Group 1 represents the thirteen subjects (out of forty) who answered consistently to the twelve sentences concerning the GCP; Group 2 consists of eight subjects who failed in their responses to Type 4; Group 3 consists of three subjects who acquired the GC for Types 1 and 2 but not for Types 3 and 4; Group 4 consists of three subjects who acquired Type 1 but not the others; Group 5 consists of eight subjects who consistently interpret Types 1, 2 and 4 correctly, but fail in Type 3; Group 6 consists of two subjects who fail in Type 2 and not in the others; Group 7 consists of two subjects who fail in Types 2 and 4 but not in Types 1 and 3; and finally Group 8 consists of a single subject who is only inconsistent in Types 2 and 3.

Groups	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
1 (32%; n = 13)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2 (20%; n = 8)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
3 (7%; n = 3)	Yes	Yes	No	No
4 (7%; n = 3)	Yes	No	No	No
5 (20%; n = 8)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
6 (5%; n = 2)	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
7 (5%; n = 2)	Yes	No	Yes	No
8 (2%; n = 1)	Yes	No	No	Yes

Table VIII. Patterns of interlanguage grammar of SPLE (GCP)

Note:

'Yes' indicates that SPLE answer consistently (correctly or not); 'no' indicates that SPLE have no consistent interpretation.

b. Data of PAP by individual subjects

Examining the interlanguage grammar concerning the Proper Antecedent Parameter (PAP) in the same way as was done with the data concerning the Governing Category Parameter (GCP), it becomes clear that only three different sets of responses are obtained. First, there are thirteen subjects who consistently interpret reflexives as coreferential with subject NPs (cf. Group 1). Second, there are eleven subjects who consistently interpret both subjects and non subjects as antecedents for the reflexive (cf. Group 2). Finally, there are sixteen subjects who have no consistent interpretation as to the syntactic role of the antecedent (cf. Group 3). The figures in this table are about the same for each of the three groups. Inconsistency is also quite significant in this case. The fact that only 32% of the Spanish learners of English allow subject NPs as the only possible antecedents for the English reflexive, in comparison with 40% of inconsistent responses, leads us to the conclusion that Manzini and Wexler's (1987) PAP value (b) has not been acquired by SPLE.


Group	Antecedents
1 (32%; n = 13)	Subject NPs only
2 (30%; n = 11)	Any NPs (in the sentence)
3 (40%; n = 16)	Non consistent interpretation

Table IX. Patterns of interlanguage grammar of SPLE (PAP)

The results from these tables suggest that Spanish learners of English, unlike the Japanese ones (cf. Wakabayashi, 1996), are very inconsistent in their responses. This presumably means one of the following: (i) they are guessing randomly, as proposed in Schachter (1996: 75); (ii) they are transferring their L1 into their interlanguage, as proposed in Yuan (1994: 544). Recall that there is a significant percentage that allow long-distance reflexives in English where Spanish also allows this type of binding, namely in the case of 'él/ella mismo/a'; and (iii) a combination of (i) and (ii). Anyhow, it is not only this inconsistency that leads me to suggest that SPLE's interlanguage grammar is not under the sanction of Manzini and Wexler's (1987) GOVERNING CATEGORY PARAMETER, but also the fact that Spanish learners of English show some patterns that are not explained by any parameter value. In other words, there are some L2 learners who successfully constrain, for instance, the local domain of reflexives in Type 1 and Type 3 but not in Type 2 and Type 4. This could never happen if they were transferring their L1 binding parameters into English.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion to be drawn from this paper is that the analysis of interlanguage leads to contradictory results as to what should be regarded as innate in Principle A of the Binding Theory. As I have mentioned earlier, the experiments carried out on the interlanguage of Japanese and Serbo-Croatian students apparently indicate that Manzini and Wexler's (1987) GOVERNING CATEGORY PARAMETER and PROPER ANTECEDENT PARAMETER are part of Universal Grammar. However, the results obtained with Spanish learners of English, which show a clear pattern of inconsistency, give support to the claim that Universal Grammar is not available in Second Language

Acquisition. A further line of research that suggests itself would be the conducting of the same kind of experiment discussed in this paper with native speakers of other languages, with a view to finding out (or, at least, getting a better grasp of) what, if anything at all, is to be regarded as universal in anaphoric binding. It might be the case that the differences and similarities between L1 and L2 are, in some way, related to the surprising patterns obtained for Serbo-Croatian and Japanese learners of English, on the one hand, and Spanish learners of English, on the other. 

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THEME-ANTICS
AND THE THE-ERIE CLASS:
CRWIT(T)ICISM IN WRAP



DAV(O)ID ALONE WALTON
UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA¹



Dear, reader, who-air and where-air you be, a comment on my peculiar idiotsyncratic meth-odd—a prefatorial gust, a theoretical crumb (a morsail for Brechtfast). I have wheeled a well-oiled Trojan horse into the kingdom of my own discause as a raid on constructivism: a distanciation in order to c(w)rack my own containers, to deStable, even desTroy—a random parabolic tErrorist on the road to De-mask-us. My beloved idears: mobilized, wounded psychic soul-diers, the mind's trueps go into self-reflexive actshown. Here, then, something of a pedagogical post-mortem condition. Jester another assault on the symbollock order of things (being part of partriarchy, as the ego-testicle person I am)—all done using an extreme of consciousness technique. Let us re-joyce in his wake, as much as possible, given that the majority live in an age, not of student grants, but of student grunts.

tRapped in the shame old present-ation? Image-in the flowing theory class: Count/ess DRapula sores (or sAils) into the womb. Stew-dents are about to gRapple with their first feary listen. They expect stodge. dRaped in soul-enmity, hoping boredom will re-seed, DRapula fEels like an insect all at... but has this fAnta-sea that the theory class may become a the-erie glass—a magnidefying glass, a mnemonic compArment. How to insight stewdon'ts' interest? What if I mod-if-eye my rue-tine? How many times have I tried to hit them wither little criticism, and chainged a class on Wayne C. Booth into a wane C. booth? A talk on Bourdieu into a Bored-you? Has

an introduction to John Dryden turned into an intrude-eruction on a dry-don?
or din? How to-bring a little colour into an introduction to Culler? How to
inspyre? Chainge stwedon't expertations? Da dáh, da dáh, da dáh, da dáh—da
dáh, da dáh, da dáh, da dáh: In theory land must Derrida mean dullness,
numbness and ennui? I think not. How about crWit(t)icism in wRap? A the-
erie magnidefying glass might stArt like this:

the Φ ope of the trope²

Teleology, ideology, methodology,
I use these words with no apology:
binarism, structuralism, neo-Marxism—
I look into a structure and I see a schism.
I see a trope in a window, but it's not mimesis,
I see a trope on the page and I write my thesis:
'cos I'm the master of the metaphor, post-structuralist Pope—
and that's why they call me *the Pope of the trope*.

Yes, I'm the Pope of the trope, and I'm hereby ordained
D. Phil. in English, theoretically trained;
if you scrutinize my work you may look pained—
'cos you'll look more pained when I've duly explained.
'cos have I told ya the story a' my *aporia*?
it's play *jouissance*, it's euphoria.
Totalizing metaphors are bound to bore ya',
just generate the jargon and no one can ignore ya':
'cos I'm the master of the metaphor, post-structuralist Pope—
and that's why they call me *the Pope of the trope*.

I wear my Lévi-Strauss right up to my bonce
and this is my essential *différance*.
I'm on *parole* and I'm mighty visible
but don't get me wrong, I don't want to be *lisible*:
with my Hegelian dialectic and my ludic play
Western metaphysics, my legitimate prey.
I latch on to a trope and I pull it apart
'cos I'm Murcia's very own Roland Barthes.
'Cos I'm the master of the metaphor, post-structuralist Pope—
and that's why they call me *the Pope of the trope*.

Synchronic, diachronic, hegemonic, hermeneutic
these wee simple terms I find most therapeutic.
So cut all that traditionalist crap
'cos what we got here is a meta-rap.
I meta-in-a bar she said, "How do you do,
you're that wee post-structuralist, I know YOU!"
Do you wanna see a text? step into Descartes
I'll take you for a spin around Derrida.
Leavis is only Northrop small-Frye
'Open reverence before life' will never be my cry!
'Cos I'm the master of the metaphor, post-structuralist Pope—
and that's why they call me *the Pope of the trope*.

Anxiety of influence, reader response,
psychoanalytic concepts I'll ensconce.
With my affective stylistics, I'll hover like a ghoul
a Blooming Stanley Fish in a semiotic pool.
I'll hunt like a Wolfgang Iser too
in my teleological meta-ark floating on a glue
Of phenomenological indeterminacy, creative participation
in an ever evolving process of anticipation:
anticipation, frustration, retrospection, reconstruction,
the volcanic forces of semiological eruption;
I'm eccentric, phonocentric, egocentric, all that too—
I'm a regular Heideggerian, och-eye-de-noo!
'Cos I'm the master of the metaphor, post-structuralist Pope—
and that's why they call me *the Pope of the trope*.

(Ideally, here there would be a blood-vessel-bursting *electric* guitar solo by
an eleven-fingered Jimi Hendeca-x.)

Stwedon'ts may be stopped in their tracks, filled with exHaltation,
r(h)apsodic, s'daggered, stArtled—aMazed by the labyrinth of concepts awash
with noceans. Maybe the-erie ain't such a stRain. Art the end of the cause
DRapula could return to the wRap and discuss how it relates to the theme-
antics presented in class—thus it would act as a wRap in sofa that it is a
musical beginning and an end, it en-capes-you-lates. There is often
pleasure... memory may be lit up in recog-ignition and defamiliarEyes-ation,
in an exceedus of meaning, in Sir-Real technique.

Putting forum on an idear... *Ode on a Grecian Urn*? One can pitcher a class on narrative discourse: an-author piece of crWit(t)icism capturing narrative dis-cores in the categorial GeNette. *Ars Critica*: The Re-loaned BARTHES of cWrit(t)icism? Not only a right-early but a read-dearly text? PerRaps a little motif-ation is kneaded? Another wRap? The art of memory—gong for a song? Sow, lack of motif-ation may reseed with:

the narratology rap³

(1)

Here's my thesis
it's about diegesis
it's about the art
of Roland Barthes.
And what you get
is a dose of Genette.
Now listen, prof,
don't you scoff
at the poetics of prose
of Todorov.
For narrative schemas
don't forget Greimas.
Don't get in a flap.
Don't fall in the trap.
'Cos what we got here's
the narratology rap.

(2)

I'm a glossologist
chronologist, discourse-ologist,
morphologist, philologist,
demythologist
anachronologist-technologist
fancy phraseologist,
neologist-apologist
narrative archaeologist.

CHORUS:

So, here's my thesis
it's about diegesis
it's about the art
of Roland Barthes.
And what you get
is a dose of Genette.
Now listen, prof,
don't you scoff
at the poetics of prose
of Todorov.
For narrative schemas
don't forget Greimas.
Don't get in a flap.
Don't fall in the trap.
'Cos what we got here's
the narratology rap.

(3)

Break your fiction to pieces
with a little diegesis.
Make it your vocation
to study narration.
Subject it all
to focalization.
Order, frequency, duration
temporal obligations;
diegetic education
narratological revelation
'cos representation
has no foundation
only annihilation
under our interrogation.

CHORUS:

So, here's my thesis
it's about diegesis
it's about the art...

