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Presentación

El presente volumen de CLR constituye una selección de artículos que abordan el estado actual de la representación cultural desde diferentes ángulos y perspectivas. En el área de los estudios literarios, las aportaciones exploran: cuestiones de identidad en el ámbito de la frontera, en relación con el colectivo nativo-americano; las implicaciones políticas e ideológicas del concepto de clase en la literatura obrera de la comunidad minera galesa de principios del siglo XX; y la sublimación de la identidad homosexual a través de la creación de un universo poético que apela a las culturas clásicas latina y griega. En la interfaz de la lingüística y la cultura, se analizan las políticas lingüísticas, las lenguas nacionales y regionales, el multilingüismo y la integración, en el contexto de los movimientos migratorios globalizados. Otro bloque temático se centra en la capacidad del lenguaje para reflejar y en último caso condicionar la realidad circundante, inscribiéndose dentro de las negociaciones de poder entre los discursos e ideologías dominantes que circulan en la sociedad: el estudio contrastivo de las metáforas culturales para designar a las mujeres en español e inglés; los nombres laudatorios de los jefes tribales en la cultura Igbo; las estrategias discursivas de la publicidad; las expresiones de amenaza en el lenguaje juvenil español.

El conjunto de aportaciones incluidas en este volumen presenta de una manera inclusiva y multidisciplinar el complejo panorama de la interacción entre los conceptos que inspiran la línea editorial de esta revista: la cultura y el lenguaje como arena en la que se dirimen los debates y luchas de poder por el control de los procesos de significación a través del fenómeno de la representación.

Editorial

The current volume of CLR responds to an open call for contributions that tackle the issue of cultural representation from a variety of angles. In the area of literary studies articles include: the exploration of identity and community in relation to the Native-American collective and the notion of the border; the implications derived from the development of class-consciousness in the working-class literature of the Welsh mining community in the first half of the 20th century; and the sublimation of homosexual identities through the appeal to a poetic universe grounded on the Ancient Classical world. At the interface of linguistics and culture, articles analyse the ability of language to reflect and ultimately to condition reality by inscribing itself in the negotiation of power among circulating discourses and dominant ideologies: the contrastive study of animal metaphors to designate women in Spanish and English; praise names in Igbo chiefship; discursive strategies in advertising; the expression of threat in Spanish youth language. Another group of contributions engage with European linguistic policies, national vs. regional languages, multilingualism and integration, in the context of global migratory movements.

In all, the set of articles here presented provides, in an inclusive and multidisciplinary fashion, a complex overview of the interaction of the inspirational conceptual range of this Journal: culture and language as the arena where debates and power struggles take place in order to control signification processes through the phenomenon of representation.

Artículos / *Articles*

Coyote Springs' White Shadows: Confrontation and Coexistence of White and Indian Worlds in Sherman Alexie's *Reservation Blues*

MARÍA LAURA ARCE ÁLVAREZ
CENTRO IBN GABIROL

ABSTRACT: Sherman Alexie's *Reservation Blues*, as one of the most important literary works written by a Native American, becomes the space where the White European culture and the stereotypes that the former has created about Native American people coexist and are confronted. Moreover, Alexie transforms the literary space into the frontier where the interchange between these two discourses results in the construction of a new identity, a new Native American who challenges the stereotypes while voicing their silence. All this is symbolized by the reservation as the barrier they have to cross everyday, leading them to the negotiation of two different identities at the same time.

Keywords: Native American literature, Postcolonial literature, multiculturalism, race.

RESUMEN: La novela *Reservation Blues* de Sherman Alexie, como una de las obras literarias más importantes escrita por un Nativo Americano, se convierte en el espacio donde la cultura americana europea y los estereotipos que ha creado de los nativos americanos se confrontan y coexisten. Alexie transforma el espacio literario en la frontera donde el intercambio entre estos dos discursos desemboca en la construcción de una nueva identidad, un nuevo Nativo Americano que desafía los estereotipos y le da voz a su silencio. Todo ello simbolizado en la reserva como el obstáculo que deben cruzar todos los días, y por lo tanto, el salto hacia dos identidades diferentes al mismo tiempo.

Palabras clave: Literatura nativo-americana, literatura poscolonial, multiculturalismo, raza.

In his essay *Native American Indian Literature* Gerald Vizenor (1996: 26) states that “the name Indian is a convenient word, to be sure, but is an invented name that does not come from any native language, and does not describe or contain any aspects of traditional tribal experience and literature”. This claim for cultural representation and identity definition continues in Vizenor’s words: “Indian, the noun, is a simulation of racialism, an undesirable separation of race in the political and cultural interests of discovery and colonial settlement of new nations” (Vizenor, 1996: 26). It can be concluded from this assertion that the Native American community, as a group who suffers a situation of internal colonization, is the victim of a process of cultural annihilation and, at the same time, cultural reconstruction in order to falsely integrate it in a society that paradoxically needs to maintain them in its margins. As in every colonized society, the Native Americans, although they were the truly Americans who wrote American history until the arrival of the Europeans, were relegated to the “other” category. However, this social restructuring could only occur if they were redefined by the White Europeans. In terms of colonialism, history is always written by the winners and, consequently, oppressors. In this sense, the alternative discourse that these individuals in the margin create, thrown out of their own lands, is one of cultural change, cultural loss, cultural reconstruction, which is summarized in a discourse of identity. Part of the colonialist process consisted in cultural erasure in order to establish a new political, economic and social system ruled by different cultural and traditional principles, and to establish a racial system which, according to Richard Drinnon, quoted in Vizenor (1996: 28), was principally dedicated to transforming the Indian into the other who, consequently, would become nobody and therefore would be exterminated:

Racism defined natives as nonpersons within the settlement culture and was in a real sense the enabling experience of the rising American empire: Indian-hating identified the dark *others* that white settlers were not and must not under any circumstances become, and it helped them wrest a continent and more from the hands of these native caretakers of the lands. (Vizenor, 1996: 28)

Hartwig Isernhagen (in Bataille, 2001: 176) states in the essay *Identity and Exchange* that “the procedure of separating The Indian from history tries to do two incompatible things at once - to legitimize the conquest and to develop a ‘good’ view of history”. However, and in spite of colonialism and postcolonial efforts, America’s essence resides in its multiculturalism, a plurality that nowadays seems to be constituted by those who are not White Europeans but which originally marked the difference with the Natives who populated American land. The problem with the Native American goes beyond those problems immigrant groups have to face in the United States. Whereas first and second generations of

immigrant communities are looking for integration in a new space, Natives are completely lost in their land; they have been deprived from their vital area and, moreover, displaced to the margins in order to make them gradually disappear. In this way, race, a social frontier rather than a genetic distinction, becomes a strategy to protect what the White Americans want to set up as the American community. Homi Bhabha (1998: 70) explains in *The Location of Culture* what the role and function of race are in the colonial discourse:

It is an apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences. Its predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a “subject peoples” through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited. [...] The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction. [...] I am referring to a form of governmentality that in marking out a “subject nation”, appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity.

Since total extermination was not and is not possible, Native Americans found in literature a space to voice their history, where their existence seemed, at least for them, permitted. David L. Moore (in Bataille, 2001: 52) formulates this idea when he asserts that in order for the new American community to constitute itself as the most powerful empire, it had to make the Indian vanish “whose *pluribus* nature has never found a welcome in the *unum*”. Hence, he continues, native literary formulations “suggest patterns by which Americans might conceive of a *pluribus unum* as community built on difference rather than on making differences vanish” (Bataille, 2001: 53). At this point of the analysis, it is important to introduce the concept of postcolonialism as the immediate historical consequence of colonial discourse. The American Revolution implied a disassociation from the British Empire but left the European colonies autonomous in a Native American land. For this reason, the supposed decolonization of America never took place, since natives were still under the control and domination of a group of White Europeans who had stolen their lands and had manipulated their way of living. In relation to this, Louis Owens (in Bataille, 2001: 14-15) states that

America never became postcolonial. The indigenous inhabitants of North America can stand anywhere on the continent and look in every direction at a home usurped and colonized by strangers who, from the very beginning, laid claim not merely to the land and resources but to the very definition of the Natives.

In this context, I am going to bring back Vizenor’s clarification of the Indian concept which certifies that the Indian is a colonial invention, the White

Europeans' artifact. Likewise, the discussion of the "other" emerges with this false representation of the Native American. In order to be considered as the "other", the difference that separates the Indian from the *unum* would be marked by race and, as a result, visibility stands as one of the most important features of identity. Bhabha (1998: 81) explains the concept of the *other* in these terms:

The visibility of the racial / colonial Other is at once a *point* of identity ("Look, a Negro") and at the same time a *problem* for the attempted closure within discourse. For the recognition of difference as "imaginary" points of identity and origin - such as black and white - is disturbed by the representation of splitting in the discourse.

As I have mentioned before, David L. Moore proposes the figure of the vanishing Indian, or in other words, the invisible Indian, who results in a contrary reception of what the colonial discourse expects, since his racial difference is a visible sign of the *pluribus* that characterizes America. On this account, the "other", essential for the sustenance of the colonial structure, becomes the central pillar of multicultural society. Although other ethnic groups suffer the same racial discrimination, represent the "other" in American society and share with the Natives the marginal areas, they can be considered postcolonial subjects who live, in terms of Homi Bhabha, in an "in-between space" that constantly crosses cultural barriers. Natives have been surrounded by geographical and cultural frontiers which are part of the cultural assimilation they are forced to undergo. Hartwig Isernhagen (in Bataille, 2001: 174) makes a comparison between Native Americans and African Americans in an essay that discusses the representation of the Natives in the WPA Federal Writing Project, concluding that the African Americans "constituted the more urgent social, economic, and cultural problem - and therefore had those special programs assigned to them". In comparison to the Natives, Isernhagen (in Bataille, 2001: 175) writes that "there was simply no perception of Native Americans as a topic of comparable interest or sensitivity in the FWP central administration's day-to-day work, and this reduces the presence of Indians almost to zero".

It can be argued that Natives have been cornered to reservations; this separated space is the place where Natives are allowed to exist, but stripped of their lands which, according to their traditions, contain all their history as well as the essence of their existence and culture. Once they were removed from there, it seems that a brutal disconnection with life and, accordingly with their identity, occurred. Since then, they had to try to live enclosed by the limits of the reservation. It is remarkable how the aim of this process of incarceration, apart from being a colonial political strategy, is, in relation to colonial politics, a process of identity and cultural erasure. If the immigrant ethnic groups that take part in American society live a situation that, in Bhabha's words, can be described

as an existence in an “in-between space”, Native Americans actually live in a physical “in-between space” with real frontiers that must be crossed everyday. The boundary marks the difference, as Bill Ashcroft (2000: 108) indicates when he explains in the “frontier” entry that

the frontier or boundary that limited the space so defined was a crucial feature in imagining the imperial self, and in creating and defining those others by which that “Self” could achieve definition and value. That which lies “beyond the pale” is often defined literally as the other, the dark, the savage and the wild.

Thus, the jump to the other side for the Native American is daily, especially when the frontier in terms of cultural preservation is blurred, and many of the Native traditions have been contaminated by American popular culture. Not only that, but contamination becomes necessary in order to survive in a world where at present not even reservations have a space.

Louis Owen presents the European American representation of Native Americans as a mirror game in which one side of the mirror reflects the Native and the other, the European American. In Owen’s (in Bataille, 2001: 17) words:

European America holds a mirror and a mask up to the Native American. The tricky mirror is that Other presence that reflects the Euro-American consciousness back at itself, but the side of the mirror turned toward the Native is transparent, letting the Native see not his or her own reflection but the face of the Euro-American beyond the mirror. For the dominant culture the Euro-American controlling this surveillance, the reflection provides merely a self-recognition that results in a kind of being-for itself and, ultimately, as Fanon suggests, an utter absence of certainty of self.

This interpretation describes very neatly the position as Other that the Natives finally have through the eyes of the powerful. Although it is a fake representation, as Louis Owen explains, the Natives must position behind that mask the European Americans have created for them in order to be visible for the society they live in. Owen (in Bataille, 2001: 17) asserts:

In order to be recognized, and to thus have a voice that is heard by those in control of power, the Native must step into that mask and be the Indian constructed by white America. Paradoxically, of course, like the mirror, the mask merely shows the Euro-American to himself, since the masked Indian arises out of the European consciousness, leaving the Native behind the mask unseen, unrecognized for himself or herself.

Accordingly, Natives, in a way, are condemned to be Indians in the terms that Vizenor defined them as the White Europeans' artifact. They have the necessity to play their stereotypes because only in that way they will have a place in society. Still, the individual who interacts in American society is not the Native but the Indian, in other words, the Native disguised in his or her stereotype. Undoubtedly, this false process of social integration has as a result an identity conflict which seems not to be solved, and which would be translated into what Isernhagen calls a "discourse of exchange". Once the Native sacrifices his or her indigenous existence to become part of the colonial discourse, it can be argued that one of the ways in which this individual can partially maintain his or her culture and tradition is through a discourse that allows the Native to infiltrate, at least in an ordinary and trivial way, their real identity. I use the words "ordinary" and "trivial" to describe this process of intrusion in European American society because, in my opinion, it is one of the ways in which the dominant culture does not feel threatened by the Other. Isernhagen (in Bataille, 2001: 184-185) explains the principles of the "discourse of exchange" in the following terms:

It has been suggested by the thought that in focusing on the everyday this discourse tends to represent interaction across ethnic boundaries in terms of similarity rather than dissimilarity and with a focus on shared problems that may be capable of resolution more easily through exchange than through separation.

This is the type of discourse presented by Alexie in *Reservation Blues*. It could be stated that his characters are trapped in these two means of expressing identity: on the one hand, maintaining the everyday customs, but, on the other hand, completely adapted to what the White American society expects of them in order to be integrated. Although I think Alexie's characters are aware of the fact that they are destined to destroy their Native identities, they try hard to participate of their indigenous traditions. For this reason, the novel becomes a cultural intersection between White European traditions and the stereotypes they have invented for the Natives. In the middle, in the thin frontier that separates these two paths is what Isernhagen defines as the "discourse of identity", that is, the one that foregrounds identity and considers the ethnic individual separated from the dominant stream of society but which, for instance, will "save a form of ethnic identity from 'vanishing'". This discussion gets complicated in terms of separation or integration in society; however, it is very difficult to establish a balanced discourse in which White American society's power and dominance are not endangered. In this context, *Reservation Blues* becomes the interchange of these different discourses to make a new one emerge, in which stereotypes are deconstructed in order to give way to a real vision of the Native American.

As the backdrop of a discourse of exchange, *Reservation Blues*' principal topic is music. It is the instrument through which Thomas and his friends will meet with popular American culture, since they have a rock band that plays popular American music and not traditional Native songs. The title summarizes the novel as a blues dedicated to the reservation, in other words, the music sang and played by the African slaves as a way to release their spirit in contrast with their impossibility of being free. Moreover, the blues makes reference to the "blue devils" meaning low spirits, depression and sadness. This idea is represented in the novel in the figure of Robert Johnson, who is considered one of the founders of the blues and whose mysterious death has inspired numerous legends. He is introduced in the novel as a wonderful guitar player whose genius resides in his magic guitar. It seems that Robert Johnson's mission is not only to meet Big Mom in the Spokane reservation, but also to leave his witchcraft guitar there, in the hands of Victor, one of Thomas's friends and future member of the band "Coyote Springs". It may be argued that by doing so, Robert Johnson is leaving those devils that characterize blues music to be spread all over the reservation.

The novel opens with a very painful episode that occurred in the Spokane reservation in the past. In 1858, a group of US cavalry soldiers slaughtered a group of Indian horses in that reservation. Douglas Ford (2002: 200) explains that, according to John A. Brown's history of the Spokane people, the reason for this mission was that "without horses the Indians are powerless". Alexie makes Big Mom, the oldest Spokane Native of the reservation and archetypical guru, witness the episode, thus creating a metaphor of the Native American's situation of the past and the future. The screams of the horses are going to be heard throughout the whole novel in the characters' experiences and in the music notes they play. Therefore the metaphor is extended to the present:

Big Mom wept as the soldiers rode away on their own pale ponies and heard their trumpets long after. She walked to the clearing where the horses had fallen, walked from corpse to corpse, and searched for any sign of life. After she counted the dead, she sang a mourning song for forty days and nights, then wiped the tears away, and buried the bodies. But she saved the bones of the most beautiful horse she found and built a flute from its ribs. Big Mom played a new flute song every morning to remind everybody that music created and recreated the world daily. (*Reservation Blues*: 10)

Similar to Ford's argument, James Keegan (1999: 122) states that "The horses slaughtered by Wright and his Bluecoats were living symbols of the Indians's mobility and war power and are therefore easily read as representative of the Indians themselves". With the flute made of bones, Big Mom is transforming memory into music, and in this sense, the episode of the horses symbolizes the

Natives' situation in America. The flute, played every morning by Big Mom, contains the painful history of Natives that must be remembered by every member of the reservation. Music becomes in the novel a way of keeping alive Natives' tradition. Indeed, the blues is connected to the devils, that is, the suffering of the spirit. Thus, music embodies two topics: on the one hand, the pain suffered by Natives and, on the other hand, the contamination of American popular culture in the realm of the reservation, since the music played by Thomas's band is American rock and roll. If music represents the main metaphor of the novel, the principal symbol is Johnson's guitar, which is passed from his hands to Thomas's hands and finally to Victor's.

Whereas music seems to be the force that symbolizes the syncretism between Native traditions and American culture, Thomas-Builds-the-Fire, the central character, stands as the figure at the crossroads that infiltrates and maintains Native history and traditions in his band and in the reservation. In order to do this, he uses storytelling as his main discourse. He is known in the reservation for his stories, which he repeats constantly as if he wanted to engrave them in the memory of those who pretend to be listening to him. Oral tradition is a recording technique used by many ethnic groups in North America. It emerges in opposition to the colonial discourse which supports the written history recorded by those who had the power. Storytelling appears as an alternative history which gives these minorities the possibility of knowing that part of history which was deleted by the colonial discourse, allowing them to construct a new identity with their found roots. Throughout the novel Thomas will be identified with these stories that, as the narrator explains, become very disturbing in the reservation's life:

Thomas Builds-the-Fire's stories climbed into your clothes like sand, gave you itches that could not be scratched. If you repeated even a sentence from one of those stories, your throat was never the same again. Those stories hung in your clothes and hair like smoke, and no amount of laundry soap or shampoo washed them out. Victor and Junior often tried to beat those stories out of Thomas, tied him down and taped his mouth shut. They pretended to be friendly and tried to sweet-talk Thomas into temporary silences, made promises about beautiful Indian women and cases of Diet Pepsi. But none of that stopped Thomas, who talked and talked. (*Reservation Blues*: 15)

The passage illustrates how Thomas's stories are part of the clothes, bodies, voice, to sum up, the identity of the members of the reservation, who are shaken by these fragmented pieces of their own history reflecting their fragmented identities. In order to escape their own reality they hide behind the Diet Pepsi,

one of those masks defined by Louise Owen and with which they see themselves as the definition European Americans have given them.

Being the singer and founder of the band, Thomas's stories carry the same suffering Johnson's guitar does, explaining his desire to translate the pain of the reservation's old stories into the music as a more useful way to preserve them. In this sense, he chooses *Coyote Springs* as the name of his band. This time Thomas is stepping into the mask European Americans have prepared for him, more specifically, he is making himself, his band and his native stories, disguise with the Indian clothes. Douglas Ford (2002: 205) explains that the "coyote" is a recurring figure of Native American trickster stories. Junior and Victor corroborate this idea when they give their opinions about the band's name:

"We need a name for this band", Thomas said after another well-attended rehearsal.

"How about Bloodthirsty Savages? Victor asked.

"That's a cool name, enit?" Junior asked.

"I was thinking about Coyote Springs," Thomas said.

"That's too damn Indian," Junior said. "It's always Coyote this, Coyote that. I'm sick of Coyote."

"Fuck Coyote," Victor said. (*Reservation Blues*: 44-45)

Two clear stereotypes are used here to delineate the barrier between the White American and the Indian, and therefore, the *pluribus* and the *unum*. Victor complains about Thomas's choice on the band's name, but his is not very far from being also "too damn Indian". In his case, Victor chose a destructive stereotype: one of the arguments to justify Natives' persecution was that they were considered savages thirsty of blood. Again, Thomas and his band stay in a cultural crossroads where Thomas is the one who gets closest to what Owens defines as a discourse of identity. Although he is not at all separated from the dominant society, he is the representative of traditional roots and, accordingly, brings to the novel the Native American identity path.

On the opposite side of the White European mirror is Victor. Friends since they were kids, Victor has a contradictory friendship with Thomas. Sometimes he needs him and sometimes he wants to get rid of him. For Thomas, Victor is his unconditional friend; for Victor, Thomas is a nuisance and he is especially because Thomas represents what Victor wants to leave behind: his Indian identity. Victor is trapped in that side of the mirror where he can only see the Euro-American image of the Native, and, as many other reservation Indians, he cannot recognize himself in that reflection. It could be stated that Victor leaves in a permanent attempt to erase his identity through White American stereotypes, trying to be what the White Europeans have created for him. Yet, he is one of the characters that fluctuate in the frontier the reservation represents. In other words,

Victor seems to live with one foot in the reservation and another in American society. On the one hand, he desperately wants to leave behind the ghosts and suffering his own identity and traditions mean for him, but, on the other, he is unable to cut the umbilical cord that reminds him who he is. The narrator describes Victor's personality in comparison to Thomas's:

Thomas was not surprised by Victor's sudden violence. These little wars were intimate affairs for those who dreamed in childhood of fishing for salmon but woke up as adults to shop at the Trading Post and stand in line for U.S.D.A. commodity food instead. They savagely, repeatedly, opened up cans of commodities and wept over the rancid meat, forced to eat what stray dogs ignored. Indian men like Victor roared from place to place, set fires, broke windows, and picked on the weaker members of the Tribe. Thomas had been the weakest Indian boy on the whole reservation, so small and skinny, with bigger wrists than arms, a head too large for its body, and ugly government glasses. When he grew older and stronger, grew into an Indian man, he was the smallest Indian man on the reservation. (*Reservation Blues*: 14)

Victor represents the identity fragmentation experienced by Native Americans in the reservations. In a way, he is condemned to survive from the leftovers of American society and become a victim of the original violent usurpation. Victor's violence is the consequence of the horse slaughter committed by the American soldiers and witnessed by Big Mom, the metaphor this time reverberating on Victor's existence. Indeed, Big Mom saw "the future and the past, the white soldiers in blue uniforms with black rifles and pistols. She saw the Indian horses shot and fallen like tattered sheets" (*Reservation Blues*: 10). The horses write and mark the torn pages of the unknown Native American history and, at the same time, break Victor's identity into pieces. Thus, he is completely lost in a justified violence that tries to destroy everything that reminds him of being an Indian, not the real Indian seen through the eyes of his community, but the image created by White Europeans. Actually, this is the way in which he gets a respectable place in the community and attacks its weaker members, one of which is his friend Thomas, who, in comparison, becomes stronger with time, since he maintains his communion with his Native culture and traditions. Thomas grew into an Indian man who, in the reservation, is the smallest one, whereas Victor is a big, strong and feared member in the reservation, but almost invisible in Native tradition. In fact, James Keegan (1999: 116) states that: "Thomas Builds-the-Fire stands as a contrast and complement to Victor. He has, we learn, become outcast on the reservation because he insists on maintaining the narrative heart of cultural identity, thereby reminding a frustrated people of a potential they view as unfulfillable". In this context, while Thomas lives in harmony with his cultural roots, Victor lives in a limbo where he can only pretend to be someone he is not, and sees himself reflected on Thomas' personality.

If Thomas and Victor are contrastive and complementary figures, the third member of the band, Junior, Victor's shadow and unconditional mate, is a victim of American society. They represent in the novel Bhabha's "in-between space". Although Thomas lives in the reservation and that directly implies a forced cultural assimilation, he represents, in a way, as I have said before, cultural preservation. In this game of symbols, Victor and Junior, stand for cultural syncretism, in other words, they live in the middle of the reservation's frontier. In fact, Junior is presented in the novel as the only one who had access to university, therefore, he has experienced American society and an attempt at integration:

In Psychology 101, Junior had learned from Freud and Jung that dreams decided everything. He figured that Freud and Jung must have been reservation Indians, because dreams decided everything for Indians, too. Junior based all of his decisions on his dreams and visions, which created a lot of problems. (*Reservation Blues*: 18)

Junior's experience depicts the permanent cultural clash that Indians live in American society. Later on, he will suffer society's refusal when his American girlfriend, who is pregnant, rejects his marriage proposal and decides to abort without his consent, because she knows her parents will not accept Junior for being an Indian. After this event, Junior seems to half live under Victor's shadow, although he maintains a stronger link with his Native identity. At the beginning of the novel their friendship represents loyalty, a value protected by Junior but betrayed by Victor at the end when he sells his friendship to get anything he wants from the guitar. This disloyalty destroys Junior's relationship with Victor but also the last connection they both had with Indian traditions and the essence of their values. The guitar talks to Victor and says:

I think you left something behind in New York, said the guitar.
Victor stepped inside the bathroom, shut the door behind him, and reached for it.
Take it easy there, the guitar said. You can have me back. You can take me and you can be anybody you want to be. You can have anything you want to have. But you have to trade me for it.
Trade what? Victor asked.
You have to give up what you love the most, said the guitar.
What do you love the most? Who do you love the most? (*Reservation Blues*: 255)

The guitar stands for everything related to the White American world, a contamination that brings destruction and extinction. What Victor loves the most is his friend and, consequently, after this, Junior kills himself. He is the one who could not cope with the ghosts especially when his "twin" abandons him for a guitar, in other words, for the White world. It is true that the fact of having created the band and playing White American songs is in itself a contamination, a

betrayal to Native traditions; however, trading Junior means, in the case of Victor, selling his Native identity, destroying preservation and facilitating assimilation.

A firm example of Victor's and Junior's mixture with American society is their relationship with Betty and Veronica, representatives of a part of American society that creates an image of the Native full of stereotypes. Moreover, they become the voices that govern the mainstream of American popular culture. Kathryn Shanley (in Bataille, 2001: 28) defines this type of American as the "would-be Indians", those "who reinscribe nineteenth-century, romantic images of 'noble savages'":

Two long-standing American cultural phenomena come together in the above drama: first, that pretending to be Indian or believing that it is possible to "know" what it means to be "Indian" is within the purview of most Americans; and second, that being preoccupied with national hypocrisies is also within the American experience - a preoccupation that rarely leads to genuine insight.

Shanley describes perfectly Betty's and Veronica's role in the novel. The only reason why they get to know *Coyote Springs* is because they believe they know what it means to be an Indian and they want to become one of them. The narrator describes them in these terms: "both had long blonde hair and wore too much Indian jewelry. Turquoise rings, silver feather earrings, beaded necklaces. They always appeared in sundresses with matching Birkenstocks" (*Reservation Blues*: 41). Through these two characters and their relationship with two Spokane Indians, Alexie is introducing an ever-lasting identity conflict in American society: they represent the vision Americans have about Natives and, especially, how they contaminate with their vision Native's culture and identity. One of the characters, a reservation Indian woman named Chess, explains this corruption:

"Seriously, I think Junior and Victor are traitors," Chess said. "I really do. They keep running off with white women and pretty soon, ain't no Indian women going to touch them. We Indian women talk to each other, you know? We have a network. They're two of the last full-blood Indians on your reservations, enit? Jeez, Junior and Victor are betraying their DNA."

"Well," Thomas, a full-blood Spokane himself, said, "do you like me or my DNA?"

"I like you and your DNA." (*Reservation Blues*: 82)

This idea is reinforced by an episode that happens almost at the end of the novel. The *Coyote Springs* finally get an audition with a record company called "Cavalry Records", in explicit reference to the initial horses metaphor, and extended to the name of the company's agents, Wright and Sheridan, alluding to the real Cavalry officers George Wright and Jim Sheridan, who were crucial

in the violent suppression of Northwest Indian uprisings in the 1850s (Keegan, 1999: 122). The agents were looking for a band who could play Indian sounds at a moment when Indian music and culture are fashionable. Instead of recording the “just-off-the-reservation” Indian’s music they decide to choose Coyote Spring’s fans, Betty and Veronica, to record an album that will sell Indian culture from a white centered perspective. Armstrong, the owner of the record company, comments about this:

“Can’t you see the possibilities? We dress them up a little. Get them in to the tanning booth. Darken them up a bit. Maybe a little plastic surgery on those cheekbones. Get them a little higher, you know? Dye their hair black. Then we’d have Indians. People want to hear Indians”. (*Reservation Blues*: 269)

As Thomas and Victor play the role of complement opposites, the same happens with Betty and Veronica. Their contraries in this identity game are Chess and Checkers, two reservation Indians too, who met *Coyote Springs* in one of the first concerts and became members of the band. Together with Thomas, Chess represents preservation, a way of living in which Indians can stay away from assimilation as much as they can, if that is possible. Through Chess’ eyes, the reader sees reservation reality as something broken that has to be fixed by protecting the last damaged parts left. As a woman, Chess bases all her arguments about preservation on women, their relationship with men and the descendants they can leave behind:

“as traditional as it sounds, I think Indian men need Indian women. I think only Indian women can take care of Indian men. Jeez, we give birth to Indian men. We feed them. We hold them when they cry. Then they run off with white women. I’m sick of it”. (*Reservation Blues*: 81)

Like Thomas and Victor, or Victor and Junior, Chess is not alone. She also has a doppelganger, her sister Checkers. Again, comparing it with the male characters, Checkers has her parallel in Junior. Both represent assimilation, that is, they stand as victims of American society, a condition that has made them weak and easily influenced. Whereas Junior is absorbed by one of the pillars of American society, university, so is Checkers, but this time by a different strong entity, church. Checkers finds in the Catholic religion and church a comforting way of understanding her terrible reality as a reservation Indian. Indeed, she confuses this balance with love and she eventually falls in love with the priest of the Spokane reservation, Father Arnold. Impossibility determines Junior’s and Checker’s assimilation. If Junior cannot integrate in American society and start a family with a white woman because of his Native origins, a similar thing happens

to Checkers since she falls in love with a white man who will never be able to return her. Besides, she finds shelter in Catholic faith, a doctrine that completely misunderstands Native culture and justified in a way Indian extermination:

Thomas closed his eyes and told Chess this story: “We were both at Wounded Knee when the Ghost Dancers were slaughtered. We were slaughtered at Wounded Knee. I know there were whole different tribes there, no Spokanes or Flatheads, but we were still somehow there. There was a part of every Indian bleeding in the snow. All those soldiers killed us in the name of God, enit? They shouted ‘Jesus Christ’ as they ran swords through our bellies. Can you feel the pain still, late at night, when you’re trying to sleep, when you’re praying to a God whose name was used to justify the slaughter? (*Reservation Blues*: 167)

In conclusion, Alexie depicts in his novel the confrontation between Indian identity and the representation the dominant white European Americans have created of it. In order to do this he weaves a net of characters in which each represents, either the reservation Indian who tries to maintain his or her native roots, or the contaminated Indian victim of society’s rejection and assimilation. Thus, this net becomes an identity game that confronts each character with its doppelganger, in other words, the coexistence between the white world and the Indian world. At some point in the novel, Thomas, the protagonist, states that “I’ve always had a theory that you ain’t really Indian unless, at some point in your life, you didn’t want to be Indian” (*Reservation Blues*: 169). Although Alexie creates characters that represent Indian identity preservation, he situates them in a reservation, a space that fragments their identities, since contamination from the white world is permanent. In this sense, his characters inhabit an “in- between space”, a White American place surrounded by a silenced Indian world. However, in the thin frontier that separates the reservation from American society, there exists the discourse constructed by these characters, intermittently voicing the silence where they are trapped. By extension, the whole novel becomes Alexie’s claim for an Indian voice with which Natives can name their identities, but always in the presence of their white shadows.

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El mundo clásico en la poesía de Luis Cernuda

JESÚS BERMÚDEZ RAMIRO
UNIVERSITAT JAUME I

ABSTRACT: This article explores the presence of the classical world in Luis Cernuda's poetry. Cernuda makes explicit allusion to it in his approach to Ancient Greece, which he regarded as the mythical space where the pillars of Western culture, philosophy and art had flourished. Equally, the poet expresses some of his recurrent themes, such as the appeal to beauty by contemplating the young human body, through mythical Greek characters. Additionally, Cernuda showed a deep knowledge of Latin poetry in his paraphrase of verses by Catulo, Horatio or Virgil.

Keywords: Luis Cernuda, 1927 poet generation, classical world, classical Greece, mythical characters, beauty, poetry.

RESUMEN: Con este artículo pretendemos mostrar la presencia del mundo clásico antiguo en la poesía de Luis Cernuda. Esta presencia queda patente, en primer lugar, a través de las diferentes manifestaciones explícitas del propio poeta. Cernuda consideraba Grecia como una tierra mítica, donde tuvo nacimiento la poesía, la filosofía y el arte, bases de la cultura occidental. En segundo lugar, el poeta utiliza a menudo personajes mitológicos griegos como modelos para ejemplificar algunos de los temas recurrentes en su obra. Al mismo tiempo, su aprecio y valoración de la hermosura, tal y como la concebían los griegos, queda de manifiesto en la contemplación del cuerpo humano joven. Pero junto a esta presencia de la Grecia clásica, en el trabajo mostramos también como Cernuda tuvo también un conocimiento profundo de la poesía latina, ya que algunos de sus versos traen a la memoria a poetas de la talla de Catulo, Horacio o Virgilio.

Palabras clave: Cernuda, generación del 27, mundo clásico, Grecia, personajes mitológicos, belleza, poesía.

1. Introducción

Luis Cernuda es uno de los grandes poetas de la «generación del 27», muchos de cuyos protagonistas vieron marcada su existencia por la guerra civil, que en algunos casos, como en el del propio Cernuda, desembocó en la tragedia del exilio forzoso. De ahí que un cierto resentimiento, la soledad, el amor, la añoranza de una tierra perdida para siempre y el eterno conflicto entre la realidad y el deseo (Flys, 1985; Martínez Nadal, 1989), se convirtieran desde entonces en elementos temáticos clave en la poesía del poeta sevillano.

Al mismo tiempo, y para lo que aquí más nos interesa, la poesía de Cernuda bebe en la fuente de la antigüedad clásica, especialmente de la tradición griega. Cernuda consideraba Grecia como una tierra mítica, donde el aprecio y la valoración de la belleza, los dioses, los héroes y los personajes mitológicos le sirvieron en más de una ocasión como referentes vitales, que se hacen patentes en algunos momentos de su poesía. Grecia fue para Cernuda la cuna de poetas, filósofos y músicos, cuna de las ciencias del ver, del saber, y del oír, cuyo eco alcanza a toda Europa (y Mozart en la cúspide), la gloria del mundo, «porque Europa es el mundo», según Cernuda.¹ Por ello, el poeta sevillano se lamentaría de que Grecia no hubiera nunca alcanzado la mente de los españoles: «No puedo menos de deplorar que Grecia nunca tocara el corazón ni la mente españoles, los más remotos e ignorantes, en Europa, de la gloria que fue Grecia. Bien se echa de ver en nuestra vida, nuestra historia, nuestra literatura».²

2. La mitología griega en la poesía de Cernuda

Uno de los tópicos que más impresión causaron en Cernuda fueron los mitos. El descubrimiento a edad temprana de la mitología, tras haber caído en sus manos un libro sobre el tema, hizo tambalear sus propias creencias religiosas. Qué triste tuvo que parecerle al joven Cernuda su propia religión, la que le enseñaba a «doblegar la cabeza ante el sufrimiento divinizado».³ De ahí que su poesía se halle penetrada con frecuencia por la contradicción que se deriva de una férrea educación religiosa, caracterizada por el monoteísmo, y que no admite discusión alguna, y el mundo mucho más liberal y sugerente de los griegos y sus dioses. A partir de ahí, los mitos helénicos se convirtieron en guía permanente de su poesía.

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1. «Mozart», versos 8-14, *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 489. Para la identificación de los poemas, seguimos la edición a cargo de Harris y Maristany (1993).
 2. «Helena», *Ocnos*, pág. 608-609.
 3. «El poeta y los mitos», *Ocnos*, pág. 560-561.

Esta poesía está poblada de dioses, pero de dioses concebidos a la manera griega. Representan fuerzas invisibles, pero reales, que se manifiestan de formas diferentes. Habitan «arriba», en los cielos, en idílicos parajes, dotados de luz perpetua, y ajenos al paso del tiempo. Con no poca frecuencia, se muestran indiferentes a las acciones de los hombres, (en esto, Cernuda parece seguir la tradición epicúrea)⁴ y al igual que el mar, son insondables, sin muestra aparente de deseo, ni pena. Los dioses representan también conceptos abstractos, como la soledad, la tristeza o la belleza. Pero al mismo tiempo, sirven para la identificación con las formas esculturales de la juventud, tan admiradas por el poeta:

Vivo, bello y divino
Un joven dios avanza sonriendo.⁵

nos dice en su «Oda» (*Égloga, elegía, oda*), refiriéndose a un joven de formas perfectas. En suma, una concepción clásica esta de los dioses que está en las antípodas de la imaginiería cristiana, como recuerda Cernuda en otro momento:

Porque nunca he querido dioses crucificados
Tristes dioses que insultan
Esa tierra ardorosa que te hizo y deshace.⁶

La mitología griega⁷ aporta a Cernuda toda una serie de personajes, a los que asigna diferentes funciones. Una de las más frecuente es la de servir como segundo término en el proceso de comparación-identificación. Como en el poema «Peregrino»:⁸ al poeta no le es posible volver la vista atrás, no puede regresar a su tierra, su vida es un continuo peregrinar, un perpetuo seguir adelante, fiel hasta el fin del camino y de la vida, como el Ulises de la antigüedad clásica. Pero a diferencia de este, que al final consigue regresar a su patria, donde le espera la amada Penélope, el poeta tiene que seguir adelante. Es un Ulises sin posibilidad de regreso, sus pies tendrán que vagar eternamente sobre tierras antes no holladas, y sus ojos enfrentarse ante lo nunca visto.

Mas, ¿tú? ¿Volver? Regresar no piensas
Si no seguir libre adelante

4. Sobre la opinión de Epicuro sobre los dioses, véase García Gual (1993: 165-178).

5. «Oda», versos 13-14, *Égloga, elegía, oda*, pág. 136.

6. «A un muchacho andaluz», versos 47-49, *Invocaciones*, pág. 222.

7. Para una mejor comprensión de los referentes mitológicos, véase Grimal (1982) y Humbert (1984).

8. *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 530-531.

Disponible por siempre, mozo o viejo
Sin hijo que te busque, como a Ulises
Sin Ítaca que aguarde y sin Penélope.

En su poema «Desolación de la Quimera», poema central de su poemario del mismo nombre,⁹ lanza una crítica contra aquellos poetas que se instalan en un sillón de academia, en vez de preferir la locura y el poder de la imaginación y la creatividad. La Quimera, piedra corroída en el desierto, símbolo de la imaginación, al que acudían en otros tiempos los poetas, ve el resurgir de cada día, desolada y triste, llorando por no poder morir, sin que nadie acuda a ella como fuente de eterna locura, de un imaginar dichoso, de sueños de futuro, de esperanzas de amor, de periplos soleados.

La Quimera, esa piedra corroída en el desierto, solitaria, símbolo de la imaginación y de la creatividad, es comparada con la Esfinge. Otro personaje de la antigüedad, de cabeza humana y cuerpo de pájaro, que antaño planteaba a los viajeros enigmas que no podían resolver, pero que al igual que la Quimera, ha sido ya olvidada por los hombres:

Sin víctimas y amantes. ¿Dónde fueron los hombres?
Ya no creen en mí, y los enigmas que yo les propusiera
Insolubles, como la Esfinge, mi rival y hermana
Ya no les tientan.

En otros momentos, el término de la comparación es aquel pájaro de la antigüedad, capaz de morir y renacer de sus cenizas: el ave fénix. Cernuda compara al poeta con esta ave, en una imagen plástica con la que quiere transmitir la idea de que a los poetas se les reconoce poco o nada en vida, pero una vez muertos, se les lleva a los altares. Uno de los poemas en que aparece más nítidamente esa imagen es el titulado «Limbo»:¹⁰

Así, pensabas, el poeta
Vive para esto, para esto
Noches y días amargos, sin ayuda
De nadie, en la contienda
Adonde, como el fénix, muere y nace
Para que años después, siglos
Después, obtenga al fin el displicente
Favor de un grande en este mundo.

9. *Idem*, pág. 527-530.

10. *Con las horas contadas*, pág. 460-462.

Y similar idea vemos expresada en «Birds in the night»,¹¹ a propósito de dos poetas franceses, Verlaine y Rimbaud, miembros ya del olimpo literario, pero criticados duramente en vida por sus costumbres. Así, el hecho de que el mismo vulgo que maltrató a Verlaine por sus costumbres licenciosas lo compare, una vez muerto, con un sátiro de la tradición clásica, no deja indiferente al poeta:

Vida al margen del todo, sodomía, borrachera, versos escarnecidos
 Ya no importan en ellos, y Francia usa de ambos nombres y ambas obras
 Para mayor gloria de Francia y su arte lógico
 Sus actos y sus pasos se investigan, dando al público
 Detalles íntimos de sus vidas. Nadie se asusta ahora, ni protesta
 ¿Verlaine? Vaya, amigo mío, un sátiro, un verdadero sátiro
 Cuando de la mujer se trata; bien normal era el hombre
 Igual que usted y que yo. ¿Rimbaud? Católico sincero, como está demostrado.

En su poema en prosa «Regreso a la sombra» de *Ocnos*,¹² en el que el poeta se lamenta de no poder recobrar en otra vida los momentos de dicha, y de reunirse para siempre con la persona amada, aquel se compara con el mismo Orfeo. Y al igual que hiciera este para rescatar a su amada Eurídice,¹³ el poeta dice no tener problemas en bajar a los infiernos, si con ello consigue recuperar la imagen de su dicha, la forma de su felicidad. Pero, se lamenta el poeta, «ya no hay dioses que nos devuelvan compasivos lo que perdimos», sino tan solo un azar ciego, «con paso de borracho, es el que va trazando el rumbo estúpido de nuestra vida».

En otras ocasiones, Cernuda se recrea en la figura de algún personaje mitológico. De su primera época como poeta, en sus *Primeras Poesías*, el poema número XIII,¹⁴ nos llega una bellísima recreación poética de Narciso enamorado de su imagen «fugaz memoria de plata» en el agua helada, inmóvil y sólo. En otro poema, «Urania»,¹⁵ el poeta se imagina a esta musa de la astronomía y la astrología en un bosque de plátanos, inmóvil, vestida de azul (color de la bóveda celeste), con la mano atenta a la armonía de los astros, y radiante inspiradora de los números. Se trata igualmente de una bella recreación de esta musa creada por

11. *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 495-498.

12. *Ocnos*, pág. 612.

13. Sobre este mito de la antigüedad nos habla Virgilio en el libro IV de sus *Geórgicas*. Virgilio cuenta que Orfeo bajó a los infiernos para rescatar a Eurídice, su esposa, que había muerto por una picadura de serpiente. Los dioses infernales accedieron a devolver a Orfeo su esposa, pero le pusieron una condición: no volver la cabeza hasta que no hubiera salido de los infiernos. Sin embargo, Orfeo no resistió la tentación de volver la vista atrás y su esposa Eurídice regresó a los infiernos, sin posibilidad ya de ver la luz.

14. *Primeras poesías*, pág. 115.

15. *Como quien espera al alba*, pág. 328.

la mente griega. Para el poeta representa la calma y el sosiego, frente al dolor informe de la vida. A ella acude buscando paz y tranquilidad, dejando a un lado la pasión inútil, a la que en otros días dio curso.

La presencia de personajes mitológicos sirve en otros momentos como trasfondo filosófico para determinadas ideas y reflexiones. Así sucede, por ejemplo, en los poemas: «Las sirenas», «*Ninfa y pastor* por Ticiano», «Lamento de Andrómeda».¹⁶ En el primero de ellos, el poeta expone la idea de que aquellas personas –muy pocas–, que poseen unas cualidades especiales, fuera de lo común, quedan viudos y desolados para siempre. La canción de las sirenas, la misma que resistiera Ulises, funciona a modo de símbolo que viene a representar esas cualidades o formas de ser especiales (Cirlot, 1969). Y es una clara referencia al propio poeta, a su homosexualidad y al destierro, que le llevaron ante una vida caracterizada por la soledad y el aislamiento.

En el segundo poema, el titulado «*Ninfa y pastor* por Ticiano», aparece un Cernuda consciente ya de tener cerca el final de sus días, y deseando, como aquel viejo pintor, representar la forma humana. Para ello trae a la memoria el cuadro de Ticiano. Nos describe con toda delicadeza a la ninfa desnuda y reclinada, y a su lado al pastor absorto por la carnal hermosura. No oculta su fervor por la forma humana, a la que el pintor se dedicó con amor y trabajo, «que son un solo acto».¹⁷ El poeta, al igual que el pintor, no renuncia a sus deseos, a diferencia del santo cuya renuncia es sobrehumana. Se siente como el pintor destinado a ser hombre, solo y para siempre.

Por su parte, en el «Lamento de Andrómeda», recoge el momento en que este personaje de la mitología griega se encuentra encadenado a una roca frente al mar.¹⁸ En su soledad pronuncia un largo lamento. Se trata de una reflexión sobre el amor y el deseo que surgen como una fuerza sobrehumana desde su interior. Andrómeda sueña con el amor, que le haga olvidar astucias viles, y abandona su cuerpo como presa bajo el terco deseo. Anhela que el amor entorne sus brazos sobre ella, un amor altivo como mar indomable, que será su fuerza y su albedrío.

16. «Las sirenas», *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 494, «*Ninfa y pastor* por Ticiano», *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 498, «Lamento de Andrómeda», *Otros poemas de la etapa sevillana*, pág. 684.

17. «*Ninfa y pastor* por Ticiano», *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 498, v. 34.

18. Según la mitología griega, Andrómeda fue encadenada a una roca por su padre, el rey Cefeo. El motivo de este encadenamiento lo causó su propia madre, Casiopea, que provocó la ira de Poseidón, al presumir de ser tan bella como las Nereidas. Como castigo, Poseidón envió a un monstruo marino, Ceto, para que acabara con hombres y ganados. Por el oráculo, supo el rey que la forma de acabar con esta situación era casar a su hija Andrómeda con el monstruo y para ello la encadenó a una roca frente al mar. Este es el instante que recoge el poeta y que le sirve para hablar del amor y el deseo. Perseo vio a Andrómeda y se enamoró de ella, la libró del monstruo, petrificándolo con la cabeza de Medusa y convirtiéndolo en coral.