(4)

Humanist discourse
is mendacious,
fugacious, tenacious
fallacious & pugnacious.
It's capacious, ungracious,
loquacious & vexatious:
always with its pretence
of being perspicacious.

CHORUS:

So, here's my thesis
it's about diegesis
it's about the art...

(5)

I've got the hermeneutic code
to crack the enigma
exposing conventions
like the marks of a stigma.
I got the gnomic, symbolic,
even the proairetic
which I paint on the discourse
of my theoretic—
It ain't no cosmetic!
Extra or intra
or meta-diegetic;
homo or hetero
never make me apathetic:
but frenetic, aesthetic
athletic and "Genette-ic."

CHORUS:

So, here's my thesis
it's about diegesis
it's about the art...

C'est une chose anormale de vivre.
(Eugène Ionesco, *Rhinocéros*, Act I)

But I'm not so think as you drunk I am.
(Sir J. C. Squire, "Ballade of Soporific Absorbition")

Teaching Derrida (Dear-reader)? De-constrictive philosophy? Then,
perhaps, John Dryden may be of some assistance:

Of seeming arms to make a short essay,
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day.
(*Cymon and Iphigenia*, l. 407-8)

Abyssent meaning⁴

A transcendental signified
I would be if I weren't pie-eyed
A fully perpendicular sober pronoun
Were it not for the fact that I'm out on the town
I could be an absolute foundation
But drinking is my only occupation
I don't need old Einsteins's gumption
Splitting the atom of phonocentral assumption.

CHORUS:

'Cos I'm an absent meaning
A linguistic gleaning
A verbose bird of deconstructional proceeding
A speech sound transparent
An image non apparent
An innumerable differential of Derridean double meaning—Yea!

I drink beer at such a rate
All I leave behind is a self-effacing trace,
In a characteristic move
Signification is deferred,
I don't really know the weaning of the mord.

CHORUS:

'Cos I'm an absent meaning
A linguistic gleaning...

Face in the gutter,
Drunk and bleeding
A horizontal pronoun lost in double reading,
Can I be the guarantor of absolute meaning
When my stomach's on the ground and my curry's on the ceiling?

CHORUS:

'Cos I'm an absent meaning
A linguistic gleaning...

Shall I praise the god
Of rhet-or-ric?
For my words I wear
Like a punk wears a purple rinse in his hair.
For my songs are words
and my words are wind
So I declare,
Therefore my songs are a lot of hot air (*repeat four times*).

(CHORUS AND REPEAT VERSE ONE)

A NOTE ON MOTORVATION

PerWRaps the redear may think that the presentation of material in this form is merely designed to revamp the class for Drapula but students may adorn their written work by pRobing their own creativity. For example, in a text book I put together with a colleague⁵ I present (and simplify) aspects of literary theory in the form of dialogues (there are "conversations" between the "author" and the ghosts of Freud and Lacan, fictionalized debates between reader-response critics, a schizophrenic conversation between David and Walton, two "students" who turn the blurb on the back of a bottle of face cream into a poem). A number of my students have adapted the dialogic form to the requirements of the academic essay and have reported that they felt considerably motivated by this way of working. I might add that I have encouraged this form of writing not only in students of Literary Theory but also in The History of Thought (see the Vermiform Appendix below for a

possible way of presenting names, ideas and concepts in this subject in a cryptic form).

A FEW RIDDLING QUEST-IONS FOR THE FEARY GLASS

(Conundrums for the theory-oriented postgraduate: explain and/or analyse the following:)

The politico-religious vessel upon which male power wood have to be unlocked and based: *PA-tree-Ark-key*.

The drunken overwrought Lacanized reading of pa-tree-ark-key: *mAle angst-stink(t) against her—agangster—a gAngst-her*.

Lacan's favourite mis-Stress: *Miss-Nomer*. If she was not available any one or more of the following: *Miss Hap, Miss Communication, Miss Construction, Miss Appropriate, Miss Understanding, Miss Adventure, Miss Calculation, Miss Leading, Miss Chance, Miss Chievous, Miss Fit, Miss Giving*. There have been rumours that he had some associations with *Miss Ogyne and Miss Ology and was particularly interested in Miss ive*.

Desire according to psychoanalysis may be iLLUSTRated by *sMothering it*.

The Fraudian sleep, I mean, slip: *it's not so much that we talk in our sleep, but that we sleep in our talk*.

On political criticism: *a rebel without a cause is rebel without cLaws, or as useless as a cause without a rebel. A rebel without a clause...*

What is needed is an attack on the spread of patriarchal power, the male dominated gaze, an attempt to empow(h)er; in short, *the deMassculineyesation of the world*.

Lac(k)anian view of *homo sapiens*: *the Other the creator; man the crater*.

The cultural materialist is fwrighting on behalf of *the war-king classes*.

Sexist (reductive) Freudian theory coalesced with historical method: *always consider the hysterical context and remember all is materphorical*.

VERMIFORM APPENDIX

To finish, an appendix of other possibilities. This is vermiform because it has wormed its way into this paper and, like the appendix in *homo sapiens*, is vestigial. Thus, it can be removed without affecting the overall health of the host, although it may prove interesting to the scalpellic.

Juggernaut . . . n. 1. any terrible force, especially one that destroys or that demands complete self-sacrifice. 2. Britain: a very large lorry for transporting goods by road, especially one that travels throughout Europe. Juggernaut . . . n. Hinduism. 1. a crude idol of Krishna worshipped at Puri and throughout Orissa and Bengal. At an annual festival the idol is wheeled through the town on a gigantic chariot and devotees are supposed to have formerly thrown themselves under the wheels in the hope of going straight to paradise. 2. a form of Krishna miraculously raised by Brahma from the state of a crude idol to that of a living god. . . . (*Collins English Dictionary*)

How about warming to a little Hisdairy of Thaw't,
with the "Philosophical Jargonaught"?

(I might have written "HIStory", but as the pun has been eating at the Western brain ad knawseum...). Here's a bitter foolosophy:

φphilosophical jargonaught⁶

I'm a philosophical jargonaught
I'm addicted to long words
and I'm somewhat overwrought
I'm a philosophical jargonaught
I'm a porcine word-devourer
and I've got to get my snort.
I've got words to eat
concepts to excrete
new trends to follow
I go "bleat, bleat, bleat, bleat."
Words in the brain
are like rats in a drain

scurrying ever to and fro'
to drive you all insane.
So call the pied piper
pick off words like a sniper;
make every song you play
a porous conceptual diaper.
'Cos the language of the common man
is nothing but a snare
for the likes of me
to set free
a lot of A. J. hot Ayer.

CHORUS:

I'm a philosophical jargonaught
I'm addicted to long words
and I'm somewhat overwrought
I'm a philosophical jargonaught
I'm a porcine word-devourer
and I've got to get my snort.

I met-a-physician
on-to-a-logical problem
whose bible was the *Kama Sartre*
(S/he lived just near Montmartre).
S/he said, "to be or not to be
I'm a sexistentialist:
to purge the id like an exorcist—
this is the Freudian quest-John.
Be a Christian martyr
to this desiderata
chew on the gum of the *ergo sum*
To repression be a Tartar."

CHORUS

I said, "cor blimey crikey!
s/he's Schelling the human psyche
as grist for the old John Stuart Mill
s/he's a John Locke, and found the key!"
Here was the strip-tease of Humean Nietzsche

but I'd dropped my Kierkegaard
and become a Kanting preacher.
S/he wore her learning like a flower
plucked from the ivory tower
and donned pretence
like the eloquence
of a budding Schopenhauer.

CHORUS

Bertrand Russell up some thoughts
on freedom and democracy;
map out your analyses
with a little Descartes-ography.
Ockham's razor is a cleaver
so dam up jargon like a beaver
support the balcony of thought
with a Georg Cantor-lever.
I've lanced the Robert Boyle
of empirical philosophy
till concepts ooze linguistic Marx
as I face up to pogonotrophy.

CHORUS

Stone me, Eurythus of Croton,
who said I'm a man with the brain of a photon?
I'm full of adulation
for mental flagellation (who cares, come on everybody!).
Life's too short for fooling and fighting (my fiend)
I exist above the world of scratching and biting:
philosophy's my pleasure dome—
in jargon-land, my only home.
I spew out a lot of Kant
for a man with the brain of an ant
and my categorical imperative
is only an apéritif
for a cocktail of nonsense
which spews out of my subconscious....

CHORUS.

And now for a little *condemnsation* and disPlayment; some horse-play—injecting some pleasure into the reality *principle*. Here, some strange (*unheimlich*) violence to Freudian feary: a maniFistation of uncannyscious desIre with the "Freud-Jung Blues" (performed on the phallic stage):

freud-jung schizophrenic blues⁷

Infantile cerebral paralysis
Has got my mind in its lock and chain.
Infantile cerebral paralysis
Has got my mind in its lock and chain.
Nervous cough and squinting of the eyes
(Complete with visual disturbances) are my bane.

Well, I woke up this morning,
And probing my cranium, what did I find?
Well, I woke up this morning,
And probing my cranium, what did I find?
The ghost of Sigmund Freud,
Had been haunting my pathogenic disease-creating mind.

He stripped off my Freudian slip,
To reveal the marks of a quip
That had been lurking in repression
Behind a societal zip.
My unconscious memory
Had me tight under lock and key, temporarily;
My fetishistic, narcissistic compunction
Had blocked up my cerebral junction, psycho-Hitchcockianarily.

Well, Jungian psychology
Argued psychoneurotically
With Freud's libidinal etiology.
Buried deep archetypally (where behavioural instincts roam free)
Was the son of Spiritus Mundi (or maybe it was Tuesday).
Oh, the child of the magna mater
Was making love with Freudian data
Oedipally.

My Freud-Jung schizophrenic mind
 Had inwardly recoiled,
 I awoke when a voice called out to me:
 "Jung man, how d'ya want your ego,
 Freud or boiled?"
 The shell of my ego was cracked
 And the beast of the id attacked, lathyism-ically.
 And now all I can do is stare
 From the depths of my analyst's chair
 To Freu-id knows where...

(fade with Marquis de Sade-uctive alto-psycho-saxual solo). 

NOTES

1. Two of these songs, "The Pope of the Trope" and "The Narratology Rap," were performed at the AEDEAN conference in Seville in 1997. The performances were part of a round table entitled, "Questions of Motivation, Assessment, and Pedagogical Technique in the Teaching and Assessment of Literary Theory." The name I use to sign this piece of writing is partly inspired by a felicitous mistake which appeared on a medical form. In the place of David Alan Walton, I found myself rendered into the solitary David Alone Walton. The voiding of my Christian name is my own invention, based on a similar change. I would like to thank José Angel García Landa (who shared the round table with me) for requesting this piece of writing, and thus encouraging me to get these ideas down on paper.

2. This rap is designed to be played over variations of an E7#9 chord, which adds a level of tonal ambiguity—being a chord which, when played on the guitar at the ninth fret, sounds both the major and minor thirds, so seems to be in both the major and minor keys simultaneously.

3. I wrote this to be performed without any particular musical backing.

4. The music written for this song is in the style of British punk-rock: words shouted over frenzied, aggressive power cords.

5. Keith Gregor and David Walton, *Critical Approaches to Literature in English: a Practical Guide* (Murcia: Diego Marín, 1997).

6. This was written to be recited (rapidly), rather than performed to music.

7. Written to twelve-bar blues played with ninth chords, with some rhythmic and structural variations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY SPECTOGRAPHY INTERTEXTOGRAPHY

Any of the following may be said to haunt these pages: Bertolt Brecht, Jonathan Culler, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Roland Barthes, Pierre Bourdieu, John Dryden, Karl Marx, Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jack Derrida, Paul de Man, Northrop Frye, F. R. Leavis, Stanley Fish, Wolfgang Iser, the rappers (*Public Enemy*, Guru etc.), the blues tradition (B. B. & C^o), Jimi Hendrix, Wayne C. Booth, George Hegel, Martin Heidegger, René Descartes, Harold Bloom, James Joyce, Christine Brooke-Rose, Julia Kristeva, Eugène Ionesco, Sir J. C. Squire, Bram Stoker, Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Gérard Genette, Tzvetan Todorov, A. J. Greimas, Albert Einstein, *Collins English Dictionary*, A. J. Ayer, the author(s) of the *Kama Sutra*, Jean-Paul Sartre, Friedrich Schelling, John Stuart Mill, John Locke, Friedrich Nietzsche, David Hume, Søren Kierkegaard, Immanuel Kant, Arthur Schopenhauer, Bertrand Russell, William of Ockham, Georg Cantor, Robert Boyle, Eurythus of Croton, Eddie Cochran, John Lennon and Paul McCartney, Marc Almond, Carl Jung, the Marquis de Sade...



REJOINDER:

A BRIEF COMMENT ON "THEME: TOPIC OR DISCOURSE FRAMEWORK?"

ANGELA DOWNING
UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE



In the article of the above title (*Miscelánea* 17), María A. Gómez González (MGG for brevity) discusses *inter alia* some of my own work in the area of Theme and Topic, together with Halliday's (1994 [1985]) notion of Topical Theme; her aim is that of "forging some sort of consensus" with regard to the notion of "aboutness" as expressed by these and other authors (1996:136). Whether such a consensus is achieved, or even achievable, is not my concern here. It is cheering to feel that one's work has contributed, in however small a way, to the ongoing debate on the validity of certain categories and functions proposed now long ago for the analysis of texts, and which continue to evoke re-interpretations. Furthermore, a good deal of her summary is sound. Nevertheless, there are in MGG's article a few references to my own work which could lead to error or confusion regarding my own stance; they therefore require clarification. It is in this spirit that the following comment is made.

On pages 128-129 MGG compares two analyses of a short extract from a book review on Freud made in Downing (1991) and Downing and Locke (1992) respectively, imputing to me in the latter work an analysis that the co-authors of that volume did not make, namely that "*Towards the end of his life* is analysed as Topical Theme despite its not being a referential participant, while *he*, the initial referential participant in the two subsequent clauses, is barred from this category" (*sic*) (MGG 1996: 129). This misconception appears to rest on the false assumption that the two analyses shared the same textual and interpersonal objectives. The reality is quite different.

In Downing (1991), a research article published in *Word*, my aim was to propose a modification of the Hallidayan concept of Theme and in particular, to call into question the suitability of the identification of topical Theme as

the first ideational element of the clause (Halliday, *op. cit.*). My proposal included two features: first, the retention of Theme as initial constituent whose discourse functions I attempted to specify as setting up different kinds of frameworks (participant, spatio-temporal and discourse frameworks); second, the adoption of Topic (what the message is about) as a discourse category, but dissociated from Theme as initial constituent. This separation of the Theme from Topic responds to the fact that in texts the first ideational element (Halliday's Topical Theme) may be realised, among other possibilities, by a circumstantial Adjunct which sets, for instance, a spatial or temporal framework (for the notion of "framework" cf Chafe 1976, Lowe 1987). Such a framework does not respond, in my opinion, to the notion of "aboutness" as expected of a topical Theme which might, presumably, set up a topic chain.

The first sentence of the Freud text illustrates this: *Towards the end of his life, Freud concluded that he was not a great man but that he had discovered great things.* According to Halliday's criterion, *Towards the end of his life* would be analysed as topical Theme of the first clause, while *he* would be topical Theme of the second and the third clauses, yet *Freud* would not be analysed at all. This seems to me counter-intuitive. While *Towards the end of his life* sets up a temporal framework, it is *Freud* that sets up a topic chain. *Freud* would therefore appear to fit better the notion of topical Theme (were Halliday's term to be retained); yet since *Freud* is not initial and Halliday does not allow for more than one ideational element as Theme, this avenue of analysis is excluded.

Consequently, there is in my view a disadvantage in tying Topic to initial element. I therefore suggested "a dissociation of Theme in the sense of 'initial element' from Topic. . . . In other words, while all topics would still be ideational, the first ideational element is not necessarily the topic" (Downing 1991: 127). Significantly, my own analysis of the Freud text in the article "An Alternative Approach to Theme: A Systemic-functional Perspective" (1991: 127-128) illustrated both Theme and Topic, and included the analysis of *he* as topic in the subordinate clauses. Incidentally, this analysis is reproduced in Downing (1990b), with similar comments, a fact which MGG fails to mention. She also fails to include this publication in the Works Cited.

The analysis of the same extract in Downing and Locke (1992: 233), by contrast, addresses exclusively the notion of Theme. This responded to a deliberate methodological strategy, since the context of the analysis is a brief subsection on Multiple Themes in a university grammar for students, in which Topic is accorded a separate section, with different illustrations. In ad-

dition, the authors state explicitly that "Themes in subordinate and embedded clauses are not indicated" (1992: 233); consequently, *he . . . he* in lines 1 and 2 of the text are not analysed.

A more attentive reading would have enabled MGG to have appreciated these differences and to avoid attributing to me an unwarranted analysis, despite evidence to the contrary. This evidence can be specified as follows: i) my own analysis of *Towards the end of his life* as Adjunctive marked Theme is correctly reproduced below the text in her article; ii) Topical Theme does not figure as an option in Downing and Locke (1992). Indeed, with the exception of Downing (1995), which followed Martin's (1992) terminology and restricted the term to important participants which establish a referential chain, I no longer use it.

As regards recursive thematic elements, it is indeed the case that recursive ideational (representational) Themes are not explicitly indicated in the 1992 grammar. This is for reasons of economy. Recursion as "the property of language to repeat any unit indefinitely" is introduced in the first chapter, dealing with basic concepts, as one of the means of linguistic expansion. There is, therefore, no question of abandoning recursion in that volume. Such an analysis based on recursive elements might in fact be preferable in spatio-temporal Themes such as the italicized elements in "*In the east before the time of Buddha there had been ascetics,*" rather than considering the spatial and temporal Adjuncts as one single point of departure as in Downing (1991: 134). One could likewise posit a whole string of circumstantials, including Manner, Cause etc. I am grateful to MGG for triggering this speculation, which I do not pursue further here. Admitting recursive circumstantial Adjuncts is quite a different matter, however, from analysing these Adjuncts as topical Themes.

To round off this clarifying comment, I will add that my view of Theme as expressed in Downing 1990a, Downing 1990b and Downing and Locke 1992 is basically the same as the conclusion reached in my 1991 proposal (which was given in a shorter version in the 1990a paper). My view of Topic, however, is developing, and the changes involved may well be reflected in recent and future publications. While for my part, I will do my best to make my position clear, I can only trust that future interpretation does not derive from misconception. ✎

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REVIEWS

RESEÑAS

Alfred Arteaga
Chicano Poetics: Heterotexts and Hybridities
 Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Since its inception in the 60s, Chicano criticism, as well as Chicano literature, has grown in sophistication and volume. With titles such as Ramón Saldívar's *Chicano Narrative*, Héctor Calderón and José David Saldívar's *Criticism in the Borderlands*, not to mention Anzaldúa's *Borderlands*, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that we are rapidly moving into an "age of Chicano criticism," as Angie Chabram remarks (1991: 128). Alfred Arteaga's *Chicano Poetics* adds to Chicano criticism a dialogic relationship with Western criticism, and a deep preoccupation with a kind of criticism that is politically and socially relevant. As opposed to some Chicano critics who do not see how Western criticism (be it French feminism or Poststructuralism, among many other possibilities) can dictate what Chicanos find in their literature (Yabro-Bejarano 1996: 208), Arteaga, like Saldívar in *Chicano Narrative*, José Limón in *Mexican Ballads*, *Chicano Poems*, holds a dialogue with Western criticism (especially Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination*), with poetic devices in Nahuatl, and with (Lesbian) Feminism to create a "hybrid" critical discourse which he alternates with his own poetry from *Cantos*. Arteaga's hybrid text moves easily between "the two alliances" of Chicano literature and criticism: Western culture and education, and deep cultural bonds with the Mexican and Latin American tradition (Héctor Calderón, qtd. by Angie Chabram 1991: 138). In *Chicano Poetics* Arteaga offers an elegant prose and an inspired poetry to flesh out the nature and importance of this hybrid identity, its formal features and meanings, together with its alliances and political implications.

In "Mestizaje/Difrasismo," the first chapter, Arteaga sets out his poetic task in writing his book of poetry, *Cantos*, as "working out poetically some

sense of how one is Chicano" (1997: 5). What follows in the book is the exploration of this sense of being Chicano, an identity which, far from being fixed, stable and univocal, is always in the process of being created. Mestizaje or hybridity is the main feature of the Chicano subject, and Arteaga elaborates on the different levels of hybridity in the Chicano body, homeland and language. The Chicano, being the result of mestizaje or miscegenation, is racially hybrid, a mestizo, half European and half Indian. As to where s/he resides, the Chicano can be seen as an immigrant border-crosser from the point of view of the United States, or as an emigrant from the Mexican point of view. None of these stable concepts of nation, however, do justice to the ambiguous territory of the Chicano. Arteaga problematizes the concept of "nation" and borderline in his exploration of the two figurations of Chicano space: Aztlán and the borderlands. In his description of Aztlán, Arteaga goes back to this mythic homeland as delineated at the 1st Chicano National Conference by the poet Alurista. What Arteaga adds to "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán" is a careful explanation of the political consequences of Aztlán: the reversal of the traditional tenets of Anglo-American historiography, and the subversion of traditional categories such as who is foreign, who is deportable and who is at home in the United States. But if Aztlán sounds too much like a nationalistic and essentialist myth of origins, Arteaga offers a powerful corrective through the concept of the borderlands, and its tendency to dismantle national boundaries, as described by Gloria Anzaldúa in *Borderlands/La Frontera*. The last level of hybridity has to do with language, as Arteaga explains: "Chicano speech is like the mestizo body and the borderlands home: it simultaneously reflects multiple forces at play and asserts its hybridity" (1997: 16). As it appears in the poetry of Anzaldúa and Alurista, their hybrid language articulates the cultural conflicts of the Chicano.

"Heterosexual Reproduction" is a critique of Octavio Paz's essentialist vision of Mexicans as the product of miscegenation (as "los hijos de la Chingada"). Arteaga reveals the flawed logic which idealizes the Spaniards as racially pure, and goes beyond the first sexual encounter (and its analogue, "cultural production") between Cortés and la Malinche to explore a second act of hybridization as a result of Anglo-American colonialism. For, as Arteaga reminds us, "not only was Mexico conquered by Spain, but Northern Mexico by the United States." In Arteaga's analysis, Rolando J. Romero, Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga have problematized and opposed this paradigm of cultural genesis and reproduction which is patriarchal and patrilineal, and which establishes the father as analogue of God and of Adam as namer and disseminator of language. In "Texts, Pro-Texts, Con-Texts: Gonzalo

Guerrero in the *Chronicles of Indies*," Romero presents a counter text which reconceives colonial patriarchy and the role of the father. Guerrero is the father who rejected the colonial project and became the first Spaniard to assimilate Mexican-Indian language, religion and culture. For that, his narrative is either denigrated or dropped from history. Anzaldúa also erases the figure of the father in *Borderlands*. For her, the site of new hybridizing is the border, which she describes as "una herida abierta." This open wound engenders a third country—a border culture—and a new consciousness, "la conciencia de la mestiza," tolerant and inclusive. In *Last Generation* Cherríe Moraga suppresses the figure of the father and, like Anzaldúa, she is not concerned with reproducing the body but with reproducing the body of culture.