Una de las funciones más llamativas que asigna Cernuda a los referentes clásicos, concretamente a los «jóvenes sátiros» (como en el extenso poema, titulado «Dans ma péniche» de *Invocaciones*)¹⁹ es la de servir como coro a sus reflexiones más íntimas, a semejanza de los coros de las tragedias clásicas. Estos sátiros cumplen con la finalidad de arropar a los pobres amantes en su desdicha, ante la única salida posible que tienen delante de sí; una salida que, por otro lado, se contempla como positiva. Así, en «Dans ma péniche» el poeta alude a la recuperación de la libertad cuando el amor se muere. El estado de melancolía y de abatimiento en que sume la pérdida del amor a los pobres amantes tiene como recompensa la conquista bajo la luz terrestre de nuevas dichas y de renovados deseos, que girarán en pos de nuevos y hermosos cuerpos.

Los protagonistas del poema son unos pobres amantes, que han dejado de tener sus miembros ligados a las mallas del amor, y que en su estado depresivo, desprecian todo aquello que no porte un velo funerario, pero que de forma inconsciente, están fertilizando con sus lágrimas la tumba de los sueños. El poeta invita a los jóvenes sátiros,²⁰ que habitan en la selva, a danzar como si de un coro se tratara, porque la libertad entonces ha nacido y su descuidada alegría sabrá fortalecerla. He aquí algunos versos:

Jóvenes sátiros
Que vivís en la selva
Pies de jóvenes sátiros
Danzad más presto cuando el amante llora
[...]
Porque oscura y cruel la libertad entonces ha nacido; vuestra descuidada alegría
sabrà fortalecerla
Y el deseo girará locamente en pos de los hermosos cuerpos
Que vivifican el mundo un instante.

Finalmente, el referente clásico mitológico es evocado en ocasiones como parte de una visión surrealista (Capote Benot, 1976), como sucede en el poema «Había en el fondo del mar» de *Los Placeres prohibidos*.²¹ El poeta, sumergido en su subconsciente, describe toda una serie de objetos imaginarios en el fondo del mar, uno de los cuales es la cola de una sirena, que describe en los siguientes términos: «Había una cola de sirena con reflejos venenosos y un muslo de adolescente, distantes la una de la otra; les llamaban los enemigos».

19. *Invocaciones*, pág. 234-236.

20. Los sátiros eran imaginados por los antiguos danzando en el campo, bebiendo con Dionisio, y persiguiendo a las ninfas.

21. *Los Placeres prohibidos*, pág. 192.

3. Los referentes clásicos de la belleza

Otro de los elementos del mundo clásico griego con gran repercusión en la poesía de Cernuda fue su aprecio y valoración de la hermosura, bajo el símbolo de Helena, tal como los griegos concebían esta figura mitológica. De hecho, la admiración permanente de Cernuda por el hombre del Renacimiento, viene dada precisamente porque, al igual que el griego, aquel conoce y reverencia como deidad única a la hermosura, en claro contraste con la ignorancia que sobre ella existe en España, según nuestro poeta. Esta ignorancia hizo que el Renacimiento pasara fugaz, como un relámpago, por nuestro país, para regresar de nuevo al «pasado medieval, de donde jamás volverá a salir».²² Garcilaso de la Vega, por el que Cernuda sentía cierta predilección, se benefició de ese momento, y buscó la belleza, libre de compromisos mundanos y sobrehumanos. Sin embargo, la mayoría de los poetas españoles, según Cernuda, «dada la ninguna afición indígena al pensamiento y a la reflexión»,²³ no quisieron beneficiarse de ese momento histórico de capital importancia en la historia de Europa.

Hay en Cernuda cierta concepción platónica de la belleza, como reflejo divino, «¿Es la hermosura, // Forma carnal de una celeste idea // Hecha para morir?», se pregunta el poeta.²⁴ La belleza es, sin duda, uno de los motivos centrales de su poesía. Alcanza su más honda manifestación en la contemplación del cuerpo humano joven, en todo caso, siempre el del hombre, nunca el de la mujer. Su condición homosexual explica claramente esta predilección. «El joven marino» de *Invocaciones*²⁵ y «El elegido» de *Con las horas contadas*,²⁶ pueden dar buena muestra de ello. En ambos la línea poemática se desarrolla bajo una misma idea: dos jóvenes de especial belleza pierden su vida, uno en el mar y otro entregándola al templo. Este último recibe toda clase de atenciones y cuidados desde el día en que es designado, un año antes. Se trata de un mancebo sin tacha, cuyo cuerpo, como el de un dios ungido, es perfecto, igual en proporción que en alma. Desde el momento de su elección sus días están contados. El poeta visualiza este hecho mediante una temporalización acelerada: «un año antes del día», «veinte días antes del día», «cinco días antes del día», y finalmente, haciendo ver al joven en lenta ascensión, peldaño a peldaño, hasta alcanzar el templo, en la cima del llano. Símbolo de la vida, que quedará rota para siempre, son las flautas tañidas por el mozo, que va rompiendo entre sus dedos a medida

22. «Helena», *Ocnos*, pág.608-609.

23. *Idem*.

24. «El águila», versos 52-54, *Como quien espera al alba*, pág. 322.

25. «El joven marino», *Invocaciones*, pág. 236.

26. «El elegido», *Con las horas contadas*, pág. 455.

que asciende a la cima, como revela en los dos versos finales: «Como una de sus cañas, allí, rota la vida // quedaba en su hermosura para siempre».²⁷

«El joven marino» es uno de esos poemas en los que el máximo deseo queda cumplido, en este caso mediante la fusión entre un joven marino y el mar en que perece. El mar aparece como una gran criatura enigmática, igual que un dios, pero que, a semejanza del hombre, conoce nuestros deseos estériles. Sin embargo, en esta criatura enigmática el joven marino encuentra la realización de su amor, de su mayor anhelo, confundiendo su vida con la suya, en un acto de posesión sublime, desposados el uno con el otro, vida con vida, muerte con muerte. Cernuda se recrea en el recuerdo y en la contemplación de este joven marino, de pecho y hombros dilatados, de admirable forma, que pereció en el mar, quedando su cuerpo flotando, «apenas deformado por las nupciales caricias del mar».²⁸

La contemplación de la belleza en cuerpos de jóvenes mancebos es la misma que tuvieron los griegos de la antigua Grecia. El ideal de belleza masculina, basado en la proporción, lo materializaron en la infinidad de esculturas que conservamos de la antigüedad clásica helénica. Cernuda debió de tener presente en su mente este ideal de belleza masculina, que a su vez es un reflejo de otra belleza, esta vez de naturaleza divina. Su poema «Sombras» da buena prueba de ello. En él se nos describe a un joven «rubio y fino», a quien compara con el Hermes de Praxíteles: «paseaba al atardecer, la redonda y breve cabeza cubierta de cortos rizos negros, en la boca fresca esbozaba una burlona sonrisa. Su cuerpo ágil y fuerte, de porte cadencioso, traía a la memoria el Hermes de Praxíteles: un Hermes que sostuviera en su brazo curvado contra la cintura, en vez del infante Dionisios, una enorme sandía, toda veteada de blanco la verde piel oscura».²⁹

4. Fuentes latinas en la poesía de Cernuda

Ahora bien, no sólo el mundo clásico griego atrajo la atención de nuestro poeta. De hecho, Cernuda también debió de sentirse atraído por la poesía latina,³⁰ cuya lectura resulta patente en algunos de sus versos. Un ejemplo clarificador aparece en su poema «El poeta y la bestia» de la *Desolación de la Quimera*. Goethe representa en este poema al poeta, mientras que la bestia son las tropas francesas que irrumpen en su casa. Goethe, poeta genial, en quien genio y circunstancias fueron favorables, no se libró de la intervención de estas fuerzas groseras y obtusas. Se alojaron en su casa y quedó expuesto a que algún soldado

27. Versos 34-35.

28. Verso 132.

29. *Ocnos*, pág.582.

30. Sobre poesía latina, pueden consultarse las obras de Canali (1990) y De Cuenca y Alvar (2004).

patán tomara la iniciativa y acabara con su vida, al igual que una flor que crece en el sendero puede ser destrozada por la pezuña de un animal. En los versos 27-30 recoge esta bella y delicada imagen:

Lo mismo que la flor, su perfección abierta
Y erguida entre las hojas al borde de un sendero
Puede verse deshecha por el casco o pezuña
De un animal trashumante que ignora cómo daña.³¹

Esta imagen es la que veintiún siglos atrás vemos en el poeta latino Catulo (s. I a.C.) para indicar que su amor por la amada Lesbia había terminado. Estos son los versos:

Nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem
Qui illius culpa cecidit uelut prati
Ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
Tactus aratro est.³²

Horacio, otro poeta latino del s. I a.C., tampoco debió de ser desconocido para Cernuda. En la *Oda IV*, el poeta latino marca la diferencia entre la naturaleza y el hombre. La naturaleza está en continuo cambio, transformándose perennemente, a diferencia del hombre. Un ejemplo de ello son las estaciones, renovadas cíclicamente cada año, mientras que, una vez muerto, el hombre no vuelve nunca ya a la vida:³³

Diffugere niues, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comae;
mutat terra uices et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt;
Gratia cum Nymphis gemisque sororibus audet
ducere nuda choros.

[...]

31. «El poeta y la bestia», *Desolación de la Quimera*, pág. 519.

32. Catulo, *Carmina*, 11, versos 21-24. «Y que no piense, como antes, en mi amor, que por culpa de ella ha muerto al igual que la flor, al borde del prado, una vez ha sido golpeada por el arado a su paso». (La traducción es nuestra).

33. Anteriormente, Catulo ya había expresado esta idea del retorno de la naturaleza, concretada en los «soles», frente al hombre, (*Carmina* 5, versos 4-6):

Soles occidere et redire possunt
nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux
nox est perpetua una dormienda.

«Los soles pueden desaparecer y reaparecer; nosotros, tan pronto como se haya apagado nuestra breve llama, tendremos que dormir una sola noche eterna». (La traducción es nuestra).

nos ubi decidimus
quo pater Aeneas, quo diues Tullus et Ancus
pulis et umbra sumus.³⁴

Esta misma idea, pero centrada esta vez en la renovación de los espinos, nos es presentada por Cernuda en su poema «Los espinos» de *Cómo quien espera al alba*, (p.354).³⁵

Verdor nuevo los espinos
Tienen ya por la colina
Toda de púrpura y nieve
En el aire estremecida.

Cuántos ciclos florecidos
Les has visto; aunque a la cita
Ellos serán siempre fieles
Tú no lo serás un día.

La misma idea del retorno es expresada por el poeta en un bello poema titulado «Después». ³⁶ En él, Cernuda añade una nota de tristeza al contemplar, ya mayor, el eterno retorno de la primavera acompañado del nacimiento de una nueva juventud, hermosa, que disfrutará del amor, en contraste con el poeta, que no es ya más que una sombra sin cuerpo, sin deseo:

Y la primavera entonces
Ha de seguir

Otra vez el mismo encanto
De juventud por los miembros
Correrá
[...]

34. La traducción es nuestra. «Desaparecieron las nieves, vuelve de nuevo ya el verdor a los campos y a los árboles las hojas; muda la tierra su aspecto y al decrecer los ríos corren por sus riberas; la Gracia, con las Ninfas y sus hermanas gemelas, se atreve a guiar desnuda las danzas... Nosotros cuando bajamos a donde el padre Eneas, a donde el rico Tulo y Anco, polvo y sombra somos».

35. Francisco Brines, por su parte, también nos ofrece un ejemplo, centrado en el reverdecimiento del árbol (*Poesía Completa* (1960-1997), *Palabras a la oscuridad*, «Otoño inglés», Barcelona 1999, pág.150: No es lo que veo, entonces, trastorno de la muerte sino el soñar del árbol, que desnuda su frente de hojarasca y entra así cristalino en la honda noche que ha de darle más vida.

36. «Después», *Con las horas contadas*, pág.459.

Pero tú sombra sin cuerpo

El amor de nuevo entonces
Ha de penetrar el pecho
De los amantes
[...]
Mas tú, sombra sin deseo

Otro de los poetas de la antigüedad que Cernuda nos trae a la memoria es Virgilio, y en concreto, el libro VI de la *Eneida*, a través de su poema «Cuerpo en pena».³⁷ En este, el poeta nos habla de un ahogado que recorre los dominios de un cuerpo ya sin vida, y que al igual que el mundo infernal de Virgilio, contempla como un espacio henchido de silencio, y poblado por pájaros callados y sombras indecisas:

Lentamente el ahogado recorre sus dominios
Donde el silencio quita su apariencia a la vida
Transparentes llanuras inmóviles le ofrecen
Árboles sin colores y pájaros callados
Las sombras indecisas alargándose tiemblan
Mas el viento no mueve sus alas irisadas.

5. Conclusiones

Como hemos tenido ocasión de mostrar, Cernuda sentía una gran admiración por la Grecia clásica. Esta fascinación se hace patente en las propias manifestaciones del poeta, que consideraba Grecia como una tierra mítica, cuna de poetas, filósofos y artistas. Por otro lado, ciertos elementos del mundo clásico griego produjeron en el poeta una gran impresión. Los primeros fueron, sin duda, los mitos y dioses griegos, hasta el punto de que, en combinación con otras causas, hicieron tambalear sus propias creencias religiosas. Cernuda toma de Grecia toda una serie de personajes míticos, a los que atribuye diferentes funciones. A menudo como término de comparación, en otras como mera recreación ante la belleza o como evocación onírica. A veces también como trasfondo filosófico para algunas de sus ideas y reflexiones, actuando a la manera del coro en las tragedias griegas. Por otro lado, la Grecia clásica sirve como principal soporte de su interpretación de la belleza, tal y como era concebida por los griegos, bajo la égida de Helena. No en vano, Cernuda consideraba la belleza

37. *Un río, un amor*, pág. 144.

bajo una perspectiva platónica, como un reflejo divino. Por último, la poesía latina no debió de resultar desconocida a nuestro poeta, algunos de cuyos versos traen a la memoria a poetas latinos como Catulo, Horacio o Virgilio.

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La expresión de la amenaza en el lenguaje juvenil¹

ESTER BRENES PEÑA
UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA

ABSTRACT: The aim of our study is to analyze, from a pragmatic point of view, the use of expressions of threat by young Spanish men (for example, constructions with *como* at the beginning of sentences, *como te coja, te voy a reventar la cara*; time sentences introduced by *cuando*, *cuando te pesque, te mato*; verbal periphrases of immediate future, *hijo de puta, te voy a partir la cara*, etc.). The corpus for this study is made up of the answers to 315 anonymous questionnaires passed in different Andalusian high schools. Eventually, we will try to contribute to the definition, expansion and understanding of the phenomenon of verbal impoliteness by engaging in the current scholarly discussions about it.

Keywords: threat, young Spanish men's language, impoliteness, pragmatics.

RESUMEN: El objetivo principal de nuestro estudio consiste en el análisis de las estructuras y recursos verbales que utilizan los jóvenes españoles en la expresión de un acto de habla altamente descortés: la amenaza (así, por ejemplo, analizaremos construcciones con *como* antepuesto, *como te coja, te voy a reventar la cara*, oraciones temporales introducidas por el conector *cuando*: *cuando te pesque, te mato*, perífrasis verbales de futuro inmediato, *hijo de puta, te voy a partir la cara*, etc.). Para ello, utilizaremos la metodología de la Lingüística Pragmática y nos basaremos en 315 cuestionarios realizados en diversos centros andaluces de Educación Secundaria. De esta forma, se intentará contribuir a la definición, delimitación y explicación del fenómeno de la descortesía verbal.

Palabras clave: amenazas, lenguaje juvenil, descortesía, pragmática.

1. La presente investigación se inserta dentro del Proyecto de Excelencia «La violencia verbal y sus consecuencias sociales», financiado por la Junta de Andalucía (2005-2009).

1. Introducción

El análisis de la (des)cortesía verbal se ha convertido en los últimos años en un topos o lugar común de la investigación lingüística en general y/o de la sociopragmática o pragmalingüística en particular. Los listados bibliográficos que se han publicado al respecto muestran cómo desde mediados de los años 80 han ido apareciendo de manera continuada gran multitud de obras y artículos dedicados a este tema.² No obstante, esta proliferación de investigaciones, lejos de agotar las posibilidades de estudio, evidencia aún hoy la existencia de lagunas explicativas cuyo análisis debe ser abordado.³ El objetivo de la presente investigación consiste, precisamente, en arrojar un poco de luz sobre una de ellas: la zona negativa del continuum.⁴ Para ello, reflexionaremos acerca de la delimitación, estatus y definición de los conceptos de cortesía y descortesía lingüística, tomando como punto de partida el análisis lingüístico pragmático de un acto verbal altamente ofensivo en sí mismo: la expresión de amenazas por parte de los jóvenes españoles, el «dar a entender con actos o palabras que se quiere hacer algún mal a alguien».⁵

El material empírico utilizado se corresponde con 315 ejemplares del cuestionario⁶ que el grupo de investigación de la Universidad de Sevilla «Argumentación y persuasión en Lingüística» ha diseñado con el objetivo de valorar el grado de agresividad verbal existente entre los jóvenes españoles en situaciones de conflicto, así como la conciencia que tienen acerca de la función y el valor de los insultos.⁷ De manera bastante sucinta, podemos decir que dichas encuestas, de carácter totalmente anónimo,⁸ constaban de dos bloques. En el primero de ellos, se pedía a los jóvenes que especificaran qué dirían o cómo reaccionarían en distintas situaciones interactivas que pueden ocurrir con

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2. Por ejemplo, la bibliografía publicada en el número 21 del *Journal of Pragmatics* (1994) recogía ya alrededor de mil títulos. En el año 2001, Espejo Muriel publica un listado de 263 obras que investigan estos temas en el dominio concreto del español.
 3. De hecho, se ha llegado a afirmar que «Indeed, one of the oddest things about politeness research is that the term «politeness» itself is either not explicitly defined» (Watts et al., 2005:3).
 4. La visión de la (des)cortesía como un continuum puede encontrarse en Lavandera, 1988; Kienpointner, 1997; Watts, 2003; Kaul de Marlangeon 1992, 2005a, 2005b; o Granato, 2007, entre otros.
 5. Definición proporcionada por la vigésima segunda edición del *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*. Versión electrónica disponible en www.rae.es.
 6. Para un análisis más detallado de estos cuestionarios, véase Moreno Benítez y López Martín (e.p.). Los ejemplares analizados para esta investigación fueron completados durante el curso 2006/07 por estudiantes de tres Institutos de Educación Secundaria andaluces: el IES Severo Ochoa de S. Juan de Aznalfarache (Sevilla), y el IES San Lucas y el IES El Cano de Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz). La edad de los encuestados, por consiguiente, oscila entre los 12 y los 17 años.
 7. Adjuntamos al final del artículo un anexo con el modelo de cuestionario utilizado.
 8. Aunque sí se especifican ciertas características socioculturales que podrían resultar relevantes, como la edad, el sexo, el lugar y la fecha de nacimiento, el lugar de residencia y los estudios y la profesión de los padres.

asiduidad en su entorno. En el segundo, se planteaban cuestiones metalingüísticas en las que se requería al hablante su opinión acerca de los insultos y del lenguaje violento.⁹ Aunque, como puede observarse, el análisis de la amenaza no era la principal finalidad de estos cuestionarios, lo cierto es que la gran frecuencia de aparición de estas expresiones hizo que se revelaran como un terreno oportuno para llevar a cabo una primera aproximación a su estudio.

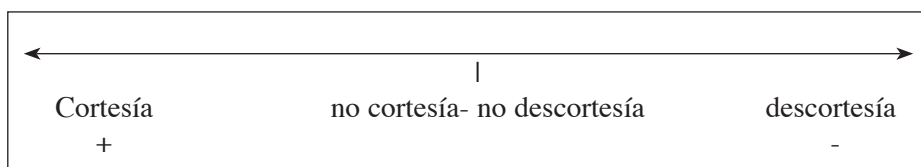
2. La (des)cortesía verbal. Algunas precisiones teóricas

La cortesía y la descortesía en general hacen alusión al efecto positivo o negativo que el empleo de determinados elementos lingüísticos o la realización de acciones concretas conllevan con respecto a las relaciones interpersonales establecidas entre los participantes en el acto comunicativo, así como a las imágenes sociales de cada uno de ellos.¹⁰ La (des)cortesía verbal, por ende, aún en su interior dos dimensiones: la lingüística y la social. Teniendo en cuenta esta premisa, el comportamiento comunicativo cortés puede identificarse con una actitud de respeto y/o consideración hacia la imagen social de nuestro alocutario, consistente en la atenuación de actos de habla que, en una situación comunicativa dada, implican un deterioro de la misma, o en la producción de actos de habla halagadores¹¹ que, por el contrario, la realzan, aun cuando no existan ataques potenciales que puedan erosionarla. La descortesía verbal, en cambio, se homologa tanto con el no acatamiento o trasgresión de las normas consideradas como socioculturalmente adecuadas y esperadas, como con la producción intencionada de actos de habla que dañan o denigran la imagen social de nuestro alocutario. En otras palabras, la utilización de la cortesía conlleva el

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9. La estructura y el objetivo de estas encuestas hacen que se aproximen a los tests de hábitos sociales, «formularios, normalmente escritos, que contienen preguntas relativas al comportamiento social que interesa al investigador. Las preguntas suelen ser de dos tipos. Uno es pedir opiniones sobre comportamiento cortés (por ejemplo, *qué es la cortesía para usted*). El otro tipo es pedir a los informantes que escriban lo que habrían dicho en determinadas situaciones (donde se espera la realización de algunos actos como la petición, el agradecimiento, etc.) a interlocutores concretos.» (Hernández Flores 2003: 187)
 10. De ahí que se haya postulado que la cortesía es una función de la evaluación del oyente (Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2005, Bernal 2007, O'Driscoll 2007). A nuestro juicio, la relevancia de la descodificación realizada por el receptor no implica que no deba tenerse en consideración la intencionalidad del emisor, elemento que nos permite diferenciar entre la descortesía y las denominadas «meteduras de pata» o *unmotivated rudeness* (Kasper 1990) esto es, la producción no intencionada de actos descortesos debido, principalmente, a un desconocimiento de las normas socioculturales que gobiernan la situación comunicativa en la que son emitidos dichos actos de habla.
 11. Numerosos autores, como, por ejemplo, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004), han reclamado la necesidad de incorporar a la teoría de la cortesía verbal la existencia de actos de habla valorizantes o de refuerzo de la imagen ajena.

mantenimiento de unas relaciones interpersonales positivas y la creación de un clima comunicativo agradable.¹² La descortesía, lógicamente, provoca el efecto contrario.

La ubicación de ambos fenómenos en el plano social de la comunicación, en el terreno de las relaciones interpersonales, se completa con el carácter gradual de los mismos, rasgo que nos ha impulsado a reemplazar la tradicional concepción dicotómica de ambos fenómenos por su visión como los extremos o polos opuestos de un continuum:



En la zona neutra nos encontraríamos con lo que Watts (2003) denomina *politic behaviour*, aquel comportamiento comunicativo que no puede evaluarse como cortés o descortés, sino como simplemente adecuado a las normas socioculturales que rigen la situación interlocutiva. Frente a él, la cortesía y descortesía verbal son elementos marcados,¹³ conceptos que sobrepasan el comportamiento previsible en un sentido positivo o negativo, respectivamente, mediante el realce de la imagen social del alocutario o a través de la degradación de la misma.

Las unidades lingüísticas se situarán en una u otra zona del graduum dependiendo de si su uso se adecua o transgrede las convenciones vigentes en un contexto comunicativo dado con una orientación favorable o, por el contrario, perjudicial. En consecuencia, no existen actos de habla inherentemente corteses o descorteses, pues, incluso en el seno de una misma cultura, su contribución a la producción de uno u otro efecto social depende de la situación comunicativa concreta en la que estos se empleen (Matsumoto, 1988; Ide et al., 1992; Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994; Placencia, 1992, 1996; Boretti 1996, 2001; Bravo, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003; Kerbrat Orecchioni, 2004, entre otros).

Pensemos, por ejemplo, en los recursos lingüísticos atenuantes de un acto de habla exhortativo. El valor lingüístico de estos elementos es siempre el mismo:

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12. Esto no implica que la cortesía tenga que ser evaluada siempre como algo positivo por los hablantes, ya que, en determinadas ocasiones, puede ser utilizada como un medio de manipulación o como una estrategia que ayude al emisor a conseguir una determinada actuación por parte del receptor.
 13. No coincidimos, por tanto, con aquellos autores que conciben la cortesía como el elemento no marcado o esperado (Fraser 1990; Meier 1995). A nuestro juicio, si ello fuera así, la cortesía pasaría desapercibida para los interlocutores, cosa que, evidentemente, no sucede.

mitigar la fuerza ilocutiva propia del enunciado. El valor social aportado por ellos, sin embargo, está sujeto a los condicionamientos contextuales. En una situación formal en la que prima la imagen de autonomía o el deseo de no sufrir ningún tipo de imposición, la atenuación de un enunciado directivo resulta adecuada o incluso cortés. En una situación informal caracterizada por la relación vivencial de proximidad y orientada hacia la afiliación, este mismo procedimiento, sin embargo, produciría una sensación de frialdad y distancia interpersonal que dañaría más o menos severamente las relaciones interpersonales, indicando, en la mayoría de las ocasiones, la existencia de un conflicto entre los interlocutores. Es lo que ocurriría si en una cena distendida con familiares o amigos a los que nos une una estrecha relación de confianza y familiaridad nos dirigimos a uno de ellos de la siguiente manera: «Luis, por favor ¿te importaría pasarme el pan?» en lugar de decir, simplemente, «Luis, pásame el pan».

En conclusión, la determinación del valor (des)cortés causado por el uso de los elementos verbales debe ir acompañada en todas las ocasiones de la especificación de los parámetros contextuales específicos que rodean su empleo. A nuestro juicio, esta es la única manera posible de superar tanto el etnocentrismo como el sociocentrismo que suelen estar presentes en las teorías realizadas desde el ámbito de la pragmática.

3. La amenaza. Definición y tipología

En general, el acto de habla «amenazar» se define como el anuncio al receptor de nuestra voluntad de llevar a cabo o ejecutar en un tiempo futuro más o menos próximo un acto o acción que supone un daño hacia su persona.¹⁴ Esta definición, bastante amplia, abarca varias circunstancias distintas que, según hemos observado en nuestro corpus, pueden dar lugar a diferentes tipos de expresiones amenazantes:

- A) La amenaza como advertencia o coacción. El emisor, ante la posibilidad de que el receptor realice una acción que le perjudica o que valora como negativa con respecto a sus intereses, utiliza el anuncio de ataques a la integridad física del alocutario como medio de intimidación. El objetivo

14. Además de su integridad física o mental, el objeto de las amenazas puede identificarse con una persona allegada al alocutario, o con objetos apreciados por él:

maricon, capullo, asqueroso, *te voy a pincha(r) las ruedas del coche*. (SO,2,14,7)

¿qué haces maricona, ¿cómo están tus viejos? ¿y tu hermana igual de buenorra que siempre no? *A ver si la cojo, que le voy a meter de todo*. (SJ,3,17,5)

de este tipo de expresiones es, por tanto, evitar o impedir que el receptor lleve a cabo un acto determinado.

(1) *Como te chives, te rajo* (SO, 1, 7, 5)¹⁵

- B) La amenaza como reacción. Una vez que se ha realizado la acción negativa por parte del otro interlocutor, el emisor expresa su decisión de causarle algún mal como consecuencia de su comportamiento. En este caso, podemos diferenciar entre dos tipos de expresiones, dependiendo de si la realización de la amenaza se presenta o no sujeta a la capacidad del emisor para llevarla a cabo. Esto es, en el caso de «*como te coja, te voy a matar*» (SJ, 4, 16, 5), el emisor supedita la realización de la acción perjudicial, matar al receptor, a su habilidad para «alcanzarlo», mientras que en el enunciado «*Cabrón de mierda, te voy a matar, me cago en tus muertos, hijo de puta*» (SJ, 3, 32, 5), esta misma acción no depende de la realización de ningún otro hecho, por lo que su cumplimiento parece más tangible.¹⁶

Como puede apreciarse, tanto en las ocasiones en las que la amenaza se emplea como un medio de coacción como en aquellas en las que en su emisión (que funciona como reacción ante una situación determinada), presenta la realización del acto dañino como dependiente de otras circunstancias, el acto de habla de la amenaza encierra en sí mismo una condición, esto es, el anuncio de una circunstancia cuya realización o ejecución puede dar lugar a la existencia de otra: «si haces tal cosa, te haré tal otra» (amenaza como coacción), «si puedo realizar tal cosa, te haré tal otra» (primer subtipo de la amenaza como reacción). La diferencia entre ambos tipos estriba en los sujetos de las proposiciones relacionadas. En el primer caso, los sujetos de las acciones enunciadas no coinciden. La estructura podría parafrasearse como «si tú A, yo, B». El hecho de que quede abierta la posibilidad de «si tú no A, yo no B» persuade al receptor de no realizar la acción enunciada. En el segundo caso, en el que el deseo de coaccionar al interlocutor no está ya presente, ambos se identifican con la

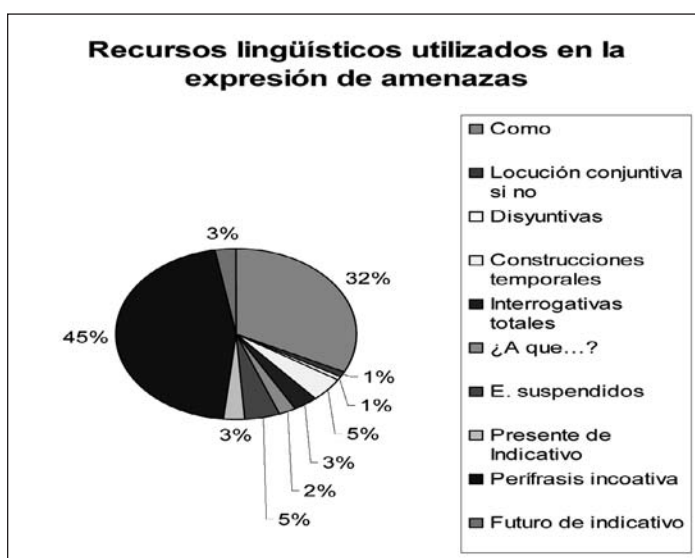
15. Indicamos el Instituto, el curso, el número de encuesta y la pregunta en la que se emite la amenaza. En este caso, se trata del Instituto Severo Ochoa, primer curso de la ESO, encuesta número 7 y pregunta 5. Las transcripciones respetan el original. No se han corregido, por tanto, los errores relativos a la ortografía o los signos de puntuación. Por cuestiones de espacio, no reproducimos las preguntas a las que corresponden los ejemplos utilizados. De todas formas, estas pueden ser consultadas en el modelo de cuestionario que adjuntamos al final del artículo.

16. Es evidente que en muchas ocasiones la prótasis no presenta un hecho real. No obstante, no entramos en consideraciones acerca de si el interlocutor piensa, sinceramente, llevar a cabo o no la ejecución del acto anunciado.

persona del emisor, por lo que, básicamente, podríamos glosarla como «Si yo A, yo B».

4. Estructuras sintácticas empleadas en la expresión de la amenaza

La identificación y frecuencia de uso de los esquemas sintácticos que, junto con el contenido semántico aportado por las unidades léxicas utilizadas, conllevan en el corpus la expresión de un valor amenazante puede observarse en el siguiente gráfico:



Las características sintácticas propias de cada una de estas estructuras explican que, según los rasgos expuestos en el anterior apartado, estas construcciones se usen en la expresión de uno u otro tipo de amenaza.

4.1. Estructuras lingüísticas utilizadas para la amenaza como coacción

La orden u exhortación presente en este tipo de amenazas, así como las posibles consecuencias negativas que tendrá su no acatamiento, pueden expresarse verbalmente a través de dos recursos verbales que coinciden en

aportar un valor condicional: la locución conjuntiva *si no* y las estructuras coordinadas disyuntivas:

- (2) *Déjame tranquilo, que si no te va a salir el tiro por la culata* (SL, 2, 3, 1.7)
- (3) *Que no me hable más o cuento algún secreto de él* (SL, 2, 8, 1.6)

Como resulta evidente, en ninguno de estos casos, además, coinciden los sujetos de las acciones enunciadas, característica que, como hemos señalado, es propia de este subtipo de amenaza.

La estructura disyuntiva adquiere un valor condicional gracias, según Montolío (1999), a la suma de tres características formales:

- una entonación particular, caracterizada por la presencia de una pausa al final del primer miembro
- la existencia de una correlación temporal entre las cláusulas, que facilita la expresión de la relación causa-consecuencia (tiempos de presente o imperativo en el primer miembro y de presente o futuro en el segundo)
- el reflejo en el orden de las cláusulas del orden de los acontecimientos.¹⁷

Por otra parte, en lo relativo al sintagma procondicionante *si no*, su principal característica consiste en variar la polaridad del enunciado precedente, en establecer una hipótesis de polaridad contraria a la expresada (Montolío, 1999). Cuando el enunciado en el que se inserta *si no* posee una orientación afirmativa, la locución presenta la suposición como negativa y viceversa. Así, un enunciado como *que no me coja manía si no se va a acordar de mí toda su vida* (SJ, 2, 23, 1.7), puede parafrasearse como *si me coges manía, te vas a acordar de mí toda tu vida*.

4.2. Estructuras lingüísticas utilizadas para la amenaza como reacción

La voluntad del emisor de realizar un acto que dañe al receptor como consecuencia de una acción que ha sido ejecutada por él puede ser comunicada verbalmente gracias a varias construcciones.

17. De ahí la imposibilidad de invertir dicho orden.

4.2.1. La manifestación verbal del primer subtipo de estas amenazas se sirve, por ejemplo, de estructuras temporales como la siguiente:

- (4) *Eres una desgracia(da), a ver si te mueres, cuando te pesque te mato*
(SO, 4, 15. 1.1)

Como corresponde a este tipo de amenazas, estos enunciados, además de prestarse a una interpretación como temporales lineales, en el sentido de que la sucesión entre el evento principal y el subordinado no es simultánea sino progresiva, parecen poseer un cierto valor condicional. La única diferencia existente con respecto al nexo condicional prototípico, la conjunción *si*, consiste en el «grado de certeza que acarrear. *Cuando* implica la expectativa del locutor de que se cumpla el hecho propuesto en el antecedente (*cundo llegue*), mientras que con *si* se expresa la suposición de ese antecedente (*si llega*)». (Montolío, 1999: 3727). En el fondo, ambas construcciones apuntan al mismo concepto: la expresión de un acto cuya realización, posible o probable, conduce a la ejecución de otra acción, en este caso, perjudicial para el receptor. El sujeto de ambas acciones es, por tanto, el emisor.

4.2.2. La expresión del segundo de los subtipos diferenciados puede llevarse a cabo mediante enunciados interrogativos que no realizan la función pragmática o el acto de habla de la pregunta (ejemplos 5 y 6), o a través del contenido léxico de formas verbales del presente de indicativo, del futuro, o de la perífrasis verbal de futuro inmediato (ejemplos 7, 8 y 9):

- (5) Chivata de mierda *¿le cuento yo lo que dijiste ayer?* (SL,1, 2, 1.14)
(6) *A que te pego un meco*, ya me estás hartando, siempre hablando mal de mí, si me vas a deci' algo me lo dices a mí en la cara. (SL,1,2,1.5)
(7) Hijo de puta, *te mato* (SJ, 3, 302, 1.2)
(8) Guarra, asquerosa, tus muertos, tu puta madre, *te voy a matar* (SJ, 3, 302, 5)
(9) Ya te has perdi(d)o, chivato de mierda, encima que confío en ti. *Ya te lo devolveré.* (SJ, 3, 10, 1.14)

En el caso de los enunciados interrogativos, es obvio que ni las interrogaciones totales dirigidas al interlocutor ni los enunciados interrogativos introducidos por la locución *a que* solicitan al destinatario la emisión de una información de la que carece el hablante. El emisor no espera ninguna respuesta por parte del receptor, e incluso podríamos decir que los enunciados contienen la respuesta en sí mismos. En el primer caso, la contestación, que, lógicamente, se correspondería con el adverbio de negación, viene condicionada por el contenido semántico

de los enunciados. En el segundo, a la carga semántica se le une la locución *a que*, la cual restringe «las respuestas posibles, seleccionando precisamente la que coincide con la formulación del enunciado» (Escandell, 1999: 3972). Desde nuestro punto de vista, sin embargo, creemos que, en estos casos, más que conllevar o facilitar una determinada respuesta, esta locución contribuye a que el enunciado se interprete de una manera asertiva. Esto es, no es que la interrogación *¿A que te mato?* exija la respuesta *te mato*, sino que este enunciado es descodificado por los receptores como una aseveración o declaración en la que el emisor expone su intencionalidad de llevar a cabo este acto (*te mato*), de manera inminente. Tanto en un caso como en otro, se anuncia, pues, al alocutario la realización de un acto perjudicial para su integridad física o mental.

4.3. Expresiones lingüísticas que pueden ser usadas para ambos tipos de amenazas

Los enunciados suspendidos y la estructura de [*como* + subjuntivo] pueden ser empleados para la expresión de los dos tipos de amenazas diferenciados.

En el primer caso, el interlocutor puede «cortar» intencionadamente la emisión de aquel enunciado en el que se expresaba cualquier clase de amenaza con el objetivo de proporcionar un mayor énfasis a su expresión:

(10) *Que ya estoy harta, hasta el día que la coja y ...* (SL,2,14,1.5)

(11) *Eres un hijo de puta, procura decirme algo...* (SJ, 3, 7, 1.6)

La deliberación presente en estas suspensiones, que, lógicamente, no se deben a ninguna circunstancia ajena a la voluntad del receptor, implica que, aunque desde un punto de vista sintáctico pudieran considerarse enunciados incompletos, estas estructuras, típicamente coloquiales, han de verse «completas en cuanto suspendidas» (Narbona, 1986: 247-250). De hecho, su especial esquema entonativo, caracterizado por el tonema final ascendente, comunica al receptor la intencionalidad del emisor, esto es, el hecho de que la suspensión del enunciado no es accidental, señalándole, así, la necesidad de elaborar el sentido del tramo no comunicado.

Según algunos autores, esta construcción realza, principalmente, el contenido lingüístico expresado. Así, por ejemplo, Vigara (1980: 123) afirma que la eliminación de la parte final del enunciado no responde a razones de economía lingüística, sino a la mayor importancia que tiene para el hablante la parte del mensaje expresada. Esto es, el emisor transmite únicamente el fragmento más relevante, desdeñando como no necesario todo lo demás. Desde nuestro punto de vista, sin embargo, el elemento resaltado se identificaría, más bien, con la parte

no transmitida. Estas construcciones denotan una intensidad tal en el carácter dañino o negativo de las consecuencias que sufrirá el receptor de la amenaza que estas no pueden ser verbalizadas. El emisor no encuentra en su arsenal lingüístico los términos que puedan expresar o manifestar dicho daño, por lo que se deja a la imaginación del receptor.

Por otra parte, para el caso de [como + subjuntivo] podemos observar los siguientes ejemplos:

(12) *Como vuelvas a cogerme algo mueres* (A, 3, 6, 1.13)

(13) *Como te coja, te reviento la cabeza, te voy a cortar los huevos, me cago en tus putos muertos* (SO, 1B, 9,5)

La estructura, en ambos casos, es exactamente la misma. La única disimilitud existente concierne a los sujetos de las acciones nombradas, pues, como puede observarse, la coincidencia de los sujetos producida en el ejemplo 12 contrasta con la utilización de sujetos distintos en el número 13. Teniendo en cuenta lo indicado, por tanto, el ejemplo 13 constituye un caso de intimidación, de manera que podría considerarse como un ejemplo típico de amenaza como coacción, mientras que el ejemplo 12 se limita a expresar los sentimientos del hablante en relación con un hecho consumado.

Según el gráfico anterior, el 32 % de las estructuras utilizadas en el corpus analizado para la expresión de las amenazas se corresponde con oraciones condicionales de este tipo. La explicación de esta alta frecuencia de uso radica en el hecho de que esta construcción encierra dos características típicas del acto de habla de la amenaza: la naturaleza dialógica y el carácter coloquial (Montolío, 1999; Borrego, 2002). A esto hay que añadirle, además, el hecho de que la conjunción *como* sobresale, precisamente, por su carácter reactivo, es decir, por su emisión como reacción inmediata a un estímulo que recibe el hablante – en general sorpresivamente –, del contexto (Borrego, 1980, 2002). Cuando dicho estímulo se identifica con una conducta del interlocutor que afecta negativamente al hablante, el emisor puede hacerle ver los desfavorables efectos que pueden desprenderse de ella a través de esta estructura sintáctica, convirtiéndose así en un vehículo idóneo para la expresión de las amenazas:

(14) *¡¡Como me vuelvas a chulear te parto la cara, so pedazo de gilipollas, mamón!!* (SL, 4, 2, 5)

(15) *Como te vuelva a ver, soplapolla, te mato* (SJ, 2, 8, 5)

Además, la tendencia a utilizar este esquema en la expresión de actos amenazantes se ve reforzada, asimismo, por el valor de sorpresa que añade esta construcción a los acontecimientos presentados en la apódosis. Es decir, el

hablante considera que lo expresado en el consecuente está fuera del horizonte de expectativas del receptor. En el caso concreto de las amenazas, se presenta en la apódosis un estado de cosas inesperadamente desagradable para el oyente (Borrego, 1980).

Ambos tipos de estructuras se caracterizan, además, por la obligatoriedad del modo subjuntivo. Lo peculiar, en este caso, es que la presencia de dicho modo no se justifica por la expresión de contenidos contrafactivos, como podemos comprobar en los ejemplos (12) y (13), que recuperamos aquí:

(12) *Como vuelvas a cogerme algo mueres* (A, 3, 6, 1.13)

(13) *Como te coja, te reviento la cabeza, te voy a cortar los huevos, me cago en tus putos muertos* (SO, 1B, 9,5)

De hecho, si el valor de hipótesis irreal estuviera presente, no se manifestaría un significado amenazante, ya que, lógicamente, nadie puede amedrentar a otra persona por medio de una conjetura que, posiblemente, no vaya a producirse. En realidad, según indican Borrego (1980) o Montolío (1999), las oraciones condicionales con *como* no presentan situaciones que no puedan llegar a suceder, sino que expresan circunstancias cuya verdad es, o puede ser, posible en el futuro. En conclusión, a pesar de la utilización del modo subjuntivo, esta estructura se ha especializado en la expresión de una condición posible o real, que si bien no está a punto de cumplirse en el momento presente del habla, puede muy bien realizarse en un tiempo no muy lejano, situación que se adapta perfectamente a la exigida para la expresión de amenazas, de actos que pueden realizarse en un futuro.¹⁸ La exigencia del modo subjuntivo puede responder, por tanto, a la necesidad de diferenciar los dos valores o funciones de esta unidad, el causal, acompañado sistemáticamente del modo indicativo, y el condicional, combinado con subjuntivo.

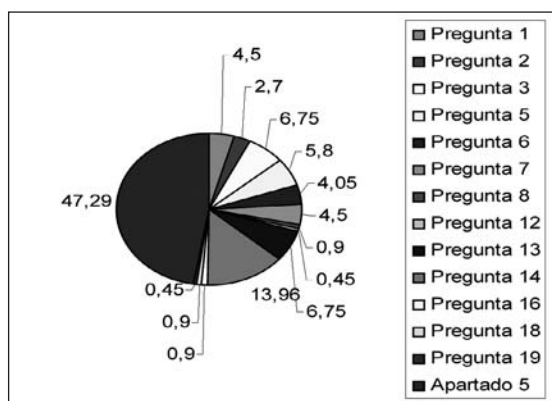
Por último, otro de los rasgos que caracterizan a estas estructuras, la tendencia a la posición antepuesta de la prótasis, parece responder a una preferencia general que presentan todas las lenguas que poseen la construcción condicional, y que se fundamenta en razones lógicas: por analogía con la sucesión temporal que se produce en la realidad, la expresión de la condición debe preceder a la emisión del hecho condicionado.¹⁹

18. Este valor conlleva la aparición de los tiempos verbales que se refieran a hechos posteriores al momento de habla, es decir, que permitan expresar la posibilidad proyectada hacia el futuro, como son el pretérito de subjuntivo y el presente de subjuntivo, el tiempo más utilizado en nuestro corpus. Además, por lo que respecta a la relación temporal entre el condicionante y el condicionado, el miembro condicionante presenta un hecho anterior al que se enuncia en el condicionado, es decir, lo referido en la oración principal se producirá con posterioridad a lo que haya ocurrido en la subordinada.

19. Según Montolío (1999:3651): «Esta anteposición prototípica de la cláusula subordinada no sorprende si

5. Consideraciones finales

Las encuestas analizadas nos han permitido constatar que los jóvenes españoles utilizan en un alto porcentaje de ocasiones expresiones amenazantes como un medio de defensa o contraataque ante situaciones conflictivas o perjudiciales para ellos. En términos cuantitativos, podemos afirmar que, en 483 respuestas de las 315 encuestas analizadas, aparece algún tipo de estas expresiones. De ellas, el 42'7% se han ubicado en el apartado número cinco del cuestionario, por lo que se las ha relacionado directamente con el lenguaje violento. En lo que respecta al primer apartado, las amenazas aparecen principalmente en las preguntas 14, 13 y 17, es decir, en preguntas que instan al emisor a exponer qué le diría: *a)* al hermano que le cuenta a sus padres lo que dice o hace, *b)* al hermano que coge algo suyo sin permiso, o *c)* a la persona que le critica a sus espaldas, de manera que se vinculan con situaciones interactivas en las que existe una situación de igualdad en el estatus interlocutivo de los participantes.²⁰



Por otra parte, también se ha comprobado que las estructuras utilizadas para ello son diversas. Para la amenaza como coacción, pueden emplearse recursos que manifiestan la condición inherente a este acto de habla, como la locución conjuntiva *si no* o las conjunción disyuntiva *o*. La expresión de la amenaza como reacción se vale de estructuras lingüísticas como las oraciones temporales o los

se tiene en cuenta que la función de la prótasis es crear una suposición, un estado de cosas, un mundo posible, un marco discursivo a partir del cual interpretar la información que sigue». La anteposición de la cláusula se considera, por tanto, como el esquema habitual o no marcado.

20. En este sentido, sería interesante analizar de una forma más pormenorizada si, efectivamente, el tipo de relación social existente entre los participantes influye en la elección de los elementos lingüísticos.

enunciados interrogativos, fórmulas a través de las cuales se expresan acciones futuras. La estructura de *como* más subjuntivo, así como la emisión de enunciados suspendidos, puede usarse para los dos tipos de amenazas señalados.