In "Tricks of GenderXing" Arteaga explores the issue of hybridity as he focuses on the writing of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the author of *Inundación Castálida* (1698), and the ways in which she challenges the categories and parameters of the Old World. Arteaga toys with Sor Juana's Cross, that crossing which is implicit in her name, and which becomes her most effective rhetorical device. Her "crossing" appears on different levels: one of them is the "extensive heteroglossia" in her text, a mixture of "varios metros, idiomas y estilos." Spanish, Nahuatl, Latin and Afro-Spanish speech, as well as a crossing of different voices, create her particular heterotext, what Arteaga terms "a New World of literary miscegenation" (1997: 49). Her "poetics of the cross" crosses stylistic, linguistic and thematic borders and expresses the inescapable presences of the New World, the female other and the racially different.

"An Other Tongue" had been previously published as the introduction to *An Other Tongue* and it blends harmoniously into the topics of hybridity and the heterotext of Arteaga's new study. Carefully crafted, the article places Chicano poetry, which is multilingual and hybrid, in the context of US monological discourse activities. This chapter holds a dialogue with Bakhtinian theory and works as a corrective for some of its tenets, such as the assertion that poetry is formally monologic. Arteaga presents Chicano poetry as an example of a multivoiced poetry born on the borderlands which replicates the style of quotidian Chicano speech. As opposed to modernist polyglot poetry, which in Arteaga's brilliant analysis "functions as a self-referential and tautological affirmation of the natural telos" (1997: 74), Chicano poetry subverts the authoritative lines of American literature and culture and its monological tendencies. From Bakhtinian theory Arteaga makes a smooth transition to colonial discourse criticism as he focuses on the discourse practices that subjugate colonized peoples within the United

States, such as Native Americans and Chicanos. Although both Native Americans and Chicanos have been internally colonized, Anglo-America has had no difficulty in containing and marginalizing the Indian and rendering him savage and subhuman, a wild creature who would profit from the conquest. But Anglo-America has had more difficulty in arguing for the inhumanity of the Chicano: in so far as he is Hispanic, the Chicano is human. The exploration of the ways in which the Chicano subverts the traditional trope of America as Eden and the Anglo-American as Adam is thoroughly brilliant and clairvoyant: Hispanic America reminds American Adams that they were not the first on the American Eden. To contain and diminish Chicano presence Anglo-America has resorted to a new conceptualization of history, not chronological but spatial, from East to West. In this light the Chicano presence before American conquest is dismissed. Thus de-hispanized, the Chicano is depicted as a savage who had produced no literature until taught English. As a response to such monological discourse activities which minimize and contain the presence of the Chicano, Chicano poetry has opted for hybridization and linguistic "mestizaje", for a poetry of the border.

"Beasts and Jagged Strokes of Color" centres on the poetry of Lorna Dee Cervantes, Juan Felipe Herrera and Alurista as examples of a "poetics of hybridization." But before focusing on the poetry, Arteaga goes into an illuminating discussion about the border and its cultural and political implications. The border can be considered as a thin line which differentiates the US from Mexico. The definite and hard-edged limits of this thin line instill confidence in national definitions and determine national narratives or monologues of ideal, finalized selves. The logic of the thin border leads Arteaga to establish a parallel between the linearity of the border and the narration of a history understood as a narrow, unequivocal line: "like the border, the line of history defines nations" (1997: 94). This thin border contrasts with the concept of borderlands as understood by Anzaldúa as a constant state of transition, negotiation and heterogeneity. This "vague and undetermined place" is misunderstood by Mexicans such as Octavio Paz, who in *Labyrinth of Solitude* expresses his abhorrence for the "lack of definite meaning" of the Chicano as opposed to the Mexican or the US American. As contested by Alurista, Lorna Dee Cervantes and Juan Felipe Herrera, the Chicano subject is not a defect or a negation (as understood by Mexicans), nor a fixed stereotype (as understood by Anglo-Americans). As inhabitants of the border, the chicanos are not reduced to the binary oppositions implicit in the thin line of the border. The coming to be of the Chicano as played out in the poetry Arteaga analyses is unfinalized, hybridized and dialogic.

In "Blood Points" Arteaga applies some of his conclusions about the linear narrative, its implications for the analysis of two short stories by Ana Castillo and Denise Chávez, and the novels *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* and *The Revolt of the Cockroach People* by Zeta Acosta, and *Soldados* and *Dogs from Illusion* by Charley Trujillo. Arteaga explains how the familiar assumptions about time, space and causality, as well as the linear narration of a life which spans the traditional beginning, middle and end are suspended in contemporary Chicano literature. Narrative in all these works destabilizes the authority of the line; they deconstruct the concept of the border, of a linear history and of a home, the United States, defined by the thin line—and logic—of the border.

In the final "Late Epic, Post Postmoderns," Arteaga retakes the question he anticipated at the beginning of his study as to where to locate Chicano consciousness and subjectivity. What Arteaga calls "Late Epic," the *Historia de la Nueva Méjico*, by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà (1610), a text that represents a continuation of the Hispanic element, a sense of *hispano* that is imbued with patriarchy and colonialism, is placed side by side with other works, by Alurista or Gloria Anzaldúa, which deny the hispano component in mestizaje and define the Chicano as Indian. Both definitions of the Chicano, as Hispano or Indio, however, attempt at constructing a unified identity which does not reflect the hybridity of the Chicano. As opposed to these two options, Arteaga presents what he calls the "Post Postmodern," *I am Joaquín*, the poem that dismantles the authoritative linearities and presents instead a series of simultaneous identities that create an unfinalized subject. Arteaga brings the themes that have articulated his discussion of hybridity and the heterotext to an eloquent conclusion that retakes the discourse of boundaries and the implications of linearity as he expresses what it is and means to be Chicano: "The Xicano is the subject of Aztlán the cultural nation but not the state and not subject to capricious borderlines. It is not a state of being but rather an act, xicando, the progressive tense, ando xicando, actively articulating the self" (1997: 155).

Chicano Poetics offers a critical discourse engaged with questions such as internal colonialism, racism, sexism and political domination, which never loses sight of the reality of the Chicano in the US. In so doing, Arteaga steers contemporary Chicano critical debate to a criticism that is socially and politically relevant, and which has no qualms about using or correcting traditional tenets of Western criticism. *Chicano Poetics* dispels the fears of a criticism that colonizes and contains the meanings of Chicano literature, for Arteaga's arguments never "dictate" what we should find in the text but dialogues respectfully with it. Arteaga's critical suggestion is one of multiple

alliances, a hybrid critical discourse "on the borderlands." The clairvoyant and crystal-clear analysis of the interconnections between literature, culture, language and racial politics makes of *Chicano Poetics* a pleasure to read, a brilliant articulation of Chicano subjectivity, and an extremely valuable contribution to Chicano criticism.

ANA MANZANAS CALVO
UNIVERSIDAD DE CASTILLA-LA MANCHA

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Kristin Bluemel
Experimenting on the Borders of Modernism:
Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage

Athens (GA): U of Georgia P, 1997.
 209 p.: \$50.00 cloth.

In *Experimenting on the Borders of Modernism*, Kristin Bluemel conducts an intelligent, detailed study of *Pilgrimage's* classical critical interpretations such as Jean Radford's psychoanalytic criticism and Gloria Fromm's biographical reading. This enables Bluemel to find her own critical path and makes her book an excellent starting point for readers to conduct their own

critical readings. In the course of her discussion Bluemel proposes positioning *Pilgrimage* in the intersection between canonical modernist fiction and "marginal" experimental women's fiction. From a solidly founded position in feminist literary criticism, she also offers a useful insight into gender issues in her study of Woolf's celebrated description of *Pilgrimage* as "the psychological sentence of the feminine gender" and Richardson's view of *Pilgrimage* as "a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism."

In Chapter 2, "The Missing Sex of *Pilgrimage*," Bluemel applies Marilyn Farwell's notion of "lesbian narrative space" to the novel and offers a close and detailed reading of other lesbian interpretations by Lynette Felber and Carol Watts. In Bluemel's view, homoerotic desire functions in the novel as a way of presenting its "missing" sexuality. She dissipates the apparent silence about Miriam's physical and sexual life with her theory that *Pilgrimage* presents female sexuality in new and unconventional ways. A proof of the increasing number of feminist lesbian interpretations of *Pilgrimage* is J. L. Winning's dissertation "Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage* as Archive of the Self," which locates issues of sexual identity in the novel and uncovers the coded exploration of gender, femininity and lesbian sexual identity.

In the chapter entitled "Science, Class and the Problem of the Body," Bluemel offers a convincingly argued comparison of *Pilgrimage* to dentistry, grounded on an article Richardson wrote about dentistry. What lies behind this comparison is the postmodern preoccupation with the body and literary criticism's interest in fleshed and incarnate concepts as a reaction against the unhoused intellect (Eagleton 1996: 69-70). Moreover, Bluemel reads *Pilgrimage* as a self-conscious commentary on the harmful myths that surround representations of women and illness. For her, "*Pilgrimage* represents science and medicine as the authoritative discourses of the period while locating 'true' knowledge elsewhere: in individual consciousness" (1997: 120).

It must be added that although Bluemel's detailed readings of some passages from *Pilgrimage* are quite sensitive, an imprecision can be traced in her statement that "Miriam eventually drives von Heber [a marriageable doctor] away because he believes in her false, performing self, in the female body that exists for others as 'an object of romantic veneration'" (1997: 91). This inaccuracy comes from ignoring the role a Jew plays in von Heber's departure from Miriam's life. This fact is disclosed to Miriam by Mrs Bailey, who tells her that von Heber has been driven away from her by Mr Mendizabal's machinations. Miriam's thoughts picture this situation in a

alliances, a hybrid critical discourse "on the borderlands." The clairvoyant and crystal-clear analysis of the interconnections between literature, culture, language and racial politics makes of *Chicano Poetics* a pleasure to read, a brilliant articulation of Chicano subjectivity, and an extremely valuable contribution to Chicano criticism.

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UNIVERSIDAD DE CASTILLA-LA MANCHA

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wider panorama and recognize in it the familiar pattern of a Jew interposing in her way to a desirable marriage:

Dr von Heber had been saved. The fascinating eyes and snorting smile had saved him; coming out of space to tell him she was a flirt. 'She adore me; hah! I tell you she adore me,' he would say. It was history repeating itself. Max and Ted. Again after all these years. A Jew. (Richardson, *Interim* 434)

Moreover, Mr Mendizabal's influence on Miriam flaws the "womanly woman" role she is rehearsing in Dr von Heber's presence:

She turned the pages of her note-book and came upon the scrap crossed through by Mr Mendizabal. She read the words through, forcing them to accept a superficial meaning. Disturbance about ideas would destroy the perfect serenity that was demanded of her." (Richardson, *Interim* 390)

Bluemel maintains that *Pilgrimage* "fails to resolve the questions it has prominently placed center stage. Dimple Hill and March Moonlight, the two 'endings' of the novel, leave readers wondering what the 'real' conclusion to *Pilgrimage* may be" (1997: 121). She offers an account of the biographical, feminist and other explanations that have been given for *Pilgrimage's* lack of an ending. This preoccupation about the apparent absence of a Grail that would bring the novel together can be related to the fact that despite modernism's parodical fragmentation of classical realism, the canonical modernist work of art still strives for the idea of wholeness inherent in its autonomy and introspection, because there is no fragmentation without the idea of integrity (Eagleton: 1997). Thus, it could be said that *Pilgrimage* is more modernist in its openness than other canonical modernist works of art in their closeness.