En cuanto al efecto social implicado por estos enunciados, puede decirse que se trata de enunciados altamente descorteses, ya que no sólo suponen un deterioro de la imagen social del alocutario, sino que anuncian un daño físico, el cual, además, se emite como reacción ante situaciones concretas. Apoyándonos en ambas características, estos actos de habla podrían homologarse con la agresividad verbal, según la diferenciación que establece E. Alcaide (e.p.), basándose en teorías de la psicología social:

En el terreno de lo verbal, podríamos establecer la diferencia entre lo que son actos disuasorios o de inhibición, del tipo de la amenaza, que encarnarían la agresividad: se trata de intimidar bien para defenderse de algo (contra-agresividad) o para mantener una postura fuerte frente al grupo. Por ejemplo, una persona puede ser agresiva hablando para mantener sus posturas, aunque no llegue a ser violenta. La violencia, en cambio, da lugar a la ejecución de un acto ilocutivo que va a dañar socialmente al interlocutor: por ejemplo, el insulto, la ridiculización, el empuñecimiento, la usurpación de la palabra, es decir, todos aquellos actos que atentan contra la dignidad de la persona.

No obstante, debe tenerse en cuenta que los ejemplos analizados constituyen, en todos los casos, reacciones a situaciones hipotéticas, no reales. La dificultad para obtener ejemplos de estos actos de habla en la interacción comunicativa real ocasiona que el corpus seleccionado se contemple, por la gran frecuencia de amenazas que contiene, como un terreno válido para poder realizar un primer acercamiento a su estudio. Ahora bien, somos conscientes de que, para poder obtener una visión más precisa del análisis de estos actos de habla, los resultados obtenidos deberán ser contrastados posteriormente con datos reales.²¹

Por último, no podemos finalizar nuestra exposición sin señalar la dimensión social que posee nuestro estudio. La interrelación existente entre la lengua y la sociedad conlleva dos consecuencias principales: la constatación de la imposibilidad de describir el sistema lingüístico sin tener en cuenta los elementos contextuales que determinan el uso de las unidades y la demostración del reflejo que se produce en la lengua de los valores sociales propios de la comunidad en la que se inserta. El análisis del habla juvenil debe utilizarse, además, como un posible medio para diagnosticar la violencia y agresividad presentes en este

21. Para una reflexión en torno a la utilidad de los tests de hábitos sociales como instrumento metodológico en la investigación de la cortesía véase Murillo (2008) y Hernández Flores (e. p.).

sector de la sociedad y, en consecuencia, como un instrumento que nos permita proponer y encontrar soluciones adecuadas para combatirlas.

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ANEXO 1

Modelo de encuesta:

EDAD: PROFESIÓN (curso):

SEXO: LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO:

FECHA DE NACIMIENTO: LUGAR DE RESIDENCIA:

ESTUDIOS DEL PADRE: ESTUDIOS DE LA MADRE:

PROFESIÓN DEL PADRE: PROFESIÓN DE LA MADRE:

BLOQUE 1

1. Imagina que te has cabreado por algo que te han hecho. ¿Qué dirías que es esa persona? ¿cómo la llamarías? (para insultarla, herirla):
 - 1.1. Un amigo que te ha dejado plantado, chico o chica:
 - 1.2. Tu chico o chica ha salido con otro u otra:
 - 1.3. Si tu amigo o amiga se ha enrollado con tu chico o con tu chica:
 - 1.4. A un amigo que te está dejando de lado:
 - 1.5. Al que te critica por detrás:
 - 1.6. A un amigo o amiga que publica un secreto tuyo:
 - 1.7. Al profesor que te tiene manía. ¿Y si es una profesora?:
 - 1.8. Al profesor que no sabe explicar bien las cosas. ¿Y si es una profesora?:
 - 1.9. Al profesor que es demasiado bueno en clase. ¿Y si es una profesora?:
 - 1.10. Al que te exige mucho. ¿Y si es una profesora?:
 - 1.11. Al profesor que te trata bien en clase. ¿Y si es una profesora?:
 - 1.12. Al profesor que te pone exámenes sorpresa. ¿Y si es una profesora?:
 - 1.13. Al hermano que usa lo tuyo sin permiso. ¿Y si es tu hermana?:
 - 1.14. Al hermano que le cuenta a tus padres lo que haces o dices. ¿Y si es tu hermana?:
 - 1.15. A tu madre cuando te controla demasiado:
 - 1.16. A tu madre cuando no te echa cuenta, cuando pasa de ti:

- 1.17. A tu padre cuando se mete en lo que no le importa:
- 1.18. A tu madre cuando te castiga. ¿Y si es tu padre?:
- 1.19. A tu madre cuando no te da dinero, o no te da lo que quieres. ¿Y si es tu padre?:

BLOQUE 2

2. ¿Qué palabrotas usas para dirigirte a tus amigos, con sentido cariñoso?:
 - 2.1. ¿Las usarías con alguien que no fuera tu amigo?:
 - 2.2. ¿Las usas sólo con chicos o también con chicas?:
 - 2.3. ¿Usas estas mismas palabras cuando estás enfadado?:
 - 2.4. En caso contrario, ¿qué palabras utilizas? (Si tienes varias, explica la diferencia entre ellas, a quién van dirigidas o en qué contexto las utilizas normalmente).
3. ¿Cuáles son las expresiones que te resultan más molestas cuando se las escuchas a otro?:
 - 3.1. ¿Qué insultos admites y cuáles no? ¿En qué circunstancias?:
4. ¿Qué opinas de los insultos?:
 - 4.1. ¿Y de los tacos y palabras malsonantes?:
 - 4.2. ¿Consideras que hay ocasiones en las que son negativos?:
5. Pon un ejemplo de lenguaje violento:

Bases para la gestión de una situación de multilingüismo derivada de la inmigración

FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ GARCÍA
UNIVERSIDAD DE JAÉN

ABSTRACT: The present study ponders the role that the phenomenon of migration has acquired in present day society and analyses the relevance that linguistic factors possess in the satisfactory running of this society. In order to analyse these issues, this article highlights a two-fold necessity: on the one hand, that of having to clearly explain the main objectives endeavoured to be reached, and on the other hand, that of having to obtain a deep knowledge of the reality upon which one endeavours to act. As regards the first aspect, this study analyses factors such as the concept we have of integration, the obtaining of data in order to optimise the teaching of the target language, linguistic attitudes of immigrants, features of diglossic situations that may arise, and aspects of linguistic policies. As regards the second aspect, a current research project is presented which analyses the linguistic features of the migratory phenomenon in the city of Jaén.

Keywords: immigration, sociolinguistics, language teaching, linguistic attitudes, diglossia, language policy.

RESUMEN: El presente trabajo reflexiona sobre el papel que ha adquirido el fenómeno migratorio en la sociedad actual y plantea la relevancia que, para su adecuada gestión, poseen los factores lingüísticos. En este sentido, se señala una doble necesidad: la de fundamentar nítidamente los objetivos que se pretenden alcanzar, por un lado, y la de obtener un profundo conocimiento de la realidad sobre la que se desea actuar, por otro. En cuanto a la primera cuestión, se analizan factores como el concepto de integración que se maneja, la obtención de datos para optimizar la enseñanza de la lengua de destino, las actitudes lingüísticas de los inmigrados, los rasgos de las situaciones diglósicas que se plantean y aspectos de política lingüística. En cuanto a la segunda cuestión, se presenta un proyecto de investigación, actualmente en curso, que analiza los rasgos lingüísticos del fenómeno migratorio en la ciudad de Jaén.

Palabras clave: inmigración, sociolingüística, enseñanza de la lengua, actitudes lingüísticas, diglosia, política lingüística.

1. Introducción

Vivimos en la era de la *globalización*, en la que las fronteras se van desdibujando en todos los sentidos y en la que lo multicultural es, cada vez más, una realidad. Las manifestaciones de este hecho son múltiples y entre ellas se cuentan, de manera sobresaliente, los movimientos migratorios. El fenómeno de la inmigración, relativamente antiguo ya en otros países del entorno, ha cobrado una enorme y rápida importancia en España de unos años a esta parte. Y en el caso concreto del sur del país, constituye una transformación a consecuencia de la cual, prácticamente sin transición, zonas tradicionalmente caracterizadas por la emigración se han vuelto receptoras de un importante caudal de inmigrantes.

El volumen de inmigrantes que el estado español ha recibido en los últimos lustros ha motivado una reorganización de sus estructuras laborales, económicas y sociales. De hecho, los inmigrantes han configurado un subconjunto demográfico nada insignificante y se han convertido en una pieza imprescindible del tejido socio-económico nacional, motivos por los que la preocupación y el interés en su integración social van imparablemente en aumento. Dicha integración, huelga decirlo, es algo muy complejo, pues hablamos de inmigrantes de muy diversa procedencia, que tienen tras de sí trasfondos socio-culturales muy diferentes no sólo del español, sino también entre sí. De ahí que puedan surgir –y surjan, de hecho– conflictos sociales de variada índole.

Un aspecto de importancia capital con vistas a la integración es, sin duda, el lingüístico. En este sentido, el fenómeno de la inmigración exige que los poderes públicos se responsabilicen del diseño de políticas lingüísticas adecuadas, que sean capaces de responder a ese desafío esencial de armonización social mediante la minimización de los gérmenes de conflicto radicados en el plano lingüístico-comunicativo. Y aunque es cierto que las grandes cuestiones mundiales exigen grandes acciones globales, no es menos cierto que los contextos específicos y locales han de recibir un tratamiento particularizado, adecuado a sus circunstancias. En cualquiera de los dos casos, no obstante, se hace necesario un profundo conocimiento previo de la situación real sobre la que se pretende actuar, así como una nítida fundamentación de los objetivos que se aspira a alcanzar. Y ésa es tarea de, entre otros, el lingüista.

El grueso de este trabajo se centrará en la segunda de las cuestiones, es decir, en el análisis de los puntos de referencia fundamentales que han de ser tenidos en cuenta a la hora de gestionar adecuadamente una situación de multilingüismo derivada de la inmigración. Se presentará también, por último, un proyecto de investigación en curso que busca cubrir el primero de los objetivos antes señalados, a saber, el conocimiento profundo y detallado de una situación real y acotada de multilingüismo; concretamente, de la ciudad española de Jaén, una de las ocho capitales de provincia de la comunidad autónoma de Andalucía.

2. Lengua e integración: primer acercamiento

Aludíamos antes a los esfuerzos que se llevan a cabo para la integración de los inmigrantes. Pero ¿qué debemos entender exactamente por *integración*? Se ha señalado (Extra y Yagmur, 2005: 23-24; Pitkänen, Verma y Kalekin-Fishman, 2002: 3-5) que en el ámbito de la Unión Europea se hace mucho hincapié en la integración del inmigrante, pero con un concepto muy vago de integración, que puede ir desde la *asimilación* al *multiculturalismo*, es decir, desde entender –en el primer caso– que el inmigrante debe desdibujar sus diferencias respecto del nuevo entorno en que se integra hasta concebir –en el segundo caso– que dichas diferencias son un valor para la sociedad, que debe ser cuidado y mantenido. La integración como asimilación es la que, explícitamente o *de facto*, actualmente tiene más peso en la UE. Extra y Yagmur (2005: 18) explican, por ejemplo, cómo Francia ha diseñado el objetivo explícito de la asimilación, exigiendo a los inmigrantes la renuncia a sus lenguas y culturas para llegar a ser ciudadanos de pleno derecho.

Aunque con marcadas diferencias, por tanto, según en qué aspecto se ponga un mayor acento –asimilación o multiculturalismo–, parece fuera de duda que la integración cultural de los inmigrantes supone uno de los caminos fundamentales para la armonización social y la reducción al mínimo de posibles focos de conflictividad. Y una pieza clave de dicha integración social la constituyen los factores lingüístico-comunicativos, siendo esto así, como mínimo, por dos motivos. Por un lado, en una perspectiva más relacionada con la asimilación, porque la capacidad de acción comunicativa competente en la lengua de uso común será un elemento esencial con vistas a la normalización del tránsito social del inmigrante; por otro, en una perspectiva más orientada al multiculturalismo, porque la lengua de origen del inmigrante constituye con frecuencia, más allá de un mero vehículo de comunicación, una pieza esencial de sus señas de identidad, de su conciencia cultural y vital.

Respecto a la primera cuestión, debe tenerse muy presente que, por más que nuestra era digital y globalizadora establezca innumerables y fluidos cauces para el discurrir de la información, hay una circunstancia que permanece inamovible desde tiempos ancestrales: la interacción humana descansa en la facultad de intercomunicación, en su desarrollo efectivo; es decir, que el individuo ha de poseer herramientas lingüísticas suficientes para interactuar con los demás, única manera de convertirse en un ser social. Respecto a la segunda cuestión, resulta esencial considerar que la lengua materna de los inmigrados se halla muchas veces plenamente entrelazada en el conjunto de su esquema de valores, de manera que, a la hora de sopesar acciones de integración lingüística, no puede perderse de vista el hecho de que la posible vulneración del esquema de valores de un colectivo podría acarrear consecuencias sociales nefastas.

El caso de la masiva llegada de inmigrantes rusohablantes a Israel desde comienzos de los noventa, tras la desintegración de la Unión Soviética, puede aportar argumentos acerca de la relevancia de tomar en consideración ambos aspectos de la cuestión lingüística. Remennick (2003) explica que el volumen de dicho movimiento migratorio ha sido tal que ha provocado el surgimiento de una comunidad rusa en Israel que llega a autoabastecerse en muchos sentidos (material, cultural, etc.), circunstancia que, en general, ha desmotivado a sus miembros hacia la inmersión lingüística en el hebreo. Ello ha provocado que gran parte del colectivo posea, incluso después de llevar allí un buen número de años, un repertorio comunicativo muy elemental en la lengua de destino, que no va más allá de permitirle cubrir las necesidades básicas cotidianas. En este sentido, el estudio de Remennick (2003) detalla hasta qué punto esta circunstancia corre pareja con el aislamiento social y grandes limitaciones económicas y cómo, por el contrario, puede hallarse una correlación bastante directa entre los individuos que han logrado alcanzar una alta competencia en el manejo del hebreo y los que han obtenido mucha mayor integración, con manifiestas consecuencias respecto a su posición socioeconómica.

Si hechos como éstos evidencian la necesidad de potenciar la adquisición de la lengua de destino, hallazgos como los de Tannenbaum y Berkovich (2005) apuntan a la conveniencia de velar por el mantenimiento de la lengua materna. Explican que distintas investigaciones han señalado ya motivos de diversa índole (humanitarios, cognitivos, académicos, económicos) que justifican la conveniencia de dicho mantenimiento en las segundas generaciones de inmigrantes. Pero su propia investigación lleva a estos autores a encontrar otro motivo de no poca importancia. Trabajando sobre datos relativos a adolescentes que son hijos de inmigrantes rusohablantes en Israel, Tannenbaum y Berkovich (2005) hallaron una interconexión estable entre el mayor mantenimiento de la lengua materna en el joven y la mayor armonía en las relaciones familiares y, en general, el mayor bienestar emocional de las familias. La explicación parece estar en el hecho de que los problemas intergeneracionales típicos de la adolescencia se ven agudizados cuando, al no compartirse en suficiente grado el vínculo lingüístico-cultural materno, se abre una brecha mayor de la habitual. Hablamos, por tanto, del bienestar emocional de las familias inmigrantes, pero un bienestar cuya ruptura puede tener, además, consecuencias sociales dignas de consideración.

3. Hacia una adecuada enseñanza de la lengua de destino

A la hora de abordar la integración lingüístico-comunicativa del inmigrante, como parte de su integración socio-cultural global, ha de tenerse muy presente,

pues, la doble vertiente que venimos señalando: lo relativo a la enseñanza de lengua de destino pero también lo tocante a la situación en que queda la lengua de origen, así como la actitud del hablante hacia ambas.

Una primera cuestión, por tanto, de importancia evidente será la de la planificación de la enseñanza de la lengua de destino (en nuestro caso, el español) como lengua extranjera. Para alcanzar resultados óptimos en este sentido habrán de diseñarse cursos y materiales adecuados a los destinatarios de las enseñanzas, compleja tarea, desde luego, dada su heterogeneidad en una situación de multilingüismo como la que analizamos. Pero a ningún especialista en la materia se le escapa hasta qué punto puede quedar dificultada la enseñanza de una lengua si no se conocen a fondo y toman en cuenta las características de los hablantes a quienes se enseña. Varios factores resultarán esenciales en este sentido, como: *a)* el conocimiento de los rasgos tipológicos de las lenguas de origen, *b)* el perfil sociolingüístico de los subgrupos sociales que conforman los discentes, y *c)* los rasgos fundamentales de las comunidades de habla de las que proceden.

En cuanto al primero de los aspectos, habrán de obtenerse datos sobre el abanico de lenguas habladas por la población inmigrada para proceder luego a su agrupación y caracterización tipológica. A partir de ahí podrán sentarse las bases para la caracterización contrastiva de la lengua de destino respecto de grupos de lenguas de relativa homogeneidad, punto de partida para el diseño de materiales pedagógicos específicos. Además resultará relevante, en este sentido, la concurrencia de otros factores, como, de forma muy importante, la presencia de colectivos de hablantes que dominen (o posean conocimientos significativos) una lengua tipológicamente cercana a la lengua meta. Pensemos en el caso de un hablante bilingüe de origen senegalés que tenga como primera lengua el wolof y como segunda (nativa o aprendida) el francés. Evidentemente, como discente de español tendrá una apreciable ventaja (conocimiento del alfabeto, estructuras gramaticales, raíces léxicas, etc.) sobre otros individuos.

Respecto del perfil sociolingüístico de los subgrupos sociales que conforman los inmigrados, habrán de tomarse en consideración las tendencias que muestren en cuanto a estatus social, franjas de edad, sexo, etc., es decir, en cuanto a las clásicas variables sociales analizadas por la sociolingüística, que podrán ser relevantes no sólo para la enseñanza de la lengua de destino, sino también para la gestión de la lengua de origen. Pensemos en la mayor tendencia a la innovación lingüística de las generaciones más jóvenes, en la mayor inclinación a ceñirse a la norma lingüística cuanto mayor es el nivel de instrucción del hablante o en el lenguaje característicamente correlativo con cada franja de edad, según los tipos de actividades preferentes en ella. En relación con la compleja y polémica variable *clase social*, por ejemplo, principios como el de la pirámide de Trudgill (1974: 28-30) sobre intersección entre variantes geolingüísticas y sociolingüísticas pueden

contribuir a una percepción más clara sobre la homogeneidad o heterogeneidad de un grupo de hablantes con los que se vaya a trabajar.

Vayamos al tercer aspecto que señalábamos más arriba, la conveniencia de contar con datos sobre los rasgos fundamentales de las comunidades de habla de las que proceden los discentes. Pensemos, por ejemplo, que los iberoamericanos hispanohablantes pertenecen a una misma *comunidad lingüística* que los españoles pero que, sin embargo, cuando llegan a España se introducen en una *comunidad de habla* nueva para ellos, con patrones sociolingüísticos y pragmáticos específicos; cierto es que no habrán de aprender la estructura básica del idioma, pero también lo es que tendrán por delante una importante tarea de adaptación a los patrones sociocomunicativos de la nueva comunidad. Así pues, parece clara la importancia de conocer los rasgos pragmático-discursivos básicos de las comunidades de habla originarias de los inmigrados. De hecho, el predominio general de los enfoques comunicativos en la metodología de enseñanza de lenguas (Pastor Cesteros, 2005) es claro reflejo de la conciencia acerca de que enseñar la gramática de una lengua no es enseñar una lengua, por la incidencia esencial de los factores pragmáticos, que aumenta conforme lo hace la distancia cultural entre la comunidad de origen y la de destino y, por supuesto, se acentúa cuando se trata de comunidades con distintas L1. De ahí la necesidad de la búsqueda, desde la pragmática intercultural, de una tipología comunicativa que permita contrastar los rasgos de las comunidades de origen de los hablantes con los de la comunidad de destino.

Por otra parte, no se debe perder de vista otro hecho. Por más que la sociedad occidental asuma tradicionalmente como algo natural el carácter monolingüe de las comunidades de habla, es muy elevado el porcentaje, a escala mundial, de las comunidades de carácter multilingüe, en las cuales se da con frecuencia la circunstancia de que hablantes con distinta lengua materna (pero competentes en dos, tres o más lenguas de la comunidad) interactúan cotidianamente y comparten unos mismos parámetros sociocomunicativos (Gal, 2006). Este hecho tiene una consecuencia manifiesta con vistas a la planificación de la enseñanza de la lengua de destino, y es que podemos hallarnos ante individuos cuyas L1 sean tipológicamente distantes pero cuyos usos comunicativos resulten altamente homogéneos.

4. Integración y actitudes lingüísticas

Como sostienen Tannenbaum y Berkovich (2005: 290), el inmigrante se ve sometido a reajustes vitales de muy diversa índole, en gran medida relacionados con sentimientos de pérdida; entre ellos, la necesidad de cambiar la lengua no es sólo una cuestión atingente a los quehaceres diarios, sino también, y de manera

muy importante, al sentido de la propia identidad; y la consecuencia directa de dicho *shock* vital no es otra que una inevitable primera sensación de alienación (Kalekin-Fishman, Verma y Pitkänen, 2002: 174). Debería ser manifiesto, en consecuencia, que entender la integración social como un esfuerzo concentrado en desdibujar lo máximo posible la identidad cultural del extranjero supone equivocar la perspectiva. Se impone la necesidad de conocer cuáles son las actitudes de los distintos colectivos de inmigrantes hacia sus lenguas de origen y hacia la lengua de acogida, de manera que puedan adoptarse medidas capaces de naturalizar la compatibilidad de la adaptación del inmigrante a la nueva realidad lingüístico-cultural a la que se enfrenta, por un lado, y el mantenimiento de su identidad lingüístico-cultural originaria, por otro. El camino será una «planificación lingüística bidireccional» (García Marcos, 2005: 101), es decir, no dirigida sólo hacia la sociedad receptora sino también hacia los inmigrados. Como señala Williams (2009: 64), aunque las actitudes lingüísticas sean típicamente individuales, poseen también una dimensión psicosocial, pues los individuos se ven arrastrados por las actitudes predominantes en los grupos a los que pertenecen. Por consiguiente, será el conocimiento del perfil de las actitudes de los distintos grupos el que podrá dar la medida de por dónde habrá de ir esa planificación lingüística bidireccional.

Ya sea hablando de variedades de una lengua o de lenguas diferentes, es frecuente que los hablantes tengan una actitud positiva hacia la modalidad lingüística propia y un cierto rechazo hacia la que sienten como impuesta, pero no siempre es el caso, pues también hay hablantes de variedades/lenguas minoritarias que experimentan una actitud negativa hacia la primera, con frecuencia por sentir que les impiden el ascenso social o económico (Moreno Fernández, 1998: 181). En el ángulo opuesto, la lengua puede ejercer la función de signo identificador de la minoría étnica que se encuentra en un ambiente ajeno, especialmente cuando la situación tiene implicaciones religiosas. Bradshaw (2006: 44), por ejemplo, explica que el poseer una religión distinta de la establecida como general en el lugar de destino (como los griegos en Australia) parece ser un claro factor potenciador del mantenimiento de la lengua de origen. Además, no puede pasarse por alto la diferencia fundamental entre prácticas religiosas que no están asociadas a una lengua concreta (como el Cristianismo), frente a otras que unen indisolublemente una determinada lengua a la oración o al estudio de los textos bíblicos (como el Islam).

Las actitudes lingüísticas de individuos y colectivos son, pues, variadas y podrán verse reflejadas en conductas de mayor o menor *lealtad lingüística*, según el grado en que se aferren a su lengua materna o muestren disposición a abandonarla. Por ello, el conocimiento profundo de las distintas situaciones permitirá medir el grado y el tipo de vinculación de los hablantes a su lengua materna y su predisposición al uso de la nueva lengua, factores que condicionarán,

a buen seguro, el desarrollo del proceso de integración lingüístico-social. Así, una voluntad de integración se verá, probablemente, reflejada en lo que desde la psicología se ha llamado actitud de *convergencia* comunicativa (Giles, 1984), esto es, una actitud de adaptación a la situación de habla y a los interlocutores, buscando la máxima eficacia comunicativa de la mano de una mayor empatía social. Se trata, en definitiva, de la capacidad del individuo para explotar los recursos comunicativos de los que dispone y proyectar una determinada identidad social en función del contexto de habla (Dyer, 2006: 104-105).

Claro que las actitudes convergentes pueden potenciarse con una adecuada gestión de la situación lingüística. Resultan aquí útiles los conceptos de *bilingüismo aditivo* (percibido como un proceso de enriquecimiento personal) y *bilingüismo sustractivo* (ligado a un distanciamiento de la lengua materna, posible generador de un sentimiento de frustración). Una adecuada gestión de la situación, que «cuide» la lengua materna, estableciendo los cauces adecuados para su mantenimiento y desarrollo, podrá contribuir a que el inmigrante perciba su aprendizaje como un proceso de adición y no de sustracción. Y ello será especialmente relevante en colectivos con unas actitudes lingüísticas de gran apego a su lengua, de alta lealtad lingüística. De ahí la importancia de conocer a fondo las actitudes de los distintos grupos de extranjeros que se conforman en un determinado lugar, para ofrecer un tratamiento pertinente y diferenciado a cada uno de ellos.¹

En cualquier caso, conviene insistir en que las acciones que se adopten no deberían pasar exclusivamente por un intento de asimilación, sino que el futuro de una sociedad cohesionada habrá de buscarse por el camino de la participación activa de los inmigrados en el contexto nacional de residencia, por un lado, y de la pervivencia de su identificación lingüístico-cultural con su contexto de origen, por otro. Y es que, si pensamos en la conciencia de identidad del inmigrado –en lo tocante a los factores lingüísticos–, nos daremos cuenta del modo en que se conjugan ambas vertientes (Williams, 2009: 65): por una parte, la capacidad de comunicación en una lengua muestra que un individuo es (al menos potencialmente) miembro del grupo compuesto por los hablantes de esa lengua (identificación con el entorno de destino); por otra, un individuo en edad adulta puede aprender un idioma con fines instrumentales, pero la lengua en que fue socializado seguirá siendo una parte esencial de lo que ese individuo es y, con

1. Smolicz y Secombe (2003: 5) inciden en que algunos grupos étnicos «are very strongly language centred», de manera que su existencia como grupo cultural distintivo radica principalmente en el mantenimiento de su lengua materna, mientras que en otros grupos no es tan manifiesto el hecho de que su lengua sea el eje central, pudiendo ubicarse éste, en mayor medida, en la religión o la estructura familiar.

frecuencia, de lo que los demás piensan que es (mantenimiento de los vínculos con el entorno de origen).

5. Lenguas en contacto y diglosia

Mucho se ha discutido sobre el concepto de diglosia desde su primer planteamiento en el trabajo clásico de Ferguson (1959). Así, a partir de la idea inicial, que lo restringía al uso de dos variedades de una misma lengua en el conjunto de una determinada comunidad, elaboraciones posteriores fueron ampliando la idea de diglosia para abarcar todo un conjunto de situaciones en las que dos variedades lingüísticas (de una misma o diferentes lenguas) conviven con funciones y ámbitos de uso claramente diferenciados. Aunque la legitimidad o no de dicha ampliación conceptual constituye un debate abierto (como muestra la profunda revisión de acuerdos y desacuerdos sobre el tema que realiza Hudson, 2002), podría hablarse, como mínimo, de una diglosia *stricto sensu*, en la línea de Ferguson, frente a esa otra concepción más amplia del fenómeno diglósico. Pues bien, situándonos en esa postura más ancha, debemos pensar que, en una escena de multilingüismo derivado de la inmigración, a la par que se van formando, en el lugar de destino, subcomunidades de inmigrantes de procedencia lingüística homogénea, comienza a fraguarse un conjunto de situaciones de diglosia, unidas por una común lengua A (lengua mayoritaria y prestigiosa, de uso público) y separadas por distintas lenguas B (lenguas minoritarias y no prestigiosas, de uso privado).

Lo que suele ocurrir en dichas situaciones es que, al cabo de pocas generaciones, los grupos de inmigrantes acaban abandonando su lengua y adaptándose a la lengua dominante del lugar en que se integran. Así, Spolsky (2004: 44) explica que, normalmente, tras una primera generación que aprende la lengua fuera de casa, la segunda generación, ya escolarizada en el lugar de destino, acostumbra a ser bilingüe y, con la llegada de la tercera generación, frecuentemente, la lengua patrimonial desaparece.² Pero no siempre ocurre así, claro está, pues a veces tienen lugar movimientos de lealtad lingüística que hacen a los grupos de hablantes aferrarse a la lengua B con actitud auténticamente militante, como símbolo social y de identidad cultural, con frecuencia por sentirse especialmente presionados para el abandono de su lengua, como ocurrió con los colectivos de inmigrantes de variada procedencia llegados a Australia

2. No obstante, se ha detectado, por ejemplo, que la presencia continua y prolongada de miembros de la primera generación (habitualmente abuelos), suele tener como consecuencia un mayor grado de mantenimiento de la lengua originaria en la tercera generación.

tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial (Smolicz y Secombe, 2003: 7). Y es que, en casos como éstos, resulta evidente que la elección de una lengua no es una cuestión meramente lingüística, sino de valores culturales, y el mantenimiento de la lengua B en el ámbito privado puede adquirir tal fuerza que produzca el rechazo en dicha esfera hacia quienes no la hablen. En el extremo opuesto, cuando el dominio de la variedad A sea visto como un rasgo de prestigio que impulse a mejorar su dominio, se dan casos incluso en los que el hablante se esfuerza por no dejar traslucir el acento que «delate» la existencia de la variedad B como lengua materna.³

¿De qué modo debe abordarse, pues, dicha situación? Parece fuera de duda que la acción unidireccional, ejerciendo una presión que pretenda ahogar a la lengua B, puede tener repercusiones muy negativas de diversa índole (Rotaetxe Amusatagi, 1996). De ahí esa conveniencia de la acción bidireccional que facilite a las lenguas B espacios y herramientas que permitan su desarrollo, como pueda ser integrarlas en el sistema educativo, concederles espacio en los medios de comunicación de masas, promover actividades editoriales o prensa periódica estable. Pensemos, además, que lenguas como, por ejemplo, el ruso, el árabe, el chino o el swahili (habladas como primera o segunda lengua por un significativo porcentaje de los inmigrantes llegados a Europa) constituyen vehículos de comunicación internacional cuyo peso cultural justifica, por sí solo, el interés hacia ellas.

La cierto, en definitiva, es que, en una escena de multilingüismo derivada de la inmigración, la situación de diglosia va, de un modo u otro, a darse; y, antes de que lo haga de una forma descontrolada que pueda desembocar en conflictos lingüísticos (correlato de otros conflictos), es más que conveniente gestionarla para que conduzca a una positiva convivencia.⁴ Se impone, por tanto, la necesidad de análisis particularizados que proporcionen un conocimiento suficiente para el diseño de acciones oportunas. Podemos recordar, por ejemplo, el proyecto *Multilingual Cities Project*, cuyos resultados aparecen en Extra y Yagmur (2004). Abarcando en su análisis la situación de seis grandes ciudades europeas (Bruselas, Hamburgo, Lyon, Madrid, La Haya y Gotemburgo), estos autores llegan a la conclusión de que entre un tercio y más de la mitad (según la ciudad) de los niños escolarizados hablan en su casa otra lengua en lugar de (o además de) la lengua de uso común, hecho que no tiene, en general, correlato

3. Se trata de la capacidad *indexadora* del lenguaje (Dyer, 2006: 102-103), que permite la asociación del hablante con determinadas características sociales relevantes y que puede actuar, en ocasiones, contra los intereses sociales de dicho hablante, cuando su origen lingüístico es percibido y evaluado negativamente por sus interlocutores.

4. Aunque a propósito de una situación diferente, Williams (2009: 67) señala certeramente estos riesgos: «In short, diglossia, far from being evidence of social consensus, is a *prima facie* indication of precisely the opposite –namely structural conflict, based in opposing interests.»

en el sistema educativo en el que están involucrados. Queda claro, pues, que se produce un choque entre los usos comunicativos reales y unas prácticas escolares que cierran los ojos ante dicha realidad. Y ello nos conduce a un punto esencial en el asunto que tratamos: el de la política lingüística.

6. Inmigración y política lingüística

Spolsky (2004: 42) plantea que, cuando se habla de política y planificación lingüísticas, suele pensarse en los macroniveles de acción, es decir, en los niveles gubernamentales; pero que hay un micronivel que muchas veces toma decisiones y planifica con una importancia trascendental: la familia. Y una de las mayores presiones que puede sufrir la política lingüística familiar es, precisamente, una situación de inmigración, en la que se plantea una disyuntiva fuertemente condicionada por las actitudes lingüísticas. Con frecuencia, los hijos de los inmigrantes tienden a adoptar el papel de fuerza centrífuga, dado que suelen alcanzar una mayor socialización y muestran mayor tendencia a alejarse de la herencia lingüística, pero el factor central para la orientación de la política lingüística familiar acostumbra a ser la decisión de los padres: potenciar o no el mantenimiento de dicha herencia.

En el nivel institucional, una de las cuestiones más relevantes y debatidas al hablar de política lingüística e inmigración es la forma en que debe encararse la situación en el sistema educativo. El motivo no es otro que la importancia objetiva de dicho factor; en palabras de Pitkänen, Verma y Kalekin-Fishman (2002: 9): «education often turns into the key issue in integration». Parece existir un consenso, efectivamente, en cuanto a la necesidad de integrar a esos niños y jóvenes, pero ya hemos dicho que la idea de integración admite demasiados matices diferenciadores. Moreno Fernández (1998: 222) explica que se plantean, básicamente, dos opciones en este sentido: a) el diseño de programas especiales de inmersión, como modelo transitorio, para facilitar el aprendizaje de la nueva lengua; y b) el diseño de programas que incorporen la L1 en el currículo educativo, en busca de la armonía de la cultura de origen y la de destino. De nuevo, asimilación o multiculturalismo. No obstante, en este caso, un problema se plantea por igual en ambas opciones: las dos resultan muy costosas, máxime cuando el número de L1 se multiplica por ser variado el origen de la población inmigrante. Ante ello, el camino con frecuencia escogido es el de hacer caso omiso de la existencia de los inmigrantes, con las negativas repercusiones socioeducativas que ello lleva aparejadas.

Tannenbaum y Berkovich (2005: 288) señalan que, en Estados Unidos, no sólo no se promueve gubernamentalmente el aprendizaje de las lenguas minoritarias por parte de los inmigrantes sino que manifiestamente se coarta: se

espera de las segundas y terceras generaciones de inmigrantes no sólo que hablen un fluido inglés sino que lo usen con exclusividad; sólo así serán considerados parte de la sociedad general. En el caso de los hijos del gran colectivo de rusohablantes asentado en Israel, nos encontramos con niños y jóvenes en cuyos hogares se habla, con frecuencia, exclusivamente ruso, pero que no reciben en el colegio absolutamente ninguna formación en esa lengua, por la decisión del gobierno israelí de mantenerla al margen del sistema educativo. La consecuencia directa para estas segundas generaciones es una situación de semianalfabetismo en su lengua materna, que puede tener consecuencias socioemocionales muy negativas. Y es que, en general, tanto los hablantes de las lenguas dominantes como los gobernantes suelen percibir la enseñanza de las lenguas de las minorías inmigrantes como un obstáculo para la integración. En este sentido, resulta difícil entender, si pensamos en el ámbito de la Unión Europea, que los mismos que sostienen la importancia de la variedad lingüística en el contexto transnacional europeo contemplen las lenguas de las minorías inmigrantes como un problema.

Un caso distinto, apunta Bradshaw (2006), es el de la minoría griega en Australia, cuya lengua muestra alta vitalidad. Y es que la situación en ese país se ha transformado ostensiblemente en los últimos tiempos, según explican Smolicz y Secombe (2003: 7-10): después de varias décadas con un sistema educativo férreamente orientado a la asimilación, a partir de los años 80 se fue dibujando un panorama diferente, con el inglés como lengua general pero sin excluir de la enseñanza el resto de las lenguas allí habladas, situación que se ha ido potenciando posteriormente, tanto en lo tocante a las lenguas aborígenes como a las de los grupos inmigrados.

Claro que, si la introducción de las lenguas minoritarias en el currículo educativo puede cubrir el flanco del multiculturalismo (como en el caso de Australia), hay otra medida curricular que se echa de menos en la enseñanza de no pocos estados, esta vez orientada a la integración. Y no es otra que la adecuada planificación de la enseñanza de la lengua mayoritaria como L2. Es lo que ocurre, por ejemplo, en España (Hernández García y Villalba Martínez, 2008), con la inexistencia de un currículo oficial para la enseñanza del español como L2 en el contexto educativo. En Francia, si bien se ensayó, desde comienzos de los 70, un programa de enseñanza de la lengua y la cultura de origen de los colectivos inmigrados (con el objetivo, entre otros, de facilitar una futura repatriación), éste fue abandonado en 1994 y ha sido sustituido precisamente por un programa de planificación del francés como L2 (Spolsky, 2004: 70-71). En el caso de Australia, paralelamente a la apertura del sistema a las lenguas minoritarias, fue implantándose, entre los años 70 y 80, la enseñanza del inglés como L2 en el sistema educativo, rescatando así a muchos hijos de inmigrantes que antes, hablando sistemáticamente en casa su lengua materna, eran abandonados a su

suerte al llegar a una escuela en la que se hablaba una lengua que no dominaban (Smolicz y Secombe, 2003: 12). Resulta manifiesto que un nivel insuficiente de dominio del idioma de uso general conducirá, más que probablemente, al fracaso escolar, por lo que se trata de una cuestión de suma importancia para el aparato educativo y para la sociedad en su conjunto.

Por todo ello, parecen claras las ventajas de un sistema capaz de articular las tendencias asimiladoras y las multiculturalistas, o lo que es lo mismo, capaz de poner los medios para que se mantenga la vitalidad lingüístico-cultural de origen al tiempo que se potencien suficientemente las competencias en la lengua de destino.

7. El conocimiento de la realidad multilingüística. La ciudad de Jaén

En el epígrafe introductorio hacíamos referencia a una doble necesidad a la hora de abordar la integración de los colectivos de inmigrados, a saber, la de fundamentar sólidamente los objetivos que se persiguen, por un lado, y la de conocer en profundidad la situación sobre la que se pretende actuar, por otro. Tras haber dedicado el espacio precedente al primero de esos aspectos, vayamos al segundo. Cualquier tipo de intervención lingüística relacionada con la inmigración que se pretenda plantear en un entorno determinado no tendrá sentido si no parte de un profundo conocimiento previo de la situación: qué colectivos inmigrantes están más o menos representados, cuáles son sus lenguas nativas y otro variado abanico de aspectos. No es de extrañar, por ello, que de unos años a esta parte hayan comenzado a surgir iniciativas investigadoras en esa línea, con vistas a obtener una información rigurosa que permita sentar las bases de acciones posteriores.

Estas iniciativas se centran con frecuencia en el ámbito escolar, analizando el abanico de lenguas habladas por la comunidad escolar de un determinado entorno, como, por ejemplo, vemos en Baker y Eversley (2000) en relación con la ciudad de Londres o en Extra y Yagmur (2004) a propósito de seis ciudades europeas. En otras ocasiones buscan una perspectiva general y un ámbito de datos más amplio, sea respecto de un territorio, como en Alladina y Edwards (1991) sobre las Islas Británicas, sea respecto de una lengua, como en Jorgensen (2003) a propósito de la presencia transnacional del turco. La complejidad de este tipo de trabajos es, indudablemente, enorme. Así lo muestra, por ejemplo, el testimonio de un equipo de investigadores de la Universidad de Almería que hace unos años emprendió la iniciativa de catalogar las lenguas habladas por la población extranjera en una franja costera alrededor de la capital almeriense (García Marcos y Carmona García, 2002).

Resulta palpable que la variedad lingüística existente, incluso en ciudades pequeñas y no especialmente caracterizadas por la inmigración, no sólo es enorme sino también creciente. En el caso de España, además, se da la circunstancia de que, por ser tan reciente el fenómeno de la inmigración a gran escala, realmente apenas se poseen datos fehacientes en este sentido, lo que impide el diseño de programas eficaces de actuación. Se impone, por consiguiente, la necesidad de un acercamiento minucioso al fenómeno migratorio en el territorio sobre el que se pretenda actuar, sopesando sus dimensiones y características, en la búsqueda de datos no sólo sobre cada colectivo sino, incluso, sobre cada individuo. Y tal conocimiento pormenorizado difícilmente puede alcanzarse si no es a base de un acercamiento persona a persona a partir de encuestas sociolingüísticas. Ése precisamente ha sido el punto de arranque de la investigación puesta en marcha por cuatro profesores de la Universidad de Jaén, con la idea de llevar a cabo un *Catálogo de lenguas y censo lingüístico de la población extranjera estable de la ciudad de Jaén*, iniciativa que se ha visto respaldada con su reconocimiento como Proyecto de Investigación de Excelencia por la Junta de Andalucía.⁵

Por una parte, por tanto, se propone la elaboración de un catálogo de las lenguas habladas por la población extranjera del ámbito geográfico acotado, la capital jienense. El objetivo no es meramente obtener una relación de las distintas lenguas documentadas sino presentarlas agrupadas en función de su caracterización tipológica y filiación genética, acompañadas, además, de una breve descripción gramatical y una bibliografía básica de consulta. Ello contribuirá a dibujar con mayor nitidez los trazos fundamentales del mapa de los grupos culturales con los que tratamos y, además, hará que el catálogo sea una herramienta mucho más útil a la hora de planificar la enseñanza del español, pues permitirá al docente hacerse una idea clara acerca del sustrato lingüístico originario sobre el que la nueva lengua va a superponerse. La descripción de las lenguas podrá ser, por último, adecuadamente completada con un esbozo de sus rasgos pragmáticos más sobresalientes y contrastantes con los usos comunicativos europeos y, particularmente, españoles.

Ahora bien, los grupos de hablantes no son monolíticos, y el conocimiento del historial lingüístico de sus miembros (su lengua nativa y otras lenguas que puedan dominar) sería, por sí solo, insuficiente para conocer de verdad la realidad sociolingüística sobre la que se pretende actuar. No olvidemos que pretendemos contribuir a la optimización de la enseñanza de la lengua de destino, pero también, y de manera muy importante, analizar cuáles son las actitudes de los inmigrantes hacia las lenguas de origen y destino, para facilitar así el

5. Los investigadores son Francisco Fernández García, Elena Felú Arquiola, Carmen Conti Jiménez y Marta Torres Martínez. El plazo de ejecución del proyecto es 2008-2012.

diseño de acciones específicas y adecuadas de política lingüística tendentes a la multiculturalidad. Por ello, la elaboración del catálogo correrá pareja a la de un censo, entendido no tanto como una lista exhaustiva y detallada de individuos, sino como una base de datos que dé cuenta de las características principales de los grupos de hablantes, con información sobre el país de procedencia, el perfil sociolingüístico, el perfil propiamente lingüístico (qué/cuántas lenguas manejan, con qué destreza, cómo han sido adquiridas) y los aspectos psicosociológicos relacionados con las actitudes de los hablantes hacia las lenguas de origen y destino.

Entonces sí, con a la información que el catálogo y el censo pondrán a nuestra disposición, estaremos en condiciones de hacernos una idea más exacta acerca de quiénes son, lingüísticamente hablando (o, para ser más exactos, gramatical, pragmática y sociolingüísticamente hablando), los sujetos cuya integración sociocultural aspiramos a optimizar. El mapa sociolingüístico que se logrará con el catálogo y el censo (qué lenguas conviven, con cuántos hablantes, cuál es su perfil, cómo viven el contacto lingüístico) dará una radiografía sociolingüística profunda y solvente de la realidad. A partir de ella, los gestores políticos, sociales y culturales contarán con puntos de referencia objetivos, información científica contrastada para acometer acciones encaminadas a mejorar la convivencia y la cohesión social.

8. Conclusiones

Ante la creciente importancia del fenómeno de la inmigración, se hace necesaria la adopción de medidas orientadas a la integración social del inmigrante, dentro de la cual los factores lingüísticos ocupan un lugar de primer orden. Pero sólo delimitando muy claramente los objetivos que se aspira a conseguir y conociendo a fondo la situación sobre la que se pretende actuar, podrán sopesarse, realmente, las acciones oportunas.

En cuanto a la delimitación de objetivos, hemos argumentado que la vía óptima para la integración se halla, probablemente, a medio camino entre la asimilación y el multiculturalismo. Por una parte, es imprescindible el apoyo para el aprendizaje de la lengua de destino, mediante la elaboración de materiales y la ejecución de programas a partir de un conocimiento profundo de los colectivos de inmigrados a los que se van a dirigir, conocimiento que habrá de abarcar aspectos tanto lingüístico-tipológicos como socio-comunicativos. Por otra parte, no puede obviarse la toma en consideración de las actitudes lingüísticas de los inmigrados, la forma en que el contacto lingüístico incide en su sentido de la propia identidad, variable en función de las características de los distintos grupos. La potencial conflictividad de las situaciones de diglosia que se generan habrá

ser mitigada mediante una adecuada gestión que, lejos de limitarse a ahogar la lengua minoritaria, le ofrezca sus propios cauces de desarrollo; por ejemplo, mediante una adecuada política lingüística educativa, capaz de compatibilizar la óptima adquisición de la lengua y la cultura de destino con el mantenimiento de los lazos con la lengua y la cultura de origen.

En lo tocante a la necesidad de conocimiento profundo de la situación sobre la que se pretende actuar, hemos presentado un proyecto de investigación que, del mismo modo que otras iniciativas previas, pretende sentar bases sólidas que permitan alcanzar objetivos como los ahora mismo expuestos, y todo ello con la vista puesta, en último término, en lograr una mayor cohesión social, de la mano del conocimiento y del respeto entre los pueblos y las culturas.

Nota

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Of Women, Bitches, Chickens and Vixens: Animal Metaphors for Women in English and Spanish

IRENE LÓPEZ RODRÍGUEZ
BROWN UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT: Speakers of English and Spanish often understand gender differences in terms of animal imagery. It is quite common in both languages to come across metaphors presenting women in the guise of chickens, bitches or vixens. Given the cognitive and social force of metaphor in our understanding of the world and of ourselves, such animal images offer a window on the role given to women in our society. In fact, whether in the form of pets, livestock or wild animals, women tend to be seen as inferior and subordinated to men.

Keywords: animal metaphors, gender, women, sexism, English and Spanish languages.

RESUMEN: Los hablantes de lengua inglesa y española usan a menudo la imaginaria animal con el fin de comprender diferencias de género. En ambas lenguas es bastante frecuente encontrar metáforas que presentan a la mujer en la forma de pollitos, perras y zorras. Dada la fuerza social y cognitiva de la metáfora en nuestro entendimiento del mundo y de los seres humanos, dichas imágenes animales reflejan el papel otorgado a la mujer en nuestra sociedad. De hecho, ya sea bajo la apariencia de mascotas, ganado o animales salvajes, existe una tendencia a representar a las mujeres como inferiores y subordinadas al hombre.

Palabras clave: metáforas animales, género, mujeres, sexismo, idiomas inglés y español.

From the start, the gods made women different.
One type is from a pig—a hairy sow
 Whose house is like a rolling heap of filth;
 And she herself, unbathed, in unwashed clothes,
 Reposes on the shit-pile growing fat.
 Another type the gods made from a fox:
 Pure evil, and aware of everything.
 This woman misses nothing: good or bad,
 She notices, considers, and declares
 That good is bad and bad is good. Her mood
 Changes from one moment to the next.
 One type is from a dog—a no-good bitch,
 A mother through and through; she wants to hear
 Everything, know everything, go everywhere,
 And stick her nose in everything, and bark
 Whether she sees anyone or not.
 (Semonides of Amorgos, *Iamb on Women*)

1. Introduction

Metaphor is one of the main mechanisms that contribute to the diffusion and ingraining of folk beliefs. Through metaphors people express a picture of reality or a world view. In fact, most metaphors are not neutral in their evaluative stance (Nunberg, Sag & Watson, 1994; Moon, 1998), but are charged with an ideological or attitudinal component (Fernando, 1996) which reflects a bias on the part of a speech community towards other groups of peoples, mores, situations and events. The attitudes conveyed by means of metaphors originate in what is known as general or universal knowledge, in other words, conventional views attached to the cultural values held by a community (Deignan, 2003; Maalej, 2004; Talebinejad & Dastejerdi, 2005). This communal voice condensed by metaphors is frequently used by speakers as arguments of authority to validate or sanction particular behaviors (Drew & Holt, 1998; Moon, 1998). Seen in this light, metaphors may become covert means of transmitting and perpetuating certain norms for the benefit of a particular speech community (MacArthur, 2005).

Metaphors offer a window on the construction of social identities. Being channels of folk beliefs, many metaphors convey biases in favor of particular social groups that are considered as the normative in detriment to those individuals who do not conform to this group. In the forging of social identity dualisms seem to play a pivotal role and the use of metaphors tends to reinforce the dichotomy between “the self” and “the other” (Lerner & Kaloff, 1999; Coviello & Borgerson,

2004). Speech communities frequently resort to metaphors as a form of showing group alliance but also as a means of linguistic ostracism. Obviously, the role played by language in maintaining group cohesiveness and group solidarity is responsible for the acquisition and use of particular patterns of speech (Labov, 1963). There is indeed a direct correlation between the strength of group membership and conformity in linguistic habits. The institutional and communal voice echoed in a great number of metaphors functions as a centripetal force that keeps the community together in detriment of marginal groups (Berstein, 1977; Mills, 1995).

Certain metaphors, then, act like a signal that discloses someone's status to those privy to the code, increasing this gap between "the self" and "the other", for, to put it in Altman's (1990: 504) words,

metaphors [...] are part of a power structure (or struggle), part of the way in-groups of various sorts delineate their discursive boundaries, name and expel the Other, express and reinforce their bonds, their sense of being "at home" with each other.

Given the nature of the dominant ideology and social ethos of our society, "the self" is represented by the male white heterosexual, leaving other groups such as women, homosexuals, blacks or people of different races in the category of "the other" (cf Baker, 1981; Baider & Gesuato, 2005). Reinforcement of this social division is frequently marked via language and a dominant social group may recur to metaphor in order to oppress and belittle "the other", imposing their ideology through linguistic means.

One conventional way of categorizing otherness is through animal metaphors. Figurative expressions drawing on the source domain of animals abound in both English and Spanish. The equation human-animal usually goes hand in hand with negative connotations. Obviously, within the hierarchical organization of the Great Chain of Being (cf Lakoff & Turner, 1989) humans stand above animals, and, therefore, by conceptualizing people as animals, the former are attributed with the instinctual qualities of the latter. In fact, animal metaphors are always at hand to disparage marginal groups such as homosexuals, women and immigrants (i.e. "the other"). Gay men, for instance, are commonly referred to as *birds*, *pussycats*, *pájaros* (birds) or *mariposas* (butterflies) whereas the social degradation of women finds its way into language through the figurative usages of *cow*, *bitch*, *zorra* (vixen) or *foca* (seal), in English and Spanish respectively. In like manner, animal metaphors mark ethnic boundaries and the dominance of the white race is preserved in language. The desire to mock or belittle foreigners can be gleaned in several animal names (cf Santa Ana, 1999). Examples of linguistic xenophobia include *frogs*, the name given by the British to the French; *pequeño pony* (little pony), the derogatory term used by the Spaniards in reference to the

South-Americans or *mulatto*, denoting a person with one black and one white parent, but whose origin stems from the Portuguese and Spanish diminutive form of the animal name *mula* (mule) (*cf* Carbonell, 1997; Hughes, 2000).

Animal metaphors, therefore, appear to hold a prominent place in the intersection of the heteronormative and the marginal (Hughes, 1991; Nesi, 1995; Baider & Gesuato, 2003). Community views about the inferiority of homosexuals, women and immigrants are verbally rendered by means of metaphor, having acquired a subsumed traditional force. Metaphorical identifications of marginal groups with animals may help express and perpetuate collective evaluations about their role in society, reinforcing stereotypes and, ultimately, pigeonholing people into the normative binary set of “the self” and “the other”.

Bearing in mind this social force of metaphor in marking social grouping, this paper tries to explore perceptions of womanhood through animal metaphors. For this purpose, the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) along with ethnobiological (Wierbizcka, 1996; Martsa, 1999, 2003), anthropological (Leach, 1979) and cultural classifications of animals (Harris, 1985) will be used as a framework in comparing figurative uses of animal names applied to females in both English and Spanish.

2. The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor

Human beings use their knowledge of the natural world in constructing a meaningful social existence and the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is good proof of it. In fact, animal metaphors are part and parcel of English and Spanish, and people are commonly described as animals of some sort. The straightforward transfer of a name from an animal to a person includes *fox* (someone who is crafty), *pavo* (literally: *turkey*, a clumsy person), *pig* (someone who is dirty) or *cabra* (literally: *goat*, a person who behaves in a crazy way). Similarly, human behavior is frequently understood in terms of animal behavior (Kövecses, 2000; Echevarría, 2003; Kehinde Yusuf, 2005). Such is the case of *wolf down* (to eat greedily), *tener malas pulgas* (literally: *to have bad fleas*, to be bad tempered), *to bark at sb.* (to speak in a sharp angry tone) or *empollar* (literally: *to hatch*, to cram).

As can be inferred from the previous examples, in general terms, the associations of people with animals tend to convey negative evaluations. This can be explained taking into account the folk conception of the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (Lovejoy, 1936; Tillyard, 1959; Lakoff & Turner, 1989) whose main purpose is to assign a place for everything in the universe in a strict hierarchical system, which is pictured as a chain vertically extended. So, at the bottom stand various types of inanimate objects such as metals, stones and the four elements.

Higher up are various members of the vegetative class, like flowers and plants. Then come animals; then, human beings and, finally, celestial creatures. Finally, at the very top is God. Within each level there are sub-levels defined by different degrees of complexity and power in relation to each other (e.g. within the animal realm the lion is above the rabbit, which, in turn, is above the worm). The Great Chain of Being, thus, presupposes that the natural order of the cosmos is that higher forms of existence dominate lower forms of existence.

This hierarchical organization seems to have important linguistic and conceptual repercussions since when people are equated with animals, they are being degraded and, therefore, the animal-related metaphor is likely to become a vehicle to express undesirable human characteristics (Talebinejad & Dastjerdi, 2005). So in both English and Spanish when a person fails to perform a task which is supposed to be within the human intellectual capacity animal metaphors are always at hand: *goosey*, *burro* (donkey), *ass* or *bestia* (beast) are just a few examples. Likewise, extreme behavior is castigated by degrading the human to the animal realm. Thus, a person who cannot control his appetite becomes a *pig* or *cerdo*; someone who cannot reduce his anger becomes a *beast* or *bestia*, and a person who cannot refrain his sexual urge turns into a *tiger* or *tigre*.

The notion of control, or rather, lack of control seems to be the basis of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. The rationale for such a metaphoric theme is that within the binary opposition human/animal what distinguishes the former from the latter is his rational capacity, in other words, his ability to control his behavior. According to this dichotomy, there is an animal inside each person and civilized people are expected to restrain their animal instincts, letting their rational side rule over them. The metaphors HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR (Kövecses, 1988), ANGER IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR (Nayak & Gibbs, 1990), PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE US (Kövecses, 1988), A LUSTFUL PERSON IS AN ANIMAL (Lakoff, 1987) or CONTROL OF AN UNPREDICTABLE/UNDESIRABLE FORCE IS A RIDER'S CONTROL OF A HORSE (MacArthur, 2005) conceptualize extreme behavior and, therefore, lack of control, by resorting to a common scenario: the animal kingdom.

Nevertheless, although being a lower form of life, animal names are suitable vehicles for describing undesirable habits and attributes. A closer look at metaphorical animal identifications can show that this is not always the case, for certain animal metaphors do capture the positive characteristics of people. Conspicuous examples of animal terms loaded with favorable associations include *toro* (literally: *bull*, a strong virile man), *lion* (a brave person) and *lince* (literally: *lynx*, someone clever), among many others (*cf* Leach, 1964; Deignan, 2003; Echevarría, 2003). The positive import attached to these animal names seems to reflect cultural views. Indeed, the attitudes held by the members of a community towards particular animals may be responsible for endowing the animal name with either positive or negative implications. Needless to say,

cultural values attached to specific animals will vary in time and space, and the same animal can be regarded as good for one culture and harmful for another (Harris, 1985). The privileged position traditionally assigned to bullfighting in the Spanish-speaking world might account for the positive associations conveyed by the metaphoric use of *toro*. By the same token, the good connotations derived from the figurative uses of *lion* and *lince*, in all likelihood, bear witness to the high rank these animals have within the animal kingdom as well as to their physical appearance (i.e. both animals are of a considerable size), living conditions (i.e. these animals are not subject to man's control, for they live in the wild) and behavior (i.e. both animals are ferocious and predators).

In fact, along with cultural attitudes, ethnobiological classifications of animals could help the interpretation of the figurative senses of animal names. These taxonomies usually rely upon five basic parameters, namely, habitat, size, appearance, behavior and relation of the animal to people (Wierbizcka, 1985, 1996; Martsa, 2003). These factors could be informative in understanding the figurative senses of animal names. For instance, returning to the examples with which this paper was introduced, of animal terms applied to immigrants, it is interesting to notice how the aforementioned parameters are key for the encoding of the metaphor. The name *pequeño pony* granted to the South-Americans working in Spain is probably motivated by the size of the animal (i.e. South-Americans tend to be shorter than Spaniards and, obviously, a pony is a small horse) as well as on the relation of the animal to people (i.e. because South-Americans tend to do the work most Spaniards do not want to do, a beast of burden seems appropriate). The reference to the French as *frogs* presumably derives from the relation with the animal as well as with cultural views, since the Britons find this traditional French dish revulsive (cf Leach, 1964). Finally, in the case of *mulatto*, its originary sense of *small mule*, also a beast of burden which is a half-breed of a male ass and a female horse, encapsulates the idea that a mulatto is a descendant of a white and a black couple who usually worked as slaves (Hughes, 2000).

3. Metaphorical uses of animal names applied to women

Metaphorical expressions that use animal names as their source domain applicable to people abound in both English and Spanish. Man and woman are often conceptualized as animals of some sort. Men are frequently referred to as *studs*, *bucks*, *wolves*, *toros* (bulls), *zorros* (foxes) and *lince*s (lynxes) whereas women are referred to with such metaphors as *chick*, *bird*, *kitten*, *pollita* (chicken) or *gatita* (kitten). In the encoding of the metaphor, the choice of the animal name does not seem arbitrary, but, on the contrary, may shed some light

onto the expectations and beliefs society holds about males and females (Nilsen, 1994). Actually, most animal metaphors used predominantly with men are usually based on the size (big), strength and habitat of the animal (wilderness). Such are the cases of *wolf* and *toro* (bull). Women, by contrast, are seen as small domestic animals such as *hen* or *periquita* (parakeet). These metaphorical identifications might certainly be motivated on physical grounds because, after all, men are generally bigger and stronger than women. Yet, the implications of such metaphors may transcend the solely physical and hint at stereotypical views of manhood and womanhood (Baker, 1981; Nilsen, 1994, 1996; Hines, 1999). In other words, being wild animals, men need freedom and no restraint; however, the fact that women are presented as domestic or livestock animals might suggest that a woman's place should be confined to the domestic arena.

Hence, because metaphors are not divorced from the world of our perceptions and conceptions, but very firmly rooted in it, the study of the underlying assumptions that motivate the mapping of common animal metaphors used in the conceptualization of women may provide a good insight into the role attributed to females by society. In English and Spanish, women are often conceptualized in the guise of *bitches/perras*, *chickens/pollitas* and *vixens/zorras*. These animal images roughly correspond with the three main categories with which women are identified, namely, pets, farmyard and wild animals.

3.1. Women as pets

Within the animal world, pets enjoy a privileged position. In fact, pets are not conceived of as beasts of burden nor are they killed for their meat or skin. On the contrary, pets share the same roof as their owners and their main function is to keep people company. This benevolent attitude towards pets finds its way into the English language, for the very word *pet* is used as a term of endearment.¹

Perhaps, the most obvious case of prototypical pet is the dog. Also known as "man's best friend", dogs have a reputation for being noble and reliable. Yet, this characteristic of faithfulness does not always hold up since the figurative sense of dog when applied to a female conveys negative connotations, implying ugliness and promiscuity. In fact, the very word *dog* to refer to a woman means *ugly female* or *prostitute* (Eble, 1996). Similar considerations apply to its Spanish equivalent *perro*, which is also used to denote *an ugly female* (Carbonell, 1997).

1. *Pet* is defined as *a term of endearment for a person (OED)* and as *a person who is treated with unusual kindness or consideration (Webster)*.

By the same token, negative traits also prevail in the figurative usage of *cat* and *gata*. In folk understanding cats have a reputation for being independent and even treacherous. These negative connotations might prompt its figurative senses, for in English *cat* denotes *a malicious woman, a loose woman* and *a prostitute*, whereas in Spanish *gata* refers to *a surly woman, a servant* and *a prostitute* (Partridge, 1970; Carbonell, 1997; *DJHH*²).

This awkward correspondence between the most beloved pets and women can be understood in terms of Leach's (1964) link between animal terms and taboo. Leach's categorization of animals rests on two parameters: social distance and edibility. According to him, there exist structural correspondences between the way women are classified as potential sexual partners and the way animals are classified as edible. The taxonomy of women depending on their sexual availability renders the following cline:

1. very close (true sisters): due to culture as well as genetics, sexual relationships within the members of the same family are forbidden (incestuous)
2. Kin but not very close: potential sexual partners
3. Neighbors: highly desirable sexual partners
4. Distant stranger: no social relation is possible and, thus, any kind of sexual relation is non-existent

The above classification finds a set of equivalents with the relation humans have with animals as regards closeness and edibility.

1. Pets: very close and inedible (e.g. dog, cat)
2. Farm animals: although tame, not as close as pets, and sometimes inedible (e.g. hen, cow)
3. Game/field: not tame, but edible (e.g. quail)
4. Wild animals: remote, not subject to human control and, therefore, inedible (e.g. wolf)

The merging of the two classifications can explain the pejorative import attached to dogs and cats. In fact, pets are not classed as potential food in the English- and Spanish-speaking world, and because they are close to man no sexual relationship can be approved of. The fact that *dog* and *cat* serve to refer to women who are either promiscuous or prostitutes may well hint at the idea of illicit sex for, after all, having sex with a prostitute falls outside what is considered moral or correct behavior.

2. *DJHH* stands for *Diccionario de la Jerga de Habla Hispana*.

In addition to this, the behavior of cats might also prompt its figurative usage (Partridge, 1993). Indeed, cats are animals typically associated with the night. Hence, because they are nocturnal creatures the associations with prostitution might be established. Moreover, in Spanish, one of the figurative senses of *cat* denotes a female servant.³ This usage may be based on the movement cats make. The process of crawling is linguistically instantiated in the Spanish metaphorical verb *gatear*, which derives from the animal name *gato*. Certainly, this crawling movement of the cat resembles the position servants have to adopt when cleaning (i.e. crouching when cleaning the floors).

In the case of English, another hypothesis for the relationship between these two pets with prostitutes and ugly women arises from historical causes. During the witchcraft trials in 17th-century England witches were credited with supernatural powers that allowed them to assume the form of different animals, the most common ones being toads, but also cats and dogs (cf Leach, 1964; Sax, 2001). From this belief might stem the associations of dogs and cats with unpleasant females.

Within the generic terms *cat/gata* and *dog/perro* there are subcategories of linguistic relevance. Sex discrimination is also made among pets. A dog has its counterpart in the largely taboo *bitch/perra* whereas *cat* is assumed to be female in English, its male equivalent being *tomcat*. *Bitch* is, in all probability, one of the most common terms of opprobrium for a woman, condensing the senses of malicious, spiteful and bossy (Hughes, 1991). The masculine *tomcat*, however, presents no figurative usage and in actual fact the term is falling out of use, being replaced by *male cat* when sex distinction is needed. As regards Spanish, the masculine term *gato* (male cat) does not apply to women whereas the female dog *perra* denotes *a despicable woman* and *a prostitute* (DRAE⁴).

More striking, however, is the fact that even the infant words *puppy/perrita* and *gatita* (kitten) as well as the baby language *bow-wow* and *pussy* are used as terms of abuse for a woman. Pertaining to the dog family, *a bowser*, *bow-wow* and *mud-puppy* are used in American college slang for an ugly woman (Eble, 1996) whereas the female baby dog *perrita* also refers to *a promiscuous young girl* or *a prostitute* (DJHH). In the same line, *kitten* and *gatita* are applied to *sexy young women* and *promiscuous women*, whereas *pussy* falls into the language of obscenity, denoting the female genitalia. The former seems to be motivated by the stereotypical image of the baby animal playing with a ball of wool, which might hint at the idea of playfulness, therefore, reducing women to the category

3. This sense of *cat* as servant is not found in Peninsular Spanish, but in some varieties of South-American Spanish (cf *Diccionario de la Jerga de Habla Hispana*).

4. DRAE stands for *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*.

of sexual playthings, whereas the latter seems to be based on visual grounds, since the fur of the cat resembles the female pubic hair (*cf* Baker, 1981; Chamizo & Sánchez, 2000).

Another animal commonly kept as a pet is the bird. Common species of domestic birds include the canary and the parakeet. Like the previous pet names analyzed, these bird metaphors also concentrate the senses of small size, youth, domesticity and entertainment. In English, the very word *bird* is defined as *a girl* or *a young woman* (*Webster*). The metaphor is usually charged with affective connotations, being commonly used as a term of endearment. This positive evaluation appears to have its roots in the amorous disposition of the animal as well as in the folk tradition that associates birds with symbols of love (*cf* Talebinejad & Dastejerdi, 2005). In fact, the state of being in love of a couple is metaphorically instantiated by resorting to bird names such as *lovebirds* or *tortolitos* (turtledoves) in both English and Spanish. Yet, in spite of this, the Spanish equivalent of *bird*, that is, *pájara* does not hold any hint of affection, since the term is applied to *a cunning woman* and even to *a prostitute* (Carbonell, 1997). Such a reversal might respond to a long cultural tradition that associates sex with bird imagery. Already in the Classical world, the Romans referred to the lips of the vulva as *wings* and the feathers of the bird were a common metaphor for the phallus, which reminds one that the Spanish word for *penis* is *pene*, which comes from the Latin name of a long feather *pena*. Besides, there seems to be a connection between sexual intercourse and flying, presumably motivated by the physical appearance of the penis when erected. Actually, in German the verb *vögeln* (to fuck) stems from *vogel*, meaning *bird* (*cf* Flórez, 1969; MacGrady, 1984).

Within the generic bird species, canary and parakeet/periquita are also used metaphorically in the conceptualization of women. *Canary* denotes a young woman, being also used in US college slang to refer to a female student, particularly in the collocation *canary dorm* to denote a female student residence. Similar considerations apply to *parakeet* and its Spanish equivalent *periquita*, whose figurative senses are also used as practically synonymous with young women (Eble, 1996; Carbonell, 1997). The notion of deprivation of individuality seems to underlie such metaphorical identifications, especially noticeable in the case of *canary dorm*. In fact, by presenting a female student residence as a place full of birds, women are being robbed of their individuality. Actually, the notions of lack of individuality and unimportance very often find their way in language through bird names. Suffice it to consider idiomatic expressions of the type *for the birds*, meaning worthless. In addition, the twittering and chattering sounds made by birds might also hint at the stereotypical view of women as chatterboxes. Indeed, confusing and non-sensical talk are frequently channeled by means of bird names such as *hablar como un loro* (literally: *to talk like a parrot*) or *to talk*

like a magpie. Curiously, both English and Spanish resort to *parakeet/periquita* in the representation of women. Within the bird species, the parakeet belongs to the parrot family and, needless to say, the parrot is the clearest epitome of bird associated with non-sensical talk, because parrots, without knowing what they say, are able to mimic people's words (*cf* Sommer & Weiss, 1996).

The repertoire of metaphors designating women as pets reveals a clear imbalance in favor of terms of abuse. Indeed, with the exception of *pet*, *bird* and in certain contexts *kitten/gatita*, all the aforementioned metaphors analyzed convey negative evaluations. Moreover, interestingly, even within the favorable animal terms, only *kitten/gatita* is restricted to females, since *bird* and *pet* are ambisexual in nature.⁵ In the conceptualization of women as pets, youth and small size appear to play a determinant role in the encoding of the metaphor, implying immaturity (the lack of age involves inexperience) and helplessness (unlike other animals, pets need to be looked after by people). Furthermore, the physical surroundings of pets, whose whole life spins around the house, might imply the idea of domesticity. This confinement to the domestic arena is particularly remarkable in the case of bird names, since birds are kept in cages.

3.2. Women as farmyard animals

Animals are bred for utility, sport, pleasure or research, and farm animals, no doubt, fall in the first category. Unlike pets, whose main function is to entertain and provide company, livestock animals exist to be exploited and eaten. They render service to man, either by helping in farm labor or by producing foods (e.g. milk, eggs, and meat). These two characteristics yield the factors of servitude and edibility, factors which will be central to the metaphoric identifications of women with farm animals.

As far as servitude is concerned, there appears to be a strong link between the female role in reproduction and factory farmed animals. On using farmyard animals, women are depicted as creatures that perform the strictly animal functions of producing and rearing offspring (Shanklin, 1985; Brennan, 2005). Due to biological functions women are likely to be viewed as *cow/vaca*, *heifer/vaquilla*, *mare/yegua*, *mule/mula*, *filly/jaca*, *sow/cerda*, *nag* and *rabbit/coneja*. Except for *rabbit*, all the terms listed refer to big mammals. Size indeed seems to be a key component in crediting the animal name with positive or negative connotations and, in general terms, the names of small animals tend to comprise

5. *Pet* denotes an indulged and usually spoiled child and a term of endearment for a person (OED), whereas *bird* is applied to a young person of either sex, a maiden, a girl, and a man (OED).

a more condescending attitude than those of a considerable size (Hines, 1999; Halupka-Rešetar, 2003). The names of big animals usually imply fatness and ugliness, as observed in the figurative usages of *cow/vaca* (an ugly fat woman), *heifer/vaquilla* (ugly female), *mare/yegua* (ugly female), *mule/mula* (a stubborn or ugly female), *jaca* (an ugly man-like woman) and *nag* (*an old woman who habitually complains*). The only exception is found in *filly* (a lively young girl). A young female horse, *filly* commingles the senses of big size and youth. However, it seems that the age factor has a heavier clout than the size, for *filly* denotes a young woman with no connotations of fatness or ugliness (OED; DRAE; DJHH; María Moliner; Carbonell, 1997).

Furthermore, the figurative senses of *heifer/vaquilla*, *mare/yegua*, *jaca* and *nag* may also convey sexual innuendoes, since they may well refer to *a prostitute*, *a promiscuous woman* or *a woman with whom sexual intercourse is wanted* (OED; DJHH; Baker, 1981; Carbonell, 1997; Coviello & Borgerson, 2004). Certainly, the fact that these animals can be ridden by people might evoke the image of mounting or getting upon a coital partner, therefore, hinting at the metaphor SEX IS RIDING (Chamizo & Sánchez, 2000), which portrays the man in the role of the *rider* that *mounts*, *rides* or *straddles* the woman.

The case of rabbit differs from the previous ones in the sense that rabbits are of a small size and, therefore, the animal name is likely to be charged with positive connotations. Being known for their reproductive capacity, the animal term *rabbit* is used to refer to a woman who has given birth to many children. In Spanish the same definition applies to the figurative sense of the female rabbit *coneja*, for its male counterpart *conejo* denotes the female genitalia, probably because of the resemblance between this furry animal and the salience of pubic hair (cf Chamizo & Sánchez, 2000). This strong sexual component is especially noticeable in the baby name *bunny/conejita*, which denotes an attractive young woman (Webster; María Moliner; Carbonell, 1997).

Another animal used in the representation of women is the pig. In both English and Spanish *pig* and its female counterpart *sow/cerda* are metaphorically used as terms of opprobrium for a woman, implying fatness, dirtiness, ugliness and even promiscuity (OED; DJHH). To explain this evaluative stance, it is pertinent to recall Leach's (1964) discussion of animal terms and verbal abuse, and its relation to taboo. According to Leach, certain animals that do not fit easily into categories such as pets, farmyard, field or wild animals become suitable candidates for verbal abuse and, therefore, the use of their name for a person constitutes a serious insult or offence. In this sense, in both English and Spanish *sow/cerda* and its male counterpart *pig* are clear cases of uneasy category membership because the pig and sow are fed with the same food as people, but they end up on the table. Besides, the physical appearance of the animal (i.e. fat) as well as its habitat (i.e. pigs live in a pigsty and like mud) may account for

the associations with fatness and dirtiness. Finally, the idea of promiscuity may derive from the symbolism which associates cleanliness with purity and dirtiness with immorality (*cf* Crystal, 1995; Cacciari et al., 2004).

Within the farmyard ambience, bird names are also a rich source for metaphors: *chicken/pollita*, *biddy*, *hen/gallina*, *quail*, *pigeon/paloma*, *pichón* (baby pigeon) and *pava* (female turkey) are just a few examples used figuratively in the conceptualization of women (*cf* Cruz & Tejedor, 2006). Judging these animals on the basis of appearance and relation to people, one soon discovers that apart from being of a small size, all these animals are mainly reared for consumption. Certainly, these birds constitute a common source of nourishment and, as already mentioned, edibility appears to be a significant factor in the encoding of animal metaphors (*cf* Leach, 1964; Lang, 1887). In fact, there seems to be a correlation between eating and human desire vertebrating the metaphor DESIRE IS HUNGER (Lakoff, 1987; Kövecses, 2002; Gibbs et al., 2004), by means of which desire is understood as hunger for food and, consequently, the object of desire is represented as food. Speakers of both English and Spanish frequently structure their experiences of desire in terms of hunger, and feeling hungry and eating are frequently used to express sexual desire, sexual satisfaction and to evaluate the potential of a sexual partner (*cf* Emanatian, 1995; Gibbs et al., 2004; Baider & Gesuato, 2005).

Hence, in so far as they are food, the figurative use of the previous bird names may hide sexual appetite or desirability. Such are the cases of *chicken/pollita*, *quail*, *pigeon/paloma* and *pichón* (baby pigeon), which denote women who are young and usually attractive. Yet, the opposite can be said of *biddy*, *hen/gallina* and *pava* (female turkey), which do not hold any hint of physical beauty, but, by contrast, suggest old and middle-aged women who are ugly, fussy or clumsy. This reversal might be explained in relation to edibility and age. Indeed, the youth of an animal is likely to prompt positive figurative usages of the animal name, presumably because of the connotations of helplessness and care attached to offspring (*cf* Hines, 1999; Halupka-Rešetar, 2003). Actually, several couples of animal metaphors bear witness to the negative views on old women. Compare, for instance, *old nag* as opposed to *filly*, *chicken/pollita* as opposed to *hen/gallina* and *kitten/gatita* as opposed to *cat/gata* (Nilsen, 1994). Furthermore, from the point of view of edibility, the younger the animal, the tender its flesh, and bearing in mind that the desired person is frequently conceptualized in the guise of food, the names of young animals, in all likelihood, will be endowed with favorable overtones.

Phonetic considerations might also play a major role in the choice of bird names in the conceptualization of women in English (Leach, 1964). Owing to associations in their phonetic vicinity, certain animal names are likely to evoke obscene words. The fact that several bird names used to refer to a woman are

fowl might hint at its homophone *foul*, meaning *filthy*. This idea of dirt might resonate in certain bird names, which could explain that during the 17th century fowl names were common for prostitutes. Such was the case of *partridge*, *pheasant*, and *quail*. Although their figurative sense of *prostitute* has fallen out of use, *quail* is still used as slang in The States to denote a woman who is still a minor and whose seduction may involve going to prison (Evans & Evans, 1957; Partridge, 1949, 1970).

The representation of women in the guise of livestock animals also shows a clear dichotomy in terms of praise and abuse. On the one hand, one encounters a host of terms ridiculing women who are not beautiful (e.g. *mare/yegua*), slim (e.g. *cow/vaca*) or young (e.g.: *hen/gallina*) and, on the other hand, there is a series of animal names presenting women as sexually attractive (e.g. *filly*, *chick/pollita*). Size and age seem determinant variables for prompting positive figurative usages, and whereas youth and small size usually go hand in hand with positive associations (e.g.: *filly*), getting older and fatter is usually cause of derision (e.g. *nag*). Servitude and edibility appear to be at the core of these animal metaphors. In fact, the majority of farmyard animals are exploited for man's advantage, either as beasts of burden (e.g. *mule/mula*) or as a source of nourishment (e.g. *sow/cerda*, *chicken/pollita*). Whatever their function, however, there seems to be a conflation of food and bearing burdens with sexual desire reinforced by the co-occurrence of the metaphors SEX IS RIDING and DESIRE IS HUNGER (e.g. *jaca*, *chick*, *pichón*).

3.3. Women as wild animals

Unlike pets and farmyard animals, which largely depend on man for their survival, wild animals enjoy complete freedom. They are not subject to man's control, nor do they need him for food, shelter or protection. On the contrary, wild animals are independent, able to survive on their own and very often pose a threat to man.

As has been seen, the set of animal images used for women usually present them as small and helpless animals, in need of care and protection and whose main function is to provide entertainment, service or food. The conceptualization of women with wild animals, however, does not adjust to this pattern. In fact, instead of cats, dogs, chicks, hens or cows, wild animals turn the tables for no longer are they the lovable or useful animals that provide company or can be exploited for man's advantage; but they are menacing, that is, dangerous.

A wild animal often employed for a female in English is "coyote". Physically, coyotes stand out for their ugliness, a trait which remains in its metaphoric use for women. In fact, *coyote* usually appears in the collocation *coyote ugly* to refer

to an unattractive female (UD⁶). Besides, when caught in a trap, coyotes usually chew their leg in order to escape, a behavior which motivates the metaphorical expression *coyote date*. Hence, *coyote date* commingles the senses of ugliness and need to escape, referring to “a woman who is so ugly that when her companion for the night wakes up the next morning and she is asleep on his arm he would rather chew off his arm than wake her up” (Eble, 1996: 100).

The fox is also a clear epitome of wild animal. Apart from being relatively big and predators, foxes stand out for their artfulness and smartness, as old sayings bear witness to (e.g. *as cunning as a fox/tan astuto como un zorro*). Indeed, foxes are paradigms of intelligence and slyness. Yet, none of these qualities are retained in its metaphorical usage, for, when applied to a female, *fox* means *an attractive young woman* (OED). Such figurative use can be explained within Leach’s (1964) link between taboo and animal names. In fact, like in the previous case of the pig, the fox is one of those animals difficult to classify because, although wild, it is also treated as game. In fact, the fox is both predator and prey for, although it preys on other animals, foxes are also hunted. Casting foxes on the role of the prey might make sense within the generic metaphor of the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING in which people, being higher forms of life, have complete control over animals. Seen in this light, then, the portrayal of women as foxes seems to echo the image of fox-hunting for, according to Baker (1981: 169), “[t]he fox is an animal that men chase, and hunt, and kill for sport. If women are conceived of as foxes, then they are conceived of as prey that is fun to hunt”. Besides, the sexual component encapsulated under the metaphoric *fox* seems to be the off-shoot of the more generic metaphor SEX IS HUNTING (Chamizo & Sánchez, 2000) by means of which sex is concealed in terms of hunting. In fact, it is not uncommon to find animal metaphors that confer women a passive role as regards sexual matters, and, as already seen, from the SEX IS RIDING metaphor the figurative usages of *heifer/vaquilla*, *mare/yegua* or *jaca* also presented women as the one to be mounted. Similarly, with the SEX IS HUNTING metaphor the man is *the hunter* who hunts the *prey* (i.e. the woman). The man *goes hunting* whereas the woman waits to *be hunted* or *shot*.

The same sexual nuances are seen at work in some of the metaphorical usages of the female counterpart of the fox in English, for *vixen* is also defined as *a flirty woman and an attractive woman* (UD). Once again, the metaphorical conceptualization of women as vixens places women in the role of the prey that men hunt. Less favorable overtones are also registered for another figurative use of *vixen* and its Spanish equivalent *zorra*. *Vixen* denotes *an ill-tempered quarrelsome woman* (OED) whereas its Spanish equivalent *zorra* means *a*

6. UD stands for *Urban Dictionary*.

cunning woman, a promiscuous woman and even a prostitute (DRAE, DJHH). These negative traits seem to be based on the main underlying assumption motivating the broad metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, that is, the notion of control. Indeed, unlike the previous images of pets and livestock animals, which present women as domesticated and tamed, that is, as animals subject to man's control, vixens and wild animals in general enjoy complete freedom. Interestingly, this idea of being able to survive without man's aid is charged with a negative import for, in the case of English, strong and dominant women are labeled as *vixens* whereas reversing the submissive role of the prey traditionally assigned to females in the sexual arena is linguistically castigated by the negative associations attached to the metaphorical *zorra* in Spanish (cf Fernández & Jiménez, 2003).

As a matter of fact, the names of predatory animals are frequently employed to refer to females who take the reins as far as relationships are concerned. Consider, for instance, the animal names *lioness/leona*, *tigress/tigresa* and *loba* (a she-wolf) whose figurative senses apply to *sexually active women*, *promiscuous women* and even *prostitutes* (UD, DJHH). Relationships are often conceptualised in terms of hunting and, as seen, most animal terms metaphorically portray the man in the role of the hunter, whereas the woman assumes the passive role of the prey. In the encoding of animal metaphors, it appears that the event and its participants are almost always presented as the agent that performs whereas the female adopts the role of recipient, patient, sener or marginal agent (Halliday, 1985). The transitivity analysis of many metaphorical expressions likening animals with women present the latter as the one to be tamed, domesticated or hunted and, as is well attested, in the different networks of euphemisms that conceal sexual intercourse in terms of hunting, and riding, the woman is traditionally the passive one (cf Chamizo & Sánchez, 2000). Nonetheless, when the roles are reversed, that is, the woman takes on the active role of the man, she is portrayed as a menacing animal, as though implying the inappropriateness of such power.

Within the wild category, birds also provide a prolific source of metaphors. *Crow/cuervo*, *magpie/urraca* and *parrot/cotorra-loro* are used metaphorically to refer to females. Judging these animals on the basis of appearance, one soon discovers that none of the terms listed are birds associated with intelligence (as is the owl) or nobility (as are the hawk or the eagle); neither are they standards of beauty (as is the case of the swan). On the contrary, the bird names used in the conceptualization of women stand out for their ugliness and chatter. In English *crow* is defined as *a girl or a woman who is old or ugly, a promiscuous woman and even a prostitute* (OED; UD) whereas its Spanish equivalent *cuervo* also refers to *an ugly and usually old female* (Carbonell, 1997). The physical traits of the animal certainly map onto unattractive females whereas the idea of being old and prostitution might stem from the connotations of darkness attached to this bird. Indeed, in the folklore tradition crows are seen as portents or harbingers of doom

or death because of their dark plumage, unnerving calls and their tendency to eat carrion (*cf* Dorson, 1972). Besides, the dark plumage of the crow might also evoke the color of the clothes of old women, especially due to mourning. The sense of prostitution, on the other hand, might have its origin in cultural views linking immorality to darkness. In fact, as seen with one of the figurative senses of *cat/gata*, nocturnal creatures are common vehicles to refer to prostitutes. Also of the crow family, the magpie is a dark-feathered bird frequently associated with death, which might account for one of its metaphorical senses, for in both English and Spanish *magpie* and *urraca* denote *an ugly old woman* (*OED*; *DJHH*). Furthermore, magpies, like parrots, are well-known for their noisy chattering, which explains their metaphorical use in English and Spanish since *magpie/urraca* and *parrot/cotorra-loro* refer to women who engage in idle talk or talk too much (*OED*; *DJHH*; *María Moliner*).

Reinforcement of this stereotypical view of women as idle talkers is also achieved by means of the figurative use of the animal name *hyena/hiena*. Apart from their unpleasant physical appearance, hyenas are known for a chirping, birdlike bark that resembles the sound of hysterical human laughter. These two characteristics of ugliness and strident speech are transferred in their metaphorical uses, for in English and Spanish alike *hyena* and *hiena* denote *ugly and vociferous women* (*UD*; *DJHH*).

Several metaphors used in the representation of women originate in sea animals. Some of them include *seal/foca*, *whale/ballena* and *walrus/morsa*, whose metaphorical senses are applied to ugly fat women (*UD*; *DJHH*). From the point of view of appearance, all these animals stand out for their big size, which makes them suitable candidates for becoming derogatory terms. Indeed, as seen before, the size of the animal seems responsible for endowing the animal name with favorable or unfavorable overtones, and, whereas small animals tend to arouse feelings of protection and affection, creatures of a considerable size are usually charged with negative connotations, probably because of man's difficulty to exercise control over them due to their superior strength. Weakness in an animal, then, appears to be a positive trait for endowing the animal name with favorable overtones. Obviously, the smaller the size and the lesser the strength of the animal give man a decided advantage in the successful application of physical force.

The set of animal images portraying women as wild creatures shows a clear imbalance towards terms of abuse. In fact, nearly all the wild animals with which women are metaphorically identified convey negative evaluations. It appears that in the encoding of the metaphor the physical traits of these animals (i.e. ugliness and fatness) as well as their relation to people (i.e. they are not subject to man's control and may pose a threat) seem to be highlighted whereas other

positive qualities such as power, independence, intelligence or craftiness are not transferred in the figurative use.

4. Conclusion

Our most common wisdom often comes from the animal kingdom, from which we have been drawing instructive metaphors throughout history. *Perro ladrador, poco mordedor*, *A perro flaco todo son pulgas*, *The early bird catches the worm* or *Birds of a feather flock together* are just a few examples of the way in which we understand ourselves from just two species.⁷ In fact, people have often resorted to animals as a way of explaining human behavior, human feelings and even human relations (Kövecses, 2000).

Animal metaphors not only have a cognitive basis, but are also culturally motivated, that is, they reflect the attitudes and beliefs held by a particular community towards certain animal species, and, therefore, may vary from culture to culture, in time and space (Deignam, 2003). This cultural dimension of animal metaphors makes them suitable vehicles for the transmission and perpetuation of social beliefs for the benefit of a particular speech community. Certainly, within the folk conception of the Great Chain of Being, humans stand above animals, and what distinguishes the former from the latter is that people are governed by rationality and, therefore, are able to control their impulses. This issue of control is, no doubt, one of the main pillars of a community, because, for any given society to work, there must be rules and regulations which safeguard the rights and interests of its members. Hence, because animals behave out of instinct, the metaphorical usage of animal names proves very effective to inform the necessity of restraining certain types of conduct which, unless regulated, may be harmful to group interests (MacArthur, 2005).

Animal metaphors, then, offer glimpses of social practices. Drawing a clear boundary between the rational human and the instinctual beast, animal metaphors are often used in English and Spanish to degrade particular social groups that are regarded as inferior or marginal. Obviously, taking into account that within the English- and Spanish-speaking world, the male white heterosexual is assumed to be the norm, that is, “the self”, any other social group deviating from this, such as women, homosexuals or immigrants will fall into the category of “the other”.

7. In Spanish *perro ladrador, poco mordedor* (literally: a barking dog does not usually bite) may translate as *his bark is worse than his bite*, whereas *a perro flaco todo son pulgas* (literally: a thin dog only has fleas) might correspond with *it never rains but it pours*.

Belittlement of such “other”, as has been seen, is often carried out via animal metaphors, as though implying the inappropriateness of their behavior.

As far as the conceptualization of women is concerned, speakers of English and Spanish seem to understand and experience gender differences through animal imagery. In fact, portrayals of women in the guise of animals are part and parcel of both languages. Underlying these metaphorical identifications is the notion of control. Indeed, whether in the form of pets, livestock or wild animals, women are seen as in dire need of subjugation, domestication and tight control. This notion of control ultimately hints at stereotypical views of womanhood, implying the idea that some kind of restraint needs to be exercised upon women. Indeed, as pointed out, weakness in an animal appears to be a favorable trait for crediting the animal name with positive connotations (e.g.: *chicken/pollita*) whereas the names of strong animals are loaded with negative associations (e.g.: *vixen/zorra*). Certainly, one might think that such correspondence could be based on physical traits, since, when compared to men, women are usually weaker. Actually, several animal metaphors may bear witness to the physical differences between the female and male bodies, since small size is another factor usually taken as positive for the prompting of animal metaphors for women, as opposed to animals of a considerable size, which seem to convey pejorative evaluations (e.g.: *kitten-gatita/cow-vaca*).

Yet, after examining several animal names used in the conceptualization of females, it appears that, more often than not, animal metaphors do reinforce the stereotypical view of the female sex. Actually, as these pages have tried to show, youth, slenderness and beauty are the most desirable qualities in a woman and, thus, the names of offspring, weak, small and nice animals are usually charged with positive connotations (e.g. *kitten/gatita*, *chicken/pollita*, *bird*). On the other hand, getting older, fatter and uglier are cause of derision in the case of women, which might explain the negative import attached to the names of animals of a considerable size which are not paradigms of beauty (e.g.: *mare/yegua*). Besides, in terms of their habitat, it appears that, whereas the names of certain pet and farmyard animals carry positive connotations, all the animals within the wild category transmit undesirable associations. Obviously, from the human perspective, pet and farmyard animals are domesticated and tamed, depend on man for their survival and do not pose any threat. Wild animals, by contrast, are not subject to man’s control and are menacing. Hence, by portraying women in the guise of pets and farm animals, the idea of domesticity is being highlighted, evoking the patriarchal view that a woman’s place should be confined to the domestic arena. Leaving their designated domestic sphere, however, is linguistically castigated by endowing the names of wild animals with negative associations. Finally, as far as the social role is concerned, pet and farm animals stress the idea that women are conceived to entertain and provide company, in

the case of the former, and to render service to man either by providing food or begetting children, in the case of the latter.

The animal metaphors analyzed do offer a window on the construction of social identities as well as paving the way for gendered discourse. In fact, as Vygotsky (1978) stated, our sense of identity is forged from our interaction with others and it is in this exchange of metaphors or social etiquettes that individuals receive their social categories from which they will fashion their identities. Indeed, the entrenchment of these linguistic metaphors could be attributed to the status or power that the dominant social group represented by the white heterosexual male has held in the course of history in the two speech communities under study. As sociolinguists like Labov (1963) and Milroy (1987) have found, the introduction, maintenance and perpetuation of linguistic forms seems to respond to the power exercised by the privileged position a particular social group has within the community. In this regard, because, borrowing MacArthur's (2005) metaphor, THE SELF IS RELEVANT OTHERS, the members of a speech community will conform to the behavior and mores of their peers, adapting themselves linguistically to the speech of their relevant others. Therefore, through these animal metaphors, people are linguistically socialized and led to accept patriarchal views about the role of women.

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Praise Names and Power De/constructions in Contemporary Igbo Chiefship

OBODODIMMA OHA
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

ABSTRACT: Praise names are very important means through which individuals in the Igbo society generally articulate and express their ideologies, boast about their abilities and accomplishments, as well as criticize and subvert the visions of the Other. With particular reference to chieftaincy in the Igbo society, praise-naming as a pragma-semiotic act ties up with constructions and deconstructions of power, and so does have serious implications for the meanings attached to chieftaincy, as well as the roles of the chief in the postcolonial democratic system. The present paper therefore discusses the semiotics of praise names in the contemporary Igbo society, drawing data from popular culture and chieftaincy discourses. It addresses the interface between signification and politics (and the politics of signification) in Africa, arguing that change in the understanding and relevance of chieftaincy in postcolonial Africa calls for attention to how chieftaincy is (re)staged at the site of the sign.

Keywords: Praise name, Chief, politics, power, Igbo.

RESUMEN: Los nombres laudatorios constituyen un importante medio a través del cual los individuos de la sociedad Igbo articulan y expresan sus ideologías, se vanaglorian de sus logros y critican, así como subvierten las representaciones del Otro. En referencia a la figura del jefe tribal, los nombres laudatorios, en cuanto acto pragma-semiótico, se relacionan con la construcción y deconstrucción del poder, de lo que se derivan importantes implicaciones para el significado endosado al jefe tribal y sus roles en el sistema democrático poscolonial. El artículo explora la semiótica de los términos laudatorios en la sociedad Igbo contemporánea, utilizando datos de la cultura popular y de los discursos de los jefes. Igualmente, aborda la interfaz entre significación y política (la política de la significación) en

África para concluir que el cambio en la relevancia y la manera de entender al jefe tribal en la África poscolonial se (re)escenifica en el nivel del signo.

Palabras clave: nombres laudatorios, jefe tribal, discurso político, poder, Igbo.

Oke ntutu aha na-egbu nwa nkita

(A lot of praise-names spoil a dog)

Igbo saying

1. Introduction

Niyi Osundare (1993: 3), a poet noted for his strong attachment to African verbal semiotics, tells us that: “Names serve as the door to the house of experience, a guide to hidden meanings in the shadowy nooks of time and place. Names tell stories, liberate or imprison; they may also serve as self-fulfilling prophecies”. Praise names, by extension, are texts of visions or ideologies. They can, as Osundare argues, either save or enslave, especially with respect to their use in the context of chiefship where power and personal ego are often involved. As part of the wide range of signifying practices in chiefship that include insignia, palaces architectural designs, regalia, wall relief paintings and sculptures, etc., praise names adopted by or given to chiefs clearly present competing ideologies, reminding us about the observation made by V.N. Volosinov (1986) that the sign (verbal or the non-verbal) is a site of ideological struggle. Indeed, they point towards the fact that chiefship is not homogeneous; even within the same culture and chiefdom, one could find competing ideologies which need to be taken into consideration in discourses on the roles of chiefs in the economic, social, cultural, and political lives of communities in postcolonial Africa.

This essay will explore how praise naming, as reflected in contemporary Igbo popular discourses, is a means of semiotizing chiefship in the Igbo cultural world and discuss the implications for social tenors especially in the context of the negotiation of difference and solidarity. Preceding the analysis is a brief background discussion on contemporary chiefship in Igboland. This background is important because there has been a lot of controversy in Igbo studies in recent times on Ezeship, and particularly on the issue of *Igbo-enwe-eze* (Igbo-Have-No-Kings), or the so-called “Ezelessness” (Afigbo, 2001) of the Igbo.