Bluemel reads *Pilgrimage* in terms of Richardson's alternate literary forms in order to reframe the problem of endings and of the body. The body struggling with death is seen by her as Richardson's illustration of the impossibility of narrative endings. Bluemel argues that Richardson's other writings, including articles in dental and political magazines and short fiction, encourage the reader to break conventional ways of reading in terms of beginnings, middles and ends. She explores Richardson's short fiction paying special attention to the thematic treatment of endings and the limitations stream of consciousness imposes on her representations of death. Thus she contends that *Pilgrimage* will continue to elude closure, holding

that "*Pilgrimage's* perverse refusal to provide any sense of an ending" is one of its most radical experiments that differentiate it from the rest of modernist fiction.

MARÍA FRANCISCA LLANTADA DÍAZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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Peter William Evans and Celestino Deleyto, eds.
***Terms of Endearment:
 Hollywood Romantic Comedy of the 1980s and 1990s***
 Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1998.

Dismissed too hastily by critics like Brian Henderson as a genre on the verge of extinction in the late 1970s, Hollywood romantic comedy has nonetheless proved to be in quite good health throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In an attempt to retain its popularity and appeal for contemporary audiences, at a time when the genre's traditional commitment to the open celebration of heterosexual love and marriage can no longer be unproblematically validated, romantic comedy seems to have initiated once again a process of rearticulation of its narrative and representational strategies, which attests to the flexibility and resilience of what has been regarded as an apparently rigid, fixed set of conventions. Drawing on this idea, the essays gathered in *Terms of Endearment*, edited by Peter William Evans and Celestino Deleyto in

1998, provide the readers with an engaging and highly readable overview of the various ways in which romantic comedy has strived to alter both its formal and ideological boundaries without entirely abandoning its original generic standpoints.

In his essay "Love Lies: Romantic Fabrication in Contemporary Romantic Comedy," Frank Krutnik outlines the two main tendencies or directions followed by the genre from the late 1970s into the 1990s: His analysis focuses on *Annie Hall* (1977) and *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), which are taken respectively as significant representatives of the cycles of films labelled *nervous romances* and *new romances*. It shows how romantic comedy has recently oscillated from a rather deep scepticism about the validity of traditional love ideals in modern times to a more optimistic, self-conscious acceptance of the fabricated nature of such ideals. Acceptance that may restore, if only in part, faith in romance, love and coupledness as safe avenues towards self-fulfilment and happiness.

Krutnik's accurate categorization of the genre's reactions to the profound changes which began to affect US intimate culture in the 1960s and 1970s, and which resulted in new perceptions of love, sexuality, coupledness and marriage, constitutes a valuable theoretical framework for any future research on the history of Hollywood romantic comedy and its current developments. It is also a most appropriate point of departure for the other nine contributions in the book, which embark on a closer scrutiny of the specific strategies used to widen the genre's scope. The essays assembled in *Terms of Endearment* are integrated within a shared discourse firmly grounded on a productive, eclectic combination of cultural and historical perspectives, genre theory and feminist and psychoanalytical insights. A discourse which, through the analysis of a series of individual films—including *Victor/Victoria*, *Murphy's Romance*, *Something Wild*, *Peggy Sue Got Married*, *Working Girl*, *Alice*, *Jungle Fever*, *Gas Food Lodging* and a number of 80s and 90s comedies starring Meg Ryan—seeks to cover a single common issue: the ongoing process of redefinition undergone by Hollywood romantic comedy in the 1980s and 1990s.

Post-classical romantic comedy, these contributions argue, has begun to explore issues scarcely tackled by former comedies as a central strategy to persuade contemporary audiences to cling again to romantic ideals, thus preserving the essential ideological project of the genre. Often criticised for a lack of concern with marginal social realities and a reluctance to engage in social critique, Hollywood romantic comedy has increasingly strived, in more or less successful ways, to make room for controversial topics, which, as reflected in this book, range from the problematization of the notion of

gender and the definition of gender roles (Steven Cohan, Deborah Thomas), the articulation of less reductive views of female subjectivity (Chantal Cornut-Gentile, Celestino Deleyto and Kathleen Rowe) to a scrutiny of black experience (Isabel Santaolalla) or an apparent preoccupation with social, sexual and ethnic difference (Constanza del Río). In these essays, as well as in those devoted to the significant connections between stars and the ideological dimension of the new romances (Bruce Babington, Peter Evans), contemporary romantic comedy is described as a genre hesitatingly constructing a less codified view of socio-cultural conditions and of subjectivity itself. Agenda that, sometimes, heads for promising new perspectives, particularly on the construction of gender identity and the definition of sex roles, as Cohan, Thomas, Deleyto and Rowe conclude in their respective analyses of *Victor/Victoria*, *Murphy's Romance*, *Alice* and *Gas Food Lodging*. Problematizing, to a greater or lesser extent, the conventional prescriptions of the genre, these films are said to have opened up a space for queer experience and women's issues by largely dislocating traditional dominant assumptions on the dichotomy gender/sex (Cohan), and on female roles and the distribution of power between the sexes (Thomas, Deleyto, Rowe).

Despite such progressive vocation, nevertheless, contemporary romantic comedy does not always fulfil the expectations apparently raised at the beginning of the films. In her study of *Working Girl*, Cornut-Gentile shows how the narrative, in spite of its overt refusal to define female experience as inextricably linked to home and the family, manages to compromise the female protagonist's empowerment in the public arena by eventually subordinating it to the "authority" of the male romantic lead as a kind of prerequisite for the final union of the couple. Similarly, del Río and Santaolalla, in their respective essays on *Something Wild* and *Jungle Fever*, argue that the potential interest of these films in social, sexual and racial margins and, in the case of Spike Lee's production, in interracial relationships, is displaced from central stage to focus instead on that traditional motif most congenial to comedy: the formation or reconstruction of the heterosexual couple, thus largely undermining the more radical gender politics initially endorsed by the narratives.

Just as the book examines the ideology informing the films in the light of the historical, socio-economic, cultural backgrounds which surrounded their production, it also draws the readers' attention to the significance of formal experimentation within the current transformations experienced by Hollywood romantic comedy. The use of postmodern generic hybridity, a self-conscious exploitation of star meanings, together with an unapologetic

subversion and also recycling of traditional generic parameters are listed as recurrent strategies deployed by post-classical romantic comedy in an attempt to reshape its aesthetics as well as its political agenda, mechanisms that are made visible and brilliantly theorised in the analyses of individual films.

The impact of the various formal and ideological elements sketched in the book upon the dynamics of what is considered a staple Hollywood genre remains to be further tested through the study of a wider range of contemporary romantic comedies. Nevertheless, *Terms of Endearment* surely constitutes a remarkable reference source within the fields of genre theory, cultural and film studies insofar as it succeeds in mapping the new territories conquered by romantic comedy in a most thorough but at the same time accessible way. The book offers us a glimpse not only of what romantic comedy is today but of what it may become in the future and, in my view, it stands both as a most elucidating and provocative reading for film scholars, and as a truly pleasant discovery for less specialized readers, who are bound to enjoy it just as much.

MANUELA RUIZ PARDOS
UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA



Thomas Hermann
"Quite a Little about Painters":
Art and Artists in Hemingway's Life and Work
Tübingen; Basel: Francke, 1997.
ISBN 3 7720 2435 1
240 pp.

The present volume, Thomas Hermann's contribution to the reassessment of Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961), provides the reader with a new-generation approach to a classic whose personality and work have not ceased to attract critical attention since the 1920s. In 1999, when we celebrate the first centennial of Hemingway's birth, a powerful body of scholarly criticism exercised on the Hemingway text seems somehow exhausted. Still, its sweet

and sour fruits cannot be disregarded. The very forces that contributed for decades to the building up of both Hemingway's icon image and work as core to the American culture and, more specifically, to its literary canon, have also constructed for the nineties' reader a stereotype of the man and his work. We have learned to read him as the author who lends a voice to macho figures like the white hunter, the bullfighter, the gangster, the boxer, the heavy drinking artist, the soldier. This we already know of Hemingway and this knowledge becomes a hermeneutic monolith whose uncontested orthodoxy has rendered feminist and crosscultural readings of the Hemingway text deviant in as far as they consistently strive to make visible the dark side of Hemingway's moon: his fictional women, his Indians, his immigrants, in brief the different types of borderline characters that populate his fiction. After Scholes and Spilka in the 80s, critics have become increasingly sensitive to aspects in Hemingway's textual practice which result from the so called "linguistic turn", in other words, the new critical awareness of language use, context and the social constitution of the text as discourse. The social construction of reality and/or the entire dimensionality of its textual politics of gender, class, ethnicity, and identity must perforce bear both on the constitution of the reading/writing act and on the subject/object of this act as either central or marginal to a culture. All of them are factors that would have been considered residual if not totally external to the text if analysed within a formalist paradigm. As a result, the first wave of criticism exercised on Hemingway's textuality has tended to disregard the fact that Hemingway's fiction, in spite of its unquestionable aestheticism, is also political; it is about exile, about crosscultural contact both as a result of immigration and also of emigration, about alienation as a byproduct of the USA becoming an industrial empire, about the sacrifice of the native American (Indian) element, about the exploiting/exploited dimensions of the different European immigration waves and about the use of the American soldier in wars abroad. Conflict and the role of violence is an explicit theme of Hemingway's which cannot be overlooked in early as well as late texts and what surprises the reader of the nineties is the stubborn negative on the part of the mainly WASP scholar and critic to acknowledge any obscure zone around and within the Hemingway text. A zone that remains dangerous in its provocativeness and waits to be accommodated in a politically engaged reading which renders visible those discursive aspects of the text which have not been dealt with and which would let us understand better why this American Icon chose European and Cuban exile and still his writing remained so central to his own culture.

The novelty of Hermann's study does not consist so much in his interest in the sociopolitical dimension of Hemingway's narratives as in his detailed account of the aesthetic results brought upon the text by Hemingway's contact with other artists, especially painters, during the years of his European and Cuban exile. Hermann is also concerned that the Hemingway text includes both his published and unpublished material, and that especially the latter, is beyond the conceptualizations generated by previous critics and opens up naturally to a new generation of scholarly criticism like his which can read novelty and regeneration where the older school, faced with Hemingway's newly accessed writings, could only read degeneration. It is not difficult to see why: accommodating Hemingway's written materials, the published as well as the unpublished, is easier from within a postmodernist frame of criticism than from a modernist one, if only because of a more extended temporal perspective. A text like Hemingway's, whose production expanded over four decades (1920-1960), need have undergone significant alterations explainable on the basis of a changed world and a changed authorial identity even if the case had been another and the text had relied much less than it did on the actual conditions of life at the author's time. New readings of Hemingway's text must acknowledge the point no matter if Hemingway's position within the high altar of modernism becomes questionable by mere statement of his progression towards postmodernism.

The achievement of Thomas Hermann's *Quite a Little about Painters* does not only lie in the exhaustiveness and inclusiveness of its analysis, which contemplates Hemingway's early and late writings, both published and unpublished. What is more relevant to his readers is Hermann's explanation of the essential differences of style operating behind the recurrence of apparently similar motifs all along Hemingway's career. Hermann's work pays particular attention to a characteristic feature of Hemingway's narrative which has been let to pass unnoticed: and this is that Hemingway's narrative was always "quite a little about painters". Regarding this point, Hermann is careful to stress the fact that the fictional and historical painters appearing in the Hemingway narrative function as counterpoints for different kinds of writers, and also as analogues which allow Hemingway to dissect the basic similarities between different forms of the same endeavour, call it art or the artistic métier.

In defending that Hemingway's writing is about art, and more specifically, about how verbal art is made permanent in writing and about how these aesthetic processes are not totally different from those ordering the compositions of visual art (especially painting, which makes permanent what is not so, compare painting and the impermanent art of bullfighting),

Hermann is focusing on the consciously self-reflexive nature of Hemingway's own art, a highly stylized kind of writing. Hermann infers from the overwhelming presence of painters in Hemingway's narratives the need to reconstruct an undergoing process of intensification leading from Hemingway's initial fixation with the theme of art into a specular design incorporating specularly as a fundamental source of textual meaning. The progressive intensification of the self-reflexive nature of Hemingway's text grows from an initial interest of his art in art and progresses into an overall pattern of complex *mise-en-abymes*. This is contemplated by Thomas Hermann as indicative of a progression in Hemingway's style from the initial modernism of *In Our time* (1925) into the proto-postmodernism of *The Garden of Eden*, a narrative written in 1946 but published, only partially, as recently as 1986.

Hermann's exhaustive research of the different moments and shapes in which painters, factual and fictional, appear in the Hemingway text is thoroughly convincing. There are also weaker moments derived from a certain degree of repetitiveness caused by the author's thoroughness as well as by the way in which his book is organized into chapters. In any case, Hermann knows his painters as well as he knows his writer and reading him is enlightening because his is a thoughtful piece of honest work which relies on a great deal of previous research.

The influence of Max Nänny can be traced back, especially along those paragraphs devoted to the characteristic style of Hemingway's prose. But Hermann is only tangentially interested in Hemingway's language and in style *per se*. The same independence characterizes the author's abundant use of biographical material, which Hermann subjects to the scope of his own work thus avoiding the confusion between life and work threatening those who acknowledge the significant role of context to text but still lack the expertise to relate them otherwise than by abusive simplification.

In conclusion, "*Quite a Little about Painters*": *Art and Artists in Hemingway's Life and Work* is necessary reading to specialists who seek systematic coverage of a specific motif whose pervasiveness within Hemingway's narrative Hermann tackles through sheer sound thoroughness. Still, "*Quite a Little about Painters*" also addresses a more general kind of readership and, of course, students of literature interested in the decades between 1920 and 1960, which have proved central to the literary and cultural definition of the twentieth century.

BEATRIZ PENAS IBÁÑEZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA

Giambattista Vico
The Art of Rhetoric

(*Institutiones Oratoriae, 1711-1741*). From the Definitive Latin Text and Notes, Italian Commentary and Introduction by Giuliano Crifò

Ed. and trans. Giorgio A. Pinton and Arthur W. Shippee.

(Value Inquiry Book Series 37). Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996.

xxx, 311 p.

This volume is a significant addition to the body of works by Giambattista Vico currently available in English: the *New Science*, the *Autobiographies* and the treatises *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians* and *On the Study Methods of Our Times*. The American editors of the present work had already published a translation of six of Vico's academic discourses under the title *On Humanistic Education*.

The Art of Rhetoric consists of a translation of Vico's Latin lectures on rhetoric, preparatory to the study of jurisprudence. These were never published in his lifetime, and Crifò's critical edition of the Latin texts (Vico 1989), which is the basis of this English edition, was based on students' lecture notes or transcriptions of them.

To get a cavil out of the way, it is striking that the name of the Italian editor should be absent from the book's cover. From the translators' preface, it appears that their editorial role has been to translate the Latin text into English and to adapt (i.e. drastically summarize) the Italian introduction of Giuliano Crifò for an English-speaking reading public. The title page gives a more accurate weight to each of the editors' cumulative labour, as it notes that this is a "translation and edition" of Crifò's "definitive Latin text and notes, Italian commentary and Introduction." The fact that Crifò's name does not appear on the cover is obviously due to an oversight, perhaps not even the American editors', probably the publisher's. The volume also contains Crifò's chapter-by-chapter commentary to the *Institutiones*, a list of sources cited and an index of proper names.

Giambattista Vico, a thinker well-nigh ignored in his own time, acquired his current status as a major philosopher largely due to his promotion by Benedetto Croce and other late Romantic or idealist aestheticians, who saluted him as the advocate of *sapienza poetica*, the "science of imagination" (Verene 1981). It is of course the Vico of *The New Science* that Croce and his school were primarily thinking of: here they found a key work in the theorization of cultural productions, and one which inspired their own

expressivist theories about the simultaneous development of language and culture. Still, it is arguable that Vico's influence on his contemporaries was negligible, and that the work became seminal only to those already converted by German idealism.

Crifò's argument is part of a widespread reaction which qualifies the Crocean view of Vico, and stresses instead Vico's work as a humanist and a classical scholar, a more traditional Vico, whose notion of language is more communicative and interpersonal than expressive, a rhetorical Vico for short, the author of the *Institutiones Oratoriae* as well as of the *New Science*. To be more precise, Crifò's main contention in the introduction to this work is that the two sides of Vico are not polar opposites, as they might appear, but rather different sides (and phases) of a work which consistently tries to focus on the use and development of language as a socially and culturally meaningful process. To quote from Crifò's foreword to the English edition, "It is difficult to believe that the cultural tradition which is preserved in classical rhetoric and in Roman jurisprudence, both of which form the most profound foundation of Western jurisprudence and political thought and in which Vico was both teacher and an active participant, would have had no impact on his thought" (1996: xv). For Crifò, "the most profound concepts which appear in his most mature works are easily found in seed in the earliest expressions of his genius"—in words quoted from Righi (1928: 481) Vico's lectures on rhetoric have become according to Crifò "the indisputable point of reference for much of the formulation of Vico's thought" (1996: xv). This is a far cry from Croce's characterization of the *Institutiones* as "a dry rhetorical manual written for the use of his school (in which one looks in vain or a shadow of his own personal ideas)" (Croce 1967: 230). Crifò's introduction sketches the way in which the *Institutiones*, read as a hermeneutics of law (whose task is "coordinating the norm with a decision substantially correct", according to his quotation of Haft's *Juristische Rhetorik*) would help to bring into focus the specifically Vichian nature of this work. Unfortunately, Crifò's lengthy introduction has been reduced to reasonable proportions in this edition, perhaps making the argument less convincing than it should be. It appears nonetheless that the result of this reevaluation of the work would result in its greater significance to the Vico specialist, not in a reassessment of the main tradition in rhetorical studies or in the promotion of Vico as the author of a revolutionary treatise on hermeneutic rhetoric. Although it seems likely that the impact of the critical edition of the *Institutiones* will remain confined to Vico specialists, this is not to say that the present work is lacking in interest to readers interested in rhetoric at large. Vico's style (seen here through a glass, or several) varies

rather unevenly between pregnant compression and rather diffuse collections of examples, but there are many chapters which reward rereading—for instance those on the opposition between the letter and the spirit of the law (22), on conceits and wit (37), which interestingly emphasizes the activity and expectations of the listener, or ch. 39 on the genus of tropes, which defines synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor and irony as the four primary tropes under which all others may be grouped, as expounded in the following chapters.

The underlying tropological and rhetorical basis of Vico's theory of culture is revealed by Hayden White in a structuralist analysis of *The New Science* (White 1976). And an excellent treatment of Vico's defense of classical rhetoric, and of his adherence to Cicero's ideal of civilization, wisdom and eloquence, can be found in Mooney (1994). Mooney shows that Vico's humanist rhetoric is fully coherent with his theory of social responsibility exerted through active citizenship, and therefore with the *New Science's* theory of the growth of humanity first through mythopoeics and then through critical and ironic demythologization.

The bridge between rhetoric and the poetics of culture is therefore not in question. It is difficult to disagree with the centrality of classical humanism in Vico's thought, or with the notion that classical rhetoric contains a theory of cultural poetics (albeit an implicit one which requires a good deal of teasing out). What is at issue concerning the *Institutiones Oratoriae* is rather whether Vico's rhetorical treatise effects some of the teasing out—whether these lectures afford some kind of bridge between *ars rhetorica* and *sapientia poetica*. Whether, that is, Vico's work on rhetoric expands the classical humanist tradition of the discipline, emphasizing the elements of creative imagination and the organic link between figurative language and thought. That Vico's rhetoric should be innovative in this sense was not obvious to his early commentators; in his preface to the edition of the *Institutiones* in vol. 8 of Vico's *Opere*, Fausto Nicolini is at pains to deny a contradiction between Vico's actual teaching and his theoretical work; I have already quoted Croce's view. Crifòs preface points out Vico's self-reference to the *New Science* on the matter of poetic wisdom (1996: xx). But any presence of the "new science" is much less prominent than the overwhelming sense of continuity between Vico's treatise and the classical tradition. Indeed, Vico is straightforwardly traditional in many respects, for instance in his disregard of modern sources and authors. Only a few "moderns"—Beni, Scaliger, Pallavicino—are discussed (in the section on wit), and very few moderns appear in the list of sources cited provided by the editors (incidentally, the

American editors of the *Art of Rhetoric* have helpfully added the original references to the classics contained in the notes to the *Institutiones*).

As an instance of the quite moderately Vichian nature of this Vichian treatise and of its clearly neoclassical bent, we may examine the definition of "trope," one of the cornerstones of Vico's thought about language in the *New Science*. Here (ch. 39 of the *Institutiones*) we find that

Tropes are those figures of speech which turn a word from its proper and native meaning to an improper and strange one which Terence in Latin calls the inversion of words (*verba inversa*). There seem to be two causes of this mutation—necessity and ornamentation. (1996: 137)

The origin of "necessity" is, according to Vico, the following:

Given that words are characters of things . . . and there are many more things in nature than words for them and since every language lacks its proper words for many things, other words must be found, and this is termed necessity. (1996: 137)

It might be argued that the notions of "proper and native meaning" and "ornamentation" are the more neoclassical side of this definition, and "necessity" the more pre-romantic or specifically Vichian innovation. But this passage may be usefully compared to Aristotle's definition of metaphor as a proportional relationship between four terms, not all of which need be existing words:

for some of the terms of the proportion there is at times no word in existence; still the metaphor may be used. For instance, to scatter seed is called sowing; but the action of the sun scattering his rays is nameless. Still this process bears to the sun the same relation as sowing to the seed. Hence the expression of the poet "sowing the god-created light." (*Poetics* XXI.8)

Aristotle is a well-known logic-chopper, but even he comes closer to Vico on the matter of metaphor, which apparently is recalcitrant to method: the making of good metaphors cannot be taught, because it implies an eye for resemblances, it is the mark of genius (*Poetics* XXII.9).