2. The Philosophy and Pragmatics of Praise-naming in Igbo Culture

The act of praising is performed in many cultures as a means of encouraging positive behaviour in people, although we know that in some cases it could be hypocritical. Within the Igbo cultural context, praising, as an ideal positive reinforcement act, is justified with the wise saying that *E too dike na nke o mere, o mechie ozo* (If a great person is praised for his or her achievement, he or she would achieve more). Indeed, for the Igbo, the cultural act of praising is often harnessed in making people become more committed to working for the public good in concrete terms, apart from trying to demonstrate personal excellence to others. By extension, praise-naming is a cognate pragmatic and semiotic act through which obligations and expressions of abilities and achievement are communicated. In other words, the praise name is not just an identity, but also a text that functions in the social context of relationships, power differentiation, and reconstructions of goals. Just like all Igbo personal names, as shown in Ubahakwe (1981) and Uwalaka (1993), Igbo praise names possess structures of meaning that relate to philosophical and cognitive experiences. As part of proper names, they are “not mere linguistic expressions but are also indicators of experiences which reveal much about the political attitudes and practices of the traditional Igbo” (Ebeogu, 1993: 79), viewed pragmatically.

Whether as a means of performing the act of praising or mere identification of its bearer, a name is universally seen as being very significant in the life of its bearer. To buttress this, Justin Kaplan and Anne Bernays in *The Language of Names* (1997: 16) explain that:

Names shape the language of the daily drama of gesture, avowal, and inference that is part of our social life. Full personal names, first and last taken together, stand at the intersection of opposing pulls: they set the bearer apart as an individual but also provide the bearer with family and extended kinship ties, and so focus both the present and the past. And beyond this, they have an occult associative and symbolic power. They are charms.

It is not only human beings that are given praise names. Communities, the supernatural, and even animals, are sometimes given praise names. With respect to communities, praise-naming is often used in constructing the pride of their identities, in fact for patriotic reasons. In the case of the praise-naming of the supernatural, it is a rhetorical means of gaining the favour or enlisting the support of the being in question, like in the case of several praise names given to God in Jewish religious tradition.

Many personal names given to or taken by people, as their identities, may be praise-oriented, and the praise may be directed to either the supernatural, the

bearer, or the giver of such a name, for example parents. In the present essay, focus is not on personal names that are praise-oriented but on the sub-class referred to in Igbo as *aha otito* (praise names), which are additional names taken by or given to individuals, either in backing up the traditional titles they have taken or in testifying to their competence in various vocations such as hunting, herbal healing, artistic productions, etc. There is a slight difference between *aha ntutu* (sobriquet used in greeting) and *aha otito* (praise name), just as there is a difference between *aha echichi* (title name), *aha ntutu*, and *aha otito*.¹ *Aha ntutu* may be praise-oriented, in other words, it may also be *aha na-enye otito* (a name that praises), or a name that generally teaches a philosophy of life without any tickling of the ego. Every adult in the Igbo society normally chooses *aha ntutu* with which people greet him or her. Most of the time, it is the person's age grade that asks the person to provide such a name, especially because within the context of the age grade, individuals discursively try to reconstruct their social identities with their abilities and philosophies. Also, in performances (dance, masquerading, wrestling, etc), the identities featured in the *aha ntutu* are particularly engaged in moving action. It tends to indicate how in the Igbo society attempts are made to harness the philosophies and perceptions of individuals, and to *identify* these philosophies and perceptions as people in social action. People who are unable to provide *aha ntutu* for themselves are normally regarded in their groups as being incapable of reflecting on life and perceiving their roles in life.

Aha echichi (title name) may be praise-oriented, and is normally *aha ntutu*, because titled individuals are supposed to be greeted properly, that is, greeted in recognition of what they are, or have made themselves for others to recognize. It is considered abnormal among the Igbo not to honour someone who has been properly honoured by tradition. Greeting an individual with his or her *aha echichi* is also a way of showing respect for tradition. Again, one who greets with the *aha echichi* and another who is greeted are brought together in a moment's conversation on, and perpetuation of, those philosophies intended/initiated by the bearer of the name(s). In some cases, the *aha echichi*, *aha otito*, and *aha ntutu* may be extensive, that is, they may be a very long rendition structurally shared by the bearer of the name(s) and the person being hailed or greeted in the ensuing discourse. In fact, what we have in such situations is a (verbal) performance on identity.

1. Ubahakwe (1981: 108) recognizes three categories of names in Igbo: pet, unique, and given. This categorization is problematic because some pet names (for example, praise names) may be also given.

3. Igbo Chiefship: *Igbo-Enwe-Eze*, *Igbo-Nwe(re)-Eze*, and the *Nnukwu Mmanwu* Social Text

A very crucial matter that has arisen in relation to Igbo chiefship discourses in recent times is the validity or otherwise of the saying, *Igbo enwe eze* (“Igbo have no kings”). Authorities in Igbo studies such as Adiele Afigbo and Cyril Angulu Onwuejeogwu have been involved in serious and bitter debates on the issue, especially because it has some links with recent struggles for traditional leadership in Ala Igbo and redefinitions of the place of chiefship in Igbo cultural affairs. In *Igbo Nwe Eze*, a publication that resulted from Onwuejeogwu’s Iguaro Igbo Heritage Inaugural lecture, 2001, which is a response to Cyril Agodi Onwumechili’s Ahiajioku lecture in 2000 entitled *Igbo Enwe Eze?*, Onwuejeogwu had interpreted Onwumechili as claiming that the Igbo have no kings. Afigbo, in *Igbo Enwe Eze: Beyond Onwumechili and Onwuejiogwu* (2001), has criticized Onwuejiogwu as having misread Onwumechili, and as having written his treatise just to please the Nri traditional authorities who probably felt that Onwumechili’s thesis was a threat to their status in Ala Igbo. For Afigbo, Onwumechili has not asserted that the Igbo have never had kings, or do not have kings, but that *most* Igbo communities did not have kings (in the past). Onwumechili, he clarifies, “was not concerned primarily with the contemporary scene which passes belief when compared with the past” (Afigbo, 2001: 8).

The assertion, *Igbo enwe eze*, controversial as it is, has some multi-accentuality which those involved in its debate ought to recognize. It could be read as a declarative sentence (that the Igbo have no kings) and as a nominal (the Igbo that have no kings). Both may be used by the neighbours of the Igbo in criticizing or ridiculing them, or even by the Igbo themselves as a form of self-criticism and expression of regret (as in the case of the name, *Igboamaeze* (the Igbo have no regard for kings)).

Afigbo (2001: 17) in *Igbo Enwe Eze* draws our attention to the indigenous Igbo criterion for investing somebody with Ezeship, namely: headship or authority that “derives from correct standing in or descent from the blood line”. Such an authority is supported by the *Ofo*, in other words, by the gods and ancestors, and is therefore normal beyond question. In some cases, the Eze may be identified as *aka kpa ofo* (literally, The Hand that Holds the Ofo), or by other names identified by Afigbo, such as “Nna Anyi” (Our Father), “Onye Nwe Ala” (Owner of the community territory), “Isi Ala” or “Onye Isi Ala” (Community Head) (Afigbo, 2001: 17-18), names which suggest his being a natural custodian of the land and people. The confusion on who is an Eze and who is not in contemporary Igbo society where values have become confused is cleared by Afigbo (2001: 18):

Any (other) person laying claim to or indeed holding an office in the group to which the title Eze has been attached, with or without government recognition, but whose position does not derive from the blood line is not an Eze by culture and usage. He is at best a phenomenon which has become embarrassingly common since the colonial period. He is a warrant chief. In other words there are today in post-colonial Igboland many Ezes who are mere warrant chiefs. They are Eze because of their wealth and/or learning, because they were able to buy the people's support and win the approval of Government!!

Some Igbo communities have tried to overcome the problem of the confusion in the status of an Eze by making a distinction between a "chief" and an "Eze". The Eze is reserved to refer to the community head chosen by consent and/or through direct blood descent from the holders of the *ofo*. The title of "chief", on the other hand, is normally conferred on any deserving person by the Eze, with the former being inferior and not in any way entitling the holder to rulership of the community. In some Igbo communities, for instance, it would amount to an inferiorization to refer to the traditional ruler of the community as a "chief" instead of "Eze" or "Igwe". Perhaps this differentiation has resulted from the abuse of the title of "chief", and the fact that the confusion has led to a conflict in the distribution of powers. Moreover, the title "chief" has been identified as being colonial in origin, and is not an appropriate translation of "Eze". An Eze is a king, but because the colonial masters would not recognize any African "king" within their colonies, they preferred to call the traditional rulers "chiefs" and even "chieftains" in some cases.

One should also take very seriously the observation made by Afigbo (2001: 28-29) about the changes that have occurred in Igbo traditional rulership since 1896:

The sources of these changes are many. These include received European ideas, examples taken from other parts of Nigeria (especially Yorubaland, Benin, and Northern Nigeria). It is for this reason that we have a wide variegation in the institution in Igboland. With many there is a gap between splendour and wealth on the one hand (palaces, symbols, carriage and comportment) and reality on the other. There is the old unresolved conflict between the institution and the new elite, seen particularly in unending wahala between traditional rulers and town unions. There is the conflict between the conception of traditional rulers as royal fathers, as patrons of culture and as colourful decorations on the cap of national life on the one hand, and the attempt to assign them duties which they have no means of carrying out such as in the matter of helping to track down robbers, drug peddlers and other hoodlums.

As a matter of fact, the status of a chief has become more important than ever before among the Igbo; in fact the chief is configured as *Nnukwu Mmanwu* (the

Big Masquerade) that must be feared and respected. The *Nnukwu Mmanwu* semiotic is a paradox because by nature, the Igbo resist aristocracy but it nevertheless appears attractive. In recent times, there is a kind of scramble for chiefship and other titles in Nigeria as a whole, all in the attempt to signify the self as outstanding in the society, to create respect, indeed awe and worship, for self. Many would want to be perceived as *Nnukwu Mmanwu*, as a way of negotiating survival in a society that seems to thrive on might is right. Praise names are among the means used in constructing this image of *Nnukwu Mmanwu* for the self in contemporary Igbo chiefship, and so it ties up with the issues of power struggle and the crisis in/of traditional governance.

4. Praise Names, Power Struggles, and the Crisis of Traditional Governance

The history of chiefship in the Igbo society has been a history of “rise and fall in the power of chiefs” (Inyama, 1993: 222). From Afigbo’s account, the British colonial authorities in Nigeria were at some point not comfortable with the local chiefs thinking that they were privileged people, or leaders of their people, even though these colonialists at first did invest the chiefs with authority to deal with their own people.² This discomfort is understandable since the white colonialists were not really interested in creating respect for traditional African institutions in the first place, and would not want to create powerful institutions that would later turn to challenge their colonial authority. Chiefs who proved stubborn or challenged such authority were usually demoted, flogged, or sometimes exiled.

In contemporary Igbo chiefship, the power and legitimacy of the chief are still important issues. Apart from the long-standing conflict between the modernity of the town unions and traditional rulers in Igbo communities, there is a power struggle between the chiefship institution that appears to promote class distinction and individual quest and expression of democratic freedom in the Igbo society. Such ideological struggle often manifests in contexts of decision making in which the chiefs, seeing themselves as the *voices* of their people, sometimes try to forestall the Igbo tradition of *Onye kwuo uche ya* (everybody speaking their mind) that is based on the Igbo belief that “Power and authority belongs to all [...]” (Nwala, 1985: 168), and try to impose their own personal

2. Afigbo (2001) also enumerates the following phases through which “chieftaincy” has passed from the colonial times to the present: (1) the phase of the Native Council, characterized by the imposition of patterns of leadership found among the neighbours of the Igbo; (2) the phase of the Warrant and Paramount chiefs that produced tyrants; (3) the chief-as-delegate phase; (4) the Eze Okacha Mma (the Most Acceptable Chief phase; (5) the Elite/Progressive/Improvement Union phase; (6) the County Council/Elected Chief phase; (7) the classification of chiefs phase; (8) the reinvention phase, under military rule.

wills on the people. As means of articulating political visions and attitudes, praise names adopted by chiefs play an important role in negotiating acceptable and respectable images for their bearers in the context of this power struggle. Writing on Igbo personal names as expressions of orientation to democracy, Ebeogu (1993: 81-82) has noted that:

Virtually each of these names indicates the distinctiveness of the individual bearing the name, but this distinctiveness is rooted in a people's recognition of the need for a corporate will. Each name suggests that the bearer is a leader, but this leadership is bestowed by the people. The circumstances under which such names are given often suggest that the bearer of the name has achieved certain successes, not necessarily material, for which the community bestows a leadership position on the individual. It chooses for him a name which reflects his status either as the Spokesman, the Glory, the Light, the Redeemer, the King or the Voice of the People. In contemporary Nigerian socio-political dispensation, many Igbo traditional rulers and so-called chiefs bear such names. [...] It is obvious that such people play the role of power brokers in their community, and often beyond.

The lion (sometimes the tiger) is often represented in Igbo folktales as the king of the animals, the logic being that this powerful carnivore could kill and eat any other animal. The rulership of the lion is not one based on consent but might. That it protects other animals (as imagined in the name "Agu-na-eche-mba" (the-lion-that-guards-the-society) is an irony, for, seen from the angle of Bentham's panopticon, the lion watches to maintain the subjectivity of the other animals (whom he could kill and eat when he wants), or to prevent other lions from coming to rule. Being Ezekwesili (one-who-is-worthy-to-be-king) on the basis of this might, or Omekagu (one-who-acts-like-the-lion), does not agree with the consensus spirit which Kwasi Wiredu (1997) believes is the hallmark of African democracy. Of course, the great cat does not welcome the kind of extensive deliberations that Wiredu has in mind; it merely rules by virtue of the awe and fear it is able to instill in other animals, as suggested in the name *Ebubedike* (the-grace-of-the-mighty/powerful), and perceives self as being indispensable because of its might – something that appears implicit in the name, *Agbawodikeizu* (When-a-great-one-is-excluded-in-consultations, such consultations must be re-made because the former would not accept this exclusion). The chief so-named almost seems to assert, along with Louis XIV, "The state/community is I".

Indeed, some of the praise names suggest orientation to democracy as Ebeogu (1993) argues, for instance, *Eze Mbakwe* (If-the-community-consents) or *Eze Ummnakwe* (If-the-kinsmen-consent). Such an orientation deconstructs lionized chiefship or any chiefship that invokes the might and awe of a given individual as was common in the warrant chieftaincy of the 1920s whereby chiefs were given so much power (Inyama, 1993) with which they terrorized

their communities and promoted their subjectivity to the colonial masters. It does also seem to recall and endorse the *Eze Okacha Mma* model introduced by the colonial government as a means of raising chiefs acceptable to their communities especially with the definition of a chief in the revised Interpretation (Cap. 89) Law of the federation 1958 as “any native whose authority and control is recognized by a native community” (cited in Inyama, 1993).

Perhaps the praise name *Edi* of *Ediokwe* (the hyena of *Ediokwe*), one of the praise names featured in Oliver de Coque’s music,³ presents a more interesting paradox, for the hyena is a disgusting carrion eater that smells. It is also nocturnal, and the Igbo do not normally attach positive attributes to nocturnal creatures. Constructing an identity from this kind of animal is rather to move farther into the realm of dysphemism to valorize and promote the bad-boy syndrome. The choice of such a name indeed seems to agree with the idea of constructing a distinctive image for the self as chief, that is, that the chief must stand out, even if as the worst. The name *Ezeudele* (king of vultures) is even more eloquent as a verbalization of the worst-is-the-mightier-is-the-best ideology. Set within the historical context whereby there are folk narratives about men who, in the quest for money and power, were turned to vultures by spiritualists, this kind of praise name attracts a lot of negative connotations and revulsion.

The image of the chief as the mighty and the powerful is, nevertheless, reconstructed in such names as *Akajiugo* (the-hand-that-holds-the-eagle) and *Ononenyi* (one-that-sits-on-the-elephant). Oriented more to the ability to access or secure royalty (since only the powerful can catch and hold the eagle, and tame the elephant to be able to ride it), they appear more attractive and are the type that subtly address the ideal of working one’s way to prominence. The eagle and the elephant, incidentally, are commonly used as icons on Igbo chieftaincy regalia, as well as in palace wall reliefs, standing sculptures, caps, and fans.

There is, however, an interesting connection between wealth (money) and power in these chieftaincy names. The acquisition or possession of wealth and its philanthropic use as qualifications for chieftaincy are implicitly suggested in names like *Omere-oha* (one-who-does-for-others), *Onwanetirioha* (the-moon-

3. Most of the praise names discussed in this article are featured in Oliver de Coque’s highlife tune, “A na-enwe obodo enwe”. Noted for his orientation to the promotion of Igbo cultural values and praise-singing in his music, Oliver de Coque’s mention of these praise names represents one interesting function of praise names in the relationship between an artist (the one who praises) and the bearer of the name: the social image of the latter is boosted, while the economic and professional life of the former is sustained. Our research on these praise names that are mentioned in Oliver de Coque’s songs further reveals that they are actually used in addressing their bearers, were either adopted by them, or conferred on them by some communities. Only very few, for instance, *Aka-na-edere-ora-akwukwo* (the-hand-that-writes-for-the-people), and *Aka-na-akuziri-ndi-ocha-computer* (the-hand-that-teaches-computer-to-whites), were created by the musician as part of his praise-singing tactics.

that-shines-for-the-people), and *Ide* or *Ide-ji-Ogwugwu* (the pillar that holds the deity). This coalescence of royalty or chiefship and wealth, or the perception of one as the signifier of the other, appears to be promoting the mentality that chiefship could be purchased with money – something that is very common in Nigeria in recent times.

There is in the Igbo society today a struggle between monetized/lionized chieftaincy and chieftaincy based on the will of the people, between chieftaincy obtained through might of wealth and chieftaincy obtained through merit in terms of uprightness, promotion of culture and tradition, and leadership ability. The signing or signification of the space and power of wealth in the domain of chieftaincy is made also the “language of everyday practice” involving “new configurations of local difference and connectedness” (Pred, 1992: 153), as seen in the inter-cultural and intertextual metaphoric praise names like Adamu Dollars Worldwide, Dantata of Igboland, Alakoso of Isolo, Sarduana [sic] of Igboland, and Iduu I of Ihiala. Crossing the Igbo ethno-cultural space to obtain signifiers of supreme chiefship is one way of suggesting the local-with-a-difference, or the local-that-is-global, just as chiefship in Igboland itself was generally reinvented by cultural and political outsiders (British colonialists, military rulers, migrants, modernists, the educated elite, etc.). Alhaji Dantata, a rich businessman from Northern Nigeria, commanded admiration among many business tycoons who, indeed, followed his example in investments in trucking, manufacturing, and use of wealth in philanthropy. In fact, in the post-war era, the pet name “Alhaji” adopted by some Igbo people was meant to suggest that they were visibly wealthy. Just as in the metaphoric use of *Dantata*, the name *Adamu Dollars Worldwide* harnesses both the stereotype of the Hausa/Fulani as foreign currency speculator (indeed, many own bureau de change offices in Ibadan, Lagos, and Kano) and the invention of the dollar in discourse as “a standard for measuring real affluence in the West African context” (Oha, 2002: 78).

The globalization of the chiefship⁴ is even more visible in the configuration of *Ichie Gburugburu* (all-round, overall, or global Ichie) and in the adoption of *Iduu* (an Igbo name for the Ancient Bini Kingdom) as a title/praise name, obviously a metonymy for the Oba, the ruler of the kingdom. Igbo folk narratives about *Eze obodo Iduu na Oba* (The King of Benin Kingdom), paradoxically sometimes represent the Oba as heartless (for instance when he has to pull out the

4. Chiefship is indeed becoming globalized through the emergence of Igbo chiefs-in-diaspora, that is, outside the Igbo homeland. For instance, in Ibadan, the Igbo king in Ibadan is HRH Eze Dr Alex C. Anozie, the *Eze Digbo Mma I N'ala Ibadan* (the king that is acceptable to Igbo people). Chief Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, the Ikemba of Nnewi, is also currently regarded as Eze Igbo Gburugburu (the overall king of the Igbo). These obviously indicate a globalizing trend and a widening of both the concept of Igbo chieftaincy and the idea of the Igbo cultural space.

teeth of his subjects to celebrate new yam festival), and sometimes present his splendour and enviable authority. The idea of an Igbo chief as an *Iduu* therefore indicates the undecidable status and character of contemporary Igbo chiefship itself: it is both foreign and local, both human and brutal, both democratic and undemocratic.

The signification of the chief as the moon that shines for the society, as a luminary, suggests not only his distinctiveness but also his desirability that is beyond the ethnic and cultural. Other metaphorizations in the naming of the chief – mostly the archetypal – such as *Orimili* (sea) and *Iyi* (River/Oath) evoke the primordial fear associated with such images in primitive imagination. The large body of water is awe-inspiring and fearful especially with its storms, dangerous aquatic creatures, etc. The sea represents a destructive power in its immensity, although its mysterious nature again appears admirable. Locating a chief within this archetypal frame means not only naturalizing the power wielded by him but also asserting subjectivity to him.

Praise names adopted by many Igbo chiefs and those adopted by some non-chiefs to parody those titles reveal the crisis in the conceptualization of the power and roles of the chief in contemporary Igbo society. The praise names rhetorically present desirable images of their bearers, whereas the parodic praise names subvert and laugh at the credibility claims implied in the praise names of the chiefs. For instance, one non-titled person in Uli decided to go by the praise name *Eze Atugha* (Chief Liar/False Chief) in indirect response to his kinsman who became chief and took name, *Eze Eziokwu* (Truthful Chief/True chief). Traditionally, the credibility of a leader in the Igbo society mainly derives from an ability to speak the truth at all times and to be impartial. In the traditional ozo title, which is partly sacerdotal, truth is regarded as a major pillar (Amadiume, 1988: 18); and thus the ozo titled man is regarded as a holy man. The deconstruction of the claim to truthfulness is a major expression of opposition to the nature of contemporary Igbo chiefship.

Although this article has focused primarily on praise names in the context of traditional Igbo chiefship, it should be noted that the politics and rhetoric of praise naming also feature prominently in post-colonial democratic politics in the Igbo states in Nigeria. Generally, Nigerian politicians try to use the indigenous chiefship to construct their legitimacy and power, and many have chains of chiefship titles either conferred on them by traditional rulers whom they have favoured (or who desire to be favoured), or personally taken to build their public image. In this regard, the ideological and philosophical significance of praise names is sometimes invoked in contemporary political discourses in the Igbo-speaking areas in Nigeria to consolidate this rhetoric of legitimacy and increase liking. An example is Chief Chinwoke Mbinjuju's presentation of his praise

name, Odera (which means “If he has ordained (it)”), to project his ideological and spiritual vision of his presence in Anambra State politics in Nigeria.⁵

The former governor of Anambra State, through the reference to his praise/greeting name, attempts to show how impossible it is for any politician to stop him from achieving his political ambitions, based on the cultural and religious beliefs about destiny underlying the name, “Odera” (literally, “If he has written”). In Igbo culture and traditional belief system, one’s destiny is believed to be unchangeable, even though the same traditional system subscribes to the notion that *Onye kwe, chi ya ekwere* (If one affirms, one’s God also affirms). The Igbo traditional belief system seeks the clarification of one’s destiny through a range of semiotic practices like reading the palm of one’s hand (palmistry), reading the positions of divination seeds, and narratives such as dreams, as well as recurring incidents in one’s life. Chief Mbadinuju, incidentally, is a Pentecostal Christian who, while a governor in Anambra State, insisted that civil servants in the state should participate in communal prayers at their workplaces before commencing duty for the day. As in many other cases of double-consciousness in Nigerian life, he still appears to hold fast to the Igbo traditional notion of destiny, which, understandably, serves as a rhetorical appeal in his political discourse. His appeal to the semiotic of predestination is also a means of suggesting that his opponents in Anambra politics have no chances over him, an indirect way of telling them also to give up what he considers their “conspiracies”. Given that predestination is a fairly shared belief in the Igbo society, Chief Mbadinuju could therefore be seen as appealing to this shared belief and ideological system to win support.

The adoption of the praise names that advertise and suggest the prominence or supremacy of self is just one of the numerous signifying practices that many individuals seek to obtain chieftaincy titles in Igbo communities in recent times. Other forms of the signification include modes of regal dressing (indeed, *costuming*, for it is the acting or performance of self-in-power that is involved), architectural designs of their palaces and places of abode, including the types of icons used in wall paintings and relief sculptures in the palaces, and of course, the types of cars driven by the chief (most probably a Mercedes Benz, a jeep, and other one-in-town crawlers, but not any of those small cars often identified as “pure water” due to their commonness). A chief is configured as rare and outstanding, and so is located in the semiotic space of those signs of power that command respect and even worship. Interestingly, these other forms of the signification of the power and meaning of the chief are connected with the praise names adopted by the chief; in fact, one could see the praise names as

5. See Chief Mbadinuju’s interview with *Elendu Reports* (28 March, 2008) at <http://elendureports.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=630&Itemid=1>.

verbalizations or “trans-semiotic” translations of the chiefship as imagined by their bearers. Just one example: a chief in Mbaise in Imo State bears the praise name *Agu-na-eche-Mba* (The-Lion-that-Watches-Over-the-Community). The main gate to his premises is the mouth of the sculpture of a lion, so that entering the premises also ironically means entering the belly of the beast. Watching over the community becomes an ambivalent engagement: it is both *protecting* the community and *devouring* it, or rather, *protecting* the community so as to be able to devour it. Indeed, governance in the tradition of moneyed chiefs in contemporary Igbo society and in Nigeria as a whole is such a paradoxical business of terrorizing and devouring the community whose interest the chief professes to defend or pursue.

The paper thus throws up the issue of the crucial nature of signification in chiefship politics and the politics of signification in traditional governance in Africa. These interrelated issues indeed justify the perception of cultural signifying practices as domains where power, rights, and roles have to be negotiated or confronted. The “political economy” of verbal and non-verbal signs in Igbo chiefship is one that shows a society that is engaged in a conflict between a monetization/lionization of traditional governance systems and the governance through consensus/ familiar Igbo systems.

5. Some Concluding Remarks

The focus in this article has been on praise names in Igbo chiefship as signs of power, which demonstrate the power of signs in culture and society. Locating the analysis within the context of debates on the ontology and practice of chiefship in Igbo culture and history, the article has attempted to show that these names express competing ideologies. Praise names adopted by chiefs are sometimes indirect responses to, or interrogations of, other chiefship names and leadership styles. In other words, an indirect verbal exchange on chiefship is always already going on among chiefs (and non-chiefs) through praise naming.

There is no doubt that chiefship needs to be made more meaningful and relevant to the contemporary culture and democratic governance. As African chiefs have already started moving from the chiefdoms of their local communities to the chiefdoms of virtual global community, there is the need for a proper ideological transformation of the institution. African chiefship needs to be revolutionized so that chiefs become means of liberating their communities from political oppression, hunger, disease, and above all, ignorance. The figure of the chief as the panoptical lion encourages enslavement and feudalism. The gold rings and flowing kente of the chief signify wealthy and expansive personality paradoxically performed in a social context where many barely have something

to eat. A chief would still be a chief, and even a better one, if he reduces the number of his gold rings and size of his kente cloth so that somebody who is hungry and naked somewhere in the chieftdom would have something to eat and something to wear.

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Annex

Praise names of some Igbo chiefs that feature in “A na-enwe obodo enwe”, a highlife tune by Chief Oliver de Coque

REAL NAME OF BEARER/ADDRESSEE	PRAISE NAME(S)	MEANING(S)
Sir Emma English Egemole	Ichie Gburugburu	All-round Ichie or Ichie that is generally accepted
Chief Clement Ezekwemba	Sarduana (sic) of Igboland	Sardauna (the Sokoto Islamic monarch) of Igboland
Chief Dr Emeka G.S. Nwadike	<i>Okaa-Omee</i> of Amandugba, Oke Osisi	One-who-does-what-he-proclaims of Amandugba, The great tree
Chief Callistus Ezeukwu	<i>Aku-ruo-ulo</i> I of Isiekenesii, <i>Omere-oha</i> I of Orlu, <i>Dantata</i> of Igboland	When-wealth-reaches-home I of Isiekenesii, One-who-does-for-others I of Orlu, Dantata (name of one of the richest men in Northern Nigeria) of Igboland
Chief Dr Barrister Obinna Duruji	<i>Ohamadike of Umuaka, Agunchemba na Dallas USA, Nnukwu Mmanwu di na Lawyer, Lawyer Afurukwe International</i>	People-know-the-great-person of Umuaka, The-lion-that-guards-society in Dallas USA, Big Masquerade Lawyer, Lawyer Seen-and-Believed
Chief Chris C. Uche	<i>Ozuo-Omee of Orifite</i>	One-who-considers-and-does of Orifite
Chief Dr Richard O. Nwachukwu	<i>Ekwueme I of Igboland, Aka-na-edere-ora-akwukwo</i>	One-who-says-and-does
Engineer Mike Okey Amuzie	<i>Ezekwesili V of Umuaka</i>	One-worthy-to-be-king V of Umuaka
Chief Victor Okoye	<i>Ide Umuoji, Ide-ji-Ogwugwu</i>	Pillar of Umuoji, Pillar-that-holds-the-deity
Hon. Sir Gabriel Ejioogu	<i>Ochili Ozua</i>	One-who-gathers (people)-and-trains (them)
Prince Ikechukwu Adogu	<i>Adamu Dollars Worldwide, Eze-chukwu-debele I of Agulu Uzoigbo</i>	Adamu (Hausa name)(who has) dollars Worldwide, King-Kept-by-God I of Agulu Uzoigbo
Chief Raymond F.C. Okonkwo	<i>Isiehi I of Ehime Mbano</i>	Cattle-head of Ehime Mbano
Chief Dr Emeka Nkwo	<i>Oputa-obie of Igboland, Computer di na mmadu, Aka-n a-akuzili-ndi-ocha-computer</i>	When-who-appears-and-It (trouble/problem) ends, Hand-that-teaches-computer-to-the-whites
Chief Engineer Solomon Azubuogu	<i>Eze Mbakwe Okutalukwe, Ochiagha I of Uga</i>	King If-the-community-consents One-who-gets-wealth-and-accepts, War Commander I of Uga

REAL NAME OF BEARER/ADDRESSEE	PRAISE NAME(S)	MEANING(S)
Chief Jerry Josiah Uwaezuoke	<i>Ogborodike I of Houston, Ezebunafo I of Ojoto, Orimili, Ebubedike Ndiigbo</i>	Powerful-one-that-Prevents (Problems), King-in-the-womb of Ojoto, The-Grace-of-Powerful of the Igbo
Chief Onwuka Kalu	<i>Okpuzu of Abriba</i>	The blacksmith of Abriba
Chief Charles Orie	<i>Aku-atu-egwu nke izizi of Ohaji</i>	Wealth-is-awesome the First of Ohaji
Chief Clement Anaghara	<i>Iyi of Uruala</i>	The River (also Oath) of Uruala
Sir Nze G.N. Iheaku	<i>Omenkeahuruanya of Osina</i>	One-whose-deeds-are-visible of Osina
Chief I.K. Oranusi	<i>Alakoso of Isolo, Ojemba Nnewi</i>	Alakoso (Yoruba title) of Isolo, One-who-goes-places of Nnewi
Chief Anthony Ezeweputa	<i>Omeifeukwu I of Oraukwu</i>	One-who-does-great-things
Chief Aloy Imo	<i>Ezeudele of Nnewi</i>	King-of-vultures of Nnewi
Chief Philip Nwosu	<i>Agbawodikeizu of Mbano, Eribe-agwu-agwu of Igboland, Eze-ama-na-oga-echi of Osuama</i>	When-a-great-one-is-excluded-in-consultations, one-whose-wealth-is-inexhaustible
Sir Louis Enwegbara Chief Henry Achiekwelu	<i>Akajiugo of Ihiala Ononenyi I of Achi, Omekagu I of Achi, Ebubedike I of Isialangwa</i>	The-hand-that-holds-the-eagle of Ihiala, One-that-sits-on (rides) the elephant I of Achi, One-who-behaves-like-the-lion I of Isialangwa
Chief L.U. Dikeocha	<i>Onwanetirioha I of Ahiazu Mbaise, Edi of Ediokwe</i>	The-moon-that-shines-for-the-people I of Mbaise, The Hyena of Ediokwe
Chief Hope Uzodimma	<i>Onwanetiriora of Omuma, Oputa obie of Oru, Omeiheukwu of Orlu</i>	The moon-that-shines-for-the-people of Omuma, One-who-appears-and-it (problem)-ends of Oru, One-who-does-mighty-things of Orlu
Prince Collins Amukamara	<i>Eze-ama-na-oga-echi, Eze-ekulie of Awo-Omama</i>	The-King-whose-coronation-was-always-known/expected
Chief Augustine Okolie	<i>Iduu I of Ihiala</i>	The Bini (synecdoche for Oba) I of Ihiala

“National Language” and its Discontents: A French Debate in European Context

BARNARD TURNER

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE

ABSTRACT: The author posits the concept of language communities, as opposed to that of national language, as a more adequate categorization in explaining the development of European language policies. Using the case of French, he argues that globalization and the current migration waves render the distinction centre / periphery, in terms of dominant vs. regional or subordinate languages, meaningless, since what have been traditionally considered national languages are being exposed to constant instances of creolization. Such a phenomenon, far from impoverishing these languages' cultural idiosyncrasy, enriches them by enlarging their communicative effectiveness.

Keywords: National language, creolization, language communities, migration, regional languages, globalization.

RESUMEN: Utilizando el caso del idioma francés, el presente artículo explora el concepto de comunidad lingüística, en contraste con el de lengua nacional, como una categorización más adecuada para explicar el desarrollo de las políticas lingüísticas europeas. En el contexto actual de la globalización y los movimientos migratorios intraeuropeos, las distinciones entre centro y periferia, en términos de lengua dominante y regional o subordinada, carecen de sentido, ya que lo que se han considerado tradicionalmente lenguas nacionales se ven sometidas a procesos constantes de mestizaje. Este fenómeno, en lugar de empobrecer la idiosincrasia cultural de las mismas, las enriquece debido a que amplía su efectividad comunicativa.

Palabras clave: Lengua nacional, mestizaje, comunidad lingüística, emigración, lenguas regionales, globalización.

At a time when a supranationalist Europe is slowly being formed, and the continent is often encouraged to “speak with one voice” on the globalised arena, an equivalent, social Newtonian force is arising: that of regionalism and polycentrality. Intranational regional variations are marked across a range of issues. In the 2002 French Presidential elections, votes for Jean-Marie Le Pen were particularly high in the south and the northwest (*Élection présidentielle*, 2002), and studies of obesity in the country show significant differences between the extreme north (highest) and Bretagne (lowest).¹ In the case of language policy, however, supranationalist directives depend still on statist national language strategies, and these latter abstract from the historical patterning of language use across Europe in general. Such abstraction is evident both within nations (some of which date back little more than a century, and others which have pronounced regional identities), and in the light of the more recent emergence of separate nations (the Czech and Slovak republics). Ernest Renan observes in his seminal 1882 Sorbonne lecture *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, “la considération ethnographique n’a donc été pour rien dans la constitution des nations modernes”, but it is this ethnographic factor which is of primary significance in the “constitution”, here taken in its legal sense, of a *supranationalist* Europe. Given the background of increased regionalism within and across nation states in Europe, this present paper, as does the 1996 UNESCO *Declaration on Linguistic Rights*, “takes language communities and not states as its point of departure” and argues that the strengthening of the former across Europe is a current consequence and future hope not only of language policy but also, and more fundamentally, of current migration patterns, even if these are short-term and for non-traditional (i.e. not exclusively work-related) reasons.

Patterns of trade, war and persecution have long implanted settler groups across Europe, and these groups have retained their own cultural, spiritual and linguistic bonding after migration. In the late seventeenth century, the Walloon community in Thorney, Cambridgeshire, England resented French-speaking pastors from the French Church in London, but wanted their clergy who spoke their own language. Given the influx of trained, Huguenot/Calvinist drainage workers, and their importance in creating the contemporary fenlands of East Anglia, the combination of Walloon, Dutch, French and English in major towns of the area, not least the regional capital Norwich, made for a multi-lingual,

1. The North and the Parisian Basin have the highest (some 14%), while the rest of France is around the 10% mark. (Enquête ObEpi, 2003: 4). In their *Géographie du surpoids*, G. Salem, S. Rican, and M.L. Kurzinger found equivalent regional variations, and added that “Une géographie de plus en plus fine se révèle” significant local differences (as between the Moselle valley and Lorraine). Their research “milite donc en faveur de comportements régionaux, ce que de trop rares études sur les spécificités dans le boire et le manger ont montré” (Salem et al., 2005: 2).

multi-cultural, if ostensibly homogenous religious community in the area, a micro-region within Europe,² long before more recent immigration from further afield (Trudgill, 2002: 97; Schreier, 2005: 109-10). This is a pattern, of course, which can be reproduced throughout Europe, and is constitutive of the making of its regions. Centralisation, such as the “Plan Magellan” in Belgium, or to a certain extent the notion of “belgitude”, will often confront an opposing social Newtonian force: the manifesto for Wallonie, for example. In his 1882 Sorbonne lecture, Renan notes:

Si la politique suivie de la maison capétienne est arrivée à grouper à peu près, sous le nom de France, les territoires de l'ancienne Gaule, ce n'est pas là un effet de la tendance qu'auraient eue ces pays à se rejoindre à leurs congénères. Le Dauphiné, la Bresse, la Provence, la Franche-Comté ne se souvenaient plus d'une origine commune. Toute conscience gauloise avait péri dès le II^e siècle de notre ère, et ce n'est que par une vue d'érudition que, de nos jours, on a retrouvé rétrospectivement l'individualité du caractère gaulois.

More than a century after his speech, the “vue d'érudition” has become populist, and has led to contention that that which Renan sees as a singularity is multiple (perhaps “*des caractères*[s] gaulois”). In the face of what Brigitte-Lange (1996: 200, 245-46) describes as a now technocratic notion of “une langue analytique bien faite” - and which, one might add, extends to the pan-European institutional level also - there are compelling democratic reasons for the attendance to such multiplicity, especially when these take account of changing demographic patterns also. In terms of its cultural politics and search for identity, such a latter-day view has nothing to do with linguistic “erudition”, but much more to do with the complexities through which aspects of a fractious “*proto-European*” history are levelled in the overriding interest to assert a working hypothesis for an otherwise equally fractious *pan-Europeanism* (Aiello and Thurlow, 2006: 158). While an updated Parsonian theory of general action informs much of the latter debate, the multiplicity of role-sets, occasional and provisional, formed through implicit negation, is often overlooked in the formulation of language policy. Such formulations are devised in defiance of a view, as advanced by Florian Coulmas (1997: 41), that there is “no stable, objective existence” to a language “outside the people who speak it”, so much so that “no categorical distinction between language and dialect or between mother tongue and foreign language can be justified”. In such statements, both by Renan and Coulmas, the inevitability is

2. The notion of “region” here then should extend for part of the city’s history at least to include notional (“imagined”) communities across the North Sea, and not to be confined as a near synonym of “provincial” in the British if not the Latin sense.

embedded of that conceptual lacuna, so intrinsic to both historical and socio-linguistics, between observer and informer, or between meta-description (even if based on empirical data) and actual language use, that which Coulmas, reapplying to it Renan's famous phrase, calls "un plébiscite de tous les jours".

Such a lacuna is evident in recent activism about linguistic regionalism and tradition in France. In October 2005, close to 10,000 people (Joan-Pèire, 2005) demonstrated in Carcassonne for what he calls a "manifestation pour la [sic] langue d'oc". David Grosclaude, the President of the Institut d'estudis occitans said that an aim was to gain a commitment to a "generalised opportunity to study Occitan". Clearly demarcated against a hegemonic Francophonie, the name in which the activism prevails is still contentious, and itself subject to local and regional manifestations. "Le provençal", claims the Insitut, "est la variété d'occitan parlée en Provence, le languedocien en Languedoc, le gascon en Gascogne, l'auvergnat en Auvergne, le limousin en Limousin"; "Lo provençau es un dialècte de l'occitan" (*Institut d'etudis occitans*, 2005). Yet such a statement merely pastes over, by strong assertion, that which, experientially, structurally and lexically, are widespread divergences, and which have been long-standing issues. The term "occitan" is here conceived, in an extension of that offered by Schlieben-Lange (1996: 63), in two quite separate dinomic relations: the relation of the historical *langue d'oc* to the *langue d'oïl*; and its own contested status with regard to other descendants of the former, some of which of course may share an inheritance with neighbouring languages, particularly towards the southwest. For this context, then, perhaps *multinomia* is a preferable term to *dinomia*, with its essentializing positioning of dominant and subordinate (Saville-Troike, 2003: 46). Indeed, as René Nelli (1978: 31) has pointed out, "Le provençal est de l'occitan [here the former relation - *oc* to *oïl* - applies], mais l'occitan n'est pas le provençal [here the latter]"; only if "l'Occitane accèderait à l'autonomie interne" might arise a "sorte de langue commune", this perhaps the dialect of Montpellier. Yet, given the subjectivity of this cultural mosaic, a Toulousien would not want to shake off the hegemony of Paris to fall under that of Montpellier. The Provençal groups did not wish to "créer une langue occitane qui serait le plus petit dénominateur commun de tous les locuteurs de Bordeaux à Briançon, mais bien d'œuvrer en faveur de tous les parlers issus de la langue des troubadours, qu'ils soient provençaux, auvergnats, gascons, limousins ou languedociens" (*Une manifestation*, 2005).

The roots of the demonstration at the regional-national interface force this vitality, complexity and variety into a conceptual gridlock of a unique, singular representation so that it can be reproduced on the national level; in turn, this seems a continuation of the oral/literal divide, still very much experientially valid post-

Derrida, and which Schlieben-Lange (1996: 35)³ traces, in her section on Louis Maggiolo's literacy research stretching back some two centuries from the Second Empire, as a central concern of the Revolution. If the higher order, other-directed regard (Occitan/French), is perhaps necessary, it is of course also a legacy of French regionalism since the 12th century at least, or the divisions of the state in the Second World War, but it risks making the object of its defence a static object of analysis, thus degrading both it and the spirit of the defence. "In the absence of the political community, contemporary or past", claimed Max Weber (1978: 393), "the external delineation of the group [is] usually indistinct". Given that the precise delineations of the linguistic community involve a projection complicated by negotiations with history and present purpose, their outline and strategy are also subject to negotiation, both external and internal.

In his 1999 report to two French ministries, Bernard Cerquiglini outlined more than a dozen languages spoken in France, ranging from those derived from the *Langues d'oc* and *d'oïl* to those, non-Romance (or even non-Indo-European) associated with the extended periods of migration and mobility. 1999 figures provided by Philippe Blanchet, Louis-Jean Calvet, and others⁴ found that in Provence (that is, to be clear, the administrative region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, including the Département des Alpes-Maritimes), four languages were habitually spoken by around 100,000 people each (that is, just over 2% of the total population each). Of these - Italian, Spanish, Arabic and Provençal - the last named was spoken by the least number. Indeed, English was spoken by over 4%, close to 200,000 people.

General figures for Occitan have chronicled its decline by about ten per cent a decade for much of the twentieth century, to a current one or two million, mostly older speakers. (Paden, 1998: 340-342). Yet Yves Rouquette's (in Paden, 1998: 342)⁵ prediction that "la seule chose [of Occitan] qui mourra pas, c'est [...] notre trace" is offset by the extension of the trace of other languages into Occitan: in 1996, a slim volume of Seamus Heaney's poems appeared in Puèglaurenç (Puilaurens) with a rather cheeky foreword, asking why one would translate ("revirar") his works into Occitan (apart of course because he had just been

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3. "On pourrait avancer la thèse que la Révolution Française est un moment historique de "ré-oralisation", peut-être le dernier en Europe" (Schlieben-Lange, 1996: 35).
 4. A report originally for the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (INSEE) and transmitted to the Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) and the Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France and reproduced in *Marges linguistiques* no. 10 (Nov. 2005: 65-87. In reproducing the article, the *Marges* editors say that although they use the term *provençal* for the "parler roman local en Provence" (65), they have reservations about its validity in the light of the information generated by the survey.
 5. Two million (let's be optimistic) is a small number, to be sure, relative to the size of France, but in some ways comparable to the population of the region at the time of the troubadors (albeit that France was the most populous country in Europe in the medieval period, much of this was in the north).

granted the “passport” to translations in the world’s languages, the Nobel Prize): “Seriá un pauc cortet de responder “Perqué pas?” [...] l’occitan es pas encara una lenga mòrta, que sache!” (Coste-Rixe, 5). One might add that around 1750, Thomas Richards (1815: vii) made the claim that since the Welsh language had “continued for such a long series of Ages past”, there should be no doubt that “it is the Divine Will that it be preserved to the End of Time, as we have the Word of GOD most elegantly and faithfully translated into it”.⁶

Jacques Derrida (1998: 30) warns of a “new soteriology” which would, by saving a language, confine its speakers to a subaltern technological and economic position: “on this earth of humans, certain people must yield to the homo-hegemony of dominant languages. They must learn the language of the masters, of capital and machines; they must lose their idiom in order to survive or live better”. The masters become the saviours, who would enter the lost domain of an atrophying language and rescue the survivors (they “save some humans lost in their language”), taking them to the safety of a language with better long-term prospects. One might here, paradoxically perhaps, detect a voice, if muted and however ironic, of metropolitan France, or even of the cosmopolitan audience which is the context of and vehicle for postmodern critique. Such a view finds a haunting resonance in a 2000 paper by Jean-Pierre Puissechet who argued that for “une Communauté [European] unie et dynamique, capable d’interventions rapides et efficaces,” “un traitement égal de vingt langues” is “indubitablement impropre à porter”, especially so since “parmi ces langues, il y a, depuis 1973, l’anglais”. (Yet what would be the state of affairs if the UK and the Republic of Ireland had not joined, to which nations, of course, one could add Malta and Cyprus?).

That a language serves no other purpose than as a *lingua franca*, as a means of getting things done, has been written into the socio-political agenda of many kinds of states, and is a part of the imperialist rhetoric E. M. Forster parodies in *A Passage to India* (1924) in the figure of Mrs Turton who had learned Urdu “only to speak to her servants”, therefore just “the imperative mood” (*A Passage to India*: 62). Such is prevalent across a range of ideologies, and, in France, is traceable to the defence of the new republic in the 1790s, and particularly to the equation, itself very much in the enlightenment tradition, of connecting the regional with the barbaric and backward, and the peripheral (Breton, etc.) with the anti-revolutionary and seditious. This can be seen, throughout Revolutionary rhetoric, as an extension of what Mona Ozouf (1984: 32) calls its “fiction du

6. The Welsh Bible appeared in its standard version in 1620, and was in use until the end of the last century, when a new translation appeared. For an ironic twist, one might note the claim made by James C. Scott (1999: 54) that “Illegibility [...] has been and remains a reliable resource for political autonomy”.

même, au double sens du terme: l'illusion et la fabrication à la fois". Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, in his well-known 1794 report for the "comité de salut public" makes the connection unmistakable: "l'idiome appelé bas-breton, l'idiome basque, les langues allemande et italienne ont perpétué le règne du fanatisme et de la superstition, assuré la domination des prêtres, des nobles et des praticiens, empêché la révolution de pénétrer dans neuf départements importants, et peuvent favoriser les ennemis de la France".

While however the French language was considered threatened within the nation, it had proceeded to develop elsewhere. Four months later and two months before Thermidor, in his *Rapport* [to the Convention nationale] *sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser la langue française*, the Abbé Grégoire asked one of the most supremely rhetorical questions in the debate: "cet idiome [French], admis dans les transactions politiques, usité dans plusieurs villes d'Allemagne, d'Italie, des Pays-Bas, dans une partie du pays de Liège, du Luxembourg, de la Suisse, même dans le Canada et sur les bords du Mississippi, par quelle fatalité est-il encore ignoré d'une très-grande partie des Français?" There is, of course, an answer: those who were ignorant of such means of globalisation were (and in some cases are still considered to be) the very people to whom it had not been communicated, or who had chosen to remain insouciant of its benefits. French defines a nation, a state, and thus (and only arguably and demonstrably thus) a "language"; the others are "dialects" or "patois" (with the exception of German in the Bas-Rhin, "Italian" on Corsica, etc.) and are to be *anéantis*, annihilated. Whatever the laudable antecedents to the call in the Abbé's clerical (even Jansenist) background (Bell, 2000: 123), and the relation to the policies of the report's audience, the term is that of linguistic genocide.⁷ Some one-fifth (six million) people within France were "ignorant" of the national language, with the figure less than three million for those who could write it correctly. By a *circulus vitiosus* not taken, it is logically revealing that very minority base for the Revolution which was to become so crucial in the coming months, in that those who stand by the revolutionary zeal for literacy (by which of course is meant political awareness without critical interpretation), form around one-tenth of the population.

Yet learning other "patois" was above all a needless *economic* impediment to a Convention which needed to be in a hurry to achieve its transient and increasingly unrealizable goals. In an argument hauntingly prescient of those of Puisseux, who argued that a "pression budgétaire", especially "le coût de

7. From the very title alone and in its clear pre-Thermidor zeal, Grégoire's *nécessité [...] d'anéantir les patois* sits uneasily with Renan's claim in his *Nation* lecture that it is "un fait honorable pour la France" that "elle n'a jamais cherché à obtenir l'unité de la langue par des mesures de coercition".

la traduction”, would act as “le frein linguistique” to integration, and of Lord Marlesford, in the present-day British House of Lords, which I will consider later, the Abbé remarks that it would “multiplie[r] les dépenses” and “ralentir” the assimilation to the new codes if one were to merely translate French into the “patois”: “ajoutons que la majeure partie des dialectes vulgaires résistent à la traduction ou n’en promettent que d’infidèles”. Some forty years later, in his polemical retort to the “comité d’arrondissement” of Cahors (Lot, Midi-Pyrénées) which had proclaimed against “patois” in its territory, Charles Nodier (1834-35) protested against both the view of local languages as barbaric (“infidèle”), and the “imperious” projection of the “unité du langage” in all parts of the country: “On parlera long-temps après vous le languedocien qui vous déplaît, le basque et le bas-breton [...] qui ont l’avantage de posséder des grammaires très bien formulées”. The “unité” would be “incompatible avec l’influence inappréciable des localités”. Here are meant the rural localities, perhaps, since national education and urban networks were gradually extending the acquaintance with French. A half century later, Gaston Paris proclaimed that learning (“la science”) had broken down the “imaginary wall” (Maggiolo’s line perhaps) dividing north and south, and had extended “une vaste tapisserie dont les couleurs variées se fondent” (*Les parlers*, 1888).⁸ The legacy of the regional language is an accent of French, an artwork which can be appreciated since it is static, finished, and removed from lived experience.

That vernaculars also evolve (Bailey and Ross, 1992: 530), are constructed “primarily in face-to-face interaction with peers” (Labov, 2001: 228), are conditioned by working and power relations (Habermas, 1971: 53), and across borders (not only contiguous ones, but, on occasion, across considerable distances) rather than subject to centralised authority within one country (Leith, 1997: 157), are salutary reminders of the hardness of the local in the face of such centripetalism (today accelerated and taken to a supranational). Indeed, the virulence of central opposition to the use of a particular language may in fact increase its oppositional power, as in the case of Breton historically, moves to reduce Occitan transmissions, or the Plan Magellan in Belgium. Since an amendment in 1992, French is written into the 1958 Constitution as the national (and in this case also official and juridical) language of the Republic of France, but - in a move which nods to the supranational European charter - since 2001 the Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France at the Ministère de la culture et de la communication has recognized that “les langues de France sont notre bien commun, elles contribuent à la créativité de notre pays et à son rayonnement culturel” (*Langues de France*, 2006). In general,

8. The echo of Baudelaire’s “Correspondances” is perhaps accidental.

and in consideration of post-revolutionary history, the decline of the French language internationally is an institutional psychosis, more a continuation of the concern for centralization and unity within borders than an abstract constituent of language policy alone. Such fears remain implicit in a state wavering for about a century between republic, empire and monarchy, and suffering from a surfeit of constitutions.

An elaboration on language policy is absent from the immediate post-revolutionary rhetoric, with its accent on general liberties. The 1791 Constitution claims that “tout homme” has the liberty “de parler, d’écrire, d’imprimer et publier ses pensées, sans que les écrits puissent être soumis à aucune censure ni inspection avant leur publication”. Resistance to censorship according to language of articulation is here implicit, alongside that according to content. Some years later, with the beginnings of the siege mentality of the middle and late 1790s, the emphasis shifts to the indissoluble integrity of the nation at a time when this was under threat, and when certain areas - most of the periphery of the nation - might follow linguistic rather than political allegiance. While, from 1793 for almost a century, language was not foregrounded in the various Constitutions, the view of the 1793 version, which in its laconicity at least might be a model for the 21st-century,⁹ that “La République française est une et indivisible” implies linguistic homogeneity also, making later precision redundant. Picking up on some of the most celebrated terms of the era, the post-Thermidorian 1795 Constitution speaks of legislation as “la volonté générale, exprimée par la majorité ou des citoyens ou de leurs représentants”. Here, of course, we have the tension between a simple, a qualified (pre-established) and a rational majority, since the “general” is hardly the “majority” in mere arithmetical terms; later the term will be pleonastically and tautologically altered to “volonté nationale”. Such conflicts inform the assessment of that populism which, more myth than reality, underpinned the Revolution and which, gradually, let enter that rhetoric which was to permit a questioning of this unity.¹⁰ In the 1848 (Second Republic) Constitution, the adjective “démocratique” is added here, to become, in the 1946 (Fourth Republic) much more prolix version: “La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale”. The composition of the social and the linguistic contours of democratic interaction can easily be turned into unsettling concessions to the much cherished, yet much feared national

9. The European Constitution draft (2004-??) in contrast, with its lengthy sections about office bearers and committee rights and duties, seems much more like an Imperial document (for example, the 1804 Constitution).

10. Generalising on this, François Furet (1983: 53) has opined that “l’idée de la Révolution” has served to “cimenter [l’]unité politique” around “[des] conflits”.

diversities which in turn, in regard for language policy, are the targets of statist intervention and rectification.

The 1946 Constitution “garantit l’égal accès de l’enfant et de l’adulte à l’instruction, à la formation professionnelle et à la culture”. The 1958 (Fifth Republic) Constitution expands on this version, inserting after “République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale” the assurances of equality under the law of “tous les citoyens sans distinction d’origine, de race ou de religion” of respecting all “croyances”. Yet this was apparently too much, since “croyances” can only with difficulty be maintained independent of the language of their articulation, and again an act of limitation was thought necessary. The 1992 Constitutional Law, pertaining mostly to France’s perceived role after Maastricht, inserts into the Second Article of the 1958 Constitution the contentious “La langue de la République est le français” before the flag, anthem, motto, and the principle - or rather the expression of a homage - of “gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple”. So, again a sense of exfoliation - the law refers to the envisaged “franchissement des frontières extérieures des Etats members” - is offset by a defensive move, an isolationist, prophylactic measure which would project a vision of solidarity across the French borders.

As in constitutional law, so in educational policy. The 1951 “Loi Deixonne” (Loi # 51-46) established Chairs in regional languages at several universities (three for Occitan) and required that “les meilleurs moyens” be found to “favoriser l’étude des langues et dialectes locaux dans les régions où ils sont en usage”.¹¹ Again, an accommodation of language diversity is limited, in this case by the nebulous conceptualisation of the *Sprachraum* in the spatial reference to the local, defined historically rather than in the light of shifting demographics. The “best means” would include the use of “parlers locaux dans les écoles primaires et maternelles chaque fois qu’ils pourront en tirer profit pour leur enseignement”, and this, however, “notamment pour l’étude de la langue française”. In the Revolutionary period, such informants were to be used to expound Conventional wisdom through French, such that over more than a century and a half the local has been called to serve central planning, just as, on the twenty-first century supranational level, the European Committee for the Regions was asked to take a more active role in “explaining” the forlorn European Constitution project, itself of course a rhetorical exercise (a draft) which would claim to be more.

The model is that of the language community as posited in the first article of the 1996 UNESCO Barcelona Declaration: “any human society established

11. The French law (#2005-380) of April 23rd 2005 extended the scope of teaching of the “langues et cultures régionales” “tout au long de la scolarité” and yet specified the spatial limitation: “les collectivités territoriales où ces langues sont en usage”,
<http://www.education.gouv.fr/bo/2005/18/MENX0400282L.htm>.

historically in a particular territorial space, whether this space be recognized or not [...] The term *language specific to a territory* refers to the language of the community historically established in such a space". The "Loi Deixonne" therefore skirts the issue of what the UNESCO Declaration calls "a *language group*": "any group of persons sharing the same language which is established in the territorial space of another language community but which does not possess historical antecedents equivalent to those of that community. Examples of such groups are immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of diasporas". Immigration here is implicitly considered permanent and non-rescindable; across Europe today, the pattern is complicated by short-term or seasonal migration, which needs more generally to be considered for the undeniable long-term and daily effect it has upon languages in contact.

In an expansion of both the "Loi Deixonne" and Article 2 of the French Constitution, the "Loi Toubon" (#94-665, 4th August 1994) on the use of French stipulates that it is "la langue de l'enseignement, du travail, des échanges et des services publics", and that (Article 11) it must be used in education except when justified otherwise, including by "les nécessités de l'enseignement des langues et cultures régionales ou étrangères". Economics however has an impact on policy. In a move which might limit Francophony where the lucrative business of higher education is concerned, there is implicit provision for courses in English, since "Les écoles étrangères ou spécialement ouvertes pour accueillir des élèves de nationalité étrangère, ainsi que les établissements dispensant un enseignement à caractère international, ne sont pas soumis à cette obligation" (Loi n° 94-665, 1994). It seems a matter of negotiation how much of a university's teaching need have an "international aspect" before it is free from the law. There is then concern with both the micro- and the macro-region, and French is uneasily located: defended against incursions in the former while welcoming the latter. Yet again the cosmopolitan masks an attempt to encourage the national, in the sense that "un enseignement à caractère international" is at least being conducted on French soil.

The concern about *encroachment* in its most contemporary form has not of course escaped the legislators. On the 10th November 2004, northern, UMP senator Philippe Marini noted that the "Loi Toubon" favoured "l'intégration des populations à la République grâce à une langue commune" (Marini, 2004). He then proposed to the Senate that an addition be made to its article 2 which had specified that French was obligatory in documents dealing in whatever respect with offers of goods and services, including bills and receipts. In the form sent from the Senate to the Assemblée nationale in November 2005, Marini's amendment would revise the line which states that all "publicité écrite, parlée ou audiovisuelle" by adding "audiovisuelle ou par voie électronique". William

Labov's (2001: 228) "conclusion" that language is not "systematically affected by the mass media" can find no favour here.

One can feel comforted, one can feel threatened by the assiduous care taken to legislate all aspects of language use in the mediafied twenty-first century context. The "Loi Toubon" is in spirit close to the statist view of language in which a citizen has the right to address an institution of the European Union, as envisaged for example in the postponed European constitution/Lisbon Treaty (articles III-128 and IV-448). The common principle - one language one nation - is however a simplification of states both larger and smaller, which are all a patchwork of regional identities, dialects and languages. In various situations, the principle of monolingualism, religious belief and culture is ingrained in a more popular imagination. For example, in exploring ethnic identity in the multi-ethnic community formed around a nuclear power plant in Lithuania, Kristina Šliavaite (2002) came across an informant who - when she noted that some Russians were Catholics - responded with "*if they are Catholic, how they can be Russians?*" A "subjective choice", she concluded, "of one's ethnic and national belonging was also accepted widely".

While language politics has varied over the past two centuries, two common traits are detectable for the present: first, the notion that a "langue régionale" is rustic, even pagan, fixed (and there isolated from the main, which is a bad thing for the globalisers). Second, their adherents are demoted as uncivilized, even savages, recidivist, dreamy, even dangerous; such tendencies are reinforced by attitudes towards events such as Le Pen's relative strength in Provence and Alsace-Lorraine in the 2002 Presidential elections,¹² other kinds of extreme nationalism in the South of France, torching holiday homes in Wales, and various kinds of separatist activities. Such recognition of subordination is given a positive spin by Lucien Febvre, from whom Fernand Braudel borrowed a phrase to open his *L'identité de la France* (1986): "que la France se nomme diversité". Yet, as Henri Mendras (1988: 214) comments, such a claim is only the "contrepoint" of a more insidious focus on national unity, including "la centralisation capétienne"; such a counterweight, one might add, is dialectically inevitable and equivalent to such political centripetalism. Such diversity has temporal viability, Braudel claims, as long as "le village est la société la plus élémentaire [...] la plus ancienne, antérieure". Expanding on this point, Mendras (1994: 230) has claimed that "Pour les Français la démocratie directe du village est la seule vraiment légitime". That which is of abiding status, then, is the trace

12. *En passant*, one might note that although not an exact correspondence, the relations between traditional marginality, abstention, and the vote for Le Pen can generally be asserted, as is shown in maps composed by the group of teachers of history and geography of the académie de Toulouse, <<http://pedagogie.ac-toulouse.fr/histgeo/citoyen/pres02/presid0.htm>>.

of the local, the dialect, and habitation over time in a place defined by tradition if not by individual experience.

Given the specific situatedness of everyday life, its ontological Heideggerean *Geworfenheit* (“thrown-ness”), a complex, provisional interrelation of “cultural resources” is continuously elicited, by which process “no resource is unequivocally destined to serve in a given situation; and every situation is in need of interpretation” (Friese and Wagner, 1999: 109). Immigrants become enmeshed in this givenness, through which the negotiation with the local becomes the common, yet greatly varied, experience of the new arrival. If an arrival comes to a locality with a large, established, similar community, the imposed task of learning the national language confronts this situatedness, and legislation will likely increase rather than decrease alienation, that is produce the very opposite of that which it is intended to create. With regard to the target language, the local may be mapped in several ways, or not at all, onto the national language, as it radiates out, and forms a subset modality. The term “local” is a relation, and has no independent conceptual status, yet it is the primary relation.

Between 2000 and 2005, the population of France grew by some 2%, among the highest in Europe, some eight times that of Germany and one and a third times that of the United Kingdom (if less than half that of the Republic of Ireland). While the influx into Ireland, many from Eastern Europe and the Baltics, is not likely to have much impact on the state of Irish (although it might, over time, influence Irish English), an equivalent influx into Provence may both increase the interest in Occitan and decrease that in French, especially if the former is accompanied by an upsurge in interest in the “Pays des Cathares” etc. Mendras’ chapter heading, “renouveau du local”, hints at a fundamental demographic principle that underlies the upsurge in interest in the dialect and “patois”. Two additional factors here to be identified are the movement to the periphery, even further away than the “dormitory town”, and the movements across Europe.

Transnational deurbanisation is perhaps a middle-class, even middle-age phenomenon, and in some respects undermines the coherence of the local community (the “democracy of the village”). Yet such immigrants move to a particular location within a country, and thereby show an intrinsic interest in it; this would extend to the language they hear around them. In countries with marked regionalisms, this language is likely to be the regional language, and therefore cultivating this interest with evening language classes and such is one means of keeping up the language, even though it will change because of accentual differences, issues of code switching, mixed language interference, and so on. Yet such changes are inevitable for the national language also. For two or more centuries movements *within* national borders, the transportation infrastructure that made them possible and the movement towards national curricula which followed their growth, established the hegemony of the dominant region or capital in the

provinces. As Braudel (1986: 81) comments, “les mélanges de population jouent plus d’une fois en faveur de la pénétration du français”. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, however, such transnational migrations lead both to linguistic change at the “national language” level and to a possible widening of interest in the local language. While this migrant population offers then a useful corrective to simplistic statist models of language use and regional subordination, that connection which Braudel (1986: 83; my emphasis) draws, between language (through toponymy, etc.) and “*notre passé*” is disrupted by a divergent framework of belonging. Whether this divergence greater exceeds, or is akin to, that gradual loss of the past across generations cannot be easily assessed through generalist sociocultural parameters.

In the present style of globalisation (global mediafication), it is surprising how little it takes for the world’s attention to be shifted to a smaller state. Once considered endangered languages, and/or proscribed, the study of Welsh, Occitan and Lithuanian can be considered export-markets for universities in Lampeter, Montpellier and Vilnius respectively.¹³ Cost-benefit analysis needs here to be extended to personal, life-enhancing aspects, those which any university now increasingly projects in order to develop its attractiveness. The stagnation, uniformity and levelling of globalisation retreat in the face of such minute particulars as regional dialects of these languages, toponymics and spiritual practices which engage the self-selected newcomer. One is not talking of large student numbers, but, with falling birth rates, increased longevity and an increase in lifelong learning, and with the proper kinds of courses, such university programmes can and will flourish. One effect perhaps of the number of Lithuanians in the UK and the Republic of Ireland may well be increased interest in their language, particularly if - as is of course likely - a percentage marry and settle down there.

It is often, and lightly said of many a global metropolis that many languages are there spoken. The national, or official language is fragmented, both in its general use and in the specific forms of utterance, and often governmental policies are designated to reinforce it. Yet what is irretrievably lost, and this is true for both a world language (English, Spanish, French) and an endangered one, is the specific historical grounding and sentiment, and this loss in turn can fuel rightist, anti-immigration opinions; in the 2007 French Presidential elections, some 10% voted for the Front National candidate. His 16,9% showing on the 2002 poll (up from 14,4% in 1988) was described by the public opinion/market research IPSOS site as “la réaction d’une France exaspérée” although they were

13. Additionally, the tourist potential of language, culture and craft courses in such places as Porthmadog, Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer and Nida can be developed.

not “tous des sympathisants d’extrême droite ou du Front national” (*Le vote Le Pen*, 2002). Since his high showing coincided with a high abstention rate (and indeed, this was higher than the percentage of votes for him)¹⁴ indifference to and disengagement from the centralised office were expressed both actively (by a vote for Le Pen) and passively (by abstention). Contributory causes are however the same: a dissatisfaction with political rhetoric, its disengagement from the lives of those particularly in the peripheries, whether (or mainly) geographical or linguistic. The register of political debate can be a significant factor in cynicism and non-action. Norman Fairclough (2002: 124-125) has deconstructed the UK New Labour’s promotion of “substantive dialogue” as merely apparent, and Jean-Pierre Chevènement (2005: 10) described the language of the European Constitution draft as “remarquablement obscure”. The debate over the European Constitution is as much a fight over the control of the idiom of politics as it is about either policy or temerity over the fulcrum of Europe shifting east.

In the wake of the Madrid and London bombings and French riots, intense debates about immigration, integration and multiculturalism are hallmarks of the incipient century. As in several German states, the Netherlands, and prospectively Australia, potential citizens are to be examined in their knowledge of and acquiescence to cultural norms and institutional proclivities. The tests are of course understandably controversial, and many natives would get the answers “wrong”. Yet the implication of such tests is that the new citizen show a knowledge of the national language, wherever, for example, in the language and dialect mosaic of Bavaria or New South Wales, the intended settlement. Here the national language serves as a hegemonic *lingua franca* or *Sammelbegriff* which mediates between the new arrival, competing ideologies (both internationally and within the nation’s own civil society), and actual, everyday language use.

The Dutch government’s film *Naar Nederland* is meant to screen out immigrants whose ideas might conflict with those – here almost transcendent or clichéd – of the Dutch; famous – from some *European* perspectives, outrageous – aspects of Dutch society are to be shown, as that the Dutch can “zich vrij uiten”, lie around on the beach practically naked, etc. Since some countries outlaw the depiction of such goings-on, however, the Dutch have kindly and appropriately censored the film (but not the questions?) for those countries. You can order the film in a number of languages (those just south and to the east of the Mediterranean, and with predominantly Muslim populations, dominate) but must answer in Dutch. For the language examination, speaking and hearing alone are required; you

14. In the Presidential election of 1988, Le Pen garnered some 4,3 million votes (and was eliminated in the first round); abstentions were 18,65%. In 2002, he garnered 4,8 million votes, with 28% abstention, and was the second-placed candidate.

don't need to read and write. This part of the examination lasts 15 minutes, and the only practical guidance for preparation given is that one can buy books and tapes, etc., and watch Dutch films - even if one wonders if these would be widely available. Even in Brasil, such films (and Dutch TV, also mentioned) are not very abundant, and in many of the source countries such grammars are likely to be costly. Would a phrasebook suffice? Given that many Europeans learn a language for their holiday, and claim this self-study as knowledge, should this not also satisfy the Dutch? The Abbé Grégoire includes in his survey questions about the prevalence in the given patois of indecent terms, of those likely to incite the corruption of morals or to excite to anger; all of which, implicitly, can be more easily policed in French. An opposing situation prevails with the Dutch, it would seem, since they expect the new speakers of the host language to accommodate their perhaps more sedate ways to the rambunctious, easy-going (from the Dutch perspective at least) lifestyle.

Increasingly then the economic value of a language impinges upon public discussion at the national and "supranational" levels. In the UK House of Lords, Conservative Lord Marlesford argued that local authorities should encourage immigrants to learn English, rather than have materials published in a variety of languages. His argument was utilitarian: he noted the "considerable resources" spent, and that English was "a priceless economic asset" (*Hansard*, 11 May 2006). A week later, in the same venue, Liberal Democrat Lord Dholakia opined that "citizenship means much more than learning English"; what was important was "the process of communication" in order to achieve "social inclusion, tolerance and a diverse society where human rights flourish" (*Hansard*, 19 May 2006). On the one hand, there is a rather undemonstrated view of language as an economic good;¹⁵ on the other, there is an equally opaque concern for "communication" as a "process". Yet behind each, and as the generator of this economic process, is language education, which is conceived as the front-line of contact and social assimilation of the immigrant, the provider of a *lingua franca* as a *sine qua non* of social integration. And yet this significance should not be limited to fears about social cohesion alone: with much infrastructure (unlike other businesses) paid for by the taxpayer, mobility across Europe, and increased longevity, higher education can be seen as a high income generator. Even that much feared population decline should, demographically if not economically, mean that there are more housing units available relative to population size, thus a decline in property prices in relation to income, and thus an increase in disposable wealth.

Education, the reinforcer of the national language, can also be the vehicle for the wider transmission of the local, and the movement from centre to

15. This is clearly seen, perhaps, in the administration of teaching it, if not the activity of teaching itself.

periphery, and internationally can serve as catalysts for increased interest in the supposed marginal. The “sensibilisation” courses in Occitan (often one hour a week) from which some 50,000 schoolchildren benefitted in 1999-2000 (Sibille, 2003: 188)¹⁶ could easily be extended to include recent arrivals and those interested in the heritage and the patrimony of the region in which they have settled, especially since trans-European migration patterns are to a region, or even a small locality, rather than to a nation as such. With mobility across Europe becoming so widespread, with nations increasingly making a knowledge of the national language a necessity for employment and immigration, one might refine this process a little, the paradigm of which is that kind of “sensibilisation” provided by language requirement classes at North American universities, so that an immigrant to Naples will be versed in *Napulitano*, to the Scottish Lowlands in Lallans/Scots, not to mention Catalan in Barcelona, etc. Yet not even Catalan was recognised in article IV-448 of the 2005 draft European Constitution. A language of mobility, of real contact across Europe, is not therefore in this sense an “official” language. The social Darwinian perspective on language change, evolution and change is fraught not only with linguistic problems but with those imported from the Darwinian model itself, no more so than in the view that a language in decline is suffering from the “law” of Darwinian survivalism. While however the inherited paradigm, formed before very recent migration patterns, would bear testimony to parts of this perspective, it cannot be retained after such patterns themselves have become the norm. They also of course have problems with a view of synchrony-diachrony that would see the written text as a repository of past forms which can become active under certain conditions, whether these forms be citational, structural or even “whole” languages (of which, *mutatis mutandis*, contemporary “Old” Irish, Welsh and Hebrew can serve as examples).

Outside Europe, cultural representation, language study and - in some cases - technical collaboration are organized through such quasi-independent, quasi-governmental bodies as the Alliance française, the Instituto Cervantes and the British Council. Strategic and/or economic interests dominate the choice of location. In July 2006, the Instituto Cervantes opened in Beijing, and is housed in a building of some 3.000 square metres (*Inaguración*, 2006). The British Council shuts offices in Africa, and opens in Siberia and Astana, the new capital of Kazakhstan. In language learning, the ideological and - as in Lord Macauley’s 1835 “Minute on Indian education” - the technological conjoin, even if, under certain circumstances, students may appear at a *British Council* class because they want to understand *American* movies better.

16. Sibille mentions that in 1998 2.354 students were offered Occitan as a subject in the “bac”.

There are clearly demarcated reasons why people learn a language, and these may be quickly categorized as follows:

- Pedagogical, curricular;
- Technocratic;
- Related to migration;
- Related to heritage;
- Touristic.

Of these, perhaps only the third would give an impetus (backed by family visits and intergenerational complicity) to an assured knowledge which could in most events become well-matched against “native speaker” competence. Here, of course, the terms are loaded: knowing a language and being a native speaker are often a matter of self-image. Given however that in no case can we learn a *langue*, we always learn a singular set of *paroles* (in the normal French sense) and series of mapping functions or *norms* in Eugenio Coseriu’s sense (of that which is habitual),¹⁷ which are as distinct from real language use as are the theorems of mathematical learning, since attitudinal choices are always in play whatever the relation of the “speech island” (here taken as the immediate context of the learning experience) to the notional, or often national context. Language is always and today increasingly *cultural* rather than *hereditary*. As definitions of all the above terms (*langue*, *parole*, *norm*, *culture* and *heredity*) are in constant, and infinitely variable and nuanced change, any language policy must be equally nuanced, especially when it takes into account the realities of face-to-face interaction across contemporary Europe. Will the declension and gender markers of German outlast the 21st-century, or will they be collapsed (as for the past century or so in Berliner German) with the increasing influx of those who hear “das” and oblique “der” as /də/? With its accent classes, case proliferation and clearly marked declensional varieties, Lithuanian is one language for which EU-related eventual settlement patterns could signal increasing radical morphological and certain lexemic changes.

Sprachraum debates, of course, are not new; neither are they unique to France. Historical linguistics, dialectology, creolization all confront language use which can only be examined *in situ* but which is subject to usual migration patterns and continuous change. At no time is this more the case than in contemporary, expanded Europe. In 1992 the Council of Europe devised the European Charter

17. The norm is a “sistema de realizaciones obligadas”, not “lo que “puede decirse””, but “lo que ya “se ha dicho” y tradicionalmente “se dice” en la comunidad considerada” (Coseriu, 1958: 31). See also Coseriu (1952).

for Regional or Minority Languages, which France has signed but not ratified. Article 12 of this charter envisages that parties will “encourager l’expression et les initiatives propres aux langues régionales ou minoritaires” on “le territoire sur lequel de telles langues sont pratiquées”. Certain terms here are nebulous, as in the French debate considered earlier: the source of the “initiatives”; the meaning of practicing a language; and the *Sprachraum* itself. Because the Council is distinct from the Union, strong support for the latter does not run against denial of the provisions of the former, and thus the smaller entity here can mitigate the centripetalism of the larger.¹⁸

That to lose one’s language is to lose one’s land is somewhat affective, even sentimental; but one could not change the word “country” here to “state” or “supranational actor”. The loss of minority languages affects us all because it reduces the range of responses to the lived environment, and although social Darwinism would be hard pressed to equate biodiversity with linguistic diversity except in the most generic terms, recent moves to relegate Pluto to less than planetary status have some resonance with debates about national language, regional language and dialects: it has been so often left to the experts to decide. National languages, some now global, are often *koines* or impacted, coalesced and almost undifferentiated creoles, communication through the lowest common denominator, or most embedded structural features. Similarly, a small state is likely, linguistically, to be outward-looking, even if (or especially if) it is the product of colonialism, in this respect at least, that it will learn a major language or adapt its own idiolect/dialect/language to fit the main. The mixture and gradual creolisation of the languages work against the dominance of the centre over the periphery or the simple groupings (American vs. British English; “Latin American” Spanish, etc.).¹⁹ In this latter respect, *all* Englishes are new, especially at a time when the second wave of recent immigrants to the UK (from continental, and especially after 2004 Eastern Europe) has added linguistic nuance, accent and a proclivity to those of the first wave, from the Commonwealth. While Braj Kachru and others might look for such new Englishes in the former colonies, it makes equal sense to look in Norwich or London itself, and for new Francophonies in Montpellier or Paris. We are all, and always - in the English sense of the word, if not so drastically in the Spanish inflection - losing our “idiom”, our way of speaking, and always, at every moment of every day, gaining another.

18. The European Constitution would envisage that the Union cooperate with the Council on cultural issues, one of which is surely language (Article III-280).

19. See, for example, Brigitte Schlieben-Lange (1977: 87).

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Rising with One's Community: Socialist Theory and Bildungsroman in Lewis Jones

ROBERTO DEL VALLE ALCALÁ
UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE MADRID

ABSTRACT: This article analyses theoretical and ideological tensions in the fictional work of Welsh miner-author Lewis Jones. It surveys its treatment of standard categories in the Marxist-Leninist canon and pays particular attention to the shaping role of collective formations in the development of individual consciousness. It further explores the articulation of abstract and concrete expressions of collective identity by assessing the relative status of notions such as “class” and “community”, placing both in a teleological frame of reference in which “History” functions as an absolute horizon of sense validation.

Keywords: Bildungsroman, Communism, class consciousness, community, miners.

RESUMEN: Este artículo traza un recorrido por diversos aspectos teóricos e ideológicos en la obra del autor minero galés Lewis Jones. En primer lugar, se analiza su aplicación de categorías clásicas del canon marxista-leninista, prestando especial atención al papel formativo desempeñado por las identidades colectivas. Por otro lado, se estudia la imbricación de formas abstractas y concretas de dichas identidades (evaluando, por ejemplo, la relación de conceptos como “clase” y “comunidad”) al tiempo que se las sitúa en un marco de referencia teleológico en el que “la Historia” funciona como horizonte absoluto de validación de sentido.

Palabras clave: Bildungsroman, comunismo, conciencia de clase, comunidad, mineros.

The characterisation of Lewis Jones' novels as *Bildungsroman* is customarily based on a sub-generic distinction between the middle-class or bourgeois "formation novel" (canonised as prototypical of the genre as such), in which the charting of particular individual destinies translates a set of inherited anxieties (of the religious-transcendental type) into a new, secularised and bourgeois, discourse (Jameson, 2006), and those specific incarnations of the *Bildungsroman* whose ideological stakes lie in a more collectively-inflected political culture. According to Rolf Meyn (2000: 129):

Both [proletarian and bourgeois *Bildungsroman*] share protagonists who are set apart from their peers by some traits – sensitivity, intelligence, the determination to gain deeper insights and, though not always, physical appearance. Both forms contain a story of apprenticeship, a transformation from ignorance (of self) to knowledge (of self), and at the same time a transformation from passivity to action. In a proletarian *Bildungsroman*, however, the protagonist's knowledge (of self) in never an end in itself, but part of a totalizing "truth" in the form of political values, and ideology or doctrine; in other words, the proletarian form is far more deeply embedded in the structure of a *roman à these* or ideological novel.

Lewis Jones' novels *Cwmardy* (1937) and *We Live* (1939) trace the development of protagonist Len Roberts from early life around the turn of the century to premature death in the Spanish Civil War – and thus, thematically, from initial access, in childhood, to the symbolic horizon of his industrial community (governed by the coalfield and the social structures associated with it), to a full-circle completion of his, and his community's, journey to class-consciousness. The novels are articulated around a dual pattern of "knowledge" and "ignorance" – or, in the specific political coordinates of Jones' discourse, of "spontaneity" and "consciousness". The narrative continuum formed by the two novels displays a developmental structure of *maturation* avowedly connecting the two terms as opposing ends. The progress to "consciousness" charts a sequential unfolding of events in which self and community become inseparable constituents of a unitary process. "Consciousness" signifies in this context an actualisation of historical transcendence (the *meaning* embodied in the "forces of History") over and against the radical contingency of particular existence. Individual agents may bear the traces of this consciousness, in budding or full-blown fashion, but it is only the domain of the group, the community or collectivity of individuals – namely, the *class* – which can effectively circulate it throughout individual consciousnesses. In this sense, the panorama which Lewis Jones – the writer, but also the Communist Party councillor from Glamorgan – presents in *Cwmardy* (and then in its sequel, *We Live*), is a collective trajectory of ideological training couched in the narrative shaft of individual growth.

In point of fact, the character binomial with which the first novel opens – formed by Len and his father Big Jim – rehearses, in a nutshell, the root trends displayed by the community as a whole: trends which will only acquire their precise social significance when articulated as class-relevant figures.

The opening scene of *Cwmardy* sets down a contrastive pattern opposing the legendary evocations of the landscape – the picturesque mountain-tops of a quasi-mythical Wales – to the tangible obscurities of actual History as locally embodied in Cwmardy and its human destinies. If a link to this romanticised past is effectively maintained through Big Jim's residual attachments (to the primeval, to the "natural" state predating rampant industrialism), the overall effect regarding the pit and the historical "situation" it represents is nevertheless quite distinct from the stock assumptions of earlier social-problem fiction. Len Roberts emerges from the very first as a naturalised denizen of this material reality, with no aspirations or observable intentions of cancelling the valences of this world. In other words, the material conditioning of his lived experience (from cradle to grave) is coextensive with its identity: living the life of a miner *makes* a miner and a miner's community. Should the community pre-exist the miner – should the miner be born into the community –, the latter can only revoke it at the price of self-destruction.

Unlike his father, who could more or less reasonably claim an alternative source of affiliation, Len is the material product of a shaping community experience whose stakes and credentials are industrial through and through. This original positioning of Len Roberts vis-à-vis his "objective conditions" of existence defines a life and sense trajectory which commences with a "spontaneous" affinity ("[he was] always eager to get near the pit that stood at the top end of the valley"; "the thought of working in the pit sent ripples through his flesh and made him anxious to grow up quickly" (*Cwmardy*: 7-8)), and culminates in an actively "conscious" intervention in the name of *class* qua conceptual extension and realisation of the local collective experience.

The pattern drawn by Jones allays sublimation as the prevalent relational mode vis-à-vis industrial reality. "Nature" is only peripherally accounted for in a universe whose ontological buttresses are all the more complicit with social History. Indeed, this situation generates the moulding shafts in which a specifically modern brand of social subjectivity is forged – one which contrasts with the hinted dimension of myth and legend associated in the opening passage with that primordial and Arcadian Wales of Cymric kings and phenomenal landscapes.

In clear contradistinction to his father, Len is a character inhabiting *ab initio* the material side of History and, as a result, embodying the ethos and social cast of subjectivity adumbrated by single-industry communities. As Raymond Williams has pointed out: "in these working communities it is a trivial fantasy

to suppose that these general and pressing conditions are for long or even at all separable from the immediate and the personal” (Williams, 2005: 222). It is therefore no exaggeration to conceive of the universe defined by *Cwmardy* as structurally determined (or overdetermined) by a set of material conditions which – far from remaining purely circumstantial – become active and productive matrices in a trans-individual process of subjective genesis. In that sense, the mine constitutes a symbolic locus of definition and adscription articulating individual “forms” of consciousness with their collective “contents”: in other words, it is an integrative framework upon which social and individual modes of being converge. The pit ceases to function metaphorically or allegorically against a foreground of autonomous interpersonal actions (which would be the tenor of more traditional industrial fictions), in order to occupy a central position as the signifying guarantor of existing sociality – as the place where class is actualised and community is rendered socially intelligible.

Len’s urge to embrace adult working life is thus to be interpreted, not as a fanciful or sentimental concession on the part of the narrative, but strictly, as a programmatic statement of belonging, as a wilful determination to predicate the terms of self-fashioning upon trans-individual factors. Being is, by definition, under this “structure of feeling” (Williams, 1961: 64-65), being-*in*-community (and, at a further stage of political “consciousness”, as we shall see, being-*for*-community). The apparent boldness of this statement is not only justified by a presumed political outlook or agenda – which an author like Lewis Jones is undoubtedly equipped with – but even more so by the structural prominence of the communitarian dimension as the inescapable regime of sense validation – as the fundamental “ideologeme” (Jameson, 1981: 76) of this brand of working-class discourse.

The collectivist horizon which informs Jones’ fictional elaboration of the socialist project is to some extent pre-figured by a native (Welsh) ecclesiological tradition of Nonconformity. The *gwerin* (a notion which often departed from its original sense of transcendental egalitarianism, placing all men, capitalists and proletarians, managers and miners alike, on the same footing before God’s infinite judgement) became, in the radical interface between Welsh politics and theology, a virtual instantiation of the militant community, of the *class* taken in its politically conscious and organised disposition (Pope, 1997: 4).

By no means alien to this “unconscious” framework of South Walian political culture, Jones’ novel pulsates from the start with a communal vitality of its own, thriving upon those moments of alliance or fusional intimacy at which a specific group identity surfaces. In addition to the more obvious profile of workers’ organisations, a strong sense of collective subjectivity transpires from the micro-political formations which underpin *Cwmardy*’s community life: school, chapel and pit, for example, display analogous structures of solidarity

and mutuality. In effect, Len's first taste of truly *social* life beyond the closed circuit of the family is associated with school. This is significantly characterised as a strict disciplinary apparatus whose primary function is to reproduce a given set of ideological determinants whilst repressing the spontaneous flows and dispositions of pre-social existence. In effect, this characterisation of school as an Althusserian Ideological State Apparatus both secures a theoretical profile for the (bourgeois) State itself as an instrument of class domination and social reproduction, and delineates an early pattern of resistance which will then condition subsequent narrative and ideological developments.

The unchecked apparatus of state authority meets young Len in the guise of punishment and public humiliation for truancy. Injustice takes the shape of an awakening to the casual brutalities of life, which are often signified (as experience will progressively show Len) through the depredations of physical violence. Yet this burning sense of injustice before tyrannical power is accompanied by a fresh attentiveness to the possibilities of collective action – to the plausibility of a co-ordinated response to exploitative conditions. Thus, for example, the headmaster's measures elicit an unexpected reaction from Len's young classmate (and future comrade-cum-wife) Mary Jones, who responds with a fully fledged outburst heartily endorsed by the rest of the pupils:

The children's laughter died as suddenly as it had started. Each of them watched with increasing childish horror the flash of the quivering cane as it rose, to fall in quicker and heavier slashes. Mary rose to her feet and shouted, 'Stop it, you coward! Hit someone as big as yourself.'

After the first unexpected blow on his face, Len bent his head, only to feel the back of his neck burn with the next slash of the cane [...] In the pain of the blows he failed to see Mary fling an ink bottle at Mr Vincent. It caught him behind the ear, and the ink splattered all over his face and collar. Spluttering with anger, the master stopped chastising Len, and slowly wiping his hand over his face, looked around at the class. Every pupil sat motionless and every eye looked straight in front [...] Immediately the master had left the children jumped on the seats and desks, singing and shouting, and it was a considerable time before the harassed teacher could restore quiet. (*Cwmardy*: 33)

This early emphasis on mutual aid and the co-operative principle already announces Len's commitment to a certain ideal of social organisation which is largely a reflection of the "real" politics sustained by his elders. A political outlook with a markedly radical character is instilled in Len through a combination of subjective experience (climaxing in his sister Jane's death, as a figural and, as it were, pre-rational expression of social injustice and inequality) and an objective acquisition of ideological expertise under the decisive tutelage of Mary's father and miners' leader, Ezra (in whose characterisation some telling

features of the South Wales syndicalist tradition, and notably, of its historical leaders, are detectable).

Misfortune – which Jane’s unfathomable death rehearses for Len’s childish imagination with the utmost cruelty – is gradually invested with a causal structure, rooted in a social web of relations which he manages, in the passage from childhood to adult age, to extricate from the seemingly providential dimension in which his “pre-symbolic” (and in that sense, eminently “pre-political”) mind had hitherto accommodated it. His perception of social evil is therefore theorised, set against a notional backdrop of interacting dynamic forces, rather than fossilised under the sign of a Manichean disjunctive. An obvious evolution has taken place between the moment of his “childish” construction of hierarchical distinctions in the mine – which he misrepresents as a function of his personal tragedy in the situation leading up to Jane’s death (namely, her having been impregnated by the son of a colliery official) – and the growingly mature “understanding” of hierarchical and then social difference in terms of class antagonism:

He pondered long over the distinction between officials in the pit and workmen. It struck him as monstrously unfair that this distinction in status should break up his home life and make his people sad. The hatred he felt for Evan the Overman’s son slowly diffused itself into a hatred of all those classed as officials. He began to regard them as enemies. He was too young and immature to appreciate the subtle divisions deliberately developed between the colliery staff of officials and the workmen and came to believe that all officials had, of necessity, to be cruel. (*Cwmardy*: 70-71)

Len’s progress towards “consciousness” (his awakening to the secret logic of social dynamics in the light of an increasingly appealing “subject called socialism”) motivates his indignant response to what he perceives as an exasperatingly widespread complacency with the current state of affairs. His instinctual reaction to the abject destitution which his parents have submissively learnt to accept as “natural” ignites in him a combined sense of fury and dismay:

For one thing, he did not want his family to be indebted to Ron’s father, but the main cause of his worry was the fact that, after working for more than three years, he was unable to meet the financial emergency of an illness. The books he had been reading, in addition to improving his vocabulary had also explained why the family could not meet the obligations [...] (*Cwmardy*: 168)

His encounter with socialism has the precise effect of a radically transforming experience, landing Len’s youthful mind not just on a wholly novel set of principles and values, but also on a radically antithetical relational mode (vis-à-vis his community, family and social conditions). Len’s theoretical grasp

of this injustice – the monstrous fact of his parents' permanent state of need – compels him to aim his protest at them, expecting a common understanding, a shared opposition to the blatant enormity of their "objective" reality. Yet the conspicuousness of a lifelong exposure to ideological "false consciousness" can yield no positive response: "Ho, ay. That's just how it be in this old world, boy bach. It have always been the same ever since I can 'member, and it always will be the same". Startled by the matter-of-fact acquiescence of his father's reply, Len attempts to draw his parents' attention to the falling trajectory of their hard working lives. Having toiled at the pit for endless years, Big Jim has not only failed to rise from poverty, but has sunk ever deeper in it: "'You once said, dad', turning to his father again, 'that when you came to the pits first you had five golden sovereigns in your pockets. Since then you have spent a hard life and have given your wonderful body to the pit. And now, after all these years, instead of having five sovereigns in your pocket we owe five for food and rent.'" (*Cwmardy*: 169). Mortgaging one's "fine" body seems to be the only option left to the worker, whom the system draws into a consuming and never-ending spiral of material dependency and subjection. Len's theoretical leap is consummated precisely at the moment in which injustice ceases to function as an absolute cipher and is heuristically inserted in a system of contingent relations, in a genuinely *political* discourse. This apparently incidental conversation between Len and his parents holds the key to the former's awakening to "consciousness" and, consequently, to a fresh start for the narrative itself under the framework of a new ideological enlightenment.

Len enjoys a strategic position in *Cwmardy*, not only as the subjective vehicle required by the realist diegesis and the generic form of the *Bildungsroman*, but also as a pioneering ideological ground-breaker or vanguard referent embodying the more advanced ideas charted by the novel. This is not to say that Len reproduces, from a monistically-centred standpoint, Victorian (i.e. bourgeois "high realist") epistemologies of consciousness and subjectivity. On the contrary, subjectivity is here reformulated around a community of work and suffering which in turn becomes the ontological pre-condition for Len's authorised voice. This enlightened consciousness of his is but the actualisation of a latent content, of a dormant knowledge activated by the dialectical confrontation of lived experience (qua miner, qua working-class individual) with theoretical intelligence. Both discursive and experiential knowledges are engendered within the bounds of a class situation which is, by definition, inimical to nominalistic distinctions between the individual and the collective.

Len's character registers an index of reflexivity – of self-consciousness regarding the socio-historical determinants of his (and his community's) working life – which offers a formal counterpoint (rather than, strictly, a motor force or inspiration) to the spontaneous politics of the other miners. In effect, these two

poles of “spontaneity” and “consciousness” constitute, according to Katerina Clark (1997: 29),

the fundamental dialectic in the Leninist appropriation of Marxism, with spontaneity standing for those forces, groups or individuals which as yet are not sufficiently enlightened politically and might act in an undisciplined or uncoordinated way [...] and with consciousness standing for those who act from complete political awareness, in a disciplined manner and, in all probability, following Party policy or directives.

The miners’ “spontaneity” is given an increasingly programmatic (or overtly ideological) inflection by Len, who acts as an unwitting – and in that sense, open, elastic or rhizomatic¹ – mediator between the empirical reality of his working-class community and the transcendent dimension of History. The relation between Len and his fellow workers is to be interpreted dialectically rather than hierarchically, in a way which contrasts with the High Stalinist myth of the “Great [proletarian] Family”:

At the center of all conventional Stalinist novels will be found the saga of an individual’s struggle for self-mastery, a struggle which stands in for society’s own reaching out toward self-realization in a state of consciousness. As in much traditional myth, the individual (or son) is assisted in his struggle by a father figure who helps him win through in his quest, to combat the “spontaneous” forces [...] that assail him from within and without. (Clark, 1997: 30)

Len’s ideas arise from a *lived* intersection of theoretical understanding and direct experience, which the actively trans-individual nature of his subjective development (qua miner in a mining community) inscribes in the absolute horizon of class. In that sense, the presumptive ideological fostering of Len by the miners’ leader (or, to a much lesser extent, by his former schoolmate, Ron) is preceded and framed by a totalising identification with a collective sphere. It is the community at large – with its nodal points of material solidarity and inter-subjective bonding (ranging from the homestead to the coalface) – which actualises class *as* experience, rendering industrial life intelligible beyond (bourgeois-liberal) sense reductions to monadic subjectivity.