My point is that a study of any elements of *sapientia poetica* discerned in Vico's *Institutiones* should also be aware of the ways in which that *sapientia* is also sometimes foreshadowed in elements of classical doctrine. Think for instance of Strabo's notion that the first writings were poetical in nature,

and that prose derives from poetry, or of Horace's description of the fluidity of language and the coining of new words. I am aware that, like Borges said on the subject of Kafka, Vico also creates his own precursors, making us see in them what was not readily visible before. Vico himself warned us against the "conceit of scholars" (Mooney 1994: 194)—that is, trying to read contemporary cultural developments in their imperfect foreshadowings (such as philosophical doctrines in the myths of Homer). His whole doctrine is a theory of the construction of culture through linguistic and civil activity. Therefore perhaps we should not read too much into these classical "precursors" of Vico. But then neither should we expect to find a fully-fledged *sapientia poetica* in Vico's lectures on rhetoric. The methodical and formal academic approach to classical rhetoric is to be found prominently here, sometimes at odds with another side of Vico's thought, the anti-methodical emphasis on context, values, ingenuity and process thought.

A few final cavils. There is a mistake in the caption to Figure 6 (p. 208), which describes it as the end page of ms. b of the *Institutiones Oratoriae*. As p. xix and p. 207 of this edition make clear, it is the title page of that manuscript which is reproduced. There are likewise a few (very few) mistranslations (e.g. p. 137, "man is hard and dour" from Quintilian's *hominem durum atque asperum*, should be "a hard and dour man"). Or, on p. 255, in a quotation from *On the Study Methods*, "It is therefore important to access human affairs by the inflexible standard of absolute right," the logic of the passage demands rather that we read "not to access". There are also a few misspellings (Rodopi do not seem to employ an in-house editor or proofreader) but on the whole the volume is carefully prepared, and abounds in scholarly details. Beyond the question of the status of rhetoric in Vichian studies, and the valuable scholarly apparatus provided by Crifò, there are interesting facets in many of Vico's explications of specific rhetorical points, enough to make the book rewarding reading for any student of rhetoric.

JOSÉ ANGEL GARCÍA LANDA
UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA

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Mar Vidal

La prensa en los orígenes de la enseñanza del español en los Estados Unidos (1823-1833)

Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1996. 272 p.

Though primarily addressing the close links between Spanish-language newspapers and the teaching or learning of the language in the United States during the last ten years of Fernando VII's reign, this study is far more

interesting on a secondary subject, namely the insights it gives into the lives and livelihoods of the exiles who left Spain and Cuba during that period.

Stating that New York city today has the world's third largest number of Spanish speakers after Mexico and Buenos Aires, the author outlines how Spain's support for the United States in their struggle for independence from Britain, together with various commercial factors, initiated the process by which Spanish has now outstripped French, German and all other languages except English in that country. While the first recorded Spanish teaching post was held by a certain Mr. Fooks in Philadelphia in 1766, and other colleges included it in their curriculum from 1780 onwards, it really took off only at the beginning of the 20th century.

Commerce between the American ports and Spain or Latin America required some practical knowledge of Spanish long before influential figures like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, not to mention a community of Sephardic Jews found in Boston in the early 18th century, were instrumental in having it taught on a more academic basis in the universities.

However, it was the emigration of liberals from Spain and Spanish-dominated Cuba between 1923 and 1933 which gave the trend its greatest impetus. Perhaps some 15,000 to 20,000 emigrés from Spain and some 500 from Cuba ensured that there was no shortage of teachers and promoters of the language since many of these exiles gravitated into teaching, translating, setting up schools, printing presses, bookshops and other small businesses. Thus the learning of Spanish took on a more "professional" complexion and some early grammars and other teaching aids were written in this period, such as Agustín de Letamendi's *Spanish Grammar dedicated to the Youth of North America* (1826), J. J. Villarino's *Practical Method of Learning to speak the Castilian Language* (1828) or the *New pocket Dictionary of the English and Spanish languages* (1823) by Mariano Cubí y Soler, who was said to have taught fourteen hours a day, while also working as a free-lance translator and, in later years, publishing widely on phrenology.

The first important Spanish-language newspaper, *El Redactor*, founded in 1827 by Juan de la Granja, printer and bookseller, was strongly influenced and subsidised by Francis Stoughton, Spanish consul in New York: it was therefore pro-Fernando VII. Appearing thrice monthly, it painted glowing pictures of life in Spain and Cuba, while the recently emancipated Latin American republics (such as Nueva España, the name by which it still referred to Mexico) are said to be desolate and in dire need of returning to the fold. Apart from its political content and general news, the countless advertisements for schools, academies, translators and private teachers of

Spanish show the connection between this publication and the teaching of Spanish; the author suggests that this and other publications also served as teaching and learning materials.

From 1928 until about 1833 the weekly *Mercurio de Nueva York*, more liberal than *El Redactor*, concentrated on business and cultural matters. It probably had some six hundred subscribers, as against *El Redactor's* four hundred. Mr. Stoughton faithfully sent copies to Madrid until 1829 when he was told to select only items favourable to the government. *El Mensajero Semanal*, founded in 1829 and run by José Antonio Saco and Félix Varela, *La Abeja*, aimed at Cuban exiles, and *El Español*, whose mission was openly propagandistic in favour of Fernando VII, were all to some extent sponsored or subsidised by Madrid or La Habana.

The most interesting aspect of the study is the light it casts on the lives of the emigrés and their associates, in particular the multifarious stratagems they used to scrape a living in exile, the espionage-type activities carried out by some of them and the part played by diplomats in these activities, especially consuls like Thomas and Francis Stoughton, father and son, who between them ran the Spanish consulate for almost seventy-five years, with the son founding the "Sociedad Española" and keeping Madrid supplied with secret reports on the Spanish emigrés and the South American agents in the US in between the efforts expended on making his own fortune in trading with Cuba.

The impression a reader gets is that, although ardently anti-obscurantist when leaving Spain or Cuba, many exiles quickly became politically ambiguous or indifferent. It is not always clear how so many of them could work, at least sporadically, for the Spanish government or why exactly the latter seemed so willing to subsidise newspapers, even those which openly opposed it. Especially fascinating is the picture painted of New Orleans, described as a hive of criminal, semi-criminal and other dubious activity, which quickly became a centre for Spanish exiles.

The study emerged from a dissertation directed by Aquilino Sánchez Pérez at the University of Murcia and it refers to earlier work done by him. It displays an enormous amount of research, with a bibliography of some hundred and fifty primary sources and almost a hundred secondary titles. Structurally, linguistically and stylistically it shows a certain inexperience, with some higgledy piggedly items recurring again and again: e.g. on page 143 we read that José Rabadán "como la mayoría de los oficiales surgidos de [la guerra de la Independencia], era de ideología liberal" and seven lines later that his brother Carlos "Como la mayoría de los militares generados por [la guerra de la Independencia] era de ideología liberal." Since the work is largely

about Spanish, the author, unable to avoid mentioning this repeatedly, is at her wits' end trying to avoid calling it by its name and appeals to such periphrases as "la lengua de Quevedo y de Góngora" (34) and "la lengua de Lope y de Tirso" (35): happily she drops the subject before the list of famous writers runs out. Of course students often suffer from a phobia of being unable to fill whatever number of pages they believe they have to fill, and this author's verbosity makes it difficult for her to say "x" without adding a list of "non-ys" e.g. she takes eight lines to say that her period is 1823-1833 (page 19).

Nevertheless, if we leave aside such formal peccadillos, the amount of interesting information contained in this volume makes it very interesting, if not always easy-going, reading.

LEO HICKEY
UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD



EL ARTE DE NOVELAR DE EVELYN WAUGH

Carlos Villar Flor

Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh

Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 1997.
286 pp.

Además del valor intrínseco del estudio narratológico que aquí comento, resulta muy gratificante encontrar una monografía realizada por un español—y en nuestra lengua—sobre un novelista anglosajón que ya se ha convertido en un clásico también para los lectores de habla castellana. En efecto, de Evelyn Waugh (Londres, 1903-1966) contamos con ediciones traducidas a nuestro idioma de cuatro de sus mayores novelas: *Merienda de negros* (publicada en versión original en 1932), *Un puñado de polvo* (1934), *Noticia bomba* (1938) y *Retorno a Brideshead* (1945), una de las obras esenciales de la narrativa inglesa contemporánea, elogiada y polemizada por la crítica, que sigue creciendo en número de ediciones e incluso ha sido llevada al cine con gran fortuna.

Además de su valor social y religioso, acorde con su condición de católico y con una manifiesta visión cristiana del mundo, la narrativa de Waugh se inserta plenamente en la modernidad de la novelística occidental y aborda con sutileza y precisión gran parte de los conflictos humanos que la modernidad ha traído consigo. Toda su obra acomete—aunque oblicuamente y desde distintas posiciones—la crítica contra la pérdida de los valores tradicionales de Occidente que el mundo moderno ha padecido. Aunque por valores tradicionales, más que un nostálgico y anacrónico apego al pasado, debe entenderse aquí la sabiduría moral legada por los clásicos grecolatinos y por la civilización cristiana, la cual, en lo que tiene de sustancia germinativa para el perfeccionamiento humano, se halla notablemente desintegrada en nuestro siglo.

En el aspecto propiamente literario, las estrategias narrativas de Evelyn Waugh resultan plenamente eficaces para su propósito. Pues, al igual que sus coetáneos George Orwell, Christopher Isherwood, Henry Green, Graham Greene, Anthony Powell, etc., que empiezan a publicar a finales de los años veinte, Waugh es consciente de la ineficacia que en su tiempo acarrearían tanto el esquematismo de la novela romántica como el exhaustivo análisis social y psicológico del realismo y naturalismo del XIX. También evoluciona notablemente con respecto a la inmediata generación del Modernismo anglosajón, tan bien representada por Joyce, Virginia Woolf y Faulkner, encaminados por el más imprevisible experimentalismo y el extremado subjetivismo con que el narrador construye a sus personajes.

Como subraya con rigor y lucidez Carlos Villar Flor, el autor del estudio que nos ocupa, el arte narrativo de Waugh se hace acreedor de las conquistas de sus predecesores, pero adopta un enfoque "externalista y objetivo", y verbalmente más económico, para ejercer su crítica con mayor sutileza y poder subversivo. Según ha señalado recientemente Félix Martínez Bonati, el novelista del siglo XX se halla obligado a exponer su sabiduría moral desde una visión personalmente aséptica y sólo confirmada por los hechos, pues ha de dirigirse a un lector que probablemente no comparte inicialmente sus convicciones—como sí ocurriera en el pasado—y que no puede sobreentender el código moral del autor ni aceptar una exposición doctrinal y directa por parte del mismo (Cfr. Martínez Bonati 1995). De ahí que un novelista tan contemporáneo como Evelyn Waugh utilice reiterada e imprevistamente el recurso de la ironía, tal como se desprende del minucioso análisis que Villar Flor realiza en el presente estudio.

Se trata éste de la exposición de una ambiciosa indagación en los procedimientos de Waugh a la hora de caracterizar a sus personajes, expuestos según las técnicas recurrentes en sus novelas y precisando en todo caso la

evolución de tales procedimientos y, por ende, de los personajes del mundo novelesco del escritor inglés. En este sentido, resulta muy esclarecedor el doble enfoque que adopta el estudioso para establecer los modos de caracterización de tales personajes: lo que él llama la caracterización *como producto*, que nos arroja luminosas conclusiones sobre la entidad y calidad de estos personajes, y, por otra parte, la caracterización *como proceso*, método que nos explica la creciente revelación del personaje a lo largo del texto narrativo. Debido al arte novelesco de Evelyn Waugh, Villar Flor centra muy oportunamente esta caracterización como proceso en el estudio del discurso directo de los personajes, el cual, de acuerdo con esta posición externalista y objetiva del autor, se ofrece como el cauce más idóneo para mostrar progresivamente los componentes psicológicos y morales de cada individuo.