Len’s leadership works as a functional or even a structural cover which merely concretises a latent potential for collective agency:

He [Len] looked around the perturbed men before him. They were all thinking hard and hoping someone would tell them what to do. Len glanced at the fireman and saw

1. In the sense popularised by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1980).

the triumphant smirk on his face, and for some reason or other the sneer gave him the counter-move to the fireman's threat. Turning sharply, he shouted: 'Go round the other barriers, Will, and tell the men to come down by here. Tell them there be a dispute on and that Shenkin have ordered us out because we 'on't work without timber.' [...] He [the fireman] grew alarmed. If the agitation spread there was every likelihood of all the men in the pit going on strike, and rather than face this possibility he gave way with a bad grace. (*Cwmardy*: 177)

Class consciousness is fully realised through the power effect achieved by collective agency – by the demonstrative capacity of co-ordinated workers' direct action. Political (class) awareness is effectuated in a material process in which leadership (as impersonated by Len) merely punctuates the latent possibilities of an already existing collectivity. For leadership is not, in this context, a positive end in itself – it is not the pole in which the Universal contents of proletarian emancipation are actualised, but a structural means in that process of actualisation. In fact, the symbolic attributes of strength and determination (which Len is paradoxically portrayed as being scantily endowed with) are bestowed on the mass of workers, often synecdochically through the gigantic figure of Big Jim.

The element of power which Len's organisational ingenuity sketches is rendered concrete in the pulsating rhythms of the trans-individual "body" of workers (whether it be at work, in striking or in mourning). The fatal underground accidents suffered by Shoni 'Cap-Du' or Bill Bristol, for example, compounded with the reactions they elicit from the community, exemplify actual syntheses of instinctual or spontaneous wisdom and strength which, rather than passively awaiting "enlightenment" (as seems to befit the High Stalinist paradigm of socialist realism), engender through their own dynamics the conditions for a genuine political awakening.

Ezra Jones emerges in this context as a figure of symbolic stature, complementing, with intellectual and organisational attributes, the "instinctual" archetype represented by Big Jim. In a sense, these two characters come to emblematised the component forces upon which Len's ego ideal is gradually founded. If his father epitomises the untrammelled magnificence of natural strength, Ezra, for his part, condenses those elements of character and "intellect" which stand him as an inspirational source for Len's nascent ideological journey:

Listening to the instances of Ezra's staunchness and loyalty related by Big Jim, Len was thrilled, for he was now of an age when his vague ideas were beginning to find a coherence. Although very emotional, he yet had a capacity for deep thinking, and what he now needed was someone who could inspire him, a person whose words

and actions would serve as a focus for his thoughts, a man he could look up to as an example. (*Cwmardy*: 197)

Despite the suggested hero-worship temptation on the part of a young and “very emotional” Len – the risk of a canonical socialist-realist enactment of the aforementioned father-son dialectic – Ezra’s character impersonates a prototype of leadership and organisational rationality engendered by the South Wales coalfield and its heritage of federative action. Probably modelled on the historical figure of Noah Rees, a major actor in the Cambrian Combine Strike of 1910-1911 (which Lewis Jones recycles into the first organised dispute in the novel), Ezra is clearly steeped in the South Walian (especially Rhondda Valley) culture of syndicalism (see Knight, 2005). This often ranged from the more radical overtones of Marxist-inflected positions and anarcho-syndicalist approaches (those emblematised by such “charismatic and inspirational figures” as Noah Ablett and A.J. Cook),² to the milder intensities of many “[Labour Party] senior district officials [who] had little sympathy with the district’s more radical policies.” (Howells, 2002: 107). Ideological and thematic tensions in *Cwmardy* and in *We Live* stem directly from this internal set of dissonant strategies and sensibilities. The dynamic nature of the South Wales coalfield constituted in itself a productive matrix of political (and often conflicting) identities which the Len-Ezra axis tries to capture in its breadth and complexity, from an initial – and more or less programmatically neuter – idealisation of trade union activity and leadership, to these two characters’ eventual fall-out over party, and generally opposing ideological, loyalties.

Lewis Jones is bound to have received, as a thirteen-year-old collier, the shock-wave of what was perhaps the first internationally-resonant industrial dispute to come out of the Welsh Valleys (with its culminating point at the Tonypandy riots in November 1910, and its most remarkable outcome in the publication – also in Tonypandy – of the famous pamphlet *The Miners’ Next Step* in 1912).³ In Dai Smith’s (1982: 12) words “[m]id-Rhondda was a centre for the ‘advanced men’ of the coalfield. They were sometimes identified as ‘syndicalists’, sometimes as ‘industrial unionists’, always as ‘socialists’”.

This oscillation between moderate or compromising stances and more radical or revolutionary positions is inscribed in the complex relationship

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2. “By 1910 there existed a cadre of activists within the miners’ union imbued with a deep sense of class consciousness, absorbing a developed Marxist critique of capitalism [...] and belief in the mission of the organized working class to overthrow capitalism” (Lewis, 2000: 100).
 3. It has been pointed out, however, that one of the decisive influences upon the political consciousness of the mining valleys came with the waves of Spanish immigration “from 1907 onwards”. Many of these Northern miners brought with them some of the “more ‘advanced’ ideas of socialism and particularly syndicalism” (Francis and Smith, 1980: 13).

between Len and Ezra. In a way, the structural role accorded to the miner's leader as both Len's and the novel's initial focus of political inspiration is gradually shifted, as the process of maturation or *Bildung* follows its course, to the latter. Thus Len comes to embody a set of values which he nominally inherits from Ezra, and which he then fashions into a coherent and autonomous outlook. The father-son dialectic is formally retained to the extent that their ideological rupture is signified in generational terms. In that sense, Ezra's disillusionment and faltering, the gradual weakening of his previous ardour, is implicitly attributed to the desuetude of his old-style trade-unionism – a road paved with compromises and self-betrays which, despite its local or partial successes, cannot meet the demands of genuine historical transformation. Ezra's insight, in spite of its accredited depth and pedagogical value, cannot live on in the shape of timid reformism, but must, on the contrary, define a course of action which may adequately deal with the universal validity of its own assumptions:

Right has always been, and always will be, determined by might. There can never be one law that is at once good for the tiger and the lamb. Neither can there be one law that binds together the interests of workmen and owners. No one can blame the tiger for using his claws and teeth to destroy his victim. Nor can anyone blame the company for using the means at its disposal to safeguard its interests. That is what both claws and batons exist for. (*Cwmardy*: 231)

Such a graphic disquisition on the class struggle, about halfway through the novel, is effectively hard to reconcile to Ezra's own justification of intervention – and generally, of the liberal political system – at the outbreak of World War I, some one hundred pages later:

I am on this platform today not because I believe in war but because I believe in right. When right is threatened, then we are justified in using might to protect it [...] I cannot stand aside and see all the democratic traditions for which men have died being trampled underfoot by unscrupulous rulers of other nations. If the people of these nations cannot see how they are being misled, and take up arms at the behest of their rulers, then our reply must be sharp and emphatic. (*Cwmardy*: 343)

As the novel draws to a close, a sharper profile of the initially indistinguishable positions and ideological inflections begins to surface. With Ezra embracing an increasingly moderate or "class-collaborationist" position, and with the "reformist" or "gradualist" approach being accordingly exposed, Len is irreversibly steered in the direction of revolutionary politics, which the novel begins to associate with the very essence of the community's core beliefs and of Ezra's own initial convictions. Thus Len is symbolically summoned as the rightful heir to Ezra's emblematic status as a leading figure in Cwmardy's labour

movement: a succession or “departure” from his root position in the father-son dialectic which is overlaid with the properly collective – as opposed to narrowly familial – nature of his individual experience as worker and activist:

He felt confidence and a determination welling up in him. The feeling was something new. Always, in the past, when he had been unable to answer arguments or solve problems he had capitulated either to Ezra or to Mary. Now he began to question earnestly whether he had been at fault in blindly following the opinions of others. (*Cwmardy*: 357)

In effect, his progress to revolutionary socialism is compounded with a rejection of the personalist temptations of his primitive militancy under Ezra’s guidance. With the cementation of an autonomous ideological position and of a genuinely revolutionary sense of class loyalty, Len attains his definitive commitment to a cause which transcends the limitations of individual agency and the perils of fetishistic leadership. The acknowledgement of History’s “open” structure is finally set in direct contrast with the complacent acquiescence of a self-defeated miners’ leader who cannot but fail to capture the dynamic essence of collective action. Upon hearing the sounding of the hoot which calls miners to their nightly shift, Ezra betrays his past thinking and deeds by submitting the final decision over his people’s lives and destinies to “fate”. Len’s rebuke, in which he is joined by Mary, announces the shape of things to come:

‘Fate, fate? What is that? Do you say that fate tore that boy’s arm out this morning? Was it fate that blew our men to bits in the explosion? Did fate smash Bill Bristol to a pulp? No; I can’t believe that, Ezra. It wasn’t fate that brought us into the strike or into the war. You did the first and the capitalists did the other. [...] ‘I agree with Len,’ she said. ‘We are ourselves responsible for what happens. The pity is that we follow events instead of trying to determine and mould them. Our fate is in our own hands. Take Russia, for instance. In spite of all that the papers say, I would like to see how those people are shaping their future. Whether they succeed is another matter, but at least they will have made the attempt, which is more than we are doing’. (*Cwmardy*: 400-401)

Len’s adscription to revolutionary politics – what we have called his “Leninist stance” – turns precisely on this rejection of historical determinism, which, in the pre-World War I intellectual context of the Second International (from which Leninism itself represents a major break), came to be associated with gradualism (= Labour), on the one hand, and with “vulgar” orthodoxy (Kaustky), on the other.

The passage from *Cwmardy* to *We Live* has been characterised, from opposing camps of the critical spectrum, both as a progress from residual

bourgeois sentimentality to political maturity, and as a fall from acceptable social realism to sheer Stalinist *agit-prop*.⁴ Whatever the ultimate assessment of both ideological acuity and aesthetic achievement, an evident shift of emphasis is observable. For one thing, Len's *Bildung* appears, at the opening of the second novel, as a virtually completed process which will only register various degrees of intensity or orientation throughout the diverse conjunctures charted by the narrative. On the other hand, the great ideological awakening of the novel affects his old friend and then wife, Mary Roberts. She will undergo a major transformation, going from an initially instinctual – more or less “spontaneous”, in the binary terms we have proposed – commitment to the miners' cause, as channelled and monopolised in the first novel by her father and miners' leader Ezra, to a final impersonation of the revolutionary prototype. Mary's character evolves towards a position which synthesises the coalfield's most advanced political strategies. The tentative – and in that sense “open” – structure of Len's ideological and personal *Bildung* in *Cwmardy* gives way, in *We Live*, to a discursive identification of subjective consciousness (as the symptomatic actualisation of a latent collective potential) with the Communist Party rather than with the community figured *as* class. In a sense, the internal logic of Leninism – here understood as a specific discursive construct of the Bolshevik Party under Stalin – is fully explored in the passage from *Cwmardy* to *We Live*: class, initially signified as a dialectical interpenetration of “conscious” and “unconscious” forces within the collectivity, is ultimately positivised in the Party *qua* *real* expression of its universal vocation. The flexibility and formlessness of Len's intuitive socialism in *Cwmardy* benefitted from the radical immediacy of class *experienced as* concrete community. This is nowhere to be found in its “evolved” or fully mature version: Party socialism – i.e. Communism – is necessarily fixed and pre-determined as a static mediatory function between the “universal” dimension of History and the “particular” collective subject (the working-class).⁵ This medial position pre-empts the protean redistribution of revolutionary energies and affects as rehearsed under the “unripe” ideological conditions described in *Cwmardy*.

The consolidation of political doctrine – the blooming of class consciousness, in the stricter Leninist idiom – has its direct correlate in the fictional exercise: community is replaced by Party, as collective agency is hemmed in by the strategic imperative to postulate a political avant-garde. In this new arrangement, Len's constitutive attachment to the community makes him unsuitable for

4. See, for example, Carole Snee (1979); Frank Kermode (1987); Rolf Meyn (2000).

5. For a brilliant reading of the “dialectical” structure of the Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism series, see Slavoj Žižek (2000: 159).

effective leadership. In his stead, Mary will emerge as a charismatic complement to the blunter *éminence grise* of the local Party secretary, Harry Morgan; she will impersonate the prototype of revolutionary intelligence that can transcend the radical immanence of community-bound class instinct and remain, at the same time, contextually linked to the real experience of exploitation.

It is well-nigh impossible to evaluate the real achievements of Jones' writing outside of this gradient of political "consciousness" and without clear reference to a pre-established template of Communist identification. Even if it seems indisputable that the narrative sequence tends to favour this unravelling of ideological orthodoxy – this progressive construction of a "true" revolutionary stance – it is more dubious that this may be achieved without unforeseen consequences. In other words, for all of Jones' endorsement of the Party agenda and his well accredited adherence to the latter's conceptualisation of political struggle (in general terms, a vision that contradicts the more rhizomatic elements of Len's stance), community bonds remain the controlling or validating test for class loyalty. In effect, *Cwmardy's* detailed spelling of community makes the articulation of class consciousness indissoluble from it, in a way which even gravitates upon the sterner textures of ideological outlook in *We Live*. The latter novel in fact ends on a symptomatic note of communitarian retrieval, both reactivating the earlier undercurrent of unmediated political passion and indirectly revoking (despite the formal encomium) the bureaucratic strictures of an increasingly Stalinised Communist Party. Len's death at the Spanish battlefield is immediately preceded by a poignant letter to Mary – a declaration of principle and a confirmation of love: the personal, in Len's final outcry against exploitation, *is* in effect the political. And the political is inseparable from its concrete embodiment in the collective, in the community, in the conscious class:

The men who are dying don't seem to be strangers, but our comrades as we know them at home [...] this is not a foreign land on which we are fighting. It is home. Those are not strangers who are dying. They are our butties [...] You are with me wherever I go, whatever I do. And never forget, whatever happens, we were brought together because we belong to the people and it is only the cause of our people can ever part us.

If that should happen, if that becomes necessary, then don't grieve too much, because belonging to the people, you will always find me in the people. (*We Live*: 876-877)

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El uso del inglés como estrategia discursiva en el texto publicitario

JAVIER VELLÓN

UNIVERSITAT JAUME I

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the use of English in printed advertising aimed at the Spanish market, from the perspective of discourse analysis, the multimodal theory, as well as the communicative and ethnographic dimension. The presence of the foreign language is justified by contextual reasons (the opening up of new markets, internationalization of the product, the economic globalization), by emotional and ideological values linked with English on the consumer's part, by the formation of the new generations and by textual and argumentative strategies, which interact with the verbal text in Spanish and with the images. The conclusion is that English is part of the advertising discourse to the point of being defined as an identifying sign of this textual typology, and so does the receiver accept it in his discursive competence.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, code-switching, multimodality, advertising language.

RESUMEN: El artículo analiza el uso del inglés en la publicidad impresa dirigida al mercado español desde la perspectiva del análisis del discurso, la teoría multimodal, sin olvidar la dimensión comunicativa y etnográfica. La presencia del idioma extranjero se justifica por motivos contextuales (apertura de mercados, internacionalización del producto, globalización económica), por los valores ideológicos y emocionales vinculados con el inglés por parte del consumidor, por la formación de las nuevas generaciones y también por las estrategias textuales y argumentativas, en la interacción con el texto verbal en español y con las imágenes. La conclusión es que el inglés forma parte del discurso publicitario hasta el punto de definirse como un signo identificador de esta tipología textual, y así lo asume el destinatario en su competencia discursiva.

Palabras clave: Análisis del discurso, cambio de código, multimodalidad, lenguaje publicitario.

La última campaña publicitaria impresa de la cerveza San Miguel (anuncio 1) incluye un eslogan –Cool– que completa el mensaje vinculado con la marca (*Donde va, triunfa*). El hecho de elegir una expresión inglesa en el centro perceptivo del texto para un producto elaborado en España e, inicialmente, dirigido al mercado nacional, resulta sintomático respecto a una estrategia argumentativa y de mercado cada vez más frecuente en el discurso publicitario, cuya función va más allá de la apelación al exotismo y a la desautomatización características de la publicidad tradicional.

De hecho, algunas particularidades del mencionado producto y de su comercialización pueden contribuir a situar el marco interpretativo en el que conviene situar el objeto de análisis:



Anuncio 1

- En primer lugar, desde el año 2002 San Miguel es una de las marcas españolas que realiza campañas de promoción más allá de nuestras fronteras, concretamente en 35 países (www.marketingdirect.com). Así pues, el uso del inglés obedece a una estrategia de marketing y de apertura a nuevos mercados.

- En segundo lugar, es evidente que la vinculación del producto con la lengua inglesa produce un efecto psicosocial de aceptación por parte del receptor-consumidor, en cuanto que se trata de una bebida asociada a un origen extranjero en el que no resulta extraño el uso de dicho idioma.
- Finalmente, el componente formal del mensaje lingüístico establece una interacción significativa con la representación icónica (el color, por ejemplo), además de establecer un diálogo con el marco visual (una escena netamente inglesa) y con el resto del texto verbal, que define las líneas maestras de la argumentación. Tampoco hay que olvidar las implicaturas que activa dicha expresión para un sector concreto de receptores, que constituyen el *target* inicial de la campaña.

De este modo, el cambio, la alternancia de código o, incluso, el uso exclusivo del inglés, en un anuncio destinado al mercado español, no es un simple fenómeno dirigido a crear efectos puntuales, ocurrencias con fines de idoneidad perceptiva, sino un mecanismo capaz de articular las diferentes dimensiones semióticas y performativas del discurso publicitario a través de los textos públicos, es decir, la económica, empresarial, cultural y argumentativa, todo ello vertebrado a través del código particular de lo que Krüger (1990: 25) denomina «l'objet texte-image».

Estas reflexiones han de enmarcarse, necesariamente, en las particularidades de la publicidad actual, basada en la incidencia del lenguaje, en la «manera de contar» (Gurrea, 1999: 23), más que en los contenidos o, lo que es lo mismo, en la importancia de la comunicación en un universo semiótico saturado de información, donde la publicidad «es un discurso que ante todo busca llamar la atención sobre sí mismo como transmisor de mundos simbólicos asociados a las diferentes marcas y organizaciones» (Nos, 2007: 44).

1. Estado de la cuestión

Los trabajos en torno al cambio de código como estrategia publicitaria adolecen de los mismos defectos que han limitado el alcance de las investigaciones en torno al lenguaje publicitario en general (Vellón, 2007: 15 y ss.): visión parcial del fenómeno, restringido al uso de la lengua inglesa en los géneros argumentativos como un simple recurso cultural ajeno a la especificidad del discurso publicitario.

La mayoría de los estudios se centra en el potencial evocativo del inglés como lengua capaz de connotar determinados valores. Por esta línea discurren las aportaciones de Ferraz (1993), Lomas (1996), y en ella insisten también y profundizan los artículos de Montes Fernández (2006 *a* y *b*), así como el de Véglia y Sevilla (1993), centrado en la transferencia intercultural francés-español en el texto publicitario.

En este ámbito interpretativo, aunque ciñéndose a aspectos más representativos de la formalización textual, destacan también los enfoques de Romero (2005) y Santiago Guervós (2005) en torno al uso del inglés en la creación de marcas, aunque estos autores se limitan a señalar una casuística temática que no tiene continuación lógica en la descripción de los consecuentes esquemas persuasivos que tal opción posee en los anuncios impresos.

Resulta revelador de las vertientes investigadoras sobre la publicidad, el hecho de que los estudios más relevantes acerca del citado procedimiento discursivo dirijan su atención hacia enfoques que exceden el marco de lo textual, obviándolo en la mayoría de los casos. Así, cabe destacar el análisis pragmático de Bathia (1992), cuyo objetivo es exponer los efectos psicolingüísticos que conlleva la elección de un código lingüístico en publicidad, con conclusiones sugestivas en torno a los rasgos afectivos asociados al inglés (modernización, occidentalismo, internacionalidad, etc.) lo que, al menos, amplía el registro de valores comentado como lugar común por parte de trabajos de índole similar, demasiado pendientes de los listados temáticos y argumentales.

Blesa (1995) insiste también en esta tendencia al señalar que la selección del idioma en publicidad hay que entenderla como un recurso argumentativo en términos de código de comunicación, con todo lo que ello implica de relación con el destinatario.

Por último, en esta selección bibliográfica, merece un lugar destacado el estudio de la profesora Pons Griera (2003), puesto que, aun sin profundizar demasiado en las líneas de investigación que propone, intuye que la alternancia de lenguas en los anuncios impresos merece un análisis globalizador y discursivo que no puede reducirse a una casuística de raíz culturalista y psicosocial.

2. Un fenómeno creciente

El primer aspecto que cabe apuntar en el uso publicitario del inglés es que se trata de una consecuencia lógica de la propia dinámica del mercado donde el texto se integra y actúa en su dimensión performativa. No sólo es, por ello, un

recurso desautomatizador, foco del estímulo perceptivo por su excepcionalidad, sino que forma parte de la rutina discursiva de una estrategia en la que el inglés actúa como eje argumentativo.

La presencia pública de los anuncios, constante y masiva, ha permitido que el léxico descriptivo, incluyendo las características técnico-científicas, e incluso la terminología específica de la mercadotecnia y de la publicidad, hayan sido asumidas en diferentes idiomas (inglés y francés especialmente), hasta el punto de que la competencia de los receptores-consumidores las considera ya parte integrante de dicho universo discursivo: *eau de toilette*, *new collection*, *professional*, *computers*, *for men/woman*, *le nouveau parfum*, *stores*, son algunas de las innumerables expresiones frecuentes en los textos publicitarios de los que son parte integrante y cuya traducción quebraría el horizonte de expectativas de un destinatario que las considerase signos de un sistema discursivo concreto.

A esta fijación discursiva del idioma – el inglés, en este caso – contribuye la tendencia a generar, o mantener, denominaciones cuyo significante reproduce la apariencia gráfica de dicha lengua, tal como reconocen algunos de los estudios recogidos en el apartado anterior, lo que afecta incluso a los procedentes de empresas nacionales (*Minute Maid*, por ejemplo), que buscan la garantía de prestigio que el inglés aporta, además de su proyección en el mercado internacional.

El resultado es un texto en el que la alternancia con el español constituye una señal de identidad, por la que el proceso expositivo simultanea el contenido explicativo con notas que focalizan otros intereses argumentativos, relacionados con los valores señalados por Bathia (modernidad, ciencia, seguridad, situación social, etc.)

Tal es el caso del anuncio 2 (Nissan *Qashqai*), ejemplo de esta singularidad textual en la que se procura el equilibrio entre la función informativa y la fática, con un mensaje que explora tanto las necesidades comunicativas con el receptor como sus pulsiones más emotivas, a través de la alternancia léxica en el dominio de los fragmentos explicativos: por una parte, expresiones como ‘nuevo’, ‘compacto’, ‘dinámico’; por otra, ‘urbanproof’, ‘crossover’.



Anuncio 2

La globalización del mercado, la concentración de la producción y distribución en grandes empresas multinacionales también han favorecido una textualidad que propicia la interacción entre códigos. En estos casos, la marca y su entorno verbal identificativo, síntomas de su adscripción internacional, establecen un diálogo muy productivo con el resto del mensaje verbal, en español, dirigido explícitamente al consumidor nacional.

La consecuencia de este mecanismo discursivo es la plasmación de un reclamo publicitario en el que se actualizan no sólo los vínculos empresariales, el proceso de gestación y de comercialización como parte integrante de la textualidad, sino también las estrategias argumentativas dirigidas al componente cuantitativo (Gutiérrez Ordóñez, 2002: 276), esto es, al prestigio de una marca globalizada, y además a la garantía de calidad, seguridad técnica, imagen social, etc.

Anuncios como el número 3 ejemplifican el efecto persuasivo de la citada interacción. *Deborah*, producto de cosmética italiano, utiliza la lengua de este

país tanto en el referente verbal de la marca como en el mensaje inscrito en la imagen del cosmético que, a su vez, se denomina en inglés *Light On*, lo que se reitera insistentemente a lo largo de la exposición en español.



Anuncio 3

Los tres códigos utilizados apuntan a las tres motivaciones argumentales del texto. El interés perceptivo inicial, focalizado en la imagen, se centra en el nombre del producto que, a su vez, organiza el itinerario de lectura –no lineal– en torno a las nociones de color y luminosidad. El italiano, por su parte, con su connotación cultural de raíz hedonista, propiciada por el propio discurso publicitario, aporta el argumento genérico, mientras que el español lo desarrolla recuperando la funcionalidad enunciativa de la lengua. Tres funciones –información, expresividad y narratividad–, tres referencias idiomáticas en intercambio conversacional; todo ello contextualiza la imagen del producto en el orden de la categorización universal como estrategia legitimadora, situándola en el dominio de un escenario global.

La asimilación del inglés como lengua del discurso publicitario llega al extremo de favorecer procedimientos derivativos en la palabra sobre los que se elabora la argumentación. Tal es el caso del eslogan *Nightology*, del whisky *JB*, o más interesante, el propuesto en el anuncio 4, en el que a partir del nombre del producto, *Next*, procedente del inglés, se habilita la forma española *Nextasis*, que sirve como fundamento para la posterior exposición persuasiva, incidiendo en el significado original del término como motivo temático (futuro, innovación...).

Nextasis!

En tu baño descubre una nueva ducha Teuco, la serie Next, capaz de ofrecerte lo que te encuentras ante algo nuevo. Ante una cabina que antes no existía. El resultado perfectamente tecnológico más innovadora. Pero al fin verdad quieres gozar del bienestar total, entra en ella.

La sauna de vapor, por ejemplo, consigue la temperatura justa al instante y la distribuye uniformemente. Sólo así si que se puede hablar de una auténtica sauna de vapor. Pero hay más, los masajes de agua, tanto los dorsales, como los plantares o cervicales, son más eficaces. Todo para hacerte sentir lleno de energía. En Nextasis.

Next
Duchas Multifunciones

En la foto la nueva Showersystem, una cabina ducha de la serie Next. Al tacto como siempre, pero, se instala en un instante y dura una vida. Tiene garantía garantizada durante 5 años. Para más información, llama al 900 100 000 o visita www.teuco.es

teuco

Teuco España, S.L.
info@teuco.es

Anuncio 4

Se trata, en definitiva, de un síntoma más de la relevancia del inglés en el sistema comunicativo de la publicidad, de su grado de integración como referencia discursiva, de su potencial efecto ilocutivo, así como de su implantación social en la actualidad, con numerosas generaciones para quienes su presencia cotidiana forma parte de las rutinas en los lenguajes sociales de dimensión pública.

Esto explica otra vía de acceso del idioma al dominio textual, como es la presencia de frases y expresiones fáciles de interpretar por parte de los consumidores con un nivel medio de formación, (*Bye, bye monotony* – Arques France; *The King* – Montero, *Goodbye celulitis* – Nivea). En esta línea, se puede

llegar incluso a utilizar un término común del inglés para identificar una gama concreta de productos de una marca, que pasa a integrar el mensaje expositivo como un elemento más (*Open*, de Orange).

Las tendencias comentadas en este apartado reflejan la importancia del inglés como código asociado a una tipología discursiva de carácter performativo, en la que el idioma actúa como anclaje respecto al contexto socioeconómico, activándolo en forma de valores asociados al universo simbólico creado en torno al signo-producto.

Desde esta constatación, si bien es cierto que su uso es más frecuente en cierto tipo de productos señalados por todos los trabajos arriba mencionados como expresión de la etnografía cultural aplicada al análisis publicitario, la extensión del fenómeno en la actualidad supera este marco interpretativo. La razón es que el inglés constituye una realidad social plenamente consolidada a través de diversos medios de intervención en la socialización del individuo (desde el sistema educativo a los medios de comunicación), de la que los hablantes poseen un conocimiento cuando menos aproximativo y que ha llegado a amplios sectores de la experiencia cotidiana, hasta el punto de consolidar una sólida ideología lingüística en torno a su uso público (López García, 2007: 114).

3. El inglés en los textos: variables de uso

De lo expuesto anteriormente se deduce que la presencia del inglés en los textos publicitarios no obedece a una motivación única de índole cultural o psicosocial, sino que responde más bien a una serie de tendencias sujetas a variables discursivas entre las que destacan las siguientes:

- Tipo de empresa, su identidad, su programa organizativo –lo que viene definido por su misión, visión y valores–, el universo estimativo asociado a ello en el mercado, esto es, los rasgos que conforman su imagen corporativa. En el dominio de la comunicación publicitaria, en el que cada corporación participa con su representación semiótica, el uso del inglés contribuye a crear la adscripción significativa a un campo de referencia concreto. La marca, su dimensión lingüística e icónica (el logotipo), los mensajes de campaña, el eslogan corporativo; en cualquiera de las citadas distribuciones superestructurales, el inglés vincula al producto y a la empresa con su situación real de mercado, sus vínculos internacionales, a la vez que con su ubicación en el dominio publicitario nacional, promoviendo la transición entre el universo simbólico construido y el denominado efecto de lo real.

- Implantación del producto y de la empresa. Braudillard (1988: 16-17) definía la publicidad como «el efecto de una visibilidad omnipresente de las empresas, de las marcas». La identificación con un origen foráneo, el mensaje reiterado hasta auparlo al rango de imagen de marca, la cotidianeidad de la semiosfera publicitaria, representa una variable determinante para el uso del inglés, en cuanto que consolida la experiencia del destinatario en cuya competencia se ha fijado ya la relación entre la lengua y el signo publicitario del producto.
- Tipo de producto. Esta variable ha sido la más citada por los estudios tradicionales sobre publicidad, vinculando la lengua con la expresión de valores culturales asociados a dicho idioma. Tecnología, industria de la imagen (incluyendo aquí el material deportivo), son los temas más proclives al inglés, en consonancia con la necesidad de incidir en macroproposiciones de la base argumentativa identificadas con la modernidad, la competitividad, el hedonismo, etc., es decir, atributos ilustrativos del imaginario dominante, en gran medida vertebrados a través del inglés, convertido así en «lengua de progreso» (Crystal, 1997: 111).
- Identidad social del producto. El grado de asociación del referente con su origen foráneo condiciona la aparición del inglés ya que representa el código natural de dicho producto y así se reconoce por parte del receptor. Tal es el caso de ciertas bebidas (whisky, ginebra) o de ciertas marcas de tabaco. Es ilustrativa la dimensión genérica de esta vinculación idioma/marca-producto en la mente del consumidor, y así es frecuente que el tabaco rubio, al margen de la empresa propietaria, utilice el inglés en numerosos anuncios, relacionando así su fuente –la industria del tabaco norteamericana– con otros valores, por ejemplo, los que afectan a la juventud. O que, incluso, se aplique a bebidas sentidas como ajenas a lo autóctono. El ejemplo de la marca *Absolut* de vodka así lo atestigua, en una campaña basada en mensajes persuasivos a partir del nombre de la marca, desde el que se construyen enunciados mayoritariamente en inglés (*Absolut Hope*, *Absolut Spring*), aunque, en ocasiones incorporan guiños locales (*Absolut Madriz*).
- Valores connotativos activados en la representación semiótica de la marca y del producto. Se trata de estimular procesos cognitivos sólidamente arraigados en el imaginario colectivo por la presencia continuada del discurso publicitario en la sociedad, «un aporte de carga invisible que incorporan todas las marcas existentes en el mercado en su proceso de calado social y en su interacción con otras marcas dentro de ese campo virtual de operaciones que se ha dado en llamar mercado» (San Nicolás, 2002).

4. Estrategias discursivas

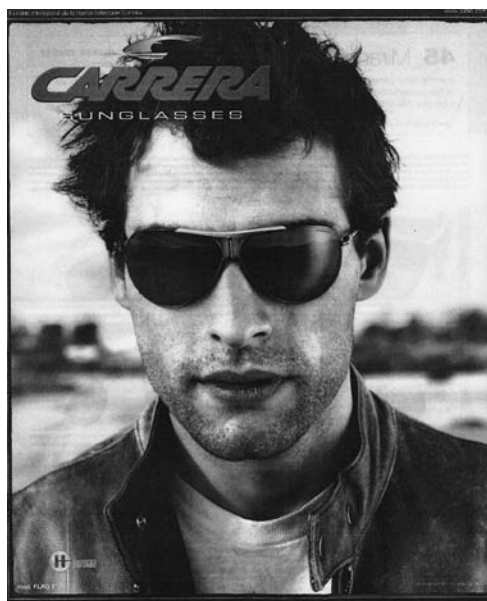
Una vez comentados los aspectos vinculados con el contexto, para desarrollar las líneas analíticas trazadas por la bibliografía existente sobre el tema, es hora de abordar la cuestión desde la óptica súper y macroestructural, esto es, desde las estrategias textuales de la publicidad.

Todas ellas comparten un principio vertebrador: el inglés focaliza la tensión semántica de la textualidad y la proyecta sobre el resto de componentes, icónicos y verbales, determinando un itinerario de lectura que conduce desde la esfera perceptiva a la asimilación cognitiva.

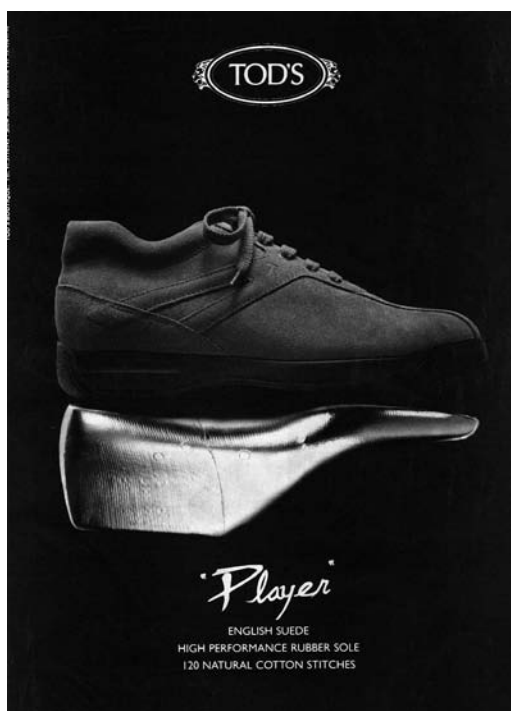
4.1. Función designativa

El mecanismo más sencillo vinculado con el inglés se orienta hacia la función designativa o referencial, es decir, bien cuando se utiliza para nombrar al producto (anuncio 5), para definir sus características a partir de una simplificación metonímica muy habitual según el principio de economía expresiva de la publicidad (anuncio 6) e, incluso, para describir con detalle sus cualidades y modo de actuación (anuncio 7).

En los dos primeros casos (anuncios 5 y 6), se trata de términos fáciles de reconocer por el destinatario, no sólo por provenir de un vocabulario básico (o por su evidente proximidad con el común origen latino), sino también porque a ello contribuye la figuración icónica, así como la propia popularidad de la marca.



Anuncio 5



Anuncio 6

El tercer modelo (anuncio 7) requiere ya de una concreción significativa mayor, llevada a cabo en el presente caso tanto a través de mensaje verbal como de las imágenes, además de la implicación interpretativa del lector a través de su competencia en ese terreno.

Al margen de incidir en la condición foránea de la empresa –lo que ya es un recurso argumentativo tópico de la publicidad–, el anuncio 5 refleja la importancia de utilizar extranjerismos (*Sunglasses*) en lugar de la correspondiente voz patrimonial, dada la connotación de los primeros, garantizada por su reproducción en las campañas publicitarias, hasta el punto de que el término *gafas de sol* es inusual incluso en marcas nacionales que dirigen su atención al mercado propio. Algo similar sucede con tantos otros vocablos que la publicidad especialmente ha contribuido a fijar como designación de referentes (*after sun*, *fashion*, *after shave*, etc.).

En el anuncio 7, el texto en español propone la traducción de las formas inglesas, si bien existe una cierta autonomía entre ambas puesto que, para acceder a sus equivalencias semánticas, se exige un cierto conocimiento del idioma. Por ello, el uso del código foráneo obedece a motivaciones que el propio texto explicita: la dimensión técnico-científica de los argumentos elegidos sintoniza

con el potencial evocativo del enunciado en inglés y, así, *Age Defying Make Up* (productos de maquillaje Revlon) se desarrolla a través del cuerpo textual del anuncio (‘Reduce las líneas de expresión...Fórmula exclusiva...para una piel con aspecto más joven’).



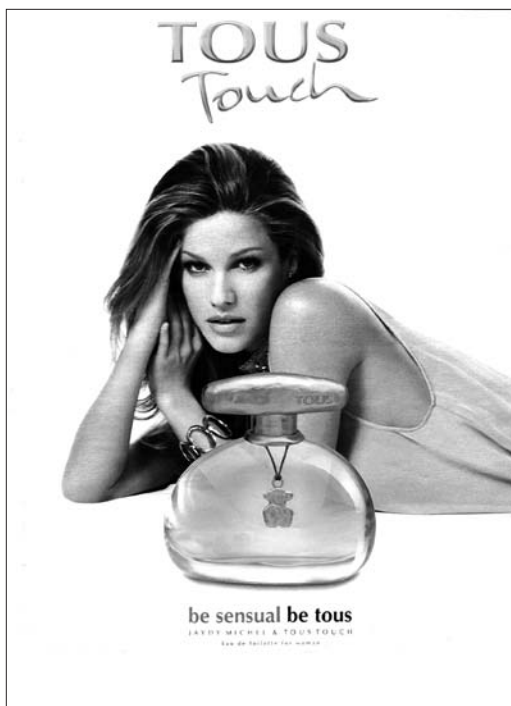
Anuncio 7

4.2. Criterio de autoridad

La aparición de un personaje público conocido (actores y deportistas, sobre todo), al que se adjudica una frase en inglés, es otra de las estrategias habituales en los textos publicitarios. En este caso, la presencia del idioma viene justificada por el origen del personaje, por lo que actúan dos tipos de estímulos argumentativos a la vez: los valores asociados a la lengua y los que proceden de la imagen social del protagonista.

A partir de este mecanismo, próximo al denominado criterio de autoridad en las exposiciones persuasivas, se establece un triángulo significativo constituido por la imagen, el producto y el texto verbal en inglés, que actúa como nexo entre los dos referentes al fijar un espacio interpretativo que puede obedecer a diferentes motivaciones temáticas:

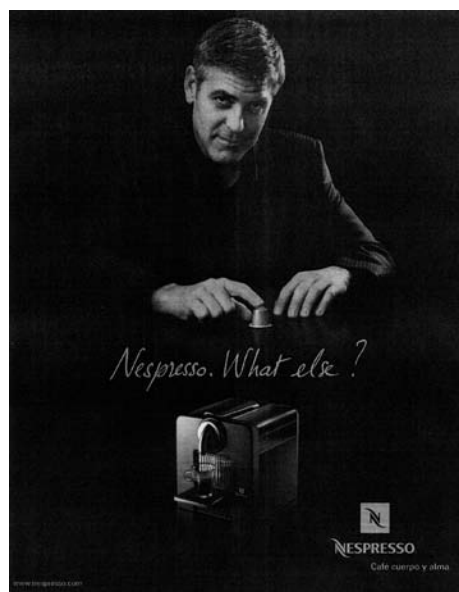
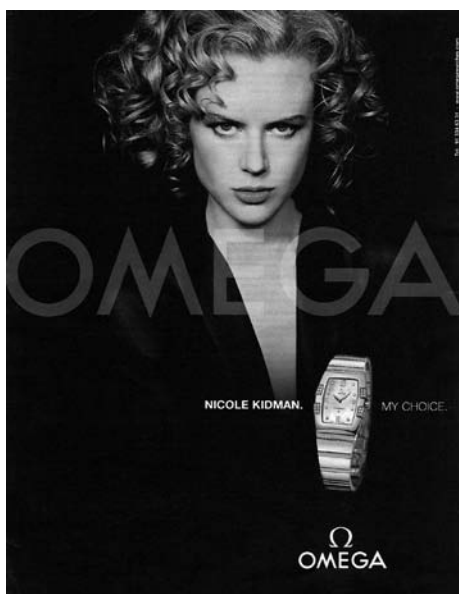
- La más sugestiva es la que relaciona una identidad de marca-producto con el carácter connotado por el personaje, forzando así una continuidad semántica entre los valores semióticos de mercado, los que localizan y definen a un referente en la semiosfera publicitaria, y el rasgo que define públicamente a la celebridad seleccionada, como sucede en el anuncio 8, en el que una conocida modelo determina el marco significativo del mensaje *Be sensual, Be Tous*.



Anuncio 8

- En otras ocasiones, se potencia el sentido dialógico, con un esquema en el que el enunciado justifica la elección del producto por parte del personaje, como sucede en el anuncio 9, en el que la actriz Nicole Kidman se dirige en estilo directo al receptor por medio de una escena textual con notable carga directiva, gracias tanto al mensaje verbal *My Choice* (reloj Omega), como a la propia gestualidad de la imagen.
- Finalmente, existe la posibilidad de evocar un escenario donde cobra sentido la frase en inglés (*Nespresso, What else?*), al formar parte de toda una recreación ficticia sostenida por la presencia del actor (George Cloony), con alusiones incitadoras por su identidad connotativa para alentar la

complicidad del destinatario e implicarlo en el proceso persuasivo (anuncio 10). En el caso citado como ejemplo, la verbalidad completa el trayecto argumentativo a través del eslogan de marca (*Café, cuerpo y alma*), ya en español, que cierra el recorrido de la lectura.



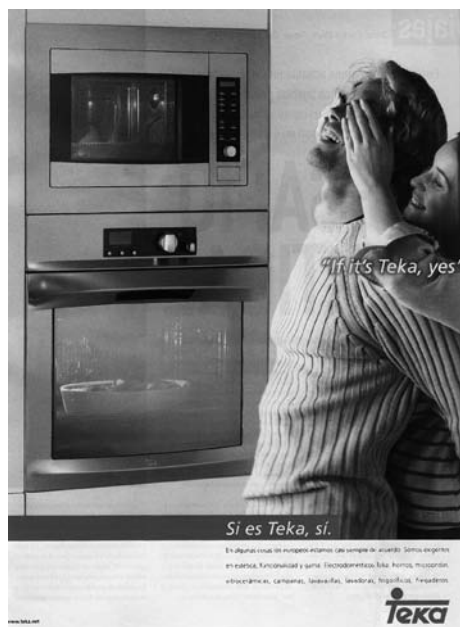
Anuncios 9 y 10

4.3. La redundancia significativa

La redundancia es uno de los rasgos discursivos identificadores del texto publicitario, por su incidencia en las diferentes dimensiones de la construcción textual, desde la composición a las microestructuras lingüísticas. Es, de hecho, uno de los mecanismos más efectivos para consolidar el proceso de asimilación cognitiva de imágenes y macroproposiciones, contribuyendo así a la finalidad persuasiva del texto desde las instancias más externas de su constitución.

En este sentido, la reiteración del mensaje en las dos lenguas (anuncios 11, *If it's Teka, yes/ Si es Teka, sí*), o a través de equivalencias léxico-semánticas (en el anuncio 12, en el que *Radical Protection* (Elizabeth Arden) aparece desarrollado por medio de términos que apuntan al argumento inicial en inglés: «defienda, revolucionaria, escudo, radicales libres, poderosos, potenciales»), se inserta en la mencionada estrategia, además de incidir en el sentido dialógico entre los dos códigos en el marco argumentativo del texto publicitario. El prestigio social del

idioma foráneo se une a la garantía que ofrece la descripción pormenorizada por el idioma propio, vinculando así la modalidad expresiva con la informativa, cada una en su lengua.



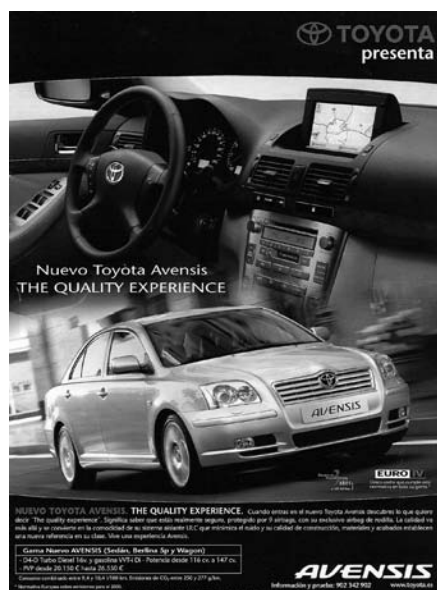
Anuncios 11 y 12

4.4. El texto como glosa

Una variante de la estrategia anterior, de mayor elaboración argumentativa, es la que se organiza en torno a una cita en inglés, como centro perceptivo de lectura, que a continuación se explica, a modo de glosa, en el cuerpo del texto, ya en español.

De las diferentes posibilidades que ofrece este mecanismo, las más sugestivas son las siguientes:

- La que presenta el anuncio 13 de manera explícita, puesto que el desarrollo de la verbalidad se justifica como explicación del eslogan *The Quality Experience* («Cuando entras en el nuevo Toyota Avensis descubres lo que quiere decir *The Quality*»), invocando la dimensión performativa del texto, ya que se apela a la experiencia del potencial consumidor.



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Anuncio 13

- En el anuncio 14, el texto en español especifica el significado del eslogan en inglés (*More than a watch-Tissot*), aportando cuestiones técnicas y de caracterización, que concluyen con una sentencia básica de la argumentación: «Más que un reloj: T-Touch es la combinación innovadora de un reloj con un instrumento de precisión».



T+ TISSOT
SWISS WATCHES SINCE 1853

CRONÓGRAFO
ALTIMETRO
BARÓMETRO
TERMÓMETRO
ALARMA

More than a watch

La idea es T+Tissot. T+ es el símbolo de una innovación tecnológica que transforma un reloj en un instrumento de precisión. T+ es la combinación de un reloj con un instrumento de precisión. T+ es la combinación de un reloj con un instrumento de precisión. T+ es la combinación de un reloj con un instrumento de precisión.

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Anuncio 14

- El anuncio 15 plantea un modelo de recreación más libre del mensaje en inglés, siguiendo el procedimiento de la correlación diseminativa propia del lenguaje poético. Así, a partir del mensaje *Play with the weather* (Wolkswagen Eos), se vertebraba la exposición en español: ‘Esta mañana los pájaros no cantan. Nubes. El hombre del tiempo se queda sin saber qué decir a medio programa. Nubes. Son las nubes de la mañana pero bien podría ser aún de noche. Nubes. Hoy va a ser un buen día. Te duchas, te vistes...’



Anuncio 15

El resultado textual confirma los vínculos existentes entre el discurso publicitario y diversas tradiciones discursivas del denominado texto-imagen (Vellón, 2007: 32 y ss.), desde la literatura emblemática del Barroco a las técnicas litográficas del siglo XIX para el desarrollo del cartel. La integración de la diversidad de códigos, incluyendo también el icónico, favorece una interacción textual capaz de estimular la participación activa del destinatario, movilizándolo en ese tránsito que supone el paso del alocutario al consumidor (Linaceras, 1998: 114-115).