La obra de Carlos Villar Flor, además de este objeto central, cumple adecuadamente con otros propósitos secundarios no menos interesantes para el novelista, el crítico y el teórico de la literatura. Y es que la presente monografía, por la variedad de instrumentos que maneja, puede servir como una excelente introducción al arte narrativo de Waugh y, lo que es más, a la teoría del personaje novelesco contemporáneo.

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REFERENCIAS

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The aim of this paper is to reveal a few basic principles which constitute the essential logic of the English system of complementation. *That*-clauses will be the main focus of attention, although frequent reference will be made to the non-finite forms of complementation, especially to complementation by infinitives. I will draw on well-established research by Bresnan (1972), Riddle (1975), Rudanko (1984), Noonan (1985), Beukema and Verspoor (1990), and Givón (1993), in an attempt to integrate them all into a coherent whole. Such an integration will show up "the profoundly non-arbitrary nature of the coding relation between grammar and meaning" (Givón 1993: 2.24), or, in other words, the functional or even logical motivations of the form of clausal complements in English.



POST-HUMAN: THE CULTURAL LIMITS OF "CYBERPUNK" (INCLUDING AN ELECTRONIC CONVERSATION WITH BRUCE STERLING, AND HIS OWN SELECTED LIST OF CYBERPUNK READINGS)

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This paper is in itself a hybrid form, as hybridity is also one of its main concerns. The authors of this "article plus interview" are at pains to fight back the effects of the poststructuralist belief in the undecidability of meaning: they try to fix the meaning of SF genre *cyberpunk*. In order to accomplish this fixing task they point out the assumedly most remarkable features of the 1980s genre: its interest in literary renewal, its antihumanist

stance, and its most interesting topoi, namely the gloomy landscape, the individual independent hero, and the transgression of the dichotomic animate/inanimate. Their analysis leads the authors to conclude the paradoxical hybridity of cyberpunk, by them temporarily located between some old humanist and modernist values and the opposing stance of the postmodernity. These theoretical lucubrations are followed by an interview to cyberpunk author Bruce Sterling where he discusses about beginnings and ends of the literary SF movement and depicts the new type of cybernetic human that is sprouting from our technotronic Western civilization. The papers ends with a list of Sterling's suggested readings for anyone interested in the genre.



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MODULACIÓN DE MUNDOS IMAGINARIOS
A TRAVÉS DE DOS TÉCNICAS DE PRESENTACIÓN DEL TIEMPO
EN DANCE OF THE HAPPY SHADES

M^a Jesús Hernández Lerena

Paul Ricœur remarked that an analysis of the techniques of acceleration and deceleration in narratives allowed us a better understanding of plot and characterization. Genette's conclusions have served us as a starting point from which to explore how the Canadian writer Alice Munro has explored a specific mode of temporal presentation in order to create worlds where time comes to a halt and characters are constructed from only a few unchanging traits. This temporal perspective, usually termed "iterative", destroys the essence of real time, which contains a relentless capacity for altering things. The overwhelming use of the iterative mode in Munro's stories shapes our reading experience towards a similar exercise of comprehension: we will find no climactic sequence of events, no change in characters' attitudes, no altered situations. The point of the story lies elsewhere, since fate's workings can have no room in these static worlds. The iterative story gives close attention to an absorbing atmosphere in which characters are trapped by their recurrent habits or oddities of behaviour. Rather than registering the flow of experience as it would affect a series of characters, the narrator prefers to invent a hypothetical time in which they can move about unaffected by change. This way the reader remembers them as neat figures whose most significant traits are captured visually and permanently as if a snapshot was taken that forever holds the characters in that particular world.



THE APPLICABILITY OF LINGUISTIC POLITENESS TO
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The present paper picks up on some aspects of a complex attempt to approach politeness studies from a new angle: translation. The most relevant approaches to the study of politeness agree on its two-sided character, which entails, on the one hand, linguistic meaning and, on the other, social meaning. This twofold concept of politeness determines the close

relationship between its linguistic expression and the cultural context within which such expression is used. The cultural-relativistic stand that this assumption implies in some ways contradicts or, at least, partly questions, the universal character ascribed to linguistic politeness by one of the seminal theories in the field: the framework of Politeness theory devised by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson in their book *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* (1978, 1987). In my view, politeness theory and the discussion about what is universal and what is culturally-determined in politeness can benefit from contrastive studies in the field of translation, and translation can also profit from insights into the study of linguistic politeness, as it is my intention to illustrate here with *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente* as corpora.



BEYOND CODING AND CONTROL: LEAKAGE,
CATEGORIZATION AND BLOCKING IN THE DEFINITION OF
THE ENGLISH SUBJECT

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This paper offers a non-intuitive definition of the English subject by discussing Keenan's coding and control properties and by contending that leakage, blocking properties (co-referentiality, omission of the relative and question target) and categorization must also be taken into account in the definition of this grammatical function. The consideration of leakage and blocking properties allows for a cross-theoretical approach to this syntactic phenomenon that may modify Keenan's hierarchy of subject properties and the hierarchy of syntactic functions of Keenan and Comrie.



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In the last few years, great attention has been paid to the field of translation. In fact, Translation Studies has been fully established as a discipline in its own right. However, professionals in translation have not been overly concerned with the actual teaching of translation. The didactics of this discipline has mainly consisted in the mechanical manipulation of a variety of texts, together with boring grammar practice. In most cases a structural and/or a contrastive approach has been adopted and translation as an act of communication and a cognitive process has been almost disregarded. Consequently, the results obtained and the areas covered are relatively limited. This paper starts first by considering the nature of translation and its role in the Spanish educational system and then goes on to present and describe in detail a series of activities, which have already been tried out with a group of first year English Philology students, as simple examples of creative translation teaching.



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This paper offers a description of the stylistic dimension of the passive in the Early Modern English period as represented in the computerised *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. The first section examines the stylistic factors which determine the choice of a passive over an active clause. In the second section, EModE *be*-passives are analysed to discover the reasons for the association between passive constructions and formal styles in that period. Statistical data drawn from the corpus reveal that in EModE the correlation between the passive voice and formal registers is not primarily due to the requirement of impersonality, as is claimed for Present-day English, and that other factors also condition the preference for passives in formal registers of English.



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Much work has been done lately on the acquisition of English reflexives by L2 learners (cf. Matsumura [1994], Bennet [1996] or Wakabayashi [1996], among others). The aim of this paper is twofold: first, to examine an experiment that has been carried out with Spanish learners of English and, second, to show how imprecise the conclusions that we may reach from this type of experiments are. Thus, while previous work on Japanese and Serbo-Croatian seems to indicate that Second Language Acquisition is systematic and, further, that Universal Grammar is available in acquisition, I suggest that the results obtained in the experiment reported in this paper lead to the opposite claims.



THEME-ANTICS AND THE THE-EERIE CLASS:
CRWIT(T)ICISM IN WRAP

David Walton

Rather than an abstract, I shall offer an abstract or obstract: something which could be said to stand in the way rather than lighten it. Yet, I would have it retain something of the abstract—an incorporeal substance (a hal[[]]o) floating above what lies below. What is it that lies below? Any attempt to describe what happens there in a language which gestures towards an unambiguous style, clarity of argument, neat concision etc. would militate against my tendency to de-scribe. I would say that this is not so much an article but an "art-tickle." Here, then, a ludic cycle, pedalogical joy-ride into the uncommon, unorthodox terror-tory of liteRAREry theory, via vary-us forms of song (rap, punk, blues): an attempt to Sir-jest (with a modicrumb of wit) an alter-native means of intro-juicing concepts. But at a cost. This is to be done in a lang-wage (O mischievous sprite!) that imp-lies, through its very shApe, the condition of the linguistic sign (post Derrida, Lacan, Kristeva & C°), witch may be useful in itself, as a kind of exemplum to the way theory may be presented or written about. So, I offer a few comments on motorvation. And to finish, there are "A Few RidDling Quest-ions for the feary glass" and a "Vermiform Appendix" of other possibilities. 🐛

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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THEME-ANTICS AND THE THE-EERIE CLASS: CRWIT(T)ICISM IN WRAP

David Walton

Rather than an abstract, I shall offer an abstract or obabstract: something which could be said to stand in the way rather than lighten it. Yet, I would have it retain something of the abstract—an incorporeal substance (a hal[l]o) floating above what lies below. What is it that lies below? Any attempt to describe what happens there in a language which gestures towards an unambiguous style, clarity of argument, neat concision etc. would militate against my tendency to de-scribe. I would say that this is not so much an article but an "art-tickle." Here, then, a ludic cycle, pedalgical joy-ride into the uncommon, unorthodox terror-tory of liteRARERy theory, via vary-us forms of song (rap, punk, blues): an attempt to Sir-jest (with a modicrumb of wit) an alter-native means of intro-juicing concepts. But at a cost. This is to be done in a lang-wage (O mischievous sprite!) that imp-lies, through its very shApe, the condition of the linguistic sign (post Derrida, Lacan, Kristeva & C°), witch may be useful in itself, as a kind of exemplum to the way theory may be presented or written about. So, I offer a few comments on motorvation. And to finish, there are "A Few RidDling Quest-ions for the feary glass" and a "Vermiform Appendix" of other possibilities. 

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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FE DE ERRATAS

(Correspondiente a *Miscelánea* vol. 18, 1997)

En el índice de la revista (p. 404) aparece el artículo de Elsa Tragant y Mireia Trenchs con un título erróneo. El título correcto es el que figura en el artículo (p. 327): "Unplanned Vocabulary Instruction: A Case Study of Three Second Language Classrooms". El error ha sido subsanado en la edición electrónica de la revista.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Parting is such sweet sorrow...

This volume of *Miscelánea* is the last one to be published under our direct responsibility. Its publication has been somewhat delayed: this issue (for the year 1998) is actually being issued in Spring 1999, although papers have been gradually made available on the web since January 1999. This delay (and the rather slim size of this issue) has been due in part to the postponement of the forthcoming special issue on Modernism, which had been originally planned for 1998 and will finally appear as volume 20 (1999). Hereafter *Miscelánea* will become less strictly miscellaneous, since it will publish alternate volumes on literary studies and on linguistics. All of the papers for volume 19 were received in 1998, except for David Walton's, which is the only invited contribution in this volume and was received in February 1999. We thank Dr Walton in particular for his contribution, but also those authors who sent unsolicited manuscripts, only a few of which have been included in this volume. Future issues of *Miscelánea* will be edited by a new staff chaired by María Dolores Herrero, with Ramón Plo and Rosa Lorés as associate editors; volume 20 will be guest-edited by Stan Smith and Jennifer Birkett. All our best wishes to the new editors, and to our colleague Tim Bozman, who stays in the editorial office. We also wish to send our thanks to the members of the Editorial Board, some of them seriously overworked, and to other referees who have assisted in the preparation of this volume. Hereafter contributors should address all papers and correspondence to María Dolores Herrero (e-mail: dherrero@posta.unizar.es), although the outgoing editors will of course pass on any materials to the new staff.

JOSÉ ANGEL GARCÍA LANDA and MARITA NADAL