4.5. El eje perceptivo

El dominio perceptivo del texto publicitario responde a una lógica del conocimiento por la que cada unidad actúa como índice, visual y semántico, configurando un itinerario de lectura, una «línea de indicatibilidad» (Gubern, 1979: 554), en la que la configuración no lineal, la ubicación de cada elemento y su identidad semiótica poseen relevancia argumentativa.

En este sentido, la elección de un enunciado en inglés para ocupar el centro visual del anuncio constituye todo un síntoma de la existencia de un código que ha generado un repertorio semiótico (en el sentido apuntado por Even-Zohar (1999: 31): «un conjunto de reglas y materiales que regulan tanto la construcción como el manejo de un determinado producto»), por el que la presencia nuclear de un idioma extranjero no quiebra el horizonte de expectativas del receptor.

Al margen de su accesibilidad –se trata de mensajes fáciles de entender para un destinatario medio actual–, y siempre amparado por el apoyo de la imagen, se puede distinguir entre dos variantes: el modelo de texto del anuncio 16 (*We select, you choose*– Friday's Project), de índole netamente argumentativa y que sólo indirectamente incide en las cualidades del producto, actuando así como una cita persuasiva similar a la de cualquier eslogan; por otra parte, el del anuncio 17, inspirado por la referencia a aspectos concretos relacionados con el producto y la marca (Omega) y el logo (la propia letra griega omega) con un vínculo determinado por la inclusión en el enunciado verbal (*I lΩve you*).



Anuncios 16 y 17

Un ejemplo intermedio y paradigmático de esta categoría analítica es el anuncio 18, en el que el texto en inglés remite el contenido al producto (*Bad girls go Breil*), a manera de comentario de la imagen sobre la que se transcribe, estratégicamente organizado, el mensaje. Junto a la fijación del *target* –el sentido del enunciado tiene un cierto nivel de exigencia–, la escena construida a partir de los dos sistemas semióticos en sincretismo permite formalizar una textualidad de intenso poder evocativo, capaz de provocar la actividad interpretativa del destinatario como vía para su asimilación como esquema topicalizado en la esfera cognitiva.



Anuncio 18

4.6. El mensaje de la marca

La presencia del inglés en el mensaje original de la campaña de una marca favorece, en primer lugar, la imagen que conecta el mercado nacional con su adscripción a un modelo global de consumo que, entre otras posibilidades, insiste en la garantía internacional del producto, con sus argumentos subalternos de orden cualitativo, tecnológico, etc.

Pero lo más relevante para los intereses del presente trabajo es que propicia una estrategia textual con fines persuasivos que admite diferentes formas de desarrollo.

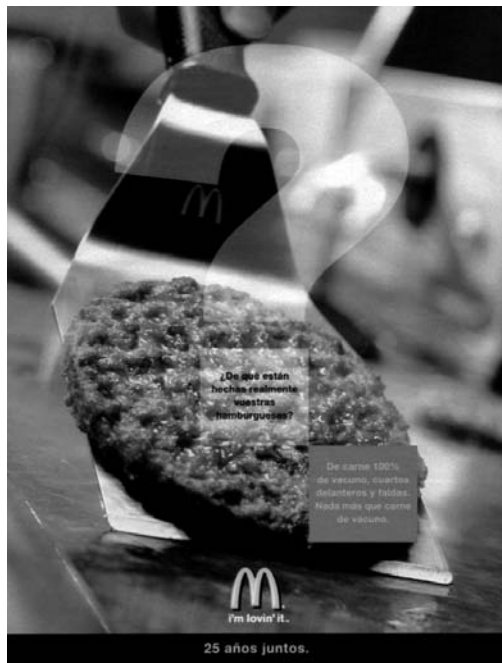
- A través de la marca se recrea la ficción sobre la que se vertebra el texto argumentativo, bien a través de la exclusiva mención textual, bien proponiendo mensajes de campaña como los de *Absolut* (anuncio 19) en los que la denominación de la marca forma parte del mensaje. Fórmulas como las de *You can no. Canon*, favorecen la creación de un mecanismo perceptivo centrado, incluso, en la creatividad lúdica en el idioma original: a partir de la marca se crea un mensaje que juega con la forma de ésta y, de ahí, se abre a la estrategia argumentativa del anuncio.



Anuncio 19

- En otras ocasiones, el mensaje de marca, convertido en referente atemporal y universal, gracias a su fijación en el saber enciclopédico del consumidor, permanece inalterable en todas las campañas, por lo que no existe una relación directa con el texto puntual del anuncio. El conjunto semiótico identificador de la marca –logo, eslogan– actúa como índice sobre el que gravita la referencia argumental y, en todo caso, la garantía de calidad, perpetuando el discurso publicitario el signo que él mismo ha creado. Así, en el anuncio 20, *I'm lovin you/25 años juntos* (McDonald's) avala la garantía de calidad sobre la que se construye la argumentación, planteada

con la pregunta inicial: «¿De qué están hechas realmente vuestras hamburguesas?».



Anuncio 20

- La variante de más interés es la que sitúa al citado mensaje como eje vertebrador del argumento en español, ya que concreta, amplía o matiza lo expresado en inglés. El ejemplo 21 (maletas *Samsonite*) desarrolla una forma dialógica capaz de integrar a la perfección los ejes lingüísticos (inglés: 'Life's a journey' / español: '¿Por qué no?') en la imagen, culminando con la presentación del peculiar criterio de autoridad representado por la actriz Isabella Rossellini. Muy completo resulta también el ejemplo 22 (Fujitsu-Siemens), en el que el texto en español, como continuación explicativa de la escena icónica, actúa como glosa del mensaje de marca, *We make sure*: «Tranquilo, su servidor sigue funcionando», que, además, proyecta la verbalización hacia la parte descriptiva y expositiva.



Anuncios 21 y 22

- El límite de inserción de un código en otro aparece en casos como el del ejemplo 23, en el que el mensaje en inglés procedente de la marca se incluye en la linealidad del enunciado en español hasta completarlo. Más sugestivo es el ejemplo 24, en el que el sentido personal de la argumentación inicial vinculada a la marca (*Your Vision, Our Future*), continúa en la frase elegida para la campaña en el mercado nacional (*Si está en tu vida, está en tu Olympus*), para concluir con un nuevo enunciado en inglés (*Accept no limits*) previo a la descripción técnica del producto.



Anuncios 23 y 24

5. Conclusión

El estudio sobre el uso del inglés en los textos publicitarios permite adentrarse en las peculiaridades de un lenguaje convertido en uno de los principales formatos de interacción social.

La aproximación a sus funciones desvela la textura, el plan discursivo de los mensajes publicitarios en sus diferentes dimensiones de actuación. Por una parte, posibilita el análisis de los mecanismos que garantizan la coherencia y la cohesión sintáctico-semántica del texto, puesto que el inglés, desde esta perspectiva interna, interactúa con el resto de mecanismos, verbales e icónicos, promoviendo un itinerario de lectura que conduce desde la esfera perceptiva a la consolidación cognitiva de la propuesta argumentativa y de los marcos textuales.

Pero, además, también proporciona indicios para rastrear las vertientes de la intencionalidad comunicativa en aspectos relacionados con el contexto y con la competencia del destinatario. Desde la perspectiva de este último, el grado de aceptabilidad por parte de los receptores resulta sintomática de la presencia cotidiana del inglés en numerosos sectores de la comunicación pública social, además de constituir una referencia obligada del sistema educativo porque ya son numerosas las generaciones que lo observan como parte constitutiva de su experiencia en el proceso socializador.

En el ámbito de la competencia comunicativa, la presencia constante del inglés en las tribunas publicitarias ha favorecido su asimilación como mecanismo discursivo, por lo que ha pasado a ser objeto del saber enciclopédico por parte de los consumidores.

Al margen de estas cuestiones, el estudio no puede desdeñar aspectos asociados a una determinada ideología lingüística y su implicación en la creación de universos simbólicos, donde los productos y las marcas acceden a un sentido en el marco de los valores psicosociales en el que se mueve la comunicación publicitaria. Ni tampoco su condición de texto con vocación performativa en el ámbito de la economía, de la creación y difusión de mercados, de fidelizar clientes así como de impulsar respuestas en el alocutario, convertido ya en consumidor.

De la sociología de la comunicación a la psicología social, pasando por la antropología cultural y por la gramática del texto. El estudio de este mecanismo privilegiado en el discurso publicitario revela la complejidad de un fenómeno cuyo objetivo es formalizar las estrategias del deseo.

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Entrevista / *Interview*

Interview with Ulla Connor

MIGUEL F. RUIZ GARRIDO
UNIVERSITAT JAUME I

Introduction

I met Prof. Ulla Connor in the summer of 2006. However, Prof. Connor's work had been a common point of reference during my career. Probably, most scholars dealing with teaching English, writing, contrastive rhetoric, or similar subjects, have already known her work for several decades and consider it as a benchmark in those fields. I think she is one of the most prestigious and influential applied linguists in the last turn of the century.

As I said earlier, I met her two years ago when I was accepted at ICIC,¹ the center she runs, as a visiting scholar. My purpose was to meet her and learn as much as possible from her and her research team. The fact is that I got more than expected. I found a great working atmosphere led by Prof. Connor who, like many alpha-rated scholars, is more accessible than one might think beforehand. Apart from having very good feedback and help from her and the members of her team (especially Dr. Bill Rozycki and Alicia Añino), I had the unbelievable chance of working with them. We started a close collaboration on a new topic for all of us as it is health communication. This issue has taken us working together for two years so far, and I am sure this fact has placed the grounds for future and continuous academic collaborations in different ways.

Within this continuous contact, the research group I belong to (GRAPE - *Group for Research on Academic and Professional English*) and Universitat Jaume I had the opportunity to have Prof. Ulla Connor among us for a few days in November 2007. In the short time she stayed with us, she met our research group members and the Research Vicerector for possible future collaborations, she participated in our IV International Seminar LIFAP (*Lengua Inglesa con Fines Académicos y Profesionales – English Language for Academic and Professional*

1. For further information <<http://www.iupui.edu/~icic/>>.

Purposes) and she taught a session in the master ELIT (*English Language for International Trade*). Additionally, we found some time for interviewing her. For me, it was a pleasure and I think that the reader will find very interesting the deep thoughts and comments expressed by Prof. Connor in this excerpt from the one-hour interview.

MR: First of all, let me thank you for accepting our invitation to come to Castellón and to make you an interview

UC: Well, thank you for inviting me and for this interview.

MR: Let me start with a first question. I know that ICIC is a quite well-known reference centre nowadays, but for those people who hear that name for the first time, how could you explain what ICIC is?

UC: Thank you for the question. ICIC, the Indiana Center for Intercultural Communication, is a research and outreach center in Applied Linguistics at Indiana University in Indianapolis. We conduct research on language of workplaces and academia, and we translate the research results into practice for workshops in language teaching and language in intercultural communication in the community. I think that is the main point, translating research into practice or research about language use in a professional or academic workplace.

MR: When somebody reads about your work and your main contributions, it seems that your key contribution (I would even say your best-seller) is your book *Contrastive Rhetoric: Cross Cultural Aspects of Second Language Writing* (1996). It's been already over 10 years since it first appeared. How do you think cross cultural aspects of second language writing have evolved during these last 10 years?

UC: That's a very good question. It's a very appropriate and very topical question because indeed so much has changed about intercultural communication and writing in a second language, in English, for various kinds of purposes. There are several things that need to be addressed. The first one is the fact that earlier we were mainly concerned about writing in a second language for school and university purposes, writing of essays, and writing term papers, and so on.

More and more, we've seen that we are training students for specific contexts, like you are here (English for professional purposes or English for very specific academic purposes), and therefore the kinds of writings that our students need to do have changed. We expand the repertoire of second language writing products, that's one thing, so we teach writing for business purposes, writing for technical purposes, or writing for health sciences. There's been a big change in second language writing demands.

The second thing, and this is more related to the research paradigm of contrastive rhetoric, is that we tended to take written products and analyze them for features. For example, we talked about the ways Japanese people organize their writing, or Spanish people organize their writing and so on, based on students' writing. We were very interested in collecting corpora of various kinds and not so much coding them for their context: why was something done?, or is this a first draft? or is this a second draft? or fourth draft?, how many people have taken part in it?, and so on. There's much more recognition in Applied Linguistics in the last 20 years about the importance of context, and also about the importance of power relations and ideology. I think it's natural that those things, like power relationships, are included in studies of contrastive rhetoric.

Thus, the first issue deals with the kinds of writings that we need to be concerned about, the second is the way we study writing and written products, and third what's happening today in the world: communication in English taking place all the time. We all know David Crystal's work on global English and the spread of English, and his statement and other people's statements that 2/3 of English that's spoken today is spoken by non-native speakers of English. Interactivity of the communication is a key word. We don't send letters that would be in the mail for a month to someone in another country or culture; we're sending emails, we are writing this becoming much more like speaking in many ways in business communication or even in academic communication where you cannot indeed separate the product from what is around it. But related to that is also the changing norms of English which probably in business communication we've seen that already. The last few years we've seen local varieties of English; we've seen what we thought to be errors in English are becoming part of the usage of English for business communication. This is documented and researched in Applied Linguistics by so many people, so many of the European researchers, such as Leena Louhiala-Salminen, Mirjalisa Charles, Gina Poncini, and so on, that it doesn't matter if your English is correct; what matters is that you communicate. This issue is also supported by my own study on the fish broker: it doesn't matter if English is correct, or grammar is correct; what matters is that the fish is fresh and the orders are filled. That seems to matter.

Now, for academic writing, on the other hand, for published writing, for published articles and things like that, I think that's still another story. There are some fields of study and some journals that are much more accepting of local varieties of English, what you might call non-idiomatic Englishes, but not in others. And those are the kinds of things that I think we need to address and that's what I and several others are working on.

MR: Have you thought of an update or second edition of your book?

UC: Yes, I'm working on it. This morning for example I was writing a section for my new book, which is the sequel of *Contrastive Rhetoric* and it will be called *Intercultural Rhetoric*. I've got a proposal and three chapters ready. I've been working on it for months now. There's also a new edited book *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric*, through John Benjamins Publishing. It has 14 chapters, contributions, empirical pieces, different genres studies, contrastive studies of many different genres including grant proposals, research articles, term papers, newspaper editorials, newspapers articles, and so on, but it also has chapters on looking at contributions, looking at the teaching of English writing. So there's the website, how students navigate websites in different cultures, how writing is taught in Mexico for example, some more ethnographic approach, plagiarism, and how we can study from an intercultural point of view. It's an up-to-date look at intercultural rhetoric and suggests many new directions.

MR: During the last years your research interest has focused on health discourse. How did you get involved in this field of research?

UC: Ok. That's a very big question. Research on life sciences and interest in people's health, and especially when population is ageing and baby boomers are coming into older age and always being very concerned and very conscious about their health, health care is a crucial societal issue. Recently the medical people have also realized that communication is an important part of delivering good services and encouraging patients to take good care of themselves and hear to their health regime or medication. My center got involved in health sciences in two ways: one, first from a very practical point of view, because we're at the medical school at our university. Some time ago, we were invited to teach English to the international graduate students and residents coming from overseas to get medical degrees, and we have offered English instruction and cross-cultural instruction for international medical residents for the last three years. We have also offered communication, intercultural communication workshops for all graduate students and residents in our medical school. These are Americans who are seeing increasingly the need to deal with diverse populations. That's how we got started, that's how we developed our interest in medical language and medical communication. And, you know, we're publishing, we're developing a test on interpersonal communication skills. That will be used to assess cross-cultural communication capabilities both international, new graduate students and residents and American ones. It's going quite nicely, and the medical school is recognizing our expertise in language and communication.

Then as part of that interest in health and medicine and the fact that I had an interest in written texts and comprehension and production of them, it was a natural extension for me to start looking at writings that patients need to read

and understand. And I was so fortunate to meet with one Miguel Ruiz. We were able to do true intercultural, cross-cultural communication study with patient information leaflets with our Spanish counterparts. What has been interesting about the project is what we talked about earlier, that one cannot take texts out of context and start comparing, texts across cultures, that the texts are actually comparable. For instance, we found that the information in the US given to the patient is distributed in a different manner than it is in Spain: information to the patients is stapled on to the medication package when they pick it up from the pharmacy by the pharmacist, while here in Spain it's in the medication package already distributed by the manufacturers, and so on. This brings so clearly to the forefront the importance of studying in a context. And then one thing leads to another, so the first study was looking at these patient information leaflets, i.e. the written information that patients get. That's a very important part of the information that patients do get but it's not the only thing. Therefore, in our latest project, we're also looking at the spoken language, the verbal communication given to patients about their medication, and how that relates to good health habits as well as adherence to medication. We're conducting a study where we are interviewing patients finding out about information sources and what works and what doesn't work. We're specially interested in the diverse, non English-speaking populations in the US and the language problems, language issues and low literacy issues ... and again I think that will lead itself very nicely to an intercultural comparison of where patients get good information, what is successful information across cultures. I think it will be very helpful. I mean again it's applied research that will help patients and it's also research that's a big interest by health professionals themselves, by pharmaceutical companies, etc.

MR: ICIC publishes regularly a newsletter. In the last issue of *Living Language* I read some topics which I think might be interesting to check. The first one, and the one we are especially interested in because of our current collaborations, (as you have already said) is your proposal of a New Division on Health Research. Can you explain a little bit more about it?

UC: Yes, ICIC has proposed and has already gone ahead with a New Division on Health Discourse. When ICIC first got started, ICIC's main interest was on business language, that was the need at that point in the community and at the university. After that we also did research on fundraising language, again, because of local needs and now we want to continue on this research we started on health sciences language, language use in health and health communication in a very concentrated manner. We feel that this Division, which will be the only kind of center of its kind in the US, will achieve international recognition.

There are a couple of research centers in the world, one in Cardiff (Wales), which is well-known for its health communication, and there's a research center

in Australia, which is also well-known for its health communication section. There are also few research centers in the US on health communication but they are very focused perhaps like on one condition, one type of issue like maybe health communication and cancer, end-of-life decisions, and things like that. Our center, on the other hand, would spread over different health conditions and diseases. We might be looking at diabetes, cardiovascular, metahealth, generic counseling, etc. Ours is different from some in that it's truly going to be interdisciplinary; we have a team which has medical doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, linguists, and communication specialists.

MR: As you have already said before, ICIC is also involved in intercultural communication assessment and training. I know you have a course for international medical residents. Why is this topic relevant for them? Do you think this training course could be of interest for international medical students?

UC: A medical doctor according to the latest American Medical Association guidelines has to accomplish certain competences, and one of them is communication competence. So, more and more medical doctors in the US and in the medical schools are getting communication skills training. They are taught effective bedside manners, empathy towards the patient, what's called relationship centered care, so that the patient would also have more of the say in their care. That's happening for native speakers of English in the medical school at our university. And the ICIC thing is that good and intercultural communication for American residents who deal with people from other countries and cultures with the growing population of immigrants even in Indiana, it's very much needed. We have large numbers of Mexicans, Bosnian, or Somalis, that are coming into the community, Russians, a big issue. Therefore, I think that all this is applicable to your own situation. While talking to you earlier, you said that you also have large numbers of immigrants, Romanians, Africans, and so on. So there may be a need to train medical doctors to deal with native and non-native speakers of Spanish or your regional language to communicate effectively.

MR: How do you see research in intercultural communication in the future?

UC: I believe in the future we need intercultural communication research that examines the language use in real-life communication settings. Especially in English, more and more varieties of English are used for communicative purposes – selling, buying, promoting, informing, etc. Speakers of different varieties of English and of different proficiency levels need to learn to understand each other through better listening and discourse strategies.

MR: Another field you have worked in quite a lot is corpus linguistics. How is corpus linguistics contributing to Applied Linguistics research? What is important about corpus linguistics when doing research?

UC: Well, corpus linguistics encourages looking at actual language use, forces us to look at actual language use and not to theorize about language. It helps us find tendencies in language use across different genres, across different modes of communication, oral versus written, across different situations. It allows us very quickly to come up with linguistic features that characterize certain styles. For example, you can push the button and you get to see all the hedging in someone's speech if you're interested in if they are hesitant or not. You can also study politeness features in spoken language or written language easily, so that you can identify what those features are in English (*please, would you, or whatever*). So that's very very useful. That's what we in Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics should be looking at and then we would be able to translate results into teaching too. Let's take a business communication class for example, a business English class. It would be very helpful if we had actual authentic data, corpus data, from actual business meetings, or business negotiations that we could use with our students, rather than often unauthentic materials which have been written by language materials or textual material writers. So, things like that would be very useful.

As for the considerations in the designing of a corpus-based study, you should have several considerations. One, I would say, is representativeness. Then, for what purposes you are going to be using it. Because, if you think of spoken language corpora, for example, you have to make a decision on your transcription, for example, how detailed are you going to be with it?, are you studying just for content? In a cross-cultural study, like the one we did on patient leaflets, are we collecting data that are truly comparable from their cultural context? We wanted to have equal numbers, and we did. So, there are several things to taken into account when conducting this type of research. You have to plan it carefully before you start collecting the data.

MR: It is a fact that English is considered to be a *lingua franca*. Taking advantage of your European origin and your wide teaching experience in Europe and Asia, what do you think about the role of English and ELT (*English Language Teaching*) in Europe and in the world? Do you think its hegemonic role will last long?

UC: Yes, English today is the language of business, industry, and academia. However, what about in 50 years? Maybe Chinese?

MR: Every time I check ICIC publications, I realize that you take part in almost every project and that the production of presentations, articles, and books is continuous. How is it possible? I'm telling you that because I know you are not only a researcher, but you have also teaching and administrative duties which, from my knowledge, may even require more time than teaching and research. How do you manage to have time for everything? Do you still have time for yourself and your private life?

UC: I have a very supportive family – a husband and a grown-up son. They have always encouraged me in my career and professional life. They have helped out in all aspects, including cooking, cleaning, and most importantly, cheerleading.

MR: That's the end of the interview, Ulla. Thank you once more for sharing some of your thoughts with us, and I hope you enjoy your stay with us.

UC: Thank you, Miguel, for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to spend some time with you and your colleagues. It's been a pleasure.

Selected publications by Prof. Ulla Connor

- ATKINSON, D.; U. CONNOR** (2007): "Multilingual Writing Development" in **BAZERMAN, C.** (ed.): *Handbook of Research Writing*, Mahwah, Lawrence Erlbaum.
- BIBER, D.; U. CONNOR; T. UPTON** (eds.) (2007): *Discourse on the Move. Using Corpus Analysis to Describe Discourse Structure*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- CONNOR, U.; E. NAGELHOUT; W. ROZCYKI** (eds.). (2008). *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- CONNOR, U.; M. RUIZ-GARRIDO; W. ROZCYKI; E. GOERING; E. KINNEY; J. KOEHLER** (in press): "Intercultural Study of Patient-directed Medicine Labeling: Text Differences between the United States and Spain", *Communication & Medicine*.
- HALLECK, G.; U. CONNOR** (2006): "Rhetorical Moves in TESOL Conference Proposals", *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 5(1): 70-86.

Reseñas / Book Reviews

Discourse and Identity. By Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, Michael Bamberg (eds.). Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. xi + 462. Paperback ISBN: 0521541913. £24.99. Hardback ISBN: 0521834023. £55.00.

Reviewed by Lucía Fernández-Amaya, Universidad Pablo de Olavide.

This book is a collection of studies in which the relationship between language, discourse and identity is explored from different perspectives. The editors' goal is to introduce readers to a broad range of approaches offering analyses and considerations that can be taken as a source for debate by different scholars. These involve such strategies as construction, co-construction and negotiation of identities in several contexts, genres and communities.

According to the editors, "in addition to examining the interplay between the local and global identities in different interactional contexts, social settings, and types of discourse, the volume provides opportunities for comparative analysis of particular cases across a wide range of possibilities" (16). In their introduction, the authors present various approaches to identity: social constructionism, categorization and membership definition, the anti-essentialist vision of the self and the final generally accepted concept of "indexicality". This section finishes retracing the conflicting stances of

conversation analysts and critical discourse analysis concerning the role of contextual information in analysing discourse.

The book is organized into 15 chapters, that are divided into 4 different parts: *Overview: theory, method and analysis*; *Private and public identities: constructing who we are*; *The gendered self: becoming and being a man*; and *The in-between self: negotiating person and place*. Given the length of the volume and the variety of articles contained in it, an introduction elaborated by the editors at the beginning of each section of the book has further helped the reader synthesize the information contained in them.

In the first section, which deals with theoretical and methodological issues, Mishler (*Narrative and identity: the double arrow of time*, pp. 30-47) talks about different approaches to temporal ordering in narrative for theories about identity development, concentrating on linear conceptions of time and on external-world event ordering as an organizational principle. According to the author, "a more adequate understanding of how we change throughout our lives

requires a relational conception of identity, one that locates the recurrent restorying of our lives within the flux of contradictions and tensions of the several social worlds in which we are simultaneously actors and respondents to others' actions" (42).

Telles Ribeiro continues the attempt at theoretical synthesis in *Footings, positioning, voice. Are we talking about the same things?* (pp. 48-82), focusing on these different elements used in the literature to account for identity. After applying them to the analysis of a telephone conversation on medical family matters between two brothers, the author concludes that "we gain particular understandings when we look at the same data from slightly altered angles. Frame analysis points to the complexity of multi-layered discourses" (73).

Georgakopoulou (*Small and large identities in narrative (inter)action*, pp. 83-102) follows Mishler in taking narrative analysis to deal with a theoretical point. The author analyses storytelling practices among three adolescent Greek girls to conclude that the connections between the local identities and larger social identities are recoverable through the analysis of the distinct telling roles for each participant.

Schiffrin (*From linguistic reference to social reality*, pp. 103-134) closes this section wondering how a referring term can index identities in the textual and social worlds. To answer this question, the author analyses how a particular reference during an interchange in one interview is part of an intricate array of identities at different levels: animator/author (of a repair), situated role in activity-based

sequences, and social categories (gender, social class and region). After the analysis, the author concludes that "a reference must be grasped to begin to understand not only the meaning of an utterance in text, but also how the contextual meanings of utterances contribute to the social worlds in which we construct our identities" (131).

The second section of the volume concentrates on the interplay of societal forces, such as gender roles and ideology, and institutions, such as the workplace, in the construction of identity. Lakoff in *Identity à la carte: you are what you eat* (pp. 142-165), opens this part, which revolves around food, dealing with the relationship between public discourse and personal identities. The author indicates that discourse and practices focused on food show different types of identity: from people that consider food as a means of sustenance to those whose identity is determined by what they eat.

Holmes (*Workplace narratives, professional identity and relational practice*, pp. 166-187) similarly studies the connection between public and personal identities by analysing anecdotes in talk at work. The author indicates that these are used to instantiate diverse identities, concluding that "workplace anecdotes may contribute to the construction of complex personal, professional and social identities for workplace participants, allowing them to emphasize particular facets of their social identities and different dimensions of social meaning" (186).

The interface between personal identities and the identities in which individuals are positioned in particular

communicative contexts is also analysed by Bastos and Oliveira (*Identity and personal/institutional relations: people and tragedy in a health insurance customer service*, pp. 188-212). The authors examine how institutional contexts, in this case a Health Insurance Service Company in Brazil, shape identities. Johnson (*The discursive construction of teacher identities in a research interview*, pp. 213-232) also concentrates on the way public identities are constructed, and on how institutional expectations are related to individual negotiations about who we are. The author indicates that “identity is an evolutionary discursive construction. By extension, identities shift and change according to the conversational resources available at particular points in time” (231).

Finally, Bell (*Becoming a mother after DES: intensive mothering in spite of all*, pp. 233-254), talks about another significant feature of the interface between private and public identities: the building of individual identities against the backdrop of ideologies circulated in public discourse and in institutional practices.

The construction of masculinity in different circumstances and social worlds is the topic of the third section, in which three chapters can be found. Firstly, Kiesling (*Hegemonic identity-making in narrative*, pp. 261-287) considers that the role of narrative and Cultural Models in the negotiation of identities at an interactional level is very significant, focusing on hegemonic and subordinate categories of gender and racial belonging. The author concludes that “a person’s

identity is represented by the ways in which a person’s self is related to other selves in the social world” (285).

Secondly, in *On being white, heterosexual and male in a Brazilian school: multiple positionings in oral narratives* (pp. 288-313), Moita-Lopes provides a complete overview of the construction of whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality in the discourse of one adolescent boy from a Brazilian school. Then, Wortham and Gadsden investigate the interactional construction of gendered identity and the role of narrative in *Urban fathers positioning themselves through narrative: an approach to narrative self-construction* (pp. 314-344). The authors indicate that a re-elaboration of the concept of interactional positioning is necessary to explain how narrators project identities in discourse.

The last section, on situations where identity construction is related to life-time transitions, comprises three chapters which discuss the relationship between individual identities and socio-historical processes and ideologies. De Fina takes into consideration the appearance of group identity in the narrative discourse of Mexican undocumented immigrants to the USA (*Group identity, narrative and self-representations*, pp. 351-375) to conclude that “the analysis of stories reveals how narrators’ local displays of identity relate to more global conceptualizations about the self and its membership into groups” (p. 374).

In *Performing self, family and community in Moroccan narratives of migration and settlement* (pp. 376-397), Baynham employs narratives by

Moroccan immigrants in Great Britain to show the unsettling of received categories of identity, highlighting its formation through interactional work. Finally, Schiff and Noy (*Making it personal: shared meanings in the narratives of Holocaust survivors*, pp. 398-425) close this section investigating the link between narrative and identity through an analysis of the life story of a Jewish woman. The authors illustrate how narrative is socially built since people combine shared meanings and metaphors within their accounts.

The various studies presented in this book offer an in-depth look at discourse and identity. According to the editors, all of them follow three main points (22):

(1) The analysis of any aspect of language is inseparable from analysis of its use in context; (2) the importance of practice; (3) processes of identities cannot be neatly bifurcated as individual or social: interconnections between individual and social levels pervade both processes and products of identity construction.

Overall, this edited volume is a significant contribution to the study of discourse and identity that can be very helpful for upper-level undergraduate and postgraduate students as well as researchers on sociolinguistics or discourse analysis.

Violencia de género. De **María Pilar Matud Aznar**. Castellón: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2009. Pp. 214. ISBN: 978-84-8021-698-2.
Reseñado por Rosa Sos Peña, Universitat Jaume I.

Según la declaración de la *Organización Mundial de la Salud* la violencia contra las mujeres es un problema de salud pública en todo el mundo que atenta contra los derechos fundamentales, la libertad individual y la integridad física de las mujeres. La violencia contra la pareja se produce en todos los países, culturas y en todos los niveles sociales. Una de cada cuatro mujeres será víctima de violencia sexual por parte de su pareja en el curso de su vida (OMS, 2002), siendo este tipo de maltrato uno de los modos más comunes en nuestra sociedad. La magnitud de la violencia sexual contra las mujeres es como un iceberg en el que sólo se aprecia

una mínima parte, que es la que se denuncia a la policía.

Una línea de investigación prioritaria para la autora es la violencia de género, que representa un fenómeno grave y generalizado y que ocurre en el conjunto de los estados. En la actualidad, constituye un acuciante problema social provocado por factores de desigualdad entre hombres y mujeres con la determinación de dos roles diferentes, así como por la valoración de las personas según su sexo. De este modo, la violencia contra las mujeres es un grave obstáculo social que afecta a millones de mujeres de todo el mundo. Es más, la violencia de género es una dificultad a

nivel mundial para lograr la igualdad de género.

La autora lleva más de dos décadas estudiando, investigando e impartiendo docencia sobre la violencia de género en el *Departamento de Personalidad, Evaluación y Tratamientos Psicológicos* de la Universidad de La Laguna, donde a su vez es Directora de la *Maestría Universitaria en Prevención e Intervención en Violencia de Género*. En la Comunidad canaria, junto a su grupo de investigación, ha analizado las experiencias de víctimas de violencia de género administrando cuestionarios a mujeres maltratadas. También ha desarrollado programas de investigación para la mejora de la prevención de la violencia de género y la intervención psicológica con mujeres maltratadas por su pareja.

El libro está organizado temáticamente y cuidadosamente escrito con un estilo científico y ameno que lo hace de fácil lectura. Contiene 5 capítulos y una introducción, resultando especialmente reveladoras y de mucho interés, las cartas, los testimonios de maltratadores, de mujeres maltratadas y de hijas de maltratadores, que permiten al lector/a profundizar en los diferentes casos de maltrato.

A lo largo de este volumen encontramos definiciones de violencia de género, con el inconveniente que conlleva teorizar en torno a la violencia. Matud aborda las formas de violencia de género más comunes en nuestra sociedad: los abusos y agresiones sexuales, el acoso sexual y el maltrato a la mujer. La autora sostiene la necesidad de desterrar ciertas normas culturales que se refieren a las relaciones

sexuales con independencia del asentimiento de la mujer. Y de entre los temas que emergen destaca la conexión entre violencia y otros fenómenos sociales.

En el capítulo 1 se enmarca la violencia de género en un contexto más general, a la vez que se critica una serie de mitos y estereotipos. Se trata de una violencia que sufren las mujeres por el mero hecho de serlo, es decir, por su pertenencia al género femenino. La violencia de género es un problema social resultado de la desigualdad de género y sólo desaparecerá cuando esa desigualdad se suprima de la sociedad. No obstante, para poder lograr la igualdad y terminar con la violencia de género, además de emprender una serie de medidas educativas, políticas y legales, es vital intervenir a nivel social para eliminar los mitos, estereotipos y normas sociales subyacentes, cuyo componente ideológico propugna exculpar al agresor y responsabilizar a la víctima de la violencia sufrida.

La autora constata la relevancia de los factores culturales, en su presencia, configuración y la posibilidad de prevención, para disminuir el impacto que ocasionan en la salud y calidad de vida de sus víctimas. Igualmente, resalta que la cultura tiene un peso fundamental en la formación de los comportamientos abusivos y en la respuesta ante la violencia.

En los siguientes capítulos se presenta el género como concepto y se exponen las principales teorías explicativas de las diferencias de género, afirmando que no existe una definición ni conceptualización única de género. Asimismo, se reflexiona sobre los abusos y agresiones sexuales a los que también se define conceptualmen-

te. El maltrato a la mujer por parte de su pareja es muy frecuente en la violencia de género en la sociedad actual. El impacto de dicha violencia es de tal medida que se considera como un problema primordial de salud pública. Se estima que este fenómeno afecta a las mujeres de todos los niveles sociales, culturales y económicos. Sin embargo, recientemente se ha podido observar un cambio bastante notable en las actitudes y creencias de gran parte de los españoles, aunque aún siguen persistiendo mitos y actitudes que responsabilizan a la mujer de su propia victimización.

Matud mantiene que existe evidencia empírica de que el maltrato a la mujer se asocia con el maltrato a los hijos/as. Esta autora lleva a cabo programas preventivos que tienen como principal objetivo cambiar las actitudes que apoyan la violencia sexual y eliminar los mitos de la violación. De manera adicional, se ofrecen modelos de prevención y tratamiento de los abusos y agresiones sexuales para modificar actitudes y cogniciones relacionadas con la violencia sexual, tales como los estereotipos tradicionales. Se sugiere igualmente la necesidad de realizar programas preventivos y la implantación de medidas para ayudar a las víctimas, además de castigar a los agresores. Se recomienda que el tratamiento y la prevención de la violencia de género deban ser integrales y multidisciplinarios, al tiempo que se estudia la complejidad en la atención a las víctimas de violencia de género, señalando la urgencia de ofrecer una formación específica a los profesionales que intervienen en el tratamiento. Se destaca la importancia de la detección precoz de las víctimas de

violencia de género puesto que puede ser útil para el diagnóstico y la intervención temprana de las secuelas físicas y mentales que las mismas puedan sufrir como consecuencia de la violencia experimentada y, con ello, prevenir futuras agresiones.

Matud critica la perspectiva tradicional en España que incluye todavía creencias sobre la violencia de género que justifican la conducta violenta, exculpan al agresor, culpabilizan a la víctima y la consideran un problema privado. En una posición opuesta se sitúa ella, que recomienda hacer visible la violencia de género en el plano público, tal como se estableció en el foro de *Naciones Unidas*. Complementariamente, intenta modificar tales creencias para prevenir a través de la formación de la población en género y violencia de género, en centros educativos y universidades, y mediante decisiones políticas, legislativas y financieras cuyo propósito principal es intentar integrar la prevención de la violencia en las políticas sociales y educativas, así como promover la igualdad social y de género. Así, nos presenta la violencia como un problema polifacético y advierte que para prevenir es necesario actuar de forma simultánea en múltiples sectores de la sociedad. Recomienda una prevención que incluya respuestas de atención primaria y unas intervenciones científicas integrales.

El libro es una valiosa aportación al tema de la violencia de género que puede utilizarse en situaciones académicas por investigadores y profesores de psicología, ciencias sociales y educación, pero también por profesionales del propio campo. La obra va especialmente dedicada a las

mujeres maltratadas y resulta asequible para todo tipo de lector.

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Miseria y esplendor de la traducción. La influencia de Ortega en la traductología. De Pilar Ordóñez López. Col.lecció Estudis sobre la traducció nº 16. Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2009. Pp. 284. ISBN: 978-84-8021-691-3.

Reseñado por Emilio Ortega Arjonilla, Universidad de Málaga.

Esta obra que tengo el honor de reseñar supone, a mi modo de ver, un antes y un después en la reflexión traductológica en torno a la figura de Ortega y Gasset. Aunque el ensayo que da título a esta obra, *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción*, no supone la única contribución del autor a la reflexión teórica en torno a la traducción (como ya se encarga de aclararnos la propia autora), sí que es cierto que constituye una de las contribuciones más «visibles» del autor, al menos para el mundo de la traducción, en lo que a su reflexión sobre el habla, el lenguaje y la traducción se refiere.

En el caso que nos ocupa, la profesora Ordóñez López entra de lleno a rastrear las consideraciones sobre el lenguaje, la hermenéutica y la traducción en Ortega, atendiendo

tanto a las fuentes originales (en la obra aparece un anexo bibliográfico exhaustivo sobre la publicación y difusión de este ensayo de Ortega en español y en otras lenguas) como a las interpretaciones que la obra de Ortega y sus planteamientos sobre el lenguaje, la hermenéutica y la traducción han merecido entre figuras relevantes del ámbito filosófico (Cerezo, Chamizo, Walgrave, Ortega Spottorno, Nyedermayer, etc.), hermenéutico (Gadamer, Ricoeur, etc.) y traductológico (Santoyo, Hurtado, Vega, García-Yebra, K. Reiss, etc.).

El objetivo de esta obra queda claramente explicitado en la página 13 de esta obra, y cito literalmente: “la realización de este trabajo responde a un propósito de – *perseguir*: perseguir la concepción de Ortega de la traduc-

ción, perseguir su huella en la traductología contemporánea [...] Hoy día, cuando asistimos a la que se ha denominado como ‘era de la traducción’, somos ya plenamente conscientes de la necesidad de construir una historia de la traducción, de reconstruir el pasado de esta actividad milenaria. Este pasado constituye la sólida base sobre la que se habrá de asentar la reflexión en esta joven disciplina que es la traductología, *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción* representa un destacado fragmento de esta historia, un fragmento que, además de quedar integrado en la historia de la traducción de nuestra tradición, parece asimismo formar parte del presente de la reflexión traductológica” (13).

A mi modo de ver, tras llevar a cabo una lectura muy detallada de la obra, puedo afirmar que el objetivo que se ha marcado la autora lo ha conseguido alcanzar con creces, y paso a explicarme.

La obra aparece dividida en siete capítulos, una introducción, un apartado destinado a la bibliografía y un anexo, destinado éste a la presentación de las publicaciones en español y otras lenguas de las que ha sido objeto el ensayo de Ortega y Gasset desde 1937 hasta nuestros días.

Los capítulos 1 y 2 titulados, respectivamente, 1. **Traductología: historia de la traducción** y 2. **Concepción del lenguaje de Ortega y Gasset: contexto ideológico de *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción***, constituyen el preludio del objeto de estudio

que se pretende en esta obra. Así, si en el capítulo 1 la autora pretende introducirnos en la metodología al uso en el trabajo traductológico de naturaleza historiográfica, en el capítulo 2 nos introduce en las categorías que mejor definen la concepción del lenguaje, la hermenéutica y la traducción de Ortega y Gasset. Este capítulo 2 supone, sin dudas, el basamento sobre el que se construye el análisis ulterior del ensayo orteguiano sobre la teoría de la traducción.

El capítulo 3 está destinado al análisis descriptivo e histórico-traductológico del ensayo de Ortega sobre la traducción e interpretación. En él se percibe ya la metodología de trabajo de la autora que pretende, a mi modo de ver, mostrarnos a Ortega desde una perspectiva poliédrica, atendiendo no sólo a lo expuesto en este ensayo sino a todo lo que no está aquí “por sobreentendido” o porque remite directa o indirectamente a otras obras del propio autor.

No es tarea fácil hacer este trabajo de “rastreo” y “persecución” del pensamiento de Ortega sobre la traducción, habida cuenta que, además de este ensayo, pocas son las obras del autor en las que aparezca una reflexión sistemática sobre la teoría y práctica de la traducción. Hay que buscar más allá, en otras muchas obras de naturaleza filosófica, para encontrar su definición y su posicionamiento sobre el lenguaje para, extrapolando lo expuesto, extraer qué opina este filósofo del siglo XX español sobre la traducción como objeto de estudio.

A este respecto, resulta muy plausible el tesón y la rigurosidad con los que Pilar Ordóñez nos hace entrar en el universo filosófico-lingüístico de Ortega desde una perspectiva traductológica.

Sin embargo, tal y como apuntábamos al principio de esta reseña, el objetivo de la autora no sólo incluye la referencia histórica del Ortega traductólogo como algo del pasado, sino el estudio de la divulgación y la influencia que este enfoque hermenéutico de la traducción ha tenido tanto en el desarrollo de la traductología en lengua española como en el de la propia traductología en el mundo occidental, incluyendo en ésta última, lógicamente, a la literatura en lengua española.

En la primera parte de esta obra (capítulos 1, 2 y 3) la autora opera de lo más general a lo más particular, partiendo de la historia de la traducción, adentrándose en el planteamiento de Ortega sobre el lenguaje, la hermenéutica y la traducción, para finalizar en el análisis de *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción*.

En la segunda parte, sin embargo, la autora parte de la divulgación de *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción* (véase también, a este respecto, el anexo sobre publicaciones de este ensayo en español, inglés, italiano, alemán, francés, ruso, búlgaro, húngaro y serbio) para, acto seguido, adentrarse en la influencia y fecundidad del planteamiento orteguiano en el desarrollo de la traductología en el siglo xx. Sobre este particular,

destaca la parcialización que la autora hace de los distintos aspectos tratados por Ortega que, con posterioridad, han tenido eco en las obras de otros traductólogos de reconocido prestigio, a escala nacional e internacional.

Los temas tratados son los que siguen: Ortega: figura de la extranjerización; Ortega: ¿la traducción imposible?; Ortega: la traducción fea; Ortega: tipología textual de la traducción; Ortega: teoría del lenguaje; Ortega: el personaje del traductor; Ortega: diferencias entre lenguas; Ortega: práctica traductora; Ortega: revisión traductológica.

La obra se cierra con un capítulo destinado a las conclusiones obtenidas por la autora en este periplo orteguiano. Las conclusiones giran en torno a tres temas, que han constituido, dicho sea de paso, el hilo conductor de toda la obra:

- Concepción de la traducción de Ortega
- Divulgación de *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción*
- Vigencia de *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción* en la traductología occidental contemporánea

Cierro esta reseña con otra cita de la autora, ésta relativa a la vigencia y fecundidad del planteamiento traductológico de Ortega en distintos enfoques y escuelas traductológicas contemporáneos: “desde la etapa preteórica [...] la presencia de Ortega se hace extensiva a las principales corrientes traductológicas. En el enfo-

que filológico, a través de autores como Steiner u Ortega Arjonilla; en la corriente funcionalista de la traducción, en las reflexiones de Reiss o Nord; en el enfoque textual, en los trabajos de Neubert o Wills; en el enfoque lingüístico, en las aportaciones de Mounin o Newmark; en la escuela del sentido, en la reflexión de Hurtado Albir; en enfoques interculturales, a

través de autores como Pym o Milton; en el enfoque histórico, en Santoyo o Vega” (262).

Sólo me resta invitar al lector a adentrarse en la lectura de esta magnífica obra en la que se aborda el pensamiento orteguiano sobre la traducción desde una perspectiva histórica, descriptiva y, como no podía ser de otra forma, hermenéutica.

Autores / Authors

MARÍA LAURA ARCE ÁLVAREZ

Centro IBN Gabirol
c/ Valdespina 8, bajo 4
28043 Madrid
España
magaarce@yahoo.com

JESÚS BERMÚDEZ RAMIRO

Depto. de Filología y Culturas Europeas
Campus Riu Sec
Universitat Jaume I
12071 Castellón
España
bermudez@fil.uji.es

ESTER BRENES PEÑA

Depto. de Lengua Española, Lingüística y Teoría de la Literatura
Facultad de Filología Hispánica
c/ Palos de la Frontera s/n
Universidad de Sevilla
41004 Sevilla
España
ebrenes@us.es

FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ GARCÍA

Departamento de Filología Española
Facultad de Humanidades y CC. de la Educación
Campus Universitario, edificio D-2, despacho 032
Universidad de Jaén
23071 Jaén
España
fcofer@ujaen.es

IRENE LÓPEZ RODRÍGUEZ

Brown University
244 Bowen Street, 11
02912 Providence, RI
USA
Irene_Lopez_Rodriguez@brown.edu

OBODODIMMA OHA

Dept. of English
Box 21620
University of Ibadan
Ibadan 200284
Nigeria
udude@full-moon.com

BARNARD TURNER

Department of English Language and Literature
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
National University of Singapore
Blk AS5, 7 Arts Link
Singapore 117570
ellturne@nus.edu.sg

ROBERTO DEL VALLE ALCALÁ

Depto. de Filología Inglesa
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Campus de Cantoblanco
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
28049 Madrid
España
robdelvalle@hotmail.com

JAVIER VELLÓN

Depto. de Filología y Culturas Europeas
Campus Riu Sec
Universitat Jaume I
12071 Castellón
España
vellon@fil.uji.es

MIGUEL F. RUIZ GARRIDO

Departament d'Estudis Anglesos
Campus Riu Sec
Universitat Jaume I
12071 Castellón
España
mruiz@ang.uji.es

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- When reference is made to more than one author in a parenthesis, these should be separated by a semicolon and arranged chronologically.
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NADIN, M. (1984): “On the Meaning of the Visual”, *Semiotica*, 52: 45-56.

BATE, J. (1999): “A genius, but so ordinary”, *The Independent*, 23 January, 5.

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